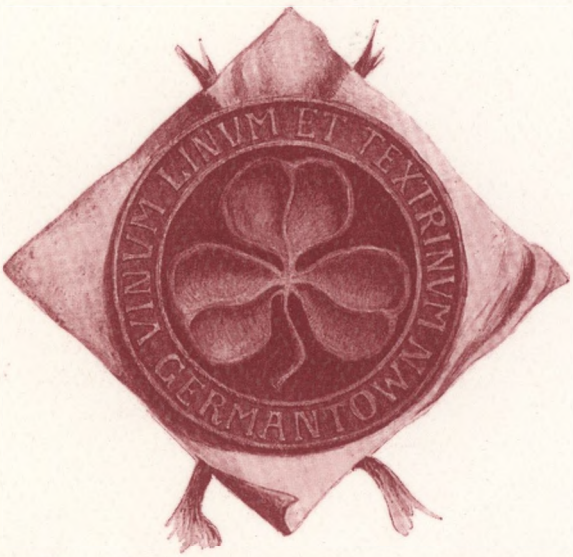
YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 46

2011



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 website, 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 the New World. 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.

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Published at the University of Kansas by
The Society for German-American Studies

with the support of
The Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
and The College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

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 the Americas. 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 (wkeel@ku.edu). Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Susan M. Schürer (schurer@sunlink.net). The *Newsletter* appears three times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to Daniel Nuetzel or Claudia Grossmann (MKGAC@iupui.edu).

The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, and libraries. Annual membership dues for individuals include subscriptions to both the *Yearbook* and all issues of the *Newsletter* published during the calendar year. Libraries, societies, and other organizations interested in obtaining the publications of the Society may subscribe to publications only. Membership and subscription applications are available online at *sgas.org*.

Printed at Jostens, Clarksville, TN 37040

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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From the Editor

With this thirty-first volume of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* and as we also commemorate the forty-fifth year of the Society's existence, we can reflect on some of the changes in recent years in our organization and look forward to the future. Under the leadership of Randall Donaldson as president, the Society has completely updated its presence on the World Wide Web. Members and others interested in the Society are invited to browse the new web pages of the Society at *sgas.org*. We are also pleased to announce that Matthew Lange, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, has been appointed the Society's webmaster and will serve in that capacity as a member of the Society's Executive Committee.

At *sgas.org* we find with one or two clicks all of the information on forthcoming publications and symposia, membership renewals, opportunities for scholarly support, the dissemination of members' research as well as making a financial contribution to the Society. For instance, back issues of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* may be easily ordered with payment via PayPal or credit card. Older members may recall that the *Yearbook* was issued as a paperback until 2003. The older paperback issues will be available for a minimal charge of $5.00 per volume; the hardback newer issues for $10.00. A small charge for postage will also be added to the cost. We encourage those members who wish to supplement their set of issues with missing ones to take advantage of the offer.

The Society has also updated its policies for scholarly support—the Karl J. R. Arndt Fund for publication subsidies for monographs published by members and the Albert Bernhard Faust Fund for the support of members' research projects. These policies together with the Bylaws of the Society, amended most recently in October 2012, and also the Society's policy regarding its Outstanding Achievement Award may be found in the back matter of this volume.

Of the essays published with this volume, the editor wishes to call your

attention to the unflinching detective work of Alexander Ritter in pursing every lead that might unravel some aspect of the biography and lasting impact of the mysterious nineteenth-century author Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Two essays by Ritter as well as one by Wynfrid Kriegleder treat various aspects of the Sealsfield story. German exiles during the twentieth century are the focus of essays by Bärbel Such and Stephani Richards-Wilson. Ingo Schwarz discusses the correspondence of Alexander von Humboldt while Joseph Browne examines the life of a prominent German-American architect.

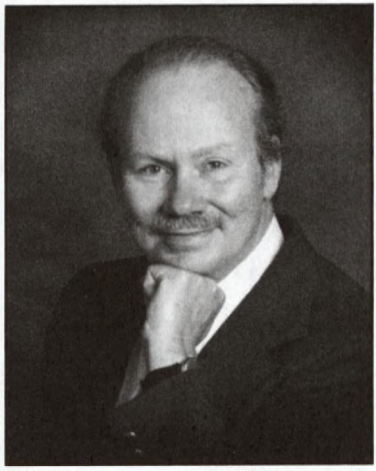
Susan Schürer, our book review editor, also deserves special mention for her Herculean efforts to provide our readers with a collection of high quality reviews of books published in German-American Studies and related fields. It has been a real pleasure to collaborate with Susan and know that she is pursuing every possibility for additional reviews so that our members can be up-to-date on what is being published in our field. This volume contains some forty-five reviews of books which has to be a record number. Susan is also working to recruit younger scholars and encourage them to join SGAS as they begin their academic careers.

Our Editorial Board has seen some changes during the past year. As noted in the last issue, Helmut Schmeller stepped down from the Board one year ago. We are very happy to announce three outstanding additions to the membership of our Editorial Board, effective immediately: Randall Donaldson, Loyola University Maryland; Daniel Nuetzel, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis; and Steven Rowan, University of Missouri-St. Louis. We look forward to working with these three new members and our continuing Board members on future issues of the *Yearbook*.

The editor looks forward to seeing many you at our next Annual Symposium to be held May 9-12, 2013, in the French Quarter of New Orleans, Louisiana. Presenters are encouraged, as always, to submit their essays for consideration by the Editorial Board for possible publication in a forthcoming *Yearbook*.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
The University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
November 2012

Henry "Hank" Geitz (1931–2012): In Memoriam



With the passing of Professor Henry "Hank" Geitz on October 27, 2012, our profession lost one of its true guiding lights. Hank's tenure as director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin during the decade of the 1990s was characterized by his unflinching desire to mold the field of German-American Studies into a vehicle worthy of scholarly endeavor. Beyond sponsoring several conferences focusing on different facets of our interdisciplinary field, such as the 1991 conference on the German Language in America, and hosting the very successful 1996 Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies in Madison, Hank was troubled enough by the direction of the Society in the early 1990s to hold a special workshop at the Max Kade Institute in the fall of 1993 on the "definition and future of German-American Studies."

Hank was both a gracious host and a stern taskmaster at that 1993 meeting. Those of us invited to participate recognized the seriousness of this "meeting of the minds" in our field. The resulting volume published in conjunction with an issue of *Monatshefte* (86,3 [Fall 1994]) contained some fourteen contributions by leading scholars in our discipline addressing critical questions, such as the tendency for some to glorify any achievement of German-Americans by falling into the trap of filiopietism. Hank was very much concerned that the Society and the field not drift too far in the direction of heritage groups, while at the same time recognizing our dependence

on them for our historical, linguistic and cultural research. That German-American Studies remains a serious scholarly endeavor is a tribute to Hank's striving to make it so.

Henry Geitz, Jr., was born in Philadelphia on January 18, 1931. His undergraduate years were spent in his home town, earning a BA at the University of Pennsylvania in 1951. After completing an MA at the University of Nebraska in 1954, Hank served two years in the U.S. Army from 1954 to 1956. After his military service, Hank continued his graduate work in German at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1956 and earned his PhD there in 1961. His first appointment as an assistant professor was at the University of Richmond in Virginia. He then returned to Madison in 1962 to remain there for the rest of his academic career. Promoted to Full Professor in 1972, Hank was later appointed Director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, serving in that capacity from 1990 until his retirement in 1997.

While his lifelong interest in German-American Studies characterized his career, Hank was also very much involved with study abroad, serving as the resident director of the University of Wisconsin's programs in Freiburg, Germany (1967-68) and Budapest, Hungary (1989-90). He also served as associate director of the University of Wisconsin Academic Programs Abroad from 1983 to 1989.

Hank's contributions in promoting the study of German language, literature and culture both in Wisconsin and in Europe were recognized on several occasions: The Silver Medal of the University of Freiburg, Germany, in 1984; the Outstanding German Educator Award of the Wisconsin Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German in 1989; and the *Verdienstkreuz am Bande* (cross of merit) of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1991.

The association of this author with Professor Henry Geitz goes back to the fall of 1971, when Hank was still an associate professor in the German department at Madison. I had enrolled in a correspondence course on Goethe's *Faust* (parts I and II) through the U.S. Armed Forces Institute while serving with a military intelligence unit in Phu Bai, Vietnam. While I never met my instructor at that time, the handwritten name "Henry Geitz" together with a letter grade appeared at the top of each returned assignment. I very much appreciated his meticulous attention to detail and his personal interest in some unknown soldier in a faraway place. Neither of us knew whether all twenty-four assignments in that course would be completed. At the end of my first assignment in December 1971, Hank wrote in German: "Ideal gesehen, wird ein Dialog zwischen uns entstehen, der für uns beide sehr interessant sein kein." Unfortunately, the vicissitudes of that war in Southeast Asia in

the late winter of 1971-1972 did not allow me to continue that "dialog" with Hank or complete the correspondence course. It was only some twenty years later, in the context of a conference on German-American Studies at Madison that I finally met my former instructor and resumed that mutually rewarding dialog begun in December of 1971. We shall miss our colleague and friend.

William D. Keel
University of Kansas

Wynfrid Kriegleder

Sealsfield—Strubberg—Karl May, oder: Der deutsche Amerikaroman wird zum Ego-Trip

Wenn im Folgenden eine Geschichte des deutschen Amerikaromans unter einem bestimmten Gesichtspunkt postuliert wird—nämlich unter dem Aspekt der Abkehr von gesellschaftlichen und der Hinwendung zu egozentrischen Interessen—dann sollte eigentlich einleitend die Gattung "Amerikaroman" definiert werden. Doch das ist selbst für den hier interessierenden Zeitraum —das 19. Jahrhundert—kaum möglich. Weder ist eine bestimmte plot-Struktur noch ein bestimmtes Erzählmuster festzumachen, das für die Gattung konstitutiv wäre. Man kann also, narratologisch gesprochen, dem "Amerikaroman" weder einen bestimmten story-Typ noch einen bestimmten Erzähldiskurs zuordnen. Wer uns daran hindert, ist wieder einmal jener Autor, der immer Probleme macht, wenn wir uns mit literarischen Bildern der USA in deutschsprachigen Texten des 19. Jahrhunderts beschäftigen: Charles Sealsfield. Ohne Charles Sealsfields Texte beachten zu müssen, ließe sich der deutschsprachige Amerikaroman einfach charakterisieren: Er handelt von europäischen, meist deutschen Protagonisten, die aus welchen Gründen auch immer vorübergehend oder auf Dauer in die USA gehen und dort Erlebnisse haben, welche dann erzählend einem europäischen Publikum vermittelt werden. Diese Erzählungen erlauben einerseits einen Blick auf die Wahrnehmung der USA durch die Protagonisten bzw. die Erzähler, ja wohl auch durch die (impliziten?) Autoren;[1] sie geben daher Auskunft über das jeweils herrschende europäische USA-Image, ein Fremdbild und Hetero-Stereotyp, das natürlich (auch) von den historischen Entwicklungen in den USA selbst abhängt. Diese Wahrnehmung der USA ist aber auch abhängig von der jeweiligen europäischen Situation, von den individuellen und kollektiven Wünschen, Sehnsüchten und Ängsten der Autoren und ihrer (europäischen)

Leser. So weit, so einfach. Aber bei den Romanen Charles Sealsfields funktioniert diese Definition nicht: Keine (oder kaum je einmal) europäische Protagonisten, eine amerikanische Erzählperspektive, die sich um europäische Leser nicht zu bekümmern scheint und keineswegs ein europäisches Hetero-Stereotyp, sondern eher ein amerikanisches Auto-Stereotyp zeichnet (oder zu zeichnen scheint), und damit auch nur eine geringe Chance, aus diesen Romanen Rückschlüsse auf europäische Befindlichkeiten zu ziehen. Eine Tour durch die deutschen Amerikaromane des 19. Jahrhunderts sei dennoch gewagt, auch im Wissen, dass Sealsfields Schriften als Stolpersteine am Weg liegen.

Auch wenn der Titel dieser Abhandlung mit Charles Sealsfield einsetzt, muss darauf hingewiesen werden, dass der deutschsprachige Amerikaroman schon sechzig Jahre vor dessen Erstling, *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* von 1834, beginnt.[2] 1778/79 veröffentlichte David Christoph Seybold in Leipzig den multiperspektivischen Briefroman *Reizenstein. Die Geschichte eines deutschen Officiers*.[3] Das Buch erzählt die Geschicke einer Gruppe europamüder deutscher Auswanderer, darunter der Protagonist, der als Soldat an der Seite Washingtons im Unabhängigkeitskrieg kämpft. Der Roman erschien, noch ehe die amerikanische Revolution abgeschlossen war. Der Verfasser nahm die Zukunft vorweg, ließ—historisch weitsichtig—die Kolonisten siegen und entwarf ein historisch natürlich unzutreffendes Zukunftsszenario für die Vereinigten Kolonien, die sich zu einem agrarkommunistischen, von Europa streng abgeschotteten idealen Gemeinwesen entwickeln, einer Insel Felsenburg im Großen und auf geographisch plausibler Grundlage. Der Roman folgt, trotz empfindsamer Elemente, die dem Genre des Briefromans geschuldet sind, der Vorgabe der vielen Sozialutopien des 18. Jahrhunderts; an einer Entwicklung der Innerlichkeit seiner Figuren, wie das wenige Jahre zuvor Friedrich von Blanckenburg für die Gattung des Romans gefordert hatte, ist Seybold nicht interessiert.

Henriette Frölichs vierzig Jahre später, Ende 1819 mit dem Erscheinungsdatum 1820 erschienener Roman *Virginia oder die Kolonie von Kentucky* ist dem Seyboldschen Opus erstaunlich ähnlich, obwohl es keinerlei Hinweise gibt, dass die Verfasserin den Vorläufertext gekannt haben könnte. Auch hier geht es um europamüde Emigranten; die Protagonistin ist eine junge französische Aristokratin und Anhängerin Napoleons, die 1814 nach Amerika flüchtet und letztlich mit Gleichgesinnten eine agrarkommunistische Kolonie gründet. Die Verfasserin ist zwar stärker am individuellen Schicksal ihrer Hauptfigur interessiert als das bei Seybold der Fall war; der Roman ist über weite Strecken auch ein weiblicher Bildungsroman. Dennoch: Im Zentrum steht die Sozialutopie, der anti-europäische Gesellschaftsentwurf.[4]

Und noch ein drittes Buch ist als früher Amerikaroman zumindest zu

erwähnen: Sophie von la Roches *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* von 1798. Hier ist der Bezug auf das real existierende Amerika freilich relativ gering, obwohl La Roche eine wahre Geschichte verarbeitete. Die Protagonisten, ein junges, aristokratisches, französisches Ehepaar, landen auf der Flucht vor dem Terror der Französischen Revolution in der Neuen Welt und verleben einige Jahre einer robinsonadischen Existenz auf einer einsamen Insel in einem See in New York, ehe sie sich den aus Europa eingewanderten Bewohnern einer neugegründeten Ansiedlung am Ufer des Sees anschließen. Dem Roman geht es zwar ganz zentral um das Seelenleben seines empfindsamen Personals, die Individualgeschichten interessieren aber in Hinblick auf die Frage nach dem bestmöglichen Zusammenleben der Menschen. Der männliche Protagonist wandelt sich vom misanthropischen Rousseau-Anhänger, der alle Gesellschaft fliehen und nur mit seiner Familie auf der Insel leben will, zum einsichtigen und nützlichen zoon politikon.[5]

Schon an diesen drei Romanen zeigt sich, dass das Interesse am Schauplatz Amerika gekoppelt ist mit der (aufklärerischen) Frage nach den Möglichkeiten menschlichen Zusammenlebens. Es sind Sozialutopien, die zwar keine Information über die USA geben wollen—keine(r) der AutorInnen ist je in Amerika gewesen—die aber den neuen Staat als Experimentierfeld für ihre Entwürfe nützen.

Auch der erste wichtige deutschsprachige Autor, der die USA aus eigener Anschauung kannte und darüber schrieb—Charles Sealsfield—steht in dieser Tradition. Der 1793 als Carl Postl in der Habsburgermonarchie geborene Charles Sealsfield hatte bekanntlich eine sehr gebrochene Biographie. Zunächst katholischer Priester in Prag, flüchtete er 1823 in die USA und baute sich eine neue Identität als Journalist und Schriftsteller auf, was offenbar nicht ohne große äußere (ökonomische) und innere Probleme gelang; auf einen ungelösten "Ambivalenzkonflikt" verweist Alexander Ritter in einem aktuellen Aufsatz.[6]

Den heutigen Leser, der über Sealsfields Lebensumstände Bescheid weiß, verblüfft allerdings, dass das Biographische in die Romane fast überhaupt nicht eingeht—und falls eventuell doch, dann höchst verschlüsselt. Wir finden keinerlei Protagonisten, ob Ich-Erzähler oder Perspektiventräger, die dazu einladen, mit dem Autor identifiziert oder zumindest verglichen zu werden. Am ehesten entdeckt man Charles Sealsfield noch hinter dem manchmal eingesetzten auktorialen Erzähler, dessen unduldsame, jedem Zweifel abholde Didaktik an den alten Sealsfield erinnert, wie ihn Schweizer Bekannte beschrieben haben. Die Figuren in den Romanen und ihre Konflikte scheinen aber von Sealsfields Lebensgeschichte weit entfernt. Natürlich ist man als Leser immer wieder versucht, einzelne Episoden biographisch zu deuten, aber das geht über reine Spekulationen nicht hinaus. Ich gebe gern

eine solche Spekulation zum Besten: In zwei der Romane, im *Virey und die Aristokraten* und in den *Deutsch-Amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften*, finden sich sehr beeindruckende, recht ähnliche Szenen: Ein junger Mann wird plötzlich in eine Kutsche gesteckt, die dann durch die Nacht jagt; der junge Mann ist halb freiwillig, halb unfreiwillig eingestiegen und weiß nicht so recht, wo es hingehen soll und worauf er sich da einlässt. Ich kann nicht umhin, in dieser Szene eine Spiegelung von Postls/Sealsfields traumatischer Erfahrung nach der Flucht aus seinem Kloster zu sehen. Er hatte ja zunächst nicht vorgehabt, ins Ausland zu gehen, sondern war zuerst nach Wien gegangen, wo man ihm offensichtlich eine Anstellung bei Hof versprochen hatte. Diese Absicht wurde zunichte, und irgendwie haben Freunde und Helfer den noch relativ jungen Postl dann zuerst nach Stuttgart und schließlich in die Vereinigten Staaten expediert—vermutlich gegen innere Widerstände des Betroffenen. Wie gesagt, aus diesem Wissen—genauer gesagt, aus dieser meiner Interpretation der wenigen Fakten, die wir über seine Flucht kennen—lese ich die Romanszenen autobiographisch. Aber das ist natürlich Spekulation.

Doch wenden wir uns den Romanen des Charles Sealsfield zu. Er selbst hat später, im Rückblick auf sein Oeuvre, behauptet, von Anfang an einem poetologischen Konzept gefolgt zu sein und den "nazionalen oder höheren VolksRoman" angestrebt zu haben, der keinen individuellen Helden zeichne, sondern "das ganze Volk seine sozialen sein öffentliches sein Privatleben, seine materiellen politischen religiösen Beziehungen" ins Zentrum stelle.[7] Man mag zwar bezweifeln, ob ein solches ausformuliertes Konzept tatsächlich am Beginn der literarischen Karriere eines Autors stand, der sich erst mühsam eine neue Identität und eine Autorenrolle erarbeiten musste. Dennoch ist diese von Sealsfield 1858 getätigte Aussage eine sehr brauchbare Beschreibung seiner eigenen fiktionalen Texte. Denn nirgends geht es um individuelle Schicksale und individuelle Bewährungen, selbst wenn manche der Romantitel einen Individualroman erwarten lassen, wenn sie den Namen des jeweiligen Protagonisten nennen. *George Howards Brautfahrt*, *Morton oder die große Tour*, *Nathan der Squatter-Regulator*—das klingt natürlich wie *Die Geschichte des Agathon* oder *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*. Aber das Geschick oder gar die innere Entwicklung der Figuren steht mitnichten im Zentrum des Geschehens—und die typischen Sealsfield-Titel lauten daher auch ganz anders. Sie beziehen sich auf Repräsentanten von Gruppen oder auf die Gruppen selbst und nicht auf Individuen: *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*, *Der Virey und die Aristokraten*, *Die Farbigen*, *Pflanzerleben*, *Deutsch-amerikanische Wahlverwandtschaften*.

Charles Sealsfields sehr komplexes und widersprüchliches Werk kann hier im Rahmen eines kurzen Beitrags natürlich nicht auf den Begriff gebracht

werden.[8] Es dürfte aber unter den Sealsfieldforschern Konsens darüber herrschen, dass er sein literarisches Leben lang dem Untertitel seiner allerersten Publikation verpflichtet blieb. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet* heißt das Buch, mit dem er 1827 erstmals an die Öffentlichkeit trat. Die "politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse" in den von ihm beschriebenen Räumen blieben Sealsfields Thema—ob es sich um die USA oder Mexiko, Großbritannien oder Texas handelte. Immer geht es darum, einerseits ein breites gesellschaftliches Panorama zu zeichnen, andererseits aber mit einer besserwisserischen Attitüde der Geheimnisenthüllung jene Kräfte zu zeigen, die unter der Oberfläche wirken und für die politischen Entwicklungen in den jeweiligen Regionen verantwortlich seien. Dass Sealsfield in dieser Hinsicht ein Ideologe ist und ganz klare politische Positionen bezieht, die sich im zeitgenössischen inneramerikanischen Diskurs verorten lassen, haben Walter Grünzweig[9] und Jeffrey Sammons[10] herausgearbeitet. Dass Sealsfields Texte in der ideologischen Botschaft nicht aufgehen, dass es einen ästhetischen Mehrwert gibt, der die vordergründige Propaganda transzendiert und deshalb die Bücher bis heute lesenswert macht, ist ebenfalls offensichtlich. Wichtig bleibt mir jedenfalls festzuhalten: Wir haben es nicht mit Individual-, sondern mit Gesellschaftsromanen zu tun, und der historische Verfasser hinterlässt in seinen Romanen kaum Spuren.

Auch noch der berühmteste und berüchtigtste anti-amerikanische Roman der deutschen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts, Ferdinand Kürnbergers *Der Amerikamüde*, ist trotz des Titels kein Individualroman.[11] Kürnbergers Erzählung folgt zwar den Erlebnissen eines deutschsprachigen ungarischen Dichters in den USA, der deutlich nach Nikolaus Lenau modelliert ist; das zugrunde liegende Romanmodell ist aber der philosophische Roman der Aufklärung, vor allem Voltaires *Candide*, wo anhand eines reisenden Protagonisten eine These induktiv verifiziert wird. Die These des *Amerikamüden* ist die absolute Schlechtigkeit der Vereinigten Staaten, denen im Gegensatz zur Meinung vieler Zeitgenossen keineswegs die Zukunft gehöre. Die Zukunft gehöre vielmehr einem künftigen Deutschland, das freilich von Amerika, trotz dessen Schlechtigkeit, einiges lernen müsse, vor allem Nationalbewusstsein und Rücksichtslosigkeit. Auch Kürnbergers Roman strebt ein breites Panorama des amerikanischen Lebens an, freilich eine karikaturistisch verzerrte Ansammlung von Einzelbildern, die in ihrer Fülle die Ausgangsthese wieder und wieder verifizieren.

Wir können als Zwischenfazit festhalten: Die deutschen Amerikaromane folgen bis etwa 1850 der Vorgabe des Aufklärungsromans, sich in fiktionaler Form mit gesellschaftlich relevanten Fragen zu beschäftigen, und sind nicht daran interessiert, ihre Protagonisten in Amerika Bewährungsproben

zu unterziehen oder Amerika als Bewährungs-, Abenteuer- oder sonstigen Spielraum für die Protagonisten zu funktionalisieren.

Das ändert sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, und es ändert sich in dem Ausmaß, in dem die Verfasser von Amerikaromanen zunehmend auf eigenen Erfahrungen in der Neuen Welt zurückgreifen können. Natürlich gibt es keine schlagartige Abwendung vom alten Amerikaroman-Paradigma. Friedrich Gerstäcker etwa, der biographisch den Typus des weltreisenden Abenteurers par excellence verkörpert, schreibt sich selbst viel weniger in seine Texte ein, als man aufgrund seiner Vita vermuten würde, und hält am mimetischen Anspruch fest, europäische Leser über das faszinierende Leben in den USA zu informieren.[12] Auch Balduin Möllhausen, der auf durchaus gefahrvolle Amerikaerlebnisse zurückblicken konnte und seit den 1860er Jahren in einer Fülle von Abenteuer-Romanen seine Erfahrungen verarbeitete, erfand kein literarisches Alter-Ego. Vielmehr verknüpfte er seine meist ziemlich schematischen und auch sprachlich nicht sonderlich beeindruckenden Erzählungen mit dem Anspruch, in Genrebildern, die in den Handlungsgang oft kaum integriert sind, für die europäischen Leser die amerikanische Wirklichkeit zu zeichnen. Reinhold Solger griff zwar in seinem zunächst in den USA veröffentlichten Roman *Anton in Amerika*[13] auf langjährige eigene Erfahrungen zurück und konfrontierte, wie schon Kürnberger, einen deutschen Protagonisten mit vielen amerikanischen Widrigkeiten; entscheidend ist aber nicht der Bildungsgang Antons, sondern eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem amerikanischen Wirtschafts- und Justizsystem. Und auch Otto Ruppius stellte ins Zentrum seines zweiteiligen Erfolgsromans *Der Pedlar*[14] zwar einen aus Deutschland geflüchteten 1848er, der deutlich autobiographische Züge trägt, verwendet seinen Protagonisten August von Helmstedt aber eher als Katalysator, der Widersprüche in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft wie die Sklaverei in den Südstaaten zur Anschauung bringt, und weniger als autobiographische Projektion—Helmstedt ist auch keineswegs der Superheld, der die Kriminalhandlungen im Alleingang auflöst.

Solche deutsche Superhelden aber finden wir bei den beiden Autoren von Amerikaromanen, denen ich mich nun zuwende: Friedrich Armand Strubberg und Karl May. Mit ihnen wird der deutsche Amerikaroman in der Tat zum Egotrip, zum Tagtraum, zur literarischen Wunscherfüllung.

Friedrich Armand Strubbergs Biographie ist insofern mit Charles Sealsfields Lebensgeschichte vergleichbar, als auch der aus einer wohlhabenden Kasseler Kaufmannsfamilie stammende Strubberg erstmals mit knapp über 20 Jahren und dann erneut als End-Dreißiger unter ungeklärten Umständen in die Vereinigten Staaten ging. Im Fall Strubbergs dürften den beiden USA-Aufenthalten allerdings keine dramatischen Ereignisse zu Hause

vorausgegangen sein, auch wenn er selbst später seine Biographie mystifizierte und zwei Duelle, die ziemlich sicher erfunden sind, als Auslöser angab.

Strubberg lebte in Amerika die meiste Zeit in bürgerlichen Verhältnissen, zuerst in New York City, später in der Kleinstadt Camden in Arkansas, wo er von 1848 bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland 1854 als Arzt praktizierte —ein wirkliches Medizinstudium hat er allerdings nie abgeschlossen. Einige Jahre freilich verbrachte er unter abenteuerlichen Umständen. Vermutlich von Anfang 1845—die Quellenlage ist nicht eindeutig—bis Mitte 1846 lebte er unter dem Namen Dr. Shubbert mit wenigen Gefährten in einem selbst erbauten Fort in der texanischen Wildnis, anschließend war er bis Ende 1847 für den Mainzer Adelsverein als Kolonialdirektor der texanischen Stadt Friedrichsburg tätig. In diese dreijährige Epoche fallen möglicherweise gefährliche Begegnungen mit "Indianern"; in diese Zeit fällt eine physisch und psychisch kräfteraubende Tätigkeit als Kolonialdirektor in Friedrichsburg, und in diese Zeit fällt auch eine Schießerei, in die Strubberg involviert war und die zwei Menschenleben kostete.[15]

Dass Strubberg seine amerikanischen Erfahrungen in fiktionalen Texten ausschlachtete und amplifizierte, unterscheidet ihn nicht von Autoren wie Gerstäcker oder Möllhausen. Bei Strubberg kommt aber dazu, dass er einen Protagonisten erfindet, den er mit sich selbst gleichsetzt. Schon in seinem ersten Buch, den *Amerikanische[n] Jagd- und Reiseabenteuer[n] aus meinem Leben in den westlichen Indianergebieten. Mit 24 vom Verfasser nach der Natur entworfenen Skizzen. Von Armand*, 1858 bei Cotta erschienen und bis 1933 siebzehnmal aufgelegt, macht der Ich-Erzähler klar, dass er all die überaus abenteuerlichen Episoden in der texanischen Wildnis wirklich erlebt habe. "Armand" entwirft sich als aristokratischen Jäger und Indianerkämpfer, der alles weiß und alles kann. Strubbergs zweites Buch schraubt dieses Alter-Ego in wahrlich übermenschliche Höhen. *Bis in die Wildniß*, vierbändig und mehr als 1000 Seiten lang, gleichfalls 1858 erschienen, liefert die Vorgeschichte der angeblichen texanischen Abenteuer. Wieder zeichnet "Armand" als Autor; diesmal aber sind wir mit einem heterodiegetischen Erzähler konfrontiert, der die Erlebnisse Armands zum Besten gibt und in einigen Fällen auch Ereignisse schildert, an denen Armand nicht teilnimmt. Armand entpuppt sich als Superman schlechthin. Er kann und weiß alles besser als alle anderen, alle Frauen verlieben sich in ihn, alle moralisch höher stehenden Menschen suchen seine Freundschaft, nur die Bösewichter sind seine Gegner. Als bei der Überfahrt über den Atlantik das Trinkwasser zur Neige geht, sind der Kapitän und die Matrosen verzweifelt, aber Armand weiß Rat, da er als einziger an Bord ein Mittel kennt, mithilfe von Seife und Holzkohle Meerwasser zu filtern. Als er bei einem Duell in New York von dem natürlich unfair fechtenden Gegner am Arm verwundet wird, sind die besten New Yorker

Ärzte hilflos, bis Armand die Sache in die Hand nimmt und sich selbst heilt, denn seine medizinischen Kenntnisse sind hervorragend, schon bevor er ein "Medizinstudium" in Louisville abschließt. Als Armand mit drei Männern sein Fort in der texanischen Wildnis bezieht, erwirbt er sich sofort den Respekt der wilden Indianer, denn diese erkennen—und der Satz ist nicht ironisch gemeint—dass er "ein besserer Indianer sei, als sie selbst."[16]

In seinen folgenden Romanen, von denen ich bei weitem nicht alle gelesen habe, behält Strubberg entweder die Figur des Armand bei oder entwirft andere Charaktere, die, auch wenn sie in Nebenrollen auftreten, demselben Typus entsprechen—deutsche Helden, die sich in der Fremde bewähren, Beschützer von Witwen und Waisen. Das ist selbst dann der Fall, wenn Strubberg seine tatsächlichen Erfahrungen im Umfeld des Adelsvereins verarbeitet. Schon 1859 ließ er einen für seine Verhältnisse kurzen Roman erscheinen und schilderte in *Alte und neue Heimath* auf 360 Seiten die schlimmen Erlebnisse einer deutschen Familie, die den Lockungen des Mainzer Adelsvereins verfällt und in Texas großteils ein schlimmes Ende nimmt.[17] Es ist bezeichnend, dass er seine eigene Rolle als Kolonialdirektor von Friedrichsburg nicht thematisiert und stattdessen einen Captain Falkland auftreten lässt, eine weitere Armandfigur, einen medizinisch gebildeten Deutschen, der dem jugendlichen deutschen Helden beisteht und am Ende, wenn sich alles zum Guten gewendet hat, wie der sprichwörtliche Cowboy des Hollywoodfilms in den Sonnenuntergang reitet—". . . der treue Freund Falkland aber war in dem Strome seines Wanderlebens weiter gezogen"—lautet der letzte Satz des Romans.

Und selbst in jenem Roman, in dem sich Strubberg erstmals der wohl prägenden Epoche seines Lebens, der Zeit in Friedrichsburg, stellte, konnte er nicht umhin, das, wie sein aus dieser Zeit erhaltener Briefwechsel beweist, ohnedies dramatische Geschehen in einen Kolportageroman umzuwandeln und erneut ein unfehlbares und unangreifbares Selbstporträt zu kreieren. 1867 veröffentlichte der inzwischen 61-jährige Strubberg den Roman *Friedrichsburg, die Colonie des deutschen Fürsten-Vereins in Texas* und bekannte im Vorwort, er sei mit der Figur des Dr. Schubbert identisch und gebe hier "ein Bild aus dem bedeutungsschwersten Abschnitt meines ereignißreichen Lebens," da er als "Colonial-Director die Ansiedelungen des deutschen Fürstenvereins in Texas leitete." Erneut ist die historisch hoch interessante Geschichte um die Gründung der Stadt mit einer absurden Abenteuerhandlung verknüpft, mit Liebes- und Verfolgungsgeschichten und einem abgrundtief bösen indianischen Schurken, aus dessen Klauen die keusche deutsche Jungfrau im letzten Moment gerettet wird. Strubberg/Armand selbst stilisiert sich hier zwar nicht mehr zum vorweggenommenen James Bond, er ist aber nach wie vor ein allwissender, ungeheuer edler, philanthropischer Charakter, und alles

im Roman passierende Unglück kommt nur davon, dass die anderen nicht auf seinen Ratschlag hören wollen.

Wir haben es also bei Friedrich Armand Strubberg mit einem Autor zu tun, der in den Vereinigten Staaten einige durchaus gefährliche Abenteuer erlebte, der sich aber nicht, wie Gerstäcker, mit einer "realistischen" Schilderung dieser Abenteuer zufrieden gab, der auch nicht wie Möllhausen aus eigenen und fremden Erlebnissen abenteuerliche Romane schmiedete, sondern der ein alternatives Leben und ein Alter-Ego erfand und sich selbst eine Wunschbiographie auf dem Leib schrieb—eine Wunschbiographie, die zwar teilweise in der Wirklichkeit fundiert war, die aber vor allem ein weitgehend bürgerliches und in vielen Bereichen gescheitertes eigenes Leben durch einen Heldensaga ersetzte. Strubberg ist nicht an den Verhältnissen in den Vereinigten Staaten interessiert, auch wenn diese immer wieder am Horizont aufleuchten. In seinen Romanen ist Amerika ein Abenteuerraum, in dem das männliche europäische Individuum jenes ritterliche Leben führen kann, das im alten Europa schon seit langer Zeit nicht mehr lebbar ist. Und mit diesem fiktionalen männlichen europäischen Individuum identifiziert sich der Autor Friedrich Armand Strubberg so stark, dass er vorgibt, seine eigene Geschichte zu erzählen. Eine Wunschbiographie auf dem Papier kompensiert das eigene, persönliche Scheitern—das wäre zumindest die autorenpsychologische Erklärung des Phänomens.[18]

Was zuletzt über Strubberg gesagt wurde, trifft zweifellos auch auf Karl May, den sicherlich berühmtesten Verfasser deutschsprachiger Amerikaromane, zu. May hat bekanntlich eine große Menge von Reiseromanen verfasst, die nicht nur die Vereinigten Staaten zum Thema haben. Ich werde mich allerdings auf die Amerikaromane konzentrieren und hier die *Winnetou*-Tetralogie ins Zentrum stellen.[19]

May begann seine literarische Laufbahn als Verfasser von Texten verschiedener Genres für diverse Zeitschriften, darunter auch immer wieder Reiseerzählungen unterschiedlichen Umfangs. Manche handeln von einem jungen deutschen Ich-Erzähler, der den amerikanischen Wilden Westen bereist und dort wiederholt auf den edlen Apachenhäuptling Winnetou trifft, einen schon älteren Mann, der als Lehrmeister des Protagonisten, als blutrünstiger, aber dennoch edler Wilder eingeführt wird. Als 1892 der Verlag Fehsenfeld damit begann, Mays Erzählungen in Buchform herauszubringen, schrieb May auf Wunsch des Verlegers den Roman *Winnetou, der Rote Gentleman*, in dem der Old Shatterhand genannte Ich-Erzähler enthüllt, wie er seinen—in diesem Roman gleichaltrigen—Freund kennengelernt habe. Schon damals verband sich für May die Erzählung über Winnetou mit dem Wunsch, in dieser Figur der "aussterbende[n] indianische[n] Rasse" ein Denkmal zu setzen. Für den zweiten und dritten Band des zunächst als Trilogie

konzipierten *Winnetou* kompilierte May unterschiedliche bereits vorhandene Erzählungen, die er nur unwesentlich bearbeitete, weshalb es zu keiner konsequenten Weiterentwicklung der Titelfigur kommen konnte und das im ersten Band angelegte Winnetou-Narrativ ziemlich lückenhaft blieb: Weder die Suche Winnetous nach dem Mörder seines Vaters noch die sich steigernde empfindsame Männerfreundschaft zwischen Winnetou und Old Shatterhand noch das Bildungsprogramm, dem Winnetou durch seinen weißen Freund unterzogen werden sollte und das in seinem Bekenntnis zu einem "deutschen" Christentum gipfelt, fanden eine glaubwürdige Ausformung.

1908 besuchte Karl May erstmals die Vereinigten Staaten und verfasste als Ergebnis seiner touristischen Reise einen vierten *Winnetou*-Band, in dem der seit mehr als dreißig Jahren verstorbene Häuptling der Apachen zum Erlöser seiner "Rasse," zur Messiasfigur und posthum zum Schriftsteller umgedeutet wird, der ein reiches philosophisches Werk hinterlassen habe. In diesen dem umstrittenen Mayschen Spätwerk zuzurechnenden, mit Mythen und symbolischen Aktionen operierenden Text nahm May auch Figuren seiner anderen Amerikaromane auf und versuchte darüber hinaus, an seine esoterischen, in einem mythischen Orient spielenden Romane der unmittelbar vorhergehenden Jahre anzuknüpfen.

In unserem Kontext wichtiger aber ist der Maysche Ich-Erzähler. Was als verkaufsfördernder Werbetrick der Zeitschriftenredaktionen und des Verlags Fehsenfeld begann—die Behauptung, der Autor Karl May habe all die erzählten Abenteuer tatsächlich erlebt—entwickelte alsbald eine merkwürdige Eigendynamik. May selbst fing an, seine unterschiedlichen Ich-Erzähler einander anzupassen und zunehmend mit Merkmalen seiner eigenen Biographie auszustatten. Old Shatterhand ist ein junger deutscher Schriftsteller, der vom Verkauf seiner Bücher lebt und immer wieder nach Amerika reist, um im Wilden Westen als weithin berühmter Held seine Abenteuer zu erleben. Aber reist er wirklich nach Amerika? Mit den Vereinigten Staaten hat die Maysche Topographie nur äußerlich zu tun—die Namen der Städte, Flüsse und Territorien sind natürlich korrekt. Aber ansonsten ist Amerika ein unwirkliches Fantasieland. Dem Protagonisten begegnen wir am Beginn von *Winnetou I* als deutschen Hauslehrer in St. Louis. Dass soeben in den USA der Bürgerkrieg tobt, wird mit keiner Silbe erwähnt. Amerikanische Figuren dienen vor allem als Staffage—zumeist erfüllen sie die Rolle der Bösewichter im Wilden Westen, während die guten Figuren entweder Deutsche sind oder zumindest deutsche Vorfahren aufweisen. Die Vereinigten Staaten sind bei Karl May zum irrealen Abenteuerraum mutiert, in dem der europäische Abenteuertourist jenes jagende, kämpfende, Unschuldige rettende und Schurken bestrafende Leben führen kann, das in Europa schon lange nicht mehr möglich ist, vermutlich auch nie möglich war und bestenfalls noch in

Ritterromanen verortet werden könnte. Mit Karl May hat also der Wandel des Amerikaromans seinen Abschluss erreicht. Ging es zunächst um die Erprobung gesellschaftlicher Alternativen, so ist das Ziel nun der Ausstieg des modernitätsgeschädigten Europäers in einen archaischen, präzivilisatorischen Raum.

Der Fairness halber muss angefügt werden, dass dieses Konzept Karl May selbst schon am Höhepunkt seines Erfolgs fragwürdig wurde, dass er daher seine literarische Tätigkeit immer stärker in den Dienst einer aufklärerisch-christlichen Friedensbotschaft stellte und sich zuletzt von seinen Erfolgsromanen insofern distanzierte, als er angab, seine wesentlichen Werke noch schreiben zu wollen. Aber das ist ein anderes Thema.

Der Wandel des deutschen Amerikaromans von einem Genre, das in fiktionaler Form gesellschaftliche Alternativen anbot, zu einem Genre, das europäischen Protagonisten einen Spielplatz der Helden bot, der Wandel vom sozialen Interesse zum Ego-Trip sollte in diesem Beitrag am Beispiel einiger Romane exemplifiziert werden. Daher bleibt abschließend nach möglichen Gründen für diesen Wandel zu fragen.

Wie immer ist die Antwort vielschichtig. Das biographische Element sollte nicht ganz beiseitegeschoben werden, auch wenn es natürlich keine umfassende Erklärung liefert und auch wenn es in den Kulturwissenschaften mittlerweile nahezu verpönt ist, in der Manier des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts alle Antworten davon zu erwarten, dass wir die Urheber kultureller Produkte auf die Couch legen und nach allen Regeln der Kunst durchanalysieren. Wir haben es in der Tat in vielen Fällen mit problematischen und gebrochenen Individuen zu tun, die ein unbefriedigendes Leben dadurch kompensieren, sich literarisch als Helden des Wilden Westens neu zu entwerfen, und denen es bei entsprechender literarischer Begabung auch gelingt, auf dem Buchmarkt jene Anerkennung zu erreichen, die ihnen im Alltag verwehrt blieb. Armand Strubberg und Karl May sind hierfür Musterbeispiele. Freilich bleibt diese biographische Erklärung aus zwei Gründen unbefriedigend. Erstens: Warum haben Autoren früherer Epochen—Charles Sealsfield etwa—bei ähnlichen Voraussetzungen eine andere Strategie gewählt? Und zweitens: Warum haben die späteren Autoren ausgerechnet die Vereinigten Staaten als Spielplatz der Helden funktionalisiert? Warum nicht ein anderes Territorium? Warum nicht Afrika oder Australien? Oder überhaupt ein Fantasieland—*Neverland* oder *Middle-earth*?

Es ist vermutlich sinnvoller, zum Genre des Amerikaromans zurückzukehren, um diese Frage zu beantworten. Damit fragen wir nach allgemeinen historischen Entwicklungen und betrachten die individuellen Autoren weniger als selbstbestimmte Akteure, sondern vielmehr als Aktanten in einem für sie selbst kaum durchschaubaren Feld. Zwei mögliche Antworten

scheinen mir relevant.

Da wäre zunächst die Historie. Die Vereinigten Staaten, seit ihrer Gründung 1776 für die Europäer im Allgemeinen und die Bewohner des zunächst noch existierenden, aber bald schon ehemaligen Heiligen Römischen Reichs im Besonderen ein mögliches Modell einer künftigen politischen Ordnung, verlieren seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts rapide an Vorbildfunktion. Dafür gibt es viele Gründe. Maßgeblich scheint mir die Tatsache, dass die USA dem in dieser Zeit dominierenden Modell des auf ethnischer und sprachlicher Einheitlichkeit beruhenden Nationalstaats nicht entsprachen. Dieses Modell war in Zentraleuropa besonders wirkungsmächtig und löste letztlich das Modell des multi-ethnischen Habsburgerstaats—und letztlich auch das Modell des alten Heiligen Römischen Reichs—ab. Ethnisch und sprachlich homogene Nationalstaaten wurden das Ziel—mit all den Konsequenzen für die europäische Horror-Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts. "Ein Volk—ein Reich—ein Führer" war der Slogan der deutschen Nationalsozialisten; ein Slogan, der seine Wurzeln im 19. Jahrhundert hatte. Benthal, der ideologische Lehrmeister des Romanhelden in Ferdinand Kürnbergers anti-amerikanischem *Amerikamüden*, bringt diese Auffassung auf den Punkt, wenn er dem "Yankeetum, diesem "Mischvolke," den künftigen Sturz prophezeit und die künftige Größe eines geeinten Deutschlands evoziert.[20]

Das Modell der Vereinigten Staaten war nach der gescheiterten Revolution von 1848 im deutschen Sprachraum keine politische Option mehr. Ein Mischvolk war definitiv nicht das Ziel. Das erklärt, warum der politischste Kopf unter den Verfassern von Amerikaromanen, Charles Sealsfield, nach 1848 seine literarische Produktion einstellte. Es erklärt, warum Amerika in Hinkunft im Roman nur mehr auf zweierlei Weisen thematisiert wurde: Erstens—das habe ich zugegeben vernachlässigt—in Texten, die den vielen deutschen Auswanderern ein realistisches Bild dessen bieten wollten, was sie in der Neuen Welt erwarten konnten und mussten: ich erinnere an die wenigen Bemerkungen, die ich über Gerstäcker und Möllhausen gemacht habe. Und zweitens in Texten, die einen unpolitischen Freiraum entwarfen, einen Spielplatz der Helden, einen Wilden Westen, der von den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen in den USA nicht angekränkelt war.

Es gibt aber, scheint mir, noch eine weitere Erklärung für den Wandel des Amerikaromans—eine innerliterarische und gattungstheoretische Antwort.

Die in diesem Beitrag behandelten Romane, bis hin zu den Texten Charles Sealsfields, stehen allesamt in der Tradition des Aufklärungsromans. Sie folgen damit einer Literaturauffassung, die dem Autonomiepostulat der Weimarer Klassik und der Romantik vorangeht. Insbesondere der Roman galt der Aufklärung als eine Gattung, die der Historiographie nahe stand, die die

alte Forderung nach dem "prodesse" und dem "delectare" dadurch einlöste, dass sie die rhetorische Aufgabe des "docere" sehr ernst nahm. Romane sollten über die Welt, so wie sie war, informieren. Dass der Roman eine in sich geschlossene Welt entwerfen konnte, dass die Einzelelemente ästhetisch integriert werden sollten, dass ein symbolischer Nexus den pragmatischen Nexus zu dominieren hatte—solche moderne Forderungen setzten sich erst langsam durch. Noch Schiller nannte ja bekanntlich den Romanautor den "Halbbruder des Dichters." Zu einem modernen und autonomen Kunstwerk wurde der Roman erst durch Goethes *Wilhelm Meister* und durch das damit verbundenen, von Friedrich von Blanckenburg vorformulierte Konzept, die innere Entwicklung eines Protagonisten in einer kausalen Abfolge von Episoden zu schildern.

Die Amerikaromane sind zunächst von diesen gattungspoetischen Neuerungen unberührt; von Seybold bis Sealsfield dominiert das Modell des Aufklärungsromans. Erst nach dem Ende dieser literarische Tradition und erst als das neue Modell so weit verbreitet war, dass es bereits wieder in Frage gestellt werden musste, griff es auch auf den Amerikaroman über. Die von uns heute als trivial eingestuften Romane Strubbergs und Mays folgen letztlich dem Schema des *Wilhelm Meister*. Erinnern wir uns: Auch in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren* spielen die Vereinigten Staaten eine Rolle. Es ist zwar nicht Wilhelm selbst, wohl aber sein künftiger Schwager, der adelige Lothario, der längere Zeit im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg gekämpft hat, eher er mit dem oft zitierten Satz auf den Lippen, "Hier, oder nirgends ist Amerika" in die Heimat zurückkehrt. Amerika als Bewährungsraum im Rahmen einer Individualgeschichte, das findet sich nicht nur im *Wilhelm Meister* als Nebenmotiv, das kommt auch im *Waldbruder* des Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz vor, in Ludwig Tiecks *Wilhelm Lovell* und in Dorothea Schlegels *Florentin*. In keinem dieser Fälle spielen die Vereinigten Staaten eine Rolle für sich, in allen diesen Fällen sind sie ausschließlich funktional als Station der Entwicklung des männlichen europäischen Protagonisten relevant. Nach 1848 beschränkt sich das Amerikamotiv in deutschsprachigen Romanen weitgehend darauf, für individuelle Lebensgeschichten funktionalisiert zu werden. Informationen über die Vereinigten Staaten oder gar eine gesellschaftliche Alternative zur europäischen Misere bieten die Romane nicht mehr. Das mag natürlich auch damit zusammenhängen, dass Amerika nicht mehr als positive Alternative begriffen wird. Von Franz Kafkas Karl Rossmann bis zu Peter Handkes Ich-Erzähler im *Kurzen Brief zum Langen Abschied* reisen die Protagonisten künftig nach und durch die Vereinigten Staaten, um ihren privaten Problemen zu entkommen. Der deutschsprachige Amerikaroman bleibt auch im 20. Jahrhundert ein Ego-Trip. Ein neuer Weg, so scheint mir, hat sich erst mit Uwe Johnsons großem Roman *Jahrestage*

aufgetan: Europäische Erfahrungen in der amerikanischen Geschichte zu spiegeln. Aber das ist wiederum ein anderes Thema.

Universität Wien
Vienna, Austria

Anmerkungen

[1] Die Frage, wer für literarische Fremdbilder eigentlich verantwortlich sei, lässt sich nicht trennen von der in der Erzählforschung heftig geführten Diskussion um die Instanz des "impliziten" bzw. "abstrakten" Autors. Für einen informativen Überblick vgl. Wolf Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, 2. verbesserte Auflage (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 45-64.

[2] Vgl. zum Folgenden Wynfrid Kriegleder, *Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1999).

[3] David Christoph Seybold, *Reizenstein: Die Geschichte eines deutschen Officiers,* hg., kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Wynfrid Kriegleder (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2003).

[4] Den wenig untersuchten Roman analysierte zuletzt Cindy Brewer, "The Emigrant Heroine: Gender and the Colonial Fantasy in Henriette Frölich's *Virginia oder Die Kolonie von Kentucky,*" *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42 (2006): 194-210.

[5] Zu diesem Roman vgl. zuletzt Nicole Perry, "Education and Erziehung in the Wilderness of America: Sophie von La Roche's Erscheinungen am *See Oneida,*" *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert,* hg. v. Wynfrid Kriegleder und Gustav Adolf Pogatschnigg (Wien: Praesens 2012), 9-20.

[6] Alexander Ritter, " Charles Sealsfields doppelter Ambivalenzkonflikt und seine amerikanische Identität als unvollständige Lösung: Zur Auswirkung autobiographischer Dispositionen bis zu den Nachrufen," *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert,* hg. v. Wynfrid Kriegleder und Gustav Adolf Pogatschnigg (Wien: Praesens 2012), 263-90.

[7] Dies schrieb Sealsfield 1858 in einem Brief an den Verleger Brockhaus. Zitiert in Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl: Briefe und Aktenstücke* (Wien: Karl Werner, 1955), 291.

[8] In den letzten Jahren hat sich, angeregt durch mehrere Konferenzen anlässlich des 200. Geburtstags von Charles Sealsfield 1993, eine sehr intensive Forschung entwickelt, die in den verschiedenen Bänden der von Alexander Ritter herausgegebenen Buchreihe "SealsfieldBibliothek" dokumentiert wird.

[9] Walter Grünzweig, *Das demokratische Kanaan: Charles Sealsfields Amerika im Kontext amerikanischer Literatur und Ideologie* (München: Fink, 1987); ders., "Der lüsterne Sklavenhalter: Charles Sealsfields Amerika dekonstruiert," *Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe-Vereins* 97/98 (1993/94): 113-20; ders., "Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl)," *Nineteenth Century American Western Writers: Dictionary of Literary Biography* 186 (Detroit, 1997): 336-47.

[10] Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Charles Sealsfield: Carl Postl," *Nineteenth Century German Writers to 1840: Dictionary of Literary Biography* 133 (Detroit, 1993): 248-54; ders., *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998); ders.,"Charles Sealsfields Angriffe auf John Adams und John Quincy Adams als Beispiele seiner inneramerikanischen Erzählperspektive," *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert,* hg. v. Wynfrid Kriegleder und Gustav Adolf

Pogatschnigg (Wien: Praesens 2012), 177-90.

[11] Ferdinand Kürnberger, *Der Amerikamüde,* mit einem Nachwort v. Hubert Lengauer (Wien, Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1985).

[12] Jeffrey Sammons, "*Nach Amerika:* Plädoyer dafür, Friedrich Gerstäcker als Amerikaschriftsteller ernster zu nehmen," *Amerika im europäischen Roman um 1850: Varianten transatlantischer Erfahrung,* hg. v. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 193-206.

[13] Der Roman erschien zunächst 1862 in der *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, und noch im selben Jahr unter dem Titel *Anton in Amerika: Seitenstück zu Freytag's "Soll und Haben," Aus dem deutsch=amerikanischen Leben* in Deutschland (Bromberg: C. M. Roskowski); 1872 erfolgte eine weitere amerikanische Ausgabe bei Steiger in New York. Vgl. zu diesem Roman Lorie A. Vanchena, "Reinhold Solgers Anton in Amerika: Transatlantische Interpretationen des Amerikaerlebens," *Amerika im europäischen Roman um 1850: Varianten transatlantischer Erfahrung,* hg. v. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 237-50, sowie Thomas Homscheid. "'. . . ein elendes Spielzeug in den Händen eines kindischen Fatums,'" Auswandererschicksale, Rechtsdiskurs und Kapitalismuskritik in Reinhold Solgers Roman *Anton in Amerika,*" *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert,* hg. v. Wynfrid Kriegleder und Gustav Adolf Pogatschnigg (Wien: Praesens 2012), 37-54.

[14] *Der Pedlar: Roman aus dem amerikanischen Leben* und die Fortsetzung *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars* erschienen 1857 bzw. 1859 in New York. Beide Bände kamen 1859 bei Dunker in Berlin heraus. Vgl. Eduard Beutner, "'. . . und wie der Mensch mit allem Verstand und aller Mühe doch so wenig an dem ändern kann, was sein soll': Kulturstereotypen und Gattungsschemata in Otto Ruppius' *Der Pedlar: Roman aus dem amerikanischen Leben," Amerika im europäischen Roman um 1850: Varianten transatlantischer Erfahrung,* hg. v. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Praesens, 2011): 59-74.

[15] Alle Details in Wynfrid Kriegleder, "Bilder 'aus dem bedeutungsschwersten Abschnitt meines ereignißreichen Lebens': Die Amerika-Romane des Friedrich Armand Strubberg," *Amerika im europäischen Roman um 1850: Varianten transatlantischer Erfahrung,* hg. v. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 133-73.

[16] [Friedrich Armand Strubberg], *Bis in die Wildniß: Von Armand,* Zweite Auflage (Breslau: Eduard Trewendt, 1863), Bd. 4:229.

[17] [Friedrich Armand Strubberg], *Alte und neue Heimath: Von Armand, Verfasser von "Bis in die Wildniß"* (Breslau: Eduard Trewendt, 1859).

[18] Vgl. Ralf-Peter Märtin, *Wunschpotentiale: Geschichte und Gesellschaft in Abenteuerromanen von Retcliffe, Armand, May* (Königstein/Ts: Hain, 1983).

[19] Die Forschungsliteratur zu Karl May ist inzwischen unüberschaubar. Ich nenne nur die aktuelle Biographie von Helmut Schmiedt, *Karl May oder Die Macht der Phantasie: eine Biographie* (München: Beck, 2011) und verweise auf das reichhaltige Material, das die Karl-May-Gesellschaft online zur Verfügung stellt. (http://www.karl-may-gesellschaft.de/index.php)

[20] Kürnberger, 203.

Alexander Ritter

Die Nöte des Biographen mit dem Rollenspiel Charles Sealsfields: Über den ominösen Flüchtling 1823, einen fragwürdigen Prediger 1824-26 und nervösen Börsianer im *Panic Year* 1837

> The way of even the most justifiable revolutions is prepared by personal impulses disguised into creeds. . . . We can never cease to be ourselves.
> Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* (1907)[1]

1. Einige sorgenvolle Vorbemerkungen

Er sagt das mit dem verbalen Augenaufschlag der autobiographischen Verschleierung und Wichtignahme seiner selbst: ". . .—fremd" sei er gewesen, "—von fernen Gestaden, kam er . . . in Yankeeweise, gleichsam einen neuen Markt für seine Produkte suchend."[2] Was Charles Sealsfield 1845 über sich mitteilt, illustriert *in nuce* beides: sein Selbstverständnis als Amerikaner und die Funktion selektierter Informationen über sich. Dazu nutzt er die Metaphorik vom biographisch namenlosen "Fremden" aus märchenhafter Ferne. Mit dieser und dem stilisierten Sprachgestus zelebriert er sich als überzeitlicher *postillon du message politique*. Gleichzeitig versteht er sich als "Yankee," der von den demokratischen USA dem absolutistischen Europa berichten will.

Es liegt in der Natur ihrer Absichten. Beide begegnen sich mit Misstrauen, der Biograph und—wenn dieser denn noch lebte—die Zielperson seiner lebensgeschichtlichen Recherche. Ein Biograph möchte über sie so vieles erfahren und seiner Darstellungsabsicht zuordnen. Die Zielperson dagegen, vor allem als Autobiograph, gibt in der Regel nur

das öffentlich preis, was ihrem Selbstverständnis entspricht und vom Biographen verwendet werden soll. Und solches Selbstverständnis generiert jene Selbsterfindung der eigenen Geschichte für die Öffentlichkeit, innerhalb derer sie die Wahrnehmung der erfundenen Identität steuert, ergänzt und bestätigt.

Dieser Zusammenhang gilt insbesondere für Sealsfields Handhabung seiner Identität, für die er eine facettenreiche Biographie des Auswechselns von Namen, Geburtsjahr und sozialer Rolle organisiert, mit der er die ursprüngliche auszulöschen versucht. Seine bewusste Täuschung der Öffentlichkeit und die dafür kreierte Rolle innerhalb des Sozialsystems der Literatur ist für ihn Instrument des Selbstschutzes und der—von seinem Vorleben ungehinderten—Absicht der sozialkritischen Auseinandersetzung mit der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit seiner Zeit beiderseits des Atlantiks.

Es ist die identitätsverändernde Metamorphose von Carolus Magnus Postl über Karl Moritz Zeilfels und Charles Sidons zum Amerikaner Sealsfield, welche den biographischen Fluchtpunkt bestimmt. Auf ihn sind seine schriftlichen Äußerungen sowie die soziale Präsentation ausgerichtet. Vom Aufbruch aus Prag 1823 bis zum Entwurf der Grabsteininschrift 1864 geht es ihm daher ausschließlich darum, den Status als Amerikaner im öffentlichen Wissen zu etablieren, um so Teile seiner Herkunftsbiographie zu verdecken. Für diese absichtliche Verkomplizierung des Lebensganges gegenüber der rezipierenden Öffentlichkeit, unterscheidet er strikt zwischen innerer und äußerer Biographie.

Von diesen Voraussetzungen her resultiert die schwierige Situation des Biographen. Er hat es mit jemandem zu tun, der ihn in die "Authentizitätsfalle"[3] lockt. Das ist das zentrale Problem, das sich aus dem ergibt, was Sealsfield offeriert und der theoretische Diskurs fordert. Der Biograph habe, aus zeitlichem Abstand rekonstruierend und charakterisierend, selektiv "individuelle Lebensläufe und Erfahrungsaufschichtungen zu biographischen Repräsentationen [zu] verdichten," im Kontext aktueller Kenntnisse neu zu bewerten, von subjektiven Einflüssen frei zu halten, und das psychologisch plausibel.[4] Dafür ist von ihm das auszuwählen, zu transformieren und miteinander kohärent zu vereinbaren, was an faktischem Stoff zur Verfügung steht, wohl wissend um dessen—besonders im Fall Sealsfield—unzuverlässiges "Originalität- und Authentizitätsversprechen."[5]

Hinzu kommt, dass die Materiallage quantitativ schmal ist. Deren qualitative Beeinträchtigung ist eine Folge von Sealsfields Steuerung der Aussagen über sich selbst. Sein amerikanischer Reisebericht *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1827/1828), die Vorworte zur Edition *Gesammelte Werke* (1845) sowie zum Roman *Der Legitime und die*

Republikaner (1833/1845), die für die Brockhaus-*Enzyklopädie* verfasste autobiographische Skizze (1854), Testament wie Grabsteintext (1864) und seine Korrespondenz enthalten die wenigen autobiographischen Hinweise,[6] die jedoch vor allem im Interesse seines konstruierten Lebenskonzeptes informieren.

Die Probleme des Biographen im Umgang mit dem Leben Sealsfields sind somit außergewöhnlich. Sie ergeben sich aus 1. seiner doppelten Biographie, der verborgenen und der öffentlichen; 2. dem Umstand, dass er zu keiner Zeit als Zeuge seiner eigentlichen Identität auftritt; 3. der erst in Ansätzen wahrgenommen Disposition durch den in Prag ausgelösten Ambivalenzkonflikt, der sein Psychogramm, sein Schreiben und soziales Agieren beeinflusst;[7] 4. der Darstellung seiner selbst in der Rollenadaption als Amerikaner und darauf abgestimmten gesellschaftlichen Etablierung; 5. den Mängeln der archivalischen Überlieferung, bedingt durch Reisen, Ortswechsel, Vermeiden enger Personenbindungen, dem Handeln aus Selbstschutz und 6. aus den methodischen wie sachlichen Defiziten bisheriger Biographien.[8]

Postl/Sealsfield ist ein hellwacher *homo politicus*, ein begabter *homo litteratus* und ein versierter *homo oeconomicus*. Um die Schwierigkeiten des Biographen mit der vertrackten Vita von Charles Sealsfield exemplarisch vorzustellen, geht es im Folgenden um drei von ihm verschleierte Episoden: um die Flucht 1823 aus Österreich in die USA, die pastoralen Aktivitäten 1824 bis 1826 in Pennsylvania und die in Teilen immer noch rätselhafte Kurzreise nach New York 1837.

2. Sachverhalt eins: Die Flucht 1823

Es ist *die* biographische Schlüsselfrage, salopp formuliert: Welcher Teufel hat 1823 den 30jährigen Gottesmann Postl geritten, in so verdächtiger Weise unterzutauchen und sich inkognito nach Amerika abzusetzen?[9] Die tatsächlichen Ursachen jener dubiosen Ereignisse, die die österreichische Kirchen- und Staatsverwaltung in Aufregung versetzen, sind noch immer ungeklärt.

Bruder Carolus Magnus Postls Vita ist unverdächtig seriös. Geboren 1793, in einem katholisch-konservativen, kleinbürgerlichen Elternhaus und dörflichem Milieu herangewachsen, gymnasial gebildet, nimmt ihn der Prager Orden der *Kreuzherren mit dem roten Sterne* auf. Der Adept, intellektuell aufgeweckt und eloquent, avanciert als Theologe und Priester rasch zum Klostersekretär.

Wertet man seine Flucht als Geste des Widerstandes gegen Kirche, Staat und Restauration, dann lassen sich dafür drei Voraussetzungen

annehmen: 1. die schulische wie universitäre Ausbildung im Geiste eines spätjosphinistisch-aufklärerischen Katholizismus, die 1810 zu dem bemerkenswerten Zeugniseintrag führt: "Sehr evangelisch gesinnt";[10] 2. die Vorbildrolle seines Lehrers, des spätjosephinistischen Philosophen und Mathematikers Bernard Bolzano, dem als Systemkritiker 1816 bis 1819/1825 im Kontext der Karlsbader Beschlüsse von 1819 der Prozess gemacht wird; 3. die Freiheit, als Klostersekretär auf Inspektionsreisen *extra muros* "weltliche Kontakte" zu knüpfen, betriebswirtschaftliche Kenntnisse zu sammeln und den Umgang mit Geld zu üben.[11]

Postl weist später als Sealsfield auf seine kritische Einstellung gegenüber katholischer Kirche und österreichischem Staat wiederholt hin. Aber über die Flucht und seine Motivationsumstände schweigt er sich aus. Vieles von dem ist unbekannt, was im Detail zu einer psychisch so komplexen Verfassung geführt hat: seine Lektüre, das Verhältnis zum Ordenspersonal, denkbare Anfeindungen, seine möglichen Eigenarten. Das hat zur fragwürdigen Kolportage von Spekulationen über Frauengeschichten, politische Intrigen, mögliche Fluchtwege u.ä. geführt.

Es scheint plausibel, dass die Diskrepanz von geforderter Loyalität gegenüber Kirche, Orden, Priesteramt und einer spätaufklärerisch geprägten Geisteshaltung, Gesellschaftserfahrung und Weltsicht dem Priester Postl unvereinbar erscheinen. Daraus können eine persönliche Krise entstanden sein, die die Krise der europäischen Restauration spiegelt,[12] und jene sozialpsychische Irritation, die sich in einem begründbaren Ambivalenzkonflikt (Aufsuchen [Appetenz]/Meiden [Aversion])-Konflikt) manifestiert.[13] Postl versucht diesen Konflikt zu bewältigen, indem er sich durch Flucht für die Freiheit und gegen kirchliche Bevormundung entscheidet. Der Abbruch seines Lebens in Prag 1823 ist der Beginn einer Selbstsozialisation vom Ordensmitglied zum freien Bürger. Es ist die Rückkehr zur Welterfahrung.

Die Einschätzung, die Kreuzherrenprovisor Zueber Edler von Nordheim zehn Jahre später äußert, bestätigt Postls Konflikt und Lebensweg. Er vermöge über "Karl" keine "Auskunft zu geben," denn "niemand weiß etwas von ihm, es ist so, als wenn er aus der Welt getreten wäre. . . . Lebt er, so hatte er Geschicklichkeit genung, sich fortzubringen, doch bey seiner schwächlichen Gesundheit zweifle ich an seinem Leben, und glaube und bedauere ihn als—todt. Laßen Sie sich durch keine Vorspieglung blenden, als wäre Karl wo fest verwahrt.—Kein Gedanken—denn er hat ja kein Verbrechen, als das, Unzufriedenheit mit seinem Stande, den er nicht mehr ändern konnte, sonst nichts, niemand kann ihm etwas schlechtes nachsagen. . . . Unzufriedenheit mit dem geistlichen Stande—eine leider später nicht zu ändern mögliche Unzufriedenheit, hat ja schon so viele zur

Selbstentleibung geführt, dieß that er doch nicht."[14]

Die letzten Nachrichten vom Priester Postl vor seiner Flucht aus Prag enthalten zwei Briefe vom 10. Mai 1823. Sie sind von unterwegs an Zueber von Nordheim in Prag und den "Kommandeur Leopold Stöhr" in gerichtet.[15] Er meldet diesen, von seiner "Inspektionsreise" nicht zurückkehren zu wollen. Ihn "rufen" vor allem "dringliche und wichtige Aufträge . . . in die Gegend von Pilsen," "Reisegelegenheit und das nöthige Geld" seien gegeben, sein Ziel sei Wien.

Der Affront ist da. Kirche und Staat sehen sich düpiert. Unerlaubte Entfernung eines führenden Ordensmitgliedes—öffentlich gemacht—und Diebstahl der mitgeführten Klosterkasse—verschwiegen—seien ein Skandal. Es ist das Krisenhafte der Zeit, die Nervosität der österreichischen Zentralregierung gegenüber nationalliberalen Tendenzen in den Randprovinzen, der Bolzano-Prozess, die zusammen beide Institutionen repressiv agieren lassen. Weil Kirchenpolitik gleich Staatspolitik ist, kooperieren die Behörden. Postl wird mit steckbrieflicher "Persons-Beschreibung des flüchtig gewordenen Kreuzherrn Ordens Priesters" kriminalisiert und zur Fahndung ausgeschrieben.[16] Es kommt zu hektischen Aktivitäten von Polizei- und Spitzelapparat. Der Aufwand bleibt ergebnislos, dauert bis August 1823, als Postl längst in den USA weilt.

Auf ihn, der sich zu einer Reise von 9.700 km entschließt, müssen die *push-* und *pull*-Kräfte des Ambivalenzkonfliktes gewaltigen Druck ausgeübt haben. Postl nimmt nicht den kürzesten Weg nach Bremerhaven, sondern den Umweg vermutlich über Wien, Stuttgart, Straßburg, Paris nach Le Havre, von dort nach New Orleans segelnd. Verifiziert ist nur die Fluchtstation Stuttgart, wo er dem Verleger Friedrich Cotta seine Aufwartung macht, vermittelt von seinem Freund aus Brünner Tagen, dem Liberalen Christian Karl André, Emigrant wie er.[17] Die zweite Station ist sehr wahrscheinlich der französische Atlantikhafen Le Havre, ein wichtiger Port für den Transatlantikverkehr, den Nordatlantikverkehr im Februar 1823 eröffnend, die Kontrolle großzügiger handhabend als die deutschen Behörden.[18] Für Le Havre spricht, dass 1. Postl als Sealsfield für spätere Reisen nach Europa immer diesen Hafen nutzt, 2. sein *Austria*-Text von 1828 mit dem bestätigenden Hinweis auf Le Havre: "Havre is not the place to dwell long in or upon. Its port is small . . . and not a day passes but some snug Yankee vessel or a heavy built French brig enters with the tide."[19]

Tatsächlich aber hat die Kontrolle der Passagierlisten von Schiffen ergeben, die Le Havre in Richtung New Orleans zwischen Mai und August 1823 verlassen haben, dass weder sein Name noch ein anderer ihn eventuell verdeckender notiert ist.[20] Das aber wiederum sagt nichts über

seine Anwesenheit an Bord aus, die sich durch die Nennung eines anderen Namens oder auch durch Nichtregistrierung per Bestechung erreichen lässt. Unabhängig davon, ob Postl in New Orleans im Laufe des Sommers 1823 landet, sein Ziel ist Philadelphia, der Stadt mit einem großen Anteil deutscher Bevölkerung.

Die biographische Informationslücke ist groß. Sie reicht von Ende Mai 1823, dem Abreisemonat, bis Mitte August 1824. Daher bleiben viele Fragen offen: Wer hat Routenplanung, Identitätsschutz und Logistik organisiert für jemanden, der durch mehrere Staaten, per Kutsche und Schiff reist, ohne aufzufallen? Unter welchem Namen ist Postl unterwegs? Wovon hat er die immensen Kosten bestritten? Ist er von Le Havre in See gestochen? Wenn ja auf welchem Schiff? Ist New Orleans sein Ziel, New York, ein anderer Ostküstenhafen? Wer betreut ihn in den Staaten, vermittelt den Zufluchtsort Kittanning, diesen *remote back country place*? Der erwähnte Freund André spielt dabei—so ist anzunehmen—eine zentrale Rolle. Doch dieser hat konsequent geschwiegen.

Das ist die Informationslage für das Jahr 1823/24. Angesichts dieser Situation geht es dem Biographen wie Bertolt Brechts ratlosem Arbeiter: "So viele Berichte, / So viele Fragen."[21]

3. Sachverhalt zwei: Der falsche Prediger der Ohio-Synode 1824-1826

"Mönchlein, Mönchlein, du gehst einen schweren Gang," habe er den Kirchenmann Martin Luther 1521 auf dem Reichstag zu Worms gewarnt, der Landsknechtführer Georg von Frundsberg. Mit derselben Prophezeiung für den Kirchenmann Carl Postl dreihundert Jahre später hätte er sich ebenso geirrt. Beide Häretiker bleiben hartnäckig bei ihrer theologischen und politischen Protesthaltung.

Im Sommer 1823 reist Postl in die USA.[22] Was er im Laufe dieses so wichtigen Jahres nach seiner Ankunft unternimmt und wo er sich aufhält, ist bislang nicht bekannt. Die früheste Bestätigung seiner Anwesenheit nennt Kittanning als Wohnort (Pennsylvania, USA; rd. 2000 E.), eine Kleinsiedlung im Hinterland von Pittsburgh.[23] In einem Schreiben aus Pittsburgh vom 20. September 1824 an den Verleger Cotta (Stuttgart) offeriert Postl als "Dero gehorsamster D[iene]r *Sidons*" dem Verleger die Zusammenarbeit. Zugleich weist er darauf hin, dass "*Sidons*" nicht sein "eigentliche[r] Name sey," er—Cotta—aber diesen aus beider Begegnung zusammen mit "Hofrath André" erinnere. Zukünftige Verlagspost möge er an seine "Freunde . . . *von Bonnhorst Esq. in Pittsburgh Pennsylvanie*" oder

an "*M. Dr. Eberle*" in "*Philadelphia*" richten.[24]

Dieses Schreiben an Cotta ist lebensgeschichtlich als zentrales Dokument einzuschätzen, weil Postl mit diesem die autobiographischen Koordinaten seines *curriculum vitae* als Sealsfield auslegt und den Ambivalezkonflikt aufzulösen versucht, indem er seine Integration in die amerikanische Gesellschaft (Appetenz) und die Desintegration von der österreichischen Herkunftsidentität (Aversion) betreibt. Seine Lebensstrategie umfasst die Vorbereitung einer Intellektuellenexistenz als Schriftsteller *Charles Sidons* später *Charles Sealsfield* in den USA (Pittsburgh/Philadelphia) und Deutschland (Cotta-Verlag, Stuttgart), komplementär dazu die temporäre Rolle des protestantischen Geistlichen *Carl Moritz Zeilfels* der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ohio-Synode. Dass er sich dazu problemlos in die sozialen Verhältnisse einpasst, ist eine Folge seiner geschickten Selbstdarstellungsstrategie, mit der er die "eigene Rolle" im Rahmen "etablierte[r] soziale[r] Rolle[n]" übernimmt, die neuen Identitäten über die "Kohärenz der Fassade" öffentlich inszeniert.[25]

Wie hat es der katholische Priester Postl vermocht, umgehend als falscher protestantischer Pastor unter falschem Namen für die Ohio-Synode tätig zu werden? Ursache dafür sind günstige personelle Umstände: 1. seine private Beziehung zur Familie Passavant in Zelienople und zum Missionar, Theologen und ersten *resident minister* Johann Christian Gottlob Schweizerbarth (1796-1862), Mitglied der Ohio-Synode und Schlüsselfigur für Postls Rolle als Seelsorger;[26] 2. der Predigermangel in der *frontier*-Region und seine ungeprüfte Anstellung als *reverend*-Anwärter für Kittannings *St. John's Lutheran Church* und die Umlandgemeinden;[27] 3. die gesellschaftlichen und kirchlichen Verbindungen seiner Freunde von Bonnhorst und Volz; 4. die finanzielle Notlage, seine Theologenkompetenz und der eingeübte Habitus des Priesters Postl, als Prediger *Carl Moritz Zeilfels* überzeugend nutzend.[28]

Postl agiert als Prediger Zeilfels äußerst erfolgreich. Seine glaubwürdige Identität als betrügerischer Theologe Zeilfels belegen drei Trauungsanzeigen in der *Kittanning Gazette*[29] und die Protokolle der jährlichen Predigerkonferenzen (*Verrichtungen*) der *pioneer pastors* seit 1812. Diese Rechenschaftsberichte erwähnen Postl für die Jahre 1824 bis 1826.[30] Anwesend im Jahre 1824 in Canton (Ohio),[31] steht er im Mittelpunkt der Veranstaltung. Seine Gemeinden bitten um synodale Anerkennung nach erfolgreichem Examen. Und er hält eine bemerkenswerte Predigt: "Des Abends bey Licht predigte Hr. Zeilfelz" über 1 Korinther 4,1+2 über den Respekt vor den Predigern "als Christi Diener und Haushalter über Gottes Geheimnise" durch "jedermann." Das ist auch Postls Anliegen. Er vermeidet jedoch die Folgeverse 3 bis 4, in denen um das Richten

geht, das nur dem "Herrn" vorbehalten ist, nicht den Menschen. Der immer noch irritierte Postl mit dem schlechten Gewissen sichert sich so dagegen ab, als Defraudant entlarvt zu werden. Dass er auf den beiden Folgekonferenzen 1825und 1826 nicht erscheint, weist bereits darauf hin, sich den pastoralen Verpflichtungen entziehen, die andere Karriere als Schriftsteller zu verfolgen und nach Europa zurückzukehren zu wollen.

Man hat davon auszugehen, dass Postl sein Leben im Nordosten der USA nur durch logistische Unterstützung hat organisieren können, vermutlich u.a. durch die "Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Pennsylvanien" (gegr. 1764). Mehrere Personen werden dabei eine Rolle gespielt haben: darunter die erwähnten Freunde, der Jurist Carl von Bonnhorst (Pittsburgh), der Kaufmann Charles Volz (Pittsburgh)—die "City greeter for German immigrants" und deutsche Besucher[32]—ferner der Arzt Dr. John Eberle (Philadelphia) sowie die gläubige Kaufmannsfamilie der Passavant in Zelienople.[33]

An diesen nüchtern regulierten Lebensumständen lässt sich ablesen, dass das "Mönchlein" Postl aus Prag überhaupt keinen schweren Gang geht. Im Gegenteil: Mit der ihm eigenen Chuzpe taucht er im Herbst 1825 erneut unter, diesmal mit dem Reiseziel Europa, seiner Lebensplanung folgend: Abbruch der Kirchenkarriere, Diebstahl von Kollektengeld,[34] Passerwerb in New Orleans, Verlegersuche für seine Manuskripte.

Er meldet sich—soweit bekannt—weder bei der Ohio-Synode noch bei seinen Freunden ab. Auch in Kittanning scheint niemand über seine Abreise informiert zu sein, nicht die Poststelle mit einem Brief für "Rev. C. M. Zeilfels" noch John Philipp Shæffer, der bis zum 11. Oktober 1826 das Pferd des "Rev. C. Zailsfield" durchgefüttert und nun in der *Kittanning Gazette* zum Verkauf anbietet.[35] Seine Reisezeit ergibt sich aus verschiedenen Hinweisen: sein *alter ego* im Amerikabericht (1827) weist auf den Oktober 1825 als Abreisemonat hin,[36] der *safe conduct pass* für *Charles Sealsfield* (New Orleans, Louisiana) ist auf den 8. Juni 1826 datiert, der Tag, an dem er sich auf dem amerikanischen Segler *American* einschifft, der am 19. Juli 1826 in Le Havre einläuft.[37]

Der Identitätswechsel ist vollzogen.[38] Postl geriert sich als Amerikaner und Schriftsteller Sealsfield, der zwei Manuskripte im Gepäck mit sich führt, Geschäftskontakte zu den Verlegern Carey (Philadelphia) und Cotta (Stuttgart) geknüpft hat. Die demokratische Ordnung der Republik hat seine Weltsicht geprägt. Diese, gewonnen in der Zeit zwischen Monroe-Doktrin 1823 und *50th Independence Anniversary* von 1826, wird zur politischen Botschaft.

Für den dreijährigen Aufenthalt in den USA ergeben sich zahlreiche ungeklärte Fragen. Über welche personellen Verbindungen ist der

Zuwanderer Postl in diese europäisierte, deutschsprachig bestimmte Region dirigiert worden, mit einem ihm vertrauten Milieu, das keine transkulturelle Umstellung erforderlich macht? Welche Kontakte hat er im öffentlichen Leben von Pittsburgh und Philadelphia über die bekannten Personen hinaus gehabt? Ist es die Absicht gewesen, ihn in einem solchen *frontier*-Versteck *in the middle of nowhere* vor Nachforschungen zu verbergen? Sind diese Planungen über den erwähnten André gelaufen? Zu welchen Mitbürgern in Kittanning hat er in einem engeren Verhältnis gestanden und wie ist seine "Kollektenreise" nach New York als Kirchenmann verlaufen? Wie ist er zu seinem *safe conduct pass* gekommen, wer hat vor den Behörden Louisianas für ihn gebürgt? Wer betreut ihn in New Orleans bei Anreise und Abreise?

Man sieht ihn geradezu vor sich. Da steht er am 8. Juni 1826 auf dem Vorderdeck des amerikanischen Seglers *American*, ein vorgeblicher "Bürger[s] der Vereinigten Staaten." Mit messianischem Blick voraus auf "Europa" schauend, wiederholt er für sich, was er in seinem Amerikabericht schon festgelegt hat. Er werde vom Sieg der amerikanischen Republik "über Tyrannei, Aberglaube und Vorurtheil" künden.[39]

Am 19. Juli 1826 erreicht er Le Havre. Seine literarisch-politische Mission beginnt.

4. Sachverhalt drei: Der bigotte Börsenspekulant und das *Panic Year* 1837

100 Millionen Dollar: Aus dem Zusammenhang dieser Summe mit Sealsfields überstürzter USA-Reise 1837 und dem im Roman fiktionalisierten Erfahrungen des Amerikaners Harry Rambleton gibt er dem Biographen Einblicke in eine markante Eigenheit des kapitalistisch versiert agierenden Theologen und Literaten.

Die Fragen dazu provoziert Sealsfields ominöser Hinweis in der autobiographischen Skizze für Heinrich Brockhaus: "Im Anfange des Jahres 1837 in Privat-Angelegenheiten nach den V. St. zurückgekehrt [,] kam er 1838 wieder nach der Schweiz zurück. . . ."[40] Die bisherigen Biographen haben sich nicht nach dem Anlass dieser Reise erkundigt, auch nicht nach der bewussten Verfälschung von Reisedaten, wie in diesem Fall erneut geschehen. Zur Information und Korrektur: Castle notiert, "daß Postl am 17. Mai in Zürich abgemeldet wird, am 18. November aber bereits eine neue Wohnung daselbst bezieht," weil er schon am 9. Oktober 1837 mit dem Segler *Charlemagne* in Le Havre ankommt.[41]

Sein Aufenthalt dauert lediglich viereinhalb Monate. Was hat er dort

in so kurzer Zeit getan? Wo hat er sich aufgehalten?[42] Mit wem ist er zusammengekommen? Dass er diese Strapazen und Kosten auf sich nimmt, kann nur auf einen wichtigen Anlass schließen lassen.

Und das ist der Fall. Es geht um die amerikanische Wirtschaftskrise. Sealsfield, der in seinem Depot über amerikanische Wertpapiere verfügt, ist unmittelbar betroffen. Er reagiert so, wie es ihn seine kalkulatorischen Erfahrungen im Kontext der klösterlichen Kontroll- und Rechenschaftsberichte gelehrt haben: betriebwirtschaftlich und wertpapiergeschäftlich routiniert.[43] Er ist ein versierter Geschäftsmann, der für die Mehrung seines Vermögens darauf achtet, erfolgreiche Börsenaktionen zu betreiben, maximale Buchhonoraren auszuhandeln und seinen Immobilienbesitz zu pflegen.

In den 1830er Jahren hat er sich, gleichfalls infiziert von der hysterisch gewordenen Renditejagd, vermutlich mit erheblichem Finanzmitteln an der Hausse beteiligt und in amerikanische Eisenbahnaktien investiert. Die Finanzgeschäfte wickelt Sealsfield über Schweizer und New Yorker Banken ab.[44] Das gilt vor allem für den ab 1850 dokumentierten Wertpapierhandel, den er kenntnisreich betreibt, wenn er beispielsweise über die Kursentwicklung der "N Y Erie Eisenbahn Aktie" oder die "Genfer Anleihen von 2.250.000ff. in 900 frcs Obligationen rückzahlbar zu 1000 und verzinslich zu 4 %" spricht und sich um Anleihen der "New York and Havre Steam Navigation Co." kümmert.[45]

Die Krise schreckt ihn auf. Deren Entstehung zeichnet sich bereits zu Beginn der 1830er Jahre ab. Unter dem Präsidentschaft Andrew Jacksons (1829-37) floriert die amerikanische Wirtschaft, wird aber durch falsche Fiskalpolitik in diese Krise gestürzt. Weil die Regierung sich weigert, in das Marktgeschehen regulierend einzugreifen, führen Wirtschaftsboom, Landspekulation, Luxusleben, haussierende Aktienkurse, ungedeckte Kreditvergaben zum ökonomischen Kollaps, zur Arbeitslosigkeit und Störung der öffentlichen Ordnung. Der Flächenbedarf von Infrastrukturausbau und Landwirtschaft resultieren in betrügerischer Landspekulation auf Kredit ohne Absicherung, in Hochzinsen auf *bonds*, wachsendem Geldumlauf und überhöhter Staatsverschuldung, haussierende Aktienkurse, hysterische Renditejagd, Inflation, rapiden Niedergang der Wirtschaft und Verarmung. Falsche wirtschaftspolitische Entscheidungen verschärfen die Krise. In dem *panic year of 1837* platzt am 10. Mai in New York City die Spekulationsblase. Die Banken stellen die Zahlungen in *specie* (Gold- und Silbermünzen) ein und machen in zwei Monaten einen Verlust von 100 Mill. $. Von 850 Banken schließen 343. Der Geldumlauf fällt um ein Drittel. Die *great depression* mit weltweiten Auswirkungen ist da. Sie dauert bis Mitte der 1840er Jahre.

1837 versetzen ihn die Börsenturbulenzen in Panik. Er begibt sich umgehend über Le Havre nach New York,[46] um sein in amerikanischen Bonds und Aktien angelegtes Vermögen zu sichern. Zusätzlich interessiert den Patrioten der wirtschaftliche wie gesellschaftspolitische Zustand der USA, den er—sein drittes Anliegen—als attraktives Material für einen Roman über den amerikanischen Hochkapitalismus und dessen soziale Folgen einschätzt.

Nach vier Monaten kehrt er am 9. Oktober 1837 mit dem Segler *Charlemagne* aus den USA zurück. In seinem Gepäck befinden sich Manuskriptteile für seinen gesellschaftskritischen Roman *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (1839/40), in dem er sich aus aktuellem Anlass mit dem Versagen der politischen wie wirtschaftlichen Elite, des Hochkapitalismus und der Demokratie auseinandersetzt.[47] Die historische Krise, seine autobiographische Reaktion und beider literarischer Umsetzung stehen in engem Zusammenhang und gewähren Einblick in sein kapitaliusmuskritisches Denken und seine Schreibwerkstatt.

Seine eigene Verärgerung wiederholt er im Gebaren des amerikanischen Bildungsreisenden Harry Rambleton, seinem literarischen *alter ego*. Als Teilnehmer einer Reisegesellschaft erreichen diesen Nachrichten vom Börsencrash aus New York in der ersten "Hälfte des Maimonats 183-"[48] über einen Basler Bankemissär.[49] Der Erzähler lässt über die fiktiven Personen den krankhaften Hochkapitalismus geißeln, für dessen Auswüchse die Oberschicht von Maklern, Börsianern und Kaufleuten verantwortlich ist. Es seien diese "Börsen=, Handels= und Eisenbahn=Männer"-Gesellschaft,[50] die mit "Klugheit, Verschlagenheit, Gewandtheit . . . anderer Leute Geld" zum ihren machen. Der "Name eines Newyorker Kaufmannes [sei] gleichbedeutend mit dem eines Schwindlers"[51]: "Ist das Geld die Hauptsache, Mann!"[52] Die "große Seifenblase" werde platzen,[53] denn "die freieste, die aufgeklärteste Nation"[54] stecke in einer "Krise." "Man glaubt auf dem Krater eines Vulcans zu stehen."[55] Es seien "schlimme Nachrichten," urteilt Rambleton gereizt, die mit "Armuth oder Reichthum" zu tun haben.[56] Er müsse umgehend "das nächste Packetschiff nach Havre" und New York zu erreichen.[57]

Sealsfield wiederholt, literarisch verklausuliert, seine eigene Panikreise in die USA in der Panikreise seines Helden Harry Rambleton, den der Autor von der Schweiz aus mit der Kutsche nach Mühlhausen dirigiert, von dort mit dem Schiff "Malle" rheinabwärts, anschließend quer durch Frankreich an die Atlantikküste, wo er ihn den Segler "S—y, ein amerikanisches Paketschiff, das zwischen Havre und Newyork segelt," besteigen lässt.[58] Indem er den Monat Mai einsetzt, das exakte Reisejahr 1837 aber nicht nennt, den Segler "Sully" wählt, verschleiert er die Umstände der eigenen

Reise aus der Schweiz nach New York, wo er erst am 27. Juli 1837 als Passagier auf dem Segler *Great Britain* eintrifft.[59]

Postl, im *Exchange Hotel* New York, eingetragen unter Charles Sealsfield: Da sitzt er im Frühstücksraum, schaut auf die *Front Street*, der freie Schriftsteller und Kritiker von Industriekapitalismus und Spekulationsunwesen, wenige Schritte von Wallstreet und Stock Exchange entfernt und sorgt sich zu Recht um den Wert seines Portfolios. Die hypertrophe, hochspekulative Wertpapierentwicklung und Beschädigung der gesellschaftlichen Wohlfahrt wird er im Roman öffentlich geißeln, für sich selbst aber hat er diese skrupellos genutzt.

Postl "überlebt" als Sealsfield, durch seine "Geschicklichkeit,"[60] wie der Ordensprovisor Zueber Edler von Nordheim aus Prag 1833 zutreffend schreibt. Zu der denkbaren Vorhaltung, diese habe aber doch mit Bigotterie zu tun, hätte er wahrscheinlich nur maliziös gelächelt.

5. Der Biograph als Voyeur

Philologenkultur ist Fragekultur. Postl/Sealsfield, der intellektuelle Außenseiter, ist biographiegeschichtlich ein besonderer Fall, weil die Pseudonymisierung durch ein Allonym sich nicht auf die Funktion des *nom de plume* beschränkt. Mit der Umbenennung seiner selbst zielt er darauf ab, die Herkunftsbiographie zu verdecken, seine Gesamtexistenz in der Rolle des Amerikaners zu erfinden und lebenslang zu inszenieren.

Weil die verlässliche Teil der Materiallage wenig zufrieden stellend ist,[61] vermag der Biograph den Möglichkeiten von Dialogizität (M. M. Bachtin) und Intertextualität in der Darstellung nur bedingt folgen. Seine Vorgehensweise wird sich vor allem am Lebensgang, den sozialpsychischen Voraussetzungen und markanten Ereignisfeldern orientieren und die kontextuellen Details verringern, um Übersichtlichkeit und eine philologisch plausible Vermittlung von Sealsfields komplexem Leben zu erreichen. Dazu sind die folgenden Anforderungen unumgänglich:

- Erstens: Der Biograph hat sich am Stand des Diskurses zum Genre "Biographie" zu orientieren, die Möglichkeiten von Recherche, Materialeinschätzung, Kritik der Biographieschreibung, Methode der Darstellung zu berücksichtigen und Projektionen gegenwärtiger Rezeptionspositionen zu vermeiden.
- Zweitens: Man wird davon auszugehen haben, dass jener Ambivalenzkonflikt, entstanden unter den klösterlichen Lebensbedingungen des Mönchs, Priesters, Klostersekretärs und klerikalen Skeptikers Postl, zum psychosozialen Antrieb für

den Identitätswandels und die lebenslange Steuerung seiner Selbstrepräsentation als Sealsfield wird.

- Drittens: Postl/Sealsfields Lebensgang ist vom Ende her zu denken und zu verstehen. Erst dann stehen Identität und Biographie komplett zur Verfügung, die Folgen von Eigenprojektion und Fremdprojektion, Emigrantenverhalten und Reaktion der Immigrationsgesellschaft einschließend.
- Viertens: Die Strategie des Identitätswechsels richtet sich auf die Erfindung der Existenz als Sealsfield und erfordert, die daran gebundene Verknüpfung zweier Biographien zu berücksichtigen, einer inneren von Postl unter dem Einfluss von Sealsfield sowie einer äußeren von Sealsfield unter dem Einfluss von Postl.

Der Problemfall Postl/Sealsfield zwingt den Biographen grundsätzlich zu zwei komplizierten Fragen einer komplexen Selbstsozialisation. Ist Postl nach dem Identitätswechsel Sealsfield ein Anderer, mit dem Phantomschmerz Postl, aber mit neuer Authentizität, gewonnen durch den selbst und gesellschaftlich generierten Rollenstatus? Oder bleibt er, bei aller Veränderung, immer noch Postl, nur namentlich und habituell umetikettiert?

Der Biograph ist ein Voyeur. Daran hat der Göttinger Philosoph Georg Christoph Lichtenberg wohl gleichfalls gedacht, als er in sein *Sudelbuch* (1768-71) notiert: "Jeder Mensch hat auch seine moralische backside, die er nicht ohne Not zeigt, und die er so lange als möglich mit den Hosen des guten Anstandes zudeckt."[62] Es ist unvermeidlich, dass einiges von Postl/Sealsfields "moralische[r] backside" öffentlich zu machen ist, was er eigentlich für alle Zeit verbergen wollte, d. h. ihm sind—um im Bilde zu bleiben –die "Hosen" philologisch behutsam herunterzuziehen, um seinen tatsächlichen Lebensgang zu entdecken.

Ob das gelingt, bleibt fraglich. Daher kann ein anonymer Verfasser bereits nach Sealsfields Tod 1864 zu Recht resümieren: "Wenn Ch. Sealsfields Geist durch seine literarischen Erzeugnisse Gemeingut aller Gebildeten zweier Hemisphären ist, dürfte sein Privatcharakter nur Wenigen bekannt geworden & sein Gemüth diesen Wenigen mit seltenen Ausnahmen verschlossen geblieben sein."[63]

Universität Hamburg
Hamburg, Germany

Anmerkungen

[1] Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent. A simple Tale* (2. Aufl. London: Methuen & Co., 1907), Kapitel 5, Absatz 1. Zitiert nach: Project Gutenberg eBook, #974.

[2] "Vorwort zur gesammelten Ausgabe der Werke des Verfassers des *Legitimen und der Republikaner* etc." Charles Sealsfield, *Gesammelte Werke*, Erster Theil (Stuttgart: Metzler'sche Buchhandlung, 1845), Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. K. J. R. Arndt et. alt, Bd. 6 (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1973), [V]-XVIII, hier [V]f.

[3] *Die Biographie. Zur Grundlegung ihrer Theorie*, ed. Bernhard Fetz, (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2009). Darin: Bernhard Fetz: "Die vielen Leben der Biographie. Interdisziplinäre Aspekte einer Theorie der Biographie," [3]-66, hier 4.

[4] Ibid., 8.

[5] Ibid., [3].

[6] Sealsfield als Thema biographischer Romane: Theodor Scheibe: *Der Kreuzherr von Pöltenberg: eine Priesterlaufbahn nach authentischen Quellen geschildert* (Wien: T. Scheibe, 1876). Dazu: Wynfrid Kriegleder, "Die Re-Mährisierung des ‚Greatest American Author', oder wie aus Charles Sealsfield ein südmährischer Klassiker wurde," *Amici Amico III. Festschrift für Ludvík E. Vaclavek*, ed. Ingeborg Fiala-Fürst und Jaromír Czmero (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2011), 261-270. – Robert Kohlrausch: *Der Fremde* (Prag: Haase, 1896); dass.: *Saffi* (2. Aufl. Stuttgart: Robert Lutz, [1906]). (*Lutz' Kriminal= und Detektivromane etc.*; 46). Dazu: Alexander Ritter, "Exotische Biographie und Trivialpotential. Die erzählerische Banalisierung der Literatenexistenz Charles Sealsfields in Robert Kohlrauschs Roman *Der Fremde* (1896). Zur Tradition des sentimentalisierten Künstlerromans im späten 19. Jahrhundert." (I. Vorb.: Wien: Praesens, 2013; *SealsfieldBibliothek*; 10)

[7] Erving Goffman, *Wir alle spielen Theater. Die Selbstdarstellung im Alltag* (9. Aufl. München: Piper, 2011; 1959); Alexander Ritter, "Charles Sealsfields doppelter Ambivalenzkonflikt und seine amerikanische Identität als unvollständige Lösung. Zur Auswirkung autobiographischer Dispositionen bis zu den Nachrufen," *Literarische Narrationen der Migration Europa-Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wynfrid Kriegleder und Adolf Pogatschnigg (Wien: Präsens, 2012), 263-289. (*SealsfieldBibliothek*; 9)

[8] Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte. Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)*, Charles Sealsfield, *Supplementreihe* der *Sämtlichen Werke*, Bd. 1/SW Bd. 25 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993; Reprint: Wien/München, 1952); Ernst Grabovszki, *Zwischen Kutte und Maske. Das geheimnisvoll Leben des Charles Sealsfield* (Wien: Styria, 2005); Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte. Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Briefe und Aktenstücke*. Darin: Alexander Ritter, "Das *Reise Écritoire* oder Schreiben als Existenzform. Charles Sealsfield und seine Korrespondenz," Charles Sealsfield, *Supplementreihe* der *Sämtlichen Werke*, Bd. 5/SW Bd. 29 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010; Reprint: Wien, 1955), [7*]-105*.

[9] Alexander Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt Kittanning, Pennsylvania (USA) oder: Die inszenierte ‚Geburt' des Amerikaners *Carl Moritz Zeilfels* alias *Charles Sealsfield*. Eine Dokumentation," *Charles Sealsfield. Lehrjahre eines Romanciers 1808-1829. Vom spätjosefinischen Prag ins demokratische Amerika*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2007), 207-285. (*SealsfieldBibliothek*; 5)

[10] "Katalog vom Frühjahr 1810 über die Hörer der Philosophie im I. II. und III^{ten} Jahrgange an der k. k. prager Universität für das I. und II^{te} Semester": Kurt F. Strasser, "Carl Postl, ein Schüler Bernard Bolzanos. Eine Klarstellung," *Charles Sealsfield. Lehrjahre eines Romanciers 1808-1829. Vom spätjosefinischen Prag ins demokratische Amerika*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2007), 81-103, hier 87-89. (*SealsfieldBibliothek*; 5).

[11] Postl an den General-Großmeister Josef Anton Köhler vom 16. September bis zum 2. November 1822, Castle, *Briefe*, 9-49.

[12] *Josephinismus als aufgeklärter Absolutismus*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Wien/Köln/Weimar:

Böhlau, 2008). Darin: Rudolf Pranzel, "Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche/Religion im theresianisch-josephinischen Zeitalter," 17-52; Matthias Rettenwander, "Nachwirkungen des Josephinismus," 317-425.

[13] Ritter, "Ambivalenzkonflikt." Zum Ambivalenzkonflikt epischer Figuren in Sealsfields Roman *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833): Günter Schnitzler, *Erfahrung und Bild. Die dichterische Wirklichkeit des Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1988). (*Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Litterae*)

[14] Zueber Edler von Nordheim an Josef Postl vom 18. April 1833, Castle, *Briefe*, 104-106.—Joseph Zueber, Edler von Nordheim (1784-1853), Angehöriger der *Kreuzherren mit dem roten Sterne* (Prag), seit 1812 *culinae praefectus et provisor*.

[15] Postl an Josef Anton Köhler [Ende April 1823] und an Zueber von Nordheim vom 10. Mai 1823, Castle, *Briefe*, 49-51, hier 50.

[16] Castle, *Briefe*, 96-98; "Die Flucht 1823," ibid., 48-106.

[17] Sidons [Postl] an Johann Friedrich Cotta 20. September 1824, Castle, *Briefe*, 107.

[18] *Migrants dans une ville portuaire: Le Havre (XVI^e^-XXI^e^ siècle)*, sous la direction de John Barzman et Éric Saunier (Rouen/Le Havre: Publications des Universités, 2005).

[19] [An.]: *Austria as it is: or, Sketches of Continental Courts*. By an Eye-witness (London: Hurst, Chance, and Co.: 1828), [1].

[20] Archiv Le Havre: Vorhanden sind Listen von Passagieren auf Transportschiffen (Family History Library Records: Rôles des bâtiments de commerce, 1730-1887), die bislang nicht eingesehen werden konnten.

[21] Bertolt Brecht: "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters" (1928).

[22] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt."

[23] Ibid., 232-246. Postl erwähnt Kittanning ein weiteres Mal in dem selbstreferentiellen Amerikabericht *Die Vereinigten Staaten* (1827), indem er den Ich-Erzähler sagen lässt: "Kittanning" sei sein "Wohnsitz . . . 35 Meilen ober Pittsburgh, am Alleghany=Flusse," C. Sidons, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* . . ., Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, Bd. 1, (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1972), Zweiter Band, 14.

[24] Postl an Johann Friedrich Cotta vom 20. September 1824, Castle, *Briefe*, 107f.

[25] Goffman, *Theater*, 19, 28, 25.

[26] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 258-272.

[27] Ernest G. Heissenbuttel, *Pittsburgh Synod Congregational Histories*, (Warren (OH): Studio of Printcraft Inc., 1959, 117; Ernest G. Heissenbuttel und Roy H. Johnson: *Pittsburgh Synod History. Its Auxialiaries and Institutions 1845-1962* (Warren (OH): The Pittsburgh Synod of the United Lutheran Church – Studio of Printcraft Inc., [1963]), 30-41.

[28] Identität der Namensinitialen: ***C**arl (Taufname: **C**arolus) **M**oritz(**M**agnus) Zeilfels (Sealsfield)*.

[29] Kittanning Gazette vom 17., 24. und 31. August 1825, Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 255. Annoncenbeispiel: "MARRIED.—On Wednesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Zailsfield, Mr. *Henry Miller*, to Miss *Elizabeth Shæffer*, daughter of John Philip Shæffer"—all of Kittanning township."

[30] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 246-258, 281-285.

[31] "Verrichtungen / Der Siebenten General=Konferenz . . . 1824 und denen darauf folgenden Tagen," ibid., 50f.; der Konferenzort Canton (Ohio) ist Sealsfield bekannt: Sidons, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, 26-30.

[32] Im Jahre 1826 wird Herzog Bernhard in Pittsburgh auf dem Weg zu Johann Georg Rapps *Harmony Society* (Economy, Ohio) betreut, fünf Jahre später der Schriftsteller Nikolaus Lenau. Vgl. Michael Ritter: *Zeit des Herbstes. Nikolaus Lenau. Biografie*, (Wien/Frankfurt am Main: Deuticke, 2002), 124-127.

[33] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 258-272; Karl J. R. Arndt und Richard D. Wetzel, *Harmonist Music and Pittsburgh Musicians in Early Economy, The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*

54 (1971), Nr. 2, 132f., 135f., 139f., 146f.; Teil II, Nr. 3, 296f.; Teil III: Nr. 4, 405-407.

[34] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 272-277. Vermutlich reist Sealsfield zusammen mit Schweizerbarth nach New York. In seinem Amerikabericht teilt er mit, dass "Mr. Schweizerbart" für den Bau der Kirche St. Paul's in Zelienople (1825/26) "im Jahre 1824-25 in Philadelphia und New=York über 1000 Dollars Unterstützungsbeiträge sammelt," Sidons: *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, 10.

[35] Ritter, "Fluchtpunkt," 275.

[36] Sidons: *Die Vereinigten Staaten* Zweiter Band,[1]. Geht man davon aus, daß das Buch zwar, wie es in der Druckfassung heißt, 1827 erschienen ist, das Manuskript jedoch Cotta bereits zum Ende des Jahres 1826 vorliegt, d.h. die Aufbruchdatierung auf dieses Jahr bezogen ist, dann ist als Abreisezeit von Kittanning der Oktober 1825 anzunehmen.

[37] Ritter, "*Reise Écritoire*," 37f. : "Vu & visé au Consulat de France à la N^lle^-orléans le présent passeport délivré par M^r^ le Gouverneur de la Louisiane à M^r^ Sealsfield, allant au Havre sur le navire américain American Cp^ne^ Morant. N^lle^ Orléans le 8 Juin 1826. Pour le Consul de France Le Chancellier du Consulat De Albin-Eusèbe Michel. / [Stempel:] CONSULAT DE FRANCE A LA N^LLE^ ORLEANS / N° 884. $ 2 / [Unterschrift unleserlich]."

[38] Alexander Ritter, "Grenzübertritt und Schattentausch: Der österreichische Priester Carl Postl und seine vage staatsbürgerliche Identität als amerikanischer Literat Charles Sealsfield. Eine Dokumentation," *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 38 (1999), H. 143, 39-71, hier 50.

[39] Sidons, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, Erster Band, [III].

[40] Sealsfield an Heinrich Brockhaus vom 21. Juni 1854, Castle, *Briefe*, 289-293, hier 292; gedruckter Text: *Allgemeine deutsche Real=Enzyklopädie* . . . , (10. Aufl. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1854), Bd. 13, 770f.

[41] 400f.

[42] Einziger Briefbeleg: Sealsfield an Joel Roberts Poinsett vom 8. Oktober 1837, Castle, *Briefe*, 160-162.

[43] Vgl. die kenntnisreichen Berichte zu klösterlichen Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten von Postl an den Generalgroßmeister Josef Anton Köhler zwischen dem 16. September und 2. November 1822. In: Castle, *Briefe*, 9-47.

[44] Castle, *Briefe*: 1851-58: Passavant & Cie (Basel) mit Filialen in New York; 1853-58: Schuchardt, Gebhardt & Co. (New York: Sealsfields c/o-Adresse: Sealsfield an Heinrich Erhard vom 25. April 1854, Castle, *Briefe*, 285-288, hier 288.

[45] Castle, *Briefe*, vor allem 249, 255-259, 261-265, 267-278.

[46] Ankunft: 14./15. Oktober 1853.

[47] [An.], *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften*. . . . (Zürich: Friedrich Schultheß, 1839[-40]), Teil I, 145-156. [Sigle: *DAW*]

[48] *DAW* I, 7.

[49] *DAW* I, 91, 145.

[50] *DAW* II, 255.

[51] *DAW* IV, 128f.

[52] *DAW* II, 160.

[53] *DAW* IV, 127-145.

[54] *DAW* IV, 130

[55] *DAW* II, 282.

[56] *DAW* I, 148, 151.

[57] *DAW* I, 107, 110, 111, 113, 150.

[58] *DAW* I, 107, 150.

[59] New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957. Ancestry.com (Datenbank online).

[60] Zueber Edler von Nordheim an Josef Postl vom 18. April 1833, Castle, *Briefe*, 105.

[61] Bernhard Fetz, "Der Stoff, aus dem das (Nach-)Leben ist. Zum Status biographischer Quellen," Fetz, *Biographie*, [103]-154, hier 104-109.

[62] Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Schriften und Briefe*, Erster Band, *Sudelbücher*, ed. Wolfgang Promies (München: Hanser, 1968), B: 1768-1771, Nr. 78, 67.

[63] Museum Znaim, Sign. 117 1a.

Alexander Ritter

Charles Sealsfield Berger, US-Bürger: Namensadaption, *German-American Community* und die defizitäre Forschungslage der Charles Sealsfield-Rezeption in den USA um 1880

> Uebrigens habe ich die Satisfaction, daß meine Schriften in allen Staats und größeren Stadtbibliotheken in den Catalogen aufgeführt sind—In Washington Philadelphia New York New Orleans etc. . . . Für jetzt bin ich jedoch bei dem großen Haufen rein vergessen.
>
> Einige Redacteure von tonangebenden Zeitungen wollten meine Ankunft durch "leading articles" ankündigen. Ich verbat mir dieses auf das ernsteste.
>
> (Charles Sealsfield, Piermont, NY, 1854)[1]

1. Eine aufschlussreiche Zeitungsmeldung von 1890

Unter der Rubrik "Cincinnati" druckt die Zeitung *The Appeal* (Saint Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) am 15. November 1890 auf der Titelseite die folgende Meldung ab:

> At the annual meeting this week of the Catholic Knights of Kentucky,[2] the committee of arrangements saw proper to invite to their banquet Mr. D. A. Rudd Colored editor of the Catholic Tribune[3] and Mr. Geza Berger a Hebrew and the representative of the Cincinnati Volksblatt. The insult offered the committee by one of the invited guests by sending a refusal to attend, giving as his reason that he would not sit at the same table with a Negro and a Jew, called forth an action on the part of the Knights which is worthy

> of due notice and commendation showing their strict adherance to those principles advocated by their church and society, namely, "No distinction on account of race or color."[4]

Die Meldung enthält zwei bemerkenswerte Informationen. Zum einen geht es um *discrimination*. Trotz der innenpolitischen Bemühungen der Washingtoner Administration in der *Reconstruction Era* gelingt die gesellschaftspolitische Transformation der Südstaaten bis in die 1890er Jahre nur bedingt. In großen Teilen der Bevölkerung, vor allem der Südstaaten wie im vormaligen Sklavenstaat Kentucky, bleiben Rassismus und Antisemitismus verbreitete Vorurteile, begünstigt von der seit 1880 rasch anwachsenden jüdischen Bevölkerung durch massenhafte Immigration sowie vom *Populist Movement* und dessen Kritik an politischen wie wirtschaftlichen Eliten. Wie tief diese Vorurteile verwurzelt sind, zeigt der Umstand, dass selbst von Gästen der *Catholic Knights of Kentucky*, der Satzung nach religiösen, karitativen und solidarischen Zielen verpflichtet, solch unsoziale Haltung vertreten wird.

Zum anderen interessiert im Zusammenhang mit diesem Beitrag die Person "Mr. Geza Berger," ein Journalistenkollege des *Afro-American* Herausgebers der *Catholic Tribune*, D. A. Rudd.[5] Über Berger heißt es, er sei "Hebrew," also Jude, und "representative" des *Cincinnati Volksblatt*.[6] Unter Geza Bergers fünf Kindern ist auch ein Sohn mit dem Namen Charles Sealsfield Berger. Letzterer wäre für die Forschung keine beachtenswerte Persönlichkeit, hätte er nicht die beiden außergewöhnlichen *given names*, "Charles" und "Sealsfield." Mit beiden, *first name* und *middle name*, wiederholen die Eltern den Namen des deutschamerikanischen Schriftstellers Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864), dessen Romane 1826-1843 und die *Gesammelten Werke* 1845-1847 erscheinen. Seine Texte erreichen beiderseits des Atlantiks bis in die 1850er Jahre eine relativ weite Verbreitung.[7] Weil mit der 1848/49er Revolution, der Restauration in Europa, dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg 1861-1865 und der amerikanischen Abwendung von Europa die Voraussetzungen für seine Amerikaromane mit ihrer gesellschaftspolitischen Botschaft vom demokratischen US-Staat und seiner Vorbildfunktion eingeschränkt sind, erodieren die Rezeption seiner Werke und das Wissen um seine Person.

Vor diesem Rezeptionshintergrund in den USA ist es erst einmal erstaunlich, dass ein amerikanischer Bürger, Geza Berger, eines seiner Kinder 1880 mit dem Namen des Literaten ausstattet: Charles Sealsfield Berger. In philologischer und biographiegeschichtlicher Hinsicht kann man natürlich von einer vernachlässigenswerten Kuriosität sprechen. Eine solche Einschätzung übergeht jedoch die Referenzleistung dieser

Namenswahl hinsichtlich der Aussagekraft namensgeschichtlichen Gebarens im Kontext der onomastischen Tradition von *given names* und der posthumen Rezeption Charles Sealsfields in den USA.

Welche philologischen Konsequenzen ergeben sich aus diesen Vorüberlegungen? Die Personen Geza Berger, der Sohn Charles Sealsfield Berger, deren biographischer und zeitgeschichtlicher Kontext sind einerseits ein privater Fall von keineswegs bedeutenden US-Bürgern. Andererseits ist es gerade dieser Umstand mit seiner Alltagsqualität, der sich als geeignet erweist, jene selten möglichen Einsichten zu gewinnen, die über die Sealsfieldkenntnis auf der Leserebene informieren.

Zwischen der Biographie von Geza Berger, der des Sohnes Charles Sealsfield Berger, der *nationwide* verbreiteten ethnokulturellen Organisation der *German-American Community* sowie der amerikanischen Rezeption Charles Sealsfields und seiner Werke besteht eine unmittelbare Korrespondenz.[8] Die folgenden Ausführungen gehen dieser Korrespondenz nach. Die daraus resultierenden Beobachtungen lassen Rückschlüsse auf die Sealsfieldrezeption ab der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts und die defizitäre Situation der Forschung zur Sealsfieldrezeption generell, aber auch vor allem in den USA zu. Aus den gewonnenen Einsichten lassen sich diejenigen Desiderate benennen, die die zukünftige Forschung zur Sealsfieldwirkung in den USA leiten sollten.

Es ergeben sich somit drei Anliegen. Erstens: Welche biographischen Voraussetzungen haben dazu geführt, dass sich das Elternpaar Berger für diese außergewöhnlichen Taufnamen entscheidet? Zweitens: Die Namensgebung ist keineswegs nur eine private Angelegenheit, sondern zugleich eine öffentliche, die beide zusammen dokumentieren, dass um 1880 das Wissen um den Schriftsteller Charles Sealsfield, seine Werke und Weltanschauung noch im Gedächtnis vor allem deutschamerikanischer Bürger der *German-American Community* präsent ist, in einer Periode, während der diese einen Höhepunkt ihres ethnischen Selbstbewusstseins erfährt. Drittens: Die Forschung hat sich bei ihrer Einschätzung bisher ausschließlich auf jene Rezeptionsfakten verlassen, die institutionalisierte Personen, vom eigenen Interesse gesteuert, in Texten öffentlich gemacht haben. Dazu gehören der Autor Sealsfield mit seinen propagandistischen Selbsteinschätzungen, die Verlage mit ihren projektierten Auflagenzahlen in den Verträgen und die subjektiven Einschätzungen der Rezensenten. Es fehlen jene Kenntnisse, philologisch mühsam zu recherchieren, die über die tatsächliche Menge verkaufter Bücher, deren Zirkulation auf dem Literaturmarkt bei Händlern, Leihbüchereien und Privatbibliotheken und unter den Lesern als Käufer, Ausleiher, Zuhörer und Wissende informieren.[9]

Akzeptiert man diese Überlegungen, dann bietet der Fall Geza Berger die Möglichkeit an, über einen begrenzten Personenkreis, in einer bestimmten Region und während eines Zeitabschnitts Einblicke in private wie öffentliche Lesererfahrung, Leseerinnerung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung zu gewinnen. Die paradigmatische Qualität dieser *causa* Berger resultiert aus der seltenen philologischen Chance, Informationen zur nicht institutionalisierten Sealsfieldrezeption zu erlangen.

2. Die personalen Paradigmen: Geza Berger und Charles Sealsfield Berger

Die Forschung geht davon aus, dass der Nachname Sealsfield ein Unikat ist und ausschließlich von dem Schriftsteller Charles Sealsfield verwendet wird. Wenn das zutrifft, dann handelt es sich um ein namensgeschichtliches Konstrukt. Recherchen im anglo-amerikanischen Sprachraum stützen diese Annahme. Angesichts solcher Voraussetzungen überrascht es, dass eine zweite historische Person denselben Namen als *first name* und *middle name* benutzt, indem sie durch die verwaltungsamtliche Bezeichnung "Charles Sealsfield Berger" seit der Geburt am 2. April 1880 ausgewiesen ist.[10]

Die Wahl der *given names* mit ihren Konnotationen von Wortsemantik und Trägergeschichte ist in der Regel eine Entscheidung der Eltern, die damit—retrospektiv—besondere persönliche Erfahrungen und —perspektiv—Hoffnungen für eine entsprechende Entwicklung des Nachwuchses verbinden. Wenn also ein Elternpaar den Sohn mit dem Namen einer renommierten Persönlichkeit ausstattet, dann lässt sich mutmaßen, dass der Namensgeber—in diesem Fall naheliegenderweise der Vater Geza Berger—eine biographisch wie geistig besonders angelegte Wertschätzung des Schriftstellers Charles Sealsfield pflegt, über diesen informiert ist und in ihm eine Art *alter ego* sieht.

Nimmt man das als gegeben an, so folgt die Namensübertragung der Absicht, die eigene, mit Charles Sealsfields Lebenskonzeption übereinstimmende Welterfahrung und Weltsicht, dem Sohn als Vermächtnis und programmatische Orientierung fürs Leben mitzugeben, dabei voraussetzend, dass die Namensverwendung mit dem zeitgenössischen Bekanntheitsgrad des Schriftstellernamens korrespondiert, mit dessen Wiedererkennen in der Öffentlichkeit und einem grundsätzlichen Respekt beiden gegenüber kalkuliert, dem historischen und aktuellen Namensträger.

Wer ist Geza Berger, wer sein Sohn Charles Sealsfield Berger, warum trägt er den Namen des Schriftstellers Charles Sealsfield und welche

FORMER NEWS WRITER DIES.

Geza Berger Was With Volksblatt For Many Years.

Geza Berger, 88 years old, former Northern Kentucky correspondent of the Cincinnati Volksblatt, German language newspaper of Cincinnati, died yesterday at his home, 16 Alexandria Pike, following an apoplectic stroke. He had been living alone in the house for a number of years. Neighbors found him lying dead in bed.

That Berger, although born in Pressburg, Austria, was loyal to his adopted country, is disclosed in a codicil of his will by which he directs that a small American flag be placed over his heart at his death.

In his early years Berger was a German tragedian and Shakespearean scholar, and starred as the Priest in "The Bell Ringer," and as the Hunchback in the "Hunchback of Notre Dame." When the World War started he resigned his position as local correspondent and went abroad as war correspondent for the Volksblatt. He worked out of the offices of the Covington and Newport offices of The Enquirer as Kentucky correspondent for more than a quarter of a century.

Berger is survived by three sons and two daughters, W. S. Berger, Ft. Mitchell, Ky., Treasurer of the Cambridge Tile Manufacturing Company; Herman Berger, of Jersey City, N. J.; Charles Berger, Los Angeles, Cal.; Miss Albertina Berger and Mrs. Sallie Rosenberg, both of Covington.

Abbildung 1. Nachruf zu Geza Berger (1842-1930) im *Cincinnati Enquirer* (1930).

Bedeutung hat die Namensadaption für die Sealsfieldforschung? Werfen wir einen Blick auf die biographischen Umstände beider Personen.

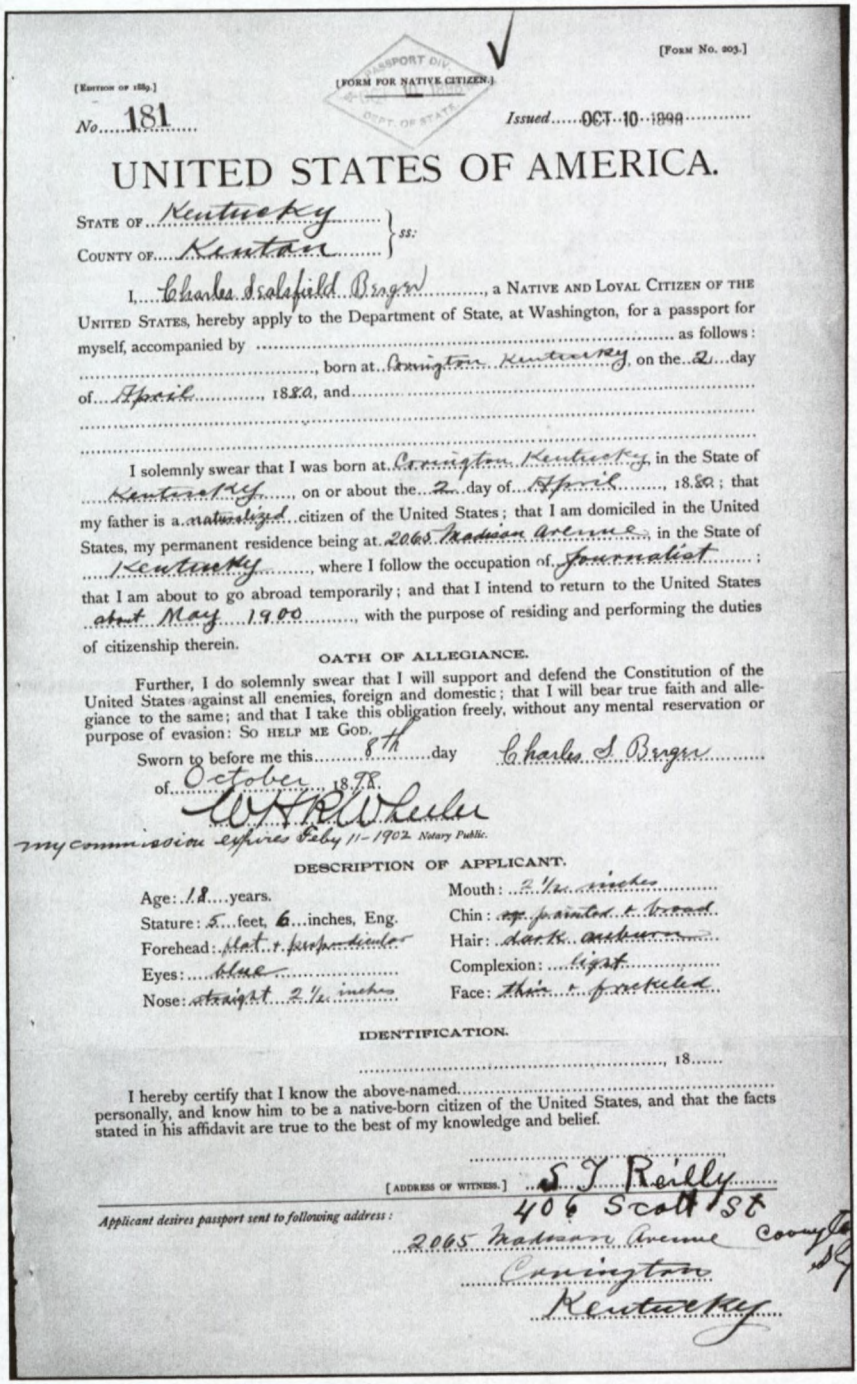
Geza Berger ist deutschsprachiger Immigrant und Jude aus Pressburg (dt., ungar. Pozsony/slowak. Bratislava), der früheren Hauptstadt der ungarischen Slowakei.[11] Geboren am 5. Dezember 1842, hält er sich 1861 als Schauspieler in Hamburg auf, 1863-65 in Essek (Slawonien), ab 1865

erneut in Hamburg. Hier schließt er sich wahrscheinlich Intellektuellenzirkeln radikaldemokratischer Einstellung an, gehört eventuell auch zum personellen Umkreis des notorisch anarchistischen, antisemitischen Journalisten Friedrich Marr (1819-1904)[12] und publiziert wie dieser im Schardius-Verlag.[13]

Bei den Behörden politisch missliebig geworden, taucht er unter und meidet die von den Hamburger Behörden zustimmungspflichtige Emigration. Berger wählt die preislich günstigere Transatlantikreise von England aus, wo die Ausweiskontrollen großzügig gehandhabt werden. Vermutlich ist er von Hamburg wie viele andere auch nach Kopenhagen gefahren, von dort mit dem Schiff nach Norwegen (Union mit Schweden) oder Schweden übergesetzt, um dann über die bevorzugte Reiseroute Stavanger-Liverpool-New York in die USA zu gelangen. Dokumentiert ist, dass sich der Vierundzwanzigjährige, als Schwede ohne Berufsangabe seine tatsächliche Identität verschleiernd, am 15. August 1869 auf dem "SS City of Brooklyn" in Liverpool einschifft und am 30. August 1869 New York erreicht."[14] Was Ralph Wood ohne Quellennachweis mitteilt, dass Berger "wegen seiner augustenburgischen Gesinnung" aus Hamburg vom "deutschen Bundeskommissär" ausgewiesen worden, zu Beginn des deutsch-österreichischen Krieges 1866 in Essek (Slawonien; Königreich Ungarn) auf Grund seiner "sozialistischen Artikel" den Behörden als politischer Störenfried aufgefallen ist und darauf emigriert sei, konnte nicht überprüft werden.[15]

Bis zum Einwanderungsjahr 1869 zeigt sich bereits, dass Berger eine intellektuell wendige, mobile Persönlichkeit ist, mit schauspielerischer Ausbildung wie literarischer Begabung und journalistischen Ambitionen, politisch linksliberal orientiert, anti-absolutistisch engagiert. Im März 1875 wird er amerikanischer Staatsbürger. Er ist mit der gleichaltrigen Anna Garretson verheiratet.[16] Beide haben fünf Kinder, darunter zwei Söhne, Hermann Lafayette Berger (1875-[?]) und Charles Sealsfield Berger (1880-1971). Im Jahre 1910 beantragt er mit 67 Jahren einen Reisepass für einen zweijährigen Auslandsaufenthalt[17] und hält sich mehrfach in Europa auf. Er stirbt am 26. Dezember 1930 mit 88 Jahren in Clifton (Alexander Pike Nr. 16; Campbell County, Kentucky) an einem Schlaganfall.[18]

Das Ehepaar Berger meldet am 2. April 1880 die Geburt des zweiten Sohnes im Heimatort Covington an (Kenton County, Kentucky). Sie lassen das Kind auf "Charles" (*first name*) "Sealsfield" (*middle name*) "Berger" taufen. Charles Sealsfield Berger wächst in Covington auf, nimmt hier seinen Wohnsitz (2056 Madison Avenue). Im Jahre 1898 beantragt er einen Reisepass, um—wie es auf dem Formular heißt—für voraussichtlich zwei Jahre ins Ausland zu gehen.[19] Im Alter von 23 Jahren heiratet er 1903 Regina Swietermann, geb. ca. 1881 in Celina (Mercer County, Ohio). Wenige Monate vor dem Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges, am



[Edition of 1899.] [Form No. 203.]

[Form for native citizen.]

No. 181 Issued Oct 10 1898

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

State of Kentucky } ss:
County of Kenton }

I, Charles Sealsfield Berger, a Native and Loyal Citizen of the United States, hereby apply to the Department of State, at Washington, for a passport for myself, accompanied by ..... as follows: ....., born at Covington Kentucky on the 2 day of April, 1880, and .....

I solemnly swear that I was born at Covington Kentucky in the State of Kentucky, on or about the 2 day of April, 1880; that my father is a naturalized citizen of the United States; that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at 2065 Madison Avenue, in the State of Kentucky, where I follow the occupation of Journalist; that I am about to go abroad temporarily; and that I intend to return to the United States about May 1900, with the purpose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: So help me God.

Sworn to before me this 8th day of October 1898.

Charles S Berger

W. H. H. Wheeler

my commission expires Feby 11-1902 Notary Public.

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT.

Age: 18 years. Mouth: 2 1/2 inches
Stature: 5 feet, 6 inches, Eng. Chin: rep. pointed & broad
Forehead: flat & perpendicular Hair: dark auburn
Eyes: blue Complexion: light
Nose: straight 2 1/2 inches Face: thin & freckled

IDENTIFICATION.

....., 18.....

I hereby certify that I know the above-named ..... personally, and know him to be a native-born citizen of the United States, and that the facts stated in his affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

.....

[Address of witness.] S J Reilly
406 Scott St

Applicant desires passport sent to following address:

2065 Madison Avenue County
Covington
Kentucky

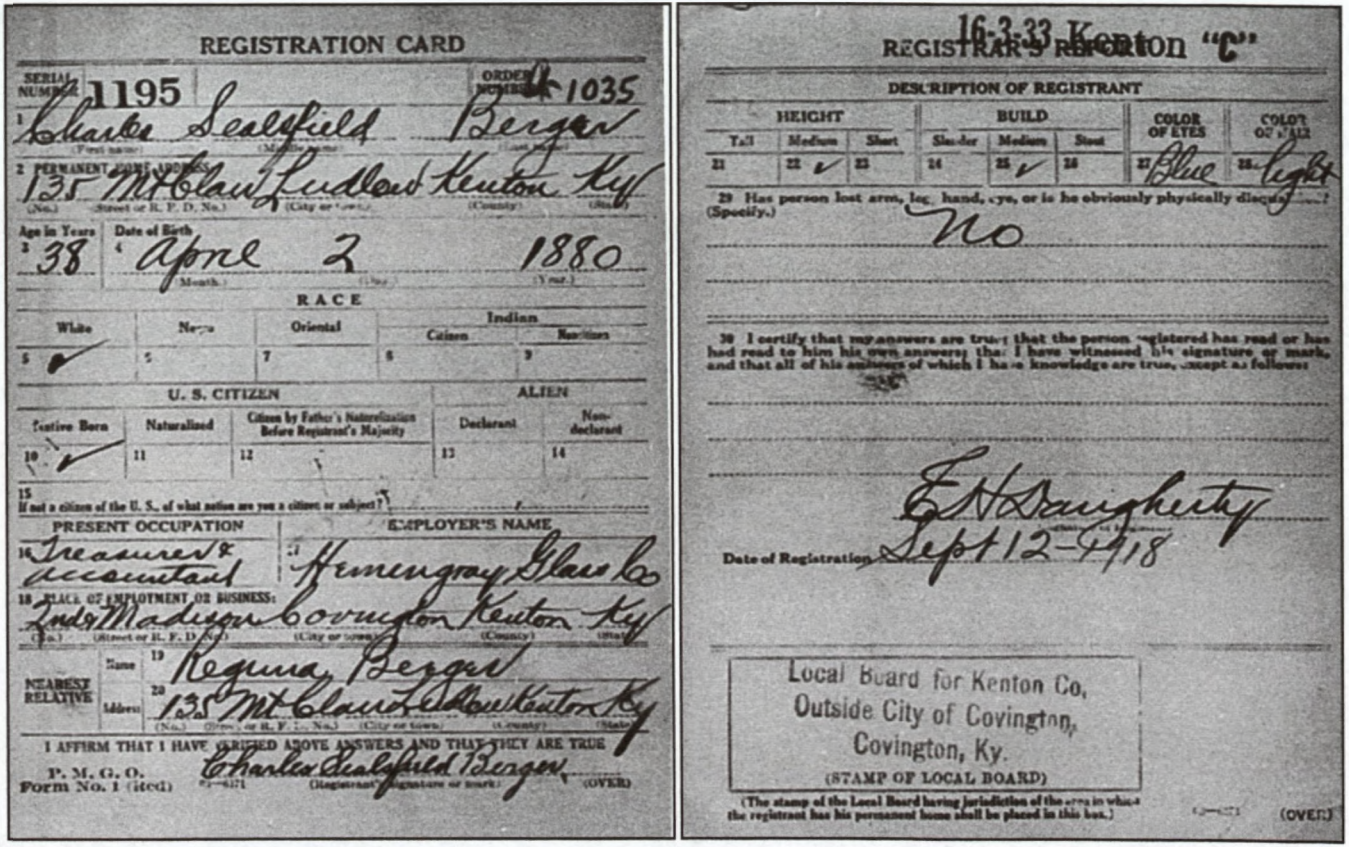
Abbildung 2. Passantrag von Charles Sealsfield Berger (1898).

12. September 1918, registriert ihn die regionale Rekrutierungsbehörde, mit Wohnsitz des Ehepaares in Ludlaw (Kenton County, Kentucky).[20] Nach Hinweisen in verschiedenen biographischen Dokumenten übt er anfänglich—wie der Vater—den Beruf des Journalisten aus, wobei unklar ist, für welche Zeitung er arbeitet. Diese Tätigkeit gibt er auf, um während der nachweisbaren Jahre 1902 bis 1925 eine Beschäftigung in der Finanzverwaltung des renommierten Unternehmens Hemingray Glass Co. (1848-1972) aufzunehmen.[21] Seine dortige Funktion wird abwechselnd als "cashier," "accountant," "bookmaker" oder "treasurer" bezeichnet.[22] Gegründet 1848 in Cincinnati, wechselt die Firma 1852 nach Covington. Bevor der Betrieb 1890 eingestellt wird, erfolgt 1888 die Einrichtung einer zweiten Produktionsstätte in Muncie (Indiana), die—nach wechselnden Besitzern—1972 die Produktion aufgibt. Charles Sealsfield Berger folgt dem Betrieb dorthin. Für 1921 weist ihn der *city guide* als Bürger von Muncie nach.[23] Gestorben ist er 1971 in Los Angeles (California).

Der Lebenslauf von Charles Sealsfield Berger ist im kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der *German-American Community* zu vernachlässigen. Interessant bleibt die Namensübernahme. Diese steht im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit der Rolle Geza Bergers als einem einflussreichen Kulturträger innerhalb der *German-American Community*, deren kultureller Beharrungsanspruch als ethnokulturelle Gruppierung innerhalb der multikulturellen amerikanischen Gesellschaft auf der Pflege deutscher Kultur gründet, auch der Literatur, zu der Charles Sealsfield als deutsch-amerikanischer Autor aus Österreich und der Schweiz gezählt wird.

Geza Berger ist durch seine mehrfache Funktion als Schauspieler, Journalist und Schriftsteller der *German-American Community* vertraut und einer ihrer öffentlich bekannten Protagonisten. Er kennt, so lässt sich annehmen, die kulturell und politisch maßgeblichen Leute der deutschamerikanischen Szene im gesamten US-amerikanischen Raum, und man kennt ihn und seine Aktivitäten:

Der Schauspieler und Theaterautor: Ausgebildet an der "privaten Theaterschule von Frau Sochock in Wien,"[24] tritt er 1861 in Hamburg am Stadttheater auf,[25] anschließend an diversen österreichischen Bühnen, ab 1863 am Stadttheater von Essek (Slawonien). Zwei seiner Dramen werden in Essek aufgeführt. Die *Eiserne Jungfrau* (Premiere 1864), im Wiener Milieu angesiedelt, ist ein Misserfolg. Lokalhistorischer und patriotischer Bezug des zweiten Dramas *Die Schlacht bei Essek im Jahre 1533* bescheren dagegen Berger große Zustimmung.[26] In den USA setzt er nach 1869 sein Wanderleben als Schaupieler fort. Noch im Jahr seiner Ankunft wird er am Stadttheater New York verpflichtet, 1870 tritt er in St. Louis auf, 1871 übernimmt er in Kooperation mit Gustav Donald die Leitung des New



REGISTRATION CARD

SERIAL NUMBER 1195 ORDER NUMBER 1035

1 Charles Sealsfield Berger
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

2 PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS 135 Mt Claire Ludlow Kenton Ky
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

3 Age in Years 38 4 Date of Birth April 2 1880
(Month) (Day) (Year)

RACE

White	Negro	Oriental	Indian	
			Citizen	Noncitizen
5 ✓	6	7	8	9

U. S. CITIZEN

Native Born	Naturalized	Citizen by Father's Naturalization Before Registrant's Majority
10 ✓	11	12

ALIEN

Declarant	Non-declarant
13	14

15 If not a citizen of the U. S., of what nation are you a citizen or subject? —

PRESENT OCCUPATION
16 Treasurer & accountant

EMPLOYER'S NAME
17 Hemingray Glass Co

18 PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS: 2nd & Madison Covington Kenton Ky
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

NEAREST RELATIVE
Name 19 Regina Berger
Address 20 135 Mt Claire Ludlow Kenton Ky
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

I AFFIRM THAT I HAVE VERIFIED ABOVE ANSWERS AND THAT THEY ARE TRUE
Charles Sealsfield Berger
(Registrant's signature or mark)

P. M. G. O. Form No. 1 (Rev.) (OVER)

16-3-33 Kenton "C"

REGISTRAR'S RECORD

DESCRIPTION OF REGISTRANT

HEIGHT			BUILD			COLOR OF EYES	COLOR OF HAIR
Tall	Medium	Short	Slender	Medium	Stout		
21	22 ✓	23	24	25 ✓	26	27 Blue	28 Light

29 Has person lost arm, leg, hand, eye, or is he obviously physically disqualified? (Specify.) No

30 I certify that my answers are true; that the person registered has read or has had read to him his own answers; that I have witnessed his signature or mark, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows:

E N Daugherty

Date of Registration Sept 12-1918

Local Board for Kenton Co.
Outside City of Covington,
Covington, Ky.
(STAMP OF LOCAL BOARD)

(The stamp of the Local Board having jurisdiction of the area in which the registrant has his permanent home shall be placed in this box.)

(OVER)

Abbildung 3. *Registration Card* (Militär) von Charles Sealsfield Berger (1918).

Yorker Stadttheaters.[27] Darüber hinaus erfolgen Auftritte an deutschen Bühnen in Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New Orleans. Berger verfasst mehrere schauerromantische, aber patriotisch-sozialkritische, immer unterhaltsame zumeist triviale Schauspiele, die teilweise erfolgreich aufgeführt werden.[28]

Der Journalist: Bereits vor der Auswanderung ist Berger journalistisch tätig. Er schreibt in Slawonien zwischen 1863 und 1865 für die örtliche Zeitung *Esseker Lokalblatt und Landbote*, verfasst anfangs die kritische Rubrik "Esseker Bummler." Mit seinen lokalen Tätigkeiten, als Schauspieler, Romancier und Theaterrezensent, provoziert er in der Öffentlichkeit eine Debatte um die Seriosität seiner Person. Zwischen seiner Zeitung, dem Konkurrenzblatt *Die Drau*, dem Periodikum *Esseker allgemeine illustrierte Zeitung*, der Theaterdirektion und "'Theaterliebhaber[n]'" geht der Streit um intrigante Unterstellungen zur Originalität seiner Romane, die geschätzte schauspielerische Leistung und mutig urteilende Rezensionen. Berger exponiert sich als vielfach talentierte, eigenwillig kreative, aber auch umstrittene Persönlichkeit. Möglicherweise veranlassen ihn die belastenden Konflikte zur Rückkehr nach Hamburg. Dort gründet er 1865 das politisch kritische, antipreußische Satireblatt *Hamburger Bummler*.[29] Nach der Immigration in die USA 1869 arbeitet er, von seinem Wohnsitz in Covington (Kenton County, Kentucky) aus, für das *Cincinnatier Volksblatt* und den *Cincinnati Enquirer*.[30] Im Auftrage des *Volksblattes* geht er zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges als Kriegsberichterstatter nach Europa.

Der Reisende: Als Schauspieler bereist Berger zwischen Chicago und New Orleans die USA und hält sich in den Regionen mit einer funktionierenden *German-American Community* auf. Die Dokumente der Ellis Island Foundation verzeichnen mehrfache Fahrten nach Europa mit Ankunftszeiten in New York in den Jahren 1894 (Hamburg; Herkunft aus Österreich), 1907 (Bremen; Herkunft aus Homonica[31]/Ungarn), 1912 (Bremen), 1914 (Rotterdam), 1920 (Rotterdam; Herkunft aus Budapest), 1921 (Rotterdam; Herkunft aus Budapest).

3. Die personalen Paradigmen: Erklärungen zum Sachverhalt

Es ist der Zusammenhang von Geza Bergers Vertrautheit mit der deutschamerikanischen Szene und *vice versa*, der Namensgebung seines Sohnes Charles Sealsfield Berger und der regional ausgedehnten, untereinander vernetzten Aktivitäten der *German-American Community* zur Erhaltung ihrer kulturellen Identität im Rahmen einer eigenen Öffentlichkeit, der Rückschlüsse auf die Rezeption Charles Sealsfields zulässt.

Wie ist es zur Namensgebung gekommen und welche Informationen liefert diese über die zeitgenössische Sealsfieldkenntnis?

Des Vaters Entscheidung, dem Sohn einen *first name* und einen *middle name* zu geben, folgt namengeschichtlich "the most important development[s] of the eighteenth century . . . ," "the growth in the use of middle names."[32] Begonnen hat die Tradition "toward the end of the seventeenth century. . . ." Die nach Pennsylvania eingewanderten Deutschen "were the first group to use two given names—that is, to have what we call a middle name."[33] Im 19. Jahrhundert ist es eine weit verbreitete Sitte. Allgemein schätzt man "the first name as dominant over the second. In Speech the middle name was rarely used, and in writing it was commonly reduced to the initial."[34] Es sind vor allem vier Absichten, die man mit dem *middle name* verfolgt: das Kind durch ein auffälliges Unterscheidungs- und Identitätsmerkmal im Verhältnis zu Mitbürgern mit identischen Namen auszuzeichnen; mit dem Gebrauch des mütterlichen Mädchennamens dessen Überlieferung zu sichern; der namentlich so hervorgehobenen Person auf diese Weise eine gewisse Vornehmheit zu verleihen; durch die "practice of naming for heroes" an bedeutende historische Persönlichkeiten zu erinnern, ihnen eine ehrende Referenz zu erweisen und damit zugleich auf eine ebenso bedeutsame Entwicklung des eigenen Kindes zu hoffen.[35]

Mit der Namenswahl folgen die Eltern Berger einerseits dieser Tradition, andererseits ihrem geistigen und politischen Habitus sowie der damit verbundenen Absicht, diesen über den Namen sowohl für die deutschamerikanische als auch allgemeine Öffentlichkeit zu dokumentieren:

Erstens: Für die beiden Söhne wählen die Eltern *given names*, historisch-politisch und literargeschichtlich semantisiert. Sie lassen den einen Sohn auf den Namen Hermann (traditioneller deutscher Vorname: "Heerführer") + Lafayette und den zweiten auf den Namen Charles (traditioneller deutscher Vorname: Karl, "der freie Mann") + Sealsfield taufen. Beide, der amerikanische Bürger, Offizier und Politiker französischer Herkunft Marquis de la Lafayette (1757-1834) und der amerikanische Bürger und politische Schriftsteller österreichischer Herkunft Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864), verkörpern für den historisch-politisch informierten Vater und sein patriotisches Verständnis der Heimat USA Maßstäbe vorbildlicher Lebensführung.

Zweitens: Schaut man auf den zeitgeschichtlichen Kontext, dann zeigt sich, dass die Motivation für diese Namenswahl von diesem beeinflusst worden ist, indem sie sich an zwei Ereignissen orientiert. Die Taufe des einen Sohnes auf den *middle name* Lafayette erfolgt 1875, ein Jahr vor der Centenarfeier amerikanischer Unabhängigkeit 1876, die des anderen

Sohnes auf den *first* und *middle name* Charles Sealsfield 1880, drei Jahre vor dem *Bicentennial Jubilee* zur ersten deutschen Einwanderung 1683. Bergers durch die Namenswahl öffentlich dokumentiertes Bekenntnis gegenüber den USA als Heimatstaat, der *German-American Community* als eigenständiger Ethnie und dem deutschen Herkunftsraum demonstriert eine dreifache Loyalität, symptomatisch für die Einstellung von Staatsbürgern deutscher Herkunft in den Jahrzehnten umfangreicher deutscher Immigration und intensiver ethnopolitischer Pflege deutschamerikanischer Kultur.[36]

Drittens: So wie Berger mit der Namenswahl "Lafayette" dem Zeitgeist folgt und das öffentliche Wissen um die bedeutende Rolle des Marquis als General im amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg belegt, genauso dokumentiert die Namenswahl "Sealsfield" dessen Bedeutung für die deutsch-amerikanische Ethnie und ihres kulturellen Gedächtnisses, aber auch für das Selbstverständnis von Berger. Vorstellbar ist, dass er die eigenen Lebensumstände nicht nur als politischer Flüchtling und antiabsolutistischer Kritiker bei Sealsfield wieder findet, sondern auch dessen gesellschaftspolitisches Plädoyer für die amerikanische Demokratie. Bestätigt wird letzterer Umstand durch einen Beitrag von Heinrich Armin Rattermann in der Monatsschrift *Der Deutsche Pionier* (Cincinnati, 1874), mit dem er Charles Sealsfield anlässlich der zehnten Wiederkehr seines Todestages würdigt. Für ihn sei er ein "ächter deutschamerikanischer Pionier," "einer der bedeutendsten Roman=Schriftsteller unserer Zeit."[37] Beides, Bergers Namenswahl und Rattermanns Beitrag, sind demonstrative ethnopolitische Maßnahmen, die dazu beitragen sollen, die Existenz der eigenen Ethnizität in ihrer bedrängten Position zwischen Separatismus, gefährlicher Selbstisolierung, und Nativismus, gefährlicher Assimilation, sichern zu helfen.[38]

Die bisherigen Ausführungen zeigen, dass in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren in der Öffentlichkeit der *German-American Community*, vor allem in Cincinnati, Charles Sealsfield eine bekannte historische Figur ist. Wenn das so gelten kann, dann ist danach zu fragen, woher Geza Berger seine Kenntnisse über den Literaten Sealsfield hat.

Weil keine ausführlichen autobiographischen Niederschriften von Geza Berger vorliegen,[39] können zu dessen Kenntnis von Charles Sealsfield und deren Herkunft lediglich Vermutungen im Zusammenhang mit seinem Lebensgang vorgeschlagen werden. Eine Informationsübermittlung innerhalb seiner Familie in Pressburg ist anzunehmen, kann aber nicht nachgewiesen werden.[40] Die Durchsicht mehrerer Jahrgänge der *Pressburger Zeitung* nach Informationen über Sealsfield, sein Tod 1864 sowie die Tätigkeit des Journalisten Geza Berger blieben gleichfalls ergebnislos.[41] Nach Auskünften aus Budapest hat sich Karl Maria Kertbeny als möglicher

Informationsvermittler für Sealsfield in Pressburg nicht aufgehalten. Auch über die Verbreitung und Rezeption seiner Publikationen über diesen haben sich keinerlei Hinweise ergeben. Das gilt auch für Bergers Wissen um zeitgenössische Publikationen über Sealsfield und die Texte vom Autor selbst. Er mag sein, dass er sich als junger Journalist durch die Gedenkfeierlichkeiten in Znaim und die Berichterstattung anlässlich Sealsfields Tod 1864 Kenntnisse erworben hat.

Auf Grund seiner Vertrautheit mit deutscher Kultur von New York bis New Orleans, mit den entsprechenden Personen, Einrichtungen und einer möglichen Lektüre von Sealsfields Büchern, erworben oder ausgeliehen, sowie der deutschamerikanischen Zeitungen kann er sich sein Wissen des Autors aber auch erst in den USA angeeignet haben.[42] Das gilt insbesondere für die Region Cincinnati, mit der Sealsfield vertraut ist und wo zahlreiche Bewohner ihn kennen.

Sealsfield hat sich viermal in den USA aufgehalten (1823-26, 1827-30, 1837, 1853-58). Auf mehreren Reisen aus dem Nordosten der USA in den Süden und zurück nutzt er die schnellste Verbindung zwischen Philadelphia, Pittsburgh und New Orleans, indem er auf dem Landweg mit dem täglich verkehrenden "Eilwagen" bis Pittsburgh oder Cincinnati fährt, um von hier aus per Schiff auf dem Ohio und dem Mississippi in wenigen Tagen Louisiana zu erreichen. Während des fünftägigen Aufenthalts in Cincinnati, einer Unterbrechung seiner Reise Ende Oktober 1825 nach New Orleans, lernt er die "elegante," wirtschaftlich prosperierende Stadt mit ihren 12.000 Einwohnern (1825) schätzen und schreibt ausführlich über seine Eindrücke.[43] Für die Zeit zwischen 1827 und 1830 weist er auf "auf seine[n] mehrmaligen Reisen nach dem Südwesten der Union" hin.[44] In Briefen an seinen Verleger Heinrich Erhard (Stuttgart) erwähnt er Aufenthalte in Louisiana 1854 und 1856, die sicherlich mit einer Zwischenstation in Cincinnati verbunden sind.[45]

Bereits während seiner ersten Anwesenheit in Cincinnati 1825 findet er Anschluss an die Honoratiorenschicht. Er hat Umgang mit dem renommierten ehemaligen Bürgermeister und Unternehmer Martin Baum (1765-1831)[46] und dem medizinischen Autodidakten Dr.hon. Jonathan Sellman (1764-1827). Eingedenk der Neigung Sealsfields, sich grundsätzlich der *high society* einer Stadt anzuschließen und damit auch der lokalen Presse bekannt zu sein, kann man berechtigterweise annehmen, dass er bei späteren Aufenthalten kontinuierlich den Kontakt zu den Honoratioren gesucht hat. Daher scheint auch Rattermanns Hinweis glaubwürdig und symptomatisch für dessen Bekanntheit unter den Bürgern von Cincinnati, wenn er anlässlich der Centenarfeier zu Sealsfields Geburtstag 1893 auf die Erinnerungen von Jakob Gülich,

"Werkführer in der Baum'schen Zucker=Raffinerie," aus dem Jahre 1869 hinweist, " . . . dass er sich desselben sehr wohl erinnere, dass er über alles sich erkundigt habe, sehr fließend englisch sprach und von den Doktoren Selman und Oberndorf immer als Professor angeredet worden sei."[47] Beides, die Rückfragen Rattermanns 1869 nach Sealsfield und die Antworten des Zeitzeugen Gülich, sind insofern bemerkenswert, als damit belegt wird, dass Sealsfield offenbar bereits 1825 sich in Cincinnati unter dem endgültigen Pseudonym vorgestellt und dieses nicht erst zusammen mit seinem Louisiana-Pass adaptiert hat.

Fasst man diese Mitteilungen zusammen und fragt nach Sealsfields Verhältnis zu Cincinnati, zur Region sowie der *German-American Community* und ihrer Kulturszene, dann kann man feststellen, dass der Literat infolge seiner bekannten Neigung zu Selbstdarstellung und rascher Akzeptanz durch den gehobenen Teil der Gesellschaft eine öffentlich bekannte Persönlichkeit gewesen ist, deren Kenntnis wenigstens bis in die hier betrachteten 1880er Jahre angedauert hat. Symptomatisch für die Tradition dieser Sealsfieldkenntnis ist Geza Berger.

4. Ein paar vorläufige Schlussfolgerungen

Im Zuge seines letzten fünfjährigen Aufenthaltes in den USA von 1853 bis 1858 schreibt Sealsfield an seinen Verleger Heinrich Erhard am 17. Juli 1854 aus Piermont (New York): "Uebrigens habe ich die Satisfaction, daß meine Schriften in allen Staats und größeren Stadtbibliotheken in den Catalogen aufgeführt sind—In Washington Philadelphia New York New Orleans etc. . . . Für jetzt bin ich jedoch bei dem großen Haufen rein vergessen."[48]

Um die Feststellungen von Sealsfield richtig zu verstehen, muss man beides nebeneinander lesen, die Mitteilungen des Autors von 1854 und die Erkenntnisse im Zusammenhang mit Geza Berger/Charles Sealsfield Berger für die Zeit der 1870er und 1880er Jahre. Prinzipiell hat Sealsfield recht, aber eben nur grundsätzlich, denn ihm entzieht sich der Einblick in das kulturelle Leben der *German American Community*, die zunehmend, besonders nach dem *Civil War*, durch rapide wachsende Immigration an Größe und Bedeutung gewinnt. In diesem Zusammenhang bildet sich bis zu den inneramerikanischen Zwangsmaßnahmen infolge des Ersten Weltkrieges ein deutschamerikanisches Selbstbewusstsein heraus, das deutsche Sprache und Herkunftskultur als notwendige Konstituenten ethnischer Selbstbestimmung pflegt. Rattermanns Würdigung Sealsfields 1874 ist symptomatisch für dieses Kulturbewusstsein und dafür, dass Sealsfield im Verständnis der eigenen deutschamerikanischen Tradition eine

wichtige Leitfigur und als solche im privaten wie öffentlichen Gedächtnis präsent ist. Das belegt Sealsfields öffentlicher Bekanntheitsgrad 1854, als—wie er schreibt—"es ruchbar geworden" ist, dass er im "Lande" sei und "Freunde" ihm mitteilen,[49] "einige Redacteure von tonangebenden Zeitungen" wollten "meine Ankunft durch 'leading articles' ankündigen."[50]

Auf die eingangs gestellte Frage nach dem gesellschaftspolitischen, soziokulturellen und literargeschichtlichen Kontext der Namensübertragung von Charles Sealsfield auf Charles Sealsfield Berger haben sich Antworten ergeben, die für eine intensivierte Recherche der amerikanischen Sealsfieldrezeption sprechen. Dafür sind zwei Rezeptionskomplexe in Erwägung zu ziehen: der Bekanntheitsgrad des Schriftstellers Charles Sealsfield, seiner Biographie und seiner Werke nach dem politischen wie kulturgeschichtlichen Umbruch ab der 1850er Jahre in Europa und in den USA, die Möglichkeiten einer dennoch kontinuierlich bewahrten Sealsfieldkenntnis im Kontext der ethnizistischen Selbstbestimmung und geschichtlichen Vergewisserung der deutschamerikanischen Bevölkerung, deren Entwicklung in den 1880er Jahren einen Höhepunkt erreicht.

Die Schlussüberlegungen dazu gehen von folgender These aus: Charles Sealsfield ist noch in den 1880er Jahren präsenter Bestandteil des kulturellen Gedächtnisses der *German-American Community* und ihrer Aktivitäten zum Erhalt deutschamerikanischer Existenz. Es kann vorausgesetzt werden, dass es bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg ein Kontinuum der Berichterstattung über ihn gibt, seine Werke in öffentlichen wie privaten Bibliotheken vorhanden sind und das Wissen um seine Literatenleistung in Gesprächen transportiert wird. Daraus resultieren die folgenden Aufgaben für die Rezeptionsforschung.

Erstens: Nach den hier vorgestellten Beobachtungen erscheinen Sealsfields Hinweise auf die weite Verbreitung seiner Werke in den USA glaubwürdig. Konsequenterweise bedeutet es, dass die Werke einer breiten Leserklientel bekannt sind, zugänglich über Leihbüchereien, *reading societes*, Privatbeständen und die Kenntnismultiplizierung über privates Weiterreichen der Bücher und Gespräche. Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass Sealsfield ein Teil des kulturellen Gedächtnisses der deutschamerikanischen Kulturszene ist, dann hat sich die Rezeptionsforschung auf die Verbreitung der englisch- oder deutschsprachigen Texte vor allem innerhalb der *German-American Community* zu konzentrieren, dokumentiert in den Katalogen wie Ausleihlisten der Leihbibliotheken und in der deutschamerikanischen Presse. Seine Einschätzung, er sei vom "großen Haufen," d.h. dem Durchschnittsleser, "rein vergessen," kann Sealsfield auf Grund seiner eingeschränkten Kenntnis der Literaturszene in dieser definitiven Form gar nicht glaubwürdig leisten.

Zweitens: Wichtige Voraussetzung für weitere Recherchen nicht nur in den USA ist der biographische Umstand, dass der Junggeselle und Reisende, der Autor und Aktionär Sealsfield ein überaus kontaktfreudiger, nach bekanntschaftlichen und geschäftlichen Beziehungen erfolgreich suchender Mann gewesen ist. Seine Briefe belegen, dass er—wo immer er sich aufgehalten hat—an den jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen engagiert teilgenommen und einen regen Besuchs- wie Gedankenaustausch gepflegt hat. Bei diesem Verhalten handelt es sich um ein markantes Merkmal seiner Biographie, das von der Rezeptionsforschung bislang nur wenig genutzt worden ist. Darum erscheint es geboten, den Reisestationen wie Personenhinweisen in der Korrespondenz und seinen Bankbeziehungen nachzugehen, die Recherchen nach Kontakten, der personalen wie werkgeschichtlichen Rezeption und damit der privaten wie öffentlichen Einschätzung seiner Wirkung und Bedeutung auszuweiten.

Drittens: Auch Sealsfield hat als Autor und Amerikareisender nur einen begrenzten Einblick in die Rezeptionsdauer und Wirkungsqualität seiner Person und Werke, was folgerichtig auch für die Rezeptionsforschung gilt. Um diese unbefriedigende Situation zu modifizieren, bedarf es intensiver Recherchen in den Regionen, wo sich Sealsfield wiederholt aufgehalten und die gesellschaftliche wie mediale Öffentlichkeit gesucht hat, vor allem innerhalb der *German-American Community*: in New York, Cincinnati, wohl auch in New Orleans u.a. Orten. Zu Zeiten von Sealsfields Amerikaaufenthalten war der Reisende kein Teil eines weitgehend anonymen Tourismus, sondern ein Einzelreisender, der häufig privat übernachtete, sich zumeist mehrere Tage in seinen Quartieren aufhielt und persönlichen Kontakt mit den Gastgebern auch in Hotels und Wirtshäusern hat. So kann man beispielsweise davon ausgehen, dass er im Großraum Baton Rouge/New Orleans immer wieder in *plantations* Quartier genommen hat, deren Besitzer in der Regel Gästebücher geführt haben.

Fazit: Das Defizit der Rezeptionsforschung ist keineswegs eine Folge mangelnder Präsenz Sealsfields und seiner Werke im privaten wie institutionalisierten Gedächtnis vor allem der *German-American Community*. Das Defizit ergibt sich aus der Reduzierung der Sealsfieldforschung in den USA, aus der europäischen Distanz zu den amerikanischen Archiven und der fehlenden Digitalisierung archivalischer Bestände deutschamerikanischer Kultur sowie deren Zugänglich übers Internet. Und: Die eingeforderte Feldforschung, dieser Umgang mit den Quellen ist mühsam und die Thematik verheißt keinerlei akademischen Ruhm. Dennoch: Charles Sealsfield ist ein bemerkenswerter Schriftsteller und Kulturvermittler des deutschen Vormärz wie Frührealismus, der

amerikanischen Literaturentwicklung seiner Zeit sowie der deutsch-amerikanischen Kultur. Daher ist es wohl begründet, besonders die germanistische wie amerikanistische Forschung in den Staaten zu stimulieren, sich nach diesem Mann und seiner Rezeption zu erkundigen.

"Die Vereinigten Staaten sind"—so konstatiert der französische Soziologe Jean Baudrillard—im 19. Jahrhundert, gültig auch für Charles Sealsfield und die *German-American Community*, immer noch die transatlantisch "verwirklichte Utopie" dessen, was cisatlantisch gesellschaftspolitisch erdacht worden ist.[51] Weil es so ist, bindet die *German-American Community* ihre Ethnizität ideologisch daran, bezieht ihre Identität nicht nur aus erinnerter Herkunftskultur und deutscher Sprache, sondern ihre soziokulturelle Orientierung ebenfalls aus der Existenz historisch vorbildlicher Persönlichkeiten der eigenen und mit ihr verbundenen amerikanischen Geschichte. Charles Sealsfield ist eine davon, wie Geza Berger zutreffend erkannt hat.

Universität Hamburg
Hamburg, Germany

Abbildungsnachweise

Abbildung 1:
Nachruf zu Geza Berger (1842-1930) im *Cincinnati Enquirer* (1930).
Quelle: *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1930, 33,4.

Abbildung 2:
Passantrag von Charles Sealsfield Berger (1898).
Quelle: Passport application #181 issued on October 10, 1898 to Charles Sealsfield Berger, *Passport Bureau: Passport Applications, Oct. 27, 1795 - Nov. 30, 1812; Feb. 22, 1830 - Nov. 15, 1831; May 13, 1833 - Dec. 31, 1905*, entry A1 508, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, The National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

Abbildung 3:
Registration Card (Militär) von Charles Sealsfield Berger (1918).
Quelle: Bundesstaat der Registrierung: *Kentucky*; Landkreis der Registrierung: *Kenton*; Rolle: *1653495*; Ancestry.com. *World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918* [Datenbank online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2005. Ursprüngliche Daten: United States, Selective Service System. *World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. M1509, 4,582 rolls. Imaged from Family History Library microfilm.

Anmerkungen

Der vorliegende Beitrag erscheint auch in verkürzter Fassung unter dem veränderten Titel "Geza Berger und Charles Sealsfield Berger. Zu einem biographischen und namengeschichtlichen Fall interkultureller Verbindungen zwischen Osijek und Cincinnati im späten 19. Jahrhunderts" in: *Zagreber Germanistische Beiträge* 21 (2013).

[1] Sealsfield an Erhard vom 17. Juli 1854, Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Briefe und Aktenstücke*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim [u.a.]: Olms, 2010), 295f. (Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke. Supplementreihe*, 5).—Castle transkribiert "Pyrmont." Korrekt ist: Piermont (Rockland County), Eisenbahnstation (Erie Railroad).

[2] *Catholic Knights of America* (1877-2005), römisch-katholische Bruderschaft und Versicherungsvereinigung auf Gegenseitigkeit, Zentrale in St. Louis (Missouri), ab 1879 zweijährige Zusammenkünfte.

[3] *American Catholic Tribune* (1885[?]-189[?]), Cincinnati (Ohio) and Detroit (Michigan), Publisher: Rudd & Whitson. African American Catholic Newspaper, unregelmäßiges Erscheinen.

[4] *The Appeal* (Saint Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) vom 15. November 1890 (s. Illustration).

[5] Anm. 3.

[6] *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt* (Cincinnati, Ohio; Jg. 1-83, 1836-1919), auch wöchentliche Ausgaben (1839-1919) und Sonntagseditionen; Auflagen: 1870: 8.500 (geschätzt), 1880: 13.200, 1911: 23.250. Microfilm HCPL Magazines & Newspapers Dept. 800 Vine St., Cincinnati, OH 45202-2071; Karl J. R. Arndt/May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas. Bd. 1. History and Bibliography 1732-1968: United States of America* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 454f.

[7] Otto Heller/Theodore H. Leon, *Charles Sealsfield: Bibliography of his Writings together with a classified and annotated Catalogue of his works and his life* (St. Louis, 1939; *Washington University Studies—New Series, Language and Literature*, 8); Nanette M. Ashby, *Charles Sealsfield, "The Greatest American Author," A Study of Literary Piracy and Promotion in the 19th Century* (Stuttgart: Charles Sealsfield Gesellschaft, 1980).

[8] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books/Humanity Books, 2000). Darin: "Community Life before the Civil War und The Civil War and Beyond," 187-231.

[9] Alexander Ritter, "Charles Sealsfields Geschäftsbeziehungen zu den Verlagen Brockhaus (Leipzig), Julius Baedeker (Elberfeld), Orell, Füßli & Cie. und Friedrich Schultheß (Zürich). Inhaltliche Buchmarktferne, verlagsgeschäftliche Absprachefehler und limitierte Buchzirkulation," *Charles Sealsfield im Schweizer Exil 1831-1864: Republikanisches Refugium und internationale Literatenkarriere*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2008; *SealsfieldBibliothek*, 6), 81-126.

[10] Vgl. den Passantrag von 1898 (siehe Abbildung 2.) und die behördliche Registrierung für den Militärdienst von 1918 (siehe Abbildung 3.).

[11] Grundlagen: "Former News Writer Dies. Geza Berger was with Volksblatt," *Cincinnati Enquirer* vom 21. Dezember 1930, 33/4; Ralph Wood: *Geschichte des Deutschen Theaters von Cincinnati, Deutsch-amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 32 (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1932), vor allem 441f.; Wood zitiert aus: Geza Berger: "Erinnerungen," *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, 1907-1908 (konnte nicht eingesehen werden); Robert Elmer Ward, "Berger, Geza," Robert Elmer Ward, *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers 1670-1970* (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publ., 1985), 29; die Erläuterungen zu Geza Bergers Aufenthalte in Essek sind weitgehend den Ausführungen von Vlado Obad verpflichtet: Vlado Obad, *Roda Roda und die deutschsprachige Literatur aus Slawonien* (Böhlau: Wien, 1996), 33-37; *Regionalpresse in Österreich-Ungarn und die urbane Kultur*, ed. Vlado Obad (Wien: Feldmann, 2007), darin: Vlado Obad, "Slavonische Presse," 115-164, hier 118-120.—Auf Grund zerstörter Archivbestände (1945ff.) sind im Stadtarchiv Bratislava Informationen zu seiner familiären Herkunft in Pressburg nicht vorhanden.—Aurel Emeritzy und Erich Sirchich, *Nordkarpatenland—Deutsches Leben in der Slowakei* (Karlsruhe: Karpatendeutsches Kulturwerk, 1979); Ernst Hochberger, *Das große Buch der Slowakei* (Sinn: Hochberger, 1997).

[12] Friedrich Wilhelm Adolph Marr (1819-1904; Dokumente: Staatsarchiv Hamburg), Journalist, Anarchist, Atheist und Antisemit, hält sich von 1845 bis 1852 nach seiner Ausweisung aus der Schweiz (Vorwurf: kommunistische Aktivitäten) in Hamburg auf, 1861-62 Mitglied der Hamburgischen Bürgerschaft, arbeitet anschließend für verschiedene deutsche Zeitungen. Marr befürwortet als linker Radikaldemokrat einen deutschen Staat einschließlich Österreichs unter preußischer Führung und leistet mit seinen programmtisch antisemtischen Schriften die ideologischen Grundlagen für die NS-Ideologie. Wie Berger publiziert er beim Hamburger Verlag W. Schardius: *Der Ausschluss Österreichs aus Deutschland ist eine politische Widersinnigkeit* (1866), *Es muss alles Soldat werden! oder die Zukunft des Norddeutschen Bundes. Ein Phantasiegemälde* (1867). Zu Marr: Ina Lorenz, "Marr, Friedrich Wilhelm Adolph," *Hamburgische Biografie, Personenlexikon*, ed. Franklin Kopitzsch/Dirk Brietzke (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 224-226.

[13] "W. Schardius [Bernhard Woldemar], Buch- u. Papierh., Leihbibl. u. Zeitungsladen der Neustadt im *Hamburg*. Gegr. 1. Nov. 1863. Bes.: *Bernhard Woldemar Schardius*. Agentur der Verlagshandlungen *A. Payne* in Altona und *A. H. Payne* in *Leipzig*. Verbreitet 4000 Anzeigen mit Firma gratis und sieht Offerten entgegen," *Adressbuch für den deutschen Buchhandel* (Leipzig, Schulz: 1866), 212. Nachweis der Verlagsexistenz: Keine Unterlagen im Hamburger Staatsarchiv.

[14] PassagierlistenNewYork_1869_08_30_CityofBrooklyn_290892584 Berger.pdf.—SS [Steam Ship] "City of Brooklyn": Todd & McGregor (Glasgow), fertiggestellt Dezember 1868, erste Fahrt 1869, untergegangen 1885; Reederei: Inman Line "Royal & United States Mail Steamers."—Die "City of Brooklyn" gilt als besonders schnelles und komfortables Auswandererschiff. Nach der Werbung bewältigt sie die transatlantische Strecke in vierzehn Tagen. Die Passagierliste der Transatlantikfahrt vom 13. Juni 1871 Liverpool-New York (Informationen: Norway Heritage, Internet) informiert über eine Kapazität von 960 Reisende. Geza Berger ist während der Jungfernfahrt 1869 unter Kapitän Samuel Brooks an Bord (Liverpool-Queenstown-New York 1869).

[15] Wood, *Deutsches Theater*, 441. Berger hält sich nicht 1869 in Essek auf, sondern von 1863 bis 1865, um anschließend nach Hamburg zu gehen. Für ihn als Österreicher ist es wahrscheinlich seine linksliberale, anti-preußische Gesinnung, die ihn nach dem Abtreten Schleswig und Holsteins an Preußen (Folge des Deutsch-Dänischen Krieges 1866) und der Parteinahme Hamburgs für Preußen politisch unerwünscht werden lässt und zur Emigration in die USA führt.

[16] "Ohio, County Marriages, 1789-1994," index and images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/XZ1W-QBB : accessed 08 Sep 2012), Geza Berger in entry for Charles S. Berger and Regina Swietermann, 1903; citing reference v 165 cn 419, FHL microfilm 355068.

[17] NARA: USReisepassanträge17951925_70828254.Berger.jpg. Wohnort: Covington, 2159 Madison Avenue.

[18] SterbeurkundenKentucky18521953_116025360.pdf. (siehe Abbildung 1.).

[19] Reisepass 10. Oktober 1898: *Passport Application*: [Form No. 203] [Edition of 1889] Vorgang: No. 181, 10. Oktober 1898 (siehe Abbildung 2.).

[20] Registration Card (Military); Behörde: Local Board for Kenton Co, Outside City of Covington, Covington, KY / (Stamp of Local Board) Date of Registration: 12. September 1918 Serial Number 1195 / Order Number 1035 Wohnort: Ludlaw, Kenton County, KY, 135 Mrt. Glau[?] Alter: 38 (siehe Abbildung 3).

[21] Das Unternehmen produzierte Isolatoren, Glaszylinder, Flaschen, Petroleumlampen u.a.

[22] Bob Stahr, / *The Insulator Gazette* vom 7. September 2012 (Internet) / "Muncie, IN, United States, Tueday, February 4, 1902" / "COUNCIL REQUESTS A SHOWING BY THE GASS COMPANIES OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES" / Unter den

Mitgliedern "Berger" (abwesend). —"Trade Directory, Containing list of Manufacturers of Pottery, Glassware, Enamel and Aluminum Ware, Pittsburgh, PA, United States, 1923, p. 45,58-59, col. 1 Hemingray listing" / "Hemingray Glass Co. Muncie, Ind. "Chas. Berger, treasure".—[Trade Journal] American Glass Trade Directory Pittsburgh, PA, United States, 1921 p. 11,20, col. 1 TABLEWARE AND GENERAL FLINT GLASSWARE COMPANIES. "Hemingray Glass Co. Muncie, Ind., Chas. Berger" / 1919-1925 wechselnde Angaben.

[23] Anschriftenverzeichnis (1921): Muncie, Indiana, 194: "Berger Charles S (Regina [= Ehefrau]), Treas The Hemingway Glass Co, h 1500 e Washington" (Anschrift der Hemingray Glass Co.).

[24] Obad, *Regionalpresse*, 120.

[25] Staatsarchiv Hamburg: kein Nachweis für Geza Bergers Anwesenheit in Hamburg.

[26] Nikola Šubic Zrinski (1508-1566), kroatischer Adliger, General in habsburgischen Diensten, berühmter Verteidiger von Szigetvár (1556; bei Pécs) gegen die Türken und Ban von Kroatien und Slawonien.

[27] Internet: "German Theater in Kleindeutschland and the Lower Eastside, Manhattan."

[28] Geza Berger, *Des Dichters Traum in der Sylvesternacht* ["Humorist. mytholog. Gelegenheitsstück in 1 Aufzuge. gr. 8. (16 S.)"] (Berlin: Bloch, 1861/Wien: Eurich, 1861). Nachweis dazu: *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (GV) 1700-1910* (München [u.a.]: Saur, 1980), Bd. 12, 223); Fortsetzungromane in Essek, 1863ff.): *Das Leichenzimmer*, *Eine Zigeunerliebe*; Schaupiele in Essek (1863ff.): *Eiserne Jungfrau*, *Die Schlacht bei Essek im Jahre 1533*; Schauspiele in den USA (1869ff.): *Des Dichters Traum*; *Barbara Ubryk*, *Geheimnisse von St. Louis*, *Auf nach Cuba*, *Massenmörder Thomas*, *Die Armen und die Reichen in Cincinnati*, *Wir Deutschamerikaner*.

[29] Nachweis: *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (GV) 1700-1910* (München [u.a.]: Saur, 1980), Bd. 22, 53: "Der Hamburger Bummler. Humoristisch-satyrisches Volksblatt. Redig. von Géza Berger. Jahrg. 1865 [!]. Juli - Dezbr. 26 Nrn (à 1 Bgn mit Holzschn.) Hamburg, Schardius in Comm. 4. --- n. 20. . . ."; Vgl. Wood, *Deutsches Theater*, 441; Obad, *Regionalpresse*, 118-20. "Bummler": im Sinne von Flaneur, neugieriger Beobachter der Öffentlichkeit; vgl. Albert Peter Johann Krüger: *Hamburg, wie es lacht und weint. Eine Sammlung aus dem Hamburger Volksleben* in 12 Bdn. (Altona: Verlags-Bureau, 1860-62), Bd. 2: *Die Bummler von Hamburg. Lokal-Novelle* (1860).

[30] Vlado Obad zitiert Julius Pfeiffer, Druckereibesitzer und Herausgeber der Zeitung *Die Drau*, der in seinem Bericht "Deutsches Theater in Osijek, 1774-1907," *Morgenblatt* (Agram, 24.12.1932, 13) darüber berichtet, wie er während eines Aufenthaltes in New York im Jahre 1900 von Geza Berger nach Cincinnati eingeladen worden sei. (Oblad, *Roda Roda*, 36)

[31] Homonica (= damalige korrekte Schreibung: ungar. Homonna): Stadt in der heutigen Slowakei (Humenné), zu Bergers Zeit mit einem großen Anteil jüdischer Bevölkerung, was seine Reise als Jude dorthin teilweise erklären könnte.

[32] George R. Stewart, *American Given Names: Their Origin and History in the Context of the English Language* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 22.

[33] Ibid., 21.

[34] Ibid., 29.

[35] Ibid., 32f.

[36] Carol Poore, "Wessen Feier? Die Hundertjahrfeier von 1876 und die deutschamerikanische sozialistische Kultur," *Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestandaufnahme einer 300jährigen Geschichte*, ed. Frank Trommler (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 192-203.

[37] R. [= Rattermann], "Zwei, in Europa verstorbene, ächte Deutschamerikanische Pioniere. 1. Charles Sealsfield," *Der Deutsche Pionier. Monatsschrift für Erinnerungen aus dem deutschen Pionier=Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Ende März 1874, Heft 1), 5-16; Mary Edmund Spanheime, *The German Pioneer Legacy: The Life and Work of Heinrich A. Rattermann*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (2. Aufl. Oxford [u.a.]: Lang, 2004; *New German-American Studies / Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, 26), 94-98, "Rattermann's Library," 135-40.

[38] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Deutschamerikaner und die Erfindung der Ethnizität,"

Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestandaufnahme einer 300jährigen Geschichte, Trommler, *Amerika*, 148-64. Vgl. auch: Joshua A. Fishman, *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnicity Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity* (Amsterdam [u.a.]: Mouton Publishers, 1985; *Contributions to the Sociology of Language* 37).

[39] Anm. 11.

[40] eMail: Dr. Stefan Holcik vom 8. Oktober 2012 (Stadtarchiv Bratislava, Slowakei).

[41] Internet: *Preßburger Zeitung* (digitalisierte Fassung; *Städtische Preßburger Zeitung* ab 1861ff.). Kein Hinweis auf das Redaktionskollegium, Verfassernamen durch Kürzel oder Symbole verschlüsselt.

[42] Mögliche Werke Sealsfields im Bestand der "Cincinnati Public Library" (gegr. 1853).

[43] [An.], *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* . . . (Stuttgart/Tübingen: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1827), Bd. 2, 4. Kapitel, 55-64; Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The German Image of Cincinnati before 1830," *Das Ohiotal—The Ohio Valley: The German Dimension*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), S. 27; Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Wien/München: Stratowa, 1952; Reprint: 1993), 73f. Castle bezieht sich im wesentlichen auf Sealsfields Amerikabericht.

[44] Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke*, 290, 291.

[45] Sealsfield an Erhard vom 25. April 1854, Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke*, 285: "Ich bin erst seit zehn Tagen von Louisiana hierher zurückgekehrt . . . , wo ich vom Red River abging". Den Winter hat er in Lousiana verbracht (ibid., 286). Zu Sealsfields Bekanntheitsgrad in den USA vgl. seine Hinweise ibid, 297, 299f., 301. Emil Klauprecht, *German Chronicle in the History of the Ohio Valley and its Capital City Cincinnati in Particular (1864)*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, übers. Dale V. Lally (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, 1992); Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley* . . . (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970); Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German Cincinnati (Ohio)* (Arcadia Publishing, 2006); Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Covington's German Heritage* (Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books, 2008).

[46] Zu Martin Baum vgl. Beitrag im Internet. Baum, bis 1819 einer der reichsten Männer der Stadt, verliert während der Finanzkrise 1819-20 sein Vermögen. Sealsfield über ihn (*Die Vereinigten Staaten*), 57f, 61: "Wir gingen mit Mr. Baum und einigen Herren nach dem Courthause." Er ist der "der Reichste und unternehmendste von Ihnen, Mr. Baum, ein für den Westen Ohios wirklich sehr schätzbarer Mann, hat durch zu verwegene Spekulationen und Bürgschaften den größten Teil seines erworbenen Vermögens wieder eingebüßt."

[47] Heinrich Armin Rattermann, "Charles Sealsfield. Sein Leben und seine Werke. Vortrag gehalten bei Gelegenheit der Feier des 100jährigen Geburtstages Sealsfields im 'Deutschen Litterarischen Klub von Cincinnati, am 1. März 1893,'" *Ausgewählte Werke*, Bd. X (Cinncinnati, Ohio: Selbstverlag, 1911), 10:11-27. Charles Sealsfield, *Das Geheimnis des Großen Unbekannten, Charles Sealsfield = Carl Postl. Die Quellenschriften* . . . , ed. Eduard Castle (Wien: Wiener Bibliophilen=Gesellschaft, 1943), 518-520 (Reprint: Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke* 26, *Supplementreihe, Materialien und Dokumente* 2; Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1995).

[48] Der fünfjährige Aufenthalt ist die rechtliche Voraussetzung dafür, dass ein immigrierter Bürger die Staatsbürgerschaft beantragen kann. Sealsfield erhält diese 1858.—Sealsfield an Erhard vom 17. Juli 1854, Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke*, 295f.

[49] Sealsfield an Erhard vom 25. April 1854, ibid., 286.

[50] Sealsfield an Erhard vom 17. Juli 1854, ibid., 295.

[51] Jean Baudrillard, *Amerika* (München: Matthes & Seitz, 1987), 110-12.

Bärbel Such

Unseren täglichen Essig gib uns heute: Alfred Gongs *Um den Essigkrug* als religiöse Satire[1]

In einer Rezension zu Gongs Gedichtband *Manifest Alpha*[2] schreibt Rose Ausländer 1962: "Wenn Alfred Gongs Lyrik mit einem Etikett versehen werden soll, müsste man sie als satirisch bezeichnen."[3] Auch Gongs Drama *Um den Essigkrug*,[4] das 1959 und damit etwa zur selben Zeit wie *Manifest Alpha* entstand, lässt sich als Satire lesen: eine Satire, die die scheinbare Gesundheit der modernen Gesellschaft unter die Lupe nimmt und ihren moralischen Bankrott entblößt. Besonders auffällig sind hier Gongs Anspielungen auf religiöse Kontexte der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition, die sich durch das gesamte Drama ziehen und deren Heilsnachricht er beißend hinterfragt und letztendlich ablehnt.

Zur Entstehungszeit dieses Dramas befand sich Alfred Gong seit fast einem Jahrzehnt in New York. Der aus Czernowitz in der Bukowina stammende deutsch-jüdische Schriftsteller hatte die Verfolgung durch die Nazis im Untergrund überlebt und war nach einigen Jahren in Wien 1951 in die USA emigriert. Von seiner Auswanderung erhoffte sich der damals 31-jährige, dass er im Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten zu Wohlstand und Ansehen gelangen würde und sich ganz seinem Schreiben widmen könnte. Tatsächlich schaffte es Gong in den nächsten Jahren kaum, sich finanziell über Wasser zu halten. Seinen schwierigen Lebensumständen zum Trotz konnte er zahlreiche literarische Erfolge in deutsch-amerikanischen sowie europäischen Publikationen verzeichnen,[5] und 1960 erschien sein erster Gedichtband,[6] 1961 der zweite.[7] Ein Jahr später gab Gong die Anthologie *Interview mit Amerika. 50 deutschsprachige Autoren in der neuen Welt* heraus,[8] und im Jahre 1969 veröffentlichte er die Kurzgeschichtensammlung *Happening in der Park Avenue*,[9] in der er seine eigenen Eindrücke als Immigrant in Amerika verarbeitete.

Obwohl Gongs erste Werke durchaus Anklang fanden,[10] hatte sich schon für die Kurzgeschichten nur mit Mühe ein Verleger gefunden. Natalia Shchyhlevska schreibt diese Veröffentlichungsschwierigkeiten der "direkte[n] und kompromisslose[n] Art" des Autors zu, mit der er viele Kontakte in literarischen Kreisen vor den Kopf stieß, wie auch der Tatsache, dass "seine beißenden, die Gegenwart entlarvenden Satiren . . . sowohl Literaturkritiker als auch Verleger [überforderten]."[11] Enttäuscht und verbittert über seine Misserfolge zog Gong sich schließlich fast völlig aus dem literarischen Leben zurück. Eine Zeile aus dem Gedicht "Verdämmerung," das 1980, ein Jahr vor seinem Tod, erschien, vermittelt einen Eindruck davon, wie Gong sich selbst am Ende seines Lebens sah: "Alt bin ich und vergessen / und ohne Feinde geblieben."[12]

Dass Alfred Gongs Werk dennoch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten ist, liegt vorallem daran, dass seine Witwe, Norma Gong, den Nachlass des Autors der *University of Cincinnati* überlassen und somit der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht hat. Besonders in den letzten Jahren hat das Interesse an diesem wichtigen, überaus produktiven deutsch-amerikanischen Schriftsteller wieder zugenommen, und das Bestreben, sein extensives literarisches Werk in veröffentlichter Form einem breiteren Publikum vorzulegen, dauert an.[13]

Die vorliegende Arbeit verfolgt nun das Anliegen, Gongs Theaterstück *Um den Essigkrug*, das erst vor wenigen Jahren und damit gut 25 Jahre nach seinem Tod veröffentlicht wurde, vorzustellen, und zwar besonders unter Berücksichtigung der satirischen Elemente.[14] Außerdem soll *Um den Essigkrug* in den Kontext deutschsprachiger Nachkriegsdramen gestellt werden, indem der Bezug zu Friedrich Dürrenmatt aufgezeigt wird, der Gongs dramatisches Schaffen deutlich beeinflusste.[15] Insbesondere soll dabei auf den *Besuch der alten Dame* (1956) eingegangen werden, da dieses Stück ebenfalls als Gesellschaftssatire oder als Passionsspiel gelesen werden kann.[16]

Gong stellte *Um den Essigkrug* 1959 fertig, also etwa drei Jahre nach dem Erscheinen von Dürrenmatts *Der Besuch der alten Dame.* Schon auf dem Titelblatt verlieh Gong seinem Drama das Etikett "Volksstück." Der Einfluss Dürrenmatts ist unverkennbar, denn in der "Anmerkung" zu *Der Besuch der alten Dame* schreibt dieser: "Man inszeniere mich auf die Richtung von Volksstücken hin, behandle mich als eine Art bewussten Nestroy, und man wird am weitesten kommen."[17] Gongs Drama kann jedoch genauso wenig als volkstümlich bezeichnet werden wie *Der Besuch der alten Dame.* Stattdessen spielt hier wie bei Dürrenmatt das Groteske eine große Rolle.[18] So nehmen zum Beispiel die Charaktere nichts als Essig zu sich, schlafen in Särgen, und die Männer gebären den Nachwuchs.

Um den Essigkrug spielt in dem fiktiven Staat Mundomir, in dem Regierungen und Staatsoberhäupter fast täglich überworfen und abgelöst

werden, anscheinend zum Wohl der Bürger, obwohl sich tatsächlich nie etwas ändert. Die Bürger haben sogar Mühe, sich an den Namen des gerade Herrschenden zu erinnern, da diese gänzlich austauschbar sind. In Anbetracht der Namen, die Gong diesen Herrschern verleiht, ist das allerdings auch wenig verwunderlich: Das Staatsoberhaupt Keck wird durch Kick ersetzt und dieser durch Kuck, dann gelangt Kück an die Macht und schließlich Kack.

In dieser politisch instabilen Welt lebt der Protagonist Richtig. Richtigs Dasein dreht sich "um den Essigkrug," der mitten in seiner Behausung steht. Essig ist der "nationale Einheitstrunk" der Bürger Mundomirs (39). Richtigs Frau Erika bezeichnet das Getränk ehrfürchtig als "unseren täglichen Essig" (43), eine deutliche Anspielung auf die Gebetzeile "unser tägliches Brot" des Vaterunsers.[19] Doch durch Gebete allein lässt sich der Krug nicht füllen: Essig ist teuer und muss hart erarbeitet werden. Die Qualität des Essigs ist abhängig von den finanziellen Mitteln, die den Käufern zur Verfügung stehen. Somit wird der Essig auch zum Statussymbol und hebt die sozialen Unterschiede zwischen den Bürgern von Mundomir eher hervor, als dass er sie als Einheitsgetränk aufhebt. Die Richtigs müssen sich aufgrund ihrer finanziellen Situation mit minderwertiger Qualität zufrieden geben, und Richtig beklagt sich: "Für sowas muss einer sauer schuften!" (43). Der saure Geschmack des Essigs ist repräsentativ für die Lebensumstände der Bürger, deren schwere Arbeit ihnen nicht einmal ihr Grundnahrungsmittel garantiert. Der Essig erbaut weder Körper noch Geist.

Richtig ist von Beruf Bauarbeiter. Sein Tagesablauf folgt einer strengen Routine: er wird von Erika des Morgens aus dem Schlaf gerissen und zur Arbeit geschickt. Sie erinnert ihn stets daran, dass er für den Verdienst ihres Lebensunterhalts verantwortlich ist und deshalb nicht zu spät kommen darf. Nach dem morgendlichen Essigtrunk begibt sich Richtig zu seinem Arbeitsplatz, wo er dann "fleißig" die Arbeit an seinen Bauprojekten aufnimmt (47). Seine Strebsamkeit wird von seinem Chef unterbrochen, der sodann Richtigs Arbeit für nichtig erklärt, die Bauten zerstört und ihm einen neuen Auftrag erteilt. Richtigs Tag endet regelmäßig damit, dass er von Sicherheitsbeamten des Staates verhaftet und ins Gefängnis gesteckt wird. Sein Vergehen besteht immer darin, dass er versäumt, sich über den letzten Regierungswechsel zu informieren. Folglich kann er nicht mit den richtigen Worten zur Huldigung des neuen Herrschers grüßen. Der Gruß "Es lebe Keck!," wenn es eigentlich "Es lebe Kack!" sein sollte, gilt als kriminell und wird mit Gefängnis bestraft.

Richtigs Arbeitsethik, sein Verantwortungsbewusstsein gegenüber seiner Ehefrau und sein Unvermögen, sich gegen die Willkür der Staatsdiener zu wehren, machen ihn zum Antihelden im Dürrenmatt'schen Sinne. Wie Ulrich Profitlich herausstellt, schafft Dürrenmatt Charaktere, die "durch

ein erhebliches Opfer als potentielle Helden ausgewiesen sind, dieses Opfer aber für einen Zweck bringen, der den Einsatz in Wirklichkeit nicht lohnt."[20] Richtig verausgabt sich auf dem Bauplatz tagaus, tagein, bleibt auch angesichts unmöglicher und unsinniger Forderungen seines Chefs geduldig und guter Dinge, weil er seinen Teil zur produktiven Gesellschaft beitragen möchte. Nicht nur hält er es für seine Pflicht, seine Frau zu ernähren, er möchte ihr sogar ein bisschen Luxus verschaffen, indem er ihr zum Beispiel neue "Ehesärge" kaufte, die sie heiß begehrte und in denen sie nun ihre Nächte verbringen. Mit anderen Worten, Richtig versucht, gemäß seines Namens alles "richtig" zu machen. Doch werden seine Opfer entlohnt? Sein Verdienst reicht kaum zum Leben, er muss Nacht um Nacht im Gefängnis verbringen, und seine Frau Erika betrügt ihn mit einem der Sicherheitsbeamten, die ihn immer wieder hinter Gitter bringen.

Nach unzähligen Wiederholungen dieser Passion, bei denen Richtig immer wieder den Kürzeren zieht, setzt er sich schließlich eines Tages zu Wehr. Er beendet seinen Leidensweg selbst, in dem er sich einfach weigert, länger den Forderungen des Staates, der Gesellschaft und seiner Frau nachzukommen. Seine Entschlossenheit wird verstärkt, als er ein paar Tropfen des kostbaren Rosenessigs ergattern kann–eine Art Essig, von der er bislang nur gehört hat und an deren Existenz er nicht so recht glaubte. Gleich einer Droge besitzt das Getränk psychedelische Qualitäten und erlaubt ihm Einblick in die "Schönheit dieser Welt" (99), die vor allem in der Natur und den alltäglichen, kaum beachteten Handlungen der Menschen besteht. Gleichzeitig hat Richtig eine Zukunftsvision, deren Beschreibung in ihrem Wortlaut an die Bergpredigt erinnert:

> Schlägt man dich, erwidere mit Gesang. Dein Lied verwirrt die Schläger und ermattet die Fäuste. Wenn sie Tisch und Stuhl unter dir wegziehen, schenk ihnen obendrein dein Dach. Denn sehr bald wird es über ihnen zusammenstürzen. Nur wer unter den Sternen friert, wird bleiben. Nur wer Gras isst, wird endlich erben. (100)[21]

Gestärkt durch den Glauben, dass sein Dulden sich am Ende auszahlen wird, kann Richtig seiner Umwelt nun selbstsicher entgegen treten. Und anstatt entrüstet zu sein, dass Richtig seine Pflichten vernachlässigt, zeigen sich seine Mitmenschen von seiner Heilsvision beeindruckt. Richtig wird für sie kurzzeitig zum Propheten, der ihnen den Weg weisen kann. Sie sind sofort bereit, ihm zu folgen und erklären ihn zu ihrem neuen Herrscher. Doch noch bevor Richtig auch nur ein Wort zu ihrem Vorschlag äußern kann, nimmt sein Leben plötzlich und unerklärlicherweise ein Ende. Er fällt einfach tot um und führt damit sicherlich die "schlimmst-mögliche Wendung" für

Mundomir herbei, um Dürrenmatts Worte zu gebrauchen.[22] Richtigs Leben endet also gerade in dem Moment, der ihn vielleicht bemächtigt hätte, eine Veränderung zugunsten der Gesellschaft herbeizuführen.

Auch in Dürrenmatts *Der Besuch der alten Dame* hängt die schlimmstmögliche Wendung des Geschehens natürlich mit Tod und verpassten Chancen zusammen. Alfred Ill sieht ein, dass er sterben muss, sodass die Existenz der Güllener gesichert ist. Der Preis dafür ist ihre moralische Integrität. Peter Demetz fasst diesen Konflikt wie folgt zusammen: ". . . while the people of the community [die Güllener] are corrupted by their hunger for material goods, Ill rises to tragic insight and sudden nobility of soul."[23] Die Bewohner von Mundomir haben kein bestimmtes Ziel vor Augen. Sie folgen dem, der sie führt (Kick oder Keck oder Kack), und ihre Wünsche nach verbesserten Lebensumständen sind wenig konkret. Richtig entschließt sich zum "Aussteigen," weil er die Sinnlosigkeit seines Daseins erkennt, im Gegensatz zu Ill jedoch erfolgt seine Einsicht zufällig und zudem unter dem Einfluss von Drogen. Ill hingegen setzt sich mit seinen Schwächen auseinander und gelangt so zu dem Eingeständnis und zu der Akzeptanz seiner Schuld. Er geht seinem Tod bewusst entgegen, Richtig jedoch stirbt plötzlich und unvorbereitet. Es ist auffällig, dass Ill in dem eigens für ihn angefertigten Sarg beerdigt wird, Richtig aber in einen Sack gesteckt wird, während sein Ehesarg an Erikas Geliebten geht. Während Ills Tod zum scheinbaren Wohl der Allgemeinheit gewürdigt wird, ist Richtig bereits aus dem Andenken aller entschwunden, noch bevor sein Begräbnis stattfindet. Sein Leben wie sein Tod haben keinerlei Spuren hinterlassen–für ihn sicherlich die schlimmstmögliche Wendung.

Eine zweite Figur mit messianischen Zügen, die das Volk erretten könnte, wenn es willens wäre, ist der Charakter Ewig. Er hat, genau wie Richtig, keinen Vornamen und wird im Personenverzeichnis als "Widersacher" bezeichnet (38). Es wird jedoch schnell deutlich, dass diese Charakterisierung der Perspektive der Obrigkeiten entspricht. Ewigs Widerstand gegen die herrschende Ordnung drückt sich nicht, wie wir annehmen könnten, durch aggressives Verhalten aus, sondern durch Pazifismus und Menschlichkeit. Die Bühnenanweisung beschreibt Ewig als "zeitlose Propheten- und Märtyrergestalt" (40). Der Bezug speziell zur Jesusfigur wird bei einem Verhör durch die Sicherheitsbeamten hergestellt. Ewig antwortet auf die Frage nach seiner Identität wiederholt: "Du sagst es" (41). Jesus antwortet mit denselben Worten, als er Pilatus vorgeführt und von ihm gefragt wird, ob er der König der Juden sei.[24]

Wie Richtig treffen wir Ewig immer wieder im Gefängnis an. Ewig wird des Predigens und Wunderheilens beschuldigt, was die Sicherheitsbeamten als "ohne Lizenz kurpfuschern" und "illegale Dichtung verfassen und

kolportieren" bezeichnen (42). Wegen dieser Verbrechen wurde Ewig schon wiederholt zum Tode verurteilt und hingerichtet, doch haben sich alle Tötungsversuche als unzulänglich erwiesen. Der Sicherheitsbeamte beschreibt entnervt:

> Bald haben wir . . . den auferstandenen Ewig gefaßt, ans Kreuz mit doppelter Nägelportion geschlagen . . . atomisiert . . . vergast . . . planmäßig auf der Flucht erschossen, mit Spritzen aus dem Verkehr gezogen, am Galgen gehängt, in Schwedenjauche getränkt, auf dem Klotz gebeilt, gevierteilt, geachtteilt, den Ameisen, den Hunden, den Löwen, den Geiern und Mikroben als Fraß vorgelegt. (41-59)

Trotz dieser massiven Exekutionsmethoden ersteht Ewig innerhalb von drei Tagen immer wieder auf. Ewig erklärt seine Beständigkeit damit, dass er die "Menschheit" repräsentiere und demnach viele Tode sterben könne, ohne dass er jemals aufzuhöre zu existieren (58). Auch ein totalitäres System wie das Mundomirs ist gegenüber Ewigs Menschlichkeit zunächst machtlos. Gemäß seines Namens kehrt Ewig beharrlich immer wieder zu den Lebenden zurück und setzt seine prophetische Tätigkeit fort.

Ewig und Richtig treffen sich, als Ewig eines Abends freiwillig ins Gefängnis zurückkehren will, um sich gegen den Gefangenen Richtig auszutauschen. Sein Gesuch wird abgelehnt, doch versucht Ewig, den entmutigten Richtig mit einem Versprechen auf eine bessere Zukunft zu trösten. Dieser weist ihn zurück und schickt ihn erbost fort. Seine Reaktion auf Ewigs Prophezeiung liefert das erste Anzeichen dafür, dass sich Ewigs unermüdlicher Einsatz für das Wohl der Menschen als sinnlos erweisen wird, da diese ihn nicht zu schätzen wissen. Auch bei ihrer nächsten Begegnung bezweifelt Richtig die Kraft von Ewigs Nächstenliebe, die Ewig als die Motivation für sein Handeln angibt (87). Ewig ist nun nicht mehr nur der Gewalt der Unterdrücker ausgesetzt, sondern auch dem Hohn der Unterdrückten. Allmählich verliert er seine Jünger, nämlich als seine Auferstehungen zur Alltäglichkeit werden, die Unmut und Frustration hervorrufen anstatt Ehrfurcht und Freude. Das Volk kann die Zeit nicht abwarten und wendet sich schließlich gegen seinen Wohltäter, der aufgrund seiner Überzeugungen zum idealen Opferlamm und Sündenbock wird. Was eine Vielzahl von staatlich organisierten Hinrichtungsmethoden nicht vollbracht hat, schafft das Volk beim ersten Versuch: Ewig wird vernichtet. Er wird, etwa zur selben Zeit wie Richtig, bei einem Revolutionsversuch von denen getötet, für die er gelebt und gelitten hat. Zwar führt das Volk den Aufstand "[i]n seinem Namen" aus (100), doch wird Ewig zum Feind des Volkes, als er sich betroffen über dessen gewalttätige Methoden zeigt:

> Er aber stand unter ihnen und machte ein trauriges Gesicht. Das konnte die Revolution ihm nicht verzeihen. Sie braucht fröhliche Visagen, schwitzende, zornige, von Hass verzehrte–doch wehe, wenn einer ein trauriges Gesicht macht. Darum haben sie ihn in tausend Stücke zerrissen und Hosianna geheult. (100)

Wie beim christlichen Abendmahl ergötzen sie sich an seinem Leib und Blut, jedoch nicht zu ihrer Erlösung, sondern um ihr Verlangen nach Gewalt zu stillen. Ewigs Vernichtung durch das Volk negiert den Sinn seines Lebens. Seine Leiden waren umsonst. Die Menschen erkennen ihn nicht als ihren Messias, der die Heilung der Welt herbeiführen könnte und nehmen sich somit selbst die Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft. Interessant ist, dass das Wort "ewig" seine Bedeutung verliert, sobald das Volk aufhört zu glauben. Und "Ewigkeit" wird nicht thematisiert.

Richtig, Ewig und Ill haben gemein, dass sie eine Passion durchmachen, deren Opfer sich letztendlich nicht lohnen, weder für sie noch für andere. Am Ende gibt es keine Erlösung, da sie in einer Gesellschaft leben, die sich unaufhaltsam ihrem Untergang zubewegt–moralisch, geistig, menschlich. Wie Jirí Stromsík herausstellt, ist Dürrenmatt "kein Apokalyptiker, bei ihm bedeutet das 'Ende' alles andere als 'Heil.'"[25] Und auch Gongs entwirft hier ein eher pessimistisches Bild der Zukunft der Menschheit, eine Thematik, die auch seine Lyrik seit Beginn der sechziger Jahre prägt.[26]

Aber wenn wir *Um den Essigkrug* als religiöse Satire lesen, dann muss dieses Drama vielleicht auch so negativ ausklingen. Nach Robert A. Kantra zeigt eine religiöse Satire "man's encroachment on the divine."[27] Gong überlässt es unserer Interpretation, ob Richtig und Ewig von einer höheren Macht inspiriert werden oder ob sie sich selbst zum Erlöser ernennen. Das Ergebnis bleibt gleich. Ob Richtig und Ewig verblendet sind, weil sie sich göttliche Kräfte anmaßen oder ob die Bürger Mundomirs verblendet sind, weil sie denken, ihr Schicksal ohne göttliche Führung lenken zu können: ihr Hochmut bringt sie zu Fall. Und die eigene Vergöttlichung muss natürlich böse enden, auch wenn sie mit den besten Absichten erfolgte.

Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

Anmerkungen

[1] Die vorliegende Arbeit ist die überarbeitete Fassung eines Vortrags, der im April 2007

auf dem 31. Symposium der Society for German-American Studies in Lawrence, Kansas gehalten wurde.

[2] Alfred Gong, *Manifest Alpha: Gedichte* (Wien: Bergland, 1961).

[3] Rose Ausländer, "*Manifest Alpha:* Neue Verse von Alfred Gong," *Aufbau*, 22. Juni 1962, 17.

[4] Bärbel Such, Hg., *Die Stunde Omega / Um den Essigkrug: Zwei dramatische Werke aus dem Nachlass Alfred Gongs* (Oxford u.a.: Peter Lang, 2006). Sämtliche Seitenangaben beziehen sich auf diese Ausgabe und folgen den Zitaten in runden Klammern.

[5] Vgl. Joachim Herrmann, "Zum deutsch-amerikanischen Dichter Alfred Gong: Eine biographische und bibliographische Einführung," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 21 (1986): 201-13, 206-7.

[6] Alfred Gong, *Gras und Omega: Gedichte,* korrigierte Neuausg. (Aachen: Rimbaud, 1997).

[7] Gong, *Manifest Alpha.*

[8] Alfred Gong, Hg, *Interview mit Amerika: 50 Deutschsprachige Autoren in der neuen Welt* (München: Nymphenburger, 1962).

[9] Alfred Gong, *Happening in der Park Avenue: New Yorker Geschichten* (München: Piper, 1969).

[10] So schreibt z.B. Hans Sahl in seiner Rezension zu *Gras und Omega*: "Bei einer Untersuchung über die moderne deutsche Nachkriegsliteratur wird man die Gedichte Alfred Gongs in Zukunft nicht übersehen dürfen" (*Aufbau*, 21. April 1961, 21). Rose Ausländer lobt in ihrer Besprechung zu *Manifest Alpha*: "Diese Lyrik, originell, organisch und warm, ist beglückend."

[11] Natalia Shchyhlevska, *Alfred Gong: Leben und Werk* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 42.

[12] Alfred Gong, *Gnadenfrist: Gedichte* (Baden bei Wien: G. Grasl, 1980), 62.

[13] Aus dem Nachlass sind bislang u.a. frühe Gedichte Gongs, drei seiner insgesamt sechs Dramen sowie Teile seiner Korrespondenz veröffentlicht worden. Letztere enthält auch Briefwechsel mit Rose Ausländer. Siehe Alfred Gong, *Early Poems: A Selection from the Years 1941–1945*, hg. Jerry Glenn, Joachim Herrmann und Rebecca S. Rodgers (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1987); siehe auch Such, *Die Stunde Omega / Um den Essigkrug*; siehe außerdem Shchyhlevska, *Alfred Gong,* und auch Natalia Shchyhlevska, *Verschränkungen: Leben und Werk von Autoren aus der Bukowina anhand von Briefen und Nachlässen* (Aachen: Rimbaud, 2011); siehe auch Alfred Gong, *Der letzte Diktator: Tragödie,* hg. Bärbel Such (Aachen: Rimbaud, 2012). Im nächsten Jahr sollen zudem weitere zwei Dramen bei Rimbaud in Aachen erscheinen.

[14] Eine allgemeine Einführung zu dem Drama findet sich bei Such, *Die Stunde Omega / Um den Essigkrug*, 133-47.

[15] Natalia Shchyhlevska weist zudem auf die Ähnlichkeiten mit dem französischen Schriftsteller Eugène Ionesco hin, dessen Bühnenstücke Gong beeinflusst haben mögen. Siehe *Alfred Gong*, 274-75.

[16] Vgl. Peter Demetz, *Postwar German Literature: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Pegasus, 1970), 154-55.

[17] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, *Komödien I* (Zürich: Arche, 1957), 352.

[18] Siehe Reinhold Grimm, *Strukturen: Essays zur deutschen Literatur* (Göttingen: Sachse & Pohl, 1963). Laut Grimm "bildet [das Groteske] die Grundstruktur im Werk Friedrich Dürrenmatts" (66). Er stellt weiterhin heraus, dass die Gestaltung des Grotesken bei Dürrenmatt vielseitig ist und sich auszeichnet durch "das Monströse und die maßlose Übertreibung. Da ist die Vermengung des ursprünglich und wesenhaft Getrennten . . . und die Sprache klappert mechanisch als totes Geräusch. Da ist schließlich der plötzliche, unvermutete Aufprall der Gegensätze . . ." (67).

[19] Mt 6,11.

[20] Ulrich Profitlich, *Friedrich Dürrenmatt: Komödienbegriff und Komödienfigur: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973), 58.

[21] Vgl. Mt 5,4–7 und 39–40.

[22] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, *Komödien II und frühe Stücke* (Zürich: Arche, 1963), 353.

[23] Demetz, 155.

[24] Mt 27,12. Siehe auch Mk 15,12; Lk 23,3 und Joh 18,37.

[25] Jirí Stromsík, "Apokalypse Komisch," in *Facetten: Studien zum 60. Geburtstag Friedrich Dürrenmatts*, hg. Gerhard P. Knapp und Gerd Labroisse (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981), 41-59, 41.

[26] Vgl. Jerry Glenn, "Alfred Gong's German-American Poetry: The First Decade," in *Exile and Enlightenment: Studies in German and Comparative Literature*, hg. Uwe Faulhaber et al. (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1987), 191-97.

[27] Robert A. Kantra, *All Things Vain: Religious Satirists and Their Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1984), xiv.

Stephani Richards-Wilson

Klaus Mann: German-American Veteran in the Pursuit of a Pan-European Peace

Having survived two world wars as a German citizen and later as an American soldier, Klaus Mann experienced first-hand the horrors of war and the fragility of peace on the cusp of the Cold War. He was well qualified and inherently well versed to postulate how best to pursue peace from various vantage points throughout his life, which he ended in 1949 at the age of 42.[1] Klaus Mann was a prolific journalist, novelist, essayist, and playwright, and much has been written about his famous family and their contributions to the literary world. Mann's active pursuit of peace and a united Europe however, is often overshadowed by the traumatic events of his life that inspired many of his works.

Although he left no suicide note, one clearly sees Mann's bitter disappointment with world events in his writings particularly towards the end of his life.[2] His moral commitment to a better world became evident in his politically oriented fiction, journals, editorial works, and autobiographies written in exile. The latter not only chronicle his experiences, but illuminate his evolving outlook on war and peace and include *The Turning Point* published in 1942 and *Der Wendepunkt*, the German-language version published posthumously in 1952. The cleft between his ideals, expectations, and reality developed over the course of his lifetime beginning with the First World War.

Klaus Heinrich Thomas Mann was born in Munich in 1906 and was the second of six children born to Thomas Mann and his wife Katja. The family, initially a privileged and formal household, lived in Bavaria during the First World War, which Mann described in detail in chapter two of *The Turning Point*. Mann began by mentioning how his parents, similar to many other

families, hurriedly said good-bye to various relatives before they joined the ranks at the outset of the war.[3] His mother and grandmother were particularly upset because his Uncle Peter, a physicist, was in Australia at the time at a scientific congress. Australia had just declared war on Germany, leaving them to wonder about the status of Klaus's Uncle Peter.

Mann was not yet eight years old when the war began and twelve when it ended, and while many of his recollections of life on the home front with its dire food and material shortages are remembered through the lens of a wanting child, some of Mann's other observations take on a more mature and worldly altruism. He recalled his eagerness to take part in the "bloody events" in the trenches out of curiosity, masochism, vanity and fear, but he also recalled falling asleep in his darkened bedroom and wondering about those involved. He wrote:

> And what sort of complicated torture had the Australians in store for the miserable Uncle Peter? They probably treated him as the Negroes were treated in the tale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Would I ever have to undergo such martyrdom? Poor Uncle Peter! Poor Russians! Poor General Hindenburg! It could be not easy, I figured, to perform such heroic but grisly deeds-compelled to act like a monster on account of professional duty and martial genius. Poor generals who had to become inhuman! Poor soldiers who were sacrificed by inhuman generals! I melted away with pity.[4]

Although Mann's recollection may sound sentimental to some, he nonetheless, recognized the corporeal and emotional underbelly of war at a young age. He explained that he and his siblings were always hungry and that the state of constant privation left marks on their physical and moral constitution.[5] They learned not to take wealth and plenitude for granted, but as the war dragged on, they began to wonder if things like whipped cream and peace actually existed. Their teacher had led them to believe Germany would soon win the war, but until they did, Mann recalled the questions they posed to their "strangely sorrowful" Mother, "What is peace like, really? We kept asking her. Is everybody very fat and merry when there is no war? Did people actually eat a whole fish between the soup and the meat, and a huge chocolate cake afterwards?"[6]

Moreover, Mann stated that even his "inexperienced mind" was affected by humanitarian concerns that challenged official phrases, and that his "inner awakening" was accelerated when he received a book for Christmas in 1917.[7] The book, given to him by the very same grandmother who worried over Uncle Peter, was Bertha von Suttner's novel *Die Waffen nieder*. He wrote:

> Bertha von Suttner's classic anti-war novel "Die Waffen Nieder!" certainly is not a literary masterpiece, but no matter how obvious and trite its plot and style may be, its sturdy emotionalism seized my imagination and actually changed my mind. It was partly, or mostly, thanks to Bertha von Suttner's naïve but skillful appeal that I began to grasp certain essential facts and to ask certain questions. Could it be that our teachers and the newspapers and even the General Staff had tried to delude and to cheat us for three years and a half?[8]

When Germany did lose the war, Mann recalled from his diary entries that nobody seemed to like the peace and that something was wrong with it. He lamented, "In fact, people now looked more apprehensive even than during the war. Besides, there was no whipped cream, which had been promised to us as a token of victory. As far as food was concerned, the winter of 1918-19 was at least as bad as the preceding one had been."[9] Such was Mann's first of many disillusionments and disappointments related to war and peace.

In the post-war years that followed, Mann published his first essays in 1924, organized a theater ensemble with his older sister Erika, Pamela Wedekind, and Gustaf Gründgens in 1925, published his first novel, *Der fromme Tanz*, in 1926, and traveled to America and Asia with Erika in 1927-1928.[10] Before examining Mann's ensuing fight against fascism, the relationship between Mann and his sister Erika is worthy of discussion for reasons which will become clear later on.

As Peter T. Hoffer explains, Klaus and Erika worked together creatively as young adults and their spiritual bond was unusually close for most of their lives.[11] In fact, Mann dedicated *Der Wendepunkt* to his sister and mother.[12] Mann's autobiographies confirm their close-knit relationship and the siblings co-authored several books together. They include: *Rundherum* (Roundabout), published in 1929; *Escape to Life*, a book about European emigrants published in 1939; and *The Other Germany*, published in 1940 in an attempt to exonerate those Germans who opposed National Socialism.

So close were the two that they were often mistaken for twins, despite the fact that Erika was one year older than Klaus. Mann wrote in *The Turning Point* that although his birthday was November 18, it was celebrated throughout his childhood with Erika's birthday "like twins" on November 9.[13] When they embarked on their lecture tour through America later on, Shelley L. Frisch points out that Klaus had joked they were twins and that they were thereafter known as the "literary Mann twins."[14] Klaus mentioned the "twins trick" in *Der Wendepunkt* and stated that from then on, the press captioned their photographs and interviews with that title.[15]

Erika and Klaus not only resembled each other, but also shared a mutual disdain for Hitler. When the National Socialists seized power in 1933, Mann took an active stand against their agenda. He and Erika left Germany in March of the same year. He was stripped of his German citizenship the following year and was found guilty of high treason for endorsing an anti-Nazi declaration addressed to the Germans of the Saar zone. Mann, however, stated that the Saar manifesto was just one reason among others that prompted the Nazis to excommunicate him. He irritated them in many ways.[16] Mann, after all, was an engaged intellectual, politically left, half Jewish, and gay. In 1937, Mann moved to the United States and returned to Germany only after the war ended.[17]

Once in exile, however, Mann was still able to publish. His works were published by Querido Verlag in Amsterdam, headed by Fritz Landshoff who became Mann's best friend.[18] During this time, they published *Flucht in den Norden* (Journey into Freedom) in 1934, *Symphonie Pathétique* in 1935, and *Mephisto: Roman einer Karriere* in 1936, the latter becoming Mann's most controversial and best-known work.[19]

Mephisto is a scathing criticism of the Third Reich and was not published in Germany until the early 1960s, at which time it became embroiled in one of the longest lawsuits in the history of German publishing.[20] The novel's title character is a talented but vain actor named Hendrik Höfgen, whose characteristics and career appeared to have closely resembled that of Klaus's former brother-in-law Gustaf Gründgens. Gründgens, who had been married to Erika, enjoyed success as an actor and had been appointed director of the Prussian State Theater in the Third Reich. His most celebrated role was that of Goethe's Mephistopheles in *Faust*.[21]

Prior to writing *Mephisto*, however, Klaus fought fascism and National Socialism on the lecture circuit and with other literary means, contributing to the exile weekly *Europäische Hefte*, and publishing his own journal entitled, *Die Sammlung* (The Collection) in 1933.[22] The journal was also published by Querido-Verlag, the publisher of other prominent German emigrants.[23] Mann published not only German writers, but translations from various European languages as well as reports on cultural conditions in the United States, Brazil, China, and Palestine, among others. An integral part of each issue was devoted to "anti-Nazi exposures, anti-Nazi satires, and anti-Nazi statistics."[24] Because of Mann's firm anti-fascist stance, however, four of his major contributors, René Schickele, Stefan Zweig, Alfred Döblin and his father Thomas Mann revoked their support, bowing to the indirect pressure that Propaganda Minister Goebbels exerted on them through their German publishers.[25]

Despite the support and contributions of Heinrich Mann (Klaus's uncle),

Aldous Huxley and André Gide, who had been listed among the journal's original patrons, as well as the literary and political viewpoints of Albert Einstein, Bertolt Brecht, Christopher Isherwood, Ernst Toller, Jean Cocteau, and Ernest Hemingway, *Die Sammlung* succumbed to financial difficulties in 1935.[26] Mann tried again in 1941 when he moved to New York City and founded a second journal entitled, *Decision*.[27] One year later, this journal succumbed to financial difficulties as well, but as Hoffer observes, "Despite its brief existence, *Decision* stands as a monument to Klaus Mann's efforts and as an important document of the influence of the European intellectuals in America at the start of the Second World War."[28]

Before the war began, both Klaus and Erika originally shared a pacifistic outlook. Their take on pacifism, however, changed when they worked as reporters on the front in 1938 during the Spanish Civil War. They realized one must fight fascism not only with words, but also with weapons.[29] In *Escape to Life*, for example, they espoused, "Die antifaschistische Solidarität aller, die in der spanischen Republik an der Arbeit sind, ist stark und ermutigend. Auch Menschen, die ursprünglich politisch nicht oder wenig interessiert waren, werden von ihr ergriffen."[30] They also emphasized that they had recognized the urgency in responding to Hitler from the start of the regime. For example, they wrote, "Von den Nazi-Emigranten trennt uns viel. Wir waren Hitlers geschworene Feinde, seit er in München seine ersten Reden hielt, über die so viel gelacht worden ist."[31] And they concluded, "Solange Hitler herrscht, wird es keinen Frieden in der Welt geben."[32]

Although the Mann siblings shared much in common, Alexandra Paffen notes they differed in some respects. She posits:

> Während Erika ganz aufging in ihrer Generation, übte Klaus seit der Mitte der 1920er Jahre an dem Verhalten seiner Generation heftig Kritik. Seine Altersgenossen, so meinte er, suchten ihr Heil mehr in Sport und Entspannung wie Boxen und Autorennen, als in geistigen Angelegenheiten wie zum Beispiel der Literatur. Außerdem fand er es schade, dass moderne Entwicklungen wie der Film, Theater und Literatur sie immer mehr verdrängten. Er sah auch einen gefährlichen Zusammenhang zwischen der massenhaften Begeisterung für Sport und Unterhaltung und der wachsenden Anziehungskraft von Militarismus, Nationalismus und Faschismus.[33]

In the 1930s, for example, Mann expressed his concerns about attending the Olympics and his caveat took on a political tone characteristic of many of his essays written in that decade. As James Robert Keller observes, from the time that Mann went into exile in 1933, the themes of responsibility,

duty, and obligation appear in his works and he became a political moralist.[34] Supporting Paffen's assertion that Mann saw a dangerous connection between mass enthusiasm for sports and entertainment and the growing allure of militarism, nationalism, and fascism, Mann urged peace-loving Europeans to boycott the Nazi Olympics. In his essay "*Pour la Paix*" (For Peace) written in 1936, the year of the Berlin Summer Olympics, Mann argued:

> Wer den Frieden liebt, fährt nicht zu Sport und Propaganda-Festen in ein Land, wo alle, die anders denken als die herrschende Clique, zum Schweigen gebracht, verbannt oder getötet werden. Jeder anständige Europäer müsste die Monstre-Reklame-Veranstaltung des Dritten Reiches-müsste die Olympiade boykottieren.[35]

The Winter Olympics had previously taken place in February of the same year at Garmisch-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps. The Games were, as Mann described, heavily infused with Nazi propaganda. The overwhelming presence of the German military, in particular, had stifled the festive spirit for international visitors, prompting the regime to lessen its presence at the Summer Games.[36]

When the Second World War broke out, Paffen maintains that Erika welcomed the war more so than Klaus and asserts, "Für Klaus dagegen ging das Ausbrechen des Vulkans einher mit Gefühlen von Erleichterung und Entsetzen. Viel mehr als seine Schwester hatte Klaus ein Auge für die Kehrseite des Krieges: die vielen Opfer und die ungeheure Destruktion."[37] At the same time, Mann recognized Hitler needed to be stopped and cautioned against absolute pacifism. He maintained that war was not the greatest evil; the new order that a victorious Hitler would establish was far worse.[38]

In *Der Wendepunkt*, Mann had stated that he hated nationalism, especially the German kind. He saw himself as a European nationalist and stated that his great love, passion, and problem remained Europe.[39] In *The Turning Point*, Mann referred to a diary entry from August 18, 1941, in which he further argued that nationalism was "the most devastating fallacy of modern man" and that he was not interested in countries or their spheres of influence. He wrote, "All I believe in is the indivisible, universal civilization to be created by man."[40]

A year earlier, in 1940, Mann had drafted a movie script entitled, "The United States of Europe." The movie was never produced, but was targeted for an American audience.[41] The script is now housed in the Klaus Mann Archives in the Munich Public Library and is noteworthy because it demonstrates that Mann attempted to show that there was another side to Germany, "the other Germany" that was in development for the better. Paul

Michael Lützeler maintains:

> Offenbar wollte Mann in dem Film auch das "andere," das europäisch orientierte Deutschland zeigen, das, glaubte man der nationalsozialistischen Selbstdarstellung, gar nicht mehr existierte. Ferner wurde die mögliche Wandlung eines enttäuschten Nationalsozialisten zum Paneuropäer gezeigt, womit demonstriet werden sollte, daß die junge Generation Hitler keineswegs hoffnungslos verfallen war.[42]

Mann emphasized "the other Germany" the same year in a book as well. In 1940, and as previously mentioned, he and Erika co-authored *The Other Germany*. They began by stating that they left Germany because they "literally would have suffocated in the poisoned atmosphere of the Third Reich."[43] They argued that unless Germany recovered, there could be no cure for a sick Europe. The purpose of their book was to win sympathy and friendship for "the other Germany" that was suppressed and silenced, while at the same time arraigning and condemning the Third Reich.[44]

It is in the concluding chapters of *The Other Germany*, however, that Klaus and Erika elucidated most succinctly their perspective on the war, the questions of guilt and responsibility, and Europe's best hope for a peaceful future. They wrote, "Who desired this war? Statesmen and intellectuals have long known that war no longer serves to solve political, moral and social problems. Today the "man in the street" knows it too."[45] They argued:

> Mankind has "outgrown" war, in the same way that a young man of twenty can be considered to have outgrown the youthful folly of his teens. All of us know this fact; it has long since come to be general opinion.
>
> *One man alone* is responsible for this war. The world knows his name-it has unhappily been forced to remember it.[46]

They further emphasized that the defeat of Hitler and the Nazis was only the prerequisite to a more important goal, that being the struggle for a new Europe. They wrote:

> Let none reproach us for underestimating the danger of the Third Reich. We hope we have made the depth of our hatred for it and the urgency of our desire for its destruction sufficiently plain. Once it has disappeared, once this focus of infection has been thoroughly cauterized, there will be a great reawakening. Everywhere moral and

> intellectual forces will come into flow and play, will be rendered free and productive. The fall of Hitler is not only the prerequisite, but almost in itself the guarantee, for the moral, political and spiritual regeneration of the world.[47]

And what did they propose to ensure a lasting peace? Klaus and Erika provided a concrete, albeit idealistic solution to Europe's problems. They argued for a chance at redemption and a Pan-European democracy:

> To us it seems that could the masses of Europe be asked today what in their opinion was the best solution to the problem of Europe, they would say almost unanimously: the creation of a European Federation of States.
>
> We must make up for the failures of 1919. The demand and hope of Europe's best for hundreds of years-now it is in sight. Europe is ripe-overripe for union. A stable federation is to be established in which all nations will collaborate as members entitled to equal privileges and obligations. A customs union must be organized, as well as a super-national army as an international guarantee of order, and a super-national court of law as the highest political instance, equipped with moral and material power.
>
> This is the goal, the realistic ideal. It is worth much thought and many sacrifices.[48]

This notion of a Pan-European democracy, however, did not originate with the Mann siblings. In *Escape to Life*, they explained that the Austrian count Coudenhove-Kalergi was the leader and founder of the Pan-European movement.[49] In 1923, Coudenhove-Kalergi published *Pan-Europa* in which he offered a utopian vision of a United States of Europe in the hopes of raising the continent's status to that of a world power.[50] His *Paneuropa* movement garnered numerous supporters between 1923 and 1933.

In the concluding pages of *The Other Germany*, Klaus and Erika attempted to answer questions about the proposal from a fictional skeptic. They believed that Germany should be invited into the "Pan-European paradise" for the Allies had made it clear that they declared war on Germany's tyrants and not against the German people; that German rearmament must be made impossible; and that the new Germany must not be ruined economically by the imposition of unlimited reparations.[51] They also stated that America should firmly and consistently intervene in Europe's destiny and that Europe should be more willing to follow America's leadership than in 1919, exclaiming, "We put our trust in the United States as our strongest ally-not

for war, but for peace."[52]

From a more universal perspective, however, they believed that one should be able to rely on one's fellow human beings to do the right thing. They asked, "Would life be worth living if one could not expect a certain reasonable degree of good will of men?"[53] After witnessing the catastrophic consequences of the Second World War, the perceived lack of contrition on the part of the German people, and the beginning of the Cold War, Klaus Mann, however, came to the painful conclusion that it was not.

As a young, idealistic, liberal writer in the late 1920s, however, it is understandable why Mann would have been attracted to the Pan-European movement. Given the importance Mann placed on morals and "good will," the following description demonstrates how he could have been taken with the count's proposal. He stated that the count did not expect much improvement to the state of affairs from purely economic reforms and wrote, "On the contrary, his primary concern was in the moral aspects of the evolutionary process. No violence would be necessary, according to Coudenhove-Kalergi, if all Europeans, employers and employees, accepted the code of gentlemanly conduct."[54]

Yet, at the same time, Mann had always harbored some reservations about the count's Pan-European proposal and knew that it would have to be revised. In *The Turning Point*, he provided additional details to the scheme, such as the fact that Coudenhove-Kalergi's plan was strictly continental excluding the British Isles and the Soviet Union, which Mann described as "autonomous spaces in his reorganized universe."[55] Mann acknowledged that despite the Pan-European movement's shortcomings and ambiguities, young intellectuals found it attractive.[56] When the anti-Soviet slant became predominant and bankers and big business took an interest, liberals such as Mann became skeptical and withdrew.[57] Although Coudenhove-Kalergi was against Hitler and did not care for Mussolini's fascism, he believed an alliance with the European fascist states was still conceivable. Mann disagreed and maintained that the real danger threatening civilization was not socialism, but rather fascism, especially Germany's racial kind.[58]

In an effort to do his part, Mann joined the American army in 1943. He risked his life on several occasions and was frequently under enemy fire. His commitment to fighting fascism, first with the pen and then with the proverbial sword, is admirable given the challenges he must have faced not only as a German exile in his late 30s, but as a homosexual in the US army. His diary entries illuminate the anxiety and depression he endured while waiting months to hear if he would be accepted. Several entries from October 1942 were punctuated with "*Der Todeswunsch.*"[59] Once enlisted, Mann was assigned to the Psychological Warfare Branch of Military Intelligence, the

propaganda arm of the American armed forces.

After a brief time in North Africa, Mann's unit joined the Italian campaign, where he composed propaganda leaflets, interrogated German prisoners of war, and appeared at the front with a loudspeaker, urging the Germans to surrender.[60] Although Mann had always been haunted by suicidal thoughts and had made five attempts to take his own life before succeeding, he put his life on the line during the Second World War.[61] When it came to the lives of others, Mann believed that involuntary death as a result of war was unacceptable.[62]

When the war ended, Mann became a staff writer in Rome for the American military journal *Stars and Stripes*. Herbert Mitgang, then the managing editor, emphasized that Mann's articles underscored what the war was all about for everyone else, both colleagues and readers.[63] In his piece entitled, "My Old Countrymen," Captain Klaus Mann answered the question about how he felt fighting his former countrymen and alluded to a theme prevalent in many of his works, namely the importance of adhering to one's moral duty. He replied:

> I am sure I speak also for the thousands of other former German citizens now active in the various armies of the United Nations in saying our militant resolution has a two-fold psychological and moral source: first, our natural loyalty to a new homeland to which we are deeply indebted; and, second, our intimate first-hand knowledge of the mortal danger which Hitlerism means to civilization. [64]

Mann explained that German anti-Nazis in exile could not remain aloof, hesitant or waiver. The Germans had failed twice in their "historic duty" by not preventing Nazism in Germany and for not arousing public opinion against the Nazi danger. By participating in the fight against Nazism, Mann felt that the Germans in exile had a new opportunity to prove the sincerity of their convictions and "to make good" for their previous failures.[65]

In 1946, however, three years prior to Klaus Mann's suicide, his hope for a Pan-European alliance was fading fast on account of post-war realities. In an open letter to the editor of *European World*, Mann began by stating that he agreed with the editor's long-term goal of a European Union and again referred to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European plan. He maintained that the idea was fundamentally reasonable and justified.[66] He now believed, however, that a Pan-European alliance should develop later when the world's political situation improved. Mann maintained there were two barriers to a peaceful and rapid Pan-European Union, the vanquished German Reich and the victorious Soviet Union.[67] In the same letter, his angst and anger over the

lack of trust between the Russians and Anglo-Americans became apparent and Mann argued that one must do everything humanly possible to reduce and overcome the tension between East and West, between socialism and democracy. He asked the editor and Europeans in general to give Germany time to recover from its crisis and to find its moral, political, and economic equilibrium.[68]

By preserving peace, Mann believed a Pan-European solution would be ultimately possible, however, not in the short-term. The optimism Mann had previously expressed in *The Other Germany* about including Germany in the Pan-European Union had all been extinguished, at least for the time being. There could be no United States of Europe without Germany, but Germany was still a dynamic nation that in Mann's estimation might use the federation's war ministry and army for its own aggressive purposes. He believed Germany could not yet join the alliance, having caused too much suffering to European nations that would not be ready to trust or collaborate with the Germans.[69] Again, Mann alluded to the importance of moral responsibility and when it came to considering Germany as part of Pan-Europe, he emphasized:

> Deutschland ist inakzeptabel nicht so sehr wegen seiner Vergehen und Fehler der Vergangenheit, sondern wegen seiner jetzigen moralischen und politischen Verfassung. Es sind nicht die kleinsten Anzeichen von Reue oder Einsicht bei den Deutschen zu erkennen. Die Deutschen sind erschreckend unverändert-arrogant, heimtückisch und gefährlich wie eh und je. Sie sind im Inneren Nazis geblieben und bereuen nichts, außer ihrer Niederlage. Sie sind nicht an Europa, sondern allein an ihrer Rache interessiert.[70]

In 1947, a year later, in a broadcast for Swedish radio, Mann began by quoting the American novelist Thomas Wolfe who said, "You can't go home again" and ended by affirming Wolfe was right.[71] When Mann did return to his homeland after the war, he confessed he could no longer indulge his illusions, the ones he and Erika had expressed in *The Other Germany* almost a decade earlier. He, like many other German exiles wanted to believe the Germans would revolt against Hitler, but he conceded, "The awful truth is that the Germans adored their *Führer*-in fact, quite a few of them have remained faithful to him up to the present day and would be only too happy if they could have him back."[72]

From 1945 on, Mann lived in Europe, then in America for a short time and finally on the French Riviera, disillusioned and disgusted with both Germany and America for its Cold War policies.[73] In this short time span, Mann's once hopeful idealism gave way to resignation and despair. Despite

encouraging the American authorities to help establish a genuine democracy in Germany as quickly as possible, Mann saw no possibility of an improvement to the political situation in post-war Germany.[74] Mann expressed his final plea for peace in an article that appeared in *Tomorrow* in June 1949, entitled, "Europe's Search for a New Credo." The subtitle read, ". . . Each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth."[75] Mann did not see the publication, having overdosed on sleeping pills the month prior.

In "Europe's Search for a New Credo," Mann explained how he had traveled extensively throughout Europe and spoke to men on both sides of the Iron Curtain, hearing many dissonant voices but "no coordinated discussion to give the mass of intellectuals a basis of harmonious belief and action."[76] All he heard were false credos, contradictory arguments, and violent accusations and he believed that the breakdown of civilization was imminently at hand. He wrote:

> The ordeal, having increased in magnitude and momentum ever since the beginning of the first world war, is now approaching its final, decisive stage. The current crisis or, to be more precise, the permanent crisis of this century is not limited to any particular continent or any particular social class.[77]

Unlike the sentiments he expressed in his previous letter to the newspaper editor in which Mann pleaded for patience and time, he now saw the European situation, and that of the world, in its darkest and deadliest stage, suggesting that despair was an appropriate response to the post-war world.[78] He alluded to the millions of frightened people who were longing and praying for peace while ominous preparations for war continued and wrote, ". . . the fatal rift between two world powers, two philosophies, is deepening day to day."[79] Mann exclaimed:

> In Vienna, Athens and London, the "falling towers" which T.S. Eliot saw in *The Waste Land* are not just poetic symbols any more. In the midst of ruins, in view of crippled men and starving children, no adult, clear-sighted person can overlook or belittle the deadly seriousness of the permanent crisis.[80]

Mann hinted at this own suicide at the end of the article when describing a conversation with an imaginary Swedish student who wondered if a mass suicide wave among thousands of intellectuals would shock the world out of its lethargy and make people realize the extreme gravity of the situation.[81]

Although the Cold War weighed heavily on Mann's mind, Hoffer

believes it does not fully explain his motives for suicide and points out that Mann had not published a major work in several years, was having difficulty finding a market in Germany, had no money when he died, and was no longer as close to Erika as they had been in earlier years.[82] Moreover, when the National Socialists came to power, he and his family were forced to live in exile and Mann never was able to find a permanent home, living much of his life in hotel rooms. When he returned to Germany after the war, he visited his childhood home in Munich and learned that the villa his father had built shortly before the start of the First World War had been confiscated by the Nazis and turned into a *Lebensborn* facility.[83]

In the spring of 1949, Mann attempted to reprint *Mephisto* in Germany but was informed by his publisher that they would not be publishing his novel. They feared Gustaf Gründgens's popularity and backed out of the contract Mann had negotiated and signed.[84] Mann had also attempted to publish *Der Wendepunkt* in 1949, but was unsuccessful with that work as well. It was published a few years later as a result of Thomas and Erika Mann's advocacy after his suicide. Mann had submitted the manuscript to Querido Verlag, which was soon after acquired by Thomas Mann's publisher S. Fischer. The publication of the book became controversial with Thomas Mann demanding publication and Gustaf Gründgens, now the most influential theater director in West Germany, threatening to boycott the S. Fischer theater series unless the passages related to him were removed. Only after Thomas and Erika Mann protested and agreed to remove the passages was *Der Wendepunkt* published in 1952.[85]

Although Klaus Mann's life may have been peppered with tragic irony, it appears to have ended in poetic justice. *Mephisto* became an immediate and sustained bestseller and the film adaptation, a Hungarian production, won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film in 1981.[86] Eberhard Spangenberg, whose comprehensive book examines the controversy surrounding the work, speculates that another reason for *Mephisto*'s success was the fascination with Klaus Mann himself, especially by the younger generations.[87]

Mann was the quintessential outsider who strived to make a difference. He had always straddled two entities, living between two world wars, two continents, two languages, two national armies, two genders, and two political systems and ideologies. Mann did not see himself as a Communist, however, he never became anti-Communist in the strictest sense either.[88] The Cold War had polarized the globe, and according to Mann, left no room for intellectual integrity or independence.[89] Years later, however, the Cold War ended and yet, other wars persist. Indeed, regional conflicts and insurgencies continue to flare half a century later. Perhaps Klaus Mann was right after all. War is a permanent crisis. Mann's life and legacy however, are more reflective

of Bertha von Suttner's imperative to look to the future than he could have imagined.[90] Mann's books have appeared in various languages and his ideas continue to resonate with many today.

University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Wisconsin

Notes

[1] Peter T. Hoffer, *Klaus Mann* (Boston: Twayne-Hall, 1978), 21.

[2] Ibid., 130.

[3] Klaus Mann, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century* (New York: Wiener, 1984), 29. First published in 1942.

[4] Ibid., 33.

[5] Ibid., 37.

[6] Ibid., 38.

[7] Ibid., 43.

[8] Ibid., 42.

[9] Ibid., 44.

[10] Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, 11.

[11] Ibid., 22-23.

[12] Klaus Mann, *Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1952), 5.

[13] Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 43.

[14] Shelley L. Frisch, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century* (New York: Wiener, 1984), 2. See Frisch's Introduction: 1-13.

[15] Mann, *Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht*, 192.

[16] Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 273.

[17] Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, 12.

[18] Mann, *Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht*, 326.

[19] *Flucht in den Norden* is a story about a politically conscious woman who renounces love for duty and *Symphonie Pathétique* is a fictional rendering of the last years in the life of Peter Tchaikovsky. Both works deal with the "drama of uprooting" which Mann maintained was the crux of his own life. Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 282.

[20] Martin Halliwell, *Modernism and Morality: Ethical Devices in European and American Fiction* (Houndmills: Palgrave-St. Martin's, 2001), 180. Peter T. Hoffer, "Klaus Mann's Mephisto: A Secret Rivalry," *Studies in 20th Century Literature* 13, no. 2 (1989): 245. *Mephisto* had been banned in Nazi Germany, but even after the war, West German publishers were hesitant to be connected with the book. (Frisch, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 5). The novel, however, became known through smuggled copies and those published in the former East Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the former Yugoslavia circulated widely. Officially banned in West Germany from 1968 until 1980 on grounds of libel, *Mephisto* was republished in West Germany in 1980 and 1981. James Robert Keller, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann* (New York: Lang, 2001), 121.

[21] Mann maintained that the story was not about a specific person and that Gründgens served as the focus of representing a certain *"type"* of individual, namely those who had collaborated and/or prospered under the Nazis. He explained, "I visualize my ex-brother-in-law as the traitor par excellence, the macabre embodiment of corruption and cynicism. So intense was the fascination of his shameful glory that I decided to portray Mephisto-Gründgens in a satirical novel. I thought it pertinent, indeed, necessary to expose and analyze the abject type

of the treacherous intellectual who prostitutes his talent for the sake of some tawdry fame and transitory wealth." Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 282.

[22] Paul Michael Lützeler, *Die Schriftsteller und Europa: Von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Piper, 1992), 378.

[23] Erika Mann and Klaus Mann. *Escape to Life: Deutsche Kultur im Exil* (München: Spangenberg, 1991), 221. First published in 1939.

[24] Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 273.

[25] Frisch, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 8. Alexandra Paffen, "Lass uns doch nur den Krieg aus dem Spiele halten: Die Geschwister Erika und Klaus Mann und ihre Einstellungen zu Pazifismus, Kampf und Krieg-ein Versuch," *Ariadne*, 47 (2005): 67.

[26] Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, 87-90.

[27] Ibid., 19.

[28] Ibid., 19.

[29] Paffen, "Lass uns doch nur den Krieg aus dem Spiele halten: Die Geschwister Erika und Klaus Mann und ihre Einstellungen zu Pazifismus, Kampf und Krieg-ein Versuch," 68.

[30] Mann and Mann, *Escape to Life: Deutsche Kultur im Exil*, 192.

[31] Ibid., 141.

[32] Ibid., 393.

[33] Paffen, "Lass uns doch nur den Krieg aus dem Spiele halten: Die Geschwister Erika und Klaus Mann und ihre Einstellungen zu Pazifismus, Kampf und Krieg-ein Versuch," 67.

[34] Keller, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann*, 97.

[35] Michel Grunewald, *Klaus Mann: Mit dem Blick nach Deutschland: Der Schriftsteller und das politische Engagement* (München: Ellermann, 1985), 93.

[36] "Nazi Olympics: The Winter Games," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/olympics/detail.php?content=winter_games&lang=en, accessed September 26, 2012.

[37] Paffen, "Lass uns doch nur den Krieg aus dem Spiele halten: Die Geschwister Erika und Klaus Mann und ihre Einstellungen zu Pazifismus, Kampf und Krieg-ein Versuch," 68.

[38] Mann, *Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht*, 431.

[39] Ibid., 220.

[40] Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 348.

[41] Lützeler, *Die Schriftsteller und Europa: Von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*, 384.

[42] Ibid., 386.

[43] Erika Mann and Klaus Mann, *The Other Germany* (New York: Modern Age, 1940), 8.

[44] Ibid., 14-17.

[45] Ibid., 266.

[46] Ibid., 266-67.

[47] Ibid., 277.

[48] Ibid., 288.

[49] Mann and Mann, *Escape to Life: Deutsche Kultur im Exil*, 173.

[50] Paul Michael Lützeler, "After Two World Wars: German and Austrian Authors on the Idea of Europe," in *1914/1939: German Reflections of the Two World Wars*, eds. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 174-86.

[51] Mann and Mann, *The Other Germany*, 292-99.

[52] Ibid., 314.

[53] Ibid., 299.

[54] Mann, *Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 166.

[55] Ibid., 165.

[56] Mann, *Der Wendepunkt:Ein Lebensbericht*, 221.

[57] Mann, *Turning Point*, 166.

[58] Grunewald, *Klaus Mann: Mit dem Blick nach Deutschland: Der Schriftsteller und das politische Engagement*, 55-56.

[59] Mann, *Der Wendepunkt:Ein Lebensbericht*, 468.

[60] Michel Grunewald, ed., *Klaus Mann 1906-1949: Eine Bibliographie* (München: Ellermann, 1984), 8. Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, 115-16. Mann, *Der Wendepunkt: Ein Lebensbericht*, 498-500.

[61] Laurence Senelick, "Klaus Mann: The Dancing Dichterkind," *The Gay & Lesbian Review*, November-December 2003, 13.

[62] Paffen, "Lass uns doch nur den Krieg aus dem Spiele halten: Die Geschwister Erika und Klaus Mann und ihre Einstellungen zu Pazifismus, Kampf und Krieg-ein Versuch," 69.

[63] Herbert Mitgang, ed., *Newsmen in Khaki: Tales of a World War II Soldier Correspondent* (Lanham: Taylor, 2004), 113.

[64] Ibid., 114.

[65] Ibid., 116.

[66] Uwe Naumann and Michael Töteberg, eds., *Klaus Mann: Auf verlorenem Posten: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1942-1949* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994) 314.

[67] Ibid., 314-15.

[68] Ibid., 323-24.

[69] Ibid., 316.

[70] Ibid., 317.

[71] Klaus Mann, "An American Soldier Revisiting His Former Homeland," *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century* (New York: Wiener, 1984), 367-72.

[72] Ibid., 367.

[73] Keller, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann*, 144.

[74] Grunewald, *Klaus Mann: Mit dem Blick nach Deutschland: Der Schriftsteller und das politische Engagement*, 6.

[75] Klaus Mann, "Europe's Search for a New Credo," *Tomorrow* VIII.10 (1949): 5-11. Erika Mann's German translation of the article, "*Die Heimsuchung des europäischen Geistes*," appeared in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* one month later in July 1949. Naumann and Töteberg, *Klaus Mann: Auf verlorenem Posten: Aufsätze, Reden, Kritiken 1942-1949*, 558.

[76] Ibid., 5.

[77] Ibid., 7.

[78] Keller, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann*, 142-43.

[79] Mann, "Europe's Search for a New Credo," 11.

[80] Ibid., 7.

[81] Keller, *The Role of Political and Sexual Identity in the Works of Klaus Mann*, 142.

[82] Hoffer, *Klaus Mann*, 21.

[83] Mann, "An American Soldier Revisiting His Former Homeland," 368-69.

[84] Richard Wires, "The Opportunist as Hero: Klaus Mann, Mephisto, and Gustaf Gründgens," *West Virginia University Philological Papers*," vol. 32 (1986-1987): 109-18.

[85] Frisch, *The Turning Point: Thirty-Five Years in This Century*, 11.

[86] Ibid., 4-6.

[87] Eberhard Spangenberg, *Karriere eines Romans: Mephisto, Klaus Mann und Gustaf Gründgens: Ein dokumentarischer Bericht aus Deutschland und dem Exil 1925-1981*, (München: Ellermann, 1982), 224.

[88] Dieter Schiller, "Geistige Differenz und politische Disziplin: Klaus Mann zwischen 1930 and 1935," in *Wer schreibt, handelt; Strategien und Verfahren literarischer Arbeit vor und nach 1933*, ed. Silvia Schlenstedt, (Berlin: Aufbau, 1983), 163-98. Dieter Schiller, "Ich bin kein Deutscher." Klaus Mann in den USA," *Etudes Germaniques* 63, no. 4 (2008): 701.

[89] Andrea Weiss, *In the Shadow of the Magic Mountain: The Erika and Klaus Mann Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 208.

[90] Bertha von Suttner, *Lay Down Your Arms: The Autobiography of Martha Von Tilling*, trans. T. Holmes (New York: Longmans, 1918), 435. First published in 1889 as *Die Waffen nieder*.

Ingo Schwarz

Alexander von Humboldt's Correspondence with Johann Gottfried Flügel

Introduction

Alexander von Humboldt was one of the most popular scientists of his day whose expedition to America from 1799 to 1804 made him world famous. Humboldt corresponded with more than three thousand people—some of them well-known even today, others forgotten. Evaluating Humboldt's correspondence requires an understanding of his contemporaries, no matter whether they are still remembered or not. Occasionally, the editors of Humboldt's letters stumble across people who are almost forgotten even though they were important by virtue of their contributions to their respective fields. Such a man is the German-American Johann Gottfried Flügel whose life and work are worth being remembered.

Flügel was an active and devoted mediator between the Old and the New Continents. He is, however, at most remembered as a lexicographer. As recently as 1994, a short biography of Flügel was published by the Leipzig literary historian Eberhard Brüning which focuses on Flügel's activities as US consul in Leipzig.[1] Even though Brüning did a lot of research into Flügel's life and work, he was not aware of the important correspondence between Humboldt and Flügel. In 2004, the publication of Humboldt's correspondence with Americans has added to our understanding of his many scholarly connections.[2] This book contains all the letters between Humboldt and Flügel that were known up to that point.

We do not know if Humboldt and Flügel ever met personally. Yet six letters from Flügel to Humboldt and ten from Humboldt to Flügel have survived either as original autographs, autograph copies or in printed versions. The correspondence started in December 1849 and ended in June

1854, about a year before Flügel's death.

Johann Gottlieb Flügel—U.S. Consul in Saxony

Johann Gottfried Flügel was born in November, 1788, in the city of Barby on the Elbe river. At the age of 22 he emigrated to the United States where he made a living as a merchant, but he also actively improved his command of the English language and read American literature. The contacts that he made in the New World were especially important for his future career. In 1819 Flügel was naturalized as a citizen of the United States; however, the same year he returned to Germany and settled in Leipzig. In 1824 he started teaching English at the University, marking the beginning of English and American Studies at the Leipzig Alma Mater. Flügel taught English by reading the works of William Shakespeare, Oliver Goldsmith, Henry Fielding and Washington Irving with his students. Six years later, his main work, the "English German Dictionary," had begun to appear.

In January 1839, President Van Buren appointed Flügel United States Consul in Leipzig. It is certainly fair to say that Flügel's contribution to the establishment of commercial and cultural relations between Saxony and the United States was outstanding. He was one of the most devoted representatives of his "adoptive country"[3] of his time. Flügel gave not only the most detailed reports on commercial developments, but he also informed the Department of State in Washington about the political situation of the Old Continent. He never failed to express his American patriotism. The following indicates Flügel's understanding of German politics before the Revolution of 1848 broke out:

> Every day examples of the most striking instances appear where these European tyrants trample upon humanity. I will barely mention my excellent friend poor Jordan,[4] Charles Follen,[5] Francis Lieber,[6] Gustavus Koerner,[7] and hundreds of others besides were stigmatised and pursued as traitors and dangerous revolutionists, the worst of men in their eyes. The United States bestowed on these unfortunate men the justice and the honours they deserved, for they all held places of public trust, and most honourably too; thus that excellent person Dr. Gustavus Koerner presides as Judge of the Supreme Court in Illinois. No, the most arrant demagogues are the European monarchs themselves and their demagogical Stratagems ought to be overwatched and counteracted. Excuse, honoured Sir, the freedom of this letter and be pleased to find an excuse in the fervency of love for my adoptive country.[8]

How to Support American Scientists—a Letter from Humboldt to Flügel

When Flügel received his first letter from Alexander von Humboldt in 1849, he had been consul for ten years. Moreover, since 1847 Flügel had been an exchange agent of the Smithsonian Institution. The correspondence between Flügel and Humboldt was centred around three topics.

- The development of the sciences in the New World.
- The exchange of literature between the United States and Germany.
- Flügel's financial problems.

Here is an example of the way in which Humboldt was able to communicate with American scientists through Flügel.

In September 1849, Matthew F. Maury[9] sent Humboldt "a set of [his] 'Wind & Current Charts.'"[10] Humboldt did not reply immediately nor directly. He only mentioned Maury in a letter to Johann G. Flügel, dated Berlin, June 19, 1850:

> I beg you to express to Lieut. Maury, the author of the beautiful chart of the winds and currents, prepared with so much care and profound learning, my hearty gratitude and esteem. It is a great undertaking, equally important to the practical navigator and for the advance of meteorology in general. It has been viewed in this light, in Germany, by all persons who have a taste for physical geography. In an analogous way, anything of isothermal countries (countries of equal annual temperature) has for the first time become really fruitful.[11]

This appears to be Humboldt's intellectual *modus operandi* of using the indirect and nuanced manner of influencing others' thoughts about new scientific developments. Humboldt's praise of Maury's work was not only copied, translated, and sent to the author; it appeared also in the newspaper *Daily Advertiser* and was reprinted many times. Maury found it so important that he quoted it in his *Explanations and Sailing Directions to accompany the Wind and Current Charts* of 1851.

As we see here, Humboldt's opinion of a scientist like Maury as expressed in this letter to Flügel meant he endorsed the reputation of a scientific field and the person who represented it. Humboldt must have known about Flügel's way of copying information that he received and sending it to people who could use it such as scholars, newspaper-editors, and the American State Department.

The Project of a Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans

One of Humboldt's favourite ideas was the project of constructing a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The following is another typical example of a letter from Humboldt to Flügel:

> I hasten, my respected Doctor, to express to you my best thanks, in a few lines only, (being engaged since yesterday in all the horrors of a removal from Potsdam to Berlin,) for the very interesting journey of EMORY,[12] and for GILLISS's[13] notices on the determination of the parallax in Chili and on the astronomical longitude of Washington. I had already written specially to New York for EMORY's[14] report. For an antediluvian like me, who is attached with his whole soul to the New Continent, through the color of his opinions and his knowledge of the beautiful country,[15] it is refreshing and gratifying to follow the rapid and magnificent development of scientific spirit in the United States, and to have to acknowledge the participation of the Government in a three years' expedition to Chili, undertaken because a Professor in Marburg desires it, and nobody listens to him in Europe.
>
> We are indebted for excellent labors in hypsometry, astronomy, botany, and geognosy, to FREMONT,[16] EMORY, WISLIZENUS,[17] Lieuts. ABERT[18] and BACHE,[19] of the fine coast survey, and to the circumnavigation of CHARLES WILKES.[20]
>
> In my 'Aspects of Nature,' vol. II, pp. 388-392, I have used *earnest* language on the possibility of an oceanic canal over the Isthmus of Panama. May those words at last find an echo in North America, and be diffused *through the newspapers*. They can be read in English in Mrs. Sabine's translation of Humboldt's 'Aspects of Nature,' vol. II, p. 319, '*Points in which the examination has been neglected.*'[21] With great respect, I am your most obedient,
>
> A. HUMBOLDT.
>
> BERLIN, DEC. 22, 1849.

This letter, of which the original German autograph is apparently lost, was copied and reprinted several times, both in German and English. The version given here was published in the *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.) of June 14, 1850, Issue 11, 11,636, col. B.[22]

As we see, Humboldt occasionally used Flügel's connections for his own purposes. In 1849 the famous Prussian scientist had published the third

edition of his "Ansichten der Natur" (Aspects of Nature). The book contained in a footnote Humboldt's latest opinion on the possibilities of building a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It was J. G. Flügel who saw to it that Humboldt's remarks were published in the U.S. Here are some key passages of the excerpt from Humboldt's work as the *Daily National Intelligencer* of June 14, 1850 had it:

> As the taking possession of a considerable part of the west coast of the New Continent by the United States of North America, and the report of the abundance of gold in New California, (now called Upper California,) have rendered more urgent than ever the formation of a communication between the Atlantic States and the regions of the West through the Isthmus of Panama, I feel it my duty to call attention once again to the circumstance that the shortest way to the shores of the Pacific . . . is in the eastern part of the Isthmus . . . .
>
> General Bolivar, at my request, caused an exact levelling of the Isthmus between Panama and the mouth of the Rio Chagres to be made in 1828 and 1829, by Lloyd[23] and Falmarc[24]. . . . Other measurements have since been executed by accomplished and experienced French engineers, and projects have been formed for canals and railways with locks and tunnels, but always in the direction of a meridian between Porto Bello and Panama, or more to the west, towards Chagres and Cruces. Thus the *most important* points of the *eastern* and *southeastern* part of the Isthmus have remained unexamined on both shores! . . .
>
> For more than twenty years I have had inquiries made from me on the subject of the problem of the Isthmus of Panama, by associations desirous of employing considerable pecuniary means, but the simple advice which I have given has never been followed. . . . Seeing the importance of the subject to the great commerce of the world, the research ought not, as hitherto, to be restricted to a limited field. A great and comprehensive work, which shall include the whole eastern part of the Isthmus, and which will be equally useful for every possible kind of operation, for canal or for railway, can alone decide the much-discussed problem either affirmatively or negatively. That will be done at last, which should, and, had my advice been taken, would have been done in the first instance.[25]

In today's historiography of the Panama Canal project, Humboldt's role appears only—when mentioned at all—as a footnote. Humboldt's

conversations on the topic with President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of State James Madison in 1804 as well as his discussions of the importance of a waterway between the oceans are almost as forgotten as his expertise, which was in high demand among canal planners. Only recently has the edition of Humboldt's correspondence with the geographer Carl Ritter shed new light on the topic.[26] Ulrich Päßler, editor of this correspondence, has pointed out Humboldt's and Ritter's shared attitudes towards man's interference with nature for the benefit of humankind:

> Humboldt understood the Central American Isthmus as a natural space whose potential for global communication lie in contrast to its topography, unfavorable to such connections. In Humboldt's and Ritter's view this contradiction could be resolved by human intervention, namely the construction of an interoceanic canal that had been discussed since the sixteenth century. . . . Human intervention in a natural space, viewed as imperfect, seemed legitimate . . . .[27]

Humboldt as a Reliable Friend of the American Consul in Leipzig

Humboldt's way of organizing his own scholarly work was closely connected with his efforts to form a wide network of cooperation and communication among scientists. As far as the United States was concerned, the American consulate in Leipzig played a key role, as it distributed current scientific literature from the New World throughout Europe. In return, the active Consul sent books and letters from Europe to America. Often Flügel asked Humboldt to forward books to the library of the Prussian King or to scientists in Berlin. When the Berlin Academy of Sciences failed to send books as compensation for received materials, Flügel wrote to Humboldt who actually intervened. It is astonishing that Flügel did not hesitate to ask the eighty-year-old Humboldt for help in these relatively trivial questions. But even more surprising is Humboldt's reaction. Though bothered by court service, endless communications and lots of visitors who consumed his precious time, he often took care of Flügel's requests.

In many letters to Humboldt, Flügel complained that he put a lot of his own money into his official correspondence and the distribution of literature in Europe. The consul hoped that a word from the famous Humboldt would improve his difficult situation. However, we do not know whether or not Humboldt could really help on this subtle question.

One way in which much of the Flügel-Humboldt correspondence has become known to us has been its publication in the so-called "Memoiren

Alexander von Humboldt's," published in Leipzig in the year 1861.[28] More than thirty years ago, the Alexander von Humboldt scholar Kurt-R. Biermann was able to show that this compilation with such a misleading title contains many frauds.[29] The passages in this book, however, that are related to Flügel are doubtlessly authentic. This could be shown by comparing some letters reprinted in the "Memoiren" with surviving autograph letters. Thus it is likely that the "Memoiren" were compiled by people who might have been in contact with the Flügel family. Flügel died in 1855. His son Felix was his successor. It is possible that Felix Flügel supplied the editors of the „Memoiren" with authentic material such as copies of Humboldt letters perhaps retained by Johann G. Flügel, newspaper clippings and other documents.

Final Remark

The correspondence between Alexander von Humboldt and Johann Gottfried Flügel illustrates one way in which the Prussian scientist established his international network. Flügel was instrumental in supplying Humboldt with recent research material. In return, he could count on Humboldt's sympathy and moral support. Humboldt used his world fame and Flügel's connections to politicians and the press in the United States to spread his own knowledge and to give support to American scientists in their struggle to win the reputation they deserved.

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Berlin, Germany

Notes

[1] Eberhard Brüning, "Das Konsulat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu Leipzig: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Konsuls Dr. J[ohann] G[ottfried] Flügel (1839-1855)," *Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 134,1 (Berlin, 1994).

[2] Ingo Schwarz, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2004).

[3] Brüning, 66.

[4] Sylvester Jordan (1792-1861), politician and lawyer, had been sentenced to five years in prison for political reasons.

[5] Karl Follen (1796-1840) came to the U.S. in 1824.

[6] Franz Lieber (1800-1872) in the U.S. since 1827.

[7] Gustav Körner (1809-1896) emigrated in 1833 to the U.S.

[8] Flügel to James Buchanan, July 8, 1847, in Brüning, 61.

[9] Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806-1873), astronomer and oceanographer.

[10] Maury to Humboldt, Washington, Sept. 9, 1849; in Schwarz, ed., 257-58.

[11] Extract from a letter from Baron von Humboldt (from the *Daily Advertiser*) in *Littell's Living Age*: *Boston, Philadelphia, New York* 28 (1851), no. 357, p. 545, printed

also in Schwarz, ed., 269-70.

[12] William Hemsley Emory (1811-1887), astronomer and topographer.

[13] James Melville Gilliss (1811-1865), naval officer, astronomer.

[14] Emory, William H., *Observations, Astronomical, Magnetic, and Meteorological: Made at Chagres and Gorgona, Isthmus of Darien, and the City of Panama, New Granada* (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company 1850) in Henry Stevens, *The Humboldt Library: A Catalogue of the Library of Alexander von Humboldt* (London, 1863); rpt. Leipzig, 1967, 199 (no. 2668).

[15] In the version of this letter printed in Nathan Reingold, ed., *Science in Nineteenth-Century America: A Documentary History* (New York: Hill and Wang 1964), 159, the omitted passage reads "a country spotted only by its legalizing of Slavery."

[16] John Charles Frémont (1813-1890), explorer and politician.

[17] Friedrich Adolph Wislizenus (1810-1889), physician and explorer.

[18] James William Abert (1820-1897), army engineer and explorer.

[19] Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-1867), physicist, since 1843 superintendent of the United States Coast Survey.

[20] Charles Wilkes (1798-1877), naval officer and explorer.

[21] The passage omitted here reads in a complete autograph translation of the letter: "I feel thankful of being remembered by the valued and talented Dr. L[iebrecht]. So many other things have failed with me in this world–that I am pleased to hear of those successful," Schwarz, ed., 263. The folklorist Felix Liebrecht (1812-1890) was supported by Humboldt and obtained a position as professor of German in Liège, Belgium, in 1849.

[22] See Schwarz, ed., 262-63. In that edition, the publication of the letter and the passage from "Aspects of Nature" in an American newspaper could not be verified; I wish to thank my colleague Ulrich Päßler for calling the printing in the *Daily National Intelligencer* to my attention.

[23] John Augustus Lloyd (1800-1854), British engineer and surveyor.

[24] Falmarc, Swedish surveyor.

[25] This text follows, as Humboldt had recommended in his letter to Flügel, Alexander von Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature, in Different Lands and in Different Climates; with Scientific Elucidations*,transl. by Mrs. [Elisabeth] Sabine (London, 1849), 2:319-23.

[26] *Alexander von Humboldt – Carl Ritter: Briefwechsel*, ed. Ulrich Päßler (in collaboration with Eberhard Knobloch) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010).

[27] Ulrich Päßler, "Die Perfektibilität des geographischen Raumes: Alexander von Humboldt und Carl Ritter über den zentralamerikanischen Isthmus," *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* 34,2 (2010): 232-39, quotation 235: "Den zentralamerikanischen Isthmus interpretierte Humboldt als Naturraum, dessen Potential für die weltweite Kommunikation im Widerspruch zu seiner für solche Verbindungen nachteiligen Topographie stand. Für Humboldt und Ritter war dieser Widerspruch durch den Eingriff des Menschen–den Bau eines interozeanischen Kanals, wie er seit dem 16. Jahrhundert diskutiert wurde–auflösbar. . . . Der menschliche Eingriff in einen als defektiv empfundenen Naturraum erschien legitim . . ." (English translation by U. Päßler).

[28] *Memoiren Alexander von Humboldt's*, vols. 1-2 (Leipzig: E. Schäfer, 1861).

[29] Kurt-R[einhard] Biermann, "Die 'Memoiren Alexander von Humboldt's,'" *Monatsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 13 (1971): 382-92. In some bibliographies Julius Loewenberg (1800-1893), geographer and biographer of A. v. Humboldt, is mentioned as the author of the "Memoiren." As Biermann showed, Loewenberg cannot be held responsible for that compilation.

Joseph L. Browne

Adolf Cluss, from Communist Leader to Washington, D.C., Architect, 1848–68

After living in Washington, D.C., for three years, German immigrant Adolf Cluss complained in 1852, "I would not mind leaving Washington, this rotten nest." year later, he hoped, "to soon be able to shake Washington's dust forever from my feet. . . . Perhaps I will go to Cincinnati." Cluss, a twenty-two year old leader of the Communist League in Germany's failed 1848 Revolution, had emigrated to the United States, intrigued by the American experiment in government. Then with the advice of his friend and mentor, Karl Marx, he used his federal government job in Washington as a base to foster labor unions and the Communist League, hoping to create a new society in America.[1]

For fourteen years, Cluss tried to find a way to integrate his early embrace of revolution and social and economic justice with the political freedom and social mobility that he found in his adopted country. Then in the early 1860s, the Civil War redirected Cluss's life. In one of the city's most remarkable personal transformations, Cluss emerged as the capital's premier architect. Embracing the Union cause, he refocused his energy and vision on a career in architecture and engineering, hoping to create a model capital city for a reunited republic. In the 1860s, Cluss's buildings redefined the streetscapes of a "new Washington."[2]

For much of the twentieth century, most architectural historians in the United States ignored Cluss, who died in 1905. Most of his ninety buildings disappeared, victims of ever-expanding governmental and commercial districts and a dramatic change in popular tastes in architectural styles. By the 1970s, only eleven of his structures remained. Communist Party historians in Moscow and East Berlin, however, discovered that Cluss was a much more engaging figure who they thought would be useful in Cold War

propaganda battles. They documented Cluss's first years in Washington when he threw himself into party work for the Communist League, writing and translating newspaper articles, encouraging labor unions, and monitoring rival socialist leaders in the United States. Cluss briefed Marx in weekly letters on the progress of the movement in America. Marx had befriended the young Cluss in Brussels in 1847 and had recognized his leadership of a fledging communist group in the Rhine River city of Mainz during the Revolution of 1848. The 100 known letters between Cluss and Marx reveal a lively correspondence. "Few mortals other than yourself," Marx admitted, "can boast of having received letters from me on four successive days." Cluss's letters, most with the return address, "United States Navy Yard, Washington, D.C.," energized Marx: "I have just had a most thrilling letter from Cluss," he wrote to Friedrich Engels. Within a few years though, Cluss abandoned his efforts to spur the world revolution anticipated by Marx. Instead, he marshaled his skills for shaping "a capital worthy of the republic."[3]

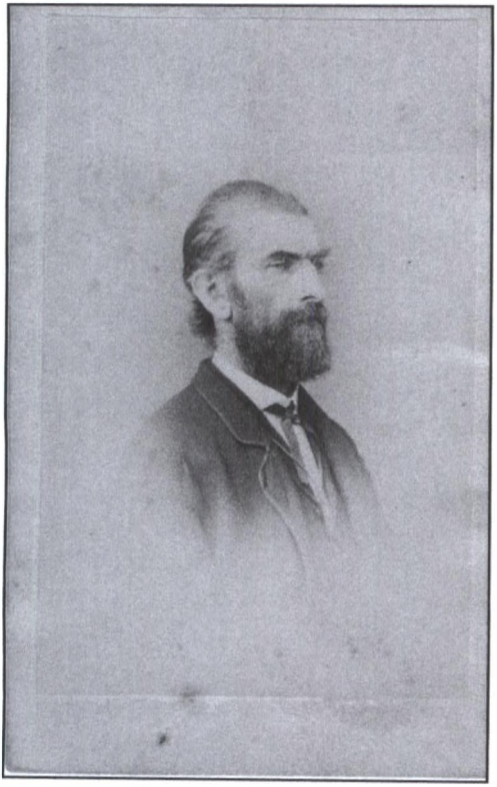


Fig. 1. Adolf Cluss, ca. 1860. Cluss sat for this photograph within a year or two of his marriage, the birth of his first child, and the beginning of the firm of Cluss and Kammerhueber. Photograph by Mathew Brady. *Goethe-Institute, Washington. Courtesy of Edward McGuire and Nancy Maguire Payne.*

Cluss grew up in a revolutionary age that framed his life. In his later years he liked to recall that his birth date, July 14, 1825, also marked the anniversary of Bastille Day. His prosperous, middle class family lived in Heilbronn, a busy manufacturing city on the Neckar River in Württemberg, then an independent German-speaking monarchy. Heilbronn citizens elected his father, Heinrich Cluss, an up-and-coming entrepreneur and builder, to the Heilbronn City Council and head of the city fire department. Adolf Cluss, however, drifted leftward from his family's bourgeois roots. The arrival of steam-powered riverboats in Heilbronn as well as his father's tales of travels to Italy, the Netherlands, and England exposed the young Cluss to a much wider world. Perhaps he was also a more rebellious second son, or a somewhat disconnected one after his mother died when he was two years old. Several of his politicized teachers, inspired by the republican ideals of the French Revolution, may have galvanized Cluss's political passions as they did with some of his classmates.[4]

Cluss did not set out to be a revolutionary. He wanted to be an architect. His grandfather and father were builders; his uncle and brother were architects. His older brother studied architecture in Berlin, passed the state building examination, and took over the family business. Whether his brother or his father considered making the younger son a partner is unknown. When he was 19 though, the six foot, two inch, Cluss applied for a *Wanderbuch*, official permission to travel from town to town as a journeyman carpenter, a traditional career path for builders as well as for future architects who sought to master many of the building trades.[5]

Cluss's hopes for a career in architecture converged with the rising tide of discord in the German states during "the hungry forties." Traveling in the German states, Cluss witnessed the distress of out-of-work artisans, their livelihoods erased by new manufacturing processes that relied on unskilled labor. Cluss's interest in socialism may have first emerged on the roads of Germany, France, or Belgium, on which he traveled together with other would-be artisans, exchanging information and arguing about early socialist and communist ideas.[6]

By 1846, Cluss lived in Mainz, the largest city in the German kingdom of Hesse-Darmstadt. He worked as a draftsman for a new railroad along the Rhine River. He encountered desperate unskilled workers as well as fresh migrants from farms too small to support families in the best of times. Cluss later boasted to Marx that in Mainz, he spent his time "among the working classes." By the mid-1840s, a potato blight destroyed the staple of farm workers' diets across Europe. As food prices rose, artisans, shopkeepers, and clerks faced an economic disaster as well. By the end of the decade, over a million Germans fled Germany mostly to North America.[7]

Active politically in Mainz, Cluss joined a *Turnverein* (a gymnastics club) as many young Germans did. The Turner movement afforded cover for banned political meetings and prepared a generation of young Germans for political activity. Turners often argued about how to replace their monarchies with representative governments. In 1846 Cluss led a group of Mainz Turners

Fig. 2. From the *Turnfest-Album*. In 1904, Cluss recalled for his niece the story of how he convinced twenty-eight Turners from Mainz to travel to the Heilbronn Turnfest. Over 2,000 Turners attended the first national Turnfest in 1846 to participate in gymnastics, debates, and marches. The *Fest-Album* is reprinted in *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung*, Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, editors. Stadtarchiv Heilbronn, 2007, 111-52.

to participate in the first national Turner meeting—a *Turnfest*—held in his hometown of Heilbronn. Unemployed by 1847, Cluss abandoned his career plans and joined the Communist League, an international group organized in London in 1846 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Cluss first met Marx in early 1847, on a pilgrimage to Brussels, a city that harbored many German political exiles. In Mainz Cluss helped to establish a clandestine Communist League chapter, and in Brussels he penned newspaper articles and revolutionary tracts, and participated in lectures and discussions led by Marx and other Communist leaders. Though devoted to the cause, apparently it did not consume him. Marx's wife, Jenny, reminded Cluss a few years later of his Brussels days and hoped he "would always remain the same old humorous, light-hearted Cluss."[8]

In February 1848, revolution swept away the monarchy in France, igniting rebellions in most of the states of the German Confederation and in other European nations. The twenty-two-year old Cluss joined revolutionary activities in Mainz. He held key leadership positions in both the public and the clandestine organizations of the Communist League in Mainz. He taught classes for workers, wrote newspaper articles, and participated in two national meetings that he hoped would plan republican institutions for Germans. Discouraged by the failure of middle class revolutionaries to address workers' demands, Cluss set out to learn more about the republic across the Atlantic that many Germans admired. He embarked on a sailing schooner from Le Havre and arrived in New York harbor six weeks later in September 1848. His father, distressed with his son's revolutionary activities, may have paid for his voyage, hoping to distract his son from the political upheaval in Europe. Although not typical of the millions of Germans who emigrated to the United States, Cluss was one of the earliest of the revolutionary veterans, the "Forty-eighters," whose influence on the United States would be deep and lasting.[9]

Washington

Anticipating a fresh workers' revolution back home, Cluss planned to return, "as soon as the Fatherland calls." When reactionary forces in Germany dimmed those prospects, he decided to remain in the United States. He lived for six months in New York City, but that was enough, he complained, to arouse "my disgust with the democratic rabble of idlers." He next explored Philadelphia and Baltimore, but after traveling to Washington in 1849 to witness the presidential inauguration, he decided to settle in the capital city. Fascinated by national politics, Cluss soon deplored "how ridiculous all of these tirades of the democratic braggadocios seem in this unconcealed bourgeois society. 'Help yourself,' is everyone's foremost thought." Yet Cluss

remained in Washington. Content with technical work for the federal government for the next thirteen years, he worked mostly in the Washington Navy Yard's Ordnance Department, polishing his skills as a draftsman, mapmaker, surveyor, engineer, mathematician, and artist.[10]

By the mid-1850s, his interest in the Communist League had waned. Cluss realized that workers in the United States, including immigrants, had more job opportunities, fewer restrictions for advancement, and thus less incentive to join revolutionary movements than German workers had. "The working classes in America will seldom succeed in their efforts [to organize] in the near future," he predicted in 1852. Soon, Marx complained that Cluss did not write often enough. A New York Party colleague also chided him: "You are well on your way to becoming an America-enthusiast." Cluss did not respond to Marx's letters after 1854, and he never again spoke or wrote about Marx or Communism.[11]

Cluss grew disillusioned with Washington as well as with Communism. In 1853, he traveled to many areas of North America including New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, mid-western and New England states, and Canada. Although no place he visited seemed to have a decided advantage over Washington, he also painted an unflattering picture of the United States capital city. "In general, our population consists of a large and pretentious group of office holders and their families . . . and a disproportionately large number of boarding houses." Washington also included "a number of hotels resembling villages, in which slave labor is used . . . where [you will find] the great majority of our transitory population." Other Germans in the capital called it a *Residenzstadt*. Historian Kathleen Niels Conzen explains: "It shared with the capitals of small German principalities its state-oriented Baroque plan, pompous edifices . . . and economic dependence on the seasonality and fickleness of government demand." It reminded them of provincial capitals, "like Darmstadt or some other two-bit prince's residence," one commentator recalled. Cluss added his disappointment that "here in Washington, no hotel has any European newspaper." Many years later, one native Washingtonian summed it up best: Washington in the 1850s "was little more than a country village."[12]

Visitors to Washington also expressed disappointment with the fifty-year-old capital city. Carl Schurz, the German immigrant and future Senator and Secretary of the Interior, recalled his visit in 1854: "Excepting a few public buildings, [there was] very little that was interesting or pleasing . . . The city had throughout a slouchy, unenterprising, unprogressive appearance." Henry Adams captured Washington's regional context: "low wooden houses . . . scattered along the streets, as in other southern villages." Its few government buildings reminded him of "white Greek temples in the abandoned gravel

pits of a deserted Syrian city."[13]

Although Washington lacked the high culture and majestic streetscapes of the capital of even the smallest German principality, Cluss drew upon cultural resources not available in other American cities: visiting the Smithsonian Institution, reading in the Library of Congress, and attending sessions of Congress. Washington had one other advantage for Cluss. Its German population was very small compared with Baltimore, Philadelphia, or Cincinnati—only two percent of the city's total in 1860. Like Cluss, a large number of middle class German immigrants often arrived with skills that Americans lacked. In Washington, they worked in the federal government's technical agencies such as the Coast Survey, Smithsonian Institution, Census Bureau, Naval Observatory, and the Treasury Department's Bureau of Construction. Kathleen Neils Conzen believes that Washington's well-educated immigrants "were enough to decisively influence local German life," an asset Cluss might not have found in other American cities that had more diverse and larger German populations. Just as important, such a small German community compelled Cluss to interact with the non-German population and to master English.[14]

Choosing a Career

Although Cluss had identified himself as an architect on the ship's register when he traveled to America in 1848, for the next fourteen years he chose government service instead of a private career in architecture. He arrived in America with adequate experience. In his youth, he had accompanied his father and brother to building sites, and he had studied and admired his uncle's architectural drawings. Aspiring to an architectural career in Germany, Cluss had learned the crafts of carpentry, masonry, and surveying "first holding a carpenter's axe and a mason's hammer, then armed with a plumb line and a pen, and [also] later in the artist's studio." The idea of architecture remained fixed in his mind. Even at the height of his years as an organizer and propagandist for the Communist Party in the United States, Cluss wrote and endeavored to publish an article entitled "Experiments on the Feasibility of Using Stone for Construction Purposes."[15]

Cluss gained additional valuable skills in his Washington positions at the Coast Survey, Navy Yard Ordnance Establishment, and Bureau of Construction in the Treasury Department, mostly working as a draftsman. Yet he seemed uninterested in a private architectural career, even though he had the experience and skills that he needed and despite Washington's lack of private, resident, professional architects. Although Cluss complained about his jobs with the Coast Survey and Navy's Ordnance Establishment, perhaps

he preferred the idea of government service, a respected career for an architect in Germany, like his brother-in-law, who held the position of City Architect for Heilbronn. Perhaps, he believed that a private career would put him in a position of controlling working conditions, hours and pay for construction workers, which he might have seen as a betrayal of his revolutionary values.

Cluss said little about his education, probably embarrassed because he lacked formal professional training in the theory and history of architecture. When nominated to serve on the presidentially appointed Board of Public Works for the District of Columbia in 1872, Cluss claimed—for the first and only time—that he began his career after "graduating at Stuttgart." His name, however, does not appear in the records of the Polytechnic School in Stuttgart or in the surviving archives of the technical schools in other German states. In Congressional testimony in 1874, he simply acknowledged, "I finished my professional education in 1846." In a biographical sketch prepared a year before his death, he retreated from his earlier claims of professional training: "I received an academic education," he wrote. Limited architectural education was typical in mid-nineteenth century America. Few then studied architecture as an academic subject. Only a handful of Americans had attended European polytechnic schools and no university in the United States offered architectural studies until 1865, three years after Cluss had begun an architectural firm. Other would-be architects served apprenticeships with experienced practitioners. Some enterprising people simply promoted themselves from a carpenter or builder to an architect.[16]

Although Cluss's father wrote to his son in America offering advice about his future, he did not recommend architecture, perhaps one of the many irritants in their troubled relationship. His father wanted him to follow a technical career, something Cluss was against: "I do not want to do [this], because that makes me glued to the floor." Later, the elder Cluss suggested that he start a factory for producing tiles. "I answered him that that suggestion was too dirty for me." Cluss, however, viewed his position and professional future in Washington seriously. He wrote to Marx, "I have a patent on a good reputation here."[17]

By 1855, Cluss seemed more settled and purposeful. He became a citizen of the United States and began a new job as a draftsman in the Supervising Architect's Office of the Treasury Department's Bureau of Construction, the office that then designed most new federal government buildings. Cluss's position expanded his experience in drawing modern large-scale buildings, now recognized as "among the country's most technologically advanced in their use of structure and systems." Promoted to manage the draftsman's office, supervising a team of mostly German immigrants, he also learned more about managing a team and organizing office tasks. Further, Cluss became

acquainted with leading scientific and technical figures in Washington who recognized his skills and his intelligence. In 1855, for example, he assisted Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Alexander Bache, head of the Coast Survey, and Montgomery Meigs, of the Army Corps of Engineers, in an experiment testing the strength of marble used in the extension of the Capitol building.[18]

Despite his interest in architecture and engineering, and his previous reluctance to enter the private sector, in 1857 Cluss decided to buy a brewery. When his father died in 1857, Cluss inherited enough money to commence any new business. He quit his job with the Supervising Architect's Office and visited Milwaukee and Philadelphia, apparently looking for a business opportunity. In Philadelphia, he and a partner launched a brewery, a crowded field in a city that had a large German population and many breweries. Although his father was a vintner, Cluss had no experience as a brewer. The enterprise lasted only six months. When their unpaid debts accumulated, the sheriff seized the property. Cluss claimed that he had recouped his capital from the business. In March 1858, he may have lost much of that money—over $3,000—through his own carelessness or because of a robbery while travelling from Philadelphia to Washington. He offered a $100 reward in the *Baltimore Sun* for the return of his *Port-Monnoie* (an oversized leather wallet that men often carried in their coat pockets), but whether he recovered all of his losses is unknown. A month later, though, he traveled to Heilbronn, Paris, and London.[19]

Cluss seemed clearer about his future after his return to the United States in May 1858. In Heilbronn, it is likely that he discussed American architectural and construction practices as well as the architectural opportunities in Württemberg with his brother and his brother-in-law, both architects. When he returned to the United States, Cluss again secured a position at the Washington Navy Yard's Ordnance Establishment.

In the following year, Cluss married Rosa Schmidt, whom he had met at a political meeting in 1852 in Baltimore. Her parents, reform-minded German immigrants from Pfalz, had settled in Baltimore in the 1830s. Cluss married into a talented family. A grandson described Rosa's father, a teacher at the school sponsored by Baltimore's freethinking Zion Church, as "a most proficient organist and musician [who] had very marked abilities as a Teacher, Scientist, and Philosopher." Rosa and two sisters became well-known vocalists and their entrepreneurial brother founded a piano manufacturing business. After their marriage and wedding trip to Europe in 1859, Adolf and Rosa Cluss purchased a row house in a mostly undeveloped area just off New Jersey Avenue, a few blocks from the Capitol and Washington's City Hall. The Cluss family remained at 413 Second Street NW, where three daughters and four

Fig. 3. Rosa Schmidt Cluss, 1872. An accomplished vocalist, Rosa Cluss was well-known in Washington. She performed with her sister and later with two of the Cluss daughters, who also played the piano and harp. Mother of seven children, she outlived three of her four sons. The fourth died six months after her death in 1894. Photographic copy of a portrait by Henry Ulke. *Castle Collection, Smithsonian Institution.*

sons were born, until 1894, when Cluss sold the house after Rosa Cluss's death.[20]

The row stood alone on their block of Second Street until after the Civil War ended. In the early years, a few neighbors and family enlivened the deserted neighborhood. The first next-door neighbor of the Cluss family was Constantino Brumidi (1805–80) and his wife, Lola. Born in Rome, Brumidi emigrated to the United States in 1852, settled in Washington in 1855, and began his 25 years of mural painting in the Capitol building. According to Cluss's great-grandson, Cluss befriended Brumidi and built a studio for him in the rear yard of his house. Brumidi gave Cluss four paintings, Cluss recalled, "as evidence of friendship and esteem." In 1867, Rosa's sister, Sophie, and her husband, Edward Droop, lived with the Cluss family on Second Street until they could afford to buy a house of their own.[21]

Civil War

The Civil War quickly transformed Washington's character from a sleepy southern village into a political and military command center. By 1862, fifty-three forts and twenty-two batteries circled the city. Thousands of troops marched through the capital, stationed as raw recruits in camps in and around

the city. Wounded soldiers, as many as 50,000 at one time, often returned to recuperate in makeshift hospitals. Carts rattled over city streets every night carrying the many dead to cemeteries. Cattle pens and slaughterhouses occupied much of area around the unfinished Washington Monument, while Foggy Bottom, between Georgetown and Washington, housed up to 30,000 horses and mules. A macro view of Washington, however, revealed the strategic command center of the Union war effort, located just across the Potomac River from the Confederacy. "The winds of war swirled around the city," one historian wrote, "in vast clockwise turns as if in the eye of a great storm system."[22]

Cluss supported the Union cause in many ways. He had joined the anti-slavery Republican Party in the late 1850s, a dangerous choice in antebellum Washington, where people of southern backgrounds or sympathies dominated. Most German immigrants who had actively engaged in the 1848 revolution found the reform agenda of the Republican Party in America much more in tune with their political beliefs. Some, though, needed encouragement. In January 1861, Cluss attended a meeting of rebellious German Republicans, probably at the request of local party leaders. He attacked the motives of the group at such a critical time just two months after the secession of seven states from the Union. In a satirical account of their meeting he wrote for the *Evening Star*, he ridiculed their attitude of self-importance, their segregation from other Republicans, their failure to learn much English, and their susceptibility to offers of lager beer. By 1865, Cluss had cemented his ties to the local Republican Party, serving on the committee on decorations for Lincoln's second Inaugural Ball. Like many Forty-eighters, Cluss remained devoted to reform movements in his new country. Forty-eighters became an important link between the reformers of the Civil War-era and those of the early twentieth century progressive period.[23]

In 1863, the 38 year-old Cluss registered for the draft as required by law, but he never served. Cluss's Navy Yard job, though, placed him in one of the major industrial and research centers of the war effort. Cluss worked under Commander (later Rear Admiral) John H. Dahlgren, who had headed the Navy's ordnance research program at the Washington Navy Yard since 1847. Dahlgren, one of the best-known and most influential officers in the Navy, developed the standard smoothbore guns that the Navy then used on its warships. Members of Congress, diplomats, presidents, and European ordnance experts frequented the Navy Yard research facilities seeking his advice. In 1861, Lincoln appointed Dahlgren Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard. The President visited the Yard weekly, seeking respite from the demands of his office and an opportunity to chat and smoke cigars with the Commandant. Dahlgren became, in the words of historian Robert

Schneller, Jr., Lincoln's "favorite naval officer, principal uniformed adviser . . . and friend."[24]

Dahlgren had valued Cluss's previous service in the Ordnance Establishment in the early 1850s. He regretted Cluss's 1854 resignation in his diary: "Mr. Cluss, draughtsman, left my department, - very sorry; - has been here five and a half years, and is always right." Dahlgren hired Cluss again in 1859 when Dahlgren needed a skilled draftsman to prepare drawings for the installation of guns and ordnance arrangements for nine new steamships and for new rifled cannons. Following the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, Dahlgren immediately expanded Cluss's role, assigning him to some of the work routinely performed by naval officers, most of whom had joined the Confederate Navy or filled Union Navy ranks at sea. Fearing attacks on the Navy Yard by way of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers, Dahlgren delegated Cluss to chart the main channel of the Anacostia River upstream from the Navy Yard towards Confederate-leaning southern Maryland. Knowing of Cluss's mathematical skills, he directed Cluss to take charge of the ballistic pendulum and the experimental battery for testing new cannons and ordnance manufactured at the Navy Yard. Cluss was the "calculator," the mathematician who computed the accuracy and reliability of each gun. "The guns are fired daily at the battery," *The New York Times* reported, "under the supervision of *experienced* and *practical* men." Cluss also published information and drawings for Dahlgren in the *Scientific American.* He reported that a new railcar designed for transporting ordnance and gunpowder "would be absolutely secure against accident."[25]

By the fall of 1861, the wartime increase in the work of the Washington Navy Yard led Dahlgren to hire another draftsman, Joseph Wilderich von Kammerhueber. Cluss may have already known his new assistant, whose career and life path mirrored Cluss's in many ways. Born around 1825 like Cluss, he emigrated from Bavaria to the United States in 1849. He lived in Washington in 1855, when he applied for a patent for improving "Projectiles of Fire-arms." In 1857, he became a naturalized citizen and found employment with the federal government working as a draftsman on the expansion of the Patent Office and Capitol buildings. Kammerhueber joined the same *Turnverein* that Cluss had organized earlier in the 1850s, suggesting that he too had a revolutionary background in Germany. Kammerhueber attracted some notoriety in the slave-owning city and elsewhere when he purchased an African American boy of two and a half years, whom he then planned to free when the boy reached the minimum age of three required for manumission in the District of Columbia.[26]

In 1862, Cluss and Kammerhueber decided to embark on their own private part-time firm. In the darkest hours of the Union cause and perhaps

Washington's future as the capital city, they advertised their skills as "architects and civil, mechanical and naval engineers." Both men hedged their bets and continued working full-time at the Navy Yard.[27]

In the same year, Dahlgren ordered Cluss to design a new foundry building that would increase the Washington Navy Yard's production of cannons for warships. The project launched Cluss's career. It demonstrating his architectural and engineering skills on an oft-visited public stage, where Washingtonians often retreated for outings or greeting incoming ships.

Fig. 4. Ordnance Foundry, U.S. Navy Yard, Washington, 1866 (constructed 1862-1865; demolished 1915). Photograph by Mathew Brady, copied from the only known negative, which is seriously damaged. *Naval Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.*

Cluss's plan for the building incorporated a mass production technique that the *Evening Star* reported, "is original with this yard . . . [and] will save much labor." Molten metal from the furnaces would pour into multiple casts that moved beneath the furnaces on small railcars. Years later, Cluss boasted, "all the brass cannons [on naval ships] are cast of my own original introduction and construction."[28]

Cluss designed the foundry building in *Rundbogenstil* (literally, a rounded arch style), which German architects first turned to in the 1830s. Reformers and many architects on both sides of the Atlantic regarded it as more modern and democratic than Gothic or classical forms for new building types such as factories, schools, museums, and markets. Cluss's father applied the rounded arch motif in an apartment building he constructed in Heilbronn in 1846. In the United States, it became the dominant design for American industrial buildings such as the Navy Yard foundry and a popular choice for civic, commercial, and residential buildings. *Rundbogenstil* quickly won high marks in Washington, a city previously accustomed to public buildings in

classical styles and private buildings that Cluss later criticized as having "the same strictly utilitarian, hap-hazard character." Cluss's mastery of a modern international style, his design and application of new technology, and his planning of Washington's largest new building of the war years established his reputation as an innovative and competent professional architect and engineer.[29]

Washington's wartime expansion provided an unparalleled opportunity both for an entrepreneur, a role that Cluss had rejected for himself for over a decade, as well as for a social reformer. Despite laying out city streets according to a Baroque plan and constructing essential government buildings, after its first fifty years, Washington's development lagged. Its population had doubled in the 1850s and would double again during the Civil War years. Between 1861 and 1865, the number of government employees jumped from 1,500 to 7,000. The city's children attended school in rented buildings—houses, stables, and churches. Infrastructure also suffered. The wartime movement of the Army's horses, cattle, cannons, and supply wagons chewed up the mostly unpaved streets and the Washington City Canal functioned more as the city's major sewer and trash dump than it did as a transportation route.[30]

Reformers and businessmen had begun to think about the future of the capital. During the war, the city inaugurated professional police and fire departments, built new public schools, and initiated regular trash collections. The Army Corps of Engineers opened the Washington Aqueduct, bringing a public water supply to the city for the first time. Private companies laid new street railways and installed gas lamps for street lighting. The wartime capital offered opportunities for architectural entrepreneurs that Cluss could not have found in any other American city. Unlike other east coast cities, Washington lacked strong architectural traditions and a core of professional architects. Historian Alan Lessoff also points out that no one at the beginning of the Civil War knew "how a 'worthy' Washington should look and feel. The entrepreneurs and engineers who, by their leadership and effort would stamp the new metropolis with their character had not yet emerged." In a city that had a sizable transient population, however, no gatekeepers held back upstart immigrants or anyone else that possessed talent. The *Evening Star* best expressed that idea in 1859: "In the northern cities what is termed fashionable society is intensely exclusive, the key to admission to it being a golden one. Here the lock is off and the door stands wide open."[31]

Personal factors also drove Cluss and Kammerhueber to leave government service. Inflation began to pare away their purchasing power. Between 1861 and 1864, the retail prices in Union states increased on average by 76 percent, but they climbed even higher in the District of Columbia. In spite of workers' one-day strikes in many government facilities including the Navy Yard,

Congress refused to authorize wage increases. Cluss's battle with typhoid fever in 1863 also would have increased his anxiety about the financial security of his wife and four children.[32]

Wartime Projects for Washington

Wartime conditions fueled the success of Cluss and Kammerhueber's nascent architectural firm in its first three years. They started cautiously, but by 1864, they had secured major commissions, forcing Cluss to convert the entire first floor of his house into an office. Both men resigned from their government positions to work full-time for their busy firm, Kammerhueber in 1863 and Cluss in 1864. The Washington Common Council resolution of April 15, 1862, that required the city to buy a lot in every ward for a building "in the most improved style of school architecture," gave them their big chance.[33]

Fig. 5. Wallach School (constructed 1862-64, demolished 1950). This lithograph by Cluss and Kammerhueber, circa 1863, presented an idealized scene. Adorned with landscaping and a fountain and well-dressed adults, this image was intended to appeal to middle class parents, most of whom sent their children to private schools before the advent of the Wallach School. ***Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, D.C.***

Cluss and Kammerhueber submitted their first school design in 1862, after analyzing plans of schools in the United States and Germany. In the 1830s and 1840s, northeastern cities in the United States had begun to replace the one-room public schools attended by children of poor families

with larger, age-graded schools, intended to attract children from all classes. Architects often modeled the new buildings on plans of schools in the German states then viewed by many American educators as the best in the world. Cluss would have also tapped his memories of the primary and high schools he attended from about 1831 to 1841in Heilbronn. Cluss and Kammerhueber won commissions for designing the Wallach School in 1862 and the Franklin School in 1864, the first of nine public and three private schools Cluss designed in Washington.[34]

The redbrick, three-story Wallach School, the tallest building in eastern Washington except for the dome of the United States Capitol, commanded attention. Spending $40,000 on a school building, historian William R. Reese argues, was "a political statement . . . a way to attract everyone's attention, especially the respectable classes." Although some Washington residents criticized the *Rundbogenstil* structure for its high cost and extravagant design, a council member praised the school's architectural influence. "The schoolhouse itself will be an educator and a refiner of the tastes and perceptions of the youth who shall gather here for instruction."[35]

Some of the added costs resulted from new educational and architectural priorities. Cluss's schools featured fireproof construction, central heating and ventilation pipes and equipment, natural lighting from large windows on two sides of every classroom, blackboards on the other two walls, individual desks rather than benches and tables, and an arrangement of cloakrooms and teacher desks to promote better acoustics. The architects designed their school buildings to reinforce a new instructional plan that northern urban schools had already introduced. Only one age group would study in each of the classrooms and one teacher would teach one lesson to every student at the same time. The large concentration of students and teachers inaugurated a revolution in Washington's public schools that included a sequential curriculum, standardized textbooks, and regular on-site teacher training.[36]

Positioned on a hill just a few blocks from the White House, the Franklin School's red brick *Rundbogenstil* design topped with a Mansard roof provided a dramatic exemplar for the development of the upscale K Street residential neighborhood that soon followed. The Franklin School demonstrated Cluss's belief throughout his career "in the power of buildings as architectural sculptures in the cityscape." The new fourteen-room school captured national and international attention. An inaugural visitor guidebook for 1873 praised the new school as "one of the finest buildings devoted to education in this country, and . . . one of the chief attractions to visitors." Congressmen sent copies of its plans to their home districts, leaders in Argentina and Great Britain requested copies of the building plans, and visiting educators from Japan to Nicaragua praised the building. Touring school officials from

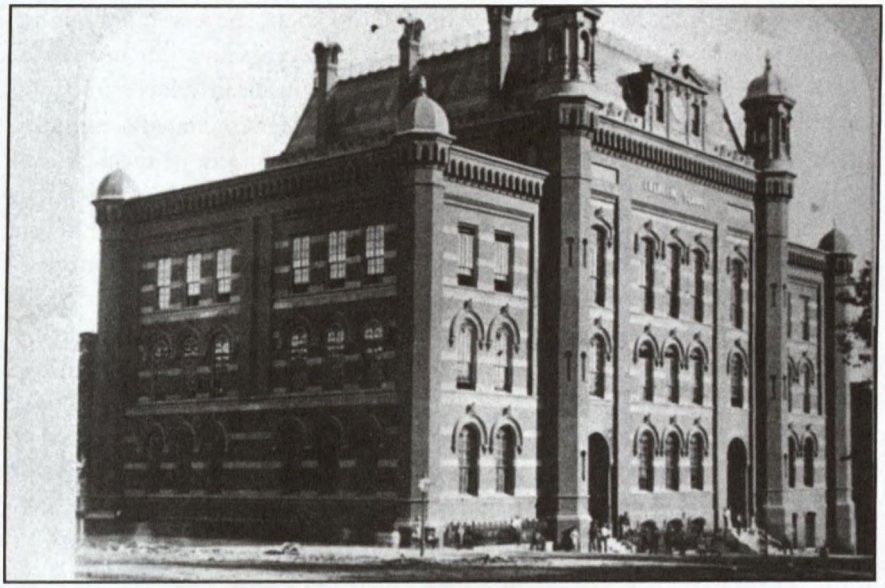


Fig. 6. Franklin School, early 1870s (constructed 1865-69; exterior restored in early 1990s). Cluss designed towers on the front and rear facades, not only as decorative features, but also to promote air-circulation for the central cooling and heating systems, one of many innovations introduced by Cluss and Kammerhueber. Still standing at Thirteenth and K Streets, Northwest, the Franklin building has been unoccupied for over twenty years. Photograph by Frances Benjamin Johnson. *Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, DC.*

Boston, a city instilled with a long tradition of public schools, described the Franklin building as "the largest and most elegant public school structure in America. The District of Columbia sent a model of the Franklin School to the Vienna World Exposition in 1873. Cluss constructed the model so that it could be disassembled one room at a time, enabling visitors to make detailed drawings.[37]

The Wallach and Franklin Schools fulfilled reformers' hopes that the capital could democratize public education and attract middle class families. Cluss and Kammerhueber boasted in a European architectural journal that the Wallach School would "accomplish the most in the uplifting of the masses." They also understood that American public schools, unlike those in Europe, furnished "the basis of [the United States] free political institutions." German historian Sabine Freitag explains that Cluss's commitment to designing schools demonstrated his "belief in the socially transformative and moral power of education." His buildings, she adds, served "not the needs of a privileged few, but rather the welfare of the community."[38]

Cluss and Kammerhueber won all of Washington's other major architectural and engineering contracts between 1862 and 1865—all aimed

at improving the welfare of the community. Their success in obtaining commissions grew out of a political alliance between Cluss, an influential leader among German Republicans, and the Republican Mayor and city council members. Although the architects and city leaders shared a common interest in improving the city, city leaders soon recognized, in the words of Mayor Richard Wallach, the expertise of "those skillful architects." Cluss designed the Metropolitan Hook and Ladder Company's fire engine house, dedicated in 1864, his first completed building and the city's first purpose-built fire station. Two years later the architects designed the city's first police station. Anxious to improve the city's image and serve a burgeoning wartime population, city leaders also hired Cluss and Kammerhueber in 1863 to

Fig. 7. Metropolitan Hook and Ladder Fire Engine House, ca. late 1800s (constructed 1863-64), was the first purpose-built fire engine house in Washington. It originally included a belfry and steeple (removed 1877). The second story, intended for meetings and social gatherings, featured a band stand and large chandelier. The District of Columbia Fire Department continued to use the building until the 1970s. Vacant for thirty years, it was restored and opened as a restaurant in 2011. ***Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.***

design a new brick building for the Center Market, at a prestigious site on Pennsylvania Avenue, halfway between the Capitol and the White House. Though not built as a result of Congressional opposition, the architects' plan for a two-story building, with provisions for expansive natural lighting and ventilation foreshadowed the red brick, five-building complex that Cluss designed in the 1870s for the same site.[39]

Mayor Wallach also called on his favorite architects in 1864 to study the city's most serious public health problem, namely the Washington City Canal that connected the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Many Washington citizens as well as federal government buildings used the canal as a convenient site for discharging sewage. Like all American cities, Washington had no unified sewerage system. Many residents also dumped garbage and animal carcasses into the canal. Cluss and Kammerhueber's thirty-five-page report in 1865 embodied their civil engineering skills and knowledge. They employed technical drawings, measurements, experiments, and sediment analyses, and they cited solutions to similar problems found in the German city of Hamburg. They recommended dredging and narrowing the canal, and placing a main sewer line underground parallel to the canal, into which a widespread, unified system of sewers would drain. City leaders and Congress implemented only a few of the engineers' recommendations, but in the early 1870s, Cluss, then City Engineer, supervised the construction of a system of sewers similar to the plan he and Kammerhueber had recommended in 1865.[40]

Cluss and Kammerhueber designed three churches during the war years. Although he had no personal interest in religion, Cluss realized that some congregations shared his ambition for designing modern buildings that met new technological and aesthetic standards. For all three of his church clients in the 1860s, for example, the architects planned Sunday school classrooms on the first floors of their buildings, which the churches hoped would promote

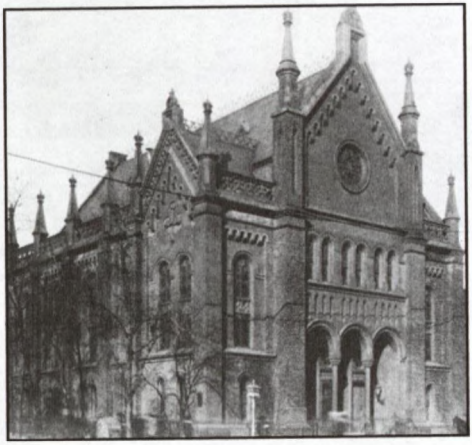


Fig. 8. Foundry Methodist Church (constructed 1863-64, demolished 1902). Located three blocks from the White House, Foundry Church was Cluss and Kammerhueber's first building located in the center of Washington and the first of his 1860s structures to be razed. ***Calvary Methodist Church, Washington, D.C.***

new educational goals. All three congregations demanded sanctuaries that would promote improved acoustics. Cluss and Kammerhueber, therefore, designed modern auditorium-like features such as sloping floors, curved pews, and unobstructed views. Each church recognized that modern features and appearances could attract additional members. In an era in which churches often felt their influence undercut by the secular influence of science, all three congregations grew rapidly.[41]

Cluss and Kammerhueber's Foundry Methodist Church, a large *Rundbogenstil* building completed in 1864, bestowed a "modern" presence in the neighborhood where traditional government buildings such as the Georgian-styled White House or the Greek orders of the Treasury and Patent Office buildings previously dominated. Cluss described Calvary Baptist Church as modern too—"modern Gothic." Its red bricks and open steeple of bolted, ornamental cast iron pieces, and heating and cooling systems required

Fig. 9. Calvary Baptist Church (constructed 1865-66, re-constructed after a fire, 1867-68; steeple and belfry destroyed by storms in early twentieth century were reconstructed in 2005). Nearly all of the architects' public buildings towered above the nearby houses and stores. Photographed by Mathew Brady, probably from a lighter-than-air balloon. *Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.*

modern, mass production techniques not then usually associated with Gothic architecture. Cluss and Kammerhueber also designed a *Rundbogenstil* church and rectory for the new St. Stephen the Martyr Roman Catholic Church,

in 1865, a more substantial break in style for a Catholic church. Like the launching of Cluss and Kammerhueber's firm, all three congregations began construction or planning of their new buildings despite wartime shortages and uncertainties, a reflection of their strong Unionist sentiments.[42]

Mayor Wallach had a hand in most of Cluss and Kammerhueber's wartime commissions. After fire destroyed the upper main hall and towers of the Smithsonian Institution in January 1865, the Mayor, a member of the Smithsonian's Board of Regents, "warmly recommended" Cluss for planning the renovation. Cluss maintained the original style of the building but introduced state-of-the-art fireproofing for the damaged floors and towers. Later in his career, he won additional contracts for further alterations in the Smithsonian building.[43]

A Businessman in Wartime Washington

The Civil War furnished a fertile social environment in Washington for ambitious businesspeople such as Cluss. It brought together an influential mix of players, including Army and Navy officers, reformers, foreign observers, journalists, northern businessmen, and many new Republican members of Congress. Many of the go-getters among them sought, provided, or at least professed to know about new business opportunities. Cluss and his wife participated in many social and civic activities during the war, broadening their acquaintances with a wide spectrum of city residents. The gregarious Cluss, unrestrained by a pronounced accent, formed close ties with the city's most influential people. More than anyone, Mayor Wallach, who dominated the selection of architects or engineers for city projects, influenced Cluss's success. Cluss and Wallach, a descendant of German immigrants, held a high regard for each other as urban reformers who believed in Washington's future. Wallach noted in 1866 that Germans in general contributed more to Washington's development than any other group. Other local Republican leaders also aided Cluss; Washingtonians that had clear ties to the Republican Party comprised many of Cluss's clients for the remainder of his career.[44]

Cluss and his wife also found time to contribute to groups that supported soldiers and their families. During the war, Cluss served as a secretary of the German Relief Association, which organized fairs, concerts, opera evenings, and balls in order to raise funds for soldiers and their families, "without regard to their nationality." The group also aided hospitalized soldiers and visited nearby battlefields to locate and help wounded soldiers. Cluss also chaired arrangement and decoration committees for a "Grand Ball for Wounded Soldiers" and for a "Grand Enlistment Ball" in 1863. Cluss and his wife joined city leaders, members of Congress, and Army officers in 1865

to plan a "Grand Ball" to benefit all the families of soldiers from the District of Columbia.[45]

Cluss also participated in influential city organizations. In 1864, he joined Lafayette Masonic Lodge Number 19. His membership introduced him to prominent business and professional leaders in Washington, and may have assisted him in winning commissions for the design of two Masonic buildings in Washington and another in Alexandria, Virginia. Cluss also joined popular German social organizations including the *Sängerbund* (Singing Association) in 1859 as a non-singing member and the newly formed Washington *Schützenverein* (Target Shooting Association) in 1865, which became the pre-eminent German social organization for the next twenty-five years. Although Cluss did not enter competitions, he served on the Board of Directors and designed a "Temple," a small building enclosed in glass for the display of trophies and ribbons won by Washington teams. For the first *Schützenfest* in 1866, a three-day competition and eating, drinking, and dancing event, Rosa Cluss presented a new flag to the organization "in the name of Washington women," giving what a local newspaper called "a neat speech." The *Sängerbund* serenaded her later that evening.[46]

Cluss's strong social and political ties, however, did not insulate him from the uncertainties facing Washington. At the time of the dedication of the Wallach School on July 4, 1864, he recalled that "an enemy army of 60,000 men lay just outside shooting range of the city," a reference to Confederate General Jubal Early's daring raid on the northern suburbs. The Washington architects had planned and supervised all of their early buildings in the midst of shortages and inflation caused by the unresolved conflict. If Early's attack or Robert E. Lee's two larger invasions of Maryland had succeeded, the future of the capital, to say nothing of the long-term post-war prospects of its architects, would have been very different. Even with victory clearer in late 1864, some members of Congress proposed moving the capital to Saint Louis. As Mayor Wallach's annual reports made clear, city leaders struggled to pay for paving streets, building sewers, and making the capital more attractive, but with limited Congressional funding, they made little headway. Cluss's personal confidence in the future rested on professional success in difficult times and his solid financial foundations. He and Rosa owned a modest but mortgage-free house, he had inherited a substantial amount when his stepmother died during the war years, and his income from his architectural business had increased each year, by as much as 60 percent between 1864 and 1866.[47]

Post-War Years

In the first three years after the war, Cluss and Kammerhueber's firm, the

best known and most successful in the capital, pioneered new building types and the latest design and systems technologies. Their buildings began to shape the character of the National Mall and Washington's new neighborhoods. Despite their prominence and success, personal conflicts threatened the firm's future.

Between 1865 and 1867, Cluss and Kammerhueber designed four performance and public halls: Concordia Opera House in Baltimore, and Lincoln Hall, the Masonic Temple, and a Navy Yard neighborhood Masonic building in Washington. The Concordia became Baltimore's main performing arts venue in the 1860s and 70s. The auditorium seated 1,600 persons and its "well-equipped stage . . . [could] accommodate over 200 performers." The architects' plan for the Washington's Young Men's Christian Association building included an amphitheater-style auditorium known as Lincoln Hall and the one of the nation's first Y.M.C.A gymnasiums. For many years, Lincoln Hall was the city's largest performance venue. Although Washington's Masonic Temple devoted its third and fourth floors to Masonic activities, its elegant second floor ballroom, 23 feet in height, could accommodate 1,000 people for dances, performances, and official state occasions. Washington inaugurated the new hall in 1870 with a lavish dinner for a royal visitor, Prince Arthur, son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Cluss, one of the invited guests, also helped to plan the decorations for the event. All three buildings included the latest central ventilating and heating systems, wall

Fig. 10. Masonic Temple, 1881 (constructed 1867 to 1870; restored for office and restaurant use, 1990s). The Grand Lodge of Washington, D.C., rented retail store space on the ground floor and the ballroom on the second floor in order to make interest payments to the bondholders who financed the original construction, one of whom was Cluss. Cluss and Kammerhueber planned a fifth floor with a mansard roof, but the Grand Lodge cut that to reduce expenses. *Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*

Fig. 11. Masonic Temple, detail of F Street façade, third and fourth floors, 2005. Cluss and Kammerhueber called for red brick construction for all of their buildings. The Masonic Temple differed only in that they specified sandstone facing for the two facades fronting on streets. Photograph by William Lebovich. *Goethe-Institut, Washington, D.C.*

murals, extensive decorative metal- and woodwork, and excellent acoustical qualities. In 1867, the architects also designed a smaller Masonic building for the Naval Masonic Lodge that included a public hall for Navy Yard neighborhood meetings and events and space for a public school.[48]

In 1867, the newly created Agriculture Department chose Cluss and Kammerhueber to design a headquarters and museum building planned for the south side of the National Mall. Only the red sandstone Smithsonian Institution and the unfinished Washington Monument then stood amongst the Mall's tall grasses and wild flowers. With red brick walls and brownstone trim, and a style that Cluss said "leans toward French Renaissance with Mansard roof," the new building projected a less monumental image than earlier federal buildings such as the Greek- or Roman-inspired treasury or patent buildings, or the Capitol. Cluss and Kammerhueber also submitted a *Rundbogenstil* plan for a proposed War Department building, which, though not accepted, also understated government authority. Cluss and Kammerhueber reported that

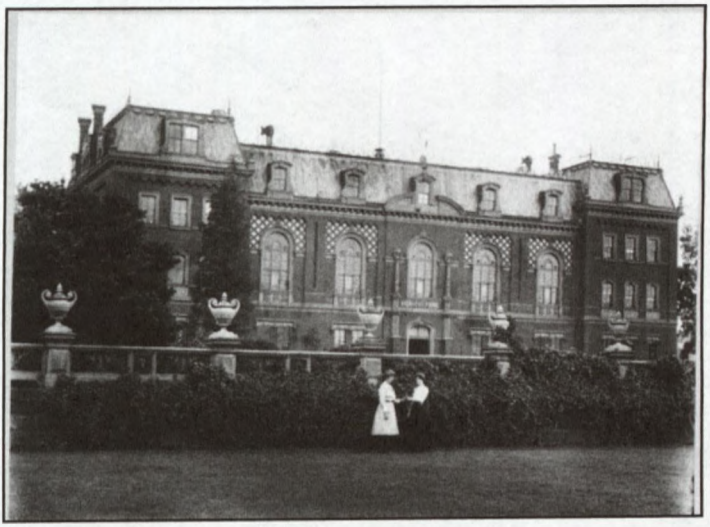


Fig. 12. Department of Agriculture headquarters and museum (constructed 1866-67; demolished 1930). Cluss also designed the terrace wall and railing, and nearby garden pavilions and a large conservatory. A postcard of the Agricultural Department building was the only image of any of his buildings found in Cluss's personal papers at the end of his life. ***D.C. Public Library***

they designed foreign government buildings too, having procured "a number of contracts in South America through specific embassies." Historians have not yet identified any of these buildings.[49]

Reflecting their public building priorities, Cluss and Kammerhueber completed only two residences in the six-year history of their firm, though opportunities for residential commissions abounded in Washington's post-Civil War building boom,. They designed a "large and beautiful" brick building in southwest Washington for Samuel Herman, an immigrant from Hesse-Darmstadt, who owned a dry goods store. Completed in 1866, the redbrick building contained a first floor retail store and a second floor residence. Throughout his career, Cluss designed similar two-story commercial/residential buildings for owners of small-scale businesses. Cluss and Kammerhueber also designed a two-story, twelve-room house with a brownstone front façade for John R. Elvans, hardware store owner and city council member. Like many of their public buildings, they crowned the house with a Mansard roof. The Elvans house became model for mansions that Cluss designed for wealthy clients in the 1870s that shaped the character of several upscale northwest Washington neighborhoods.[50]

Fig. 13. John Elvans house, ca. 1930 (constructed 1866; demolished ca.1970). In the 1920's and 1930s the house became the headquarters of the Columbia Turnverein, the successor organization to the Turnverein that both Cluss and Kammerhueber belonged to in the 1850s. ***Historical Society of Washington, D.C.***

End of the Cluss and Kammerhueber Firm

Despite similar backgrounds and ideas about architecture, and their success with nearly every public building type of their era, Cluss and Kammerhueber probably experienced a contentious relationship from the firm's beginning. Kammerhueber resigned his position at the Navy Yard earlier than they had planned. Cluss later explained that Kammerhueber "fell into irregular habits" during Cluss's absence from work battling typhoid fever. Dahlgren imposed strict rules, Cluss said, that led to Kammerhueber's forced resignation. Cluss reported that Kammerhueber was "frequently incapacitated for weeks from attending to the business" of their firm, a reference to Kammerhueber's chronic alcoholism. Kammerhueber also worked as a part-time patent agent and, as a result, Cluss testified, failed to complete assignments for their firm. Their conflict culminated on July 14, 1868. Cluss reported that Kammerhueber arrived at their office intoxicated, announced his resignation from the firm, and then "assaulted" him. Cluss left their office, he said, "to avoid further violence." Kammerhueber remained, and according to an office boy, the architect destroyed papers, and shouted that "he was free." A few days later,

Cluss published a terse newspaper statement announcing the dissolution of the firm.[51]

Financial arrangements and professional pride incited their conflict. Cluss acted as the business manager. Both architects signed statements on July 1, 1866, and again on July 1, 1867, that reconciled expenses and payments for the preceding years. Perhaps their failure to agree on the statement for July 1, 1868, precipitated the final break. Both the statements and an account book substantiates that Cluss paid Kammerhueber his half share, but in weekly amounts, which would have seemed more like a wage. Kammerhueber's widow later claimed that the architects had disagreed about the firm's income from the beginning. She contended that in the firm's six years, the partners earned gross receipts of "upwards of $70,000," but Cluss testified that their gross receipts totaled $28,965. Cluss complicated the relationship further by viewing himself as the firm's senior partner. He excluded Kammerhueber's participation and his name from some projects such as the Navy Yard Foundry, the Metropolitan Fire Engine House, and the renovation of the Smithsonian Institution. An additional dispute arose when Kammerhueber and his wife borrowed $1,000 in 1865 from Cluss and his wife for a down payment on a house. They did not pay back any of the principal.[52]

Cluss also engaged in marketing and professional activities that Kammerhueber might have considered unnecessary, but other architects might have considered "modern." Cluss met clients, encouraged styles that he considered progressive, walked them through the design process, and promised to visit the construction site regularly, sometimes even acting as the general contractor. The engaging Cluss enjoyed the contact with clients, while Kammerhueber felt satisfied with preparing drawings, renderings, and other office responsibilities. While Kammerhueber sometimes attended groundbreaking and dedication ceremonies, Cluss always did. Cluss also appreciated that their office space and location helped to mold a client's impression of their firm. In 1867 Kammerhueber may have resented the rental cost for a new office located on Seventh Street, Washington's most important commercial artery, a more prestigious and convenient location than the first floor of Cluss's house on Second Street. Cluss also used the relatively new art of photography to market the firm. By 1868, he had created a bound portfolio of photographs to illustrate for clients the kinds of buildings and styles that they had designed. He hired Matthew Brady, the famed Civil War photographer, to prepare the photographs. Cluss also understood the value of a professional affiliation both for the reputation of his firm and his own development as an architect. In 1867, he applied to become a Fellow of the mostly New York-based American Institute of Architects, the first Washington architect to gain that recognition. Until the 1880s, he was

only one of three A.I.A. Fellows practicing in Washington. An active member, Cluss presented the first of many lectures at the annual conference in 1868, and wrote a pamphlet published by the organization in 1869.[53]

Normally a practical, even cautious, businessperson, Cluss would have tried to avoid dissolving a firm that had enjoyed uninterrupted success and respect. Government officials, builders, journalists, and developers knew and praised their work. In the Washington of the 1860s, Kammerhueber contributed drawing skills, an aesthetic sensibility, and German training that Cluss did not believe he could replace. Both men, though, recognized that they had reached an impasse that they could not resolve. Kammerhueber worked for the next two years as a draftsman for the Treasury Department's Bureau of Construction. On May 27, 1870, after first aiming a loaded pistol at his wife, Kammerhueber turned the gun and shot himself in the head. He died before help arrived.[54]

After July 1868, Cluss continued his architectural practice on his own, relying on talented apprentices to take on more of the workload. Ten years passed, though, before he agreed to another partnership. He designed signature public buildings for the capital but also many admired private residences. As City Engineer Cluss supervised paving and grading of streets, planting of curbside trees, and constructing a sewage system. He retired in 1888, leaving a city vastly different that the "country village" he found in 1849. Historian Richard Longstreth argues that for at least twenty years, "no other locally based architect came close to matching Cluss's imprint on the fabric of the burgeoning capital."[55]

In the midst of the war swirling around Washington in the early 1860s, Cluss had reinvented himself and reimagined the capital city. A career in architecture finally made sense to him. The Civil War had created both an unparalleled economic opportunity as well as a political cause. In wartime Washington, Cluss channeled the revolutionary ideas and the building and architectural skills of his youth to help him shape his adopted city that he once described as a "rotten next." Acting as a conduit for ideas from both sides of the Atlantic, he planned for a capital worthy of the republic both as a center of government and as a healthy and attractive residential city. His public buildings, including performance halls, churches, and government structures, demonstrated how a capital of republic could have pleasing, aesthetically inspiring buildings, while foregoing the monumental trappings of a monarchy. Above all, his schools and museum reflected his belief that the capital city should provide a national model of public education, which he recognized, was one of the foundations of the American republic. Though Cluss had severed all connection to Marx and Communism, he retained a progressive view of history. In an 1875 article, he called on his readers to

acknowledge "the progressive spirit of the age . . . which cannot be retarded for any length of time; it involves the interests of all, both high and low." [56]

Denver, Colorado

Notes

AIA	American Institute of Architects
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
IISG	International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
MECW	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Collected Works
MEGA	Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Gesamtausgabe
RCHS	Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.
RG	Record Group (National Archives)

[1] Cluss to Weydemeyer, May 30, 1852, *MEGA* (Berlin, 1987), 3/5: 527, and Aug. 16, 1852, *MEGA* (Berlin, 1987), 3/5: 558.

[2] For an assessment of Cluss's impact on Washington architecture, see Richard Longstreth, "Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America,* Alan Lessoff and Christof Mauch, eds. (New York, 2005), 103–15. See www.adolfcluss.org for a description, history, and images of buildings, and other work by Cluss. National media helped promote the idea of "the New Washington." Examples include George Alfred Townsend, "The New Washington," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Apr. 1875, 657–74; and E.V. Smalley, "The New Washington," *The Century Magazine,* Mar. 1884, 117–23.

[3] The first survey of Cluss's architectural work in Washington was Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, "Adolph Cluss: An Architect in Washington during the Civil War and Reconstruction," *RCHS* 48 (1971–72): 338–58. An historian in the Soviet Union has produced the only thorough survey of Cluss's membership and activity in the Communist League. See Welta Pospelowa, "Adolf Cluss – ein Mitglied des Bundes der Kommunisten und Kampfgefahrte von Marx und Engels," *Marx-Engels Jahrbuch* 3 (1980): 85–119. For a sampling of how Cluss's affiliation with the Communist League was used in East Berlin and Moscow, see Karl Obermann, "The Communist League: A Forerunner of the American Labor Movement," *Science & Society* 30 (Fall 1966): 433–46; and Fred Boettcher, "Mitstreiter von Marx und Architektin Washington," *Neues Deutschland*, Dec. 17, 1983, B-1. See also Sabine Freitag, "Years of Apprenticeship and Travel: Adolf Cluss and the Revolution of 1848 in Mainz," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect,* 31–41; and Sabina Dugan, "Adolf Cluss: From German Revolutionary to Architect for America's Capital," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect,* 43–9. *Karl* Marx to Cluss, May 7, 1852, *MECW* (New York, 1975), 38: 108; Karl Marx to Engels, *MECW,* 39: 315. For more on the popular nineteenth century phrase that expressed hope for Washington's future as the capital of the nation, see Frederick Gutheim and Antoinette J. Lee, *Worthy of the Nation: Washington, DC from L'Enfant to the National Capital Planning Commission*, 2nd Ed. (Baltimore, 2006), 17.

[4] On Adolf Cluss's youth and the city of Heilbronn, see Peter Wanner, "Kommunist der ersten Stunde und Baumeister Washington," *Heilbronner Köpfe*, Christhard Schrenk, ed., (Heilbronn, 1999), 2: 21–4; and Christhard Schrenk and Peter Wanner, "Adolf Cluss in Heilbronn—His Formative Years," *Adolf Cluss, Architect,* 19–29. For the Cluss family genealogy, see "Adolf Cluss," www.RootsWeb.com.

[5] Schrenk and Wanner, 19, 24-26.

[6] Horst Roessler, "Traveling Workers and the German Labor Movement," *People in Transit: German Migration in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930*, Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, eds. (Washington, 1995), 128–30; Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton, 1958), 83–4. For an analysis of economic changes in pre-1848 Germany, see David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, 2003), 84–7.

[7] Cluss to Karl Marx, Sept. 30, 1852, quoted in Pospelowa, 9. On the economic crisis of the 1840s, see Hamerow, 76-7; Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, 1992), 25-6; and Walker Mack, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1845* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), 47.

[8] On the Turner movement in Germany, see George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975), 81, 128–31; and Freitag, 31. On the Heilbronner Turnfest, see Schrenk and Wanner, 27; and for documents and participants, see Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, eds., *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung, Vom Heilbronner Turnfest 1846 ins amerikanische Exil* (Heilbronn, 2007), 110–94. On Cluss and Marx in Brussels, see Pospelowa, 86–8. Jenny Marx to Adolf Cluss, Oct. 30, 1852, *MECW*, 39: 578.

[9] For an account of Cluss's role in the revolution of 1848, see Freitag, 34–9, and Pospelowa, 90–9. Passenger List of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1897, Sept. 15, 1848, RG 85, M237, List 75, Number 211, National Archives. For the impact of German Forty-eighters in America, see Bruce Levine, "In the Heat of Two Revolutions: The Forging of German-American Radicalism, *Struggle the Hard Battle,* Dirk Hoerder, ed. (Dekalb, Ill., 1986), 19–39; and Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Westport, Conn.), 1952.

[10] Cluss to Wilhelm Wolff, Mar. 31, 1850, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, *Bestand Adolf Cluss*; and Cluss to Wolff, Nov. 4-6, 1851, Berlin-Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaften. Cluss was more open about his personal life in his letters to Wolff, who was more of a personal friend than Marx was.

[11] For Cluss's gradual change regarding Marx and the Communist League, see Dugan, 48–9. Cluss to Weydemeyer, Mar. 26, 1853, *MEGA* 3/6: 580–4; Weydemeyer to Cluss, Dec. 26, 1853, *MEGA*, 3/7: 581–2.

[12] See Cluss's accounts of his 1853 trip to New York, New England, and Canada in "America," *Die Reform,* Aug. 16, 21, and 23, 1853, 1. Adolf Cluss, *New-Yorker Zeitung,* January 18, 1853, 2; Conzen, "Die Residenzler," *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 55; Cluss to Wilhelm Wolff, March 31, 1851, 153; Brainard H. Warner, "Political and Social Conditions during the War," *Washington during Wartime*, Marcus Benjamin, ed. (Washington, 1902), 199.

[13] Carl Schurz, *Autobiography of Carl Schurz* (New York, 1961), 110-1; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1995), 47.

[14] Alan Lessoff, "The Americanization of Adolf Cluss," Lecture, Bielefeld University, June 30, 2006, 5; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Reshaping the Nation: Federal Employment, Civil Service Reform, and the Turners of Washington, D.C.," *Adolf Cluss und die Turnbewegung,* Lothar Wieser and Peter Wanner, eds., 80–2; Conzen, "Residenzler," 56-8.

[15] Passenger Lists of Ships Arriving in New York; Wanner, "Kommunist der ersten Stunde," 23; Letter from Adolf Cluss, July 5, 1901, quoted in Werner A. Cluss, "Die Geschichte der Familie Cluss," unpublished typescript, 1932, Stadtarchiv Heilbronn (Heilbronn, Germany), 1 ; Adolf Cluss, "Amerika," *Die Reform,* Nov. 16, 1853; Cluss to Weydemeyer, Apr. 22, 1852, No. 25, *Karl Marx-Friedrich Engels Briefwechsel, Januar Bis August 1852, MEGA.* III/5:524.

[16] *Affairs in the District of Columbia,* 43rd Congress, 1st Session, May 20, 1874, Sen. Rept. 453, Part 3, 2049; "Change in the Board of Public Works," *The Evening Star,* Oct.19,1872, 1; "Adolf Cluss," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1892-1984), 4: 507; Peter Wanner, Heilbronn City Historian, to Author, August 26, 2003, confirming that no

records could be found to substantiate that Cluss attended the Polytechnische Schule in Stuttgart; "Adolf Cluss Personal Life—Education: Sources," Accessions 06-225, Smithsonian Institution , Office of Architectural History and Historic Preservation, Building Files, circa 1850-2006, Box 6, Smithsonian Institution Archives. For insight on the education and training of architects in the middle of the nineteenth century see Daniel D. Reiff, "'At the Core of His Career:' Enoch A. Curtis and Architectural Books," *American Architects and Their Books: 1840-1915,* Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, eds. (Amherst, Mass., 2007), 129, 134–5.

[17] Cluss to Weydemeyer, May 30, 1852, *MEGA,* III, 5: 527.

[18] Index to Naturalization Records of the US Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, 1802-1909, RG 21, M1827, Roll 1, 56, June 5, 1855, National Archives; Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: The Rise and Decline of the Supervising Architects Office* (New York, 2000), 47–8; Longstreth, 103; Adolf Cluss, "The Effect of Lead Plates in Masonry," *American Architect and Building News* (Sept. 8, 1888), 24: 115.

[19] Schrenk and Wanner, 28; Weydemeyer to Karl Marx, Mar. 27, 1859, MEGA, 3/9: 367–8; "Lost," *Baltimore Sun,* March 11, 1858, 3 (signed by Adolf Cluss)

[20] Church Register, 1859, February 8, 1859, Number 11, Zion Church, Baltimore; Cluss to Weydemeyer, Jan. 2, 1852 and May 25, 1852, MEGA, 3/5: 487–91 and 525–6 describe Cluss's early, contentious relationship with the Schmidt family. For more on the Schmidt family, see Gustav Koener, *Das Deutsche Element in den Verrinigten Staaten von Nordamerika,1808-1848* (New York, 1884), 402; and from the author's collection, Katherine Schmidt May, "I Will Tell You All I Know of my Father's Family" April 20, 1908, Trenton, N.J.; Edward H. Droop to Anna Droop Maguire, Aug. 13, 1926; Roland Paul, Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde, to author, August 9, 2003, Kaiserslautern, Germany. For more on Adolf and Rosa Cluss's family, see, Joseph L. Browne and Alan Lessoff, "Introduction," and "Adolf Cluss: A Family Album," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect,* 13-14 and 95-100. For a description of the Cluss neighborhood, see "New Jersey Avenue, District of Columbia," *Historic American Buildings Survey,* HABS No. DC-715, 3.

[21] For more on Brumidi, see Barbara Wolanin, *Constantino Brumidi: Artist of the Capitol* (Washington, D.C. 1998). "Four Brumidi Paintings," *Washington Post,* Jun. 22, 1902, 22; William S. and Donna Shacklette, Interview with author, Apr. 17, 2002, Lake Worth, Fla.); For more on Edward Droop and Sophia Schmidt Droop, see "In Ancient City Square," *Sunday Star,* Jan. 4, 1925, Part 5, 3.

[22] Franklin B. Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield: Defending Washington during the Civil* War (Hamden, Conn., 1975), 140–2; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington, Village and Capital, 1800-1878* (Princeton, 1962), 1:261; Carl Abbott, *Political Terrain: Washington, D.C. from Tidewater Town to Global Metropolis* (Chapel Hill, 1995), 68.

[23] Lewis Clephane, *Birth of the Republican Party* (Washington, 1889), 5; "Breakers Ahead: Fatherland and other Lands on the 'Qui Vive,'" *Evening Star.* Jan. 10, 1861, 3; "Great Times at the Wigwam," *Evening Star,* Jan. 11, 1861, 3, 9; *National Intelligencer Newspaper Abstracts: The Civil War Years.* Vol. 2, Joan M. Dixon, ed. (Bowie, MD, 2001), March 1, 1865, 354–6; Ideas about how Germans fit into the reform patterns in the United States suggested by Kathleen Neils Conzen, in discussion with Adolf Cluss Exhibition Team, Transcript, November 15, 2003, Washington, D.C.

[24] Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865, Records of the Provost Marshall General's Bureau, July 1, 1863, entry 172, RG110, National Archives. Edward Marolda, *Washington Navy Yard* (Washington, 1999), 15–9; and A. Dupree Hunter, *Science in the Federal Government: A History of Policies and Activities to 1940* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), 123–5; Schneller quoted in Marolda, 17.

[25] Robert A. Schneller, Jr., "Adolf Cluss and the Washington Navy Yard," Transcript of Lecture, Nov. 17, 2005, Charles Sumner School Museum and Archives, Washington, D.C., 3–4, 8–9; Adolf Cluss, "Reconnaissance of Anacostia above Washington Navy Yard," Geogra-

phy and Maps Division, Group RMR, Library of Congress; "A Visit to the Washington Navy Yard—Testing Heavy Artillery, etc," *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1862, 2; Adolf Cluss, "A New Tumbril Car," *Scientific American*, Oct. 24, 1863, 256.

[26] Records of Bureau of Yards and Docks, "Payrolls," Navy Yard Payrolls, entry 32, RG71, National Archives; "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957,"1849, M237, Line 29, List No. 1069, RG 85, National Archives; W.J. von Kammerhueber, "Improvement in Projectiles," United States Patent Office, No. 12, 801, May 1, 1855, http://www.civilwarartillery.com/patents.htm; Index to Naturalization Records of the Supreme Court for the District of Columbia, 1802-1909, Dec. 19, 1857, M1827, Roll 1, RG 21, National Archives; "Declaration," *Washingtoner Intelligenzblatt*, Apr. 19, 1859.

[27] *Wilheimna Kammerhueber v. Adolf Cluss,* Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, "Plaintiff Complains," Equity Case 2072, Box 120, RG 21, National Archives.

[28] "The Ordnance Foundry," *Evening Star*, Apr. 4, 1863, 4; "Navy Yard Affairs," *Evening Star*, Aug. 16, 1863, 2; *Affairs of the District of Columbia*, May 20, 1874, 2049.

[29] William H. Pierson, "Richard Upjohn and the American Rundbogenstil," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Winter, 1968), 21: 229–30, 238–41; Schrenk and Wanner, 23; Adolf Cluss, "Architecture and Architects at the Capital of the United States from Its Foundation until 1875," *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Institute of* Architects (New York, 1877), 44. For a comprehensive history of *Rundbogenstil*, see Kathleen Curran, *The Romanesque Revival: Religion, Politics, and Transnational Exchange* (University Park, Pa, 2003).

[30] Henry Barnard, *The American Yearbook and Register* (Hartford Conn., 1869), 514; Green, 256–7; Elden E. Billings, "Social and Economic Conditions in Washington during the Civil War," *RCHS,* (1963-65), 63/65: 198; Alan Lessoff, *The Nation and Its City: "Politics, Corruption, and Progress in Washington, D.C., 1861-1902"* (Baltimore, 1994), 21–2.

[31] Gutheim and Lee, *Worthy of the Nation,* 72–3. For the building of the Washington Aqueduct, see Pamela Scott, *Capital Engineers: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in the Development of Washington, D.C.* (Alexandria, Va., 2005), 39–47; Longstreth, 103–4, 114; Lessoff, *The Nation and Its* City, 20; *Evening Star*, October 3, 1859, quoted in Green, 227. See "Buildings," www.adolf-cluss.org.

[32] Billings, 194–6; Cluss reported being "ill with typhoid fever" in testimony given in *Kammerhueber v. Cluss,* "Answer of Adolph Cluss," September 16, 1870, 3.

[33] *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, "Answer of Adolph Cluss," 3; "Common Council," *Evening Star*, Apr. 15, 1862, 3.

[34] J. Ormond Wilson, "Eighty Years of the Public Schools of Washington—1895-1885," RCHS (1894-1897), 1: 23; William J. Reese, University of Wisconsin-Madison, to Author, January 21, 2003, 2. Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "American Observations of Prussian Educational System," *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, ed. by Hartmut Lehmann (Washington, 1995), 23–7 describes reports about German schools written by American educators Alexander Bache, Henry Barnard, and Horace Mann. Schrenk and Wanner, 25; Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe* (Hartford Conn., 1854), 20.

[35] Reese, 2–3; *Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Washington* (Washington, 1865), 58

[36] For descriptions of features found in all Cluss's school designs, see "The New School-House in the Sixth Ward," *Evening Star*, August 27, 1863, 3; Adolf Cluss and Joseph von Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," in *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* Heinrich & Emil Ritter von Förster, eds.(1868-1869), 33–4: 186; Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, "Schools for All: Adolf Cluss and Education," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect*, 147–9, 152–3; and Reese, 2-3.

[37] Benjamin Forgery, "'Red Architect' Adolf Cluss: A Study in Sturdy," *Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 2005, C5; New York Association, *Guidebook of the Inauguration of 1873* (Washington, 1873), 22; "Complimentary to our School-Houses," *Evening* Star. May 22, 1871; "The Visitors from Boston," *Evening Star,* Apr. 24, 1866, 3; Wilson, 41. On the preservation history

of the Franklin Building and other surviving Cluss buildings, see Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, *Historic Preservation Solutions for Adolf Cluss Buildings, 1962-2005* (Washington, 2006).

[38] Tanya Edwards Beauchamp, "Education for All," 149; Cluss and Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," 186; Freitag, 16.

[39] *Twentieth Annual Report*, 54; Wallach's comment was made at the dedication of the Wallach School by which time the architects had begun all but one of their city projects. "The Metropolitan Truck House," *Evening Star*, Feb. 10, 1864, 2; "The Capitol Hill Police Station House," *Daily National Republican*, Jun. 2, 1864, 3. For the story of the architects' abortive Center Market building, see the following: "The Center Market Improvement," *Evening Star*, Apr. 7, 1863, 3; "The Corner Stone of the New Market House," *The Evening Star*, May 3, 1864, 3; "Work Suspended on the Center Market House," *The Evening Star*, June 27, 1864, 2; "Report of the Commissioner of Public Grounds and Buildings," *Evening Star*, Dec. 16, 1865, 1.

[40] Lessoff, *Nation and Its City*, 21–2, 26; Adolf Cluss and Joseph von Kammerhueber, *Report on the Present State and Improvement of the Washington City Canal* (Washington, 1865); "The Washington City Canal Improvement," *Evening Star,* Aug. 8, 1866, 3. For the final chapter of the Washington City Canal story, see Lessoff, *Nation and Its City,* 91–4.

[41] For the development of the Sunday School movement and its influence on church architecture, see Anne C. Loveland and Otis B. Wheeler, *From Meeting House to Megachurch: A Material and Cultural History* (Columbia, Mo., 2003), 66–7 and P. E. Burroughs, *A Complete Guide to Church Building* (New York, 1923), 13–4. For the history and features of auditorium churches in the nineteenth century, see Loveland and Wheeler, 33–65.

[42] See histories of each of the churches: Homer L. Calkin, *Castings from the Foundry Mold: A History of Foundry Church, Washington, D.C. 1814-1964* (Nashville Tenn., 1968); Carl W. Tiller and Olive M. Tiller, *At Calvary: A History of the first 125 Years of Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.* (Manassas, Va., 1994); and Harold D. Langley, *St. Stephen Martyr Church and the Community, 1867-1967* (Washington, 1968).

[43] Cynthia R. Field, Richard E. Stamm, and Heather P. Ewing, *The Castle: An Illustrated History of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, 1993), xii and 78–9.

[44] Wallach quoted in Conzen, "Die Residenzler," 59.

[45] Lucie –Patrizia Arndt, Bochum, Germany, E-mail message to author, May 14, 2011, confirming many references to Cluss's leadership in organizations providing support for soldiers and their families that she found in Washington's German-language newspapers for use with her dissertation, "The German Community of the District of Columbia, 1850-1880." For a sample of Cluss's war-time involvement in activities to support soldiers and their families found in English language newspapers, see: "German Relief Association," *Evening* Star, Sept. 5, 1862, 3; "Grand Fair at Odd Fellows Hall," *Daily National Republican,* Feb. 27, 1863, 3; "Fest of the German Relief Association in Aid of Sick and Wounded Soldiers," *Daily National Republican*, Mar. 4, 1863, 3; "Grand Enlistment Ball," *Daily National Republican,* Mar. 30, 1864, 2; Dixon, Mar. 23, 1864, 152–3, and Jan. 6, 1865, 309.

[46] La Fayette Lodge Number 19, Membership Certificate; Conzen, "Die Residenzler," 58, 60; "Board of Directors," *National Republican, Dec. 24, 1867, 3;* "The Schützen Park Prize Temple," *National Republican*, Aug.18, 1868, 3; "The Schützenfest Yesterday," *Evening Star*, May 29, 1866, 2.

[47] Cluss and Kammerhueber, "Schulgebäude zu Washington," 188. On proposals to move the capital, see Green, 1: 328–30. Difficulties facing the city government are documented in the annual reports of Mayor Wallach, for example, "The Relation of the General Government to the City of Washington," *Evening* Star, Dec. 13, 1865, 1; and Dec. 14, 1865, 2. Werner Cluss, *Familie Cluss* explains that the will of Jacobine Roth Cluss, second wife of Heinrich Cluss, provided equally for her children as well as the children of Heinrich' s first wife, Anna Christine Neutz Cluss. The increase in Cluss's income is based on federal Civil War income tax

returns. See Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for the District of Columbia, 1862–6, RG 58, M760, National Archives; and "Incomes Between Two Thousand and Five Thousand Dollars," *Evening Star*, Feb. 6, 1868, 4.

[48] Carlton Jones, *Lost Baltimore: A Portrait of Vanished Buildings* (Baltimore, 1993), 181; "Open for Concerts," *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 19, 1865, 4; "The Building Enterprises of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City," *Evening Star*, Sept. 17, 1867, 4; "New Building of the Washington City Young Men's Christian Association," *Association Monthly*, February 1870, 1, 35; "The New Masonic Temple," *Daily National* Republican, May 20, 1868, 2; "His Royal Highness," *Daily National Republican*, Jan. 28, 1870, 1; "The New Hall of the Naval Lodge," *Evening Star*, Sept. 3, 1867, 3; Beauchamp, *Preservation Solutions*, 8.

[49] On the Agriculture building, see "The U.S. Experimental Farm," *Evening Star*," Jul. 27, 1867, 3; Cluss, "Architects and Architecture," 41; Longstreth, "Cluss, the World, and Washington," 108; James Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*, 2nd ed. (Washington, 2003), 358–9. Cluss and Kammerhueber do not identify the locations of their South American buildings. See "Schulgebäude zu Washington," 186.

[50] "Further Improvements in South Washington," *Evening Star*, July 21, 1866, 3; "City Improvements," *Evening Star*, Aug. 21, 1866, 2.

[51] *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, "Answer of Adolf Cluss," *3, 5*; "Dissolution of Copartnership," *Evening Star*, Aug. 1, 1868, 4.

[52] *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, Exhibit Number 2 and 3, July 1, 1866, and July 1, 1867; Receipt Book, 1866-1867, MS 470, Historical Society of Washington, D.C.; *Kammerhueber v. Cluss*, "Plaintiff Complains," 7,; Bill in Equity Between Charles G. Bornmann and Adolf Cluss and Charles H. Utermehle, Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, December 12, 1873, RG 21, Equity Document 13, Number 3516, National Archives. The author has found no documents related to the design of the Navy Yard Foundry, Metropolitan Fire House, and Smithsonian Institution that acknowledge Kammerhueber's name or role.

[53] Kammerhueber's widow claimed in 1873 that her husband and Cluss divided their work; Kammerhueber took charge of the inside work and Cluss was responsible for the outside work. Cluss denied that there was ever an agreement of that kind, but the evidence suggests that informally perhaps, Cluss did assume responsibility for contacts with the clients, contractors, and public officials. Kammerhueber v. Cluss, "Answer of Adolph Cluss,"4; Though written ten years later, the diary of Martha Custis Carter records information about Cluss's relationship with Samuel and Martha Carter when they hired Cluss as their architect in 1878. See "Diary of Martha Custis Carter (unpublished typescript)," Tudor Place Foundation, Inc. (Washington, D.C.) 32-41. Washington, DC membership in the AIA is detailed in *The American Institute of Architects College and Fellows: History and Directory* (Washington, 2000), 9 and 64-67. The titles of Cluss's lecture and pamphlet are Adolf Cluss, "History, Theory, Functions, and Uses of Chimneys," *Proceedings of the American Institute of Architects* (New York, 1869), 35-42; "Office of the Supervising Architect: What is Was, What it is, and What It ought to Be," (New York, 1869), RG 801, Series1.2, Box 1, Folder 9, AIA Library and Archives. The author was identified as "Civis" but on the AIA copy, Cluss signed his name above the pseudonym.

[54] "Suicide of Well-Known Citizen," *Washington Star*, May 28, 1870, 3.

[55] Longstreth, "Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington," 104.

[56] Adolf Cluss, "Modern Street Pavements," *Popular Science Monthly*, May 1875–Oct. 1875, 89.

Book Reviews

Edited by Susan M. Schürer
Susquehanna University

Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America.
By Katherine Carté Engel. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 313 pp. $55.00.

Religion and Profit is a comprehensive study of the economic system developed by the Moravians in their communitarian settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from its founding in 1741 until the 1790s. To accomplish the goals of founding a viable settlement on the frontier that could immediately support an ambitious missionary endeavor, the Moravians developed not only a unique communal structure, but their own distinctive economic system called the "Oeconomy." Established on a 500-acre tract on the Lehigh River, Bethlehem was organized into a "pilgrim congregation" (*Pilgergemeine*) whose express purpose was to carry out mission work among Native Americans and in the Caribbean and Surinam, as opposed to a "congregation town" (*Ortsgemeine*) such as Herrnhut, the primary Moravian settlement in Germany in the eighteenth century, where the spiritual life of the congregation and the life of the town with its artisan shops were fully merged. All residents of Bethlehem were members of the pilgrim congregation as well as members of bands or choirs organized according to age, sex, marital or social position, whose purpose it was to minister to physical and spiritual needs of its members, but some were also members of the "house congregation" (*Hausgemeine*) and worked primarily in artisanal occupations at home to support their coworkers in the mission fields. The primary focus of this study is the evolution of the Oeconomy or communal household with its shared labor to generate the necessary finances to provide for shelter, food, and clothing of the settlers as

well as the funds to carry out the missionary work of the Church. The author examines not only how the Oeconomy in Bethlehem functioned during its official existence for a little more than two decades, but the factors that led to its abrogation and how the economic attitudes of the settlement adapted and changed during the subsequent three decades. Similar Oeconomies existed in the Salem settlement in North Carolina at the same time and in the early nineteenth century in the Moravian mission settlement in Hope, Indiana, but they are outside the parameters of this study. The author also shows how the attitudes of the Moravians of Bethlehem and their missionary work, especially with regard to the Native Americans, evolved as the Oeconomy changed and eventually was transformed into a market economy, and the impact of regional and world events such as the Seven Year's War and the Revolutionary War on the community.

The book provides a detailed account of the three economic systems that developed in Bethlehem: 1) business or trade within the community itself; 2) its regional or Mid-Atlantic commerce and international trade with Europe, including its own shipping company that not only generated funds for mission work, but also transported entire congregations from Europe to the New World; and 3) trade with Native Americans, where the primary goal was the promulgation of the Gospel and the profit motive did not even come into consideration.

The author has made extensive use of original documents in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in Herrnhut, Germany, to illustrate how Bethlehem's distinctive economic structure developed directly from its missionary zeal and the interplay between the Moravians' religious principals and motives for commercial profit over time. The use of these documents, from official Church records, reports, letters, diaries, autobiographies, business ledgers to newspaper articles, constitutes the major strength of this study, and the inclusion of fascinating personal accounts of the settlers enlivens what could otherwise be a compilation of dry statistics.

The book could have benefited from careful editing with regard to the correct spelling and syllabication of words in German as well as of some factual misstatements. Problematic are the author's references to Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf as the "founder" of the Moravian sect on his estate in 1722 since Moravians actually trace their origins to the Unitas Fratrum, organized in 1457 by the followers of the Czech reformer, John Hus, thus pre-dating the Lutheran Reformation by six decades. By providing the persecuted Bohemian Brethren, as the followers of Hus came to be known, with refuge on his estate in Saxony, Zinzendorf certainly assisted in the reorganization of the Moravians into what he hoped would become a "church within a church" (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*). Similarly, the author states incorrectly

that the famous church service of August 13, 1727, in Berthelsdorf, at which the Moravian brethren overcame serious internal dissent, was "a moving baptismal service;" in fact, it was a Holy Communion service during which the Moravians experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and felt as if they had been figuratively baptized. While acknowledging the Moravians ecumenical feelings towards other denominations, the author inaccurately describes Moravian mission work as "proselytizing," as if they viewed it their mission to convert others to their faith. However, Moravians always insisted that their mission was solely to bring the Gospel to the unchurched, which accounts for the relatively slow growth of the Moravian Church and the fact that its membership today is concentrated in former mission fields.

Despite these shortcomings, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* represents a significant contribution to the history of the Moravians in the New World and to the history of early American church life on the frontier before the founding of the United States.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1820.
By Mark Häberlein. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. 276 pp. $79.00.

While in many colonial settlements in North America only one creed or faith was represented, the Pennsylvania community of Lancaster displayed an unusual religious diversity. Founded in 1730, Lancaster became the administrative seat for the county as well as a thriving commercial center between Philadelphia and the frontier. By 1770 its population had reached about twenty-eight hundred, and according to tax records of 1773 forty percent of its households were Lutheran, twenty percent Reformed, ten percent Moravian, about ten percent Anglicans or Presbyterians, five percent Quakers, Catholics and Jews, and about fifteen percent had no religious affiliation. The focus of this study is the interaction between the residents of this city who came from different national and religious backgrounds and the development of their congregational life. It was in organizing congregations, purchasing property, constructing churches and schools, drawing up charters and bylaws, and managing funds that most of these immigrants experienced self-governance for the first time. The size and religious diversity of its community, together with its wealth of archival sources, make Lancaster an

ideal subject to illustrate the pluralism of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

The first three chapters examine the development of the five major Protestant churches in Lancaster: first the German Reformed, second the Lutherans and Moravians, and third the Anglicans and Presbyterians. The author begins with the German Reformed church because most of the research in the past has focused on the Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterians, and the Moravians, and yet the German Reformed contributed significantly to the diversity of Lancaster. In fact, an analysis of their church life provides the model for the examination of the other religious groups in the city. The common themes that run through all the German and English churches are: formation of a congregation, raising funds to build a church, a parsonage, and often a school; calling a pastor and providing for him and his family; questions regarding church doctrine and governance; conflicts between the pastor and the church council dealing with questions of authority and church discipline; dissatisfaction with the pastor's sermons or the way in which he carried out his duties; and control of church finances and the institution of pew rent as a source of income. As a result of conflict with pastors, the German Reformed congregations changed pastors frequently and for long periods went without a regular pastor. During those intervals "irregular" pastors who had little formal training and were not ordained often ministered to them. As a result the German Reformed frequently asked Lutheran pastors to officiate at marriages and baptisms, and a number of families changed their church affiliation and joined the Moravians or Lutherans. The author also shows that as laymen prospered and became important civic leaders in the community, they assumed leadership positions in the church, such as trustees, elders, and deacons. The German Reformed congregation was the first church in Lancaster to receive a charter in 1771 from the Penn family, thus ensuring both its legal and economic status in Pennsylvania.

In spite of the schism that developed between the Lutheran and Moravian congregations of Lancaster, the search for church growth and stability of these two groups follows the same course as the German Reformed churches. The main difference between them, however, is that they reflect the two different branches of German Pietism emanating from Halle and Herrnhut. Helped by the steady influx of immigrants, Trinity Lutheran Church by the 1770s had become the largest congregation in Lancaster and was second in size only to St. Michael's in Philadelphia. After the break with the Lutherans a large number of the German Reformed and a steady flow of new immigrants joined the Moravians. Since St. Andrew's, the Moravian congregation, was viewed as a missionary church, it experienced a succession of pastors and was never organized into communal choirs or bands like the Bethlehem settlement. However, like their fellow Moravians in Bethlehem, those in

Lancaster continued to practice the drawing of lots to seek God's help in making decisions and required members to consult the church council before purchasing property or founding a business.

The English congregations, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, were much smaller than the Lutheran and Moravian congregations, but their members tended to be well to do and politically better connected than those of the German Reformed, Lutherans, or Moravians. To a large extent the English-speaking churches depended on itinerant pastors trained in England, and as a result the laity had to assume a central role in organizing; they also experienced the same conflicts between clergy and laity as their German neighbors.

Chapter Four focuses on the interactions between the various religious groups of Lancaster as a result of social and economic ties and intermarriage across denominational lines. While their views of each other basically reflected their confessional backgrounds, there was considerable interdenominational contact and cooperation, especially between the German Reformed, Lutherans, and Moravians when their churches were without a pastor, and there are frequent references of pastors of one church performing baptisms, marriages, and funerals for members of the other confessions, and there were even German Reformed who rented pews in the Lutheran church. Clearly leading a pious and God-pleasing life was more important to many Lancaster residents than doctrinal differences. Roman Catholics and Jews constituted only a small minority in Lancaster. Members of all religious groups in the city, including Quakers and Jews, owned slaves, and although church records list marriages and baptisms of slaves, they apparently were not considered official members of any church.

Chapter Five looks at how the American Revolution affected the religious groups of Lancaster. Unlike the churches of New England and New York, the congregations of Lancaster, except for the Anglicans whose pastors remained loyal to England, displayed a great degree of stability and continuity during the war. The postwar years saw a time of growth for the Presbyterians and the first appearance of Methodists. The last chapter examines the charitable and educational organizations that were founded in Lancaster between 1815 and 1818, e.g., the Lancaster Bible Society, the Lancaster Sunday School Society, the Female Benevolent Society, and the German Society of Lancaster, an immigrant aid society, and the establishment of permanent church endowments through bequests. These voluntary societies were interdenominational and enjoyed broad ecumenical support, and the leading clergy and elite of the city served as officers and trustees. As the author points out, these societies followed the long-established tradition of congregational contributions and bequests for building, furnishing, and repairing churches and providing for the poor. The residents of Lancaster not only supported

interdenominational philanthropic projects within their own city, but also in other communities, e.g., missions among the Indians, fledgling frontier communities, relief efforts, and educational projects, such as the founding of Franklin College.

Although based on the analysis of only one community in colonial Pennsylvania, *The Practice of Pluralism* offers a detailed picture of congregational life, the role of laity in providing order and stability in church life, and the interaction of various confessions that is representative of many similar communities at the time this country was founded. The social profiles of the leading members of the Lancaster congregations are one of the most interesting features of this study. These profiles of a member's family and regional background, profession, and social standing in the community provide valuable insight into congregational composition and church polity as well as into the political scene of the time. The author makes extensive use of both archival and printed documents in his research, e.g., church membership lists, diaries, minutes, reports, financial records, subscription or donation lists, baptismal and burial books, communion records, court records of property purchases, wills, estate inventories (including family library holdings), bequests, tax lists, and newspapers. This highly informative book is well written and represents a major contribution to the scholarship of early American church history.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Papers from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale.
Edited by Hans Rollmann. Newfoundland and Labrador Studies. Occasional Publication No. 2. St. John's, NL: Faculty of Arts Publications, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2009. 173 pp. Can. $ 20.00.

The Moravian Beginnings of Canadian Inuit Literature: An Exhibition of Special Collections from McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections.
Edited by Henrik Wilhjelm et al. Montreal/Hanover, NH: IPI Press, 2009. 111 pp. $15.00.

These two publications are of a complementary nature, documenting the early interaction between the Moravians and the Inuit (better known until recently by the name of Eskimo) in Labrador. It is advisable to start

by examining the catalogue accompanying the exhibition of the materials in the McGill University Library holdings donated by the late Lawrence Montague Lande. The illustrations in the catalogue are interpreted by texts in Inuktitut, German, English and French. Few, if any readers will master all of these languages, especially Inuktitut, which existed only in oral form before the arrival of the Moravians. The linguistic situation is indicative of the difficulties the missionaries faced when they started their work in Greenland in 1733. Since they were not allowed to preach to the Inuit until fluent in their language, they had to develop a way to spell Inuktitut words in order to compile an Inuktitut-German dictionary, and later a grammar of the language.

The brief history of the Moravian Church in Labrador in the catalogue serves as a good overview for their efforts there from 1752 to the present. Specific topics such as the first contacts, the failure of the first expedition, the establishment of a permanent colony in 1770, the relationship between mission and trade, and most of all the interaction between the Moravians and the Inuit are touched upon but then discussed in greater detail in the papers from the Symposium. It is especially noteworthy that the Inuit were among the most literate people in Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Once scriptural and other church related texts had been translated and printed, first in Inuktitut roman orthography and later in syllabic orthography, they were avidly read in missions and homes. In schools established by the missionaries children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, scripture and singing, all in their own language. The enlightened attitude of the Moravians stands in sharp contrast to the treatment of Native American children by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs which insisted on the exclusive use of English and punished the children for any use of their native tongue. Again, and it cannot be stressed enough, thanks to the efforts of these early Moravian pioneers and missionaries in Labrador, the Inuit can be ranked among the most literate, educated groups in all of Canada in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

The Inuit were also very musical, and hymn books were among their favorite readings. The "Eskimo Hymn Book" contained no fewer than 800 hymns in translation but were all sung to the original tunes. Thin paper-bound volumes with the most popular hymns sported a red binding and were taken along by the Inuit on their yearly migrations.

In 1902 a newspaper was launched by the Inuit as a small folded sheet that by 1915 had been expanded to a magazine with pictures and illustrations. By then, it also carried articles about Moravian mission work all over the world. During the past century over a hundred different Inuit magazines were published that appeared for longer or shorter periods of time, and the

Inuit have also contributed to a growing body of diaries, poetry and song books, as well as autobiographies and autobiographical novels. Professor Marianne Stenbaek summarizes: "Canadian Inuit literature is multifaceted as it encompasses traditional oral literature/history, collaborative life histories, legends, songs, fiction, and now political commentaries, documentaries and television/film scripts" (107). She highly praises the Moravians for their belief in education and in preserving the local language to the extent of developing a written language for the Inuit who originally were limited exclusively to an oral tradition. This has resulted in a rich cultural heritage, and the flourishing of their writing, as well as their participation in television and film production, and even in popular music.

In his introduction to *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador* the editor, Hans Rollmann, presents a summary of the work of the Moravians as missionaries in the Americas, initially in the West Indies, and then on the west coast of Greenland. The extension of their work to Labrador was welcomed by the English governor of Newfoundland for political and economic reasons. In 1749, the English Parliament had recognized the Moravians as an "ancient Protestant episcopal church," which meant that she could not be prosecuted as a sect. The governor, reassured by this seal of approval and impressed by the ability of individual missionaries to speak Inuktitut, desired their help in establishing trade relations with the Inuit. The Moravians, on the other hand, wanted land for their missions and were successful in securing land grants, on which the first permanent settlement was established in 1771. During the next decades and into the nineteenth century more settlements were added, not all successful, but in time the Moravian faith with its liturgical celebrations and especially its music was adapted and became part of Inuit life. Today there are four congregations and three fellowships with a few thousand members run by native Labradoreans.

Of the nine papers presented by leading international scholars in Moravian studies at the Symposium in 2002 (commemorating the 250th anniversary of Johann Christian Erhardt's visit and death) and revised for publication after being discussed there, all focus on the early period except the essay by Paul Peucker who was the seventeenth Unity Archivist in Herrnhut from 1996-2004. He presents a lively history of the holdings there, which houses the largest collection of materials about Labrador besides those in the Moravian archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in London. The Archives are a treasure trove since they not only contain official records and personal letters, but also linguistic studies, letters by Inuit, surveys of the land, maps and charts of land and sea routes, as well as drawings and construction plans, among them drawings of the Hoffnungsthal mission house that were essential during its excavation.

John C. Kennedy and James K. Hiller present detailed and precise accounts of the world of the Inuit in eighteenth-century Labrador and the European perspective with regard to the land. Kennedy's study is based on archaeological evidence and historical accounts, and he delineates the society of the Southern Inuit who still hunted but also served as traders and middlemen between the Northern hunters and the Europeans. Their previous experience, positive or negative, might have contributed to the fatal clash between them and Erhardt and his party in 1752, and might also have played a role in the destruction of the abandoned mission house. The Inuit might have looked upon it as a trading post that would compete with their own trade. With the presence of the Moravians in the north and the arrival of more European settlers in the south after 1763, the old cultural and economic patterns began to change, and mission stations became the new centers of social life for the Inuit.

Hiller describes the manner in which the political and mercantile interests of England and France conflicted with regard to Labrador. The Hudson's Bay Company had been successful in the Canadian Northwest, and French settlements proliferated in southern Labrador, but the northern coast had not been claimed. In the 1760s the newly appointed governor of Newfoundland, Hugh Palliser, was, therefore and as already mentioned, strongly interested in establishing good relations with the Inuit not only for economic reasons but also to thwart the designs of the French. Count Zinzendorf and his successor Spangenberg were well aware of the English territorial ambitions and economic considerations pursued by officials, individual merchants and trading companies. While Zinzendorf demanded a total separation of mission and trade no matter what the consequences, Spangenberg tried to enlist captains and corporations in the service of the mission. Zinzendorf did not desire the conversion of entire tribes or nations, but only of individuals who were drawn to Christ. He wanted to establish communities of believers in locations away from European influences and vices. As David Schattschneider observes, Zinzendorf, a highly educated nobleman of independent means, saw the missionary activities in purely religious terms along Pietistic lines, and for him success could only be achieved with the help of Christ and the Holy Ghost. As far as he was concerned the Inuit should respond to the gospel message on their own terms and guided by their own cultural experiences. Spangenberg on the other hand used the missions in Labrador to establish closer relations with the British government and mercantile companies. For the good of the Mission, he felt himself under pressure to repair the Moravian reputation in England, where it was under attack by strong opponents, as well as to pay back the huge debts the Church had incurred there.

J. Garth Taylor's article on the journey of the Danish carpenter, Jens Haven, one year after the end of the Seven Year's War and the Treaty of

Paris in 1763 reads like an adventure story. Haven had been an apprentice in Copenhagen, had become a Moravian convert and walked to Herrnhut. From there he travelled to Greenland and lived among the Inuit. He learned to speak Inuktitut, and dreamed that he should go to Labrador and convert the Inuit there. He learned that he could communicate with the Labrador Inuit and that it was possible to establish peaceful relations with the "savages" as they were maligned by European trade competitors. To establish missions the Moravians needed land, and in the long run English government support materialized through land grants on which Nain, Oak and Hopedale were founded. In his essay "The Labrador Land Grants of 1769 and 1774" Hans Rollmann outlines the diverse motives and the intricate and involved process of securing these grants as well as privileges needed for success. Rollmann identifies the individuals and the church and secular organizations involved as the "local Labrador missionaries; the regional English leadership; the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG), the missionary organization in England that obtained the land grants and later regulated trade and supplies in Labrador; the mission and legal departments of the church in Saxony; the Directory or United Elders conference; and the United Synods of the world-wide church" (104). Just like William Penn in Pennsylvania who made every effort to secure lands directly from the Indians although it had been already granted to him by the English king, the Moravians tried to obtain permission from the Inuit before settling on the land. Only just recently in 1996—after more than 200 years—the land grants were revoked unilaterally by the Newfoundland government. Though this decision was challenged by the Moravian Church and finally settled out of court in 2005, it demonstrates clearly the link between the earliest beginnings of the Moravians in Labrador and their present status.

Linda Sabathy-Judd makes good use of the wealth of records in the different archives to document the first decade from 1771-1781 at the Nain mission. From the beginning the location caused problems because the Inuit had to travel long distances to go on hunting trips. Once away from the personal influence of the missionaries, the Inuit reverted to their old spiritual universe and listened to the shaman who pointed to Torngak and not Jesus as their guiding spirit. The knowledge of Inuktitut by the missionaries during these early years was not extensive and deep enough to convey key concepts of their faith to the Inuit. It took several more decades, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, before the Inuit in Nain internalized Moravian spirituality and values.

A relic of the earliest day of contact between the Inuit and the Moravians are the ruins of the first mission house constructed during the visit of Erhardt in 1752 in Nisbet Harbor. When his party of seven did not return, the house

was abandoned and destroyed. Now Henry Cary has excavated the ruins, and on the basis of his excavation, of drawings and sketches on maps, and of reports by earlier visitors, he was able to construct a model, which he defines as a "Flurkuchenhaus." Quite a number of this type of house with a central wall and a fireplace and chimney can be found in Pennsylvania and in Germany. The live-in kitchen with the fireplace occupies one half of the house while the other half is usually divided into two rooms. While this house was constructed of logs like most of this type in Pennsylvania, in Germany it probably would not be a *Blockhaus*, but half-timbered because logs would have been too expensive. In most cases the builders used readily available local materials.

It is very hard to do justice to these well written articles, which are all based on extensive research. Since the reviewer is not an expert on the subject despite his enthusiasm for the Moravian settlements in his home state of Pennsylvania and his visits to Moravian sites in North Carolina and Greenland, he cannot really evaluate the scholarship and expertise on which they are based. Suffice it to say that he is inspired and gives the articles the highest recommendation possible. He himself plans to learn more about the Moravians in Labrador through continued reading and traveling to the settlements on the coast. While Rollmann's edition can be classified as a "must read" for Moravian enthusiasts and SGAS members, reader beware: the edition seems only to be available through interlibrary loan.

The Pennsylvania State University *Ernst Schürer*

A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians.
By Gunlög Fur. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 259 pp. $79.00.

A young Delaware Indian male, who in 1738 encountered a visiting delegation from the Pennsylvania colonial government, proclaimed, "We are but a women nation" (1). Ten years later, a group of Moravians visited a "Women's Town," occupied by unmarried Delaware Indian women. Fur's two portraits, one of Delaware men who referred to themselves as "women," and the other of single women, offer the reader an "astonishing and challenging world of gender metaphors and practices . . . " (1). Fur argues that European concepts of gender, which assumed male hierarchy and domination, clashed with the gender roles of the eighteenth century Lenape/Delaware. (Fur uses

both tribal names Lenape and Delaware interchangeably.) According to the author, previous studies have skewed written records to perpetuate the myth of the Delaware Nation as feminine. Fur, however, questions the European definition of the Delaware as feminized in the Western sense. While European society adhered to a patriarchal standard, matriarchy was the norm for many tribes east of the Mississippi River, which allowed females to have extensive economic and political powers. In general, Europeans found Indian societies incompatible with their world view.

The author structures her investigations of the Lenape as a unique study of subtle but significant gender roles. She emphasizes that both males and females interacted in the production and distribution of goods, and that Lenape men and women held varying responsibilities within their religious and spiritual practices. Fur describes further the manners in which historians have misunderstood Delaware metaphors and discourse. Among the most misunderstood were issues of property and authority, which led to complex cultural misunderstandings in the fight for land. Fur's book opens with a discussion of the Lenape homeland on the shores of the Delaware River, which gave them access to small numbers of European settlers who looked to inland tribes for help with the fur trade. Because of their location, the Lenape developed strategies to co-exist peacefully with strangers, exchanging produce as well as furs. Women were mainly the gatherers of berries and fruits and sold these products in neighboring settlements. Because of their commercial activities, Europeans viewed Delaware women as having more power than men, and that power did not resonate with what settlers regarded as "normal" for any society. However, to cite one example, Europeans did not witness first hand the Delaware religious ceremonies in which they celebrated the harvest. In those spiritual ceremonies men and women shared positions of spiritual power and guidance. As a result, Europeans were often in the dark about the power structure of Delaware society.

In chapter two, Fur uses Moravian missionary diaries to explain how women's roles were compromised in one small Delaware town, Menioglagmekah. This town was changing as encroachment onto land and resources, violence, and disease caused the Moravian mission and Indian village to disperse. Consequently, the women no longer had the ready access to the colonial market that had supported them or the land that they had already cultivated. She goes on, in the next chapter, to discuss the depiction of Delaware women in the written record. They were often described as disruptive, even by the Moravians, who initially allowed women to convert to Christianity and to hold positions of power in their missions. However, later, Moravians expelled the new female Christian converts from their missions due to their "wanton" behavior, attributing this fall from grace to Satan's

manipulations. As a result, Delaware women became pariahs, according to Fur, and faced more uncertainty and displacement.

Chapter four elucidates the manner in which Delaware women strengthened their authority in their own communities through their connections with missionaries. Because most Delawares found Christianity lacking in concreteness and because many resisted conversion, females were able to become influential in preserving traditional spirituality. They encouraged their tribal members to follow visionaries such as Neolin, who advised the Delaware to disregard the white man's influence. Nevertheless, in the final chapter, Fur argues that increasing contact and settler expansion on the frontier played havoc with gender roles. Eventually, Delaware women ceased to hold prominent roles in political and diplomatic circles.

Fur concludes that colonial history cannot be told without the story of gender in Indian societies and the significance of gender in the Early Republic. Impeccably researched, *A Nation of Women* has opened vistas to refresh the study of gender in Native societies. This reader highly recommends the text to scholarly and academic communities. For a general audience, a thorough knowledge of Native peoples would be necessary to fully appreciate Fur's themes.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville *Rowena McClinton*

Records of the Moravians among the Cherokees, Volume 3: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 1, Success in School and Mission, 1805-1810. *Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck.* Talequah: Cherokee National Press, 2011. *577 Pages. $50.00.*

This book consists of translations of letters, diaries, and reports that tell the story of the Springplace Mission, located in present day northwestern Georgia, designed to educate Cherokee children and supported by the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina. This third of five volumes covers six years and offers the reader intriguing insights into the physical structures of this frontier outpost, the foodways of the mission residents, the great difficulty faced in learning the Cherokee language, and that of truly educating the children in the Christian faith.

The physical structures of the mission at Springplace consisted of a dwelling for Brother and Sister Gambold, a dwelling for Gottlieb and Dorothea Byhan, both with plastered walls, a house for the school children that on average housed three to four Cherokee youth, and a kitchen. A growing collection

of agricultural buildings including an old stable, a smokehouse, a coop for chickens and ducks, a fodder shack twenty feet long, a weaving workshop measuring sixteen by twenty feet, a pigsty, a kiln for drying fruit, and a log barn and stable on either side of a threshing floor--all under one roof. In 1810, the house of the children, both dwelling houses, and the old stable received new thatched roofs. Another improvement was the replacement of wooden window panes with glass panes.

Food required a constant effort and generated concern among the mission leaders. Much of the food was grown at Springplace including garden fare such as peas, large leafed lettuce, groats, onions, beans, squash, cucumbers, potatoes, pumpkins, turnips, asparagus, melons, okra, kohlrabi, cabbage used to make sauerkraut, and various flowers. There was a large cornfield, and rice, wheat, barley, oats, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and flax were cultivated. Apple and peach trees provided fruit that was dried and bee hives helped in pollination. The pigs, cows, calves and an ox lived in the bush and foraged for their own food but were also subject to theft, wolf attack, and drowning in crossing rain soaked rivers. Over time the mission staff worked to shelter and grow feed for the livestock to stabilize their meat, milk, cheese and butter supply. Animal hides were tanned and used for horse harnesses and shoe repair and construction, and lard was collected during slaughtering. Walnuts, hazelnuts, peanuts, and chestnuts were gathered. Thirty-two medicinal plants were grown. Two German travelers from Manheim visiting in March 1806 feasted on fresh sausage, pickles, and welschcorn bread.

The single greatest impediment to the missionary goal of Christianizing Cherokee children was the inability of the missionaries to understand and learn the difficult tongue. The usual approach is to learn the language and translate the bible for instruction, but at Springplace that proved impossible for several reasons. While it was possible to learn some individual words facilitating trade, the connecting words consisted of tones that can neither be written down nor imitated by those unfamiliar with the language. Sometimes a syllable was a single sound or was spoken as a grunting sound in the throat, and these sounds proved incomprehensible to Europeans. Even the natives often did not understand each other and there was a range of dialects among the various tribes. Many words common for missionaries such as the word *forgiveness* did not exist in the Cherokee language. The failure to clearly communicate with the Cherokee children did not deter the missionaries, however, who believed that God had sent them on this journey.

This collection of primary source material is fascinating to read because the combined sources provide a window into the world the missionaries created to serve their church and spread the word. In coming into this series at volume three I found the introduction useful for the contents at hand, but

a brief summary of what happened in the previous volumes was missing. The transcribed letters identified the authors only at the end of each, making it more difficult to sort out than if the authors had been identified at the start of the translation. This book offered insights into the social history of life on a frontier mission that made this reader more aware of the gradual nature of slow improvement to make life better and to minimize deprivation.

Kutztown University *Robert W. Reynolds*

Teaching that Transforms: Why Anabaptist-Mennonite Education Matters.
By John D. Roth. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2011. 233 pp. $12.99.

This little book offers us a timely *tour de force* of rhetoric on important issues in education world-wide, not merely in Mennonite nooks and crannies. It has something to say to all advocates of K-12 education in the United States, to all who believe in the value of private education, to all who believe that it is our civic duty to support public schools, to all who question the dollar value of private versus public education, all who believe in the unique role of Christian and Anabaptist-Mennonite education, as well as to all who worry about the presentation of the sciences in faith-based schools. All of these constituents should be interested in this book because Roth, a product of Anabaptist-Mennonite education, himself, who has spent his career in the field, addresses with surgical precision and clarity each of these issues, and because, in the end, anyone who cares about education believes that education can and should transform students. Finally, this book should be read by all teachers who are feeling disillusioned or burnt out with their professions because its passion and focus on meaningful, engaged learning can reignite the convictions that brought us into teaching in the first place.

In a nutshell, Roth proposes an educational philosophy for Anabaptist-Mennonite education to carry it through the next century, a plan needed because these schools, like so many private schools facing the stresses and strains in American society, have broadened in the types of communities and students they serve and the cultures they have come to embody. As a result, they need to be overtly connected to a core identity and purpose. Roth begins with a look at the history of Anabaptist-Mennonite schools, from their first efforts in small communities in Russia and in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, to the Greenwood Mennonite School in Greenwood, Delaware that came into existence in 1925 when students refused to pledge allegiance to the flag, and,

finally, to the current situation of Anabaptist-Mennonite schools competing for students and funding like so many others. The pedagogical practices that he proposes include, charmingly: curiosity, reason, joy, patience, and love; and his argumentation for each of these is both solid and solidly based on the incarnation of God as Jesus. He then presents the outcomes or goals of Anabaptist-Mennonite education, distinctive from standardized test scores: "Gifts of Sight and Perception," which allow details to be seen in a larger context; "Touch," meaning practical, engaged, and embodied learning; "Taste," meaning discernment; "Hearing," listening to others and to God; "Voice" for discovering vocations; and "Smell," as in attentiveness to the "Presence of the Unseen" (131-53). Roth concludes by addressing the tough questions that will arise in the pursuit of these outcomes for teachers, parents, pastors, congregations, administrations, and board members.

This book wrestles with a number of important concepts but let me choose just one for comment, "the embarrassment of particularity," which Roth defines as the "fear that claiming a distinctive theological identity too explicitly will be perceived by others as inhospitable or arrogant" (68). This, in my opinion, is a rich concept. First, it is significant that Mennonites students and educators might be *embarrassed* of all things, a confirmation of their commitment to personal humility and fairness to others. After all, the students of Phillips Exeter Academy, Harrow or Eton are not embarrassed by their distinction. No, the embarrassment itself is a signifier of the values of the Anabaptist-Mennonites. Most importantly, though, is the fact, as Roth makes beautifully clear, that ALL schools have a distinction, their own culture and identity whether they want to or not. Who among us in higher education today could argue? Though all institutions of higher education have similar missions, it is impossible to ignore that each, even within the clusters of small colleges, has its own unique culture. Roth argues that schools need to own their identity, embrace, or change it, if necessary—but not sweep it under the rug. This reminds me of a friend who teaches in a Steiner School in Germany who explained that they do not mention Steiner or his philosophy to the students because they do not want to "brainwash" them. Brainwash? Why? How sad. These students are being educated according to a philosophy based on a man's work about whom they know nothing. Exactly this is what Roth argues against.

There is a subtle ironic twist in the publication of this book for me because I have been interested in questions of educational philosophy in Germany and the United States for some time. The irony here springs from the results of the first Pisa study of 2000, a comparative study of the learning levels of fifteen-year-olds internationally in the areas of math, science, and reading. The results caused a culture shock in Germany referred to as "Pisa

Shock" because Germany, contrary to all expectations, did not come out on top. Surprisingly, Finland came out on top—in the world—and for some significant reasons: Finnish schools are small and community-based, children are highly likely to know their teachers from their own families or communities, and, most importantly, students are not separated in any way based on family background or abilities. As a result of the Pisa study, the educational debate raging in Germany today concerns the question of separating or not separating the wheat from the chaff, the privileged from the underprivileged, the super stars from the struggling. Not a week goes by without a mention of this issue in some German paper as normal schools are dissolving into "Gesamtschulen" but only in a few locations. Yet Anabaptist-Mennonite schools in their American and international localities, with their distinct German-Swiss origins have already been and continue to operate along the Finnish principle, a goal that German schools will most probably never fully achieve, and this books lays the foundation for them to continue doing so into the next century.

Susquehanna University *Susan M. Schürer*

Mennonite Women in Canada: A History.
By Marlene Epp. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 408 pp. $50.00.

In *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History*, social historian Marlene Epp explores the manner in which the interaction of Mennonite faith and church, immigration, settlement, social trends, and historical events shaped the lives of Canadian Mennonite women, from the arrival of the first Mennonite settlers at the end of the eighteenth century until the latter decades of the twentieth. Her narrative ends shortly after the first Mennonite woman was ordained to the ministry in 1979, a remarkable event for a religious tradition in which women had historically lacked a voice in the formal structures of church governance. In this valuable study, Epp makes it clear that the core notions of Mennonite faith and practice have had particular meaning for women, limiting their options for social interaction but also offering a framework within which to challenge the status quo.

Epp organizes each of the five principal chapters of this work (between introduction and conclusion) around "triads of activity" that she considers "central to the historic lives of Canadian Mennonite women" (19). Each chapter begins with three illustrative vignettes from women of different times, affiliations, and circumstances. The first chapter, "Pioneers, Refugees, and

Transnationals," focuses on the historical fact that Mennonite women came to Canada in different periods and social circumstances. Whether they came in the nineteenth century, as families fled conscription in Europe, or in the twentieth, fleeing global conflict, their lives as women and Mennonites were shaped by their migration and the cultures that nurtured them before they became Canadian. Epp points out, for example, that Mennonites who came from Russia to settle in Manitoba had a tradition of dividing inheritance equally among sons and daughters, a practice that gave Russian Mennonite women more economic security than that enjoyed by Swiss Mennonite women, whose families were likely to pass on land and other economic goods to sons alone.

In the second chapter, "Wives, Mothers, and 'Others,'" Epp makes it clear that Mennonite women derived self-worth and identity from their roles within the family. To marry, support one's husband, and raise a family within the church was the norm; women who did not marry, did not have children, or worked outside the home challenged gendered norms. Epp explores both the importance of traditional patriarchy in shaping community expectations for women, as well as the impact of changing notions of family in the broader society.

Chapter three explores Canadian Mennonite women as "Preachers, Prophets, and Missionaries." Although Mennonite churches traditionally excluded women from formal positions of leadership, expecting them to be submissive, not only to God, but also to fathers, husbands, and male ministry, Epp shows that women were able to live out fulfilling religious identities as ministers' wives, members of women's' organizations, missionaries, social workers, or educators. Thus, while men might "preach," women have spoken in ways that have influenced church attitudes and practice. Chapter four, "Nonconformists, Nonresistors, and Citizens," focuses on the lives of Mennonite women who explicitly challenged the gender norms. As Epp makes clear, women were differently constrained by core Mennonite values. Non-resistance meant one thing to Mennonite men subject to conscription laws, but something entirely different to Mennonite wives, who, supporting families while husbands did alternative service, necessarily usurped the traditional male role and so redefined themselves within the family and church. Even such every day activities as driving a car came to have new meaning as Mennonite women responded to changing social conditions. The fifth chapter, "Quilters, Canners, and Writers," explores the material and creative productivity of Mennonite women. Within the limits of religious identity, Epp shows, Mennonite women have expressed themselves in a variety of ways.

This book is an important addition to Mennonite studies and the research

on gender and identity. It has its limitations, however, for it is not a work that explores the diversity of the Mennonite world. Epp notes the importance of examining women's lives "within their local and national communities" (7) so that we can understand how their lives are shaped by forces beyond their particular ethnic or religious affiliation. For this reason, she has focused on Mennonite women as Canadian women, exploring how Mennonite women, like other Canadian women, have been affected by broader social, political, cultural, and economic forces. In both the structure of this work and its content, Epps highlights the commonality of their experience. Although acknowledging historical divisions (e.g., Swiss vs. Russian), Epp does not explore gendered identity in specific groups.

This is problematic, for, although Mennonite church communities may share core values, they have not been uniform in how these have been put into practice, and so there are many ways of being a "Mennonite woman." Simply put, gender is constructed differently in a church community that encourages young women to use service in the Canadian Women's Army Corps as an opportunity to "bear a good testimony to our Christian faith" (213) than it is in one that removes women who entered the Corps from membership. That dress standards were challenged in some groups but not others—indeed, that women have been able to enter the ministry in some Mennonite churches but not others—suggests that there are important differences in what it means to be female in the Mennonite church. Epp herself acknowledges that there is much more to be done to understand the "commonalities, divergences, and dichotomies" (282) characterizing the history of Mennonite women in Canada. This work is an excellent start.

State University of New York at Potsdam *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

How Books Came to America: The Rise of the American Book Trade.
By John Hruschka. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. 248 pp. $74.95.

While other scholars, such as William Charvat and Frank Luther Mott, have addressed the histories of literary publishing and newspapers in the United States, respectively, a comprehensive account of the rise of the American publishing trade has been lacking. This is what Hruschka sets out to do. In the first six chapters of his work, he focuses on the technology and organization of bookmaking from Gutenberg through the mid-nineteenth century, laying the groundwork for the primary interest of his study, which

is not solely the American book trade, but a person whose contributions to it certainly deserve more recognition.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the book trade in the United States was, much like the young nation itself, marked by both fierce competition and seemingly boundless energy, but reflective of its democratic nature, more characterized by sheer chaos than any kind of natural orderliness. That the individual who accomplished the most to establish order in this chaotic field hailed from Germany is not surprising. After all, where else has a thought like *Ordnung muss sein* become proverbial? The man in question was one Frederick Leypoldt, the German immigrant who began his career as a Philadelphia bookstore clerk in 1854. Before his death three decades later he had become the founding editor and publisher of both *Publishers' Weekly* and the *American Library Journal*, which became the two most influential periodicals in their field. As Hruschka points out, Leypoldt, who had completed an apprenticeship in a country where bookselling was considered a profession, was horrified that books in his adopted homeland were sold not by professionals in shops designated for that purpose, but by a variety of merchants in stores offering a broad range of wares. Literature was offered alongside of stationery and sundries, squeezed in among brooms, liniment, and liverwurst.

In fact, as Leypoldt and his obsession to make order out of the chaotic American book trade of his times are clearly the focus of Hruschka's study, it could well have been entitled *Frederick Leypoldt and the Rise of the American Book Trade.* This is not to deny that Hruschka does cover other related areas quite well. For example, his emphasis on the American book trade *as a business* earns this piece a unique place among existing studies, and his explanation of the technological advances from the wooden press still common in Benjamin Franklin's day to its modern counterpart at the dawn of the twentieth century is exceptionally well done. Nonetheless, when Hruschka hits upon the real focus of his study some seven chapters in, it's evident that this book could have begun and ended with his investigation of Leypoldt's accomplishments.

Who, then, was Frederick Leypoldt and what made him such a key figure in the development of the publishing industry? In Hruschka's account, he is a stubborn crusader for the professionalization of the book industry, who worked tirelessly to make it more like a medieval guild than a barroom brawl. Inspired by the aims of the German *Boersenverein* with which he was quite familiar, Leypoldt continually urged the leading houses of the American book trade—the Putnams, the Harpers, the Holts, the Scribners, and their contemporaries—towards more cooperation and collegiality, a reliance on the power of mutual interest completely alien to the business practices of the Gilded Age. Such cooperation might have established a needed policy of

publishers' discounts to booksellers, and not only furthered the protection of intellectual property, for example, but also made possible a needed staple of the American book trade: an annual listing of available books in print. Unfortunately, Leypoldt's lack of business acumen and attention to detail allowed him to be duped by, among others, the noted librarian Melvil Dewey, Leypoldt's trusted editor of the *American Library Journal,* who diverted revenue from the firm to his own pet schemes. Through all this, Leypoldt's wife Augusta, the daughter of Rudolph Garrigue, another German-born pioneer in the American book trade and former partner of bookseller William Christern, in whose shop Leypoldt familiarized himself with the unique nature of the American book trade, proved to have the practical business sense that helped sustain the family operations during her spouse's life and after his passing. Hruschka's account also makes clear that the intervention of R.R. Bowker saved Leypoldt's legacy, through his ability to translate Leypoldt's "'new ideas and sanguine hopes' into a profitable business" (180). It was due to Bowker's efforts that *Publishers' Weekly, Publishers' Trade List,* the *American Catalogue,* and the *Library Journal* lived on. While Leypoldt did not live to see the full success of his efforts, it is hard to imagine the development of the American publishing industry without his accomplishments.

Hrushka's work is well written and carefully documented throughout and is recommended as a worthy addition to general and collegiate library collections.

Longwood University *Geoffrey C. Orth*

Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650-1750.
By Rosalind Beiler. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press. 2008. 208 pp. $55.00.

Carefully researched, Rosalind Beiler's study contends that an understanding of trade networks in the Atlantic World is crucial to colonial historiography. To prove her point she has examined in detail the life and times of Caspar Wistar, who grew up in the Palatinate and came to the colonies in 1717. As a newly arrived immigrant in Quaker-dominated Philadelphia, he joined the Friends and gained a position as a cultural broker among the increasing number of German-speaking immigrants crossing the Atlantic and their English speaking neighbors in the colonies. Beiler traces Wistar's use of his religious identity plus his bureaucratic Palatine-based politics to maneuver

in British North America. His skills as an entrepreneur and political lobbyist caught the attention of dominant social and business groups on both sides of the Atlantic. He used his German origin, his business sense, and his political skills as "capital" to create international commercial networks. Wistar's ethnic identity allowed him to import and then sell specific types of merchandise to fellow settlers, and, with rather astonishing profits from land speculations, he invested his capital in new ventures.

A close observer of daily life, Wistar had learned his political and economic acumen in his ancestral home in Waldhilsbach, near present-day Heidelberg, Germany. His father, a forester, was a government official, appointed by the Elector of the Palatine to help manage the state's natural resources. Therefore, Wistar had learned at his father's knee the rudiments of bureaucratic mazes endemic in state dominated agencies. In Waldhilsbach, Wistar had also absolved a hunting apprenticeship and he had made the acquaintance of many hunters who could assist him in importing European rifles modified for his American customers. He also accumulated enough capital to establish his own button factory. In addition, he patronized customers who demanded glass wares. He established the colony's first long-lived, flourishing glass factory in Wistarburg, New Jersey, later named the United Glass Company. The British colonial government allowed him unlimited access to timber and sand—and low taxes until the outbreak of the American Revolution. His enterprises were unique because he partnered with other Germans, who could supply him with artisans' tools and raw materials, including potash, clay, and sand. Meanwhile, the British colonial government allowed Wistar to make contractual agreements with his German partners overseas, who also established a glassworks factory at Petersal, outside of Heidelberg.

Beiler translated Wistar's autobiography and was granted extensive access to Palatine archives. Her well-organized account of Wistar's life and his personal and financial success is detailed as well as extensive, and her writing style is clear. This book should be required reading for scholars and students of immigration to British Colonial America. It is highly recommended as one of the best sources on a successful German immigrant, Caspar Wistar.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville *Rowena McClinton*

Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920. *Edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 272 pp. $49.95.*

This volume brings together ten authors from a variety of disciplines for a contemporary appraisal of a subject that has captured the imagination of countless scholars and writers for at least two centuries—the material culture impress of the Pennsylvania German ethnic group in the American landscape. One of the most commonly cited problems with edited scholarly books is a lack of continuity from chapter to chapter with regard to style and substance. How refreshing it is, then, to encounter this handsome volume that flows from one chapter to the next as if authored by a single writer. This must certainly reflect great care, effort, and attention to detail in the production of the book on the part of the editors and the publisher, for which they are to be commended. Skillfully written and edited, and lavishly illustrated with 120 photographs and drawings, in the words of the editors in the Introduction, "[This] volume assembles contemporary scholarly insights about the Pennsylvania German contributions to American architectural expression . . . [drawing] both from previous generations' interpretations and from current intellectual perspectives" (1). If this was the overall goal of the editors and authors then they have succeeded superbly.

In the Introduction, editors McMurry (a historian at Penn State) and Van Dolsen (a historian and historic preservationist at Barton College) provide a brief but rather comprehensive review of the multi-disciplinary literature relating to Pennsylvania-German material culture. Drawing out and delineating major themes that have been addressed over time, they are careful in comparing and contrasting "traditional" approaches that focused heavily on distinctive house and barn styles with more contemporary studies that ask more complex questions about these landscape features: how does form and function reflect the ideals and traditions of the subculture? How have changing social and economic realities affected Pennsylvania-German architecture and material culture?

The book is comprised of seven chapters, five of which focus almost exclusively on various building traditions: rural houses (Sally McMurry); barns and agricultural outbuildings (McMurry and J. Ritchie Garrison); commercial vernacular agriculture (Diane Wenger and Garrison); domestic outbuildings (Philip Pendleton); and urban building traditions (Bernard Herman, Thomas Ryan, and David Schuyler). The two remaining chapters are devoted to landscapes associated with Pennsylvania-German religious traditions (Jerry Clouse) and the Pennsylvania-German landscape as a whole (Gabrielle Lanier). Each of the five chapters dealing with architectural

traditions does a fine job of balancing thorough descriptions of characteristic, iconic forms and styles with more nuanced analyses of how these traditions have been modified over time in response to shifting economic and social norms. The chapters on domestic outbuildings and urban building traditions are especially welcome given that both of these subjects have been relatively understudied, especially in the contemporary era.

In perhaps the book's most eloquently written essay, "Landscapes," Gabrielle Lanier uses broad strokes to paint a picture of how perceptions of the southeastern-Pennsylvanian landscape by scholars and lay observers have changed over time. She is particularly adept at documenting the apparent contradictions in this landscape today: the region's rural, agricultural past remains firmly entrenched in the rural landscape, dominated by iconic house and barn forms; this landscape has long captured the American imagination, with its nostalgic penchant for romanticizing the country's rural, agricultural ideals. Yet the Pennsylvania-German subculture area is but a stone's throw from one of the most urban, industrial-oriented regions in the world and the region's economy, in tune with the rest of the country, has rapidly evolved into one dominated by service and manufacturing. As Lanier accurately describes this situation ". . . it is this interplay between history and physical attributes of the landscape itself, and between past and present perceptions of it, that actually define the Pennsylvania German landscape for us today" (11-12).

Taken as a whole, the book is successful on many levels indeed. Its greatest accomplishment may very well be that it presents a modern appraisal of the Pennsylvania-German cultural landscape and its various iconic elements, a subject that occupies a seemingly constant place in the American fascination with the country's rural past (this is particularly true of the subculture's Amish and Mennonite elements). The bibliography alone is worth the price of admission, representing as it does a thorough, updated assessment of the scholarship associated with the subject. It will surely be of interest to the academic and the layperson alike and deserves a place on the shelf of anyone with an interest in Pennsylvania-German history and the subculture's iconic cultural landscapes.

Ohio University *Timothy G. Anderson*

Many Identities, One Nation: The Revolution and Its Legacy in the Mid-Atlantic.

By Liam Riordan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. 392 pp. $49.95.

In an ambitious undertaking, Liam Riordan examines the peoples of three Delaware River Valley towns, using their ethno-religious cultures and affiliations, their colonial, revolutionary, and early national experiences, their political choices from the Revolution through the beginnings of the Jacksonian era, and their changing civic identities from 1770 to 1830 to analyze local power struggles and their impact on American politics and national identity. The three towns along a 130-mile stretch of the Delaware River showed striking differences from their founding through the early Jacksonian era, providing Riordan with a means of comparing the development of civic identities and participation. New Castle, Delaware, was a mixture of Scots Irish Presbyterians, English Anglicans, and African Americans. Burlington, New Jersey, was predominately Anglican and Quaker, while Easton, Pennsylvania, was a frontier town, home to German Reformed and Lutheran church members and some Anglos who experienced the tensions of living on the frontier with Native Americans.

The American Revolution allowed colonial outsiders to claim a more central place in their communities. In New Castle, Scots Irish Presbyterians and in Easton, Lutheran and Reformed Pennsylvania Germans generally became patriots, while Quakers and Anglicans in Burlington were either neutral or loyalist. African Americans in New Castle also pressed for a larger public role, only to be denied by patriots who ironically feared English enslavement. In the period following the Revolution, Quakers, African Americans, and Pennsylvania Germans fought for a more central role in both local and national society. In the end, Quakers remained marginalized, African Americans increasingly gained freedom but found a progressively circumscribed public role, while Pennsylvania Germans would be the most successful.

Riordan employs the concepts of "localism" and "cosmopolitanism" to define political and economic views. For example, he examines the impact of evangelical Protestantism, explaining that conservative cosmopolitans sought an overarching American Christianity to support and unify a new social order over localist practices. New Castle African Americans found an opportunity to create their own churches, while whites viewed their religious services as inferior. Quakers eventually split between the Orthodox, who were prepared to participate in conservative cosmopolitan evangelicalism, while the Hicksites stuck to traditional ways. Pennsylvania Germans rejected the

new evangelicalism, though the Lutherans were more willing to associate with Anglo-American society than the Reformed.

Paralleling the movement toward an all-inclusive American Christianity were campaigns for political unity. Generally, New Castle was mixed Federalist and Republican in a Federalist state, Burlington was Federalist in a Republican state, while Easton and Pennsylvania were Republican. Riordan asserts that the ethnic and religious dimensions that were a part of the Revolution now shaped political parties and issues, including the Missouri Controversy and the election of Jackson. Riordan concludes by pointing to the persistence of local diversity and interests in the wake of partisan politics and cosmopolitan evangelical attempts to shape national unity. A national identity would eventually emerge. According to Riordan, "This national identity rested upon values of respectability, whiteness, partisanship, and evangelical Protestantism that were broadly but not universally shared throughout the region and the nation" (272).

Overall, this is a nuanced sophisticated analysis of ethno-cultural and religious identities that reveals the tensions that existed between ethnicity, religion, race, class, gender, and popular sovereignty. Yet, some of the early elements that played a significant local role disappear without explanation. The impact of the Scots Irish and Native Americans on Easton's Pennsylvania Germans largely ends with the Revolution. The observation that lower class whites and African Americans in New Castle shared ties is not fully explored. Moreover, even though the dynamics of national and international events are viewed through a local lens, Riordan conveys a static socioeconomic and population environment in these towns. Only with the 1828 election do we learn that canals had an enormous impact on Easton, bringing in new workers and an expanding tavern culture.

Riordan's work relies on an impressive array of sources, including census, tax, and church records, personal correspondence, private journals, folk art (including *Fraktur* and *Taufscheine*), and newspaper accounts, often using individuals to illustrate some of the subtleties of his analysis. Fittingly, Riordan concludes his book looking at three generations of George Wolf's family, which came from Alsace-Lorraine, experienced conflict with Native Americans and lived largely among Scots Irish. Wolf himself eventually joined the Republican party, was elected governor of Pennsylvania, baptized seven children in a Reformed congregation, had a Lutheran funeral with a eulogy delivered by a Presbyterian minister, demonstrating that the Pennsylvania Germans were indeed the most successful in carving out a public role for themselves.

Santa Monica College *Lesley A. Kawaguchi*

Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement.
By Diana Selig. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008. 367 pp. $29.95.

In this volume Diana Selig, Associate Professor of History at Claremont McKenna College, presents a comprehensive and critical analysis of the "Cultural Gifts Movement," a complex and conflicted educational and cultural reform effort that flourished between 1920-1945. The goal of this movement was to eliminate religious and racial prejudice. Its proponents included social scientists, educators, religious leaders, school-age and university students as well as parents from across the nation. The movement emerged in an era of violent social upheaval. After the First World War the nation was convulsed by outbreaks of nativism and xenophobia manifested in the resurgence of the Klu-Klux Klan and the violent race riots that erupted during and after the war. Since the government seemed unable or unwilling to deal with lynching and ethnic intimidation, the backers of this movement sought to create a harmonious and multicultural society.

Selig is to be congratulated for her discovery and critical examination of this fascinating movement. She has accomplished essentially an exercise in intellectual archaeology. The 'Cultural Gifts Movement' is largely forgotten today in part because of the erroneous assumption that efforts to create a pluralistic society originated after the Second World War. By analyzing behaviorism and its impact on entities such as the Child Study Association, *Parents Magazine*, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the National Council of Jews and Christians (later changed from NCJC to NCCJ), and the work of Rachel Davis DuBois (1892-1993), Selig argues convincingly for the contributions of these groups to the struggle to counter narrow notions of group identity and resistance to Protestant hegemony.

Selig's analysis is more critical than laudatory. She notes the disconnect between analyses of prejudice formulated by social scientists and intellectuals such as Franz Boas, Horace Kallen, John Broadus Watson, and Bruno Lasker and their application by well-intentioned groups such the Child Study Association or the *Parents Magazine* that assumed that re-educating children and parents would eliminate prejudice and racism. Overlooked were the socio-economic causes of racism and prejudice. Trying to change the individual without changing the society was a strategy preordained to fail as was the case with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an Atlanta-based effort to fight racial prejudice without altering the status quo. The result would be a more genteel Jim Crow but still Jim Crow.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of *Americans All* is devoted to the career of Rachel Davis DuBois, a Quaker born in New Jersey and a college graduate who had participated in the peace movement during the

war. Her determination and zeal for changing society led her to create the Woodbury Plan named after the high school in New Jersey in which she was a history teacher. Her approach was simple but flawed. Students researched and developed assembly programs that featured the valuable traits and achievements of ethnic groups and African Americans. Interestingly for us, among the groups which Rachel Davis DuBois selected to emphasize for their contributions were Germans, and she even wrote a substantial monograph about them, *The Germans in American Life*, in 1936. This occurred at a time when 34 states required English to be the language of instruction and 22 states banned the instruction of foreign languages, notably German.

As Selig notes, the approach Dubois chose can create new stereotypes. Not every African American is George Washington Carver nor every Italian a Marconi. Troubling is also the question as to who decides what qualities or achievements are 'valuable' or contribute to American character. DuBois' intentions were undoubtedly honorable and her zeal unquestioned: she sought out, befriended, and studied individuals who could contribute to the materials which she used to change the attitudes of young Americans. She corresponded with W.E.B. DuBois and apparently supported him as a board member when he had difficulties with the NAACP. Alain Locke, William Pickens, and A. Philip Randolph also belonged to her circle of contacts but her best efforts ran afoul both of the times and the compromises which she made to gain support for her organization.

When she began her work in the 1920s, groups such as the DAR, the American Legion, and the Klu-Klux Klan attacked her programs declaring them part of a Bolshevik plot, un-American or just subversive. Her later work to instill pride in the second generation of ethnic immigrants ignored the needs of African Americans. Indeed as Selig astutely points out, DuBois' presentation of the Negro Spirituals ignored the horrors of slavery which had created them. Likewise, she ran afoul of Jewish philanthropists who had supported her early work but who objected to her representation of Jews as an ethnic rather than a religious group. Finally, after years of struggle and persistence DuBois was shunted aside and forgotten. As for the movement in which she played a key role, it too ran afoul of the times: the rise of fascism in Europe made any effort to expound on ethnic achievements smack of nationalism. Also the inconsequential approach taken towards the problem of race made it irrelevant.

Millersville University *Leroy T. Hopkins*

Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange.
Edited by Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010. 304 pp. $55.00.

We are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848.
By Misha Honek. Athens: University of Georgia Press, March 2011. 244 pp. $24.95.

These two works examine the cultural interactions and exchanges between African Americans and Germans before and after the founding of the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. The impact of German immigration to the United States prior to the American Civil War, specifically, is examined by Mischa Honeck. Honeck's work focuses on the role played by German revolutionaries; who, after the failed 1848 revolutions, immigrated to the United States and continued their pro-democratic fervor by uniting with American abolitionists. The book is broken into six chapters, four of which examine German immigrant communities in different geographic regions, specifically: Texas, Cincinnati, Wisconsin, and Boston. For each location Honeck focuses primarily on a pair of individuals who worked together through the print industry, focusing their efforts on the abolitionist cause and attempting to garner support for the emancipation movement. In Texas, Honeck examines the duo of Frederick Law Olmstead, a Connecticut abolitionist and Adolf Douai, a German revolutionary turned newspaper editor, who combined their talents to espouse a multiethnic free-labor message that challenged the institution of slavery. This model is repeated in the discussion of Cincinnati's German community with the pair of August Willich and Mocure Daniel Conway, in Wisconsin with Mathilde Franziska Anneke and Mary Booth, and finally in Boston with Karl Heinzen and Wendel Phillips. The relationship between Anneke and Booth is the most intimate of the reviews and provides the reader with an understanding of the revolutionary fervor from a female perspective.

Honeck uses a wide variety of sources including: twenty-four German-American newspapers, five German newspapers, and the manuscripts of six of the eight main subjects as well as over ninety primary sources to support his work. While narrow in focus, Honeck's work is an excellent read and demonstrates the fervor of German immigrant involvement in the abolitionist cause and the value of German language sources to American history.

In *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, editors, Larry A. Green and Anke Ortlepp, provide an overview of the cultural, political, and social exchanges between Germans and African Americans.

Building on earlier works such as: *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany*, edited by Hanna Schissler, the work explores many issues of race, gender, and identity, and particularly interracial relations within Germany. The work is composed of thirteen separate essays with a primary focus on twentieth century African American experiences in Germany and the cross cultural issues derived from these experiences. The work also contains two excellent chapters on the German immigrant impact on African Americans, Misha Honeck's previously described analysis, "An Unexpected Alliance," and Jeffrey Strickland's, "German Immigrants and African Americans In Charleston, South Carolina, 1850-1880." Strickland's work is interesting in that he provides the reader with an individual examination of the economic, social, historical, and political interactions of these groups. Strickland details the shift in the German American community away from one of initial understanding and acceptance of the African American community to one of intolerance and open conflict after the failure of Reconstruction. The essay is well researched and exposes the reader to previously unpublished sources such as the Jacob Schirmer Diary.

The examination of the Weimar era is covered in Leroy Hopkins, "Louis Douglas and the Weimar Reception of Harlemania." Hopkins analyzes the remarkable career of Louis W. Douglas, an African entertainer from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania who achieved icon status in Weimar Germany and toured successfully throughout Europe, Africa, and South America during the 1920's. As Hopkins explains, Douglas's career was symptomatic of Harlemania ". . . a receptivity for the cultural productions of African Americans connected to the movement known as the Harlem Renaissance" (50). He traces Douglas's career from its inception until his untimely death in 1939 exploring his, as well as other African American performers' impact on European societal views of Africans and African Americans. In a well-researched essay, Hopkins draws attention to the arts as a mode of creating, supporting, and challenging societal views on complex issues such as race and the arts.

One of the particular strengths exhibited in this work are the assembled essays on African American views of Nazi Germany. These are detailed in three articles: Larry A. Greene's, "Race in the Reich," Berndt Ostendorf's, "Field Trip into the Twilight," and Frank Mehring's, "'Nazi Jim Crow.'" Greene provides the reader with an excellent narrative of the arguments put forth by the African American Press to illustrate the similarities between Nazi racism, attacked by American propaganda, and the ever present American racism found in "Jim Crow" laws throughout the American south. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Nazi Germany continued to be the foil for the African American Press to attack America's racial hypocrisy. In contrast to this view,

Greene notes the African American Press' view of Imperial Japan which was portrayed "as an anticolonial liberator" (71) until Pearl Harbor. Further review of this material and its impact on the American war effort would be a contribution to this line of inquiry.

The theme of American hypocrisy is further examined by Frank Mehring's analysis of Hans Massaquoi's biography. As a mixed race German African who lived within the Third Reich and then resettled in the United States after the war, Massaquoi's insights are exceptional and Mehring's review provides the reader with the link between personal and national transformations as Massaquoi navigates through the turmoil of the American civil rights movement. This personal transformation is also reflected in Berndt Ostendorf's work where he examines a unique cultural exchange in his study of Professor Julius Lips' emigration from East German academia to Howard University, a traditional black college in the United States where his Africanist and socialist views bring him into conflict with his African American colleagues forcing his dismissal after only two years. Ostendorf's review of Lips and his work clearly show that the issue of race could be easily subsumed by class conscience.

The work concludes with three essays dealing with the German Democratic Republic and four essays examining African American experiences within the Federal Republic of Germany. These essays provide an excellent opportunity for the reader to compare and contrast African American experiences in postwar Germany and the influences of American and Soviet occupation on German views of race and political equality. In "Prologue", Victor Grossman presents a fascinating narrative on the African American soldiers who crossed over into East Germany and were sent to the city of Bautzen in Saxony by the communist authorities. According to Grossman, these soldiers, both black and white, assimilated well into East German society, with each of the African Americans discussed overcoming the language barrier, learning new trades, and having intimate relationships with German women, many having children. That African Americans found greater racial acceptance and democracy in post war East Germany than in the United States brings attention to the failure of the United States to provide civil rights to all of its citizens.

This theme continues in Astrid Haas's essay, "A Raisin in the East." Haas examines two popular African American plays *A Raisin in the Sun* and *Blues for Mr. Charlie* as viewed by East German socialism. This excellent examination of the critiques demonstrates that while East German critics appreciated the playwrights' stance against white American racial dominance, they had not yet reached the level of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. This focus on the East German arts is continued by Aribert Schroeder in his essay, "Ollie Harrington," which explores Mr. Harrington's interactions with African American communist

party members who visited East Germany and his frequent criticism of the cultural policies restricting the travel of intellectuals and artists. Composed from extensive research in East German secret police files, Schroeder provides an interesting perspective on the limits of official East German views of race as well as of African American communists.

In "Love Across the Color Line," Maria Hohn tackles the issue of interracial relationships between African American soldiers and German women and the collaboration between the American military and conservative German authorities who worked to prevent them. Hohn challenges these policies as a freedom of choice issue for both German women and African American soldiers. Interracial relationships are furthered explored by Damani Partridge in, "Exploding Hitler and Americanizing Germany" by challenging the widely held beliefs that these relationships were instigated by either practical economics or romantic naivety. Partridge provides a much more complex view of these relationships for German women and then places them within the context of the allure of Americanization with its vibrant popular culture, consumerism, and gender relations. To Partridge, these women were actively rebelling against the previous conservative, male dominant, hierarchy that controlled German society.

This change in view toward African American stereotypes is further reflected in Sabine Broeck's essay, "The Erotics of African American Endurance, Or: On the Right Side of History?" Broeck examines the romanticized West German public view of African American endurance in the quest for civil rights during the 1950s and 1960s. As argued by Broeck this empathy for the civil rights movement and the paternalism it fostered needs to be replaced with a factual paradigm that will allow for contributions to the current discourse on diversification in contemporary Europe.

The work concludes with Eva Boesenberg's, "Reconstructing 'America,'" which examines German academia's formation of African American Studies programs in West Germany with a focus on the Collegium of African American Research and the academics that helped moved it forward as a distinct field. In a well-researched essay, Boesenberg reconstructs the development of African American Studies within German Universities, paying particular attention to those scholars that pioneered these fields. Scholars such as: Charles H. Nichols, Kenneth Stamp, and Edward Clark who all came to Germany during the 1950s and taught courses in the field. These academics sparked further research and further development of programs within German Universities that have continued to grow in popularity as fields of study and research to the present day. A well edited work, these essays are certain to challenge many preconceived notions of German and African American cultural exchanges.

Temple University *David M. Longenbach*

The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans During the Civil War Period, 1850-1870: A Study and Research Compendium.
By Andrea Mehrländer. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011. 442 pp. $182.00.

The American Civil War is a fertile field for researchers, particularly now, during its sesquicentennial. Much has been written about ethnic German units in the Federal service, and names like Sigel and Schurz are familiar to Civil War historians. The same cannot be said for ethnic Germans living in the Southern states. It is this substantial gap in the story of Germans in the United States that Mehrländer seeks to fill. This volume may well be considered to be the culmination of a lifelong fascination with the Old South, a fascination kindled by the author's viewing of *Gone With the Wind* at the age of nine. *The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans* is a revised version of her doctoral dissertation from the University of the Ruhr at Bochum. In her introduction, Mehrländer states that, "This book examines the socio-economic situation, the political behavior, and the military participation of the ethnic German minority population in the Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1865." Mehrländer's basic premise is that the contributions of ethnic Germans in the Confederacy were more significant than their raw numbers would indicate; there were less than 72,000 German in the future Confederate States in 1860. The choice of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans for her study was a logical one for several reasons: 1) they were the largest urban centers in the South, 2) they would have extreme significance to the Confederacy—Charleston, the cradle of Secession, Richmond, the Capital, New Orleans, the largest port and trading center, and 3) these cities had the largest populations of ethnic Germans in the future Confederacy.

The book is organized in a simple, straightforward fashion: Mehrländer established several criteria by which to analyze her chosen communities. To begin with, she sets the stage by documenting pre-1850 German immigration and settlement patterns in the South, including what has been referred to as the "avoidance of the South syndrome." Writings in the German language press often painted a gloomy portrait of southern life, and radical Turners, socialists, abolitionists and 48ers used their influence to steer German immigrants away from what would be the Confederacy. Using census documents, tax rolls and other sources, Mehrländer shows that the German immigrants who did settle in the South, tended to do so in urban areas, particularly if they were skilled tradesmen, particularly shoemakers or bakers. Her documentation shows how local circumstances affected immigration patterns, varying the degree of cohesiveness, which in turn affected the local prospects for suc-

cess.

Another of Mehrländer's windows on the German communities was their experience in confronting the rise of nativism. The rise of the American Party in the decade of the 1850s was of great import to immigrant communities. As Andrea Mehrländer's research shows, the three cities had greatly varied experiences with nativism, which often not only threatened them from the outside, but created divisions within the German communities, compelling them to decide with whom they would stand politically. They by and large chose to stand with the Democratic Party, and to defend the society of which they had become a part.

Since the book deals largely with Confederate German military service, Mehrländer's research methodology bears a brief examination. She identifies twelve ethnic German units in the Confederate service, and subjects them to, to use her own phrase, "socio-military analysis." To begin with, she addresses the pre-war militia units, which would largely seem to be an extension of *Vereinsleben*, and analyzes their relationships, if any, with their wartime counterparts. She does this by documenting membership, leadership, social position (trade or occupation, property owned, including slaves, etc.)

Her overall portrait is brought into focus by biographical sketches of prominent civil and military leaders within the community. The biographies are quite well documented by material from the local press and personal correspondence, as well as a goodly number of photographs. It should be noted, that Mehrländer devotes some research to the special case of New Orleans as a Union city, after it was captured in 1862. Following that occupation, Mehrländer discusses the anomaly of General Butler's recruiting of German troops for the Union army in the heart of the Confederacy.

One extremely important contribution to the southern economy and war effort was a number of successful entrepreneurs and overseas investors, backed by a large quantity of equally successful sea captains and blockade runners. Some of the considerable fortunes made during the war by German investors were turned toward rebuilding the devastated South after the war, as well as efforts by former German Confederates to recruit new immigrants to build up and increase the German communities in the South. These efforts, as Mehrländer shows, were largely unsuccessful.

The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans during the Civil War Period contains excellent appendices, detailing the military units by city, gleaned from their service records and other official sources. Another includes several population tables, which break down German settlement in all of the Confederate states by numbers and province of origin, as well as by immigrants as a percentage of the overall southern population. The extensive bibliography provides a great many starting points for further research in the

social, military and ethnographic history of the South.

In her conclusions, Mehrländer states her belief that her study has "demonstrated the deficiency of earlier theories that maintained that the ethnic German minority of the South was all but insignificant, politically, militarily, and economically before, during, and after the Civil War." She has shown that the Germans in the South adapted themselves to "southern distinctiveness," and adopted the societal mores of their new home. Furthermore, she has shown that they significantly aided the war efforts of the Southern Confederacy, efforts particularly noteworthy when balanced against their somewhat limited numbers. Her careful quantitative documentation of the political, military and economic contributions of the Germans in Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans during the two decades studied, would certainly lead one to conclude that she has made her case. I have heard it said that whenever you drink the water, you should thank the one who dug the well. In this case, thanks are certainly in order to Andrea Mehrländer.

William Woods University *Tom R. Schultz*

Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution. *By Paul Douglas Newman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. 259 pp. $49.95*

Historians have placed Fries's Rebellion in the same category as the Shays and Whiskey Rebellions as popular insurrections against federal authority during the formative years of the United States because on March 7, 1799, John Fries led a militia unit into Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to free prisoners who had refused to pay the country's first national property tax. Paul Douglas Newman, however, convincingly argues that unlike the previous rebellions and despite Federalist efforts to define resistance to national legislation as insurrection, Fries's Rebellion was not a violent attempt to overthrow state or federal government. Instead, evaluation of ethnic, economic and political tensions in eastern Pennsylvania revealed to Newman the very complex reality of peaceful public protest against perceived oppressive and unconstitutional Federalist legislation that limited prosperity, denied basic human rights, and empowered Quaker and Moravian tax collectors over German Lutheran and Reformed farmers. Opponents to the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Direct Tax Act of 1798 used the same popular symbols of resistance they had used during the American Revolution, including liberty poles, petitions, and voluntary associations to demonstrate their legitimacy as supporters of

the democratic process that they feared was under attack by the Federalist government. Fries's use of the militia was merely the culmination of months of resistance, not the initiation of an insurrection.

Newman took on an ambitious task and succeeded in explaining how existing local ethnic and political tensions related to Federalist legislation, how rebels and Federalists differed in their interpretation of liberty, what type of resistance dissenters used, and why Federalists interpreted opposition as insurrection. Preexisting conflicts in eastern Pennsylvania intensified with the political debates over the relationship between citizens and their government following the passage of Federalist laws in 1798. Second and third generation German Lutherans and German Reformed farmers perceived themselves as *Kirchenleute* or Church People and quite different from German *Sektenleute* or sectarian Moravians, Annabaptists, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders, and politically powerful English-speaking Quakers. *Kirchenleute* prospered in farming communities, took pride in their patriotic service during the Revolution, strongly believed in defense of individual liberties and active participation in local government, supported Jeffersonian-Republicans, and maintained a tradition of successful opposition to unfair taxation and foreclosures. *Sektenleute,* in contrast, had been disfranchised for several years owing to test oath requirements for citizenship in Pennsylvania, had been loyalists during the Revolution (or *Kirchenleute* had labeled their neutrality based on faith as supporting the Tories), and several Federalist Moravians and Quakers had received appointments as tax assessors and collectors.

German Lutheran and Reformed farmers interpreted the Direct Tax as a threat to their economic liberty and the Alien and Seditions Acts as endangering their civil liberties. Believing that as American citizens they had the inherent obligation to protect American liberties as well as local economic and political rights from repressive Federalists, *Kirchenleute* asserted what they thought were their legal and democratic rights by organizing an intentionally nonviolent opposition movement. In their opinion people exercising their constitutional rights could indeed change or repeal what they deemed as unconstitutional laws. Federalists, by contrast, believed in a central government that maintained order and liberty by protecting citizens from their own anarchistic tendencies and from Europeans. The Alien and Sedition Acts and Direct Tax Act were necessary to fend off French threats to American liberty. Individuals had to sacrifice civil rights in the name of liberty for all and the property tax financed the defense against French attacks on the high seas. Resistance, according to this ideology was sedition, insurrection, or treason and military force had to be used to crush any rebellion and to prevent it from spreading.

Of particular interest are chapters three and four which outline the type

and location of resistance, the biographies of tax assessors and opponents, their business and social relationships, and the manner in which John Fries and his followers freed the prisoners. Here depositions and trial transcripts demonstrate beyond doubt the nonviolent nature of the resistance movement. A few women doused tax assessors with water and verbal threats encouraged several Federalist assessors to abandon their task but no effigies, tarring and feathering, or other violent acts appeared and no shot was fired during the rescue mission.

Editorial oversights, such as John Fries entering a tavern unarmed and then disarming himself on page 138, do not detract from the overall quality of this well-researched and convincingly-argued work. It is a must read for historians of the early years of the Republic and the German-American experience.

Missouri University of Science & Technology *Petra DeWitt*

Los Brazos de Dios: A Plantation Society in the Texas Borderlands, 1821-1865.

By Sean M. Kelley. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010. 296 pp. $42.50

Sean M. Kelley has authored a compelling ethnic history that situates the experiences of Anglos, Germans, Mexicans, Native Americans, and African in Brazos, a slave society in central Texas. Kelley writes lucidly and engages multiple historiagraphies, including those of immigration, the Atlantic World, Mexico, the borderlands, and the United States South. The social, economic, and political interaction between Germans, Anglos, Mexicans, Africans, and African Americans shaped the *Los Brazos* borderlands. Kelley promises to emphasize the unique and the exceptional—he does not disappoint. Kelly demonstrates that Los Brazos was a typical slave society but atypical in that Germans, Mexicans, and African slaves occupied the same space and worked the same plantations. Texas maintained the distinction of being the only plantation slave society established under Mexican rule, and that "influenced the demographic structure of the Brazos, its land distribution, its marriage and property laws, and its labor relations, particularly the master-slave relationship" (2-3).

Throughout the book's five chapters, Kelley depicts the transition of the Brazos "a classic southwestern borderland" to bordered lands with clearly defined political boundaries. Chapter one depicts four migrations that made

the Brazos one of the most demographically complex areas of the American South, each "in some way connected to the expansion of the Atlantic economy" (21). First, Anglos and African Americans arrived from the southern United States beginning in 1820s. Second, six thousand additional African Americans were sold to the Brazos on the interregional slave market from slave-exporting states of the upper and the seaboard South. Third, three thousand German-speakers migrated from Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Hannover, Nassau, Saxony, Westphalia, Baden, Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Silesia, Switzerland and the Austrian Empire beginning in the 1830s but accelerating in the 1850s. In the fourth migration, between 600 and 1000 African slaves, primarily Yoruba speakers from the Bight of Benin, were sold from Cuba to Texas between 1833 and 1840.

In chapter two, Kelley focuses on the relationships between husbands and wives. Variation in family structure depended on ethnic diversity that "fostered multiple understandings of marriage" (59). Anglos, Africans, creoles, and Germans each had different cultural norms when it came to marriage and family and that had social and political connotations. Kelley reveals the contested relations between masters and slaves in chapter three. The author focuses on the boundaries that Anglos attempted to erect between them and their slaves, but the boundaries were always contested space. In a compelling revelation, Kelley writes, "The space where the demands of the slave owners met the acquiescences of the people they owned constituted a middle ground or borderland, bridging the two worlds" (92). Kelley moves his attention to the West Central African influences on the slave population and their Anglo slave owners.

Chapter four deals with Germans, Anglos, and the politics of slavery. The Brazos borderland was unusual among antebellum plantation regions in its ability to attract a significant number of immigrants. In the 1830s and 1840s, Germans and Anglos enjoyed positive relations, but those relations declined as the sectional crisis unfolded. As the German population increased in the 1850s, slaveholders "obsessed" about the Germans' stance on the slavery question. Although most Germans declined to speak out against slavery, they rarely owned slaves and a few Germans made their antislavery feelings known. In the face of Anglo nativism, Germans increasingly found themselves in political opposition to slavery (130-31). The most significant result of neighborhood politics in the 1850s was the construction of Germanness as an oppositional identity (161). Chapter five analyzes tensions during the Civil War. When the war began, Mexicans, runaway slaves, and Germans migrated from the Brazos southward and crossed the Mexican border (163), but most were German Unionists who faced persecution and military conscription. The meanings of German ethnicity were altered in the wartime context and

"German ethnicity struck a dissonant note in Anglo efforts to harmonize race and class" (174).

The epilogue on "Bordered Lands" discusses what transpired in the region in the two decades following the end of the Civil War. German Unionists joined African Americans in the Republican Party (194) and, while some shifted to the Democratic Party beginning in 1869, many stuck with the Republicans until the mid-1880s. *Los Brazos de Dios* has much to offer historians working in several different fields, including immigration, slavery, and borderlands. Members of the Society for German American Studies and readers of this *Yearbook* will enjoy Kelley's research model, which provides equal consideration to German immigrants and their neighbors, including slaves and slaveowners.

Montclair State University *Jeffery Strickland*

We Were Berliners: From Weimar to the Wall.
By Helmut and Charlotte Jacobitz and Douglas Niles. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 1012. 191 pp. $32.95.

In the summer of 1963, two years after the Berlin Wall went up, U.S. President John F. Kennedy came to the old German capital to show his support for the beleaguered citizens. To express his solidarity and to assure them that they had not been forgotten by the outside world, he told them, in German, "Ich bin ein Berliner!" This historic event is recounted in the "Epilogue" of the book under discussion since by this time its protagonists had emigrated to Canada in 1956, returned to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1960, and then finally opted to settle in California in 1961. There they were successful in every respect and in the end became U.S. citizens. They returned for a visit to their home town of Berlin only after 30 years, in 1991, when with the end of the Cold War the Wall had fallen, and West and East Germany were reunited.

In the meantime a new generation had grown up, and it was the grandson of Helmut and Charlotte, Jason Jacobitz, who is actually responsible for the genesis of the book. In the "Preface" the author, Douglas Niles, explains that he was contacted by Jason who inquired about the feasibility of turning his grandfather's oral recollections into a book. After reading some of Jason's recordings, Niles was convinced and enthusiastic about turning the interviews into a narrative. Jason then spent many weekends with his grandparents recording their experiences; they both had to tell much about their lives in

the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, World War II, and the postwar years.

Niles, a self-confessed history buff realized that the "German" personal reminiscences, told after half a century in English, needed to be placed into their historical context. He started by framing the biographical sections and introduction by a history of the times. Beginning with the First World War and the postwar years, he gives the reader an account of the happenings in Europe and the United States, with a focus on Germany. While using different fonts to distinguish the historical excurses from the autobiographical sections, the author manages to paint the historical background in such a way that it allows for a smooth reading. At the same time Niles does his best to give an unbiased historical account and refrains from imposing his own ethical and moral judgments.

Following the historical summary of World War I, and the Treaty of Versailles (which was actually signed in 1919 and not on November 11, 1918, when the armistice went into effect), Helmut and Charlotte recount of their births and childhood years in their Berlin homes at Prenzlauer Berg and in the Wedding district of Berlin, respectively. The apartments the families lived in were small but workers in general had substandard housing since they could not afford larger apartments. The children remember that the Nazis were intent on eliminating Jews from German society according to their philosophy of "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuhrer!" which extolled the *Volksgemeinschaft* of pure Aryan stock, the expansion of Germany to include all German-speaking people in a *Großdeutschland,* and the absolute authority of Adolf Hitler. The families of Helmut and Charlotte were not inclined toward the Nazis since they lived in working class areas in Berlin characterized predominantly by Communist leanings. Therefore, the reader learns little about the religious beliefs of the families except for that of Charlotte's mother who was a Jehovah's Witness. She was able to conceal her religious beliefs when the Nazis came to power. Helmut tells us that he was a member of the Hitler Youth at the time of the famous Berlin Olympics in 1936 when he was ten years old, but he probably was in the *Jungvolk* which was compulsory from age ten to fourteen, at which time a boy became eligible for the *Hitlerjugend.* He then did his *Arbeitsdienst*, the next step in the education for a young man in the Nazi state. He avoided being drafted into the army, the navy and the SS, but then was called upon to join the *Fallschirmjäger*, the German paratroopers, and fought with them till the end of the war. Charlotte lived with her family in Berlin and survived the air raids on the city and its conquest by the Soviet army. She met Helmut in the hunger years after the end of the war, and they married in 1949.

A photo section with pictures of Helmut and Charlotte and their families, as well as of the Nazi leaders and U.S planes attacking Berlin, and finally

of the Wall, help the reader visualize the people and events that make up this extremely interesting account. It is highly recommended to anyone interested in the history of Germany and emigration during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Pennsylvania State University *Ernst Schürer*

Briefe zwischen Deutschland und Amerika.
By Helmut Liedloff. Berlin: Frieling-Verlag, 2011. 536pp. $27.65.

Dass einst Briefe zwischen Freunden und Verwandten fast wie Geschenke wirkten ist vielen von uns bekannt, auch wenn wir das in diesen multimedialen Zeiten leicht vergessen könnten. Im Vergleich zu unseren heutigen SMS-Gesprächen, dachte der Absender eines handgeschriebenen Briefes vergangener Jahrzehnte bestimmt lange über den Inhalt, die Themen und die Events seines Berichtes nach. Zwischen den Briefen sind immer viele Wochen vergangen, in den meisten Fällen waren es sogar Monate. Der Empfänger eines transatlantischen Briefes im frühen 20. Jahrhundert, wenigstens bis zur Zeit des Ferngespräches oder Telegramms, freute sich bestimmt nach dem langen Warten auf die gewünschten Neuigkeiten.

Helmut Liedloff, 1930 in Bremen geboren und bis 1992 Professor für Deutsch an der Southern Illinois University Carbondale, erzählt in seinen Briefen an seine Familie von seinen Stationen in Deutschland und in den USA. Liedloff, dessen Namen unter US-Germanisten als Beiträger des wohlbekannten Lehrbuches *Kaleidoskop* bekannt ist, hat unbewusst durch seine Briefe an seine Eltern viel zum Fach US-Germanistik beigetragen. Als Zeitzeuge des Nationalsozialismus in Deutschland und zugleich als Einwanderer in das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten in den fünfziger Jahren berichtet Helmut Liedloff über sein Leben zwischen zwei Welten.

Eine ganze Reihe von Fragen werfen sich auf, sobald man einst private Briefe veröffentlicht. Sollten wir auch heute noch diese Form von Kommunkation als Kulturgut immer wieder bewundern, fragt man sich heute. Sollten wir vielleicht Liedloffs Sammlung nicht etwa beneiden? Eine bejahende Antwort auf beide Fragen fällt vielen Menschen leicht, denn wie oft schreiben wir Freunden und Familienmitgliedern in einem solchen Medium und auf so eine Art und Weise, dass sie unsere Zeilen aufheben dürften, damit jemand in sechzig Jahren viel Freude daran haben könnte?

Ein Beispiel für den Sinn für ethnographische Bemerkungen des jungen Liedloffs im Land seiner Geburt sind die Zeilen auf Seite 86 aus einem Brief

aus dem Jahr 1943: „Wir seien in einem der schönsten, aber auch der ärmsten Teile Sachsen . . . . Über eins allerdings wunderten sich die Neundorfter sehr, daß die Bremer Jungs so still seien. Ja, der Niedersachse ist schweigsamer als der Obersachse."

Der etwas ältere Liedloff bemerkt 1960 auf Seite 363 ganz kühn wie interessant die Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Einwanderer nach Amerika auch für junge Deutsche sein kann, indem er vom Druck von der Außenwelt auf die Amanariter nah Cedar Rapids, Iowa, berichtet: „Möglicherweise werden dann die Amanas amerikanische Dörfer wie alle anderen in der Umgebung, nur daß man vielleicht an den Bauten noch etwas eigene Vergangenheit ablesen kann."

Für den US-Deutschunterricht auf dem College-Niveau könnte man Liedloffs Erinnerungen sehr leicht einbauen. Eine der größten Herausforderungen an Lernende im Sprachunterricht ist die Einsammlung von Fakten von den verschiedensten Quellenmaterialien. Beiträge, die nicht für den Sprachunterricht gemacht sind, die aus der Ich-Perspektive erzählen, werden verstärkt neben elektronischen Nachrichten und Tabellen verlangt.

In der von Christian Groh verfassten Einleitung gibt es zahlreiche Informationen, die einen ausführlichen Überblick über Liedloffs Lebenslauf geben. Somit bekommt man das Gefühl, den Professor Emeritus zu kennen, zumindest als ehemaliger Student auf dem Graduate-Niveau. Das Buch verfügt über 500 Seiten aber lässt sich leicht lesen. Auf Seite 21 ist tatsächlich ein Druckfehler (zweimal 'in' mitten in der 6. Zeile des zweiten Absatzes) aber kaum ein Buch heute, trotz zuverlässiger Software, kann diesem entkommen.

Wer beim Lesen das Zeitrad gerne mal zurückdreht, der kann sich freuen, dass eine weiterere Geschichte in dieser Form existiert und zwar aus einer Zeit stammend, in der Gefühle von Heimat ein heikles aber auch äußerst persönliches Thema unter Deutsch-Amerikanern waren.

Hofstra University *Dean Guarnaschelli*

Paths Crossing: Essays in German-American Studies.
Edited by Cora Lee Kluge. New York: Peter Lang, 2011. 183 pp. $64.95.

Compiled of ten essays by distinguished scholars of German-Americana, this book results from a conference held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in April 2009. It is both global and parochial. In the first essay Mark Louden and Cora Lee Kluge survey the field of German-American studies nationally, articulating the manner in which it wavered between

special interest and waning fashion. In many respects, by contrast, Madison established a more sophisticated tone. Because of the state's large German population and because the university hired men like Alexander R. Hohlfeld, who taught there from 1901–36 and shaped the "Wisconsin Project in Anglo-German Literary relations," it yielded scholars like Harold Jantz and B. Q. Morgan. In the field of American literature, stemming from German was Henry A. Pochmann in the English department at Madison from 1938-1971, famous for his *Bibliography of German Culture in America* and others. A third figure at the University in Madison was historian Fredrick Jackson Turner. Turner became a magnet not just for his frontier thesis but also for his grasp on immigration, yielding among other scholars, Marcus Lee Hansen, a Wisconsin native. Finally, there was Wisconsin rural sociologist George W. Hill, acknowledged as a pioneer of immigration studies for his 1942 map "The People of Wisconsin According to Ethnic Stock."

The lead article by Jost Hermand recounts the stories of five émigrés to Madison from Hitler's Third Reich, *Beiunskis* (those famous for prefacing everything with "bei uns in Berlin, bei uns in Wien," etc.), who discovered in Madison not the uncultured Americans they might have expected, but rather those of the *Bildungsbourgeoisie*. The first is Rudolf (Rudi) Kolisch in the Madison Music Education Department, the Viennese student of Arnold Schönberg who had married Kolisch's sister Gertrud in the 1920s. The second such German was Werner Vordtriede in 1958, who had followed his Jewish-Marxist mother to the United States to pursue a doctorate on Stefan George at Northwestern in Chicago. Third was Felix Pollak, another Jew forced out of Vienna in 1938, who like others forever considered himself a European intellectual in a foreign setting. His crowning achievement following the "meaningless" awards he had received in America were trumped when, finally, in 1979 he received his first in-Germany publication "New York, ein Schiff, ein Emigrant," setting him at last in the "land of culture." The fourth émigré was Hans Gerth, a student under Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, and an acquaintance of Erich Fromm, Max Horkheimer, Hanna Arendt, Theodor Adorno and others. A non-Jew, Gerth taught sociology at Madison, introducing students to German Leftists like Marx Weber, Rosa Luxemburg and others. The fifth belonged to the famous family heads of the Berliner *Tageblatt*, historian-scholar George L. Mosse who became a distinguished professor at Madison and prolific scholar-publisher-editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*. But as he tells it in his memoir *Confronting History*, Mosse never overcame "being uprooted." Despite their tendency toward arrogance and the "Monday-morning righteousness" of these émigrés, we can remember them as "better Germans" not bound by mass conformity.

Walter D. Kamphoefner writes his reflections and proposals on German-

American ethnicity, insisting among other things on strategies using the censuses, German-language newspapers, publishing statistics, and religious denominations to target Germanness in the United States. Bilingual Americans like Reinhold Niebuhr, Theodore Geisel (Dr. Seuss), Admiral Chester Nimitz, and Leon Jaworski of Watergate fame are worthy of study for their respective ethnicity. Too, there were the importers of German technology- John Roebling (bridges), Henry Steinweg (Steinway pianos), Christian Martin (Martin guitars), William Boeing (airplanes), Adolphus Busch (brewing), as well as butchers, bakers and more. All of this leads to the conclusion that we must first contextualize German ethnicity and subsequently apply all records and data uniformly to define ethnicity.

In his article "That Species of Property" Hartmut Keil agonizes about the liberal Francis Lieber, a professor in South Carolina and editor of *Encyclopedia Americana*, who owned slaves. Like others described in this volume, Lieber seemingly was fully Americanized but longed for the richness of European culture. Eventually he could not stand the contradictions he was living with in the South, electing escape to the North. From his northern perch, Lieber condemned the notion of a superior white race, "We forget that this proud (white European) race has lived for the greater parts of its existence in ignominious barbarity" (67). But in correspondence Lieber sounded like any other southern chattel trader: "I have seen a boy here, who from mere appearance pleases me exceedingly, about 14 or 15 years old, lively etc. But the man, a small tavern keeper, asks $700; of course I would not give more than $500 (69)." His slave cook, Betsy, Lieber characterized as a "very good woman with some very bad manners . . . gruff. As a woman she could not possibly excite much my imagination, even were you to change her black into the softest white of Grecian marble." Given Lieber's abhorrence of the institution of slavery one would expect that when he left the south he would have freed all his slaves but he never did nor even hinted at it, which is explainable given South Carolina's laws forbidding manumission. Arriving in New York for a professorship at Columbia, Lieber in 1848 rushed back to Germany for the revolution in the course of which he received an offer to teach at the Humboldt in Berlin but declined, returning to Columbia for the next twelve years. During the Civil War, each of his sons would fight, one for the North one the Confederacy.

In his essay about "Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch*: The Half-Unfolded Spring of German and American Literature," Hugh Ridley engages readers in the characteristics of a novel of *dépaysment*, sensing the family affinity between the literature of our two countries and their culture. Lorie A. Vanchena with "Taking Stock: The Disappearance of German-American Literature?" offers a deep and thorough investigation of both the history

and status of German-American literature as a genre by itself. The article serves as a summary of the many scholars who of late have tackled this field: Sollors, Herminghouse, Trommler, Gilman, Sammons, Conzen, Tatlock, to name a few. Interdisciplinary transnationalism using sociolinguistics, cultural geography, film and literary studies await the efforts of these and new scholars. Daniel Nützel in "German-American Dialects on Different Paths to Extinction" sheds light on universal theories of linguistics which give us a broader understanding of language in general, focusing on Haysville, Indiana and New Ulm, Minnesota. While both communities are linguistically moribund, the northern Bavarian of New Ulm is in decay whereas the East Franconian of Haysville remains loyal to its base dialect, showing no serious structural breakdown.

Shifting gears, Steven Hoelscher turns to the World War arena with "Performing the American Myth by speaking German: Changing Meanings of Ethnic Identity between the World Wars." From communities exhibiting 'sedition' in Wisconsin, settlements moved from condemnation to celebrating, e.g., the 'Wilhelm Tell' performances in New Glarus by the time of WWII. Performance repeatedly connected historical continuity with rhetorical symbolism. The illusion of consensus sometimes failed to mask complicating factors in the history of the village, e.g., discrimination against the non-Zwingli denomination churches and the KKK meetings south of town. In the end, Swiss ethnic identity was neither obliterated by Americanization, nor was it passed down as an unbroken tradition. Rather it was re-discovered and represented through dramatic performance.

On a completely different footing, Uwe Lübken, "Situating Natural Hazards in German-American Studies," offers a bold comparison between the flooded Rhine and Ohio Rivers during stages. Of equal comparative value is Louis A. Pitschmann, "Advancing German-American Studies in the Digital Age: Opportunities for Collaboration." Here the strategy is to designate locations within the world wide web for the available digitized materials according to topical search subjects rather than according to libraries, departments and the like. In other words, the idea would be to have analog materials in a certain archive embedded with, say, Parkinson's research, or global warming instead. The efforts of the Max Kade Institute will make access easier for scholars who now have to dig for documents. According to the author, web-presence is the key to enhancing the discipline of German-American studies and needs the coordination of repository materials so that the researcher can reach, e.g., the 'Turner Movement' regardless of the physical maintenance site.

A composite of information begging for readers, this volume is a highly readable yet futuristic lighthouse for the discipline. It needs the eyes and

hands of all members of our profession.

St. Olaf College *LaVern J. Rippley*

Liquid Bread: Beer and Brewing in Cross-Cultural Perspective.
Edited by Wulf Schiefenhövel and Helen Macbeth. The Anthropology of Food and Nutrition 7. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011. 247 pp. $95.00.

Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914.
By Tom Goyens. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 263 pp. $42.00.

Liquid Bread is a collection of papers presented at the International Commission on the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition's conference at the Max-Planck-Insitut in Seewiesen, Bavaria, in 2001. Essays by twenty-eight scholars from eight European countries, New Zealand, and the Philippines cover a spectrum of topics related to beer, focusing on the history, production, consumption, and marketing of the sudsy beverage. The academic essays, enriched with endnotes and references consisting primarily of scholarly books and articles, are accessible to laypeople; since beer is a universally valued beverage, this concession to a more general audience is welcome and appropriate.

The essays begin with a discussion querying human ingestion of ethanol, a poison; the next essay provides an answer, i.e., beer's positive contributions to nutrition and general health. Other, later essays also treat health-related concerns. Chapter ten provides an overview of beer consumption in the Czech Republic, which boasts the world's highest per-capita beer consumption and suffers from predictable health problems as a result. (This essay describes the history of famous beers like Pilsner as Czech developments [102], a claim that those familiar with the German history of the region would dispute.) Chapter eleven compares and contrasts the consumption of beer in German and American fraternity life, pointing out the contribution of beer to sociability, the effects of the abuse of beer, and the mediating effect of a German cultural taboo against loss of control on overconsumption by German college-age men.

The book's most interesting chapters treat historical, sociological, and anthropological topics related to beer and culture. Three essays (chapters three to five) demonstrate the extent of beer production across time and space

as they discuss beer brewing in modern times, the ancient Near East (based on archaeological evidence in Northern Syria), and prehistoric Europe (based on similar evidence in Southern Germany).

Chapters six and seven treat a perceived north-south distinction aligning the consumption of beer and wine with northeastern and southwestern Germany, respectively, and with northern and southern Europe, respectively. While beer has long been associated with Germanness, Germany itself has only in the last several centuries linked the construction of a German identity with beer. Ironically, while Germany is perceived as the "beer-drinking country par excellence" (68), beer consumption is, in fact, decreasing there due to health concerns. The identification of beer with Northern Europe belies the Southern European production and consumption of beer. While the "Mediterranean diet" explicitly excludes beer because of health concerns, Southern Europeans enthusiastically partake of local beers (e.g., Spain boasts the second highest beer consumption in Europe [77]). The construction of beer as "northern" is reinforced by marketing that aligns local southern European beers with images of a Germanic north that evoke notions of tradition, quality, and naturalness. Chapter nineteen's detailed examination of beer advertising as communicative practice identifies four predominant discourses: tradition, body image, sexual pleasure, and social differentiation, all of which are paradoxical, as modern beer is mass produced, does not of itself provide beauty or sexual gratification, and is not affiliated with local tradition.

Subsequent chapters highlight the interplay between globalization (and the resulting reduction of beer producers and products) and the marketing of beer, which evokes images of authentic ethnic experience while exploiting local distribution networks and promoting beers that are not genuine local cultural products. Essays on the increased acceptance of beer culture in Seville, Spain, (chapter eight) and the changing function of the British pub (chapter nine) reveal the exploitation of consumers' local loyalties and desire for community and tradition by international breweries that commodify regional cultures and identities. Chapter twenty provides a nuanced examination of the current tension between the global and the local, claiming that beer advertising assumes a mixed position, promoting a global product through local images.

Other chapters demonstrate the universally important roles of beer in sociability and social standing, and its interplay with gender identity. Chapter twelve succinctly treats the alignment of beer consumption with public drinking by New Zealand men in the all-male contexts of rugby and racing. Moving beyond European and Anglophone contexts, subsequent chapters examine sociocultural aspects of beer production and consumption in Africa. Chapter thirteen treats Northern Cameroon, where beer is a "locus of value"

(144) used both to enhance sociability and to establish and maintain social position. In sub-Saharan African cultures described in Chapter fourteen, beer has economic and social functions aligned with gender, where males brew beer for ritual use, and females for consumption and profit. Chapter fifteen's examination of beer production, ritual, and social standing in Tanzania aligns beer production and consumption with females and males, respectively, with females who sell beer outside of the home and ritual use endangering their reputations if they profit from this activity. Chapter sixteen's study of beer brewing terminology in Burkina Faso indicates that while the brewing process parallels that of other cultures, the inherent processes are organized and named differently; this essay, while inherently interesting, is the weakest in the book, as it is longer on linguistic data than analysis.

Chapters seventeen and eighteen deal with changes in beer consumption in the Asian cultures of Sarawak (Borneo) and Northeast Luzon (Philippines), respectively. Sarawak has forsaken the production of rice beer as inhabitants have converted to Christianity. Simultaneously, social prestige associated with hospitality has been replaced by individualistic, materialistic behavior; excess rice is now sold rather than brewed. Religion has the opposite effect on beer consumption in the Philippine culture explicated in chapter eighteen; Catholicism's lack of restrictions on alcohol plus the "ideology of macho behavior" have made drinking part of the public culture of males.

This book is both an excellent source of original interdisciplinary research on many aspects of beer and an entertaining read, suitable for both scholars and the educated general public. It contains well written studies of a beverage that has become a staple in many cultures, including those of the German-speaking peoples. Readers will not wonder that this work was named both the *Choice* Outstanding Academic Book and the winner of the Gourmand World Cookbook Award in 2011.

While beer figures prominently in the title *Beer and Revolution*, this social history focuses on the German-American anarchist movement in the greater New York metropolitan area during the latter part of the nineteenth century, "highlighting its ideological, spatial, and historical dimensions" (9); beer is present due to its association with Germans and the saloons in which they constituted radical space. This book serves two important functions. First, it fills a gap in the history of American radicalism by tracing the rise and fall of the first group of anarchists in the United States. Additionally, it examines the anarchists' "geography of resistance," mapping the "topography . . . of the movement . . . the places and spaces" in which anarchists lived, worked, socialized, and engaged in radical activity (7).

Author Goyens provides background information on the roots of German anarchism in European socialism, focusing on the roles of Marx and Bakunin

and the development of social revolutionaries' key ideological principles: antiparliamentarianism and internationalism. The suppression of socialists under Bismarck brought about a rejection of political action by anarchists in favor of Bakunin's "revolution by deed" (76), trade unionism, and group life that attempted to realize a "humanist vision for society" (82). Goyens devotes considerable attention to the great men of the anarchist movement (Frederick Hasselmann, Justus Schwab, an innkeeper who provided social, radical space for the movement, and Johann Most) and provides extensive coverage of their biographies, personal proclivities, anarchist activities, leadership philosophies, and effects on the movement. As with any movement, a history of anarchy reveals a tension between leaders and the rank and file; this tension is particularly compelling in the case of German-American anarchists, who espoused autonomy and resisted the efforts of the movement's great men (e.g., Most) to exercise control over publications and activities.

In the wake of Bismarck's *Antisozialistengesetz*, German anarchists were attracted to the United States for its revolutionary past and proclaimed personal and civil liberties; however, they were disillusioned by the realities of the workplace, urban squalor, and incidents like the Haymarket and its repressive aftermath. Times of economic hardship and political repression were, however, boom times for anarchists, as their context provided convincing evidence of the need for worker organization and social, economic, and political revolution. Alexander Berkman's assassination attempt on the industrialist H. C. Frick and the resulting negative mainstream reaction to both Germans and anarchists helped push the movement away from terrorism and toward an autonomist philosophy that found expression in intellectual and cultural activities. Prosperity and progressive reform in the twentieth century deprived anarchism of its agenda.

Over a period of about forty-five years, the nation's largest ethnic group produced the first American radical subculture, which was eventually absorbed by the mainstream progressive movements of the twentieth century. Goyens assembles this story from a wealth of sources including scholarly books and journal articles, archival sources located in both the United States and Europe, and web sites of scholarly projects (e.g., Pritzer College's Anarchy Archives, the Haymarket Affair Digital Collection, and the Emma Goldman Papers).

The author's second purpose, to provide a spatial geography of the anarchist movement, is more interesting to readers who concern themselves with cultural studies, like this reviewer. Goyens provides a fascinating study of the movement's use and constitution of space in its political, educational, and social activities. The subjects of this study were radicals who were also Germans, and they reflected the ideologies and cultural attitudes and constructs of both groups, as the book's title suggests. German anarchists

were typically German in their sociability and love of leisure and family activities, founding clubs, and societies, visiting beer halls, and attending festivals "accompanied by a plentiful supply of beer" (34). In these activities, beer offered both an avenue of sociability and a means of concealing political activity, as venues offered both drink and camouflage for German anarchists planning and executing political and social action. German owners of beer halls and recreational areas were amenable to the radicalized use of their premises because of their personal convictions and the profits earned from beer-drinking anarchists. Activism within a beer hall allowed the German-American radicals to operate "under the radar" of the larger Anglo-American milieu, since beer was associated with lower-class, immigrant Germanness; while it was a social indicator, beer was not associated by Anglo-Americans with dangerous political action. Goyens provides similar description and analysis of other venues of anarchist activism in the Metropolitan Area's German neighborhoods and their lecture halls, clubs, parks, and cultural activities (publications, music, and theater), allowing a glimpse into the daily lives of radical German-American immigrants.

The anarchist geography, while fascinating, is more difficult to determine and, perhaps, therefore receives less coverage in this book than the history of the movement. Organizationally, the chapters are oddly arranged; since the book begins with a discussion of radical space, it gives the impression that it will deal more fully with this subject than it actually does (coverage is limited to two out of eight chapters). The remaining chapters present the history of the movement and its leaders, and there is little connection between the two different topics within the book, which can be disconcerting to the reader. Those who know German will also be disconcerted by the author's mistakes in a language important for this book: German words are misspelled or rendered grammatically incorrectly (e.g., *Bierhalle* is not a plural noun [34]), and *Wirthaus* should be spelled *Wirtshaus* [35]), and there are awkward translations of German into English (for instance, *Weinlesefest* is translated as "vintage harvest festival" [134]). Since the author is not a native speaker of English, his editor shares responsibility for these errors.

These limitations aside, this book provides a fascinating look into the lives of a vibrant minority of the German-American population in the Greater Metropolitan area during the Gilded Age and early twentieth century. Of particular interest is Goyens' study of the constitution of radical space and the alignment of this "radical geography" with the anarchists' daily lives and activities, which, being expressions of German culture, included beer.

The University of South Dakota *Carol A. Leibiger*

Deutsch-Amerikanische Kalender des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts: Bibliographie und Kommentar/German-American Almanacs of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Bibliography and Commentary.
Edited by York-Gothart Mix. Berlin/Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2012. 2 vols. 1,585 pp. EUR 249,00.

It is an impressive work. Two volumes, bound in red covers, 1585 pages in total that try to capture the rich and extensive history of German language calendars and almanacs in the United States. In the form of a bibliography York-Gothard Mix and his co-workers Bianca Weyer and Gabriele Krieg, have created a long list of these important little booklets that accompanied the German language population throughout the year for centuries. German calendars and almanacs belong to the oldest written documents produced in the United States. They constituted important pillars in the creation of a specific German-American identity. Already in 1731 Benjamin Franklin published the first German almanac. In 1739 production took off when Christopher Saur printed the *Hoch-Deutscher Americanischer Calender* in fractur, the traditional German printing type. After that the calendar production increased from year to year during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, German-American calendars can be found well until the 20th century. Many of them were published for decades, such as the *Stadt und Land Calender* (1850-80, Reihe 025, pp. 464-93) others even for over nearly a century such as *Der Neue Gemeinnützliche Pennsylvanische Calender (*1833-1918, Reihe 055; pp. 990-1106). They represent a wide range of interests, religious orientations and ideologies and a closer look will reveal a tremendous wealth of information on agricultural practices, practical advice on daily life issues, literary pieces, political or religious commentary and much more.

The project to record and study these important historical records in a systematic way was, therefore, necessary and long overdue. If these brittle objects that are often enough falling apart due to their bad conditions are not preserved quickly they are probably lost forever soon. Much credit has to be given to the team for their tedious and laborious efforts to record a great number of these calendars. Unfortunately, they have only focused their work on the holdings of three libraries in Pennsylvania: the Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, PA, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the German Society of Philadelphia. This, however, raises a number of questions. But the editors are secretive and don't reveal much about their methods. What was their motivation for the bibliography? How do they define a German-American almanac? Which almanacs did they include or not include? Does the German-Hungarian calendar qualify? Do the many

product- and company-related calendars of the 19th century qualify? What methods did they employ? A project of this size undoubtedly needs a good and solid plan that tackles a number of these questions but the editors keep that to themselves.

The bibliography includes very brief "Notes for using this Handbook" in English and German. This is followed by a short introductory essay in English ("Sociocultural Regional Identities in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Popular German American Almanacs," pp. 1-17) as well as in German (Soziokultureller Regionalbezug in populären deutsch-amerikanischen Kalendern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, pp. 19-36) that explore questions of perceptions and identity and the dynamics of language development. This is rather surprising since the reader might have expected a more general introductory piece with an overview on the general topic of "German-American Almanacs." The seemingly bi-lingual nature of these volumes does not hold true for the main body of the two volumes which consists of the individual entries for the almanacs. They are only in German. Calendars of the same series are kept together in *Reihen*/series. So the 113 *Reihen* stand for the 113 different calendar series the team has located in the three repositories. The entries are neither arranged chronologically nor alphabetically. To help the reader find a specific calendar entry one has to look it up in the separate "list of calendars in strict alphabetical order" which is located on pages 39-41. Entries follow a systematic order: wording of the first, if available, the second front page; information regarding the author, publisher, printer, city of publication. If available they also record the scope of the almanac, the selling price, and the number of copies published. The category *Anmerkungen*/notes includes information regarding the design, handwritten notes, or specific details on the individual copy under investigation. Furthermore, the editors list the main titles of the content and give a brief commentary. Each entry closes with a finding aid where this specific copy can be found. A little irritating are the very mechanical comments, especially on the calendar part, prognostics or practical information. They do not change within a series; often not even across series. This leads to the rather strange effect that large parts of each entry are nearly identical within one series. I image that the editors had a reader in mind who searches for an individual entry rather than has a look at a whole series. The choice of German in the commentary is rather unfortunate keeping in mind that the main readership will most likely be American librarians.

What is truly missing from the entries is a general introductory statement on each calendar series. Questions on publication dates, the identity of publishers, or the merging of series, and so on remain unanswered. But often series started earlier or ran much longer than indicated in the books.

The *Freidenker-Almanach*, for example, ran from 1878 until 1901 when it merged with the *Turner Kalender.* The bibliography only lists the years 1879 to 1882 and 1886 of the *Freidenker Almanach* according to the holdings of the Franklin & Marshall College.

Although this bibliography is doubtless an impressive undertaking it claims much more than it can hold. Mix and his team have certainly covered the German calendar production of the 18th century in the United States. But they have barely touched on the one in the 19th century. With the mass migration of German immigrants in the second half of the 19th century the production of newspapers, books and certainly also almanacs and calendars reached a massive scale. The publication centers moved from the East Coast to the Mid-West. Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee or St. Louis now became the main German publishing centers. The holdings of three archives on the East Coast, however, will most certainly not reflect these developments and the wealthy history German-American calendars really have to offer. Therefore, unfortunately, a very large number of 19th century calendars are missing from this bibliography. Where is, e.g. *Steigers Volks Kalender* (New York City, NY), the *Turner Kalender* (Milwaukee, WI) or *Green's Atlas und Tagebuch Almanach* (Woodsburg, NY), to name only a few? If one claims to record the calendars and almanacs of the 18th and 19th century than a search in three collections is not enough. Although the two volumes include a lot of information they are only the tip of a very large iceberg.

The editors have missed another one-time opportunity. Unfortunately, the bibliography lacks a topical index which for the first time would have offered new and innovative ways of working with the wealth of information offered here. On top of documenting how calendars looked, their main contents, and their location, a topical index would have been a tremendous source and entry point to include calendars in future scholarly works on literary-, immigration-, or gender-studies to name only a few. Persons and locations are indexed.

The publisher's advertisement promises a CD-ROM. My copy did not have one so let`s hope this last point is remedied by it.

As I stated in the beginning: the main problem is that the work on only three library catalogs is much too limited to reflect the German-American calendars or to document their locations. It is certainly always easier to critic such a work than conduct it for many years. Therefore, I pay my respect to the individuals involved in such a long and laborious project that has brought us two very valuable volumes on German-American calendars.

Berlin, Germany *Katja Hartmann*

The First Germans in America.
By Gary C. Grassl. Alexandria, VA: Global Printing, 2009. 103 pp. $16.95.

Beautifully illustrated with colorful maps, richly anchored in documentary and archaeological discoveries, this Time-magazine-style book textualizes the James River estuary's first settlement where in 1608 some four German-born craftsmen endured along with the primarily English settlers. Eminent among them was Johannes Fleischer, MD and PhD from Breslau. There was also William Waldi (Volday) a German Swiss prospector, with Franz and Samuel Adam, wood workers and house builders.

Before launching into the Virginia colony, Grassl investigates the semi-mythical claim of Germans that preceded the Jamestown settlement, one named Tyrkir mentioned in Norse Sagas, Pining and Pothorst of Danish-Portuguese lore, and mineral experts from the German Erzgebirge who may have accompanied Englishmen to Newfoundland and later North Carolina. The substance of the book is, however, the Jamestown settlement and its importance. Peppered by marshes, swamps, inlets and minor rivers, the entire Jamestown Island is today part of Colonial National Historical Park. Simulation vessels that brought the first settlers in 1607 are parked in the harbor. Importantly the presence of Dr. Fleischer arriving in May 1607 lent scientific relevance to the endeavor leaving records of botanical and medicinal plants.

In the fall of 1608 Waldi the prospector arrived with the German glassmakers creating the first production line in the forthcoming colonies. Despite early success, the glass blowers in two years succumbed to the whiles of Indians, weather and poor agricultural prospects. But the German wainscot sawyers succeeded in building European styled houses, including one for Indian Chief Powhatan. Possibly from the Schwarzwald region, the sawyers shipped planks and other lumber to England. Conflict and competition developed between John Smith and the Germans with Pohatan in Werowocomoco resulting in their demise. By 1621 the Virginia Colony had advanced beyond Jamestown because the London parent company wanted sawmills producing lumber--with the result that they turned to Germany for men with sawmill skills. However, the Germans and others in three years saw 3,000 members die due to want of housing, pestilence, lack and condition of food, not to mention an Indian massacre in March 1622.

In 1669 Johannes Lederer from Hamburg arrived with a mission to explore lands in the west, notably the Blue Ridge Mountains, his achievement memorialized by Virginia Highway marker No. 8 on U.S. Highway 17 southeast of Fredericksburg, Virginia. The author also discusses the many archaeological objects like *Rechenpfennige*, silver coins, copper sheets,

ceramics, crucibles, stoneware Rhenish glass and other objects that establish the German presence. These and the reconstructed fort and visitors' Center invite tourists and scholars to this historical site. Richly illustrated and underpinned by 150 footnotes, this opus is indispensible for an insight into the early German presence in the United States.

St. Olaf College *LaVern J. Rippley*

Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society in Nineteenth-Century America.
By Nancy Newman. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010. 315 pp. $80.00.

A comprehensive study of a small German orchestra that toured the United States in the mid-nineteenth century provides a captivating glimpse into American musical tastes and concert-going habits of the period. Nancy Newman's examination of the Germania Musical Society, whose two dozen members left Berlin during the revolutions of 1848 to concertize in America for the next six years, fills a significant void: an article in *Musical Quarterly* (vol. 39, no. 1, January 1953) appears to have been the only study of the Germania published in the twentieth century. Newman's fascinating volume is as exhaustive as it is overdue.

Roughly the first hundred pages of her book are a reconstruction of the Germania's tours and the reception of their concerts. One of her essential sources is a memoir published in 1869, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania,* by Henry Albrecht, a violist and clarinetist in the orchestra, which Newman incorporates in her own unabridged English translation. The memoir is clearly indispensible but also flowery and subjective, as in this description of a Germania performance in New York of Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "The entire Overture was played in such a characteristic and enchantingly lovely [manner], that the listener was lulled into blissful dreams imagining it to be a celestial music of the spheres. (37)" Naturally the author supplements Albrecht's omniscient accounts with abundant original programs, advertisements, and contemporary newspaper reviews. One of the earliest of these reviews, in the *New York Tribune* in 1848, confirms the orchestra's distinction but also calls attention to a fact that a twenty-first-century musician will have noticed from the outset: Mendelssohn overtures and Beethoven symphonies are programmed alongside marches and polkas that within a few decades might be considered too slender for even the

lightest of "pops" concerts.

The eclectic nature of the orchestra's programming is the subject of chapter four. Here the author broadens her scope from a detailed study of the Germania's tours to an illuminating analysis of the separation of "highbrow" and "lowbrow" enterprises, tracing the influence of the Germanians' European pedigree on American tastes and practices and of the American audience's demand for experimentation on the Germania's repertory selection and variation. For modern studies of nineteenth-century aesthetic production, the annals and reports of the Germania, ranging from the orchestra's performances of dance music in the resort hotels of Newport, Rhode Island, to their concerts in Boston, for instance, of Haydn's *Creation* or Beethoven's Ninth Symphony for two to three thousand listeners, provide a rich mine of statistics and contemporary criticism. This is probably the most intriguing chapter for readers interested in musicology and cultural studies.

Chapter five considers the influence of the conditions of *Vormärz* Berlin on the Germanians' interest in self-determination, social harmony, and a desire to leave behind the system of European patronage in favor of concertizing before audiences of a democratic republic. Appendices provide a comprehensive record of the Germania's appearances in the U.S., with dates, venues, repertoire, and biographical sketches of each of the Germanians.

With the fact of the orchestra's demise after only six seasons made clear from the beginning, the book almost reads as a novel, with the characters of the orchestra—and Jenny Lind among other famous soloists—setting out on a journey of American pioneer dimensions and the reader awaiting the circumstances of the Germanians' dissolution. The journey is short lived but has lasting influence on the great American symphony orchestras. Newman's book is of special interest to musicologists and others interested in the relationship between nineteenth-century German and U.S. history and culture.

Susquehanna University *David Steinau*

Julius Seyler and the Blackfeet: An Impressionist at Glacier National Park.

By William E. Farr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. 259 pp. $45.00.

In Contemporary Rhythm: The Art of Ernest L. Blumenschein.
By Peter H. Hassrick and Elizabeth J. Cunningham. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 399 pp. $34.95.

The studies listed above provide fascinating glimpses into the lives of two artists drawn to the American West. Born in Germany, Seyler spent the summers of 1913 and 1914 exploring the lands around Glacier National Park and depicting the Blackfeet tribe, who lived in the area and worked for the park system. A second generation German-American, Blumenschein was raised in Pittsburgh and Dayton. In his early career as a commercial illustrator, he first visited Taos in 1898. He later helped establish the Taos Society of Artists in the 1910s. From then until his death in 1960, he focused his paintings on his New Mexico surroundings and the Pueblo people. Aside from geography, the differences between Seyler and Blumenschein abound, and yet simple comparisons can be made. Both had solid German cultural roots, both loved the Native American cultures with which they had contact, and both maintained a fierce dedication to a noble and sympathetic vision of these cultures at a time when they were on the very brink of disappearance. These texts provide a readable and enjoyable account of the artists' lives while at the same time exploring the links between each man and the native cultures he captured on his canvases. Beautifully illustrated with color reproductions either text would make a wonderful addition to the shelf of scholars and amateur enthusiasts alike.

In his text on Seyler, William E. Farr utilizes a chronological method for biography. His first and last chapters account for Seyler's upbringing and his later life after returning to Germany, but the bulk of his text accounts for Seyler's time spent in the United States. From the start, Farr helps us envision Seyler as a brash but accomplished young man. After training in respected art academies in Germany, he struggled to find his own pictorial language. Over time, Seyler's oeuvre began to exhibit a loosely modernist approach with a tendency toward the painterly application and focus on color often described as Late Impressionism. In terms of subject, Seyler was first drawn to the idyllic pastoral landscapes of Brittany and the rural coast of Norway, even at a time when the European art world was dominated by styles such as Cubism that were more attuned to urban life and technology. Farr's early biographical account is brief but written with a narrative flair augmented by well-chosen passages from Seyler's personal correspondence and later interviews. In Chapters Eight and Nine, Farr provides a sympathetic account of the difficulties that Seyler faced as a German living in America during World War I as well as the trials and tribulations of the interwar period in Germany following the artist's return in 1921. A reader feels a real affinity

with Seyler and wants to learn more about how this man found himself in the rugged extremes of the American West.

As mentioned, most of the text is dedicated to the years 1913-21, during which time Seyler lived in Minnesota, Montana, and Wisconsin. In 1913, following his marriage to a young German American, Seyler found himself headed first to St. Paul, Minnesota, the home of his young bride, and then, upon the insistence of his new brother in-law, Great Northern Railroad icon Louis Hill, to the newly established Glacier National Park in Montana. It was here that Seyler would find his greatest artistic muse, the majestic and untamed landscape of the parklands and, more importantly, the Blackfeet Indians. During his visits, Seyler was initiated as an honorary member of the tribe and despite profound language and cultural barriers, would work to capture the quickly vanishing Blackfeet culture in his paintings.

Farr offers a detailed account of Seyler's time spent at Glacier and with the Blackfeet. He argues for the strength of Seyler's images despite their use of an abstracted technique that was far different from more established Western painters such as Frederic Remington. The text asserts that Seyler's images may look different and at times even present a romanticized version of the Blackfeet people or even the very idea of the West. Yet, his paintings also manage to uphold an atypical honesty that neither idealizes nor demonizes his Native-American subjects. Moreover, Seyler, as Farr rightfully claims, seems to capture not a vision of a people threatened by government control, but instead an independent, proud, vital, and vibrant culture.

Farr's skills as a historian and researcher are on full display in the text. Chapters on Seyler's time at Glacier often digress to lengthy passages about such topics as the history of the park or Blackfeet rituals and lineage. Yet, Farr always manages to weave these topics in with the artist's experiences. The one flaw, however, is Farr's attention to Seyler's images. In many passages, paintings seem to be used solely as illustrations. Simply put, these paintings deserve more attention and formal analysis. Yet, despite these minor issues, Farr's text is a valuable resource for scholars not only interested in Seyler but also those researching images of the West, Glacier National Park, and the Blackfeet.

In Contemporary Rhythm is the work of several scholars and was published to accompany an exhibition of Blumenschein's work in 2008 at the Alberquerque Museum. Peter Hassrick and Elizabeth J. Cunningham serve as the primary authors and organizers; shorter supplemental essays are included from Skip Keith Miller, Sarah E. Boehme, James Moore, and Jerry N. Smith. These shorter essays are perhaps one of the greatest strengths of the text. While brief, these tightly written analyses of paintings argue for Blumenschein as more than just a minor American painter of the era, but

rather as an artist who was highly attuned to Native American rights and culture. Miller's essay on Blumenschein's 1921 painting *Superstition*, as a representation of his beliefs on native rights to religious freedom, is especially impressive. It is a shame that these scholars are not given credit beyond their bylines; short biographies revealing each writer's expertise would certainly be a welcome addition to the text.

Hassrick and Cunningham provide the major biographical account of Blumenschein. In alternating chapters, the two authors account first for Blumenschein's early life, art training, and his career as an illustrator. Successive chapters deal with Blumenschein's work as a painter following his first temporary and eventual permanent settlement in Taos, New Mexico. The text argues for Blumenschein's importance in establishing the artist colony at Taos and its subsequent history not to mention his own quest to establish himself as a painter after years of success as an illustrator. Details regarding Blumenschein's biography are thorough and well researched. However, Cunningham's tendency to include minor or unrelated anecdotes can be distracting and might be better served in a footnote or left out altogether. And, a more lengthy treatment of Blumenschein's work as an illustrator, especially his images of Native American cultures and the West, would certainly make this text more thorough. Whether intentional or not, these commercial drawings read here as lesser or not the stuff of fine art and do not receive adequate attention or analysis. Despite these minor criticisms, like Farr's account of Seyler, Blumenschein's life was rich and the stuff of a meaty, engaging narrative. With such a personality to focus on, the reader cannot help but be charmed.

By approaching the artist's oeuvre decade by decade, the two primary authors manage to account for Blumenschein's development as a painter while at the same time addressing the way in which his chosen subjects reflect the history of Taos and the Pueblo people. While neither explicitly argues as such, it seems clear that previous treatments of Blumenschein have been unable to account for the lack of a clear progression of stylistic decisions by the artist. Instead, his approach switched back and forth between a realist or regional style and one that was more concerned with a modernist appreciation of expressive color and form. Hassrick and Cunningham uniquely and successfully argue that this seeming progression and reversion was the result of Blumenschein's own hesitant acceptance of the Modernist project. Rather than wholly aligning himself with American painters that attempted to recreate European abstraction or more conservative, academic painters, the artist instead saw himself primarily as a practitioner of exacting technique derived from his early years as an illustrator. For Blumenschein, he needed not label himself as solely belonging to either camp; all his paintings

were exercises in his own brand of formalism. The two authors also smartly include a running acknowledgement of Blumenschein's relationship with the larger American art community and his attempts to force more conservative institutions and collectors to consider the work of Modernism while also fighting for the relevance of realist painters in the wake of later widespread acceptance of abstraction and artistic experimentation in the United States.

With this in mind it is easy to see how Hassrick and Cunningham come to view Blumenschein's most figurative works as explorations of form. A painting like the artist's *The Extraordinary Affray* (1920), which depicts a naturalistic yet rhythmic scene of a tribal battle with the Sangre de Cristo Mountains rising above the tumult, might also be seen as a flattened exercise in color and form that takes on the visual appearance of the weft and warp of native textiles. The viewer's eye moves back and forth between this seeming abstraction and a careful execution of form. Blumenschein's canvases are thus difficult to label as either realist or modernist. Hassrick and Cunningham's text manages to make this point clear and insists that labels are not necessary for Blumenschein. Instead, his images can be appreciated for their complex formalism as well as their adept vision of the Pueblo people and the spirit of Taos. Thus, *In Contemporary Rhythm* proves a welcome addition to the available literature on Blumenschein as well as the painters of Taos.

Thinking of painters of the American West brings to mind the highly naturalistic and often dramatic works of the aforementioned Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, or even the sweeping panoramas of Albert Bierstadt. Seyler and Blumenschein stand out from their peers due to their ability to mesh their Native American subjects with the experimental tendencies of Modernism. These two valuable texts bring new attention to the work of these often, unfairly forgotten men who found their artistic freedom while capturing the beauty of Native American cultures.

Susquehanna University *Ashley L. Busby*

Robert Koehler's *The Strike*: The Improbable Story of an Iconic 1886 Painting of Labor Protest.
By James M. Dennis. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 235 pp. $24.00.

In his introduction, James Dennis states that "Any work of art takes on a life of its own the moment it leaves the artist's studio." Utilizing original documents and research, primarily collected by the late Lee Baxandall,

Dennis guides us through the history of a near forgotten masterwork by the German-American artist, Robert Koehler. Created as Koehler's graduation project at the Royal Academy of Art in Munich, the canvas is a large format painting (nine feet by six feet) of a group of factory workers and their leader marching on the owner's home to air their grievances. Appearing as it did, during times of great upheaval in labor relations, the painting was bound to be controversial and to arouse intense emotion on both sides of the divide. What in Koehler's life and upbringing prompted him to create such a work? Was he sympathetic to the plight of industrial workers, or was he simply trying to gain a reputation as an artist? In order to answer these questions, Dennis has carefully organized his book to explain who Robert Koehler was, the environment he was raised in, and the role of labor politics in his art.

Robert Koehler was born in Hamburg in 1850, the son of a machinist and Freethinker. His family immigrated to New York in 1854, but soon moved to Milwaukee at the urging of an acquaintance of his father, joining an already thriving German community. Here, the elder Koehler set up his machine shop. In the days following the Civil War, increased European immigration brought many more people to the United States, and advances in technology and industrialization spurred an increase in the demand for factory workers. Although Robert Koehler never worked in a factory, he said that he had grown up among working men in his father's shop, and was well acquainted with their lives. Koehler began his art training in Milwaukee, but attended the Royal Academy of Art in Munich, where he painted *The Strike* as a graduation project. His masterwork had its initial exhibition at New York's National Academy of Design in April 1886. The fact that the painting's debut more or less coincided with massive national strikes in May of that year served to cement the image in the public's mind. *The Strike* was featured in several exhibitions, including the Chicago World's fair, albeit to some indifference. In 1893 Koehler gave up a potentially good career as a portraitist in New York to assume the directorship of the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts, which was housed in the new Minneapolis Public Library, where *The Strike* was displayed for several years. However, changing tastes and a combination of anti-German, anti-labor sentiments, coinciding with the First World War, resulted in the painting's placement in storage, where it remained in obscurity for several decades. Dennis explains that, although the painting itself was forgotten, Koehler's best known work was still being seen, thanks to frequent reprints in various labor publications and art history texts. This thanks to an 1886 wood engraving of *The Strike*, first printed in *Harper's Weekly* at the time of the painting's debut.

It was a chance encounter with this image in a left-wing publication that initiated the rediscovery of *The Strike* by Lee Baxandall, a collector

and leftist art critic. He tracked down the painting and learned that it was for sale for an extremely modest price. He bought the painting and had it restored. Recognizing that the painting was arguably the most iconic image of the nineteenth-century American labor movement, Baxandall thought it important for the painting to have a home in proper surroundings. *The Strike* was on display for several years in the New York headquarters of a labor union, before it was sold to a private collector. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, two of Koehler's best-known works, *The Strike* and *The Socialist*, were purchased for permanent display by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. This would prove to be a vindication of Koehler's skills as a painter and also help to gain him an honored place among German-American artists.

Dennis, an emeritus professor of art history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, credits Lee Baxandall for the collection of most of the materials used in this book; however, Dennis' organizational skills and hard work have produced a well thought out and carefully written book. It is profusely illustrated with a wide variety of works by artists who can be shown to have had an influence on Koehler, as well as those who he influenced. The color plates show details of *The Strike*, along with several of Koehler's other better known paintings. The text is extremely well-documented, and the copious notes are a good source for further research on the artistic history of American labor movements.

William Woods University *Tom R. Schultz*

John Haberle: American Master of Illusion.
By Gertrude Grace Sill. New Britain, CT: New Britain Museum of American Art, 2010. 128 pp. $26.00.

In late June to early July of 1889 an accusation of fraud and forgery rocked the art world of Chicago when an art critic, Mr. Bartlett, refused to believe that the American dollar bills and postage stamps in a painting, *USA* (1889), in the Art Institute of Chicago were, in fact, painted by brush with oil paints and not decoupaged onto the canvas with glue and varnish. His accusations were printed in several newspapers resulting in correspondence between the director of the Institute, W.M.R. Frank, and the artist, John Haberle (1856-1933) of New Haven, Connecticut, who raced to Chicago to defend the integrity of his work. Haberle allowed an intensive investigation of his painting at the institute including microscopic study of the surface and even the removal of paint—all to reveal that every bit was indeed painted by

hand and brush.

This incident was significant in the career of the artist for several reasons. First, it brought international attention to his extraordinary talent. Second, the painting was in the style he had mastered while a student at the National Academy of Design in New York and sold for $350, a princely sum at that time. Third, his early success with this and other paintings prompted Haberle's decision to earn his bread by his brush for the rest of his life. Finally, it established Haberle in the eyes of critics, some of whom were devoted to him over the span of his career, newspapers that reported glowingly of his work, exhibitions, and sales, and, most importantly, collectors and private clients who commissioned works for impressive sums.

Haberle is considered by many today to have been the finest though perhaps least well-known of the three American *trompe l'oeil* artists, the other two being William Michael Harnett (1848-92) and John Frederick Peto (1854-1907). All three were painting in a style that was at its height of popularity during the Victorian era and that opened the door for all manner of political, social, and philosophical comment as well as wit, irony, and humor. This was evident in Haberle's earliest works, most of which depicted money, contemporary and historical, often juxtaposed with religious or philosophical images, and frequently newspaper clippings (rendered in oil, not decoupaged!) that copied directly reviews and criticisms of his own work, including the incident related above in which the term *trompe l'oeil* was misspelled in the newspaper as *trompe l'oil*, a source of humor for Haberle for many years.

For Haberle was a funny man, evident not only in his works but also in his important letter to his daughter Vera, which serves as the prologue to this book and gives us insight into the soul of a most intelligent, jocular, witty, ironic, and philosophical man who had a deep faith in a higher power, ending his letter with his own "Ten Commandments" for handling the problems of life. In describing his family origins he explains that his parents immigrated from: "places that sounded (as well as I can remember) like Baum Erlenbach, Jactskreis, Oberamtstadt, Ehrsingen, Undsoweiter, Wertenberg or Schwabenland . . . (1)." He concludes an early fantasy of revenge on his school master with, " . . . he died before I could kill him (2)." On politics and government he wrote, "if it were not for war we would have a very short world history (2)." It should come as no surprise then that this wry humor would find its way into his paintings as it did for his self-portrait, *That's me!* (1882), which is cartoonish in style though he was capable of rendering copies of photographs in oils, and into his very last and very large work, *Night* (1909), a *trompe l'oeil* with a life-sized nude in the center done in a modern sketched style similar to Picasso or Matisse framed by a stained glass window depicting

a medieval knight in armor.

Haberle owes his success to his enormous talent, of course, but also in no small part to the decision made by his parents, newly emigrated from Germany, to settle in New Haven. His father was a tailor and made his living serving the educated, well-connected clientele associated with Yale University. This is the milieu in which John Haberle grew up and began his career with a three-year apprenticeship in a prestigious lithography business, Punderson and Crisland of New Haven. He left Punderson and Crisland for what he referred to as a good-paying offer with a lithographer in Montreal as an engraver, and from the business card he designed for himself at this time, one must assume that he already thought of himself as an independent artistic and commercial designer, advertising his services in: illustrating, lithographing, drawing on wood, and instruction in drawing, painting, and sketching from nature. His bout with typhoid fever in Montreal probably prompted his return to New Haven a few years later when he began work for a Yale Professor, Othaniel Charles Marsh, the founder and curator of the Yale Peabody Museum, drawing fossils and performing other curatorial duties. He became a founding member of the New Haven Sketch Club in 1883 and began his studies at the National Academy of Design in New York in 1884. While at the academy he focused on the imitative style, never using the term *trompe l'oeil* himself to describe his work, and began the currency paintings that eventually lead to his notoriety and fame. His later work branches out into other styles and subjects partly as a result of his failing eyesight, partly as result of the changing tastes of his clients, but, it appears to me, also as a natural result of his playful nature and ironic bent.

This book is well composed and written, beautiful, fun actually to look at, and brings attention to the least well-known and perhaps most gifted of all American *trompe l'oeil* artists, which, one would hope, may bring more interpretive criticism to his work. The book belongs in the library of all American and German-American art enthusiasts, and cultural historians of New Haven and Yale.

Susquehanna University *Susan M. Schürer*

Peter Lorre: Face Maker: Constructing Stardom and Performance in Hollywood and Europe.
By Sarah Thomas. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012. 213 pp. $90.00.

The Lost One: A Life of Peter Lorre.
By Stephen D. Youngkin. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005. 613 pp. $27.95.

Shortly before his emigration from Nazi Germany to Hollywood, Peter Lorre (1904–64) reportedly sent a defiant telegram to either Joseph Goebbels or a general manager at UFA Studios boldly refusing an offer of employment: "For two murderers like Hitler and me, there's not enough room in Germany" (Youngkin 84). This anecdote illustrates the problem of disentangling the "real" Peter Lorre from the "reel" Peter Lorre, not only in terms of the allusion to his breakthrough role as the child murderer Hans Beckert in Fritz Lang's *M* (1931), but also in light of the subsequent appropriation of footage from the film into anti-Semitic propaganda. This was done for the explicit purpose of equating the diegetic fiction with the actor's Jewish background. Indeed, the already vague boundaries between person and personae were often obliterated over the course of Lorre's transnational career, from his early appearances on stage in Vienna, Breslau, Zurich, and Berlin through his exile in Vienna, Paris, London, and Hollywood, to his brief post-war return to Germany and his final performances in American radio, television, and film. The multiple versions of the anecdote, recounted differently by Lorre himself, also indicate the difficulties in establishing a coherent narrative of his life, the ambitious project of Stephen D. Youngkin's massive biography *The Lost One: A Life of Peter Lorre*.

The author's aim of "[f]inding the real Peter Lorre" admittedly turned up only "scattered remnants of a being long since extinct, one who had given us not what he wanted of himself, but what he thought we wanted" (2–3). In part, Youngkin's narrative of unfulfilled, or unfulfillable expectations aims to salvage the image of "another Peter Lorre, one whose Hollywood lifestyle gave no hint of a secret existence as hard to believe as some of his screen roles" (246). This side of Lorre emerges through detailed accounts of his struggles with fame—particularly in terms of his drug addiction, financial troubles, successive marriages, and dissatisfaction with the trajectory of his career. These hardships are documented in over 150 interviews, the majority of which the author conducted personally over the course of thirty years, and in countless archival sources. Thankfully, the recent paperback edition of the book, which was first published in 2005, corrects many of the factual errors pointed out in Christian Cargnelli's insightful 2007 review, apart from the assertion that the actor's stage name "means 'parrot' in German" (19), whereas "Lorre" is simply a common name given to pet parrots in Central Europe. In spite of persistent typos and holes in the credits and bibliography, Youngkin's comprehensive and energetic narrative offsets these shortcomings, and is almost a cultural

history of twentieth-century German-American cinema in itself.

At times, however, the search for authenticity can be somewhat misleading, as in the chapter "*M* is for Morphine" (52–88). Whether or not "Lorre's addiction undoubtedly lent him a special understanding of the sale and distribution of narcotics" must remain speculation (76). Furthermore, the very image of Lorre as "the lost one" is arguably of later vintage. It is important to remember that many details of his biography only gradually became public through studio-monitored material and that the issue of his emigration only came to the fore in later narratives—most notably, Frederick Hollander's roman á clef, *Those Torn from Earth* (1941) and Brock Brower's exposé *The Late Great Creature* (1972). Nevertheless, Youngkin's biography will long remain the standard source, though more for the sheer amount of material it contains than for the definitiveness of its narrative.

The standard views of Lorre as an incarnation of exile and the perpetual victim of typecasting are subject to massive revision in Sarah Thomas's *Peter Lorre: Face Maker*. The author's main target is "the characterization of Lorre—and, by implication, the émigré in general—as a tragic figure exploited by Hollywood and forced to play the 'outsider' in order to become the 'insider'" (8). Among the specific aspects of previous scholarship that come under fire are "the insistence that he was typecast in a series of similarly limiting roles; the reductive approach which equates his film labour with his extra-filmic persona; the need to discover the 'reality' of the émigré artist behind the 'image' of the screen monster; the belief that his performance in *M* was never bettered, only parodied; or that he allowed Hollywood to waste his considerable talents in meager supporting roles" (181). To debunk these myths, Thomas emphasizes the complexity of Lorre's career and the impossibility of reducing his numerous appearances (79 in theatre, 82 in film, 89 in television, and 142 in radio) to a single coherent type.

The first six chapters of the book, which is based on a doctoral thesis, offer close readings in roughly chronological order of selections from Lorre's extensive work on stage and screen; the last chapter covers "Alternative 'Hollywood' Media Contexts," a category that encompasses nearly all of Lorre's non-filmic and para-cinematic appearances. This separation of filmic and non-filmic sources underscores the distinction Thomas draws between Lorre's filmic roles and his "extra-filmic persona," a term used repeatedly to stress "the split between substantive screen labour and a received public image" (6). For Thomas, Lorre's career lacked internal coherence, given that multiple studios employed him under diverse types of contracts, and that only a handful of his roles actually conformed to the image of a murderer or monster. The very coherence of his identity was the result of marketing techniques and advertising strategies, part of Hollywood discourses about

the "star performer" and the "actor-in-exile," which only came to be read retrospectively as equivalent to his lived experience of migration and stardom.

Thomas's study makes two crucial revisions to the standard account of Lorre's Hollywood career—particularly in terms of his inability to find work at the beginning of his career and his victimization to typecasting at the end. Although Lorre was already under a five-year contract to Columbia Pictures when he arrived in Hollywood in 1933, he was not employed in a film for almost a year, an unusual period of inactivity for a leading male actor, usually taken as a sign that the studio was unable to place him in a suitable role. Thomas's more persuasive explanation is that Columbia was still struggling to legitimize itself through the acquisition of European talent and, consequently, "[f]or the first eight months of his contract, Lorre was effectively employed to research rather than to make films" (56). Significantly, a debut in the horror film *Mad Love* (1934) "did not lead to Lorre's 'typecasting'" (61), since he would not make another film in the genre for another five years. Surprisingly, allusions to typecasting around this time appear to correspond less to actual practices, if understood in the context of studio marketing, than to represent a deliberate strategy for making Lorre's career coherent, while also fulfilling a desire among audiences to see actors re-invent themselves (78). Likewise, the impression of a downward trajectory in Lorre's career largely disappears, if his final roles in horror and action-adventure films are understood in the context of generic conventions. Lorre's eventual emergence as a cult figure can be attributed to his ability to connect simultaneously with an older generation of fans that had grown up on his studio films in the 1930s and 40s and a younger generation that had been the target audience for his family-friendly films in the 50s (159–60).

Less convincing are Thomas's arguments about Lorre's self-reflexive or non-naturalistic performances as a mode of resistance to (Hollywood) conventions of naturalism. Although Thomas acknowledges "the difficulty in making absolute or conclusive statements about on-screen performance" (36), the evidence of Lorre's "screen labor" could benefit from closer differentiation between filmic products, which provide the bulk of material under discussion, and pro-filmic moments, including rehearsals, shooting scripts, or even multiple takes of a single scene. A good start can be found in the hesitancy over whether to attribute the agency for a gesture in *M* to Lorre or Lang (50n4). The lack of citations for films, along with the absence of a filmography, makes it difficult to identify general trends in Lorre's career, and creates some confusion about the quantification of his work. It is unclear why 79 films are attributed to Lorre (5–6) rather than the standard 82, and the count of "at least sixty-three caricatures" seems arbitrary (174). The problems inherent in accounting for Lorre's stardom either quantitatively or

qualitatively also raises questions about the perceived divide between cultural and economic approaches to star studies, and the polemical dismissal of previous scholarship (7).

Both of these contributions to scholarship on Peter Lorre should ultimately encourage more new readings of the seminal films that shaped his personae, and further illuminate the status of stardom in the Hollywood and the position of the actor in exilic cinema.

University of California, Berkeley *Erik Born*

Der "hässliche Deutsche": Kontinuität und Wandel im medialen Außendiskurs über die Deutschen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.
By Anna Stiepel. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011. 163 pp. $67. 95.

One of the many pernicious legacies the National Socialists bequeathed to the German people was the consolidation of the image of the "ugly German." Probably few can imagine the consternation evoked by the National Socialists when they emerged on the world scene and began to publicize their movement. Most contemporaries remember newsreels showing histrionic orators and gigantic parades and demonstrations. Since image-making was a fundamental element of Nazi politics from the very beginning, a narrative was generated, presenting the German people as virtuous, strong, and noble, in short, a popularized version of the Nietzschean Übermensch. The Nazis were quick to realize the efficacy of advertising and media in promoting their political projects, and as many historians have pointed out, they were uncanny in their use of dramaturgy and urban theatre. In short, they rediscovered the role of ritual in promoting their myths and ideology. What had been designed to apotheosize Germany and the German people tended, however, to produce the opposite effect upon observers watching Germany from the outside.

Anna Stiepel's study of "the ugly German" begins, as her subtitle indicates, after the Second World War, examining how other cultures have perceived and constructed Germany and Germans since that catastrophic event. It is important to remember that the negative rendition of Germans had begun many generations prior to the Second World War. The rise of Prussia on to the world stage and the unification of Germany by dint of Prussian arms added a new dimension to European politics, posing a formidable challenge, as Benneto Croce writes, to European liberalism. The newly constituted Germany under the direction of Prussia was portrayed as a frightening power

complex in the heart of Europe that threatened to tilt the balance of power and lead to a new hegemonic order. A new kind of discourse emerged depicting the Germans as authoritarian, ruthless, amoral, and bent on conquest. This was magnified by the abdication of Bismarck in 1890 and the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the throne. Kaiser Wilhelm happened to be also an ingenious image-maker, fond of pompous uniforms and ceremonies and famous for his thunderous speeches, which were often perceived abroad as terrifying tirades. In other words, image-making and negative discourse became a significant factor in the Age of Imperialism when competing nation-states were involved in conflicts over markets and territory. As it turned out, Germany also constructed an array of negative stereotypes about England and France that became an essential element in her imperial ideology. Prior to 1870, Germans were perceived in an entirely different fashion. Charles Sealsfield in his travel work Österreich, wie es ist (1828) describes Germans in the following way: "Die Deutschen sind dennoch ein Volk, das ausgedehnte Kentnisse und aufgeklärte Bildung mit unauffälliger Einfachheit und anspruchlosen Sitten vereint" (*Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft*, vol. 10, p. 21). One can add Madame De Stäel's description of a dreamy disposition, inclined to poetry and philosophical rumination, to complete the inventory of stereotypes about Germans prior to the so-called *Reichsgründung*.

The author also discusses the historical contexts shaping "das Diskursfeld" (4) of "the ugly German." Here it would be necessary to prioritize the theories offered to us. The Cold War was instrumental in molding the perceptions of Germans, Germany, Nazism, and Fascism, for it helped to establish a Manichean discourse. The important totalitarianism paradigm was applied to bifurcate East and West and socialism and capitalism and tyranny and democracy. Although the principal focal point of this new paradigm was international communism, it also sought to find other examples to incorporate into this schema. Nazism lent itself brilliantly for this purpose, and because it was thoroughly destroyed, it could be embellished with all the metaphysical attributes of evil. Nazism became the anti-Christ of our time and the German, of course, conveniently acquired many of these demonic traits. The world as a result became infinitely simpler. The Holocaust was also discovered in all of its enormity in the 1960s, as Robert Novick tells us, which added a new dimension of evil to the discourse on "the ugly German."

Thus, everything was set in place for the culture industry to market and sell and finally mold the way North Americans and Europeans thought and felt about Germans and Germany. It also created flattering dichotomies for Western countries to apotheosize their own societies. America became an ideal society in the early years of the Cold War and all its heroes could be happily juxtaposed with the Nazi and Communist villains who were maliciously

determined to destroy free societies everywhere. The interesting fact implied by the author is that both scholarly and popular discourses arrived at the same conclusion: The German was invested with a generalized, endemic flaw, which made him radically different from the victorious Western allies. Either he was innately prone to Fascism, which meant that he was authoritarian, bellicose, undemocratic, intolerant, the product of a damaged, repressive, patriarchal family structure, or as other historians and scholars have argued, he was the product of a diseased tradition extending back to Martin Luther.

The principal discourse form discussed in this work is that of film. To prove her thesis, the author charts a history of movie-making about Germany and Germans from Charley Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) to Steven Daldrey's *The Reader* (2008), encompassing seventeen films of varying genres. The author summarizes each of these films, focusing principally on plot and characterization and adding background material on the origin and intention of the work, as well as some interpretive remarks suggesting how to develop a deeper understanding of the work in question. The author's brief survey allows the reader to glean that the "ugly German" is not a monolithic construct, but is actually fraught with complexity.

The most important section of this work is what we might refer to as the assessment (*Auswertung*) of the author's findings as a result of analyzing the above-mentioned body of work, as well as several additional films. Since the main focal point of this study is discourse as characterization, the author attempts to examine the question of how the figure of the post-war German as a result of National Socialism and the Holocaust is represented in filmic culture. Here several important theses are provided. The "ugly German" is equated with the Nazi, which in turn assumes an array of variations. First, the Nazi is the incarnation of "metaphysical evil," which suggests a variety of religious or supernatural connotations. Secondly, the Nazi is represented as a "caricature" of evil, which also suggests a need to divest this image of its frightening effects. Thirdly, the Nazi is portrayed as the ordinary citizen, the *Schreibtischtäter,* the venal petty bourgeois, who is willing to compromise his moral position in exchange for self-aggrandizement.

Not surprisingly, although there is continuity and change and variation in the representation of the "ugly German," the author points to one disturbing development: National Socialism has become a lucrative component of the Hollywood film-making industry. Whether it is the concentration camps or Nazi culture or a certain perverse Nazi aesthetic, National Socialism has been discovered to be a marketable stage setting to embellish the Hollywood formula. This of course leads to the end of modesty. Everything has to be shown. All taboos have to be discarded. This refers to Auschwitz and the Holocaust and mass acts of sadism—nothing remains left to the individual

imagination or to the sanctity of the victims. The other casualty of this development, as the authors states, is understanding, since all of these modes of representation are embedded in melodrama and ultimately become kitsch.

The ultimate tragedy of discourse, as this study suggests, is that it can be manipulated and commodified. The "ugly German" has become the most established way of thinking and talking about contemporary Germany. The result is that there is not only a so-called cultural lag, but also, more importantly, a discourse lag, which means, of course, that one is talking about a reality that no longer exists or exists in peripheral ways. Thus, there is a need for a new discourse, a discourse that would represent the Federal Republic of Germany as a post-modern society with a corresponding political structure, replete with all of its strengths and weaknesses.

The structural principle underlying this work is that of economy. An enormous intellectual terrain is presented to the reader, replete with an array of themes, approaches, and theories in a very circumscribed space. This, of course, has its benefits, since it enables the reader to gain a panoramic vantage point on a very complex question. On the other hand, economy also involves setting limits and making choices, which sometimes means that too much is attempted in too little space. This leads at times to simplifications and facile arguments, which require more elaboration. Still, this is a highly useful book that will advance research not only on how we think about Germans and Germany, but also on how we configure discourse itself.

University of Turku, Finland *Jerry Schuchalter*

Capturing the German Eye: American Visual Propaganda in Occupied Germany.
By Cora Sol Goldstein. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 240 pp. $40.00.

Cora Sol Goldstein brings a refreshing new look to the history of denazification and occupation in post-World War II Germany. Concentrating on the visual aspects of the reeducation program in the American zone and sector in contrast to similar efforts in the Soviet zone and sector allowed Goldstein to realize that the cultural policy of eliminating any reminders of Nazism and introducing Germans to American-style democracy and capitalism also turned into one of the earliest battles of the Cold War. This work thus fits well with the post-Cold War boom in cultural studies of occupied Germany and American influence over reconstruction of German

economy, government, and identity.

Goldstein traces the American use of visual propaganda from confrontation through forced visits to concentration camps, to traveling photo exhibits, and documentaries that aimed to reveal Nazi war crimes, create feelings of guilt, and prove that the United States was justified in fighting World War II. Although these efforts created the images of Nazism and the Holocaust we still hold today, they failed in creating a collective guilt among Germans. Interaction between soldiers and civilians and the impulse to sell American ideals of democracy as the Cold War heated up resulted in a change of policy by 1947. Movies and the Nuremberg Trials increasingly emphasized individual guilt and categorized degrees of complicity but continued to define concentration camps as a German characteristic. More importantly, Americans now defined Communism negatively and decried the existence of a divided Germany while the Soviet Union was successfully using media to denounce Nazism, publicize the concepts of Socialist Realism, and establish a strong anti-American mindset.

Goldstein effectively places the evolution of American cultural policy in Germany in the context of domestic developments. World War II contributed to the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement and the making of antiracist movies such as *The Brotherhood of Man,* which cultural officials hoped to broadcast in Germany and thus impress upon Germans the need for more tolerance. The political shift from New Deal liberalism to Cold War conservatism, however, guided the reeducation program in a different direction. Segregationist Congressmen and military officials stopped the screening of antiracist films and instead insisted upon selling American ideals of democracy, freedom and capitalism, and upon defining Socialism as undesirable in western Germany.

Of particular interest are Goldstein's discussions of the fine arts as tools of reeducation and the history of the *Ulenspiegel* as representing the consequences of a not-well defined approach to American cultural policy in occupied Germany. American military officials were preoccupied with reconstruction and traditional forms of propaganda while cultural officers intended to use modern art to disseminate American ideology and in the process help shape a revived German national identity in line with western ideals. Consequently, individual Americans in the employment of reeducation agencies including the Office of Military Government U.S. in Germany (OMGUS) created intellectual exchange associations such as Prolog, privately supported German artists, and financed exhibits to affect their intents. The CIA eventually adopted such covert modern art approaches in its endeavors to sidestep conservative congressional restrictions.

The *Ulenspiegel* was a satirical journal published in the American sector of

Berlin. Cartoons and caricatures denounced Nazis, condemned the division of Germany, and heavily critiqued American rebuilding efforts as hypocritical. Such free expressions in the press during American occupation reflected the liberal approach of New Deal intellectuals to reeducation during 1945 and 1946. Censorship and tighter control, however, emerged with the domestic shift in political ideology. Conservative Cold War warriors, intent on selling American ideals and disseminating anti-Communist ideology, viewed the *Ulenspiegel* as subversive and aimed to control it through reduction in paper supply and thus its circulations and change in editors. The result was that publishers moved the journal to East Germany. This development reflected the general limits of American cultural policy in occupied Germany. While reeducation efforts continued for several years, adjustments to domestic political shifts and the Cold War also weakened the denazification program by allowing former Nazis who were staunchly pro-American and anti-Communist to regain status in society.

Goldstein greatly expands our understanding of post-World War II occupied Germany in the context of the emerging Cold War. She could have expanded her evaluation of British and French propaganda to better illustrate their impact on American policy, and editors could have been more effective in finding grammatical and spelling errors. Such omissions, however, do not distract from the overall quality of this well-researched and convincingly argued work.

Missouri University of Science & Technology *Petra DeWitt*

In Abwesenheit: Lyrik und Prosa.
Gert Niers. Sioux Falls: Pine Hill Press, 2009. 82 pp. $ 10.00.

The volume *In Abwesenheit* by Gert Niers is a remarkably structured collection of poems and prose of personal reflection about a major concern and process of literature present and past. The autobiographical element in his texts rests in the specific experiences of immediate postwar Germany after World War II and an ensuing immigration to America in the seventies. But these poetic reflections and articulations reach beyond the specific personal history of the poet to the ontological implications for human beings who experience the phenomenon of immigration and the process of assimilation as well as the transformation of the self into another world. The contribution of this volume presents the reader with an insight into a fundamental struggle of humanity to adjust to wrenching changes brought about by the unsettling

experiences that millions face in the course of history over time. The title of this collection, *In Abwesenheit,* points to a vital deprivation in the human condition in such situations where language plays a key role in the process of ontological reconstruction and transformation. The literary discourse is, therefore, a possibility for supporting the reconstruction of a new and functional identity in a different social space.

Within the long history of German-American literature, Niers represents a new and different generation of writers who base their work on the agonizing experience of German history of the twentieth century and how a struggle for a new identity away from Germany, in America, can be told. In contrast to an age when immigration to America was a more final decision, in the current age the experience of Germany and America often seems like a cultural commute. This is particularly true for immigrants who have chosen an academic career in the field of German Studies at an American university. To create and re-create what Heinrich Böll once called a *vertrautes Sprachgelände,* now is more of a possibility without the tragic limitations of fate. Along with those possibilities there is a rich tradition of publications in German-American literature in which Niers has participated. These are particularly present in professional (Germanistic) journals, such as *Schatzkammer* and the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* as well as anthologies like *Nachrichten aus den Staaten, Deutsche Literatur in den USA,* 1983. There is also the P.E.N.-Zentrum deutschprachiger Autoren im Ausland, where Niers is a member, which offers the opportunity for the publication of German-American literature. *In Abwesenheit* offers earlier and previously published works by Niers which indicates a process of assimilation ranging from cultural disease to acceptance and appeasement. The structure of his texts supports a balanced progression with three parts each of poetry and prose, whereby the prose sections are reflections with a poetic leaning. For the reader-observer, the concluding section of prose, *Nachgetragenes und Nachgestreutes* (75-82), suggests a kind of closure such as *Kein Grund mehr zur Flucht,* which stands in stark contrast to the early version (1976) of the poem *Ausgewandert* (48) with the lines: *Wohnhaft im Garten New Jerseys,/ doch immer noch nicht angekommen.*

As an immigrant of the second part of the twentieth century, Niers articulates traditional issues and concerns that are also part of a symptomatic struggle for a wide diversity of authors. The concern for the choice of language, place and time, the loss of *Heimat,* the ontological conundrum of the immigrant, a definition of exile and the function of memory are some of the recurring themes in the writings of authors like Czeslav Milosz (*To Begin Where I* am), Ruth Klüger (*unterwegs verloren*) and Günter Kunert (*Fremd Daheim).*

For Niers, German, his native language, is his voice of authenticity. Like Ingeborg Bachmann (*Ich mit der deutschen Sprache/ dieser Wolke um mich/die ich halte als Haus*), Niers seems to use his native language, although there is doubt in its effectiveness for the future: *Der ewige Gastarbeiter/ wärmt sich am verglimmenden/ Ton der mitgeführten Sprache* (4). In a different prose context, Niers further states: *Deutsch ist für mich nur die Sprache und die Erinnerung* (81). There is room for ambivalence here, but not inaccuracy, since the struggle for language is permanent and one wonders about the function of solace in the native language. An indicator of the ontological position taken here is the frequent choice of the metaphor of *Schilf* to describe a borderline-life between land and water, e.g., his memories in the poem *Erinnerung einer Kindheit im Ruhrgebiet* (25): *Die Füße versinken wieder /im süßlichen Geruch des Schilfs.*

In the prose-section *Entwirrungsversuche* (31-35) the mood shifts to contradiction and sarcasm to untie the inner struggle in the collision between the experience of Germany and America. Here, the immigrant lives a *schöne Schizophrenie,* a life-long game played by *Kulturvermittler, Literaturlehrer oder sonstige Infektionsträger,* a *totale(s) Amnesieprogramm* which compromises his memories, as he steps again on German soil to experience his native language, *die mir oft wie ein fauler Mundgeruch entgegenschlägt.* It reveals a destabilizing dynamic in a transitional process of change, tone and attitude. There is a broad assessment of the schizophrenic, cultural condition in a timeframe where the *Anästhesieraum* of American suburbia merges with the counter-image of a childhood in Dresden. This condition seems to be a constant in Niers' lyrical reflections as it is in the poem *Der Weggeher* (66) where he talks about being *unheilbar landesmüde,* a condition which is not bound to one country.

In the end, Niers' reflections in both, poetry and prose, pose the important questions, but do not provide general solutions to the specific ontological complexity of a loss of homeland and the creation of a new identity in a new geographical and social space. There is, however, clarity in the articulation of the struggle for the design of the self through the language of literature. The process that leads us from the experience of discomfort, in leaving the once intimate environment for a new one, is above all guided by our competence to create an ontological stability with the power of language. The loss of *Heimat,* is no longer as tragic and insurmountable as it was for Lenau for example. In an ever faster and changing world, such a loss can occur anywhere and anytime, even if we feel at home in some place. An increasingly global world is still discovering that truth and its consequences. The more appropriate question may be how we facilitate the process of separation and assimilation with whatever languages are at our disposal. Literature, as a phenomenon

of language, however, can play a decisive part in the process that helps to cope with *Abwesenheit* and *Anwesenheit*. These two ontological states of the human condition have been dictated by the language of the marketplace and political power relentlessly in our time, and it seems that Gert Niers presents an alternative by articulating humane substance in the language of literature.

The Pennsylvania State University *Manfred E. Keune*

Prairieblummen: Eng Sammlonk fu Lidder a Gedichter an onserer lëtzebûrgerdeitscher Sprôch: Virgestallt a kommentéiert vum Sandra Schmit.
By Nicolas Gonner. Mersch: Centre national de littérature, 2008. 292 pp. € 14.00.

Prairieblummen, or Prairie flowers, by Nicolas Gonner is a collection of poems, of which some could be set to music, in Luxembourgish, or as Gonner calls it in his original title, a collection of songs and poems in our Luxembourgish language. This poetry collection was originally published by Gonner, an immigrant from Luxembourg, in 1883 in Dubuque, Iowa. It is a compilation of poems by Nicolas Gonner, and two other immigrants from Luxembourg to the United States, namely Nicolas Edouard Becker and Jean-Baptiste Nau.

In her German commentary to this new edition of Gonner's work from 1883 Sandra Schmit introduces the reader to the cultural life of late nineteenth- century Luxembourgian immigrants to the Midwest of the United States. Schmit draws the reader's interest to this penned work by including two photographs of natual prairie in Wisconsin, which the reader immediately associates with the title of the compilation at hand, namely *Prairieblummen*. Schmit starts her commentary by informing the reader of Gonner's intention for publishing the original anthology and giving it the title *Prairieblummen* (Prairie flowers). Gonner wanted to collect the poems of Luxembourg Americans not only for posterity, she states, but also to acquaint a broader readership back in Luxembourg with these literary works. Schmit also highlights Gonner's original idiosyncratic orthographic style, which he explains in detail at the beginning of his poetry collection (79-82) and which was not changed for the re- edition. Schmit then gives a concise overview of the reasons for the Luxembourgian emigration to the United States and for their choice of settlements primarily in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, for land was cheaper and the climate was similar to that of Luxembourg

(16). In addition, she explains the importance of their native language, their religion, and traditions for their sense of identity and community in a new country. However, she points out, they did not isolate themselves from their surrounding American culture, but rather embraced elements of it, such as the adoption of English expressions in their daily vocabulary. Hence, some poems in *Prairieblummen* deal with this aspect of identity (17).

A comprehensive introduction of the three contributors to this compilation of poems, namely, Nicolas Gonner, Nicolas Edouard Becker, and Jean-Baptiste Nau, then provide the reader with an insight into their respective upbringings and lives in Luxembourg and the United States, as well as their family and career backgrounds. Additionally, Schmit also stresses the main themes that Gonner, Becker, and Nau write about in their poems. Their poems deal with a variety of topics ranging from memories of people and life back in Luxembourg, and pioneer life in America to social values and religion.

Pictures of Gonner's house in Iowa, his memorial, and of Becker's mother, with a copy of his obituary, Nau's birth certificate, to name a few, are examples of illustrations she includes to draw the reader's attention to this informative chapter of her commentary. Detailed remarks and explanations of Gonner's usage of orthography and his inclusion of a large glossary (Luxembourgian-German) in *Prairieblummen* follow. In addition, the influence of American-English on the three poets' choice of words in *Prairieblummen* is relayed to the reader with ample examples from various poems. The religious aspect in some poems, especially in Gonner's, is discussed in a separate section, reflecting the piousness of the author, according to Schmit. An informative depiction of *Prairieblummen* as Heimatliteratur, or literature of the homeland, underscores Gonner's interest in the language and culture of Luxembourg.

Conflicting views between Fernweh and Heimweh, or between the yearning to see distant places and home sickness, and between the old and the new homeland among the *Prairieblummen*-poets are discussed in the subsequent chapter on *Prairieblummen* as *Auswandererliteratur*, or emigrant literature, underscored by many examples from the poems.

Furthermore, Schmit gives an extensive overview of European emigrant literature in the late nineteenth-century United States to denote the significance of *Prairieblummen* as emigrant literature. She concludes her commentary on this anthology of poems with a reflection on the positive reception of *Prairieblummen* among Luxembourg-Americans and in Luxembourg itself. This and other Luxembourgian literary heritage, Schmit underlines, has not only led to a renewed interest among Luxembourg-Americans into their cultural heritage, but also has regained popularity in Luxembourg itself.

Schmit's re-edition of *Prairieblummen*, along with her insightful

commentary is a great work on the cultural and linguistic heritage of Luxembourg-Americans. It is a must-read not only for anyone interested in the cultural life of late nineteenth-century Luxembourgian immigrants to the United States, but also for people with an interest in Luxembourgish. It is definitely of interest to anyone in German dialectology, in German-American Studies, and related fields.

Washburn University *Gabi Lunte*

Songs in Sepia and Black & White.
By Norbert Krapf. Photographs by Richard Fields. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, Quarry Books, 2012. 214 pp. $ 24.00.

After *Invisible Presence* (2006) and *Bloodroot: Indiana Poems* (2008), *Songs in Sepia and Black & White* is Norbert Krapf's third poetry volume published by the Indiana University Press. Altogether, this poet laureate of his home state Indiana (2008-2010) has published more than twenty books, mostly lyrical works. In his recent poetic production, Krapf has widened his thematic focus on art (*Bildgedichte*) and music. However, the strongest recurring theme remains the encounter with space and place, including natural environment and locale, often experienced as a spiritual event or epiphany.

Shedding light on local history sets also family history into perspective. The four-part volume begins with a poem whose title is also the title of this part of the collection and of the entire book (3). The poem, accompanied by a portrait (2), commemorates the author's German-American grandfather. The second poem, "The Kaiser and the Little Girl's Tongue" (4), also facing a photo (5), is dedicated to the author's mother and makes reference to the anti-German hysteria during World War I, in particular the ban against the German language. This section features also memories of childhood and adolescence in small-town Midwest America, sometimes in the form of an anecdote like "The Beatles Cut" (36-38) or "The Barbed Wire Tattoo" (39-40). The German connection is often established by the father figure. In the author's memory, his father appears larger than life. More than the other three parts of this collection, part one can be considered a poetic gallery of German-American ancestors and the world in which they lived. Of course, there is a breath of nostalgia in both the poems and the pictures, but this collection does not attempt any filiopietistic or chauvinistic indoctrination. It rather reveals itself as an unobtrusive homage to the author's family, a poetic commentary on his social and ethnic background, that of rural Southern

Indiana. The town of Jasper, where the author grew up, has a strong German tradition, and German family names are nothing unusual.

Part two of this volume took its title from its first poem, "A Blank Piece of Paper" (49-50) which theorizes about the mission of becoming a writer. It is the section that is mainly dedicated to literature and those authors who, like Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, inspired the author of this book. Retrospection is a recurring theme. The strong autobiographic background of these poems allows the reader to take the speaking voice (the poetic ego or *das lyrische Ich*) for the voice of the author himself. Since literature is made up of words, Krapf also gives some humoristic or whimsical advice about the use and value of words, as in "Caveat Emptor" (89) and "A Word Story" (93-95).

Probably the most ambitious part of this volume is the third: "Practically with the Band." The title of this section is taken from "I'm practically with the Band" (102-4). This poem is dedicated to a folk and blue grass band from Indianapolis. The two photos which accompany the text refer to musical events in which the poet laureate participated with his writings. While Krapf's texts normally follow the style of the narrative poem which is rather common in contemporary American poetry, those poems which refer to musicians often follow a different pattern, namely repetition (like a refrain), uncomplicated syntax, and occasionally rhyme. Sometimes text samples from famous songs, easily recognizable for anybody who shares the author's enthusiasm, are woven into the poem. Reminiscent of German church music and folksongs by the Romantics, the author often works with repetition of entire verses and with a choice of unpretentious words that are easily understood and remembered. Therefore, some of these poems could serve as the lyrics for future musical compositions. Working on a synthesis of music and poetry also brought the author repeatedly on stage with musicians in the Indianapolis Artsgarden, the Athenaeum Theatre, and numerous other venues.

The musician who received the most attention in this volume is clearly Bob Dylan, followed by Woody Guthrie and his son Arlo. These famous singer-songwriters are of course known for their social commitment, and it is—at least for this reviewer—reassuring to notice that Krapf's poetry does not lose itself in a non-committal *l'art pour l'art*. Krapf pays also homage to John Lennon who engaged in more politically and socially relevant songs after the break-up of the Beatles. "The Day John Lennon Died" (131-32) offers a personal remembrance of December 8, 1980, the day John Lennon was murdered in New York City. In the last strophe the poet finds himself in agreement with the message of Lennon's famous pacifist song "Imagine." The crossover from poetry to music reminds the reader of the origin of poetry in ancient Greece where lyrical poetry was sung.

Another art form incorporated into this poetry collection is the earlier

type of the photograph. The selection of almost nostalgic photos is tied into the greater context of this volume: a tribute to the poet's home state that becomes more and more a state of mind. The geographical landscape reveals itself as the inner landscape of the poem and the poet. It is at times a small world, but one seen from a universal perspective. However, the poems which are paired with images by master photographer Richard Fields are not simple interpretations of what the other medium offers, but gain their esthetic quality and artistic independence according to their own criteria. This ekphrastic genre is known and practiced in Germany as the *Bildgedicht* and can be traced back to the author's early poetry collections.

The title of part four of this collection is also the title of the last poem of the book, "Moon of Falling Leaves" (206-7). The first verse sets the tone and gives the explanation for the rest of the poem: "I am a canoe carved of tulip poplar" (206). The leaves falling into the canoe as it drifts down the White River represent the various ethnic groups that settled in this area, their "names make the music / of this place we love" (206), definitely a celebration of tolerance and multiculturalism. This section continues with aspects of German-American history, further exploration of Indiana heritage, and more poetic portraits of family members. It also contains under the title "Eberhard Reichmann at Peter's Gate" (153) a heartfelt, yet slightly ironic tribute to the late German-American scholar from Indiana. Aware of his German roots, the author shares his thoughts while traveling through Bavaria ("Bavarian Blue," 151-52) and gives a moral reflection about good and evil, freedom and captivity in "Questions on a Wall" (155-57), written on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the removal of the Berlin Wall. There are more memories of the father, but also of the mother ("What She Liked," 185) and other family members. "Downtown Indy Freight Trains" (197-98) brings another remembrance of the old times, this one connected with a vision of the mother: local history and family history belong together.

Pursuing a tri-fold creative concept that unites poetry, art in the form of photography, and music is certainly not a light challenge. Norbert Krapf has mastered it with remarkable virtuosity and once again reinforced his reputation as the preeminent German-American poet of the English language.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey *Gert Niers*

Lorine Niedecker: A Poet's Life.
By Margot Peters. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 326 pp. $34.95.

Lorine Niedecker was an American poet of German descent. She was born on Black Hawk Island, an entirely German community, near Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, on May 12, 1903, and died on December 31, 1970, in Madison, Wisconsin. Apart from various out-of-state trips, mainly to New York and later also to Canada, she spent all her life in Wisconsin. During that time, her work received attention and appreciation only in literary circles. She maintained a lifelong, although sometimes strained friendship with New York poet Louis Zukofsky (1904-78), a leading representative of the Objectivist movement in poetic theory. Her most faithful publisher was Cid Corman (1924-2004), who also became the executor of her literary estate.

Lorine Niedecker's poetry, which only in recent years gained national recognition, is to a large extent obliged to Objectivist concepts, but also drew inspiration from Surrealism and the Haiku tradition. As so often in literary theory, the borders of Objectivism are somewhat fluid. Its main goal is precision and conciseness, a straight-to-the-point approach in poetic expression. Niedecker certainly lived up to this requirement: as a matter of fact, most of her poems are brief and sparse, not one word too much. Much of her nature poetry follows a concept of Romanticism, namely the reflection of the poetic ego or poetic voice in and through the experience of nature. That is a Romantic tradition.

Margot Peters, who has already published biographies of other women, followed Lorine Niedecker's life in strict chronological order and produced a well-researched , well-balanced description of the often difficult existence of this very private, highly gifted poet from the American Midwest. The analysis of biographical facts and personal relationships is supported by qualified interpretations of her poetry and pertinent quotations from her letters. The connections of Lorine Niedecker to the literary scene of the time, indeed her entire career as an author, are laid out with detailed knowledge and sound judgment. At the end of her investigation, the biographer also cleared up the confusion about the misspelling of the poet's family name as N*ei*decker instead of N*ie*decker (259-60). In a note at the end of her book (267-68), Margot Peters provided most valuable genealogical information of Lorine Niedecker's German-American family.

However, since Lorine Niedecker's work is also identified as poetry of place (cf. texts like "MY LIFE BY WATER" and "PAEAN TO PLACE"), one would perhaps have expected from a biography more information about the place, its history and social fabric. It seems that Lorine grew up in a German-

American enclave, but the reader learns little about the *genius loci*. Numerous individuals are identified rather thoroughly, but there is no description of a German-American ambiance. Maybe there was none left after World War One. The author makes mention (13) of the fact that Germany Street in Fort Atkinson was renamed Riverside Drive soon after the outbreak of World War One. Apart from the family names, there does not seem to be any German trace left. Or is there?

One might, of course, argue if and to what degree an author's German-American ethnic connection is relevant for a poetic œuvre that was produced exclusively in English, but in an age of multiculturalism such curiosity does not reflect any chauvinist usurpation. In any event, the biography written by Margot Peters certainly contributes to a better understanding of the poet and will most likely win Lorine Niedecker new readers.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey — *Gert Niers*

The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin.
By Christopher Klemek. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011. 315 pp. $40.00.

Christopher Klemek's book on the international urban renewal movement argues that "the urban renewal order began as an idea, or rather a clutch of ideas, swimming between fin de siècle Europe and North America" (21). He argues further that a pair of world wars served to accelerate the professionalization and communication of urban renewal advocates, creating not only the concept of new beginnings, but literally, in locales such as post-World War II London and Berlin, blank urban landscapes. The interwar and post-World War II eras also increased trans-Atlantic communication and collaboration amongst urban renewal reformers, including numerous émigrés fleeing the rise of fascism in Europe.

The author argues that it was during a transformative thirty-year period from the 1930s to the 1960s that European modernists-in-exile intersected with emerging American movements to forge the four pillars of twentieth century urban renewal in America, including: a shift in design tastes to the modernist aesthetic; the enshrinement of expert authority in the field of urbanism; a massive federal policy revolution; and urban political reform. The context, emergence, and impact of the four pillars is laid out in Part I of the book, while Klemek is careful to note the continual flow of expertise

from Europe to America and back. In their effort to promote planning for the common good, the experts leading the urban renewal movements often failed to engage in the democratic process, overlooking grassroots opinion, and setting the stage for a fierce backlash. In an overarching thesis, Klemek notes the irony, arguing, "even in the context of globalized forces and convergences, it is politics—and moreover the most local of political culture—that shapes our cities in a very material and social sense" (241).

The multitude of transatlantic connections Klemek is able to weave together go beyond the scope of a short review. However, he deftly shows the transatlantic influence of figures such as Walter Gropius, founder of the functionalist Bauhaus movement and later chair of the department of architecture at Harvard, not to mention postwar advisor to American occupation of West Germany. Likewise, he shows how Weimar projects such as Hufeisensiedlung (1925-33), Onkel Toms Hütte (1926-31), and Siemensstadt (1929-31) foreshadowed the urban renewal order on both sides of Atlantic a few decades later, while individuals such as Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut, Hugo Haring, and Hans Scharoun contributed to the functionalist recipe, organizing their ideas in the International Congresses for Modern Architecture (CIAM), an institution with further transatlantic impact.

In Part II of the book, Klemek tells the story of urban renewal's criticism and demise. Although the critiques came from a multitude of directions, ranging from freeway revolts to grassroots neighborhood uprisings, the social concerns and urban protests of American Jane Jacobs takes center stage. Klemek is careful not to identify Jacobs as the sole reason for the decline of urban renewal, but rather as a critic and harbinger of the social backlash against urban renewal that gained momentum throughout the decade of the 1960s. In the American case, grassroots critiques from the New Left were pushed over the edge by the Nixon Urbanistas who cut funding for urban planning centers, accelerating what Klemek would call the run of Liberal politics in America, 1934-68.

The sections on Jacobs also bring out the transatlantic context and connections in this richly explored book. For example, Klemek connects the impact of Jacobs' ideas upon West Germany and Toronto. His section exploring the exchange of ideas between Jacobs and West German planner Rudolf Hillebrandt, himself a student of both Gropius and Albert Speer, is fascinating. Likewise, Klemek's argument that the post-urban-renewal backlash enjoyed a "softer landing" in West Germany and Toronto is intriguing. In the case of West Germany, it was due to broader political and public support and less anticommunist paranoia. In addition, Klemek observes that planners such as Hillebrecht worked to make planning democratically responsive, while relying on the expertise of sociologists, who were "particularly attentive

to urban issues" (106). Nevertheless, even in West Germany, particularly after about 1973, or the time that a new generation came to the fore, new grassroots initiatives with broader civic opposition to urban renewal took shape, ultimately eroding the power of functionalist planning. The author notes that the *Planwerk Innenstadt*, a thirty-year plan for Berlin accepted in 1999, represented the antithesis to functionalism.

The only shortcoming of Klemek's book is also its strength, the challenge of tackling the rise and fall of a transnational movement while doing justice to the multitude of locales and personalities. A table at the end of the book, divided into the columns of transatlantic pillars of the urban renewal order, 1920-65 and the collapse of urban renewal order, 1950-80 speaks to the difficulty of the balancing act. Nevertheless, the author's study succeeds in presenting the material in a succinct and comprehensible manner that speaks to the importance of transatlantic and global communication of ideas, while underscoring the enduring nature of the local in an increasingly technical and homogenized world. The work is based on solid primary materials: interviews with key players, along with a sound analysis of technical and sociological journals and conference presentations. In addition, the book includes numerous fascinating illustrations and images. It is highly suggested for those interested in urban planning, neighborhood civic organizations, and the flow and impact of transnational ideas. Those interested in postwar German-American relations will also find the book relevant.

Winona State University *Matthew Lindaman*

"Schade, daß Beton nicht brennt. . .": Planung, Partizipation und Protest in Philadelphia und Köln 1940-1990.
By Sebastian Haumann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011. 335 pp. $93.00.

This work sets out to re-evaluate one of the presumptions of German urban politics, namely, that democratic procedures in city planning arose in Germany as a result of successful protest movements in the 1970s. Written originally as a dissertation at the Technical University in Darmstadt, a leading institution for the study of architecture and home to a cutting edge urban sociology department, this book provides a true cross-cultural comparison of archival material reconstructing the political impact of community opposition to large-scale urban projects. The author posits a cross-Atlantic connection between the example of local city groups in Philadelphia resisting large-scale urban development and the formation of groups in Cologne's Severin

Quarter to oppose top-down renewal projects. The book is evenly balanced between the two cities, providing micro histories of the protest movements in each. Following an introduction, in which the existing scholarship is reviewed and the book's central argument is cautiously presented, the book provides two chapters on each city with a trans-Atlantic conclusion. Haumann's research is impressive. That his work on Cologne would be well grounded is to be expected, but it is also clear that Haumann spent considerable time researching in Philadelphia and its universities.

The first chapters give a long history of urban planning in Philadelphia from the first mid-century efforts to restore Society Hill's historic buildings, an initiative which received municipal government support. Eventually the city expanded its interest in renovating neighborhoods to include poorer sections. Haumann gives many graphic quotes from city officials characterizing poor black neighborhoods in derogatory terms. For an American reader, it is quite striking to read about American urban conflicts and reform movements through the lens of a foreign observer. At times Haumann gives a muted description of powerful conflicts in American society, at other points his examples are potent. One could wish that Haumann would provide more interpretive analysis of the history; the diachronic account provides a sequence with implicit judgments but only very softly from afar. There is little sorting out in this history, and at the same time it is not a broad narrative that balances all groups in Philadelphia out against each other. Furthermore, the book focuses exclusively on Philadelphia; it does not provide comparisons with other major cities that also debated or constructed highways through the existing city fabric.

A particular historical irony Haumann isolates, and one that will reappear in Cologne, is how neighborhood groups opposed to the Crosstown Expressway ultimately succeeded with the support of conservatives, such as mayor Frank Rizzo, who supported preserving neighborhood identities in order to block desegregation. By reverting political decision-making power back to all neighborhood groups, and not just those immediately affected by the expressway, conservatives preserved the existing alignment of ethnic divisions between sections of the city.

Haumann clearly feels more secure on West German history. He opens the Cologne chapters with a discussion of the Westernization of city planning, not in terms of a simple and direct influence from the United States, so much as a coherent approach within West Germany to continue an already established German tradition. This leaves out the question: to what extent did the communist East Germany share similarities with West German planners? While neighborhood groups in the west may have taken solace and inspiration from American examples, the centralized plans of city governments may well

have reflected larger tendencies within Modern architecture, some of which were also common to East-Bloc-Communist planners.

If racism was the social issue that drove community groups to oppose the expressway in Philadelphia, anti-capitalism was the overarching ideology that motivated protest in Cologne's Severin Quarter. In material terms, the neo-Marxist argument coalesced around the shortage of kindergartens in the neighborhood. The local organization that arose in response to the shortage was well established when the city government began formulating plans for renovating the entire neighborhood. The city perceived the poor housing stock in the Severin Quarter as a social problem that worsened when new immigrants moved in.

Haumann focuses on racism as an overt point of political debate and organization in Philadelphia, however, his chapters on Cologne make considerably less of the troubles Turkish immigrants faced within German society. German opposition politics in the 1970s and 1980s were no doubt dominated by neo-marxist and anarchist groups, yet given the book's intense concern with democratic inclusion in urban planning, the reader is left wondering what became of the Turkish residents of the Severin Quarter. The book mentions that the neighborhood was considered undesirably poor, in part, because it had attracted immigrant workers, but they seem excluded from both the oppositional politics and the central municipalities plans, as well as much of Haumann's analysis.

The Cologne government's plans to build inexpensive new housing in the Severin Quarter took a dramatic turn when the local chocolate and candy manufacturer announced its intention to relocate their production facility outside the city, thereby closing the large factory, Stollwerck, that dominated the neighborhood. City planners saw the availability of the factory terrain as an opportunity to build new housing and were loath to include neighborhood groups in their negotiations over the site. For anti-capitalist critics, the city's approach to the newly available factory site was clear proof of high-level conspiracy. In time the fate of the factory site dominated the renewal plans for the entire neighborhood. Haumann recounts the political escalation around the factory site, the city's plans for its demolition, local efforts to build apartments within, and the eventual occupation of the building by radical groups. Ultimately, the local social democratic government chose negotiation over police action. By the end of the 1980s, Cologne had developed a democratic procedure for including local groups in major urban projects. Haumann considers the eventual formation of a planning culture in Cologne as a positive development, though he acknowledges that the successful renovation of the Severin Quarter has been characterized critically by some as gentrification.

In the last chapter, Haumann provides a few tentative conclusions about which groups felt empowered to object to centralized plans. He stresses how important it was in both cases for the opposition to formulate their own architectural alternatives and notes finally that the later deregulation of city planning and the housing market emerged largely as a result of the bitter political conflicts.

Pennsylvania State University *Daniel L. Purdy*

American Nietzsche: A History of an Icon and His Ideas.
By Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

This is an outstanding book, exceptional in its density of data, sweep of coverage, interpretative skill, and multi-leveled significance. The text covers 312 pages, a host of detailed endnotes fill 64, and an extensive bibliography comes to no less than 55 pages. The style is elegant and subtle, the interpretative stance insightful and phenomenologically disciplined, and the coverage of Nietzsche's twentieth century American interpreters who wrestled with his thought, life, and reception in the United States is varied.

On one level the book traces the trans-Atlantic migration of a German thinker's thought, that is of his passionate rejection of "foundationalism," in its triple garb: of the *epistemological* claim of truth supposedly accessible to human effort, of the *ontological* postulate of a personalistic God based on Jewish, Christian, and Islamic forms of faith; and of the absoluteness of *moral* principles insisted upon by theological and philosophical traditions of the West. It seems surprising that this revolutionary German philosopher had such a deep resonance in the American mind which, on the one hand, had been shaped by a sturdy pragmatic orientation and, on the other, by a vibrant presence of Christian denominationalism and a vigorous enlightenment tradition shaping the American political tradition into an exemplar of civil religion.

On a second level the book offers a detailed introduction to twentieth century American interpretations of Nietzsche's thought, not only by professional theologians, philosophers, biographers, article writers, and journalists, but also by so-called common people. Between Chapter Four and Five, the author inserted an "Interlude," subtitled "Devotions: The Letters" (193–217), that peruses documents largely written by "ordinary" Americans to the Nietzsche Archive now in Weimar, Germany. Often the letter writers asked for a memento or an autograph of Nietzsche after having expressed their

admiration for the writer who, they knew, spent his last years incapacitated due to a total breakdown but who had nevertheless become a hero to their minds.

On a third level the book probes how Nietzsche's writings were experienced. "I shall never forget the long night in which I read through the *Genealogy of Morals,*" the author quotes Wilbur Urban (29). She traces the numerous varied reactions to Nietzsche's works, from deeply felt enthusiasm for his liberating thought to bitter critique and rejection of his posture that some viewed as godless, immoral, and irrational. It is astonishing that also for American theologians the German thinker's texts offered significant enrichment. Perhaps a most impressive early American interpreter was the Baptist minister and University of Chicago scholar George Burman Foster whose 1906 book, written in the wake of Nietzsche's impact and titled *The Finality of the Christian Religion,* represents an early most radical but positive theological response. Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen quotes Foster's summary view: Nietzsche, he claimed emphatically, "ridiculed science as folly [science here to be understood as truth-claiming *Wissenschaft*, that is, as professional knowledge], denied every objective norm, preached the right of passion as against logic, instinct as against *Dressur*, the wilderness as against the schoolroom, heroism as against utility-morals, greatness as against philistinism, and the intoxicating poesy of life against its regulation. And in all this, barring the exaggerations of the poet, he was right fundamentally. We have cause to thank Nietzsche" (103). These are words beyond rhetorical gesture that one might not expect from a Baptist minister.

On a fourth level, *American Nietzsche* is also a lucid sketch of the unity and separateness of Europe and America as interrelated forms of Western civilization. Without essentializing either, the author identifies their connectedness through the lens of Nietzsche interpretations as, for instance, offered by French intellectuals such as Jacques Derrida in the late twentieth century. She also probes the disastrous rupture caused by two world wars and touches on the infamy of national-socialist actions that were in part justified by a wayward appropriation of Nietzsche's thought. The author's interpretative tact is throughout, but especially in relation to those issues, admirable.

Finally, the book offers longer sketches that elucidate the interpretations of Nietzsche's thought of American philosophers such as Walter Kaufmann in the chapter titled "Dionysian Enlightenment" (219–62), and Harold Bloom, Richard Rorty, and Stanley Cavell (295–303) in "Antifoundationalism on Native Grounds" (263–304). The author highlights that these scholars not only offer different views of Nietzsche but also that their understanding reflects a vibrant body of unique philosophical stances and reveals "long-

standing concerns about the conditions of American culture for intellectual life" (24).

The book opens with a theme that is touched upon throughout the study: Nietzsche was an Emersonian. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82) seems to have been the only fellow thinker who escaped Nietzsche's scornful critique and who had led him onto the path of antifoundationalism: "Emerson, with his Essays," the author quotes Nietzsche, "has been a good friend...he possesses so much skepsis, so many 'possibilities', that with him even virtue becomes spiritual" (15). In some way then Nietzsche becomes a German philosopher of Polish descent who was initiated to the antifoundational challenge by an American philosopher. Thus, the arrival of his works in the United States may be viewed, as unlikely as it may seem, as a kind of homecoming.

In the gallery of writers and interpreters presented in *American Nietzsche* there are also some surprises. Among them is Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen's sketch (81–84) of Maude D. Petre, a British Roman Catholic nun and writer, who published six widely read and appreciated articles in the *Catholic World* on Nietzsche's "Militant Life," then on his poetry, his anti-moralism, his concept of 'superman', his anti-feminism, and his anti-Christian stance. Perhaps as surprising is Margret Sanger's interpretation of Nietzsche's anti-feminism (114–16); she insisted that his claims were important nevertheless for the liberation of women and the overcoming of sexual repression.

This work then offers a captivating journey into aspects of twentieth century American and European thought as it was expressed in varied ways in response to Nietzsche. It shows also, however, how "West-centric" twentieth century philosophy, shaped by a set of dominating imperialisms, had remained. Nietzsche was heralded as a unique *global* event while in fact he was an event merely in the Christianity-shaped *Western* cultural tradition. Had not, for instance, the work attributed to Chuang Tzu, the third century BCE Chinese author, already said whatever is to be said against foundationalism, although it was presented without Nietzsche's pathos and invective, but with wry smiles and absurd inversions, at times also with laughter and sarcasm? Perhaps a book might now be due that places Nietzsche and the interpretations of his thought not only in an Atlantic but also a global setting.

Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen's *American Nietzsche* is truly an exemplary German-American study that pursues intellectual history as being rooted in personalities, historical periods, and national contexts. It offers a wealth of data with empathetic understanding, impeccable scholarship, and engaging insight.

University of Illinois at Chicago *Leo Schelbert*

The Strategic Triangle: France, Germany, and the United States in the Shaping of the New Europe.
Edited by Helga Haftendorn, Georges-Henri Soutou, Stephen Szabo, and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. Baltimore and Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. 411 pp. $25.00.

Germany Says No: The Iraq War and the Future of German Foreign and Security Policy.
By Dieter Dettke. Baltimore and Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 293 pp. $60.00

After spending the first half of the twentieth century seeking hegemony through military conquest and genocidal imperialism, Germany followed a markedly different path in the second half. Stripped of sovereignty and stained by the blood of millions of innocents, each state in divided Germany depended on the good will of its respective superpower patron in order to struggle back to international respectability. The German Democratic Republic suffered from a double burden. It spent most of its existence in the shadow of the Soviet Union, and was further undermined by the Berlin Wall, which saved it from dissolution but reinforced its image as an illegitimate state that had to imprison its own citizens. The Federal Republic of Germany, which enjoyed greater legitimacy at home and abroad, was better able to rebuild its international reputation. Most particularly, successive governments in Bonn embraced multilateralism—from the NATO alliance to the European Community— and postponed demands for reunification in favor of compromises that reduced tensions in Europe.

By being a good team player and accepting limitations on its sovereignty, the Bonn Republic made a virtue of necessity, restoring its reputation and actually increasing the possibilities that they might exercise more leadership in the future. Konrad Adenauer began the process in the 1950s and early 1960s through his policy of *Westbindung*, which combined reconciliation with France and the alliance with the United States to gain membership in the Atlantic and European communities. Then Willy Brandt completed the project in the 1970s with his *Ostpolitik*, which built on membership in the West to seek stable relations with the Soviet Union and its clients. Although both policies were controversial at first, both combined to make the Federal Republic a respected partner for its neighbors, and were part of a larger calculation that such reconciliation would make reunification possible when the time was right.

That calculation paid off for the Bonn Republic. Allied support and Soviet acquiescence were crucial for reunification in 1990. It is hard to imagine

Helmut Kohl succeeding in his efforts to get Germany's neighbors, and the international community in general, to embrace the idea of a reunified and completely sovereign Germany if his predecessors had not spent the previous four decades gradually reducing the concerns of both friends and foes. It was no small task, especially if one remembers that, even after those decades of West German good behavior, there were still flashes of suspicion about a reunified Germany, expressed publicly and privately from London to Moscow to Tel Aviv.

As Bonn gave way to the new Berlin Republic, however, Germans and Germany's partners wondered what the new Germany's role in the post-Cold-War world. Would a reunified Germany, released from multilateral shackles, lose its interest in European integration? Would the Germans abandon multilateralism and instead pursue specific national interests in Eastern Europe? Or would the new Germany accept a leading role in the institutions it had helped create? The word most often heard in these discussions has been "normal." Pundits and scholars have used that word both in the practical political sense of wondering whether reunified Germany would behave much like its neighbors and in a deeper psychological sense, wondering whether the Germans had shed the pathologies of previous generations, or whether the new opportunities presented by sovereignty would somehow trigger a return to Germany's bad expansionist and militarist habits. The last two decades have seen a flood of publications wrestling with these questions. Some have been more optimistic than others, but all have been inspired by curiosity about how Germany would handle its new situation, combing both German history and current events for clues to the future.

The good news is that Germany has not lived down to the more hysterical concerns expressed in some quarters. Germany has not abandoned European integration, nor have the Germans embarked on a new imperialist *Drang nach Osten*. If anything, the Germans have disappointed many observers for their resolute refusal to take up a leadership role in the traditional political sense. Although Germany's economic power and influence has continued to grow, Germany has remained a civilian power, far from the adventurous and militarist state of 1914 or 1939. That is a relief in some sense, but also a source of frustration, culminating in the transatlantic crisis over Iraq in 2003, when Germany joined France and Russia in opposing the Bush Administration's decision to go to war. Berlin's break with Washington, and the resulting dissonance within the Atlantic Community, prompted accusations of ingratitude and uncertainty about the future of German foreign policy.

Both of the works under consideration here, though different in scope and approach, are written in the shadow of that 2003 crisis, and each wrestles with the implications of the present for our understanding of the German

past and the possibilities for Germany's future. Both are products of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, one of the premier think tanks in this country for the study of transatlantic relations and thus an ideal venue for such analyses. The fifteen largely historical essays collected in *The Strategic Triangle* emerged from a conference held at the Center, and include contributions from leading scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The topics extend from the origins of the Federal Republic to the current international situation, and offer readable summaries of cutting edge research that can be useful to both specialists and general readers. Dieter Dettke's book is slightly different. A former adviser to Chancellor Gerhard Schröder during the 2003 crisis, his book offers some historical analysis, but is more focused on explaining and justifying Schröder's abortive attempt to outline a new foreign policy for Germany in the early years of the twenty-fist century.

Both works offer useful insights into current events, though their overall effect is quite different. *The Strategic Triangle* generally adopts the dispassionate position of a wide-ranging summary, based on the idea that Atlantic cooperation remains central for international stability. *Germany Says No* is both more critical of the Atlantic alliance and more willing to speculate about alternatives for Germany. It would not be quite fair to say that Dettke is an apologist for Schröder, but his admiration for his former boss and his antipathy for the Bush Administration are palpable. The underlying attitudes of the two works lead to the biggest contrast between them. Dettke argues that Schröder's *Nein* to Bush was "an act of courage and an assertion of newfound sovereignty" (241). Helga Haftendorn, however, concludes in the epilogue to *The Strategic Triangle* that the Iraq war "caused a threefold defeat for the Federal Republic: Berlin could not prevent the war; it risked international isolation; and to overcome this isolation, it succumbed to dependence on France" (382).

Despite their differing opinions on the immediate consequences of the 2003 crisis, however, both works also conclude that international stability depends on vibrant transatlantic partnership, and end on the hopeful note that both the United States and Germany recognize this fact. As even Dettke concludes, rejecting the notion that Europe needs to separate itself from the Americans, "there are no European values as such. There are only Western values. This sense of commonality needs to be preserved, particularly to avoid weakening democracy in the future" (242).

Many share that sense of urgency. Whether optimism about preserving that commonality is justified remains to be seen. The problem has been that neither Germany nor Europe as a whole has yet risen to the challenge of American relative decline, and the recent economic crisis has not made that any easier. All of the authors in these works recognize the need for better

coordination within Europe, and between Europe and the United States, and agree that Germany must play a central role in any successful coordination. Germans and Germany's neighbors are nevertheless still trying to figure out Germany's global role, even as diplomacy and domestic politics pull in different directions. For better or worse, that is the new normal. Anyone trying to understand how we got to where we are would be well advised to study these two works.

Foreign Policy Research Institute *Ronald J. Granieri*

The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties.
By Martin Klimke. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011. 346 pp. $24.95.

The 1960s were a turbulent and exciting decade full of changes. These changes cannot be limited to one country or even one continent, but occurred on a global stage. In this book Martin Klimke focuses on social movements in West Germany and the United States, highlighting the student protests at the root of a global uprising, as well as the influences and challenges these protests presented for Cold War alliances. Klimke focuses on two organizations, one American and one German, which by chance had the same abbreviation: SDS. The German SDS was the "Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund" and the American SDS was "Students for a Democratic Society." These two student organizations influenced each other, mainly through exchange students who developed contacts and fostered cooperation between the two SDS groups. For example, the American SDS credited German, Michael Vester, with playing an "influential role in developing an international perspective that connected the outlook of the American SDS, which was primarily shaped by domestic events" (24). Ideas also spread from the United States to Germany forged by personal contacts, the returning exchange students who had worked with the American SDS, visits from American students to Germany, and also through the main publications of the American scene.

Klimke also discusses attempts to internationalize the antiwar movement which focused on the war in Vietnam. Again, the author highlights how students in both countries drew inspiration from each other. These influences eventually led to a transatlantic antiwar alliance, which Klimke calls "the second front," and, most importantly, forced the U.S. government to react to the alliance. One group that had a significant influence on the German

student movement was the Black Power movement in the United States. The author analyses links between the Black Panthers, as they were called, to the terrorism in the Federal Republic in the 1970s (*Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF*). German student protesters were especially drawn to the Angela Davis case. Because of her membership in the Communist Party, Ronald Reagan wanted Davis banned from teaching at any university in California, where she was tried and acquitted of suspected involvement in the abduction and murder of a judge in 1970. Students formed the Angela Davis Solidarity Committee in May of 1971.

After elucidating the influence that the protests and students had on each other, Klimke explores the reaction of the American government to the "alliance." Here he focuses especially on the State Department's Inter-Agency Youth Committee, which advised the American government on confronting student and youth protests in Germany and the rest of Europe. Klimke examines the manner in which the American government developed an interest in European youth, focusing on the "Berlin problem," where many disturbances took place and students clashed with police several times (with the climax of Benno Ohnesorg being shot and killed by the police). Also in Berlin, American G.I.s stationed in the city became the target of the student protests as well as the *Amerikahäuser* that were founded after World War II to bring Germans up to date on current literature and culture.

The scholarship on the protests and changes of the 1960s in Germany and the United States is extensive, but Klimke brings the history of both countries together and highlights the many connections between student protesters on both sides of the Atlantic. His arrangement of materials and discussions is logical. Chapters are arranged by topic and then material is presented chronologically within each chapter. This means that Klimke repeats information from one chapter to another at times, but these repetitions reinforce certain connections and influences for the reader. Klimke manages to write a compelling history of the 1960s student protests that will be enjoyed by those familiar with it because he reveals so many new facts and connections between the movements. This book is also a good starting point for those new to the history of the 1960s. Klimke's new insights on the sixties stem from previously classified documents and original interviews which make this book lively and original.

University of Missouri, Kansas City *Julia Trumpold Stock*

Science and Conscience: The Life of James Franck.
By Jost Lemmerich. Translated by Ann M. Hentschel. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. 392 pp. $65.00.

Nobel Prize laureate James Franck was a German-American experimental physicist whose German-born contemporaries included fellow Nobel laureates Max Planck, Albert Einstein, and Max Born. Biographies on each of these men have appeared either in German or in English, but until Jost Lemmerich's recent work *Science and Conscience: The Life of James Franck* (2011), Ann M. Hentschel's translation of *Aufrecht im Sturm der Zeit: Der Physiker James Franck, 1882-1964* (2007), there had been no full-length text on Franck's life and work. This biography interweaves the stories of Franck's personal and professional lives with those of his contemporaries in physics, all with the greater backdrop of the historical events in Germany and, to a lesser extent, the United States and western Europe during Franck's life. The author relays the various events in a chronological order, relying on Franck's correspondences, his published works, newspaper articles, and conversations with Franck's daughter, Lisa Lisco, as well as archival material.

Lemmerich begins with Franck's youth in Hamburg, where he was born in 1882 to Rebecca and Jacob Franck. Jacob was a devout Jew and raised his son in the faith. James Franck was initially not a particularly good student, but he graduated from *Gymnasium* in 1902 and embarked on a university education at the University of Heidelberg. Initially a law student, Franck obtained his father's consent to change his course of study, and he subsequently left to attend university in Berlin. He studied under notable physicists such as Max Planck and Emil Warburg, and completed his doctoral examinations in 1906. Franck received his diploma on June 30, 1906, with a major in physics and minors in chemistry and philosophy.

After a brief stay in Frankfurt, Franck continued to work in Berlin, publishing 34 articles by 1914, the majority of which focused on the field of ionization and quantum theory. Nineteen of these articles were co-written with Gustav Hertz, with whom he would share the Nobel Prize in 1925. Franck was then awarded his *Habilitation* in 1911. During these years in Berlin, Franck married Ingrid née Josephsson and welcomed two daughters into the world. Franck served in the German forces during World War I, and while doing so continued his physics research with gases. This included testing gas masks and filter fittings for efficacy, life-threatening endeavors. His war experiences greatly affected him. As Lemmerich notes, after this, "All his actions were guided by earnestness, an impulse to help others, and a strong sense of duty" (60).

In 1921, the Franck family moved to Göttingen when Franck accepted a position at the university's Experimental Physics Institute II. There, Franck was a prolific researcher and academic advisor, known for his pleasant relationships with his subordinates and colleagues. Although there was a rising tide of anti-Semitism throughout Germany, it initially went largely unfelt in Göttingen. As the aggression against Jewish people intensified, though, Franck decided to voluntarily resign his post in 1933. After brief sojourns in Copenhagen and Germany, Franck and his wife moved to Baltimore in 1935. Franck worked as a lecturer at Johns Hopkins University, where he was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. His daughters and their husbands eventually joined them in the United States.

In the United States, Franck's research turned to the mechanisms of photosynthesis, and in 1939, he received an offer to work at the University of Chicago. Franck became a United States citizen in 1941, and in 1942 he was enlisted to act as the head of the chemistry division at the Metallurgical Laboratory working on the development of the atomic bomb. Despite this, his "Franck Report," submitted on June 11, 1945, argued against an unannounced deployment of the bomb because of the potential to spark an arms race. After World War II, Franck continued to advocate for the restriction of nuclear weapons development. Franck never returned to Germany to live, but he made frequent trips there after the war. He died on May 21, 1964, during a visit to Göttingen.

This biography provides a comprehensive and well-researched narrative of Franck, his work, and his academic and personal relationships during a tumultuous time for this German-Jewish scientist. The text contains long sections on Franck's work that may prove difficult for a lay reader to follow, but it is possible to scan them and still be left with a solid understanding of the work. There are points where the chronology could be clearer, but the scope of the biography and the focus on a lesser-known, but nonetheless worthy, subject offer a rich reading experience.

Doane College *Kristen M. Hetrick*

Houdini: Art and Magic.
Edited by Brooke Kamin Rapaport. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. 280 pp. $39.95.

This book captures the essence of a major exhibiton, *Houdini: Art and Magic,* organized by the Jewish Museum in New York. The traveling exhibit has

appeared in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Madison, Wisconsin from 29 October 2010 to 13 May 2012. It succeeds in conveying a sense of wonder by reproducing 157 color and 45 black and white illustrations. It opens with a cover peephole, a circular cutout which leads the viewer's eye into the front paper lithograph by J. Ziem, "Mysteriarch" (1915). This is followed with gorgeous full color copies of parts of his travel diary and later newspaper clippings.

The core consists of nearly 100 pages of text with four major essays, an unequal section of fifteen interviews, a chronology, and 60 pages of illustrations from Houdini's magic equipment. Brooke Kamin Rapaport's "Houdini's Transformation in Visual Culture" (2-50) provides an excellent summary of the life and times of Harry Houdini (1874-1926). She suggests that "this volume provides a new interpretation of Houdini's significance from the 1890s to the present and documents how a celebrated individual's identity evolves across generations" (xiv). This is well described in the relationship between Houdini and his father, Rabbi Mayer Samuel Weiss, and the influential German Reform Judaism of the period. From obscure beginnings in Budapest, Hungary, the Weiss family provides an implicit view of ethnic identity in the popular culture of Gilded Age America.

Alan Brinkley, Allan Nevins Professor of History at Columbia, provides the most sustained analysis in his essay, "The Immigrant World of Harry Houdini" (52-65). Brinkley clearly explicates how Houdini symbolized the immigrant's escape to the New World with his primary act of being an escape artist. Strangely enough, the role of magic in his career is not explored here. Of course, his most famous act of making an elephant disappear in front of sold out audiences at the New York Hippodrome is astonishing but the only time he used this act was in 1916. In fact, the mental world of World War I was one where the audience's hope of escapism was momentarily replaced by an even stronger wish to vanish.

In the biographical essay, "Houdini, the Rabbi's son" (66-91), Kenneth Silverman provides a wealth of detail and specifics on Houdini's personal life but has no footnotes accessible in this volume, relying instead upon two previous books. This diminishes the usefulness of the essay, and prompts the reader to wonder what the pages of the Appleton, Wisconsin *Volksfreund* would really offer the researcher interested in the German-American life of that community and its possible influences upon Houdini. The larger issues of migration to Wisconsin and its influence upon the Weiss family in the late 1870s is also ignored. But in the midst of his narrative, Silverman does explain Houdini's most overlooked hobby: book collecting. In fact, Houdini single-handedly created two comprehensive research libraries on magic and

the theatre. This is a splendid book to add to a growing shelf of materials about the world of mass entertainment.

Scott Community College *William H. Roba*

Hitler and America.
By Klaus P. Fischer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 368 pp. $29.95.

Both the book's title and stated goal are misleading because the book covers several topics beyond Hitler's relationship to America while superficially addressing its main topic. Fischer describes the goal of the book as a "reconsideration of certain crucial issues" of Hitler's attitude and behavior towards America. He wants to focus on how well Hitler was informed, his efforts to split the "unnatural alliance" (1) between the Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, and the question as to why Hitler declared war on the United States. However, the discussion of these issues is mainly limited to four of the ten chapters in the book (chapters one, six, seven, and eight). Other chapters address the general course of the Second World War, the political situation in the United States, supporters of Nazi-ideology in the United States, as well as Roosevelt's views of Germany (determined by his childhood experience in Germany). The book is organized according to the chronological development of the Hitler regime and the Second World War. As a consequence, the analysis of Hitler's view of the United States or German Anti-Americanism is spread out through the book and not always well connected with the historical context.

Fischer repeatedly introduces strong theses which he later undermines or dismisses. Early on, Fischer states that Hitler had a "split image" of America, admiring her industrial potential but looking down on her culture and military potential (10). This conclusion is presented as one of the main findings of the book but immediately weakened by the statement that Hitler's image of America was "not substantially different from what most Germans thought of America" (11). Unfortunately, Fischer does not demonstrate in detail how Hitler's views agree or disagree with the Anti-Americanism of his time. When addressing Hitler's knowledge about America, Fischer even contradicts his own analysis: on the one hand, he sets out to show that Hitler was better informed than often assumed, had a "fairly realistic understanding of American economic power" (37) and always kept track of the United States (281). On the other hand, Fischer describes Hitler's knowledge of

the United States as naive and based on questionable sources (289), and he concludes that "one misjudgment of American power followed another" (290). Nevertheless, this section of the book is one of the strongest because Fischer gives an interesting overview of Hitler's small group of advisors and his literary sources on America's culture and politics. However, Fischer could have provided more detail on the connection between Hitler's convictions and the tradition of pro- or anti-American literature; furthermore, Fischer mentions the existence of Hitler's unpublished second book that addresses America, but does not discuss this source.

Among the better parts of the book are the descriptions of Hitler's attempts to delay the entry of the United States into the war, of Hitler's supporters in the United States, as well as the description of Hitler's efforts to split the alliance of his enemies through exploring separate peace agreements. However, information on these issues is interspersed in several chapters and, thus, difficult to find (the chapter mainly dedicated to peace efforts is limited to the years 1944 and 1945).

Other questions are answered in an even less thorough way. Fischer mentions that Hitler ordered the German propaganda against America to focus on cultural aspects, not the mix of races (170-71). He does not analyze this issue further, despite the importance of race ideology for Hitler. Earlier, Fischer repeats the well-known fact that Hitler read Karl May, but leaves the reader with general statements on the appeal of heroism in May's works and Hitler's tendency to filter out information that does not fit his convictions (18). Fischer also falls short in analyzing Hitler's motives to declare war on the United States. According to Fischer, Hitler saw Roosevelt as controlled by Jews and, as a result, determined that a war with the United States was unavoidable; thus, he found it necessary to act before the United States was fully prepared for war (154). While this argument is interesting, Fischer provides no background on Hitler's belief that Jews controlled Roosevelt (except in one footnote).

For those who are familiar with scholarship on Hitler and/or Anti-Americanism, Fischer's book does not offer much new and it remains superficial regarding most aspects of Hitler's thinking on America. For those just looking for a very condensed description of the Second World War with focus on the relationship between Germany and the United States, the book offers a well-written solution.

Lebanon Valley College *Jörg Meindl*

Accident of Fate: A Personal Account 1938-1945.
By Imre Rochlitz. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2011. 223 pp. $29.95.

My Germany: A Jewish Writer Returns to the World His Parents Escaped.
By Lev Raphael. Madison: Terrace Books, 2011. 224 pp. $19.95.

As the generation of Holocaust survivors dwindles, the literature of their memories is also coming to a halt. Into the vacuum, however, memories of the second generation – the children of these survivors – are moving. The two works under consideration here represent each of these genres: one a survivor memoir, the other a coming-of-age autobiography by the child of survivors. The first narrative ends with the narrator's emigration to the United States; the second begins with the life of recently arrived survivors in the US and continues through the first decade of the twenty-first century. Even in a field already crowded with autobiographical documentation, both works contribute to Americans' understanding of the Holocaust and to Germanists' understanding of the continuing *Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit.* Rochlitz provides a Jewish refugee's perspective on daily life among various factions and in various regions of war-torn Yugoslavia. Raphael addresses the fraught, unresolved relationship of many American Jews even today with Hitler's legacy in the Berlin Republic.

Imre Rochlitz's book might more aptly bear the title *Accidents of Fate,* as it recounts numerous brushes with death, all of which emphasize the arbitrariness of survival, specifically " the immense power of the random individual to tip the balance of fate from death to life." Rochlitz observes that in many cases, "...no courage or particular conviction was required; the basic propensity to behave decently was enough" (xi). His account shares other motifs from works of this genre: dispersal and ultimate destruction of families, terror, flight into unknown territory, lack of information, and the unremitting struggle for survival. Rochlitz captures vividly the rich warmth of his Viennese Jewish family, in which kind uncles and aunts tried to fill the void left by the death of his Hungarian father when the narrator was three and his brother Max only six. He crafts an energetic narrative, ending each chapter with a "cliff-hanger" sentence.

Culturally but not religiously identifying with Judaism, the family members were fiercely patriotic Austrians, many of whom emigrated to Yugoslavia to join an uncle established in business there. An Uncle Ferdinand's bravery during World War I, documented in a report that he submitted to the Austrian War Archives in 1937, effected the unexpected release of Imre and two other relatives from the notorious Jasenovac death camp after three weeks

of incarceration in the winter of 1942. American readers will appreciate the book's illumination of the complex Yugoslav political landscape as battleground between the Allied and the Axis powers, and among the different ethnic groups. The young Rochlitz himself, fighting with the Yugoslav partisans and struggling to negotiate anti-Semitic, anti-German, and anti-Hungarian (since at that point the Hungarians were allied with the Germans) sentiment, claimed to be a Slovene, a group "not particularly hated by either the Serbs or the Croats, who were busy hating each other" (141), and changed his name to Mirko Rohlic. His mastery of Serbo-Croatian, facilitated by a maid in his uncle's household in Zagreb, greatly helped his various changes of identity throughout the war years.

Rochlitz depicts the Yugoslav partisans as a courageous but obdurately dogmatic group who lacked sympathy for Jewish refugees during the war and meted out ideologically driven judgments and summary executions in the immediate postwar era. His own affections, shared by many family members, focused on the United States and the Americans, who, like the British, disappointed them time and again with an official lack of interest in aiding refugees, whether in pre-war Vienna or in war-torn Yugoslavia. Despite America's political failings, the land of limitless opportunity courses its way through the narrative as the ultimate goal of all refugees; the downed American airmen whom the narrator occasionally encounters in the mountains appear as "supermen, . . . charmed beings from another planet" (122). The Italians emerge as the book's most positive group.

The middle section details Imre's ultimately successful attempts with an aunt and four uncles to reach Italian-occupied Yugoslavia along the Dalmatian coast. Under increasing pressure by their German allies, the Italians rounded up these Jews into a concentration camp at Kraljevica and treated them with decency and humanity. Rochlitz writes, "The Italians continually sought to improve our living conditions. They provided us with medicines, blankets, kitchen utensils, and even pieces of military clothing" (106). Offered a chance to escape safely, the narrator declined, not knowing where he would head and fearing falling into the hands of the Nazis or the viciously fascist Ustashe. When the camp was dissolved, the refugees were trucked to the island of Rab in the Adriatic, where some managed to flee to by boat to Bari in southern Italy and others, like Imre and his relatives, were evacuated to the mainland and hidden in the mountains by partisans.

The affectionate sketches of his relatives pale beside the narrator's self-portrait as an intelligent, curious, brash, and remarkably resourceful youth. Even while acknowledging the many "accidents of fate" driving his survival, the reader marvels at his sheer gutsiness. As the Germans slowly closed in on their isolated Yugoslav village, Imre's relatives continued to place trust in their

documents from the Austrian general whose intervention had freed them from Jasenovac. The nineteen-year old, however, insisted on fleeing through the snowy mountains to join the partisan forces. Only when he grabbed his rucksack and headed for the door did two uncles, reluctantly shouldering responsibility for their nephew's safety, follow him. His other two uncles and aunt were immediately shot by an SS commando when it entered the village a short time later, but the two uncles who had fled with Imre survived the war.

Rochlitz intersperses his taught, lively narrative with both textual and visual documentary material set off in italics. Here too he interjects his own later discoveries or encounters with characters from the main story. The documents come from both private and general archival sources, all of which are cited in the acknowledgements at the end. The book also includes a helpful glossary of names and places, an index, a short bibliography of works in English for the general reader, and a list of the some sixty Allied airmen and POWs whom the young Imre encountered during the war in Yugoslavia. Reaching the final page, the reader hopes that the writer will fulfill his final promise to write about his later life and career after coming to the US, graduating from university and law school, marrying, and having four children.

This is the point at which Lev Raphael begins his own story, growing up as the son of Eastern European Yiddish-speaking Jewish refugees on the border between Harlem and Washington Heights in Manhattan among older, more established German Jews, in his words "people in a marginal neighborhood" (88). Some aspects of his story echo experiences of other disappointed immigrants to the Land of Limitless Possibility. His parents, after five years of contented and professionally satisfying life in postwar Belgium, came to the US mainly to put more distance between themselves and Germany. They had rejected Israel, his mother quipping, "Jews? I had enough of them in the ghetto and the camps!" (85). But the better life in New York promised by a relative failed to materialize, and the family lived as bitter and isolated lower-middle class misfits. Thus the author grew up under the shadow of multiple betrayals: "Betrayal was our family's leitmotif," he writes (87).

Some motifs of this narrative recall Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, to which he alludes briefly (96). The conversations with the father—stilted and reticent after the mother's death—the ubiquitous ghosts of lost family members, the ambivalent and fraught relationship to Judaism, the tentative assimilation into American society are familiar to Spiegelman's readers. But Raphael's book, even more than Spiegelman's, focuses on the second generation's troubled search for identity against a backdrop of uncertain, sometimes conflicting family stories shaped by profound trauma.

The porousness of memory and the fluidity of narrative perspective

are major themes of this work. Very early in the memoir, the narrator characterizes second-generation Holocaust survivors' knowledge about the war as "fragmented, based on our parents' recollections, their silences, their unexpressed feelings, and our own fantasies or suppositions" (22). Occasionally he reports an experience that he has heard from his mother, only to have both his father and his brother tell very different versions. His mother disparages some other survivors' published memoirs, claiming "that people had painted themselves as far more heroic than they'd actually been" (27). Although he cites historians like Saul Friedlander or Lucy Davidowicz, the creative writer does not share the attorney Rochlitz's preoccupation with precise documentation. Instead, he describes a more intimate personal struggle, that of a young American finding his way amidst a jumble of competing social, ethnic, religious, and political forces.

Space does not permit a detailed unraveling of Rafael's torturous journey as an alienated, lonely immigrant child, an *Ostjude* in a New York neighborhood of *Yekkehs*, a closeted gay male, a secular Jew tormented by spiritual questions, and a writer struggling to earn a livelihood. The memoir's title, however, announces the major direction of the book, what sets it apart from many other second-generation memoirs, i.e., the writer's eventual confrontation with a world that for him and his family has occupied a discrete ontological category as the arch-diabolical, Germans as "an unchanging, simmering, evil people" (131). The narrator prepares the reader for this confrontation by recounting in the first half of the book the most gruesome instances of sadism perpetrated by the Nazis on their victims, some witnessed by his parents, others gleaned from other sources. Germany defines the borders of their lives, "the way that old maps supposedly used to warn in the margins, 'Here be Dragons'" (41); to him all of Europe appears "a slaughterhouse as much as a continent" (67). Lev ("Lewis" until his mid-twenties) grows up with an animosity to everything German, joking even about dachshunds, although his family—ironically—owns a German shepherd. Even the boy scouts are off-limits because of their supposed resemblance to the Hitlerjugend.

A crack in this phobia begins when, as a 24-year old graduate student, he encounters his first German, a fellow graduate student in his dorm. Rafael wryly equates his reaction to "Eberhard" with the response of some nineteenth-century Americans meeting a Jew for the first time and wondering where the horns are. His remark, " . . . I could not get over how unremarkable and innocuous this guy was" (52), would strike contemporary readers as naïve had he not belabored the demonization of Germans defining his life until then. But before and then during his own encounter with modern Germany, he must work through other stages of self-discovery, which include a love affair with a gentile woman from New Zealand, a phase of Orthodox Judaism,

a stay in Israel, study at three universities (as an undergraduate he chooses Fordham in an attempt to distance himself from his Jewish background), the discovery of a married father of two as his ultimate life partner, his coming out to his parents, his mother's slow death from dementia, and the halting building of closer ties to his father.

Before visiting the country, the narrator admits, "I never really saw Germany as separate from my parents' experience, a modern nation charting a new course. I saw it through the lens of my parents' suffering—that is, when I *did* see it" (131). When trying to retrace some of his mother's immediate postwar biography he discovers distant relatives in Germany who invite him for a brief visit. The book's final third, relating the American Jewish writer's gradual rapprochement to the country where so many of his relatives had lost their lives, would seem naïve and touristic were it not for the preamble of trauma and fear. After the initial ice-breaking trip, subsequent book tours introduce him to a well-functioning democracy, where educated, respectful readers pose probing questions. For Raphael, as for others, travel abroad consolidates his own national identity and helps him balance his sense of Europeanness with that of Americanness. He admits to finding Germany sometimes even "fun" (152), commenting on one evening after reading in a gay bookshop, "I had had a blast" (177). Readers acquainted with contemporary Germany will marvel at Raphael's reaction to the modern state that succeeded Hitler's Reich. He moderates his enthusiasm by acknowledging social tensions and incidents of *Fremdenhaß* and skinhead violence, by mentioning controversies over Holocaust memorials, and by admitting the difficulty of evaluating whether or not Germany is a "normal" country again (204).

In the Epilogue Raphael emphasizes the extent of his personal growth as a second-generation Holocaust survivor. He portrays audience hostility to a 2006 talk at a "prestigious Jewish cultural center on the East Coast" (197), where his account of visiting Germany as a wonderful, healing experience proved tantamount to shouting "Fire" in a crowded movie theater (199). The room of "angry, damaged people who were furious at [him] . . . for having abandoned the hatred and fear that they still clung to" (202) confirmed his own sense of relief at "having let go of so much" (202). While the story of his own trauma and healing is persuasive, the book leaves many questions open, particularly the juggling of Jewish and gay identities, and the unresolved family tensions arising in part from these multiple identities. His concluding sentences tantalize the reader with his father's unexpected request that he try to research a German officer who had unexpectedly spared his life after discovering that the two shared a common first name: "I'm almost speechless, and I'm not even sure how to begin the search my father wants me to undertake. But it's clear my journey isn't over" (222). Rafael appends

a section of "Works Consulted" but no index. His photos are fewer than Rochlitz's, and almost all pertain directly to his parents.

Despite the grim subject matter, both books display an engaging style that will speak to a broad readership. Rochlitz's book provides more specific historical information, while Rafael's gives insight into the lasting psychological trauma of the Holocaust among American Jews and the high costs of healing from this pain. Rafael's writing also reflects the persistence of stereotypes about Germany among many Americans, stuck in the German = Nazi cliché. More translations of memoirs and fictional works by offspring of Nazi perpetrators and bystanders (for example Wibke Bruhns, Uwe Timm, Monika Jetter, and Tanja Dückers, to name only a few) would illuminate the struggles of the other "second generation" with their legacy of memory. This deficiency in the American publishing marketplace makes Raphael's book all the more resonant.

Franklin & Marshall College *Cecile Cazort Zorach*

The Mauthausen Trial: American Military Justice in Germany.
By Tomaz Jardim. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012. 276 pp. $45.00.

The trial of 61 Nazi perpetrators of crimes against inmates of the Mauthausen concentration camp has never received the attention that it deserves. It has been routinely upstaged by the trial of more high-profile Nazis at Nuremberg. A lack of available sources on this trial is also responsible for this oversight; major trial records were not released until many years after proceedings were concluded, and many documents, for reasons unknown, were not de-classified until the early 1990s. Tomaz Jardim has culled these sources, along with interviews of trial participants, into an absorbing and superbly written narrative emphasizing the importance of the Mauthausen trial in the overall history of Nazi war crimes. His account not only sheds light on the trial of Nazis responsible for crimes committed against the inmates of the Mauthausen concentration camp, but also is the first major work to make the trials against these perpetrators its central theme.

While not as infamous as its many of its counterparts, the concentration camp at Mauthausen played a critical role in the Nazi system of incarceration and terror, as it was the key site of the deadly Nazi program known as "extermination through work." Yet despite its importance, American authorities didn't dedicate adequate resources to the prosecution, which

had to scramble to find translators, interrogators, and other key personnel to assist in the gathering of evidence. In many cases, former inmates were called to serve in these roles because no one else was available. Those who would have been perhaps best suited to the task of gathering evidence for the prosecution—German-speaking soldiers or former German emigres serving in the army—were instead dispatched by U.S. officials to assist Nuremberg prosecutors. This lack of support, along with the psychological impact of the evidence presented at trial—took their toll on chief prosecutor William Denson. As proceedings drew to a close, he had lost 43 pounds, and had to be treated for exhaustion. Jardim argues that regardless of the lack of support, this trial not only achieved its objectives but was also perhaps more significant than the Nuremberg trials because the former "remains indicative of the most common . . . approach to war crimes prosecution historically taken by the U.S." If this is the case, then the Mauthausen trials represented an exception to the rule: whereas judges at Nuremberg meted out death sentences to 11 top Nazis, 48 men were sentenced to death as result of the Mauthausen trials. The death sentences were carried out on the 27th and 28th of May 1947. These two days, as Jardim points out, witnessed "the largest number of executions stemming from a single trial in American history" (186).

Another important distinction between the Nuremberg and Mauthausen trials involves the evidence used by the prosecution. Whereas the Nuremberg prosecutors relied on documentary evidence to build their cases, the Mauthausen trial prosecution relied more heavily upon survivor testimonials. Jardim regards these accounts as a useful if not key prosecutorial tool, as they allowed the court to "fully grasp the depth of criminality within the camp system." The active participation of survivors in the trial proceedings also provided them with means by which they could obtain a sense of personal justice for crimes committed against them. Jardim argues that the utility of survivor testimonials is as valid today as it was back in the 1940s, providing a means by which the legal process "can empower victims of mass violence" (213).

Unfortunately, what the two trials had in common was the fact that those sentenced to life in prison ultimately benefitted from "the softening of American resolve against former enemies" as the Soviet threat became more prominent in the years immediately after the war (200). By the 1950's, most defendants of the Nuremberg and Mauthausen trials sentenced to life in prison had been freed. The relaxation of attitude towards Nazi criminals no doubt fuelled the desire of former Mauthausen inmate Simon Wiesenthal, who had assisted in prosecution of Mauthausen defendants, to become one of the premier Nazi hunters of the postwar era. In the end, however, Jardim's impressive account of the Mauthausen trial invites historians to shift their

persistent gaze from top Nazis to accounts of lesser known perpetrators, and once again emphasizes the importance of uncovering crimes committed by "ordinary men" during the Nazi era.

Florida Atlantic University *Patricia Kollander*

Inherited Wealth.
By Jens Beckert. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Princeton University Press, 2007. 384 pp. $47.95.

In this well-informed study, which explores the developments of inheritance law in Germany, France, and the United States since the late eighteenth century, Jans Beckert provides both a comparative and historical perspective to a longstanding sociological discussion on the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next. While other scholars have pointed to increased individualization in modernizing societies, Beckert convincingly argues that the development of inheritance laws in each of the three countries has reflected important economic, governmental, social, and cultural differences.

Beckert bases his selection of France, Germany, and the United States on perceived and relative similarities. According to him, each of these societies was thrust into the development of modern Western capitalism in similar ways and confronted similar structural problems; therefore, it is reasonable to expect their inheritance laws might have developed in parallel ways. Beckert's findings are based on a careful synthesis of thirty-six key parliamentary debates in the three different countries. Most importantly, in addition to his analysis of the actual development of inheritance laws, Beckert places particular emphasis on the discourse in debates surrounding those laws that, according to him, lay the foundation for the process by which inheritance laws became institutionalized.

Beckert structures his work both thematically and chronologically around four central controversies involving inheritance law throughout the past two centuries: the freedom to dispose of one's property as one wishes, the rights of family members to the wealth bequeathed, the dissolution of entails, and inheritance taxation. Each of these controversies, which represent crucial legal and political debates, makes up one of the four main chapters of the book, which are then further subdivided by three sections dedicated to a specific analysis of each of the three countries. While the time frame examined stretches over the last two hundred years, the core of the book focuses heavily

on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Following a valuable introductory chapter, Beckert's second chapter examines the controversy of testamentary freedom or the freedom to dispose of one's property as one wishes. Here, he rejects earlier arguments that the handling of the transfer of property can be seen as a process driven by increased individualization. Instead, his use of the comparative method reveals that the process involves controversial debates on how to balance individual rights of the testator with the claims of both the family and society. The following chapter, which examines conflicts surrounding the rights of inheritance of family members, supports this claim even further. Here, he reminds us that inheritance practices cannot be classified as purely individual decisions alone but are instead regulated by a variety of social norms such as those that bind the testator to his family.

Beckert's fourth chapter examines entails, which provide that the testator not only be able to determine the heir, but also able to determine to whom the wealth must be bequeathed after the death of that heir. Often associated with aristocracy, entails provided a way in which the testator could control the use of his property across many generations. Here, he argues that entails and the timing of their abolition can be explained only in close connection with changes in political structures of each society. For this reason, entails specifically came under pressure beginning in the eighteenth century because, as Beckert demonstrates, they represented a way to organize private property that was economically incompatible with the development of modern capitalism and notions of equality. Finally, the fifth and longest chapter examines the role of the state as heir. Here, he carefully examines how inheritance taxation developed in Germany, France, and the United States, how each society dealt with the dilemma of inheritance as a cause of social inequality, and how one may explain the differences in taxation laws that came to exist in the three different societies. By placing the development of inheritance law in a larger cultural context, Beckert successfully concludes that while the United States, France, and Germany have all defended inheritance rights based on notions of individual property, because of culturally specific understandings, they have each come to justify the limitations set by inheritance laws in profoundly different ways.

While Beckert's use of the comparative method is effective in reaching these conclusions, future studies might go further to move beyond the analytical limitations of traditional comparison which artificially separates objects of study showcasing differences and neglecting mutual developments and interconnectedness of societies. Despite this, after reading this extensively

researched, comprehensive study, one is left with little doubt that it will make a lasting contribution to both sociological and historical scholarship.

University of Texas at Arlington *Nicole Léopoldie*

Georg Luther: Eine Salzunger Geschichte.
By Karl Döbling. Jena: Verlag Neue Literatur, 2011. 307 pp. Euro 18,90.

Das Buch empfiehlt sich bereits durch die attraktive Aufmachung mit der Abbildung des 1852 für Cornelius Vanderbilt gebauten Dampfschiffes „North Star," das eine angenehmere Überfahrt verspricht, als die Passagiere des Zwischendecks in Wirklichkeit erlebten.

Obwohl der Leser am Anfang den Eindruck haben könnte, es handele sich um die übliche, erfundene Auswanderergeschichte, so wird er bald durch die Familienfotos der Hauptpersonen eines Besseren belehrt. Bedauerlich nur, dass so wenig über die Entstehungsgeschichte des Buches angegeben ist, da Nachforschungen ergaben, dass es sich um Ereignisse in der Familiengeschichte des Verfassers handelt, die dieser aufgrund von ihm überlassenen Briefen erforscht und dargestellt hat. Einzelne Begegnungen sind sicherlich erfunden; es entsteht jedoch ein sehr spannendes und auf angenehme Weise belehrendes Buch, in dem viele Themen angesprochen werden, die zu weiterem Lesen anregen und Leser mit dem Einfluss deutscher Einwanderer auf Amerika bekanntmachen.

Thüringen—das "Grüne Herz Deutschlands" ist die Heimat von Georg Luther, einem entfernten Verwandten des Reformators—so wird zumindest angenommen. Der erste Teil der Lebensgeschichte des Georg Luther spielt in Bad Salzungen, der zweite an mehreren Orten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.

Die Beschreibung der Kindheit und Jugend von Georg Luther (1838-58) im Herzogtum Sachsen-Meiningen, beginnt mit dem Jahr 1844 und wird umrahmt von den historischen Gegebenheiten der Zeit: der Enge des kleinen Städtchens, das immerhin 1841 Solebad wurde, die begrenzten beruflichen und sozialen Möglichkeiten, Hungersnöte durch schlechte Ernten; erwähnt werden die Aufstände in den Weberdörfern Schlesiens ebenso wie die strengen Regeln unter denen alle Bürger leben und leiden.

Geschickt wird der junge Georg als ein aufmerksamer Zuhörer beschrieben, der von den Gesprächen lernt. So wie im ganzen Lande, gärt es

auch im Herzogtum, obwohl "der Herzog beliebt ist, das Land eine liberale Verfassung hat und die Tore zur neuen Welt offen stehen (25)." Es wird überhaupt viel über Amerika gerätselt, gesprochen und man merkt sich, wo Salzunger angesiedelt sind, falls man ihre Gastlichkeit einmal selbst benötigt. Das Jahr 1848 wird besonders intensiv behandelt, da auch Salzungen nicht von den Auswirkungen der Revolution verschont bleibt.

Der Stiefvater hat mit der Heirat die Schmiede des Vaters übernommen und auch Georg macht eine Ausbildung als Schmied. Die üblichen Wanderjahre kann er nicht mehr wahrnehmen, da er durch die unverhoffte Einziehung zum Militär seinen Plan, nach Amerika auszuwandern, Hals über Kopf in die Tat umsetzen muss. Es folgen eine aufregende Flossfahrt auf der Werra und die Schiffsreise nach New York.

In New York wird Georg von Salzunger Bekannten und Verwandten freundlich empfangen, macht dann bald seine erste Fahrt mit der Eisenbahn durch die Staaten Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois bis nach Wisconsin. Da Georg des öfteren seine Pläne ändert, lernt er—und der Leser—bei den vielen Ortswechseln Land, Landsleute und Amerika kennen.

Die Jahre nach der gescheiterten deutschen Revolution von 1848 und die Jahre vor dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg 1861 sind in beiden Ländern politisch höchst unerfreulich. Viele Deutsche werden zur Auswanderung nach Amerika gezwungen. Georg macht die Bekanntschaft Betroffener oder hört zumindest von ihnen, wie Friedrich Heckel, Gustav Struve, den berühmten Carl Schurz, den Georg Luther durchaus in Wisconsin oder St. Louis bei Wahlveranstaltungen für die wichtige Präsidentschaftswahl 1860 kennengelernt haben könnte und er trifft John Röbling, den bekannten Erbauer der Brooklyn Bridge, einer Hängebrücke in New York.

Er besucht eine Plantage in den Südstaaten, auf der Sklaven gehalten werden, erlebt eine Dampferfahrt auf dem Mississippi und lernt dort Pierre de Longueville, den Nachkommen einer französisch-kanadischen Familie kennen. Die für die Familie Longueville benutzte Bezeichnung "Cajun" anstatt "Acadian" dürfte ein Versehen sein, da das Wort "Cajun" erst einige Jahre später gebräuchlich wurde. Erwähnt wird die fast tödliche Erkrankung mit dem Gelbfieber, das in New Orleans vielen das Leben kostete. Georg begegnet deutschen Immigranten in St. Louis im "Turnverein," verpflichtet sich im Freiwilligen Regiment unter Franz Sigel und kämpft schliesslich im 5. Regiment der US-Armee erst gegen die Indianer und dann in der Armee von General Grant, wodurch er an der Belagerung im südstaatlichen Vicksburg teilnimmt.

Man wünscht dem Buch viele, besonders jüngere Leser und Leser, die

sich mit dem Thema der deutschen Auswanderung nach Amerika vertraut machen möchten.

Covington, Louisiana *Brigitta L. Malm*

Transatlantic Echoes: Alexander von Humboldt in World Literature and Cosmos and Colonialism: Alexander von Humboldt in Cultural Criticism.
Edited by Rex Clark and Oliver Lubrich. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012. Vol. 1. 465 pp. Vol. 2. 357 pp. $120.00.

Rex Clark and Oliver Lubrich have assembled 150 individual contributions in two volumes about Alexander von Humboldt over a period of about 200 years. In the first volume the editors drew one hundred texts about Humboldt from a broad range of literary genres: poetry, drama, novels, novellas, letters, essays, newspapers articles, scholarly papers, film scripts, comic books, and works of non-fiction. Forty-eight of them came from authors of the German language, twenty-two from English-speaking authors, nineteen from Latin-American writers, eight from French, and three from Scandinavian languages, authors such as Goethe, Byron, Bolívar, Darwin, Emerson, Thoreau, Balzac, Poe, Heine, Church, Whitman, Verne, Strindberg, Huxley, Pound, Neruda, Márquez, Enzensberger, etc. The second volume of fifty texts (in approximately the same ratio of original languages) were selected on a different basis. In this case the focus is on critical interpretation, reflecting diverse views on Humboldt's historical significance, his contributions in scientific, intellectual, social and cultural interpretation. In this volume the texts often have the character of essays. The list of authors includes, for example, Agassiz, Burckhardt, Heinzen, Nietzsche, da Cunha, Sucre, Ortiz, Kisch, Lima, Honecker, Blumenberg, Pratt, and Müller. In the first volume the texts are often shorter; whereas the second volume generally explores issues in greater detail. In both volumes Clark and Lubrich, who explain the basis for their choice of authors and texts in the introductions, stress the common basis, the fact that the reader has the benefit of the most significant and representative examples in the history of Humboldt's reception.

There is no doubt that these volumes combine the most comprehensive collection of texts for the colorful and shifting history of Humboldt's fame. The cursory glance over the names appears to contradict the perception that Humboldt's influence lost its magic by the second half of the nineteenth century. There is evidence here that even today Humboldt's impact is felt in

Europe just as much as in North and South America.

It would not be fair to judge these two books in the strict tradition of reception studies. Nicolaas A. Rupke's recent metabiography of Humboldt is an attempt to reconstruct the phases of Humboldt reception in Germany during the last two hundred years and succeeds in identifying six different "Humboldts" in the process. In each period Humboldt was "aggressively recreated to suit contemporaneous needs." For this kind of meticulous investigation the widely dispersed texts that Clark and Lubrich selected are not appropriate. For that kind of reception history each selected text would have to have its own introduction, context, and analysis. The clear transitions from one text to another would have to be evident. For example, the reception in the United States would have to begin with Humboldt's visit in Philadelphia and Washington and Philadelphia with the consideration of reactions to Humboldt by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Albert Gallatin, and Charles Wilson Peale. There would have to be consideration of Humboldt's first travel narrative, the "Philadelphia Abstract," and a narrative about how his fame spread quickly in Washington and Boston newspapers and journals. How did this fame spread during the first three decades of the nineteenth century? An intensive study of reception would also have to take account of Humboldt's impact on modern American environmentalism and show its evolution. How did Humboldt influence men like John Muir and the less famous men before him? Such an attempt occurred recently in Aaron Sachs's The *Humboldt Current: Nineteenth-Century Exploration and the Roots of American Environmentalism* (2005). The earliest notice of Humboldt in North America in the volumes under consideration occurs with Emerson (1833) and Thoreau (1842), and that suggests a totally different approach to the concept of reception. Clark and Lubrich evidently see the real significance of Humboldt's reception in the transatlantic exchanges and the initiation of a worldwide intercultural dialogue. In other words, their focus is much less on the details and phases of reception than on the transmission and the destiny of ideas; less on the scientific sphere and more on the areas of historical, social and political issues. That this project goes in a different direction becomes abundantly clear in the editors' introductions.

In the essay on "The Napoleon of Science" (1850) Henry Theodore Tuckerman writes of Humboldt that his "great distinction is the comprehensive view he takes of the laws and facts of the physical world. No naturalist ever so united minute observation with the ability to generalize . . . He intuitively recognized the unity of nature . . ." and Tuckerman adds that in this process Humboldt "weds nature to humanity." Throughout the two volumes the reader can sense a tendency for Humboldtian science to become a powerful force to promote social and political change. This sentiment is reflected in the

motto, which Karl Heinzen (1869), one of the radical veteran of the 1848/49 revolution, places as motto at the outset of his essay: "Truth is its own object, but it is of value only for humanity's sake." Heinzen sees Humboldt as a liberator. He was "the enemy of every species of slavery." A speech by Kerstin Müller, the German Minister of State, in Madrid in 2005 confirms that Humboldtian science had the potential to transcend disciplines and cultures: "Humboldt," she said, "was not only a mediator between different scientific disciplines, he was also a mediator between cultures." Latin American authors such as Bolívar (1822), de Sousândrade (1884), Sucre (1923), Ortiz (1930), Ortiz (1940), Lima (1958), and Medina (1965) reflect an undiminished appreciation of Humboldt's relevance in this respect.

For the editors it is important to demonstrate Humboldt's significance in the in the broad spectrum of colonial history and the debates of postcolonial theory. In reviewing a history of Humboldt reception in Mexico, Medina sees a disturbing ambivalence in his political appropriation: "To invoke the name of Humboldt became an almost an historical constant of all politicians, historians, and thinkers of the nineteenth century." Medina takes his own turn in this practice when he observes that information acquired by Humboldt from the trusting archivists of Mexico found its way, through Humboldt's generosity, into the hands of Thomas Jefferson and other American politicians in Washington, and it served as the basis of future imperial expansion and conquest at the cost of Mexico. The plan for a canal that Humboldt proposed in the Panama region would also serve, according to Medina, the imperial interests of the United States. Medina's evaluation of the unfortunate implications in Humboldt's legacy is outweighed, however, by the positive assessments by other Latin American authors. In several essays the reader discovers debates about Humboldt's relation to colonialism. In general, Humboldt is thought to have played a subversive role, reflected in observations of Ortiz and Rojas, that independence in South America was the "logical corollary of the creation of the republic of North America."

By laboriously assembling, and in many cases translating, an impressive number of texts from remote corners of libraries and collections, Clark and Lubrich have provided a valuable service to scholars and the general public. In this process they have filled a neglected space in the literature about Humboldt. They have pointed to the issues of colonialism and integrated Latin American voices and into the dialogue about Humboldt, a dialogue that concerns primarily Latin America, the world that Humboldt treated so exhaustively in his twenty-nine volumes.

University of Kansas *Frank Baron*

Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I.
By Petra DeWitt. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012. 268 pp. $49.95.

In a detailed study of St. Louis and two rural counties in mid-Missouri (Gasconade and Osage)—all exhibiting a large German-ancestry population—during the trying period of the First World War, Petra DeWitt makes a very strong case for taking a fresh look at the fate of the German-American community and its culture during that era of anti-German hysteria. DeWitt argues that a much more nuanced perspective is needed, taking local and regional factors into account. The tendency to paint with a broad brush and claim that anti-German hysteria during the World War I era "eradicated German culture" or "destroyed the German language" in American life is patently false, according to DeWitt. The author believes that special circumstances in Missouri spared its German-American community from widespread personal attacks. German-Americans in Missouri did not experience—to the same degree—the discrimination and mistreatment as other German-Americans in the Midwest or in other parts of America. At the end of her study, DeWitt wonders whether similar studies in other states focusing on community-level relations between German-Americans and their neighbors would further mitigate the traditional view of the devastating impact of World War I on German-American language and culture.

After sketching the settlement history of Germans in Missouri, DeWitt builds her case by situating German-American communities in Missouri vis-à-vis the native-born non-German Missourians prior to the war years. Yes, there were tensions between those of German ancestry and the native-born Americans. And, yes, political controversies of the day such as Prohibition often pitted the German-American community in Missouri against their native-born neighbors. But there was "little indication that German immigrants and their Missouri-born children" would become "targets of hateful nativism, persecution, and suspension of civil liberties" (34).

She then traces the developing strains in the relationships between German-Americans and non-German Missourians as the European war moves from a conflict on a distant continent to one involving U.S. shipping interests via the introduction of submarine warfare. At the outset both groups expressed varied opinions and both groups supported the Allies and the British or Germany and the Central powers, depending on the particular issue. While the German press was typically pro-German, most newspapers, whether English or German, acknowledged Germany's right to conduct submarine warfare in the early years of the war. The presidential election of 1916 aggravated the tensions, but neither Wilson nor Hughes garnered a clear victory in the German-American community in Missouri. In the same week

as the US declaration of war on Germany at the beginning of April 1917, the German-American mayor of St. Louis, Henry W. Kiel, was reelected to a second term with a solid majority.

The effort to promote patriotism and combat disloyalty by the Missouri Council of Defense receives considerable attention in a chapter devoted to the war years. In particular, the widespread efforts to limit and even prohibit the teaching or speaking of German had only mixed results. DeWitt attributes this to the lack of legislative authority in Missouri because the legislature was not in session while the U.S. was actively at war. DeWitt claims that this "is one important factor that sets Missouri apart from its midwestern neighbors" (82). This would be interesting to study across the Midwest. Hardly any state legislatures met annually until after the 1940s. How many of them were actually in session during the war years of 1917 and 1918? For instance, the infamous law forbidding instruction in German in Nebraska—eventually overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1923—was only enacted in 1919—due, no doubt, to the state legislature not being in session prior to that spring following the declaration of war. Missouri's situation may not have been that unique.

The situation in urban St. Louis is compared and contrasted with that of two rural counties in central Missouri, just east of the state capital in Jefferson City along the Missouri River. St. Louis with its heterogeneous population, labor movement, and numerous newspapers was at the forefront of a number of matters that cast the light of disloyalty on the German-American population. The trials of Dr. Charles H. Weinsberg, president of the Missouri chapter of the National German-American Alliance and that of the mob accused of lynching Robert Praeger underscored the high level of tension in that city and the anti-German attitudes that prevailed. DeWitt concludes that" St. Louisans were fairly successful in their efforts to eliminate the German language and culture" (110).

Officials in Gasconade County were able to offset the suspicions of disloyalty to some extent by claiming that "resistance to the war more often reflected the opposition to persistent and increasing government involvement in daily routines and traditions (132)" rather than pro-German sentiment. The people of Gasconade County were loyal Americans who happened to speak German, eat German food and attend German churches. If violence occurred as a result of perceived disloyalty, as it did in Osage County on occasion, it was often the case that local relationships and circumstances were more important in creating a climate that led to that violence. Southwest Osage County with its majority German population was more tolerant of "German" points of view such as that expressed by Martin Schulte when asked whether anyone had told him to stop speaking German during the war:

"Hell No! This is a free country" (152). In the northern areas of that same county, on the other hand, the meaning of loyalty was more complicated.

DeWitt's argues that Missourians harassed German-Americans to a lesser degree than did the citizens of other states because they believed the Missouri Germans were loyal. Another interesting aspect that deserves further study is the influence played by the Germans' support of the Union cause at the outset of the Civil War, especially in such states as Missouri, and how that may have impacted viewing the loyalty question in the First World War. DeWitt also notes that the gradual loss of German and assimilation to English, especially in the German-based religious denominations, had already begun prior to the First World War in some congregations and continued over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, with some Lutheran groups continuing the use of German well past 1940. This reviewer can confirm what DeWitt says regarding the hundreds of fluent speakers of varieties of German in both Kansas and Missouri nearly 100 years after the Great War, attesting to the fact that the German language was not eradicated by that conflict and its accompanying hysteria. [One might also note the example of several other immigrant languages in the Midwest such as Norwegian or Czech that succumbed over the course of the twentieth century to the dominant English culture without a war being waged against their homeland.] DeWitt's final question—whether similar studies in other states will find that the impact of World War I on German-Americans was less devastating than previously thought—most definitely deserves to be addressed.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States.
By Dorothee Schneider. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2011. 316 pp. $45.00.

97 Orchard Street, New York: Stories of Immigrant Life.
By Jane Ziegelmann. Toronto: Tundra Books. 2001. 272 pp. $15.00.

My family and I are new immigrants. It reads like a rather simple statement, but the simplicity of the language masks the challenges we faced before and after we left the United States and crossed the UK border agency station at Heathrow Airport in 2011. Although as a family we had dreamed of living and working abroad, we had no idea of the emotional, administrative,

financial, and cultural challenges that awaited us in the process of migrating from one side of the Atlantic to the other. The day we stepped on to British soil we were completely exhausted from our overnight flight, not to mention the months of seemingly endless packing. The national border was, in some sense, the less difficult of the hurdles to clear.

My own immigrant experience was one reason I was drawn to *Crossing Borders* and *97 Orchard Street*. Both books in their own way document the history of immigration and naturalization. They also reveal that emigrating from one's own country and settling in an unfamiliar land is an intensely personal experience. Governments set policies and enforce laws, but individuals navigate the multi-layered experiences of immigration on their own terms. The artifacts left by immigrants, including their journals, recorded statements, and personal belongings, give us clues as to how they negotiated the challenges that confronted them as they settled in the USA. It was interesting to read these two books in tandem and to see the juxtaposition between the broad scope of Schneider's monograph and the microcosmic view of immigrant lives captured in the guidebook to the Lower East Side Tenement Museum. *Crossing Borders* provides an overall picture of the unsteady development of immigration policy in the United States, while *97 Orchard Street* relies on personal artifacts to describe the immigrant families who lived in the tenement denoted by the book's title.

Schneider's study is a comprehensive piece of scholarship, which she frames in terms of metaphorical and literal border crossings faced by emigrants journeying to the United States. Moving across national borders was only one part of a longer series of obstacles that did not end just because an individual passed from one country to another. In fact, historically immigration has been an "open-ended process" (11), involving negotiation and flexibility. The book captures the sense of difficulty emigrants had in first deciding and then arranging to leave home. As I read the early chapters of the work, I began reflecting on my own experience of being stunned, yet excited, at the prospect of moving to another country to work and raise my young family. Excitement soon abated when my family confronted the reality of what it would take to leave. The burden of packing our belongings and selling our home all in a matter of a few months was daunting. Perhaps more difficult was uprooting the children from a school and community that was familiar and stable. Time and again we wondered why we were putting ourselves through what could be described as traumatic stress when there was no guarantee that life on the other side of the Atlantic would be more meaningful or professionally beneficial. I must affirm Schneider's position that deciding to leave home was the first "border" to cross.

If I found spending hours navigating the UK Border Agency regulations, both time-consuming and mentally exhausting, I must admire the courage of those who faced infinitely more difficult obstacles and administrative mazes before embarking on their transatlantic ocean voyage. Schneider skillfully portrays the struggles of emigrants as they negotiated their own nation's policies on leaving. Individuals attempting to emigrate from Russia and Japan, prior to the 1860s, found their own nation's laws made leaving difficult. They had to negotiate their way out of the country before they could embark on the journey across the ocean. For some the emotional or financial strain was too great and they turned back. Emigrants from Germany, England, Ireland, and other nations without these restrictions felt the emotional burden of moving away from homeland and loved ones, but their journeys were structured by travel companies acting as de facto US immigration agencies abroad. What they faced at their port of departure was the uncomfortable scrutiny of strangers who examined the would-be emigrants for illness, "imbecility," and other problems before they were allowed to board ships and endure months at sea in cramped quarters.

How immigrants were greeted upon their arrival in the United States often depended on their physical or mental health, marital status, age, and potential for being employed, as well as their national origin. In the post-Civil War period until the beginning of the First World War, millions of immigrants arrived from Western European nations, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. Schneider indicates that these tended to be the most desirable immigrants as they closely matched the cultural ideal of the hard-working immigrant (of Northern European Protestant origins) who acculturate and progress to becoming an American. The millions of newcomers also included those from Eastern Europe, China, Japan, and the Mediterranean, who were considered by some political groups to be "less desirable," primarily because they did not fit the ideal image already noted. Throughout the book Schneider skillfully reveals the shifts in American policy and tracks the movement toward the founding of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as well as exclusionary laws regarding immigration, and implementation of quota systems. She carefully details the exclusionary laws aimed at Asian immigrants that, until the latter half of the twentieth century, made their initial migration to the United States extremely difficult and then barred from naturalization those who did manage to negotiate their way in. Racism and fear were clearly factors in the development of exclusionary laws.

Since the early years of the twentieth century there has been a recurrent tide of fear that the United States will have large communities of unassimilated immigrants who speak their own language, retain their own customs, and resist becoming American. The definition of American is, of course, fluid

and relative to the person or party advancing a particular view. Schneider's treatment of assimilation and Americanization highlights the pressure faced by some immigrants to give up their mother tongue and reject any sense of ethnic identity. Populist movements like the "Know-Nothing" party and politicians, including Teddy Roosevelt, played up the so-called problem of "hyphenated Americans." They wanted to withhold citizenship from those immigrants who retained a connection to their culture of origin and did not succumb to the American "melting pot." Without specifically mentioning the pressure to Americanize, *97 Orchard Street* poignantly shows the difficulties individuals had in trying to survive in New York while retaining their language, religion, and familiar customs. They endured poverty, spousal abandonment, the death of children, and poor living and working conditions as they made their home on the Lower East Side. Although they encountered many borders and struggled to survive, most did not give up and the generations of their families living today can tell their stories with admiration. Could they have survived if they were also robbed of their language, religion, or ethnicity (as if these could be erased) in order to become Americans according to someone else's definition of that identity? Immigrants often navigated the "borders" of assimilation and Americanization uneasily as they maintained what was close to them and put on a new a layer of American identity.

Of course, the arguments of the "Know-Nothings" for a narrow definition of American identity and for policies of exclusion are still heard in debates over immigration and access to citizenship today. The fear of large, unassimilated communities of immigrants is also still relevant, especially in disputes about amnesty for illegal aliens and policies regarding immigration from Mexico and Central America. Schneider asserts that as laws have made legal immigration more difficult, millions of people have simply circumvented the administrative hurdles of obtaining visas by crossing the Southern border illegally or by staying beyond the legal time limit of tourist visas. She highlights the fact that these individuals are barred from naturalization because of their illegal status. When a similar situation existed in the late 1970s, amnesty was issued and millions of formerly illegal aliens sought citizenship. Their new status allowed them to sponsor family members who also wanted the benefits that American citizenship might offer. Schneider's work in this area raises questions about the meaning of citizenship and contribution to the common good of the nation. Citizenship is the last legal "border" for immigrants and it is one that the United States has made more challenging for people to cross. Efforts to reduce immigration, access to work visas, and to restrict access to naturalization have not stopped the flow of people who hope to improve life for themselves and their families. Instead, people continue to come to the United States. They continue to face the personal struggles associated with

immigration. As always, these new individuals will negotiate the immigrant experience in ways that are intensely personal.

Schneider's *Crossing Borders* has a place in my library alongside the works of Marcus Hansen, Thomas Archdeacon, and LaVern J. Rippey. It is now my go-to book for insight on the history of immigration and naturalization. I believe it will quickly become the standard work in this field of history. It was good to read it as I reflected on some of the borders my family and I continue to encounter. One day in the future, when the experience of this first year in a new country is not so raw, I will sit down with my children and together we will read *97 Orchard Street*. I hope the book will allow them to see that generations of people before them, like their Norwegian great-grandparents, crossed national boundaries, endured challenges, navigated their way in an unfamiliar culture, and made a new country home on their own terms.

Wesley House and University of Cambridge *Cindy Wesley*

Cyril Colnik: Man of Iron.
By Alan J. Strekow. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 200 pp. $45.00.

What might a list of prerequisites for a successful life as an artist include? Early exposure in the right family, natural talent, youth and ambition, a superior education with significant connections, fortunate timing, a wealthy patron, superlative networking skills, mastery of historic and current styles, and, to make the most of all of that, longevity perhaps? Where might one find such a gifted and blessed soul? History would have it that all of these prerequisites were met by one young Austrian artist who came to the United States to display his wrought iron work in the German exhibition of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Cyril Colnik (1871-1958) was born in Trieben, a small city in the far western reaches of the Austro-Hungarian empire (present-day Austria as the map on page thirteen anachronistically indicates) roughly half way between Linz and Klagenfurt. His father was a veterinarian, an economist, and a politician. We might assume, then, that Cyril was exposed to a household in which educated people and dialogue flowed regularly, in which one exercised all of one's talents, and this stood him in good stead later in his professional career in Milwaukee. Significantly also, his father's property included a blacksmith's shop where Colnik was introduced to iron work in his childhood.

In the late 1880s, Colnik served as an apprentice in a mechanics shop, and from there he went on to study iron work in Graz with Franz Roth, and for short periods in Italy, France, Switzerland, and Spain before enrolling in the Munich Industrial Art School.

This step brought him closer to his destiny as the "the Tiffany of wrought iron" for one of his instructors in Munich recommended him for the team that created the German exhibit in the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Colnik's masterpiece, a large grill work that features a gargoyle-like representation of Vulcan, the God of fire and the patron saint of metalworkers, was completed at the Munich Industrial Art School and then shipped to Chicago (along with the artist!) for display at the Exposition. Fate smiled on him once more when he was discovered by none other than Captain Frederick Pabst, then president of the Pabst Brewing Company. The rest is history. Pabst commissioned numerous works for his own mansion and introduced Colnik to his associates and their designers and architects during a historical period in which Milwaukee was enjoying great growth in the areas of brewing, tanning, meatpacking, and machine manufacturing. This new class of wealthy industrialists was intent on making Milwaukee a cultural showplace, "the Athens of America," and Colnik was prepared to play his part.

Colnik spoke the language of the wealthy class created by Milwaukee's success both literally--many were German immigrants--and figuratively, and they kept him busy for the rest of his life. The success and span of his career rested not only on his talent and connections, but also on his extraordinary flexibility and adaptive nature. His work flows with apparent effortlessness from the neo-classic, heraldic, patriotic, neo-romanesque, neo-gothic, renaissance, and baroque to the more contemporary jugendstil and art nouveau. His works are particularly striking, I find, for their delicacy and detailed rendering of botanical, animal, and human forms, medieval imagery, and Mediterranean-Arabic patterns on decorative and utilitarian objects of vastly different scales: gates, banisters, balustrades, furniture of all kinds, candlesticks and candelabras, clocks, and hardware.

One might say that the publication of this book was as serendipitous as Colnik's career. The author's grandfather actually worked for Colnik, most probably as an accountant, and the author met Colnik's daughter, Gretchen, who possessed a large collection of her father's work, which she donated to the Villa Terrace Decorative Arts Museum in Milwaukee. The author was asked by the Museum to produce a video on Colnik's life and work, and subsequent collecting of photographs and materials lead, finally, to a request to bring a book to completion. The result is an impressive monograph on an impressive man who deserves to be remembered. This book belongs in the

library of anyone who is serious about American decorative arts, German-American decorative arts, and/or the cultural history of the Mid-West.

Susquehanna University *Susan M. Schürer*

Imagined Homes: Soviet German Immigrants in Two Cities. *By Hans Werner. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2007. 304 pp. $29.95.*

In *Imagined Homes*, Hans Werner examines the integration of immigrants in a host society and the role of mutual perceptions in this process. Werner presents a comparative study of ethnic German groups from Poland and Russia/the former Soviet Union in two immigration contexts: Winnipeg, Manitoba (Canada) in the late 1940s and early 1950s and Bielefeld, Germany in the 1970s. By exploring the similarities and considering the differences of the immigration experiences of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld, he is able to make observations about how integration can be influenced by the ways in which the immigrants imagine their new homes, and the host society's perception of immigrants (7-8).

Werner divides his book into four main parts. Part I, "The Setting," provides background information on ethnic German communities in Eastern Europe and Russia, the history of Bielefeld and Winnipeg as host societies, and how immigration was viewed in Germany and Canada (Chapters 1-3). In the first chapter, "One People", the author briefly describes the three waves of German immigration to the Russian Empire starting in the mid-1700s, and the range of diversity among these ethnic Germans, including place of origin, the areas where they settled, religious affiliations, and the linguistic variation that existed in the ethnic German colonies (18-21). While these early colonies were relatively isolated, farm-based economies, starting in the late 1800s, economic transformations (including commercial agriculture and increasing industrialization), combined with higher birth rates, initiated wider economic and social diversity within the colonies and spurred increased contact with the dominant Russian host society (20-23). This was also a time of increasing Russification and growing Russian nationalism, which confronted the German colonists with questions about their own identities (23-24). For Werner, World War I was a "watershed" moment for the colonists, as this was "the first time they shared the common experience of being labeled German nationals and felt the tension of coming to terms with that label" (24, 26). The tensions of being labeled 'German' would continue in WWII, and after

the war, the common identity as German persisted (31-32).

In Chapter 2, "Receiving Cities," Werner looks at the history of Winnipeg and Bielefeld as receiving societies, and how the cities incorporated new arrivals. For the author, "historical patterns of migration and integration in the two cities shaped their collective memory as receiving societies and framed the social meaning of being an immigrant for ethnic Germans" (34). Since its official incorporation as a city in 1874, Winnipeg capitalized on its moniker as 'gateway to the West' and was a destination initially for migrants from other parts of Ontario, but would eventually be host to immigrants from Britain, Northern European countries, the United States and later Eastern Europe (34- 35). While initial efforts focused on the assimilation of newcomers in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, a more pluralistic view of society was gradually developing and incorporating newcomers on a permanent basis became a part of Winnipeg's identity (36, 38, 51). Around the time that Winnipeg was receiving a large flux of immigrant immigrants from various parts of the world in the late 1800s to the early 1900s, Bielefeld was receiving migrants largely from other areas of Westphalia (35, 42). After World War II, Bielefeld received a number of Eastern European expellees and East German refugees, which presented difficulties, but did not change the identity of Bielefeld as a homogenous society (45, 48). The arrival of guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s added to the cultural diversity of the city, but these new arrivals were not considered to be permanent residents and it would be first in the 1980s, when this view be changed (49, 52). The politics of the host societies are put into national perspective in Chapter 3, "The Value of Immigrants" which contrasts German and Canadian immigration policies and the public discourse surrounding immigration (53). In Winnipeg, the emphasis was on the economic value of immigration, seeing a larger population as necessary for economic growth. In Bielefeld, the symbolic value of the ethnic German groups played a more decisive factor in admitting immigrants, as Werner states that it was a way for German society to deal with its past (74-75).

Part II, "Putting Down Roots," compares and contrasts the settlement of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg (Chapter 4) and Bielefeld (Chapter 5). In both Winnipeg and Bielefeld, immigrants' immediate priorities were to find housing and a place to work, but support for obtaining a home and securing a job was different in the receiving societies (79, 105). In Winnipeg, the government did not guarantee a job for everyone, as this was the responsibility of the arriving immigrant (85). This was also the case with employment, as the ethnic Germans had to often rely heavily on networks of friends, family and fellow ethnic Germans for support (102). In comparison, immigrants Bielefeld were found support in state programs in obtaining housing and

employment. Part of the drawback of this support was that they could not control where they would live, and that there were fewer opportunities for entrepreneurship (126-27).

Part III, "Reproducing the Community," looks at family life (Chapter 6), the role of religious institutions (Chapter 7), and language use in the ethnic German communities (Chapter 8). In Chapter 6, "Family Strategies", Werner looks at familial interactions and the role of the family in cultural reproduction (131). For the ethnic Germans of Bielefeld and Winnipeg, family life had been disrupted by the Stalin purges in the 1930s and events of World War II (133). During the war and in its aftermath, many families were separated from loved ones for extended periods of time (134). Both of these experiences changed traditional view of the family, including gender roles, as women often found themselves in the new role of head of the household (135, 137-38, 140). Other themes in building families explored in this chapter include endogamy, attitudes toward family size and the socialization of children. Chapter 7, "Faith Worlds" examines how religious institutions figured in the social life of the ethnic Germans. Canadian ethnic Germans were spared the Soviet Union's religious repression which was experienced by the ethnic Germans who settled in Bielefeld (160). While in Canada, church life was not seen as being in conflict with associational life, the same did not hold for Bielefeld (174). Chapter 8, "Linguistic Paradox" looks at language use among the ethnic Germans, focusing on domains for German, Russian and English language use. Werner states that while the ethnic Germans in Canada were required to quickly adopt the English language, ethnic Germans in Germany were surprised to find that the German they used was not that of the dominant society. They anticipated that younger generations socialized in Russian would experience problems, but were unprepared for the changes in German that had taken place in Germany, which created tension for integration (196).

Part IV, "Participation," examines definitions of citizenship and the degree to which ethnic Germans are involved in the political processes of the greater community (Chapter 9). For Werner, "If they [immigrants] participate chiefly or exclusively in ethnic- and immigrant-specific association life . . . they may e considered to have established only limited acceptance in, and influence on, the dominant society and its culture" (201). He found was that associational life did not play a significant role for the ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld in connecting with other Germans, and for sectarian ethnic Germans, the church was valued more than community associational life (220). In exploring concepts of citizenship, he found differences in the degree of integration of ethnic Germans in Germany and Canada. In Canada, citizenship is based on residency, and after five years, ethnic Germans would

be able to claim Canadian citizenship (205). But while ethnic Germans were officially accepted as citizens in Germany because citizenship is based on birth, many ethnic Germans were disappointed to discover that they were not fully accepted as German by their fellow countrymen (202-3).

Werner's cross-cultural comparison draws out common themes in the integration experience of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld, but also at the same time, clearly demonstrates the value of cultural and historical context in examining the integration of immigrants in receiving societies. The author acknowledges that "feeling at home is a somewhat amorphous way to define the outcome of settlement experiences" (231), but the scope of his study is comprehensive, and explores in great detail the cultural, economic, political social and spatial aspects of integration, as outlined in his chapter breakdown (13).

Imagined Homes is not only essential reading for those interested in the secondary migration experiences of ethnic Germans, but will also be of great interest to anyone in migration studies, ethnic history, immigration politics, and language contact in immigration contexts.

Wayne State University *Felecia A. Lucht*

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 promote the scholarly study of the German element in the context of culture and society in the Americas.

   2.2. To produce, present, and publish research findings and educational materials.

   2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students in pursuing their interests in German-American Studies.

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. 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. However, 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.

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 of and coordinates the schedule for the annual symposia. The vice president presides when the president is not available.

   4.3. The secretary keeps a written record of the annual business meetings of the membership and all meetings of the Executive Committee. The secretary maintains the handbook of procedures and policies established by the Executive Committee and deposits all written records in the official repository of the Society as provided for in Article XIV.

   4.4. The treasurer keeps the financial records of the Society and prepares an annual budget.

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 symposium which shall include the annual business meeting of the membership.

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 business meeting of the 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 [in alternate years]

   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, normally payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in the cancellation of membership.

2. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by the Executive Committee.

3. The fiscal year shall be from July through June.

4. The operating funds of the Society shall be deposited in a federally-insured financial institution.

   4.1. Operating expenses shall be disbursed according to the budget approved by the Executive Committee.

   4.2. Unbudgeted expenses shall be disbursed upon order of the president subject to review by the Executive Committee.

5. The investment funds of the Society shall be invested with one or more financial institutions by an investment advisor approved by the Executive Committee.

   5.1. Such funds may be disbursed only upon order of the Executive Committee.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections

1. Election of officers will be at a general business meeting of the membership.

2. All officers shall take office on 1 July of the year in which they are 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(s) of the *Newsletter*, the editor(s) of the *Yearbook*, the website manager, and the Membership Committee co-chairs.

      1.1.2. Except as otherwise required by law or provided for 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.

1.1.3.1. 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 an American and a European representative appointed by the Executive Committee.

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 principal editors of the Society and shall consist of all associate editors and the website manager.

1.3.2. The Publications Committee shall oversee the various publishing activities of the Society.

1.4. Nominations Committee

1.4.1. The Nominations Committee shall consist of a chair, an additional member, and the immediate past president of the Society.

1.4.2. Members will serve staggered, three-year terms, beginning July 1 of a given year and ending on June 30 three years later.

1.4.3. The Nominations Committee shall solicit nominations and prepare a slate of candidates for officers and conduct the election of officers at the annual meeting.

1.4.3.1. Members of the Nominations Committee cannot be nominated for an office.

1.4.4. The Nominations Committee shall also solicit nominations for

the annual Outstanding Achievement Award and report the results to the Executive Committee for consideration.

1.5. Publication Fund Committee

1.5.1. The **Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund** Committee consists of a chair and two additional members. The chair will normally be the editor of the Society's *Yearbook*. The two additional members, at least one of whom shall not be a current member of the Society's Executive Committee, are appointed by the president for a renewable two-year term.

1.6. Research Fund Committee

1.6.1. The **Albert Bernard Faust Research Fund** Committee consists of three members, one selected from the Society's Executive Committee and two selected from the membership at large. The president appoints all members for a renewable two-year term and designates the chair.

2. Ad Hoc Committees

2.1. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate ad hoc committees and at the time of the appointment shall designate their membership and their chairpersons.

Article IX. Publications

1. The official publications of the Society are the SGAS *Newsletter* and the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

2. The principal editors of official SGAS publications as well as the website manager shall be appointed from the membership by the Executive Committee and serve at its discretion.

2.1. The editor of the *Yearbook* will appoint members of the Society to serve as associate editors subject to review by the Executive Committee.

2.2. The editor of the *Yearbook* will appoint members of the Society to serve on the Editorial Board of the *Yearbook* subject to review by the Executive Committee.

3. Contributors to SGAS publications/symposia shall be members of the

Society.

4. 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 budgeted items and for unbudgeted items as provided for in Article VI.

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: October 20, 2012
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Karyl Rommelfanger
Secretary, Society for German-American Studies

SGAS Scholarly Support Awards

The Albert Bernard Faust Research Fund

Thanks to the generous and sustained support of Mr. Raymond A. Ehrle of Annapolis, Maryland, 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. Members of the Society for German-American Studies, especially younger scholars establishing their research programs, are encouraged to apply for financial support for research-related activities in the field of German-American Studies, including such items as: travel expenses necessary for scholarly research; expenses connected to the duplication, organization, and storage of data; 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; and expenses related to the preparation of a scholarly exhibit.

Application Process

Individual members of the Society for German-American Studies in good standing may apply for research funds by submitting a letter of application and all supporting materials to the chair of the Faust Research Fund Committee by 15 October of a given year for consideration for an award to be made the following year. The maximum amount of a single award is $500. Awards will be announced at the Annual Symposium.

A complete application shall consist of:

- a current curriculum vitae;
- a description of the project indicating its importance to German-American Studies;
- two letters of support.

Applications with all supporting materials should be directed to the

Committee through its current chair, Gregory Divers, St. Louis University (diversgr@slu.edu).

The Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund

In 1983, as a part of the celebration of the tricentennial anniversary of German settlement in what is now the United States, the Executive Committee inaugurated a publication fund to honor Karl J. R. Arndt, a distinguished scholar in the field of German-American Studies. Income from the fund is to be used to further one of the primary goals of the Society, the publication of scholarly research on the German element in the context of the culture and society of the Americas. The Arndt Fund provides publication subsidies as well as supplemental funding for the publication of the Society's *Yearbook*.

Application Process

Individual members of the Society for German-American Studies in good standing may apply for a publication subsidy by submitting a letter of application and all supporting materials to the chair of the Arndt Publication Fund Committee by 15 October of a given year for consideration for an award to be made the following year. Publication subsidies will be considered for book-length monographs which adhere to the scholarly purposes of the Society for German-American Studies as described in its bylaws. The maximum award amount shall not exceed $2,000 or half of the publication costs for the proposed project, whichever is lower. Awards will be announced at the Annual Symposium.

A complete application shall consist of:

- a letter requesting a publication subsidy;
- curriculum vitae of the author;
- table of contents and abstract of the planned monograph;
- documentation of the publication costs to be borne by the author;
- and three (3) letters of support from colleagues.

Applications with all supporting materials should be directed to the Committee through its current chair, William Keel, University of Kansas (wkeel@ku.edu).

SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award

The Society for German-American Studies has established an award which is given each year to an individual who has distinguished him- or herself in the field of German-American Studies. Achievement in the context of the award is broadly defined. The honoree may have published significant research in the field, may have served the Society and the field of German-American Studies in an outstanding fashion, or may otherwise have made an outstanding contribution to the field.

The membership of the Society for German-American Studies is invited to nominate individuals of merit. Nominations should be directed to the chair of the Nominations Committee no later than September of the year prior to the one for which the individual is nominated. The Nominations Committee will forward all nominations to the president for review at the fall meeting of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee will select the awardee.

Awardees will be encouraged to attend the annual symposium to receive the award. All awardees will be awarded a Life Membership in the Society for German-American Studies. The Society will cover the housing and registration expenses of those who participate in the annual symposium.

Nominations for the Outstanding Achievement Award should be forwarded to the chair of the Nominations Committee no later than September 1 of a given year for consideration for the following year. All nominations should include a letter which specifies the reasons why the nominator feels the award is justified as well as a short précis of the nominee's accomplishments.

The current chair of the Nominations Committee is William Petig, Stanford University (petig@stanford.edu).