

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 47

2012



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.





**YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

Volume 47

2012

PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS BY  
THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

WITH THE SUPPORT OF

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The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in 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](mailto:wkeel@ku.edu)). Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Susan M. Schürer ([schurer@sunlink.net](mailto:schurer@sunlink.net)). The *Newsletter* appears three times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to Claudia Grossmann ([MKGAC@iupui.edu](mailto: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](http://sgas.org).



YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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## From the Editor

Our readers will readily note that this issue of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* focuses our attention on one longer essay treating the era of the First World War. Joseph Neville explores the experiences and reports of German-American tourists who traveled to Germany following the outbreak of hostilities in the late summer of 1914 and how they became transmitters of a German perspective on that war after returning home. As Neville states for "German-Americans who stayed at home, these tourists were eyewitnesses to what was happening in the Old Fatherland, and their accounts would carry the authoritativeness of not having been filtered through the 'English press' in the United States" (p. 13 in this volume). At the same time these wartime visits to the Fatherland bolstered a heightened German consciousness among the German-Americans in Wilmington, Delaware. Following Neville's discussion of this critical period in German-American relations, Susan Schürer, our book review editor, presents reviews of over 70 recent book publications for your perusal. Topics range from immigration to linguistics, from German-American Jews to Anabaptists and religion, from Germans in the Soviet Union to Germans in Latin America.

This volume concludes, as is now our tradition, with those documents outlining the organization and purposes of the Society, especially our Bylaws, with the recent amendment adopted at the membership meeting in New Orleans last year to the procedures for the election of SGAS officers permitting mail and online balloting. The SGAS Bylaws are followed by our 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—as well as the Society's policy regarding its Outstanding Achievement Award. Members should avail themselves of the opportunities for scholarly support from SGAS.

It is with great sadness that we report the loss of two active members of our *Yearbook's* Editorial Board. The deaths of both Adolph Schroeder at the

end of March and Daniel Nützel in early April of last year dealt a major blow to our team of scholars providing critical advice to the editor of this Yearbook. Despite their nearly fifty-year difference in ages, both Dolf and Dan were still actively engaged in scholarship in our field. Given Dan's youth and the suddenness of his death, the Executive Committee of SGAS, of which Dan was a member, was truly devastated. Our two colleagues and friends are memorialized in this issue beginning on page 1.

May the editor reiterate that at the Society's website, [sgas.org](http://sgas.org), you will 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. In particular, back issues of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* may be easily ordered (with payment via PayPal or credit card soon to be available). 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. Please contact the editor at [wkeel@ku.edu](mailto:wkeel@ku.edu) for further information or assistance.

The editor looks forward to seeing many of you at our next Annual Symposium to be held April 10-13, 2014, in the heart of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Presenters are encouraged, as always, to submit their essays for consideration by the Editorial Board for possible publication in a forthcoming *Yearbook*. Submissions are welcome by mail or electronically.

*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies*  
*The University of Kansas*  
Lawrence, Kansas  
February 2014



## Daniel C. Nützel (1962–2013): In Memoriam

Daniel C. Nützel, member of the SGAS Executive Committee, coeditor of the *SGAS Newsletter*, member of the Editorial Board of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, respected colleague and friend, died suddenly on April 13, 2013. Dan's passing came as a shock to all who were associated with him. The entire SGAS family mourns his death. He was a member of the faculty of the I.U. School of Liberal Arts at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI), having only begun his professional career there in 2009 as Associate Professor of German, Hoyt-Reichmann Scholar of German-American Studies, and Director of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at IUPUI.



Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Dan Nützel graduated from Xavier University (Cincinnati) with a Bachelor of Arts in Classical Studies and French. He studied at the University of Paris and at the University of Hamburg before he returned to pursue a Masters in German Literature and German-American Studies at the University of Cincinnati. A two-year period as a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Bayreuth and a doctoral degree in German Linguistics from Purdue University in 1998 culminated his academic preparation. His doctoral research made him a specialist on the East Franconia dialect of southern Indiana. His teamwork as a field researcher dialectologist and sociolinguist in the next decade (1998-2009) at the University of Regensburg



and the University of Bayreuth in Germany is reflected in his contributions to four linguistic atlases (Atlas of Northeastern Bavaria, Upper Bavaria, Small Bavarian Linguistic Atlas, and Atlas of German Dialects in the Czech Republic). His research participation in the Bavarian dialect atlas was a major undertaking, a twelve-year collaborative project which received funding from the German equivalent to our National Endowment for the Humanities. The Atlas of German Dialects in the Czech Republic is one of the largest dialectological projects in the German-speaking world.

Dan Nützel was an internationally known scholar in German language and German-American dialects. He was also an expert in German-American Studies, Sociolinguistics, Dialectology, Historical Linguistics, and Transnational Studies. His publications include two books: *The Moribund East Franconian Dialect of Haysville, Indiana* (2009) and *The German-Bohemian Dialect Remembered* (2009), journal articles and book chapters in edited collections on language contact and new dialect formation, paths leading to language extinction, and structural changes and loss in dying dialects. His 2009 book on the German dialect of Haysville has been described as the most detailed comparative study in German-American dialectology.

Collaborative research was a hallmark of Dan Nützel's scholarship. His ability to maintain longstanding working relationships with the University of Bayreuth and the University of Regensburg while embarking in more recent collaborations with research groups at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and Pennsylvania State University speaks volumes of Dan's high stature as a researcher and commitment to his research projects. His most recent work, in 2012, focused on heritage language syntax and on the morphosyntactic stability of American German. This latest work was the result of a fruitful inter-institutional collaboration on the study of linguistic aspects of Germanic heritage languages, a topic of common interest to German-American Studies scholars, German linguists, and linguists in general.

Daniel Nützel taught courses in German Linguistics and German-American studies. His superb skills as a teacher were often recognized by students, who highlight his motivating teaching style and attention to their individual needs regarding course content and career opportunities. His engagement with students was reflected as well in his supervision of students conducting research projects, sometimes involving service to the community, such as the organization of an exhibit about Germans in Indianapolis. As one German major commented, losing Dr. Nützel is "like having an academic rock taken away from you." His tenure at IUPUI was characterized by intense and extraordinary professional service to his professional discipline, the department, school, campus, and local community. Most notably, he served as director of the Max-Kade German-American Center at IUPUI, President

*Daniel C. Nützel (1962-2013): In Memoriam*

of the Indiana German Heritage Society, co-director of the publications committee for this Society, and, internationally, he was linguistics book review editor for Transnational German Studies.

[Adapted from the memorial resolution placed in the minutes of Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis Faculty Council, prepared by Marta Antón, Chair of World Languages and Cultures, along with Gabrielle Bersier, Director of the Program in German, and Claudia Grossmann, Interim Director of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at IUPUI.]

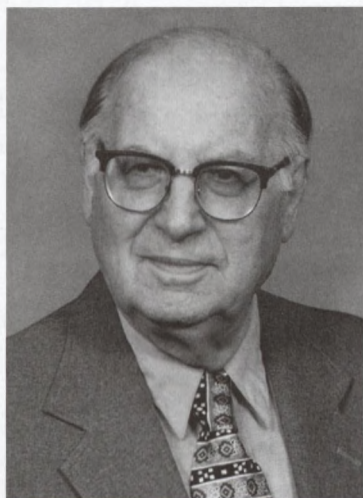
*William D. Keel, editor*





## Adolf E. “Dolf” Schroeder (1916–2013): In Memoriam

Our friend and colleague of many years, Adolf E. Schroeder, professor emeritus of German studies at the University of Missouri, died in Columbia, Missouri, on March 29, 2013, after a brief illness. “Dolf” was well known in SGAS circles having been one of “founding fathers” of our association. In addition to serving on the Editorial Board of the SGAS *Yearbook* until his death, he had also organized the SGAS Symposium at the University of Missouri in Columbia in 1980 and was the recipient of the SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award presented to him at the 1986 Symposium in Cincinnati, Ohio. As editor of the *Yearbook* I can truly say



that Dolf’s attention to detail, his constructive critiques of essays and, most of all, his collegiality, bountiful sense of humor, love of German songs, and personal friendship will be sorely missed.

Born February 1, 1916, in Covington, Virginia, Dolf was the son of recent German immigrants to the United States. Due to family circumstances, he was taken to Germany at age five and placed in the care of foster parents in Dessau. After being drafted into the Germany army in the mid-1930s, he managed to return as a U.S. citizen to the United States in 1938, and graduated from the University of Illinois in 1941. After starting work on an M.A. at Louisiana State University, he served in the U.S. Army from 1942-46—thus serving in both the German and the American army within one decade! After receiving an M.A. in German Literature at L.S.U. and a Ph.D. from

Ohio State University, he later taught at Ohio State, Kent State University in Ohio, the University of Massachusetts, L.S.U., and at the University of Missouri in 1946-47 and from 1970 until his retirement in 1985.

Interested in early language learning, he established classes in German and Russian for fourth-graders in Ohio and Massachusetts and directed an NDEA program for teachers in Ohio. In Missouri, he became interested in German, French and other European settlements in the state and collected many photographs and oral histories relating to immigrant life in Missouri. He and his wife Rebecca ("Becky") were largely responsible for re-establishing the Missouri Folklore Society in the state in 1977 and became widely recognized for their contributions to the preservation of the state's cultural history and folklore. Dolf had numerous publications including several translations of German texts. To mention one that comes immediately to mind is Dolf's moving translation of the letters of German immigrant Henriette Bruns of Westphalia and later Jefferson City, Missouri: *Hold Dear As Always: Jette, a German Immigrant's Life in Letters*, edited with Carla Schulz-Geisberg and published in 1988. Just prior to his death, Dolf completed the translation and editing of Gert Goebel's *Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri* (1877). The posthumous publication of that translation, *Longer than a Man's Lifetime in Missouri*, is a fitting tribute to his scholarly career and his many contributions to the field of German-American Studies (see book review on pages 260-61 in this volume).

Dolf and Becky also explored many other places in the state collecting folk songs and stories. With his vast knowledge of the state, he eagerly assisted students, researchers, and writers with their projects. Typical of Dolf's approach was to bring scholars and members of an ethnic community together so that they could collaborate in documenting, discussing and analyzing the community's heritage in a meaningful way. One such project involved Concordia, Missouri, founded in the late 1830s by immigrants from northern Germany. In the early 1990s, members of the community, many of whom still fluent in their Low German dialect, sought support in learning more about their heritage. In response, Dolf brought together scholars to explore the history, language and material culture of the community with the involvement of the residents of Concordia. The two-year research project resulted in the preservation of some 600 pages of church and community history, scholarly presentations in the community and the publication of the booklet *Concordia, Missouri: A Heritage Preserved: Essays on Cultural Survival* (Columbia, MO: Western Historical Manuscript Collection, 1996). We are indebted to Dolf Schroeder for his untiring efforts to document and preserve the ethnic heritage of his adopted state of Missouri. His absence will be



*Adolf E. "Dolf" Schroeder (1916-2013): In Memoriam*

strongly felt by all members of his family, his friends, and fellow historians and folklorists and especially his colleagues in German-American Studies.

*William D. Keel, editor*





*Joseph B. Neville, Jr.*

### **Apostles for the Old Fatherland: German-American Tourists and the Outbreak of World War I**

Much anxiety is felt for German-Americans of this city and State, who are on a visit to Germany and are unable to return on account of the war situation.<sup>1</sup>

Every American returning home actually becomes an apostle who proclaims what he has experienced here [in Berlin].<sup>2</sup>

We are especially pleased that the Americans [now leaving Germany for the United States] are bringing the truth about the cause of the war and the current situation to their homeland, which thus far has had to make do with British and French reports whose untruths (*falsche Nachrichten*) are familiar to us.<sup>3</sup>

In his presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Immigration and Ethnic History Society in April 2006, Elliott Barkan reflected on “lessons learned” from thirty-five years of interdisciplinary and multi-ethnic research.<sup>4</sup> Barkan’s remarks included his recollection of an essay he had written more than thirty years earlier, one that treated four groups of immigrants to the United States who “shared a relatively close proximity to their respective homelands, and among all of them were many who maintained ties with their homelands and periodically returned to them.”<sup>5</sup> In his essay, Barkan argued that “the quality and longevity of certain ethnic cultures will be significantly influenced by the close proximity of the groups’ homeland,” and he referred to the “extensive bi-directional flow of individuals

between their new communities and their original homelands” as “commuting immigration.” He also cited Jacques Ducharme’s 1943 observation that “by visit and by letter a sort of communal life exists” between the old and new homelands.<sup>6</sup>

Barkan would subsequently draw on oral histories in addressing the range of intensities by which immigrants remained connected to the places whence they came. He noted that immigrants’ experiences ranged from “disengagement from one’s society of origin at one end to extensive, transnational engagement in homeland affairs at the other.” In place of “transnationalism,” a concept scholars have used to characterize a more or less strong and steady tie between immigrants in the United States and their countries of origin, Barkan offered the “concept of ‘translocalism,’” which he defined “as situations where immigrants do not maintain multiple, intense, routinized bonds and networks with the homeland family, friends, and communities. Instead, those efforts most often are likely to be moderate and periodic, somewhat casual and uneven and not routine.”<sup>7</sup>

Several German-Americans from Wilmington, Delaware, and a Philadelphian closely connected to Wilmington, maintained ties with the Old Fatherland—Germany—that were arguably “translocal.” In this study the experiences of those German-Americans will serve as a case study of travelers who, in a time of crisis, were called upon to carry back to the New World Germany’s “truths” about the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914.<sup>8</sup> Although these German-Americans did not live in “a relatively close proximity” to their ancestral homeland, to one degree or another they remained connected to it by transatlantic visits and by having their experiences “over there” shared with Wilmington’s German-American population through coverage provided by the local press. At another time, perhaps, relatively unremarkable links to the Old Fatherland, German-Americans visiting Europe in the summer of 1914 would be called upon by the press in Germany to be much more than unremarkable. They were to be “apostles” for the Old Fatherland, “bearers of truth,” persons entrusted with “a sacred mission.”<sup>9</sup> For these ordinary men and women and children would find themselves caught up in the throes of a continent going to war.

Whether these Wilmington-area travelers were aware of the alliances and tensions that characterized Europe before the summer of 1914 is unclear. They may have known of Germany’s alliance with Austria-Hungary; of Russia’s alliance with France; of Great Britain’s links to Russia and France; and of Russia’s support of Serbia in the tensions that had come to characterize life in the Balkans. However, the travelers’ preparations, and the newspaper reporting of them, were very much in line with what some Wilmingtonians had done in previous years. Most of the Wilmington-area travelers would



leave for Europe before the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary, on June 28, though some would leave for Europe after that. Suffice it to say, these travelers were in Europe at the end of July and the beginning of August when Germany and Austria-Hungary on the one side, and Russia, France, Great Britain, and Serbia, on the other, went to war.

In fact, the translocal travel done by the Wilmington-area tourists treated in this study was probably more properly framed by an identity crisis of sorts. Indeed, Wilmington's "Germans" had for several years been experiencing a decline in their sense of Germanness. In the decade preceding the outbreak of war, the level of immigration from Germany had declined;<sup>10</sup> the local German-language newspaper was reduced to a once-a-week publication; the forces of prohibition were gaining strength; and Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church had begun to address the reality that an increasing number of its congregants were relying on the English language instead of German. In fact, this latter concern would be accommodated by the arrival in Wilmington of the newly ordained Reverend Siegmund von Bosse, son of one of the travelers treated in this paper. The younger von Bosse's installation at Zion as an assistant pastor on June 1, 1913, was the result of a May 1912 decision on the part of the congregation to bring to Wilmington a clergyman who could speak both German and English.<sup>11</sup> He officially became Zion's pastor a year later, and he conducted his first service as pastor on August 2, 1914, one day after Germany and France began the mobilization of their armed forces, and at a time when his father and sister were visiting Germany. His facility with the English language notwithstanding, Siegmund von Bosse eventually became the most prominent representative in Wilmington of a heightened German consciousness—the term *Deutschtum* was frequently used. All this is to say that travel to Germany on the part of Wilmington-area German-Americans represented a significant link between the New Fatherland and the Old at a time when other indicators of Germanness suggested a decline in that regard.

Two of Wilmington's newspapers, the *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger und Freie Presse*<sup>12</sup> and, in its English-language German Column, the *Sunday Morning Star* reported on the comings and goings of the city's German-Americans.<sup>13</sup> Such coverage offered even stay-at-home Wilmingtonians an opportunity to participate in these travels—these communal experiences—, albeit vicariously, and enabled them to remain connected, however tenuously, to the Old Fatherland. In effect, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column served as multipliers of the connection formed by the travelers between their host country—the United States—and their ancestral homeland—Germany.<sup>14</sup>

The intensity of that connection in the summer of 1914 was heightened by *perceptions*—travelers' perceptions about the outbreak of war and the Old Fatherland's prospects in it, perceptions with which the travelers returned to the United States, perceptions that they shared and tested with their fellow Americans, perceptions that for the moment heightened the sense of Germanness among the Wilmington area's German element. These perceptions were forged in the anxieties of both the travelers, on the one hand, and, back in the United States, their friends and kin on the other. For the former, returning from Europe in the midst of wartime mobilization was an ordeal; for the latter, news about both the fate of these travelers and the successes and failures of German arms was difficult to come by. They would have to be content with participating in the experiences of these transatlantic travelers by reading the cards and letters that the travelers sent home; by digesting newspaper accounts of the travelers' experiences; and by meeting with and listening to the travelers once they returned to the United States.

Finally, this study, with its combination of travel history and, in a time of crisis, ethnic reinvigoration, with its local, national, and international dimensions, will "remember" these German-Americans as persons who, residents of a country that on August 4 declared its neutrality in the conflict, thought themselves free to say and do what their sense of Germanness required of them as their ancestral homeland went to war. Although they were disheartened and occasionally distressed by what Wilmington's daily newspapers had to say concerning the causes and early course of the war, they were not yet the "victims" of a pro-Entente America that would by the spring of 1917 lead most of them to join a campaign against the Old Fatherland.<sup>15</sup>

### **Setting the Stage**

Those Wilmingtonians preparing to travel to Germany in the spring of 1914 did so within a larger national and international context, though press coverage of the travelers' preparations paid little attention to it. Within the United States some held the view, as reported many years later by one scholar, that German-Americans, before 1914, "had been probably the most esteemed immigrant group in America, regarded as easily assimilable, upright Americans."<sup>16</sup> But feelings toward German-Americans were probably more complicated than that.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, one author has noted that, "Long before World War I, German immigrants and their children gained a reputation for radicalism, anarchism, and violence."<sup>18</sup> On the international level, the years after the Franco-Prussian War and the birth of the German Empire, 1870-71, and especially after 1890, had witnessed a growing realization among American policy makers that U.S. relations with the young Reich were not



entirely harmonious. While scholars may not agree on the exact nature of relations between Germany and the United States in the years before World War I,<sup>19</sup> the interests of the two countries had rubbed up against one another in a variety of places, among them Venezuela, Samoa, and the Philippines.<sup>20</sup> Potentially adding to the level of disaffection between the United States and Germany was President Woodrow Wilson's determination to make amicable relations with Great Britain a linchpin of American foreign policy.<sup>21</sup> None of this would have mattered to Wilmington's travelers if Europe had not gone to war in the summer of 1914. But go to war it did, and these ordinary Wilmingtonians, having found their way to Europe, were forced onto the world stage as witnesses to war and, upon their return to the U.S., as bearers of Germany's gospel about the origins and course of the conflict.

No mere receptors of information about the course of events in Europe, the editors of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column would use the outbreak of war in shaping the travelers' experiences into a counter-narrative that urged the city's "Germans" to rally to their German heritage and to challenge what German-Americans had quickly concluded was the pro-Entente orientation of news—the "narrative"—appearing in most of the American press. This counter-narrative spoke to the origins and early course of the Great War from a perspective sympathetic to Germany, and it emphasized the continuing kinship between Germans in the Old Fatherland and German-Americans in the New.

The outbreak of the Great War at the beginning of August 1914 not only complicated the return to the United States of the many American travelers who were then visiting Europe, but it also severely disrupted the flow of information between Germany and the U.S. Very early on the British navy chased German passenger ships from the high seas, Britain cut the transatlantic cable that carried information from Germany to the United States, and the U.S. government took control of the German short-wave radio stations in Tuckerton, New Jersey, and Sayville, New York.<sup>22</sup> In this circumstance, these German-American sojourners, these "bearers of truth" would, it was hoped, serve the interests of both Germany and those Americans who wished to know the German side of the story regarding the origins and course of the war. For Germany, which saw itself as cut off from the rest of the world, unable to influence the actions of nations that had yet to cast their lot with one warring side or the other, and nearly friendless, these apostles would counter British "lies" being disseminated in the United States.<sup>23</sup> For German-Americans who stayed at home, these tourists were eyewitnesses to what was happening in the Old Fatherland, and their accounts would carry the authoritativeness of not having been filtered through "the English press" in the United States.

In Wilmington the fate of the area's German-American travelers received



a good deal of attention from the local press: from the aforementioned *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star*, the latter dubbing those German-Americans trapped in Europe when World War I broke out as “war-stayed.”<sup>24</sup> But the adventures of the city’s European travelers, including those visiting Germany, were also covered by Wilmington’s daily “English press,” *The Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Wilmington Morning News*.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the tone and extent of coverage devoted to German-American tourists by the city’s “English press” would suggest that Wilmington’s German element was, at least on the eve of the war, a fully and unproblematically integrated part of the local population.<sup>26</sup>

The consistent attention that the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star*’s German Column paid to prewar transatlantic travel was the one ongoing reminder that some of Wilmington’s German-Americans remained personally linked to the Old Fatherland, and that, through the press, these personal connections extended to the entire German element of the city.<sup>27</sup> Such was the case whether the travel was conducted by Germans visiting the United States or by German-Americans vacationing in the German parts of Europe—Germany, Austria, and Switzerland—or re-migrating to the Old Fatherland. And when World War I erupted, this transatlantic connection became crucial to those promoters of *Deutschtum* who wished to mobilize support in the United States for a Germany at war.

**HAMBURG  
AMERIKA LINIE**

**London-Paris-Hamburg**  
 \*Dirc. Route, 30. Apr. 1914. | Rail. Zug. Dirc., 7. Mai  
 | | St. Petrosia, 1. Mai | Prof. Grant, 9. Mai  
 † Hamburg direct, 6. Nur zweite Klasse.  
 \*Nur 1. Klasse. — | | Abfahrt vom Brooklyner Pier.

**VON BOSTON NACH**  
**LONDON-PARIS-HAMBURG**  
 Cleveland . . . . . 30. April, 10 Dsem.  
 Wexela . . . . . 9. Mai, 10 Dsem.

**BALTIMORE-ROUTE**  
 direct nach Hamburg.

**GIBRALTAR, NEAPEL, GENUA**  
 Dampfer fahren von den Brooklyner Pier ab.  
 Dpfr. HAMBURG, 19. Mai, 3 Nachm  
 Dpfr. MOLTKE, 2. Juni, 3 Nachm  
 Dpfr. HAMBURG, 30. Juni, 3 Nachm  
 Dpfr. MOLTKE, 15. Juli, 3 Nachm  
 Man schreibe um weitere Auskunft.  
 Hamburg-Amerika Linie, 46 Broadway, N. Y.

An ad for the Hamburg Amerika Linie that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of April 28, 1914. John Lengel would be a passenger on the May 9 departure of the *President Grant*.

### **Packing Their Bags**

As in previous years, Wilmington's German-American press in 1914 paid a good deal of attention to the travel plans of the city's Germans well before war broke out in August.<sup>28</sup> In mid-April the German Column of the *Star* indicated that John A. Lengel and his family would be sailing for Germany on the Hamburg-American Line steamer *President Grant*. The Lengels would embark upon "their annual trip to Europe," and they would return to the United States in September. "For over ten years Mr. Lengel has spent the summer months in Europe." The German Column subsequently reported that this veteran traveler, who usually tours Carlsbad and the southern part of Europe, "[i]n Munich at the Rathskeller . . . is as well known almost as in Wilmington." The *Lokal-Anzeiger* was somewhat more specific about the Lengels' travel plans: "As usual Mr. Lengel will . . . spend a long time at his sister's home in Heilbronn am Neckar." For his trip in 1914 Lengel, a retired brewery owner and a widower, would be accompanied by his niece, Lina Mai, and his granddaughter Catharine McDowell.<sup>29</sup>

On April 25 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Misses Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, two second-generation German-Americans,<sup>30</sup> would be departing for Germany on June 6, and that they would remain overseas until August 13. Previous accounts in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column demonstrated that such trips by unescorted German-American women were by no means unprecedented.<sup>31</sup> Clodi and Ploesser, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, planned to visit Darmstadt, Homburg in the Palatinate, and some of the larger cities in Germany. Homburg, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* pointed out, was the hometown of Katie's father, Louis Clodi, one of Wilmington's more prominent German-Americans.<sup>32</sup> A day later the *Star* carried a similar report, though mentioning *Hamburg* instead of Homburg. According to the *Star*, Misses Clodi and Ploesser, "both well-known young German-Americans, have made up their minds to take a trip to Europe and visit the [ancestral] homes of their parents." Added the *Star*, "Both Miss Clodi and Miss Ploesser, altho young, have laid out the route of foreign travel in a way that would surprise even their elders."<sup>33</sup> Before Clodi and Ploesser departed, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* carried an additional report on the trip, noting that Katie Clodi would travel through the Black Forest in Baden and visit Tutach, her mother's *Heimatstadt*.<sup>34</sup>

In early May the *Star's* German Column informed its readers that Mr. and Mrs. Constant J. Grandhomme of Centreville, Delaware, just outside Wilmington, would also be traveling to Europe. The couple, who planned to depart from New York aboard the steamer *La France* on May 6, intended to visit Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Belgium before their



return to the United States. "Mrs. [Emma] Grandhomme is a typical German and Mr. Grandhomme a Frenchman."<sup>35</sup>

Both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column reported on William Mutschler's June 6 departure from Philadelphia aboard the steamer *Prinz Adalbert* of the Hamburg-American Line. Mutschler planned to visit his "old mother" and a brother in Malterdingen in Baden. He had seen neither in many years. Mutschler also intended to visit Karlsruhe and Freiburg where he hoped to meet with friends from his years of military service (*aus seiner Soldatenzeit*)—rather ironic given Mutschler's subsequent experiences in the Old Fatherland. The remainder of Mutschler's overseas stay was to include an extended tour of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.<sup>36</sup>

## NORDDEUTSCHER LLOYD

### London—Paris—Bremen

Bremen . . . . .	28. Mai
Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm . . . . .	30. Mai
*Kaiser Wilhelm II. . . . .	2. Juni
Berlin . . . . .	4. Juni
Großer Kurfürst . . . . .	6. Juni
*Kronprinz Wilhelm . . . . .	9. Juni

\* Segelt um 1 Uhr Morgens.  
 ||Via Plymouth-Boulogne S. W.

### Nach dem Mittelmeer

Prinzess Irene . . . . .	17. Juni
König Albert . . . . .	4. Juli

Baltimore-Bremen direkt.  
 Eine Kabine (II.); Mittwoch.

Durch-Billete mit Lloyd-Dampfern von  
 New York via Europa nach Süd-Amerika,  
 Ägypten, Indien, dem fernen Osten  
 und um die Welt. Unabhängige Fahrten  
 DeLiaß & Co., General-Agenten.  
 5 Broadway, N. Y.

An ad for Norddeutscher Lloyd departures that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of May 27, 1914. Samson Stern and his family would be passengers aboard the *Kaiser Wilhelm II.* when it sailed on June 2.



In early June the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Samson Stern had departed from New York for Bremen aboard the North German Lloyd Line's steamer *Kaiser Wilhelm der Zweite*. Having made at least two previous visits across the Atlantic, on this occasion Mr. Stern would be accompanied by his wife Bertha and their two young children. The Sterns planned to spend a couple of months in Germany.<sup>37</sup>

Two weeks later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* announced that Georg Kalmbacher, the president of the local German Library Association, a cabinetmaker employed by the Jackson and Sharp plant of the American Car and Foundry Company, and one of the founders of the Delaware branch of the National German-American Alliance (NGAA), would be leaving for Germany on July 7. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* mentioned that Kalmbacher intended to visit his two sisters in Wildbach in Württemberg, his old hometown (*seine alte Heimatstadt*), which he had not seen since he left Germany thirty-four years before. Kalmbacher also planned to visit Munich and other cities during his two-months' stay in Germany.<sup>38</sup>

**Nächste Abfahrten**  
— nach —  
**PARIS—LONDON—HAMBURG**  
**„VATERLAND“**  
7. Juli, 10 Uhr Vorm.  
**„Kaiserin Auguste  
Victoria“**  
11. Juli, 1 Uhr Nachm.  
**„IMPERATOR“**  
18. Juli, 12 Uhr Mittags.  
**Hamburg - Amerika - Linie**  
45 BROADWAY, NEW YORK  
Telephon 1900-Reefer

An ad for the Hamburg-Amerika-Linie that appeared in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of July 4, 1914. George Kalmbacher would be a passenger on the July 7 sailing of the *Vaterland*.

In its July 4 edition, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that Christian Koehler, in the company of his adopted child (*Pflegekind*), Katharine Fuchs Koehler, and the child's aunt, Germany-born Jeannette Fuchs, had on June 27 sailed for his old homeland, which he had not seen for thirty years.<sup>39</sup> This issue of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* did not mention the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, which had occurred just six days before its publication and only one day after the Koehler party sailed for Europe.

The impending departure for Germany of Dr. William Kleinstuber and his wife Ida attracted the attention of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*. The couple had visited Germany on at least two previous occasions. Now, in 1914, after residing in Wilmington for twenty years, Kleinstuber, "this area's well-known German physician," and his wife had sold their home on Van Buren Street and would be sailing for the Old Fatherland on July 15.<sup>40</sup> The following day the *Star* issued a lengthier goodbye to the Kleinstubers. The German Column mentioned that the couple had been given "a royal farewell reception" at the home of Bernard Kleitz, and that the Kleinstubers would be departing the United States on the Hamburg-American Line's *Victoria Louise*. "It is not certain that Mr. and Mrs. Kleinstuber will return soon to this country." The report did note that William Kleinstuber was a charter member of the German Social Club, which had been founded in 1888.<sup>41</sup>

Wilmington's newspapers also covered the travels of the Reverend Georg von Bosse, in 1914 the 52-year-old pastor of St. Peter's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. Georg von Bosse was the author of *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten*, published in Stuttgart in 1908, and, of more interest to Wilmington's Germans, the father of the Reverend Siegmund G. von Bosse, soon to be pastor of the city's Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. Georg von Bosse's 1914 trip to Germany would be at least his fourth since he first arrived in the United States in 1889. On this voyage he would be accompanied by his 19-year-old daughter Hildegard, who had been born in Egg Harbor City, New Jersey, and who, at the tender age of one and one-half, had accompanied her father, mother, and brother on a visit to Germany in 1896.<sup>42</sup>

These, then, were members of the Wilmington area's German element who were traveling in Europe when war broke out in mid-1914: civilians<sup>43</sup> and American citizens all; Germany-born and U.S.-born; variously members of Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish congregations; young and old; occasional and frequent visitors to the Old Fatherland, those who had not visited it since they immigrated to the United States, and those who had never seen the land of their ancestors.



## “War-Stayed”

Wilmington's transatlantic travelers seemed unfazed by events unfolding in Europe in the summer of 1914. If one can judge from the fact that neither the *Lokal-Anzeiger* nor the *Star's* German Column reported upon the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28 or upon the subsequent diplomatic tensions as Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia for the demise of the heir-apparent to the imperial throne, Wilmington's German-Americans were preoccupied by other matters, especially the pressing “alcohol question” and what were perceived to be worrying divisions among the city's Germans.<sup>44</sup> Thus, even if other sources of information spoke to the developing crisis in Europe, some of Wilmington's travelers, George Kalmbacher and the Kleinstubers among them, kept to their plans and left the United States for Europe between June 28 and the outbreak of war at the end of July and the beginning of August.<sup>45</sup>

Indeed, the cards and letters sent by Wilmington's German-American travelers, at least as they were reported by the city's newspapers, betrayed no distress among those tourists about the growing crisis in Europe between the assassination of the Austrian archduke on June 28 and the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia a month later.<sup>46</sup> By August 2, when the *Star's* German Column first reported on the crisis in Europe, Serbia had already rejected an ultimatum from an aggrieved Austria-Hungary; Russia had mobilized in support of Serbia; France, an ally of Russia, had mobilized its armed forces; and Germany, an ally of Austria-Hungary, had declared war on Russia. The German Column noted the presence of “many German-Americans making visits in Europe,” then added that “if war should be declared they will most likely be detained and be prevented from returning home to this country, and placed in the army.”<sup>47</sup> By August 8, when the *Lokal-Anzeiger* first reported on the crisis in Europe, Belgium had already rejected an ultimatum from Germany; Britain had begun a general mobilization of its armed forces; Germany had declared war on France; German troops had begun their invasion of Belgium; Britain had declared war on Germany; and the United States had declared its neutrality in the conflict. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* warned its readers that “Our fatherland [!] has difficult times in front of it. . . .”<sup>48</sup>

The August 9 report in the *Star's* German Column, which described the “anxiety felt for German-Americans of this city and State,” expressed a concern that “This state of affairs may last for an indefinite time, but it is hoped, inasmuch as the United States is a neutral country, that provision for the return of American tourists will be made with different countries within a short time.”<sup>49</sup> The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that it had received many inquiries about the fate of German-Americans who were visiting Germany when war



erupted. It seemed likely, observed the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, that those travelers would have to remain in Germany until the war ended.<sup>50</sup>

The presence of Wilmington's travelers in Europe during August, September, and October of 1914 allowed them to convey their views on Germany's circumstance at the outbreak of war not only by writing cards and letters to their families and friends in Wilmington but also, once back in the United States, by recounting to the press their experiences in wartime Europe.<sup>51</sup> And it was with such cards and letters, speeches, and interviews that these German-Americans provided the German perspective on events in Europe and enabled the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* to produce a counter-narrative disputing what Wilmingtonians were otherwise exposed to in most of the city's English-language newspapers.

Curiosity about the fate of American travelers visiting Europe at the outbreak of war was not confined to Wilmington or to the German-American press and public. Interest was especially high in New York City, the point of departure and arrival for most transatlantic passengers going to, and returning from, the old country, and at the turn of the century home to more than 278,000 persons who had been born in Germany.<sup>52</sup> Thus, shortly after Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and as the major European powers were preparing for war, the *New York Times* in its issue of August 1 carried articles with the headlines "Tourists in Paris Are in War Panic" and "Tourists Left in the Lurch."<sup>53</sup> A day later a headline in the *New York Herald* screamed that "Americans, Terrified, Try in Every Way to Get Home."<sup>54</sup> The level of interest in these tourists is suggested by the fact that from August 1 through August 9 the *New York Times* carried more than twenty articles about American tourists caught up in the European maelstrom, people the *Star* in Wilmington tagged as "war-stayed."<sup>55</sup> Not surprisingly, the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* was particularly attentive to German-American sojourners, whom it termed *gestrandete Amerikaner*.<sup>56</sup>

### **Americans, Germany, and the German Press, August-September 1914**

Wilmington's tourists in Germany witnessed a nation that, in the early days of August 1914, was mobilizing for war. Newspapers in Germany quickly focused on the activities of the nation's armed forces, but they also paid more than a little attention to events that captured the interest of German-Americans in the United States as well as German-Americans who were then visiting the Old Fatherland.

The following survey of information available to American tourists visiting Germany in the first few months of war draws on German newspapers, the primary means by which news about the war was disseminated throughout the

Old Fatherland. Although newspapers were not monolithic in their coverage of the war both as it was being fought at the front and as it affected life in Germany itself, they did generally present a standard German "narrative" of events in the early days of the war. That narrative was governed by at least four considerations: (1) a widely shared view that the instigators of the war were the Entente powers, and that Germany and its allies did not cause it; (2) a tendency to share the news, especially when a story originated with what was considered to be an authoritative source such as the daily *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, published in Berlin; (3) censorship imposed on the press by German authorities; and (4) a standard source of news about the war, specifically the Wolff Telegraph Bureau. The resulting German "narrative" would, upon elaboration, provide a "counter-narrative" used by the returning German-American tourists to challenge what they perceived to be the pro-Entente rendition of events as it was spread by the "English" press in the United States.<sup>57</sup>

Another premise of this study is that the German-American tourists treated in it could read German newspapers, this despite the fact that on at least two occasions the German press commented upon Americans who did not know German. The first of these surfaced in coverage of events at the American embassy, where numerous U.S. citizens gathered to secure passports necessary for their return to the United States.<sup>58</sup> The second occasion, the initial departure by rail of Americans leaving Berlin for the long trip home, included the presence of translators who facilitated communication between the travelers on the one hand and train and service personnel on the other.<sup>59</sup> It seems fair to say that the travelers covered in this study were able, either by their own familiarity with the German language or, with the assistance of those they were visiting, to absorb Germany's narrative about the causes and early course of the war.<sup>60</sup>

The press in the United States provided various estimates of the number of Americans in Europe in August 1914.<sup>61</sup> The *New York Times* of August 3 reported on "the lowest estimate received by the Government," which showed that there were 150,000 Americans visiting Europe. And, added the *Times*, "The number of passports issued to Americans going abroad this summer was larger than ever before."<sup>62</sup> According to the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* of August 2, "at least 100,000, perhaps even 300,000 Americans [are] scattered across Europe."<sup>63</sup>

The number of Americans in Germany was equally uncertain. In Wilmington the German Column of the *Star* indicated that "about 50,000 tourists will strive [for] home within a week or ten days on special ships." This report is less explicit than one would like, but the context suggests that the estimated "50,000 tourists" were touring Germany and did not include those



travelers visiting other parts of Europe.<sup>64</sup>

On August 7 the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* and the *Vossische Zeitung*, both published in Berlin, cited an American Institute estimate of “more than 75,000 Americans staying in Germany.” The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* offered “a very special warning to the [German] public.” Since the outset of the treacherous attack upon the fatherland, Americans in Germany had behaved toward “us Germans” in the friendliest possible way. And that attitude was not limited to German-Americans, presumably in the United States, who immediately sent messages of enthusiastic support to the Kaiser, but also included “all the Americans who here in Germany enjoy the privileges of a guest.” In this circumstance, then, noted the paper, we are obliged to show our gratitude to our American guests when we see them expressing their friendship toward us. The *Vossische Zeitung* insisted on the necessity of avoiding nasty incidents on the part of “people”—Germans—who were unable to distinguish between Englishers and Americans since both used the English language. The United States had declared its neutrality in the current situation, and Americans in Germany had shown themselves sympathetic to the plight of their German hosts. Americans, many of them staying in such places as Bayreuth, the Tirol, and health resorts and spas, had been surprised by the outbreak of war and had rushed to Berlin where they believed the American embassy would provide them with protection and financial assistance. The *Vossische Zeitung* urged Germans to behave correctly in dealing with the Americans in their midst: “It is a matter of honor and duty that every German, in this most serious hour, support the efforts of our diplomats by seeing to it that Americans are protected and that no further diplomatic complications arise with the United States.”<sup>65</sup>

A few days later, on August 10, several German newspapers published an article about the American presence in Germany. That article, originating with the Wolff Telegraph Bureau, referred to the “some 25,000 Americans” currently within Germany’s borders, whose summer trips were interrupted by the outbreak of war. Germans were not to confuse these Americans, many in dire financial straits, with Englishers. The article pointed out that the United States had already declared its neutrality, and that “on our part” the situation calls for courteous and hospitable behavior toward the American visitors. The article recalled that the United States had vigorously represented helpless and stranded Germans living in France at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and that it would be doing so again in the current situation.<sup>66</sup>

Not surprisingly, Berlin as both tourist attraction and home to a sizable American colony was the center of the American presence in the Reich. Newspaper accounts do not always make it easy to distinguish between American tourists and those Americans residing in colonies throughout



Germany. Thus, the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* of August 14 estimated that 20,000 Americans were *living* in Berlin (*in Berlin wohnenden Amerikaner*), while the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* estimated that 20,000 Americans were currently *staying* in Berlin (*in Berlin weilenden Amerikaner*).<sup>67</sup> Among those Americans visiting Berlin were, according to "An American music teacher of Berlin . . . at least 8,000 American girl students left in the German capital, with almost no money." The students were, however, "all cheerful and anxious to see something of the excitement."<sup>68</sup> Such excitement apparently included a rush on the American embassy in Berlin. A *New York Times* report with a dateline of August 3 said that the embassy "was again besieged today from early morning until late in the evening by Americans who were seized with the greatest fear on account of the unknown perils that war might bring." Given the uncertainties faced by these Americans, one could not be surprised that "Many left today for England, Holland, and Scandinavia."<sup>69</sup>

Americans in Germany at the beginning of August 1914 would have found themselves navigating through a Germany that was crusading against the threat posed by spies. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 5 informed its readers that "We are surrounded by spies." That article reported that French and Russian agents in Germany had already made "numerous attempts," fortunately thus far unsuccessful, to disrupt the movement of German troops by blowing up "communication structures, railway bridges, tunnels, and the like." The article downplayed a "so-called 'spy scare (*Spionfurcht*)'" but urged all Germans, in the face of such threats, to accept the "extraordinarily important task" of reporting to authorities suspicious activity, especially on the part of "foreign-speaking" persons intent upon impeding Germany's mobilization for war. "Those who fulfill their obligation in this regard perform a service for the Kaiser and Reich!"<sup>70</sup>

A reading of the German press would suggest that Germans heeded the call to watch for spies. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* reported that a 35-year-old man had been seized on a bridge in Bingerbrück and was shot while attempting to escape. That issue of the paper also mentioned an announcement (*Bekanntmachung*) in which the Royal Police President in Breslau said that two spies had been summarily executed.<sup>71</sup>

Almost as quickly as the German press reported on the threat posed by spies, it also called on Germans to be careful about how they behaved in the midst of the crisis. In an August 6 article the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* warned Germans against demonstrations in which they were venting their bitterness about the turn of events. For the sake of the millions of Germans who were at the moment living in other countries it was important that Germans express that bitterness in ways that do not damage "our reputation" in neutral countries but rather serve "the good cause for which we fight."<sup>72</sup> *Vorwärts*, the



daily newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, claimed that “unscrupulous elements” had used the military’s concern for bridge security to cast suspicion upon innocent persons and thereby, without any reason, endanger those persons. The article mentioned that there are “overzealous people [who] seem to see spies everywhere, which seems to be degenerating into a genuine spy hunt (*Spionenjagd*).” In the same article *Vorwärts* lamented the public’s treatment of foreigners as “truly vile.” “We repeat: One cannot condemn sharply enough turning against those who are defenseless and who have been living here for years.” *Vorwärts* thought it fit to mention that, “As far as our readers are concerned, we are certain that they are not participants in such a shameful campaign.”<sup>73</sup> While the link between spies and foreigners was at the least implicit in most accounts, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* tied the two together in no uncertain terms by noting that, as is evident from official proclamations and warnings, the zeal of the population has led in many cases to an overzealousness (*Übereifer*) “that was no longer a hunt for spies, but which rather began to take shape as a campaign of agitation against foreigners (*Ausländerhetze*).”<sup>74</sup>

Closer to the western front, the *Kölnische Zeitung* in its morning edition of August 4 also carried the remark that “We are surrounded by spies.” But, in its midday edition, it printed a substantial and cautionary article addressed to its “Fellow Citizens.” The newspaper admitted to “gripping scenes of patriotic enthusiasm among young and old that brought tears to our eyes. . . , [but] we have also seen other things, things that have shamed our national sensibilities.” The paper mentioned that prisoners taken into police custody had been beaten and mistreated. Perhaps they deserved to be thrashed. However, “In any case these people are defenseless, and mistreating the defenseless is not the German way.” The newspaper urged its readers to behave appropriately in this critical moment: stay at home; if required to go out, avoid mass demonstrations in the streets; don’t spread rumors; and, because alcohol is now an even greater enemy than in peacetime, stay away from noisy bars that do not befit the seriousness of the moment. In an accompanying article, the Landrat of Kochem insisted that the report of Gastwirt Nicolai’s having attempted to blow up a nearby tunnel and been summarily executed, and of his wife and daughter’s having been confined, was fabricated (*erfunden*). The following day *Vorwärts* cited the *Kölnische Zeitung*’s report and editorialized about it: “How much news will eventually be denied that originally stirred the public to a fever pitch?”<sup>75</sup>

On August 5 Berlin’s *Der Tag* urged its readers to come to their senses, to be calm and prudent when encountering foreigners and things that seemed suspicious. The newspaper cited, though it did not describe, cases of pursuit the previous afternoon, chases that had taken “a truly shameful course—not for



the pursued person, however, but rather *for the pursuer!*" As before, Germans were to be alert to what was happening around them, "but to refrain from any act of street justice that is *not worthy of the German people!*"<sup>76</sup>

German authorities were especially concerned that suspicions of subversive activity not produce mistreatment of American visitors at the hands of their German hosts. On August 7 the Prussian Minister of the Interior issued a decree (*Erlass*) calling upon officials in Berlin to see to it that the authorities and population extend the greatest possible courtesy to those American citizens staying in Prussia.<sup>77</sup>

In an August 8 interview with a correspondent for *Der Tag* United States Ambassador James Gerard insisted that "Today Germany has no better friend in the whole world than us." Gerard pointed out that the U.S. had demonstrated this, in part at least, by providing protection to Germans in France, England, and Russia. "And that is not a matter of hundreds [of Germans], but of hundreds of thousands!" And in the United States, despite the fact that the country was flooded by news from England and France, the atmosphere for the German Empire was "everywhere favorable." It was all the more important, the ambassador observed, that this warm relationship between Germany and the United States not be troubled by misunderstandings concerning Americans living in Berlin. Yet, some unpleasantness, including the arrest of two newspaper reporters, had occurred. That "sets off alarms and makes for bad blood, which benefits neither us nor you. What is called for is a little more civility and caution."<sup>78</sup>

Ten days later, and in a very different setting, Gerard sent a communication to the U.S. State Department that was intended to provide "the following facts in regard to the present European war, as a matter of record and for the information of the Department." In preparing his report, with its diary-like entries covering July 31-August 12, Gerard admitted that "such statements as I am able to make are based solely upon the carefully censored despatches as they have appeared in the German press." In his entry for August 4 Gerard mentioned that "Several newspaper correspondents, including two American citizens, Mr. Wile of the *New York Times*, and Mr. Bouton of the Associated Press, were arrested . . . under suspicion of espionage on the ground that they had been sending several telegrams and had been talking English." Gerard added that "Many Americans have been mistaken for Englishmen and arrested, and some have been mishandled by the crowd." Gerard remarked upon efforts by the German press "to show the sympathy existing between [Germany and the United States] and urging the German public to show Americans every possible consideration and sign of hospitality." He even noted "a marked attitude of ultrafriendliness to us at the Foreign Office and by all officials."<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps hoping to make it easier for Germans to exercise such civility and caution, the U.S. embassy had suggested that Americans in Germany wear a small replica of the stars and stripes in the form of a stickpin or something similar. Doing so, according to the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, would enable the Americans to avoid any suspicion or inconvenience that might result from their use of the English language.<sup>80</sup> Such suggestions, cautionary decrees, newspaper articles, and the fact that Americans were reportedly wearing representations of the American flag on their breasts “in order to avoid being taken for Englishers,”<sup>81</sup> were evidently not entirely effective. On August 13 Berlin’s *Der Tag* carried an article entitled “Learn to Tell Them Apart!” The article, authored by “a German-Russian [speaking] for many,” claimed that the ignorance of “our public” in the areas of culture and language had led to “numerous and very serious mishaps (*Entgleisungen*) and injustices.” Americans on account of their language were mistaken for Englishmen and treated accordingly. So, too, were Poles who, though having shown little enthusiasm for the czar, were nevertheless treated as Russians. The article insisted that “it would be well for our fellow Germans” to avoid all outrages against foreigners in general, but especially in those situations “where they do not know whether they are dealing with Englishers or Americans, or with Russians or Poles.”<sup>82</sup> The *Kölnische Zeitung* expressed a similar concern in urging the population to exercise caution and prudence in dealing with foreigners who were caught by surprise when war broke out. It was very important to remember that “Not everybody who doesn’t know the German language or who speaks it with a foreign accent is a spy.”<sup>83</sup>

The *Vossische Zeitung* reminded Germans that they had much in common with Americans and ought, therefore, to avoid any unfriendly behavior toward them. The United States has provided “innumerable Germans with security and a homeland (*Schutz und Heimat*), and for that we must be grateful.” The article pointed out that in this moment of crisis Americans have resoundingly expressed their approval and friendship for Germany, that American ambassadors have, as they did in 1870, provided protection to Germans in hostile lands, and that numerous Americans have with collections and the Red Cross provided practical assistance to Germans. “Therefore, protection and respect to all Americans!”<sup>84</sup>

A charge that Americans in Germany had been mistreated drew the attention of several German newspapers, and those newspapers, in what were more or less identical articles, presented both the charge and a refutation of it. The newspapers’ concern focused on a report from London that appeared in Copenhagen’s *Nationaltidende*. According to accounts in the German press, the *Nationaltidende* article said that “The anti-German feeling in the United States has become increasingly bitter because so many American citizens have



been subjected to cruel treatment on their travels through Germany." To refute that charge German newspapers cited no less an authority than U.S. Ambassador Gerard: "Regarding irresponsible reports in foreign newspapers that Americans in Germany, specifically in their travels, have been treated badly, I would like to state emphatically that such is absolutely not the case." Gerard's statement allowed that, in the early days of the war, some Americans were arrested and held for a short time, "but those are incidents that happen in all great European wars. . . . The Americans are just as safe in Germany as they would be at home." Gerard wished to reassure the American population that, "to the extent allowed by the circumstances, Americans in Germany have been accorded the greatest possible courtesy and assistance."<sup>85</sup>

German newspapers turned to their American guests to refute charges that Americans had been abused in Germany. The newspapers carried expressions of gratitude on the part of Americans who thanked German authorities for the hospitality extended to them during their stays in Germany and their return trips to the United States. Americans in Frankfurt expressed their gratitude to the local population whose friendliness had deeply impressed them.<sup>86</sup> Americans in Freiburg im Breisgau, about to begin their return to the United States, addressed a message to their hosts in which they said that their stay in Germany brought only pleasant memories, and that they considered it their "sacred obligation" to convey to their fellow Americans in the United States "our impressions of the injustices that Germany has experienced."<sup>87</sup>

German newspapers also reported that American tourists, upon their return to the United States, had begun to play the role of apostle by telling Germany's truth to American officials, including President Wilson. An account appearing in the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* reported on one such effort by Americans returning from Germany and arriving in New York aboard the *Rotterdam* on September 7. Among those passengers were several Americans who had been spending time in Munich when hostilities began, and who had, before their departure, assured Munich's Oberbürgermeister von Borscht that they would, with all their strength, tell the American public the truth about the origins of the war, and about "Germany's correct behavior and England's false game." Upon the passengers' return to the United States, "several hundred influential men from all of the American states" had also prepared a lengthy report intended for President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan. In that report the signatories characterized claims that Germans had mistreated Americans traveling through Germany as "completely false." "The trip through Germany was, under the circumstances, completely safe, and the authorities as well as the population showed themselves, without exception, to be very friendly and helpful." In their report the signatories also insisted that Germany had not been the aggressor in the current battle, that, in fact,



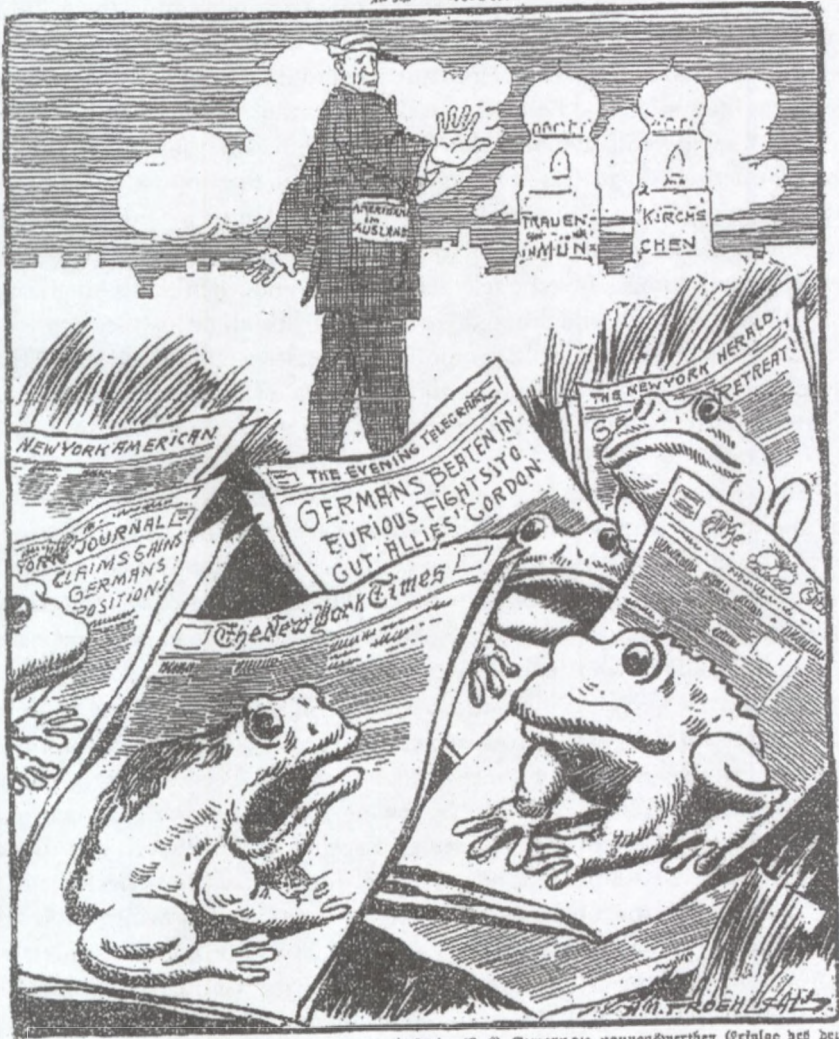
Germany had been driven to war by nations jealous of Germany's growing power as manifested in its industry and commerce, and that those nations "have consequently sworn to destroy the German Volk." The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* was pleased to tell its readers that the activities of these returning Americans had already borne "good fruit."<sup>88</sup>

The German press pointed to American gestures of friendship toward Germany in its hour of need. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported that the American government had through U.S. Ambassador Gerard communicated an offer from the American Red Cross for three doctors and twelve nurses who would tend to "our wounded." Further, "if necessary, the American people would be prepared to send additional doctors and nurses." Perhaps most importantly, "This relief work (*Hilfsaktion*) is just one in a series of countless friendly and humane gestures that have been forthcoming from the Americans, both those across the ocean as well as those living in Germany." Members of the various American colonies in Germany were competing with each other in offering their assistance for works of charity and for the care of Germany's wounded. "Our population" should, therefore, be especially courteous to those Americans that they encounter.<sup>89</sup>

In Berlin the "American community" offered to German authorities the use of its church in the Motzstraße, with the church to serve as a lazarette.<sup>90</sup> In Frankfurt am Main, the American General Consul extended his sympathy to the Commanding General in Germany's time of trial, and he expressed his gratitude for the way Americans had been treated there. He also stated his intention to establish a fund for the benefit of the Red Cross and the families of fallen soldiers who had been serving in the XVIII Army Corps.<sup>91</sup> In Bad Kissingen Americans donated 8,000M to the Red Cross.<sup>92</sup> The American colony in Munich stated that it was ready to arrange for a daycare center (*Kinderhort*) and to provide breakfast and lunch for the children. An innkeeper in the same city admitted that, in the excitement of the moment, Germans might understandably direct hurtful language against English-speaking foreigners. But, she emphasized, English "is indeed the mother tongue of the Americans whose own country has shown its sympathy to ours." She pointed out that the only English-speaking residents remaining in her establishment were Americans, men and women who have declared their readiness to help with money and deed in looking after the sick and needy. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* opined that the innkeeper's story should not only demonstrate the goodwill of the United States toward "our dear citizens of Munich" but also encourage them to "offer a substitute homeland (*Ersatzheimat*) to those Americans who, in this hour of danger, have been compelled by circumstance to be here with us."<sup>93</sup> And in Frankfurt am Main the press urged its readers to demonstrate their hospitality to their American



Die Amerikaner.



Amerikaner in München: „Wir protestieren dagegen, daß die „N. Y. Times“ die kaumenschweren Erfolge des deutschen Heeres verkleinert.“

The Toads: Americans in Munich: “We are protesting against the fact that the *New York Times* disparages the astonishing success of the German army.” *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, October 6, 1914, page 1.

guests by providing temporary shelter to those visitors utterly unprepared for extended stays caused by the hostilities that were preventing them from returning to the United States. Such gestures will be amply repaid by the cultural and humanitarian benefits and friendships derived from housing people "as interesting and honorable as the Americans." Already reports were showing how grateful the American guests were for the hospitality shown them. "American doctors are placing themselves at the disposal of the Red Cross, a variety of wealthy men have donated large sums for our wounded, and American women are stepping forward and offering their services to our welfare organizations." But the real benefit will come when these Americans reach their homeland and "over there tell the truth about us Germans" in the face of English lies that have poisoned American public opinion. "The returning Americans will then become heralds of truth (*Verkünder der Wahrheit*) testifying to our friendship, our achievements, and the spirit that animates us."<sup>94</sup>

Among those Americans who found themselves in Germany when war broke was, as reported by the Berlin daily *Der Tag* on August 14, A. J. Guggenheim, a New Yorker, the co-owner of the famous copper firm of the same name, and currently in Berlin. He demonstrated his sympathy for Germany with a 20,000M donation for the widows and orphans of German soldiers who had been called to arms (*für die Hinterbliebenen der eingezogenen Krieger*).<sup>95</sup> American women living in Frankfurt had, in conjunction with the Red Cross Society, formed a committee to produce clothing for the families of those whose men had been called to arms. Anyone wishing to help, whether "by sewing and knitting or by donations of new material, new or used clothing, or other useful items," was urged to get in touch with Mrs. Cooper, Miss Adams, or Mrs. Macfarlane.<sup>96</sup>

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, and in following upon its expressions of sympathy for the Kaiser and the German people, the American Chamber of Commerce in Berlin forwarded to the German Red Cross a donation of 1,000M, and it announced the formation of a committee that would reach out to "German newspapers in the United States" and to German-American firms with the purpose of raising funds for "the needy wives and children" of German soldiers. The resulting contributions would be handed over to German authorities in Berlin who would distribute the funds.<sup>97</sup> The German-American Petroleum Company in Hamburg had decided to donate 100,000M to the central office of the Red Cross in Berlin. A related firm, the Mannheim-Bremen Petroleum A.G., had committed 25,000M to the Berlin office of the Red Cross.<sup>98</sup>

The German press also reported that the Fatherland was benefitting from the generosity of German-Americans in the United States. The *Münchener*



*Neueste Nachrichten* reported that a woman who was in Munich when war broke out had, shortly after her return to the United States (exact location unidentified), thus far collected “the impressive sum” of \$60,000 for the widows and orphans of German soldiers and for the Red Cross.<sup>99</sup> The president of the local German society in San Antonio, Texas, had issued a proclamation expressing the organization’s intention to raise funds for the wounded warriors of Germany and Austria-Hungary.<sup>100</sup> In the aftermath of a proGerman mass rally in Chicago \$5,000 had been raised for the Red Cross and its efforts in Germany and Austria-Hungary.<sup>101</sup> Frau Helena Nordhoff-Gargan of Boston, Massachusetts, donated the sum of 10,000M to the American Red Cross Hospital in Munich. The donor, the sister of the hospital’s current director, Doctor Sofie Nordhoff-Jung, had attended the University of Munich and, upon the completion of her studies, continued living in the city. She intended that her donation show her sympathy to Munich and the Red Cross Hospital. This donation marked a success in the effort to tell Germany’s story in the United States (*Aufklärungstätigkeit*). Frau Nordhoff-Gargan had initially delayed making her donation “because she had read in American newspapers ‘that the Kaiser had seized all of Germany’s banks and saving institutions.’”<sup>102</sup>

The German press added another dimension to the imperative of extending hospitality to Americans in the Old Fatherland. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* commented on the potential danger to Germany’s interests when the press outside Germany—and, in this case, specifically the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*—reported that Americans in Germany were being mistreated. Such reports not only misrepresented the situation in Germany, but they also threatened “a still greater danger,” the exacerbation of Germany’s isolation: “Without a single friend in Europe, [Germany] is certainly not in the position to make still more enemies overseas.”<sup>103</sup> The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* also remarked upon Germany’s isolation and, in doing so, urged Germans to “Help All Americans, Our Friends!” The newspaper cited the example of Hedwig Reicher, who had demonstrated her generosity by informing Berlin’s Oberbürgermeister Adolf Wermuth that she was prepared to host, free of charge, two American children at her Villa Reicher in Saarow at Scharmützelsee. Dresden, Munich, Hannover, and Brunswick had also provided demonstrations of goodwill toward Americans. “The more numerous our enemies, all the more must we demonstrate our gratitude toward our friends.”<sup>104</sup>

Americans (as well as British subjects) in Germany who wished to return home were urged to deal with the nearest American consulate rather than attempt to address their concerns directly to the currently overburdened American embassy in Berlin. The *Kölnische Zeitung* identified thirty-six German cities in which American consulates could be found.<sup>105</sup>



Shortly after the outbreak of war, the *Berliner Morgenpost* described how the American embassy in Berlin was besieged not only by citizens of England and France whose representation and protection was assumed by Ambassador Gerard but also by Americans who were residing in the city or visiting it in the course of their European travels, and who were unprepared for the complications produced by the outbreak of war. The report spoke of the "coming and going" of hundreds, with many of the Americans seeking passports that would validate them as "free citizens" of the United States. "In long lines they stand in the rooms and hallways of the building, they sit on the rug-covered staircases, and wait for the number they were issued to be called." Embassy staff worked at a "feverish pace" to cope with the demand for passports. In the last few days the embassy had issued "several thousand" passports. The article closed by noting that "Most of the Americans passing their time in Berlin, specifically those who do not understand German and must rely on the English language, have worn small flags or lapel pins with the stars and stripes in order to announce their American citizenship."<sup>106</sup>

Many Americans in Germany who learned that hostilities were imminent or had already begun and who consequently wished to arrange for their immediate return to the United States would find themselves more than a little inconvenienced as Germany mobilized for war. According to the *New York Times* of August 5, the German Government had informed the U.S. Department of State of an order preventing foreigners from leaving the country during Germany's mobilization. The *Times* remarked that "There are thousands of Americans in Germany at this time," and that the order "applies to American citizens and to women and children as well as to men." This restriction would no doubt "impose considerable hardship on many residents of the United States who are already unnerved by the discomforts and embarrassments to which they have been subjected through inability to return to their homes."<sup>107</sup> That same day Secretary of State Bryan "learned through German Government sources" that the restriction was "a precautionary measure." The German rail network, fully committed to the movement of German soldiers and equipment, would not at that time be able to carry passenger trains. Further, the report continued, "it was essential that all aliens in Germany should be identified and their neutrality established before they were allowed to depart." Once mobilization was completed, the German Government would not object to the departure of American citizens and their families.<sup>108</sup> The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* carried a similar report on the same day. According to the *Staats-Zeitung*, the "Berlin Government" had announced that foreigners could not leave Germany. The ban was intended to prevent the transmission to the enemy of information about Germany's mobilization, whether "by spies or by innocent sources (*durch*



*unschuldige Quellen*),” and to keep persons who owed Germany military service from escaping overseas. It was unclear from the announcement when Americans might be permitted to depart, though there was already concern that American tourists would not have the financial means to support an extended stay in Germany.<sup>109</sup>

Two days later, on August 8, the *New York Times* reported that “American Government officials entrusted with the task of facilitating the return of Americans from Europe to this country” had learned from the British, French, and German governments that Americans stranded in Europe would be free to leave once military mobilization was completed.<sup>110</sup>

Eventually German military mobilization reached the point where some resources could be devoted to Americans who wished to return home. The first of those Americans began their journey to the United States on the afternoon of August 13. In an event widely though inconsistently covered by the Berlin press several hundred Americans gathered at the Charlottenburg Bahnhof, there to board a special train that would take them from Berlin to Bentheim at the Dutch border. From there the Americans were to travel by train to Rotterdam, then board a ship that would take them “on a dangerous ocean journey.” The Charlottenburg event was, by one account, “a very strange scene” (*ein ganz eigenartiges Bild*) as Americans, loaded down with their luggage, streamed into the train station. A sense of community on the part of the travelers (*Reisegenossenschaft*) was evident from both the language they spoke and the little flags they wore on their clothing. Their special train consisted of nine passenger cars, with every seat occupied, and a number of open cars that would carry the automobiles of the departing “American guests.” Shortly before the train’s departure, Ambassador Gerard and his secretary went from compartment to compartment to see that things were going well for the travelers. Almost every one of the passengers held on to a packet of correspondence, “letters from Berliners addressed to their friends and relatives in America,” with the correspondents assured that their letters would be forwarded to their final destinations immediately upon the travelers’ arrival in the U.S. What was especially important to the German observers of this scene was the hope that these returning Americans would “bring the truth about the causes of the war and the current situation to their homeland, which thus far has had to rely upon British and French communications, the falseness of which we are well aware.” For this effort the Americans were fully provisioned. Hundreds of copies of Germany’s *White Book*<sup>111</sup> and stenographic reports of the Reichstag’s session convened at the outbreak of war had been distributed to the travelers at their hotels, and, at the train station, the Americans received German newspapers, among them a compilation of material from the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, “that

contained all of the official news about the origin and course of the war," and issues of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and, at the instigation of the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland, copies of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Finally, thousands of pamphlets, in English, were given to the departing Americans that included "the earnest plea that the travelers be moved to spread the truth everywhere in their homeland." "Without a doubt, these American guests will do that, and, in addition, they will also certainly tell how chivalrously (*ritterlich*) and courteously the German people have behaved toward them." As the train pulled out of the station, the passengers waved handkerchiefs and exchanged "Hurrahs" and "Farewells" with those gathered on the station platforms. In one passenger car women and men began singing the "Wacht am Rhein," and one old passenger, leaning precariously from a window, called out "Our wish is that victory be yours!"<sup>112</sup>

### Wilmington's Travelers

Among the first of Wilmington's war-stayed to write home was Georg Kalmbacher. On July 25 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported receiving a letter and a postcard that Kalmbacher had mailed at Cherbourg. Kalmbacher spent much of his voyage to Europe savoring the comforts of the *Vaterland's* smoking salon for second-class passengers, where he sang, danced, and drank Würzburger beer.<sup>113</sup> Shortly thereafter both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* mentioned that Kalmbacher had sent postcards to several Wilmingtonians once he reached Berlin<sup>114</sup> The *Star's* German Column later placed Kalmbacher in Stuttgart when Europe plunged into war: "He writes that the excitement was indescribable."<sup>115</sup> The German Column subsequently indicated that no additional information had been received from Kalmbacher, though he and other war-stayed Wilmingtonians "are expected home within a week or two, as ocean travel has been partly resumed."<sup>116</sup>

Shortly after the European war began in earnest, the *Star* listed John A. Lengel and family among Wilmington's war-stayed. The Lengels were "thought to be in Augeburg [*sic*], Bavaria."<sup>117</sup> A week later the *Star's* German Column reported that "No special news was received from German tourists last week," though it insisted that Lengel, "when last heard from, was at Carlsbad."<sup>118</sup> It was not until September 13 that the German Column could provide details of John Lengel's fate—details taken from an August 18 letter that Lengel had written to an unidentified recipient. The German Column mentioned that the Lengels had been abroad since May, that they were with relatives in "Heilbroun [*sic*], South Germany, and they are in no danger." The report added that "For fifteen years [Lengel] has visited Europe regularly each summer for the benefit of his health. Like many other tourists, this time, he



was caught in the tumult of war." In reporting on the letter's contents, the German Column noted that "Mr. Lengel . . . intended to sail on a German steamer on which he had arranged for the return trip, but as the German lines are not running owing to the danger that their ships may be held up and captured, he would have to make the return trip some time next month, via Rotterdam, Holland." Lengel also sent "by the same mail an official copy of the 'White Book' which is printed in English. The issue is of the month of August and contains valuable information as to the origins of the war."<sup>119</sup> Yet, it would be an additional month before the Lengel party set out for home: "A cablegram has been received from John A. Lengel, in which he states that he and his family will leave Rotterdam on Saturday, October 24. He states that they are all doing well."<sup>120</sup>

Wilmington's war-stayed included not just a local luminary like Kalmbacher or a retired businessman like Lengel but also the two young women, Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, "who traveled extensively during the summer in Germany and France, visiting relatives, [and] were last heard from in Baden, Germany."<sup>121</sup> The *Lokal-Anzeiger* was finally able to report on August 29 that "very much to the relief of their relatives in this area" an August 1 letter from Misses Clodi and Ploesser had reached Wilmington. In it the young women wrote that they were staying with Rosa Ploesser's aunt in Ebingen, Württemberg, where they "are being well taken care of."<sup>122</sup> The following day the German Column carried a similar though slightly different account. It stated that, "after many weeks of patient waiting by the parents of the two young tourists, . . . word has been received from them that they are safe with relatives in the Black Forest (Schwarzwald) [*sic*] Germany. They will there await their time for the chance of securing transportation to this country, which may be soon."<sup>123</sup> The trip would not, however, be so expeditiously concluded. Six days later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* described letters dated August 24, which the two women had sent to their parents. They seemed in no hurry to return to the United States. Katie Clodi wrote to her father that a ship left Rotterdam for America every Saturday. Before returning, however, she would first visit her aunt of whom her father had heard nothing in twenty-five years. In the words of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, the two women said that "the Germans are very obliging (*sehr entgegenkommend*) and in every way display an extremely friendly and civil demeanor." The article closed by reporting that Clodi and Ploesser felt safe in the fatherland and planned to return to Wilmington in October.<sup>124</sup> The following day the *Star's* German Column told much the same story. The travelers had written from Stuttgart, and Katie Clodi would be visiting an aunt in Berlin before leaving for the United States. "Both the young tourists speak highly of the courteous treatment which American travelers in their plight receive from the Germans."<sup>125</sup> Finally, added the



Nr. 211.
Montag, 4. August 1914.

Berliner Morgenpost.

Zweite Beilage.

Das Deutsche Weißbuch.

Urkundliche zum Kriegsausbruch.

Im der Weißbuch über den Ausgang der Ereignisse...

Weißbuch.

Am 20. Juni 8. u. 9. ist der Kaiserliche...

in Gegenwart des Reichspräsidenten...

und erachtet, mit Wille von der Kaiserlichen...

Unter dieser Bedingung wird Österreich...

Es wird nicht nur die Kaiserliche...

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Die Kaiserliche Mobilisation...

A one-page edition of The German White Book published by the Berliner Morgenpost on August 4, 1914.



German Column, the two women “deny the reports of atrocities by German soldiers towards women and children in the country of the enemies which are published in the press.” The issues addressed by these remarks—captured by the denial that American tourists had been mistreated in Germany or that German soldiers had committed atrocities in Belgium and France—proved to be constant threads in communications between the tourists in Germany and their relatives and friends in the United States. And such letters provided an indication that German-American tourists were answering doing the work of apostles for the Old Fatherland even before they returned to the United States.

These two young women were, it seems, among those tourists that Ambassador Gerard had in mind when he later noted that “Few Americans had taken the precaution of travelling with passports, and passports had become a necessity.” However, most of Wilmington’s German-Americans treated in this study left for the Old Fatherland with U.S. passports. Exceptions in this regard were Misses Clodi and Ploesser, who, in order to facilitate their wartime passage back to the United States, applied for emergency passports while in Germany. Thus, on August 19 Clodi and Ploesser secured an emergency passport at the American consulate in Stuttgart, that one passport carrying the names of both women. Several days later, on September 1, each of the women obtained her own emergency passport at the U.S. embassy in Berlin.<sup>126</sup>

Initially, accounts in the Wilmington press concerned the uncertainty that hung over the fate of American tourists caught up in a Europe at war. But that concern, while not altogether discarded, for the most part yielded to allegations that tourists in Germany were being mistreated by German authorities and the larger public there. As early as August 6, in an article entitled “Germans Brutal to Fugitives,” the *Morning News* told the story of “John Jay Chapman, the New York writer, [who] scores [*sic*] in the London Times the Germans for their treatment of Americans in Germany who were escaping to England. . . .”<sup>127</sup> The following day the Wilmington *Evening Journal* reprinted an editorial from the *New York Sun*, which, as it appeared in the Wilmington paper, carried the headline “Our Citizens Held in Germany.” The editorial was, in fact, less strident than the headline might have suggested: “Presumably the detention is only temporary and arises from the fact that every official activity and channel of transportation is imperiously used for war.”<sup>128</sup> Perhaps more alarming was what one could read in New York City where the *Times* of August 9 carried a large headline streaming across much of the top of page 3: “Indignities to Americans in Germany.” That page included an article by Frederic W. Wile, identified as the “Berlin Correspondent of The New York Times and London Daily Mail.” Wile began his report by stating

that he had "succeeded in effecting [his] escape from war-mad and infuriated Germany and reached London last night." Wile, who wrote that "Americans marooned in Berlin and numerous other German cities cannot escape the consequences of general Anglophobia," also claimed that "many Americans are likely to suffer disagreeable experiences as the war proceeds" because Germans "are unable to distinguish between Americans and English. . . ." As a result, "The American Embassy, which has performed wonders in the last ten days in giving succor to every kind of distressed persons [*sic*], advises that Americans wear tiny American flags and speak as little English as possible in public places."<sup>129</sup> Again and again, German-American tourists would contest these charges by emphasizing the good treatment they had experienced at the hands of the German hosts.

At the end of September the *Star's* German Column reported that Louis Clodi, Katie's father, and Louise Ploesser, Rosa's mother, had received letters originating in Berlin on August 28. There "the two young travelers are now visiting Mrs. Christiana Neumann, a sister of Mr. Clodi, whom he has not seen for twenty-five years. The letters say: 'To get home is by way of Rotterdam, Holland, but we are not allowed to leave here until the German government furnishes us with our sailing tickets. Every now and then special trains are run from here to Rotterdam, but only those are allowed to depart for home who have steamship tickets.'" Mrs. Neumann also took the trouble to write to her brother in Wilmington to let him know that she was enjoying the visit by his daughter and her friend, and that she was taking good care of them.<sup>130</sup>

The next report on the two women was somewhat more somber: "Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser, both of whom have been unwillingly detained by war in Germany for the past three months, sailed yesterday from Rotterdam, Holland, on the steamer 'Amsterdam' for New York." The German Column reminded its readers that the two women "have been in Europe on a visit to relatives of their parents whom they had never seen before." After spending a couple of weeks in Rotterdam awaiting passage, Ploesser and Clodi were expected to arrive home in about a week. "While they were in the best of hands, the enforced war stay worried them greatly and no doubt they will both welcome with all sincerity the Goddess of Liberty in New York harbor."<sup>131</sup>

The war-stay of Samson Stern, "the King Street saloon proprietor," took a path very different from those traveled by Misses Clodi and Ploesser. The *Star's* German Column informed its readers of a report that Stern "has been detained by the German Government and held to serve his unexpired term in the German army. This could not be verified." Nothing, however, had been heard from Mr. Stern since he sent a letter from Switzerland in late July.<sup>132</sup>



The Wilmington *Evening Journal* was more specific about Stern's military status when it reported on August 13 that "It was said this morning that he is a captain in the German army [and] was a member of the German army reserve forces. . . ." <sup>133</sup> Twelve days later that same newspaper told its readers this: "[I]t is thought that [Stern] has been compelled to join the Kaiser's army. Mr. Stern, when a young man, served six months of his three years enlistment in the German army, when he was placed on the reserve list." <sup>134</sup>

## **Back Home**

On Friday, September 4, the *Morning News* reported on Stern's European adventure, though it confused Samson with his brother Samuel: According to a "wireless telegram," Stern would be arriving in New York aboard the steamship *Rotterdam* three days later. In mentioning reports that Stern "was requisitioned into the German army corps," the *Morning News* added that "a younger brother, Leopold Stern, and several nephews are fighting in the German army, they being residents of Germany." <sup>135</sup> Two days later, on Sunday, September 6, the German Column of the *Star* announced Samson Stern's imminent return to the United States. According to the report, Stern "has during the week sent a cable, that he and Mrs. Stern would return to this country and arrive here tomorrow or Tuesday." The German Column expected this news to ease the anxiety of Mr. Stern's friends in Wilmington "who had feared that Mr. Stern had been drafted for the [German] army." But he had not. Rather, he and his wife were traveling in Switzerland and "apparently stayed there, while the mobilization was going on in Germany. They took passage home from Holland, which is, as Switzerland, a neutral country." <sup>136</sup>

On September 8, the day after Samson Stern's return to the United States, Wilmington's daily press carried accounts of his experiences in a Europe at war. Once again misidentifying the traveler as Samuel, the *Morning News* mentioned what it described as "a very trying voyage across the Atlantic." Stern, "when interviewed last night, spoke very highly of the treatment afforded German tourists in Germany." He indicated that 2,500 Americans had returned to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*, and that more than 1,000 of them had signed a statement protesting the hostility toward Germany that characterized the American press's coverage of the war in Europe: "It is surprising to me that American papers should take such a stand against Germany, . . . [a] country that has so helped us in our greatest troubles, the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. I think such people should be ashamed of themselves for even thinking some of the things which they have printed." <sup>137</sup>

Later that day the Wilmington *Evening Journal* also carried a report on



Stern's adventure. Stern was confident of a complete German victory, claimed that Americans were generally ignorant about the actual military situation, and lamented (as the *Evening Journal* paraphrased his view) that "the majority of American newspapers are printing only the news colored by French and English agencies. . . ." Stern boasted that "The Germans have won countless victories which never have been made public and their grand march across France is without equal in the military history of the world." Emphasizing the authoritativeness of a person caught up in the swirl of events and quite possibly intending to counter stories of German atrocities in Belgium, Stern insisted "that the people of the United States ought to know how the French and British are fighting. I have in my possession copper explosive bullets taken from French prisoners. Three are for rifles and one for a revolver. The French have violated every law of civilized warfare."<sup>138</sup>

Given the more timely coverage provided by Wilmington's daily press, perhaps the *Lokal-Anzeiger* chose to print for those who preferred to read their news in German only a relatively brief account of Stern's arrival in Wilmington: "Mr. Stern asserts that all Americans in Germany are being treated very well." The same item mentioned that more than 10,000 Americans were waiting in Rotterdam for the opportunity to return to the United States. Only a single line was still providing transatlantic transportation, and up to \$3,000 was being paid for passage to New York.<sup>139</sup>

Samson Stern and his family were not, however, the first of Wilmington's war-stayed to return from the European continent. Rather, as the *Star* mentioned, that distinction belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Constant J. Grandhomme, who lived in a "commodious country residence" in Centreville, just west of Wilmington. The *Star's* German Column had reported on the couple's May departure for Europe, but lengthy coverage of their arrival back in the United States instead began on the *Star's* front page. Perhaps the title of the article, "Blame the Kaiser for Spoiling a Trip," and what Mrs. Grandhomme had to say about the excursion did not quite fit the message the German Column wished to convey. In any event, the Grandhommes had left for Europe on May 6. They stayed in Paris for a week, then visited the birthplace of her husband, "a country district quite a distance from Paris." From there the couple traveled to "Hanover, Germany, my own home." The couple then toured Berlin, where they stayed for several days. "This was in June, and nothing was said about war at the German capital. Now and then we read some war-like articles in the press, but no one seemed to pay much attention to them." The couple then traveled to Coblenz, and from there to "Luzern, Zurich, and other [Swiss] cities of note . . . but still no one was aware that one of the greatest conflicts . . . the world ever will see was pending." Off to Italy, then "direct to Munnich [*sic*], Bavaria, and there is when we saw in



the papers that war was in sight and that the armies of the great European powers were mobilizing their forces." The Grandhommes concluded their abbreviated stay in Munich on July 28 and reached Paris the following day. Fearing that things would only get worse, they set out for Havre on August 3: "[W]e left on a cattle train. It took us 12 hours to reach our destination which at regular schedule time should be made in less than four hours." The Grandhommes later learned that "all railroads . . . were excluding passenger service and every available train leaving Paris was used for the transportation of troops to the front." They boarded the liner *La France*, "and there we stayed for 10 days." They valued their sojourn on the liner "because in the first place we had a shelter over our heads, and the most important point, was that if the *La France* was ever allowed to start for the United States, which was then very uncertain, we would have a better chance to get home." Mrs. Grandhomme's verdict on her experience: "I blame the Kaiser for cutting short my outing. I really enjoyed our trip greatly until this war put a stop to it all."<sup>140</sup>

As late as September 20 the German Column announced that no one had heard from Georg Kalmbacher since July 28, and "His family is greatly worried about his whereabouts."<sup>141</sup> But, in fact, Kalmbacher was already on his way home. He had departed Rotterdam on September 12 aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, and he would reach New York on Monday, September 21.<sup>142</sup> He arrived in Wilmington on September 23, and the following afternoon the city's *Evening Journal* carried a lengthy account of Kalmbacher's transatlantic adventure. According to the *Evening Journal*, Kalmbacher—identified throughout the article as *Kalmbach*—was convinced that the American people were not provided with accurate information about either the successes of the German army or the treatment accorded American tourists in Germany. The *Evening Journal* noted that the German-born Kalmbacher was "a naturalized citizen of the United States, having lived here since he was 17 years of age." The report mentioned that Kalmbacher was in Munich when war broke out and because "he had passports was not molested when they were shown." He subsequently traveled to Berlin where he remained during the early days of the war: "Mr. Kalmbach [*sic*] remarked that while there was great excitement at first, the populace soon settled down, and when he left there on September 6, there was 'no excitement, plenty to eat and plenty to drink in the German capital.'" The *Evening Journal* quoted Kalmbacher as saying that "All the German people are for war, . . . and they have no doubt but what they will win because they think the war was forced upon them." Kalmbacher insisted that "The German forces are advancing slowly but surely. Official statements are issued every day giving the war news, the names of those killed and wounded in battle, and how and where they were wounded."<sup>143</sup> Kalmbacher traveled to Holland from which he sailed for



the United States. "He sailed on the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, and he stated that many millionaires occupied steerage quarters on the ship, being unable to get better accommodations." On the vessel were 787 citizens from thirty-six states who signed an "Open Letter to the President of the United States of America," which the *Evening Journal* printed in full. The signers of the Open Letter, Kalmbacher among them, intended that it serve as testimony to the good treatment of Americans who were visiting Germany when war broke out: "In truth the attitude of all Germany, throughout the whole situation, has been one of serious consideration for the safety and comfort of all the strangers within her gates."<sup>144</sup> Thus did these returning apostles begin their work of spreading Germany's gospel. Also exposed to this Open Letter were newspaper readers in Germany, who, through the efforts of the Munich-based American Committee for Truth (Das amerikanische Aufklärungskomitee München), learned about the open letter.<sup>145</sup>

The following Sunday the German Column of the *Star* mentioned Kalmbacher's return but saved its more extensive coverage of his visit to the Old Fatherland for a later date.<sup>146</sup> In the October 4 issue of the *Star* the German Column reported that Kalmbacher, upon his return to Wilmington, was "asked [for] his version of the war." In his response he indicated his surprise at "the mess of doctored news which is sent over here from the scene of war and is published by our papers as the real thing." Kalmbacher said that he had expected a more objective chronicling of events "because I always relied on the outspoken fairness of our American press." He added that while in Germany he had "watched with interest the war reports . . . from the front." They were "with very few exceptions . . . in favor of the German army." Kalmbacher then indicated his overall assessment of what he had seen: "The general and the universal feeling in Germany is that we [*sic*] will win a great victory, and I really believe that this victory will be won in less than one month."<sup>147</sup>

A week later the *Star's* German Column reported that "we received a communication" from Kalmbacher in which he once again asserted his views with the authoritativeness of a man who, by virtue of his trip to Germany, had been a party to the events unfolding in Europe. He reiterated his concern that "our country [the United States] has not been truthfully informed as to the conditions before the war started, and even now I venture to say that we are not reliably informed." In referring to dispatches from the German Emperor to the Czar of Russia and the King of England, Kalmbacher insisted that they represented Kaiser Wilhelm's "prayer . . . for the preservation of peace." Kalmbacher was distressed that "many of our American friends lay the blame of this war on the German Emperor" when, in fact, "The Emperor of Germany was not the instigator of this bloody conflict." Kalmbacher drew



# Verlustliste Nr. 2.†)

Enthält die seit dem 10. August namentlich und mit Sicherheit bekannte  
geordneten Verluste.

**Stab der 14. Inf.-Brigade. Tot:**  
von Wuffow, General-Major. Bae-  
dicker, Oberleutnant d. R.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 18. Tot:** Grabowski,  
Paul, Gefreiter, 7. Komp. Ward, Paul,  
Reservist, 7. Komp.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 20. Tot:** Schlicht-  
Oberst.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 27. Tot:** Krüger,  
Oberst. Hildebrand, Hauptmann. Rü-  
besamen, Leutnant. Darrath, Leut-  
nant. Rudloff, Leutnant der Reserve.  
von dem Berne, Leutnant von Groß,  
Leutnant. Preuß, Leutnant. Volgt,  
Leutnant der Reserve.

**Fü.-Regt. Nr. 35. Tot:** Meilag,  
Major. Sabinski, Hauptmann von  
Puttamer, Hauptmann. Sawada,  
Hauptmann.

**3. Schief. Inf.-Regt. Nr. 156. Schwer**  
verwundet: Bartelt, Joseph,  
Musketier, 7. Komp. (rechtes Bein). Ide,  
Emil, Musketier, 8. Komp. (rechtes Fuß über-  
fahren und gebrochen, Marien-Hospital, Gen-  
schau).

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 165. Tot:** Leppien,  
Leutnant.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 171. Tot:** Licht, Ro-  
bert, Musketier, 10. Komp. Bodeker, Ernst,  
Musketier, 10. Komp. Franzen, Albert,  
Unteroffizier, 10. Komp. Lange II, Carl,  
Friedr., Ernst, Gefreiter, Hornisch, 7. Komp.  
Marcus, Friedr. Wilh., Reservist, 1. Komp.  
Vermißt: \*) Bittroff, Carl, Leut-  
nant, 6. Komp. Kornse, Otto, Sergeant,  
6. Komp. Matthes, Herm., Musketier,  
6. Komp. Sturm, Albert Heinz., Muske-  
tier, 6. Komp. Marg, Siegf. Gust., Muske-  
tier, 6. Komp.

**Schwer verwundet:** Spintig, Wilh.,  
Bisfeldwebel, 3. Komp. (rechtes Oberschenkel),  
Fett, Theodor, Musketier, 3. Komp. (rechtes  
und linkes Oberschenkel), Wisgermann,  
Wilhelm, Musketier, 1. Komp. (Unterleib).

**Jäger-Bat. Nr. 1. Tot:** Rathser,  
August, Jäger, Radfahrer.

**Schwer verwundet:** Mehl, Otto, Bi-  
feldwebel (Kopfschuß) Jagarett Reibenburg.

**Jäger-Bat. Nr. 4. Tot:** Ganderl,  
Leutnant.

**Jäger-Bat. Nr. 14. Tot:** Wegener,  
Führer. Schwentl, Jäger. Wrede,  
Jäger. Zuehl, Jäger. Wolfenstein,  
Jäger.

**Verwundet:** Rhaue, Jäger. Wefche,  
Jäger. Henkel, Jäger. Astelshon, Jäger.  
Andre, Oberjäger. Eugel, Oberjäger.  
Brause, Jäger. Biedemann I, Jäger.  
Sump, Gefreiter. Hennings, Gefreiter.  
Wostl, Gefreiter. Mahnte, Jäger. Dech,  
Gefreiter. Gotthmann, Jäger. Roden-  
brock, Gefreiter. Ulrich, Jäger. Dreier,  
Jäger. Verdun, Jäger. Schuidt II,

Jäger. Jurgens; Jäger. Hautz, Jäger,  
Präh. Jäger.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 5. Vermißt:** Holz,  
Wolff, Bisfeldwebel, 4. Eskadron.

**Drag.-Regt. Nr. 7. Tot:** Reiser-  
mann, Dragoner, 4. Esc. Windermann,  
Dragoner, 4. Esc. Palm, Dragoner, 2. Esc.  
Brüdemann, Dragoner, 4. Esc.  
Verwundet und gefangen: Simbichtl,  
Sergeant, 4. Esc. Reißmann, Dragoner,  
4. Esc.

**Drag.-Regt. Nr. 10. Vermißt:** Her-  
mann, Dragoner, 5. Esc.  
Gefangen: Socha, Dragoner, 5. Esc.

**Drag.-Regt. Nr. 14. Tot:** Leng:  
Wilh., Dragoner.

**Vermißt:** Kunkel, Wilh., Unteroffizier,  
Heinrich, Alfred, Gefreiter.

**Gefangen:** Singer, Lucian, Dragoner.  
**Leicht verwundet:** Kollied, Otto, Dra-  
goner (Armschuß, Jagarett Schlettstätt), Wöl-  
fer, Friedr., Unteroffizier (Schulter-  
schuß, Jagarett Kolmar).

**Flauen-Regt. Nr. 7. Tot:** Reßmar,  
Oberleutnant.

**Flauen-Regt. Nr. 8. Tot:** Korn-  
schat, Emil, Sergeant, 1. Esc. Heibst,  
Johannes, Mann, 1. Esc. (gest. am), Kri-  
ewitz, Wilh., Mann, 3. Esc.

**Vermißt (sollen gefallen sein):** Böhm,  
Werner, Rich., Müll, Leutnant, 1. Esc.  
Wichmann, Paul, Mann, 1. Esc.

**Vermißt:** Bohr, Paul, Jos., Mann,  
1. Esc. Gimmering, Aug., Mann, 4. Esc.

**Schwer verwundet:** Ribellus, Ferd.,  
Mann, 3. Esc. (linke Hand, rechtes Arm, Re-  
fervejagarett Stollupönen), Szillat, Aug.,  
Sergeant, 5. Esc. (rechte Schulter, Referve-  
jagarett Stollupönen), Schwabe, Gustav,  
Mann, 5. Esc. (rechte Hüfte, Refervejagarett  
Stollupönen).

**Leicht verwundet:** Ribnast, Aug.,  
Mann, 1. Esc. (rechte Schulter, Refervejagarett  
Stollupönen), Reinken, Friz, Gefreiter,  
4. Esc. (rechte Hüfte, Refervejagarett Stollu-  
pönen), Haberkus, Carl, Gefreiter, vierte  
Esc. (linke Schulter, Refervejagarett Stollu-  
pönen), Westphal, Franz, Mann, 4. Esc.  
(rechtes Bein, Refervejagarett Stollupönen),  
Sturm, Max, Gefreiter, 4. Esc. (rechtes  
Arm, Refervejagarett Stollupönen), Röck,  
Fritz, Mann, 5. Esc. (rechtes Arm, Referve-  
jagarett Stollupönen), Dahle, Otto, Mann,  
5. Esc. (linker Arm, wieder dienstfähig, Re-  
fervejagarett Stollupönen).

**Feldart.-Regt. Nr. 4. Tot:** Wilm-  
sen, Hauptmann, Brandhorst, Carl-  
Lorenz, Leutnant, Duerre, Leutnant d.  
Reg., Rudolph, Kommandeur der Mun-  
itionskolonnen, Oberstl. z. D.

**Fliegertruppen. Tot:** Jahnow,  
Oberleutnant, Fliegerabtlg. I (abgestürzt, Schü-  
delbruch).

## Berichtigung der Verlustliste 1.

**Inf.-Regt. Nr. 156. Tot:** Niessl  
Schubert, Ignaz Franz, Gefreiter der Re-  
serve, 6. Komp. — tot, ist zu sehen: Kra-  
wieh, August Jos., Reservist, 6. Komp. —  
tot.

\*) Sollen nach Angabe von französischen Ge-  
fangenen gefangen genommen und nach Gerar-  
mer transportiert sein.

†) Die Verlustliste Nr. 2 ist am 9. dieses Monats vom Wolfenbüttel-Kriegsgraphenbureau bearbeitet  
und von uns mitgeteilt worden.

“Casualty List Nr. 2” as it was distributed by the Wolff Telegraph Bureau and as it was published in the *Berliner Morgenpost* of August 15, 1914, page 3. “Contains the names of those who are confirmed to have become casualties since August 10.”



on his recent travels in describing developments in the Old Fatherland: "I noticed while in Germany that after all [of the Kaiser's] overtures had been left without notice [*sic*], every German, by birth or adoption, then saw that his nation had been ignored, and that there was no other alternative but to fight and save their homes and the honor of their country." And, once again, the authoritativeness of the eyewitness: "I also noticed that there was no doubtful feeling and no fear of defeat, and that the only solution of the question was war."<sup>148</sup>

Kalmbacher defended the Kaiser's decision to invade Belgium. The explanation for this was simple enough: "Had Germany not invaded Belgium, France would have done so, by using the protection of Belgium for making a short cut into Germany. It was known in Germany that such a plan was in force even before war was declared. . . ." Finally, Kalmbacher confessed to being confounded at how "Americans can favor a country like Russia, whereas Germany has always stood at the front for education and moral character. What has Russia ever accomplished for the good of civilization or education?"<sup>149</sup>

Surprising about the German Column's accounts of Kalmbacher's views, which were based on his sojourn in Germany, is what was not reported about the traveler's return trip. Whether Kalmbacher dealt with the homeward voyage in his remarks and the German Column decided not to describe it, whether he simply did not discuss the trip home, or whether he thought it had been fully covered by the earlier report in the *Evening Journal*, it was by other accounts quite an adventure. The *New York Times* reported that the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, the ship on which Kalmbacher sailed, was the largest of four ships to arrive in the port of New York on September 21. The *Nieuw Amsterdam* carried 1,798 passengers "of all classes," the majority of them German-Americans. The *Times* added that "resolutions were adopted acknowledging the courtesy shown to Americans in Germany and expressing doubt about alleged atrocities." These resolutions were presumably the Open Letter printed in the *Evening Journal* of September 24. Neither did the German Column mention that the *Nieuw Amsterdam* "was held up three times by British cruisers before she got clear of the English Channel, and Capt. Baron was requested to send down his wireless apparatus, which was replaced after the liner was well clear of the land." Further into the voyage "the liner passed an iceberg 150 feet out of the water."<sup>150</sup>

The authoritativeness accruing to Wilmington's German-American war-stayed returnees was captured by the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* brief report on a meeting of the local *Männerverein* held on the evening of October 6. Almost in passing, the newspaper mentioned that more than fifty members of the Men's Society had assembled to hear Kalmbacher and Stern provide a candid



description "of their experiences in the war" (*über ihre Kriegserlebnisse*).<sup>151</sup> Earlier in the week other newspapers had provided a bit more information. In almost identical articles the *Evening Journal* and the *Every Evening* mentioned that Kalmbacher and Stern "told of their experiences and described minutely the mobilization of the German army and the scenes which they witnessed in that connection." Both newspapers reminded their readers that the meeting was sponsored by the Men's Society of Zion Lutheran Church and then indicated that "Some of the men present had fought in the Franco-Prussian war and were surprised at the immense progress of the [German] army."<sup>152</sup> Few among the city's German-Americans were likely to doubt the word of their ethnic colleagues who were reported to have experienced the war firsthand and who were able to provide news that was not filtered through the "English press."

Although Wilmington's newspapers paid a good deal of attention to Kalmbacher's European adventure, their reports could not have covered all that he told his acquaintances among the city's German element. An opportunity for surmising what Kalmbacher might have said to his fellow Wilmingtonians is provided by the September 22 article in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, which described the voyage of the *Nieuw Amsterdam* that brought Kalmbacher and some 1,800 other passengers back to the United States. In addition to discussing the voyage itself and the Open Letter to President Wilson, the article addressed stories of atrocities committed by the warring armies in Belgium and France. One part of the article dealt with "Belgian Abominations" (*Belgische Greuel*) as they were recounted by the nineteen-year-old Marya Richards, an American from Baltimore who was visiting relatives in Cologne when war broke out. In a hospital there Richards had seen "German soldiers as well as women and children with eyes gouged out and with hands and feet chopped off." When she asked who had committed such horrific acts, the answer was always the same: "Belgian Frantireurs and women" (*Belgische Frantireurs und Weiber*). What Richards had to say—presumably to a reporter for the *Staats-Zeitung*—drew on charges and counter-charges regarding atrocities perpetrated by German soldiers on the western front in the first six weeks of the war. *Francs-tireurs*—armed civilians forcibly resisting the German forces—featured prominently in these allegations of German brutality because German military units often justified their brutal treatment of Belgian and French civilians by claiming that their soldiers had been fired upon by *francs-tireurs* who operated outside the rules governing the conduct of modern war. At the same time, Richards's claims of Germans whose eyes had been gouged out and whose hands and feet had been hacked off mirrored charges made by Belgian and French authorities that such inhuman acts had been perpetrated by *German soldiers* against the



Belgian and French populations.<sup>153</sup>

This same article in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* reported that an unnamed passenger aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam* had shown the paper's reporter a packet of dum-dum bullets taken from a French prisoner of war. The informant insisted that French soldiers had an ample supply of ammunition, including dum-dum bullets, this despite the fact that the use of dum-dum bullets contravened the rules of modern warfare. Once again a passenger claimed, and the *Staats-Zeitung* reported, that military forces fighting against Germany were guilty of the same malicious acts that the American press was attributing to the German army.<sup>154</sup>

By the time that Kalmbacher returned to the United States, allegations of German atrocities in Belgium and France had received a good deal of attention in the American press.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, on September 23, the very day that he reached Wilmington, the *Morning News* carried articles with the titles "Two Towns Razed. Germans Take Revenge for Attack by Civilians" and "Woman Tells of German Cruelties. Troops Shot Non-Combatants in Mulhausen, Then Destroyed Residences."<sup>156</sup> It seems not unreasonable to assume that the passengers on board the *Nieuw Amsterdam* had in the course of their nine-day-voyage constructed a shared understanding that refuted or deflected charges of barbaric behavior on the part of German soldiers, and that emerged as a chapter in the larger counter-narrative by which the German-American press challenged the version of events presented to readers by most newspapers in the United States. Thus, the *Staats-Zeitung* article blamed the Belgians and the French for the very misdeeds others were attributing to the German army. The unnamed passenger on the *Nieuw Amsterdam* was not plowing new ground with his claim that French soldiers possessed dum-dum bullets. According to an article in the *Sunday Morning Star* dated September 5, the German general staff had charged the British and French armies with using dum-dum bullets.<sup>157</sup> That the passengers aboard the *Nieuw Amsterdam* were aware of how Germany and Germans were being represented to the American public by much of the American press, and that the passengers were capable of creating such a counter-narrative, was demonstrated by the 787 of them who signed the Open Letter to President Wilson, with the letter itself a shared counter-narrative speaking to the treatment of foreigners who found themselves in Germany when war broke out. The preamble to the letter made it clear that the 787 signatories were responding to reports "from cables, letters and newspapers received by us" concerning the treatment of tourists who found themselves in Germany when war broke out.<sup>158</sup> Finally, it seems fair to say that Kalmbacher and the other signers of the Open Letter would share with their German-American acquaintances that counter-narrative regarding atrocities committed in Belgium and France.



beruht Haupt und Malbuchschaffen, namentlich in demjenigen von der Gauer durchflochtenen Getreide, das zu den Kleibern gehört. Dort liegt das ländliche Wäldchen Bienen und viele die Bebauung diese lizenzierte für die Sommerliche Zeit, erlich man schon heraus, das sie hier das größte Gebiet hat gegen Umher befindet. Belgier und Holländer, Deutsche und Franzosen, das sind hier die Gäste. Die Begeben ist doch ein schon Namen, die Franzosen haben hier ebenfalls traulich gewohnt, als in der West und am Rhein. Besonders namentlich sind die Klauen von Beauvois, es ist das soll ein Schützlinge Wäldchen im Tinten Wäldchen. Auch das merkwürdige ist an der Gauer weiß die Trümmern jener gestrichet Bürger auf. Am schönsten liegt die herrliche Burgmaire von Bienen, eine amers schützliche Getreide für die Mater. Bienen ist die Stimmung des



Einmaliges Wort Klauen, Augenzeug

Erzählt gemessen, jedoch hat König Wilhelm der Zweite sehr wenig Gier für dieses Gebiet seiner vornehmlichen Güter an der See, er hat, kann er verkauft das herrliche Baum für 5000 Gulden an einen Unterbeamten. Nun wurde die Burg ein Spielplatz. Die letzten Gebäude und Bauarbeiten wurden bezugsfertig und verkauft. Oben diesen Denkmalen prunkte das Land, und König Wilhelm konnte schließlich das Trümmern jenseitig, aber nur um es einem anderen Betrüger, dem Sohn der Zeit, zu überlassen.

**Dum-Dum-Kugeln.**

Genauere Beschreibung über die Beschaffenheit dieser Geschosse.



Die Beschaffenheit dieser Geschosse, ein Teil seiner Wirkung sei mit Dum-Dum-Geschossen ausgetestet gewesen.

Wie sie vor dem Schuß aussehen.

Es ist dies schon bestritten worden. Gleich ist das eine so schwere Wunde, das ein Geschoss davon berechtigt sein würde, wenn dergleichen Vorkommen nicht zu Tausenden auf den Schlachtfeldern und bei Gefangenen gefunden worden. Der Militärgerichtlicher Kommissar von Wien warf den Deutschen im letzten Jahre Vorwurf in Bezug auf die Dum-Dum-Geschosse vor. Der Textus liegt aber sonst auf Seiten des Militärs. Dum-Dum-Geschosse sind nicht, wie es man, Geschosse mit Kupferhülle. Die Verwendung solcher Geschosse ist durch die Vorkriegsunter Kommission bereits im Jahre 1864 verboten. Auch dieser diesen Vorkriegsunter Kommission 400 Stimmen nicht verweigert werden.



Bei menschlichen Gefangenen befindet man sich Dum-Dum-Geschosse. (Oben: Kugeln nach dem Schuß.)

Die Dum-Dum-Geschosse sind eine englische Erfindung. Nach Einführung des Heiligtümlichen Vereites,



Wohin nach 7 Millimeter-Militärgewicht. lassen Geschoss zur sicheren Führung mit einem Schmalzmetall umgeben war, sodass die Engländer bei ihren Kämpfen gegen die wilden Weidwälder die Beobachtung gemacht haben, das die bösen getroffenen Pferde nicht sofort kampfunfähig wurden, sondern ihre Kraftbewegung nach längerer Zeit. Um die Schmalzmetalle geschädigt zu machen, teilten die englischen Soldaten die Geschosse ab, so das das Blei gutere Zeit und dem Kugelfressen des Geschosses den Vorteil sparte. Später wurden solche Geschosse in der Gattung der Dum-Dum in dem Jahre von 1870 hergestellt. Man fertigte zwei verschiedene Muster heraus. Bei dem einen wurde das Geschoss mit dem Blei gefüllt; bei dem anderen wurde in die ununterste Spitze eine Bohrung in der Richtung der Geschosspitze gemacht.



Schick mit Dum-Dum-Kugel. Schick. Welche Male war der Joch, die Verwundungen schwerer blühbar zu machen.

In der dritten Deklaration der Kongress-Präsidenten (1899) musste die Verwendung von Geschossen die sich im menschlichen Körper nicht auflösen oder auflösen, als unethisch unterst. Die Deklaration ist von Frankreich, nicht aber von England unterzeichnet. Vorher hat alle England- und West, selbst von der ganzen zivilisierten Welt als unethisch gebilligt. Geschosse zu verwenden. Frankreich dagegen hat sich durch den Gebrauch solcher Geschosse eines schweren Vorwurfs bei den ihm eingegangenen völkerrechtlichen Verpflichtungen schuldig gemacht. Bei den Gefangenen sind insbesondere Geschosse mit Schmalzmetall, die in der Spitze mit einer Wulst ausgehört sind, gefunden worden. Die normalen Geschosse sind meistens aus einer Kupferlegierung, die natürlich nicht in dieser Weise umgewandelt werden können. Wie weiter unten man solche gefunden, die an der Spitze schon abgeleitet oder eingestrichelt waren. Selbstverständlich, damit das aufrechte Geschoss beim Eindringen in den menschlichen Körper sich aus Zell- und schwerere Wunden erzeugt. Es scheint dem Gedächtnis das kaiserlichen Kommissarversteher nachschauen zu sein, bei kaiserlichen Gefangenen hat während der kaiserlichen Kriegen wiederholt und unter Hinweis auf viele aufgetragene Klagen darüber berichtet haben, das französische Gefangenen den Kommissarversteher über Tausend Dum-Dum-Geschosse vorgeführt haben.

Wie berichtet wird, steht im deutschen Dreyer ein Blei mit zehn Kugeln im Feld. Der nächste Mann, der zum Schuss des Gefangenen so notwendig betrogen ist, bricht diesen und nimmt aus Mitleid um Wäldchen. Er selber steht als Dankbarmann auf vorgerücktem Lebensalter. Sein jüngerer Sohn hat sich als Kriegsteilnehmer gemeldet.

An article about dum-dum bullets ("Dum-Dum Kugeln") that appeared in the *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger* of November 7, 1914.

Illustration of four cartridges: "How they look before being fired."

Illustration of three spent rounds: "Dum-dum bullets taken from French prisoners. (Above: How they look after being fired.)"

Illustration of top skull: "A shot from a 7 millimeter military rifle."

Illustration of bottom skull: "A shot from a dum-dum bullet."

On October 26 the *Morning News* was able to report that Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser had arrived in Wilmington the day before. The story in the *Morning News* dealt mostly with the efforts of the two young women to make their way back home and with the reception accorded them upon their return. Still, said the article, "the young women stated that all the officials of the railroads and at the various boundary lines were most cordial, and that they experienced no trouble whatever, with the exception of a slight disadvantage in going from one place to another."<sup>159</sup> Later that day the *Every Evening* informed its readers that Clodi and Ploesser, "burdened with great quantities of interesting souvenirs from the center of the world's war," had reached Wilmington the previous evening.<sup>160</sup> The *Every Evening* described the young women as "Paying a great tribute to the military and railway officials of Germany for their unflinching courtesy and consideration of Americans who were trapped in the domain of the Kaiser when the war clouds broke."<sup>161</sup> The following Saturday the *Lokal-Anzeiger* told much the same story that appeared in the *Every Evening*: that "to the great joy of their relatives" Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser had returned home. But the *Lokal-Anzeiger* had more to report. According to Misses Clodi and Ploesser, Germans were convinced that the triumph of German arms was inevitable and that the war would not be a long one. Clodi told the *Lokal-Anzeiger* that she had stayed with an aunt in Berlin, where near the castle she saw the Crown Princess who was about to bring flowers to wounded and hospitalized German soldiers. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* went on to say that Miss Clodi was much impressed by other events: "In Berlin the celebration of Sedan Day on September 2 was indescribably beautiful, as Fr. Clodi told us. A massive number of people in the streets and a grand enthusiasm were the order of the day. Along Unter den Linden passed a parade that included captured Belgian, French, and Russian cannons and other weapons." This kind of news from Germany would benefit not only from the recollections of the two young women but also from the "many German periodicals" that, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, they brought home with them.<sup>162</sup>

Under the heading "Safe and Sound at Home" the *Star's* German Column offered a lengthy account of the Clodi-Ploesser odyssey: "Last Sunday evening Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser, after being absent for five months, and almost within hearing of the voice of battle, arrived from Germany and were met at the railroad station by relatives and friends." Earlier in the year the two young women "conceived the idea of a trip to Europe, for the purpose of paying a visit to near relatives of their parents, whom they had never seen." The "reporter of the German page yesterday" interviewed Miss Clodi at her home. In accounting for German hospitality toward American tourists, she said that "A German respects and admires the American mostly





Parade of captured guns and flags on Sedan Day in Berlin, 1914.

“Miss Clodi and Miss Ploesser home.” On Sunday evening . . . , Miss Katie Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser returned from Germany safe and sound. . . . Miss Clodi lived the last five weeks with an aunt in Berlin. . . . Miss Clodi told us that the celebration of Sedan Day on September 2 in Berlin was indescribably wonderful. That day was marked by great enthusiasm and an enormous number of people in the streets. Along Unter den Linden moved a procession in which captured Belgian, French, and Russian cannons, etc., passed by. (*Wilmington Lokal Anzeiger*, October 31, 1914)

on the ground that [Germans are] in some way closely connected with the United States, because of the fact that the majority of families in Germany have relatives and friends residing right here among us.” The young woman described the early stages of the trip, mentioning the beauty, art, and industry of Europe, and particularly of Germany. “All went well with us until the war clouds became thicker and more threatening every day.” The war thereafter provided its own unanticipated adventure. Clodi reported that she had seen in Stuttgart large numbers of German soldiers moving to the front; in Nuremberg some thousands of French prisoners of war—“a poor looking lot, fagged out with the misfortunes of war”; and in Berlin “a great many wounded soldiers of all the warring nations.” It was also in Berlin, Clodi remarked, that the two women had “lots of time to study the war situation.” The recently returned Wilmingtonian observed that “The enthusiasm of the German people knows no bounds. Even the school children return from their sessions in groups and sing patriotic songs in the streets.” But Berlin already seemed to be showing the stress of wartime: “All large, available buildings



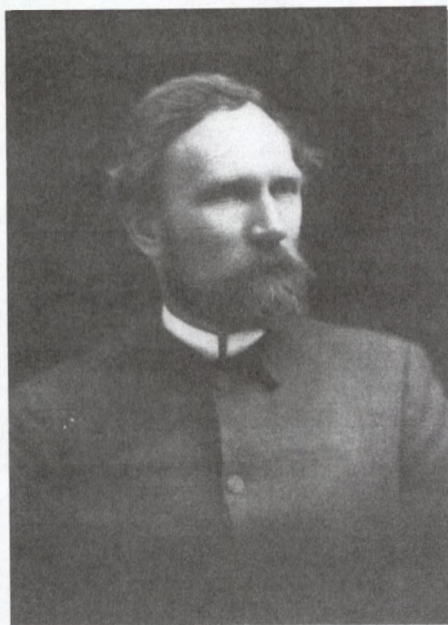
have been fitted up as temporary hospitals. . . . Ragtime music, balls and receptions are at the present time not permitted in Berlin. At the theatres only patriotic music is allowed." Returning to the United States proved to be an ordeal. The women telegraphed to Rotterdam for passage on an outgoing steamer, "then left for the Hague, where we stayed for three weeks before we could get accommodations." The travelers were in Holland long enough to learn "that its people are most unfriendly to the Germans, altho Holland is a neutral country." In the end, "we were glad to get away. Upon reaching New York harbor at night, the Goddess of Liberty shone in splendor with hundreds of electric lights surrounding her, and let me tell you, we were glad to be home once more." Undaunted upon her return to Wilmington, Clodi announced that "This will not be my last trip to Germany. I shall make another visit as soon as this war calamity has passed over."<sup>163</sup>

Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser were not the only passengers aboard the *Rotterdam* to attract the attention of Wilmington's German-Americans. On that same voyage was the Reverend Georg von Bosse, introduced earlier in this study as the pastor of St. Peter's German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia and the father of Reverend Siegmund von Bosse who, since August 1914, was serving as pastor of Wilmington's Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. The German Column of September 6 had reported that Georg von Bosse and his daughter Hildegard had traveled to Europe "early in the summer . . . for a stay in Germany." Nothing was heard from the couple, noted the German Column, "since the war broke out until yesterday when a post card was received saying that [Georg von Bosse] is in Saxony. His daughter is staying with an aunt in Dresden."<sup>164</sup>

Within a month of his October 25 return to the United States Georg von Bosse shared with Wilmingtonians his experiences in Germany and his sense of how the Fatherland would fare in its current travail. On November 21 the *Lokal-Anzeiger* published "A Communication (*Schreiben*) from Pastor Geo. von Bosse." In it the elder von Bosse wrote of his delight in learning that German-Americans and the entire German-American press had unanimously stood up for the Fatherland which had been attacked "in a wicked way by hate-filled enemies" because it too wished to have a "place in the sun." Based on what he had seen during his visit to Germany, von Bosse was able to report that "to a man" Germans were united in their support of the Kaiser. "I see it as a blessing from my God that I was permitted to witness this powerful awakening (*gewaltige Erhebung*) of the German people, and never have I been prouder to have sprung from German roots (*dem deutschen Stamm entsprossen zu sein*) and never have I been a greater admirer of the noble German Kaiser than at this momentous time." In von Bosse's opinion, "all confessional and political boundaries [in Germany] have fallen," and Germans have become



a unified people. This unity has been strengthened by a deeply religious sensibility, "which has been slumbering in recent years." This feeling has exploded "with an elemental and incomparable force," and an "unshakeable confidence in the help of our righteous Lord" has become for Germans "a source of unconquerable and insurmountable strength." German-Americans must do no less than their "brothers and sisters over there." "Come forward, let us genuflect before our God who has always so wonderfully blessed the German people and who will continue to bless them in spite of their countless enemies and in the face of the lies, slanders, and hateful speech." Every person who carries "a drop of German blood," who "claims to be a truth-loving human being," has a "sacred obligation" to combat the lying and slandering perpetrated by Germany's enemies.<sup>165</sup> Von Bosse's insistence on this "sacred obligation," this *heilige Pflicht*, recalled the "heilige Pflicht" mentioned in the letter that American guests leaving Freiburg im Breisgau sent to the authorities in that city (and cited earlier in this paper).



Georg von Bosse.

Photo of Georg von Bosse taken from his book *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses*. Stuttgart: Chr. Belsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908.

The same issue of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* that carried Georg von Bosse's communication also announced that the Philadelphia pastor, "the father of our pastor at the local Zion Church," would be giving a lecture in Wilmington. Lovers of "excellent German," the newspaper insisted, will appreciate the fact that Georg von Bosse "understands better than anyone else how to bring forth the full beauty of the German language." More importantly, he had only recently returned to the United States, and he would be presenting news that he had gathered during his trip. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* asked all those with German roots to attend the event, and, in particular, the newspaper encouraged Wilmington's German societies to appear *in corpore* brandishing their badges and banners.<sup>166</sup>

News of Georg von Bosse's appearance in Wilmington was not confined to the *Lokal-Anzeiger* or the German Column of the *Star*. The *Evening Journal* told its readers of the upcoming mass meeting at Zion and mentioned that Georg von Bosse, the principal speaker who "is well known here," had only recently returned from Germany. "He has been in a position, due to a military pass which took him into the prisoner camps and on to the military trains, to gain valuable information still lacking in press accounts of the war." The article, which indicated that "All Americans are invited to be present," did not mention that Georg von Bosse would deliver his remarks in the German language.<sup>167</sup> The *Morning News* carried a similar notice, though adding that Georg von Bosse had used family connections in placing himself where he could observe the course of events: "Through his brother, who is a major-general, [Georg von Bosse] obtained a military pass, which enabled him to ride on any military train and visit the prisoners' camps."<sup>168</sup>

Because the "mass meeting" was held on a Monday evening, coverage by Wilmington's daily "English" press appeared well before that offered by the city's German-American press, the latter published on Saturday (the *Lokal-Anzeiger*) and Sunday (the *Star's* German Column). Thus, the day after the event the *Evening Journal* gave a spirited account of Georg von Bosse's remarks. In a church "which was filled to capacity with Germans anxious to hear of conditions in the Fatherland" Georg von Bosse presented a "word picture of stirring scenes in Germany at war—Germany battling for its very life against almost overwhelming odds. . . ." Once again the authoritativeness of the eyewitness: "Dr. von Bosse, Sr., has just returned from a tour of Germany, where he gained first hand information concerning the situation." Von Bosse described Germany as "a vast armed camp" and claimed that "The Fatherland never will be conquered because the people are united. Caste has disappeared, and men of all classes are standing together ready to give their life blood for the Kaiser and the nation." Germany, which had not wanted war, was fighting to defend itself. The *Evening Journal* reported that von Bosse "spoke with pride of the feats of German arms, and then turned to the oft raised question



of alleged cruelty to prisoners. He denied that Germany maltreats soldiers of the Allied forces who fall into its hands, declaring . . . such barbaric treatment as is often set forth in newspapers to be pure inventions." Indeed, "The speaker contrasted the kindness and consideration shown aliens in Germany with the conduct of French, English, Russian and other authorities toward peaceful Germans within their jurisdiction." Toward the end of his remarks Georg von Bosse "appeal[ed] to the Germans to stand together and added that they might rest assured that the German people will fight to the last man in defense of their institutions, culture, firesides and Fatherland."<sup>169</sup>

The capacity crowd at Zion then heard from Georg von Bosse's son, "Rev. Mr. von Bosse, Jr.," who spoke about "Germany's efforts to prevent the mighty conflict sweeping Europe." Siegmund von Bosse read from "the diplomatic correspondence of the German Emperor himself, showing that the Kaiser had personally telegraphed to the English and Russian rulers to use their influence with their cabinets to hold fast for peace." The *Evening Journal* mentioned one message that the Kaiser had sent to the King of England advising him that Russia was mobilizing on Germany's eastern frontier. In effect, the younger von Bosse insisted, "Russia forced the conflict by massing horse, foot and guns in almost overwhelming numbers on the German eastern front, thus forcing the Kaiser and the German General Staff to act."<sup>170</sup>

The *Morning News* and the *Every Evening* provided brief and relatively uninformative coverage of Zion's event.<sup>171</sup> But at week's end both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column of the *Star* devoted a good deal of attention to the gathering at Zion and, in particular, to Georg von Bosse's speech.<sup>172</sup> The *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column told much the same story, though there were some differences in their respective accounts. Thus, the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, which was published on Saturday, reported—and the German Column of the *Star* on Sunday did not—that the Philadelphia pastor declaimed against the untruthful reports regarding the treatment of foreigners who were in Germany when war broke and against the treatment that he, a German-speaker, had received in Paris. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* also mentioned that Georg von Bosse read a poem he had brought with him from the battlefield at the Meuse and which "gives a verbal picture (*Stimmungsbild*) of the confidence of the German soldiers."<sup>173</sup>

Much in keeping with what would appear in the German Column of the *Star* the following day, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* also reported that Georg von Bosse's speech addressed charges of German responsibility for the outbreak of the war, which, he said, were completely misplaced. "The Kaiser gave the order for mobilization only after the Russian hordes had already invaded East Prussia; only after French airmen had appeared over German cities and dropped bombs on them; and only after French troops had already crossed the



German border." Equally wrong-headed were charges that German militarism was somehow to blame for the war: "In the German sense militarism is nothing more than that a person takes a weapon in his hand and defends his fatherland just as every head of the household would defend his home." Echoing remarks made in his communication to the *Lokal-Anzeiger* some nine days earlier, von Bosse described how Germans were turning to God at this crucial hour. The churches were crowded and, more than ever before, Germans were praying and placing their trust in God. Finally, according to the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, the Philadelphia pastor urged German-Americans to give their whole-hearted support to the German Volk "not only because we are part of the German race but also because Germany is fighting for a just cause." The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that von Bosse's speech created a deep impression on the audience because he "spoke with conviction and his deep melodious voice went straight to the heart."<sup>174</sup>

Coverage in the *Star's* German Column duplicated much of what the *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported about the assembly at Zion. This included a lengthy excerpt from Georg von Bosse's speech, which he delivered in German. The German Column found it worthy of note that "among the hearers were many ladies, who have taken a great interest in the serious conflict in which many of their relatives are engaged. Those assembled belonged to all creeds." The Philadelphia pastor, "who had only recently returned from Europe, founded his discourse on facts that he personally observed." He proceeded to share his experiences in Germany and to present his views on the origins of the war. "The great world war is on, and whoever is responsible for it will have much to answer for." Germany, with its immense prosperity, had no reason to go to war. Nor did the Kaiser want war. William II, who just a year before, upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the imperial throne, was hailed "by the press of all the civilized world [as] the 'Ruler of Peace' . . . has [now] been styled and named the 'War Lord' by the press which formerly sang his praises as the promoter of peace." The elder von Bosse went on to say that "For 42 years Germany worked and lived in peace with all other nations, and it would yet be living in peace if this deplorable conflict, the greatest and most destructive in history, had not been forced on the German Empire thru jealousy and nothing else." Even the German Socialists, which many expected to oppose the war and the government, have backed the regime and the war effort. The speaker was particularly concerned to set the record straight regarding what he termed the "false and outrageous reports" from London and Paris regarding Germany's treatment of the prisoners its armies had captured—an issue touched upon by many of the German-American tourists. "Let me tell you," he said, "I happened to be in a position while traveling in Germany by special permission to visit hospitals and quarters



assigned to prisoners, and I must say that they are treated and taken care of with the greatest possible care. They are much better off, I venture to say, than their poor brothers on the battlefield. Reports to the contrary are malicious and absolutely untrue. The helping spirit in Germany for the sufferers is the greatest I ever saw." The one-hour speech "was listened to with the greatest attention [and] the meeting adjourned with many congratulations to the speaker, who is well known here."<sup>175</sup>

In song the crowd expressed its loyalty to both the Old Fatherland and the New. The German Column reported that the children's choir and a "mass chorus" early in the evening sang *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*; the rally closed with "the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by the choir and audience." In its account of the event the *Lokal-Anzeiger* referred not only to the singing mentioned by the German Column but also to an early evening rendition of *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* and a later singing of *Die Wacht am Rhein*.<sup>176</sup>

The Lengels along with two other war-stayed Wilmingtonians, William Mutschler and Christian Koehler, finally completed their trips back to the U.S. on November 3. They all returned from Germany via Rotterdam on the steamer *Potsdam*. In Rotterdam the Wilmingtonians met "without previous appointment." The travelers "were only too glad to get back home and altho the voyage was not a pleasant one, eight days of continuous storm being encountered, they were glad for every day's progress they made for the United States." According to the item in the German Column of the *Star*, "Every available space on the *Potsdam* was filled" because of a report circulating in Rotterdam that "after this voyage of the *Potsdam*, it would not be likely that the Holland-American Steamship Company would allow any more ships to leave Rotterdam on account of the dangers of mines and hold-ups on the sea." If that proved to be the case, the article continued, "many American tourists now in Germany will be held up until the war is over, or until such time as some agreement can be reached by the warring powers for the transportation of passengers and freight."<sup>177</sup> The voyage of the *Potsdam* received brief coverage in the *New York Times*, which noted that the ship "On account of the danger of mines in the North Sea . . . had a special pilot to take the ship through the danger zone. The lifeboats were all swung out and most of the passengers sat up on deck, the officers said."<sup>178</sup> The *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* also carried a relatively brief account of the voyage, which related that the *Potsdam*, after a stormy trip across the Atlantic, had reached New York from Rotterdam three days late. The *Staats-Zeitung* mentioned that German-Americans, more than seventy-five percent of the passengers on board, were unanimous in their view that during their stay in the old homeland they had received from both private individuals and public authorities the most polite



treatment possible.<sup>179</sup>

The *Star's* German Column carried an extensive interview with Lengel, who told the newspaper's "representative" that he was "dumbfounded at the reports I read [in the United States] about conditions in Germany." With the authoritativeness of an eye-witness and the fervor of an apostle, Lengel stated that he had spent six months in Germany, mostly in Heilbronn, "where we have relatives and friends." Heilbronn, Lengel related, "is in the southern part of Germany only a short distance from the scene of war near the French and Belgium borders, but notwithstanding this close proximity, there was no one alarmed that an invasion might take place. In fact, business went on in the usual way, and the only signs of war were trainloads of wounded and prisoners that arrived daily." Lengel recounted that "Day after day I saw trainloads of soldiers (Germans) [*sic*] pass thru Heilbronn enroute to the front. The trains were decorated with bunting, garlands and flowers, and even the soldiers carried floral decorations. Some carried them in their helmets and others in their belts and guns." These soldiers, Lengel continued, "some with families at home, sang patriotic songs while on the way to the front and perhaps to death." Lengel admitted that "The losses of the Germans up to the time we left, were heavy, but the number of killed and wounded of the other powers are far larger, as are also their losses in guns and prisoners." In the course of the interview Lengel introduced "the newspaper man" to his sixteen-year-old granddaughter, Catherine McDowell. McDowell, who had made the trip with her grandfather, then described to the reporter how she had served on the staff of the Red Cross Society in Heilbronn: "A class of young women were detailed for duty at the railroad station where we served tea, coffee, cakes and bread to the wounded who passed thru Heilbronn. I served every day for six weeks, eight hours each day, and I saw a great deal of war, or, rather the consequences of war. All of the wounded, whether French, German or English, were treated with kindness, notwithstanding the false reports of the English papers that the French and English wounded were neglected."<sup>180</sup>

Lengel claimed that the perpetrator of the war "was mainly England." He added that "As a businessman I often came in contact with men of affairs in Germany during my recent visit. . . . I am informed on the best of authority that England had declared war against the foreign trade policy of Germany some months before war was declared." Lengel's overall assessment: "There is not a German nor an American in Germany at the present time who does not fully believe in the final victory of the German army."<sup>181</sup>

Christian Koehler,<sup>182</sup> another of the war-stayed, was likewise interviewed by the *Star's* "representative." Accompanying Koehler on his very recent trip to Germany was Katherine Fuchs Koehler, the four-year-old child that he and his wife had adopted. Because the child's grandparents in Germany



had "expressed a desire to see their grandchild before they died," Koehler explained to the interviewer, "I made up my mind to make the trip to Europe with the child and her aunt (her mother's sister) [*sic*] to gratify the old folks' wish." Koehler planned to depart from Hamburg for the United States on August 2, "but transportation had closed, and we had to return again to the south of Germany where our relatives lived." The planned visit of not more than four weeks became a war-stay of nineteen weeks.<sup>183</sup> In Cassel Koehler saw "Thousands of soldiers and wounded prisoners [who] were brought in daily from the front and sent all over Germany." Once Koehler learned that ships were sailing to the United States from Rotterdam, he met in Cassel with "the consul of Holland, Mr. Pechmann, brother of Mr. Pechmann who conducts a pharmacy at Marcus Hook, Pa. [just north of Wilmington]." With Mr. Pechmann's assistance, and after yet another delay in Rotterdam, the Koehler party eventually sailed from the Dutch port aboard the *Potsdam*. The accommodations were less than ideal. "We had to sleep on a concrete floor, but fortunately I secured some blankets for my little ward. . . . They fed us poorly. I never ate such food, but we were glad to be on our way home." Perhaps even more distressing, said Koehler, was the fact that "The inhabitants of Holland are bitter against the Germans and even on the ship one could notice this, but the better and more intelligent class of that country blame England and France for all this trouble." The German Column, which designated "Little Miss Koehler . . . the youngest war-stayed tourist of this city," reported that the tot did not want to repeat her trip to Europe: "'No, I don't want to go to Germany any more,' she said in excellent German. . . . 'Because there are too many soldiers there and the mud is so deep that I soil my shoes. They have no pavements.'"<sup>184</sup>

Of the Wilmingtonians who returned to the United States on November 3 aboard the *Potsdam*, William Mutschler, Sr., could perhaps recount the most unnerving of adventures.<sup>185</sup> His stay in Germany was marked by "many trying experiences in which he witnessed many important events in the present war in Europe. . . ." Mutschler brought back to Wilmington "many interesting souvenirs and remembrances from his relatives and comrades in the Fatherland, who have gone to the front." These souvenirs included a snuff box "given to him by a friend two days before he was killed at the first battle at Littisch. [*sic*]"<sup>186</sup>

More remarkable, while in Germany Mutschler "was mustered into the German army for two days and had to notify the American consul before he was released. He still retained his American passports and those proved that he was a citizen of the United States and could not be held."<sup>187</sup> Although the *Star's* German Column had voiced the concerns of Wilmington's German-Americans regarding the possibility that Samson Stern had been called to



serve in the German army, it made no mention of the possibility that the same fate might befall other Wilmingtonian war-stayed travelers and, specifically, William Mutschler.<sup>188</sup> The record does not show whether German authorities had granted Mutschler permission to emigrate when he departed Germany in 1892 at the age of twenty-three, but the *Lokal-Anzeiger's* reference to Mutschler's *Soldatenzeit* indicates that he had served in the German army.<sup>189</sup> Had he not emigrated, or had he emigrated without permission, his military commitment in the reserves would have extended through age forty-four. Mutschler, just three weeks short of his forty-fifth birthday when he sailed for Germany on June 6, 1914,<sup>190</sup> would have reached his forty-fifth birthday during his visit to the Old Fatherland. This tourist might have anticipated his fate had he known what a former United States consular official in Brunswick, Edward W. S. Tingle, had written in 1903. In a slim volume Tingle described the hypothetical "German-American" who, as a member of the Reserves or National Guard while residing in Germany, had emigrated without permission, and who was "in process of acquiring or having already acquired U.S. citizenship": in the event that "a summons be published for all Germans to return to their native land," that German-American "cannot justly be held accountable upon returning to Germany on a visit. In practice, however, he is often proceeded against." Elsewhere, Tingle observed that such a German-American "may not be punished on his return [to Germany] though it is possible he may be proceeded against until the ambassador makes representations in his behalf."<sup>191</sup> Mutschler evidently experienced firsthand the meaning of "proceeded against."

If it is not so remarkable that Wilmington's three daily newspapers, the *Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Morning News*, covered Mutschler's two-day stint in the German army,<sup>192</sup> one cannot but wonder why neither the *Lokal-Anzeiger* nor the *Star's* German Column mentioned it. Was the episode as described in Wilmington's daily press on Wednesday and Thursday too dated to be presented once again on Saturday and Sunday in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column, or were the two weeklies unwilling to report on the unpleasantness that authorities in the Old Fatherland had visited upon a German-American tourist? The latter seems the more likely explanation since those two papers managed to note Mutschler's return to Wilmington, and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* even carried an article describing a welcoming-home visit paid him by the Delaware *Sängerbund*.<sup>193</sup>

Mutschler's experiences extended well beyond his encounter with the German army. According to the press coverage of his trip, 400 of the 900 residents of Freiburg, the small town that he was visiting, were serving in the German armed forces. Thus, the town was "greatly handicapped because all of the men folks were sent to war, and Mr. Mutschler helped them to



harvest their crops.”<sup>194</sup> In the course of his visit to Germany, Mutschler also met fellow war-stayed Wilmingtonians Ploesser and Clodi. Mutschler’s recollection of the voyage home was of a piece with his five months in Germany. According to the *Morning News*, Mutschler mentioned that there were still many thousands of Americans in Rotterdam, that the ship he had been scheduled to sail on was sunk by a mine, and that “on the way across several ships including many English battleships were sighted. The passengers expected to be blown out of the water at any time by a marine mine.”<sup>195</sup>

The adventures of Wilmington’s war-stayed citizens seemed to conclude with the return of “the last three of Wilmington’s Germans,” Lengel, Mutschler, and Koehler, “who since the outbreak of the war were whiling away their time in the Old Fatherland.”<sup>196</sup> That their experiences in Germany endowed the war-stayed with an authoritativeness regarding Germany’s role in both the outbreak and subsequent conduct of the war was made clear by the *Star* on December 6. In that issue of the paper the German Column referred to “reports which are published from time to time charging brutality on the part of Germans to the wounded and prisoners of the allied forces,” then stated that “In this city a committee of German-Americans will shortly be formed to refute untruthful reports.” At stake was “the confidence and respect of our American friends as to charity and humanity, which have always been Germany’s most noble virtues.” The German Column mentioned specifically Kalmbacher, Lengel and his granddaughter, Mutschler, Koehler, and Georg von Bosse, who “all speak in the highest terms of the treatment accorded prisoners and wounded soldiers by the Germans.”<sup>197</sup>

As it turned out, however, the story of Wilmington’s German-American returnees had not yet run its course with the arrival in Wilmington of Lengel, Mutschler, and Koehler. As mentioned above, the William Kleinstubers had sold their home and in July 1914 sailed for Europe. Had the couple decided to spend their remaining years in the Old Fatherland, or had they rather planned for only a prolonged stay in Germany? Or, upon their departure from the United States, had the couple not decided? On his June 19, 1914 passport application, Kleinstuber formulaically indicated that “I intend to return to the United States within two years.”<sup>198</sup> Wilmington’s German-American press, which seemed uncertain about the Kleinstubers’ plans, nevertheless followed their trail in Europe. In doing so, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star*’s German Column relied on correspondence from Dr. Kleinstuber.

Early on the German Column counted the Kleinstubers among the war-stayed, though as of August 9, it reported that “they are thought to be in Paris.”<sup>199</sup> A month later the German Column told its readers that “Nothing has been heard from [the Kleinstubers] who left early in the season for a long stay in Germany and France. It is thought that [they] are at the present time



in France or Switzerland.”<sup>200</sup> Still no word by the end of September. And their many friends were increasingly concerned. According to the *Star*, it was the Kleinstubers’ intention “when they left for Europe to visit Switzerland and France and make their stay an extended one.” If they were still in France, “there is a chance for them to return from Havre to this country, as steamers are departing from that port for the United States. However, it is believed that within two weeks all the war-stayed travelers will arrive home.”<sup>201</sup> Finally, in mid-October, word was received from the Kleinstubers. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of October 17 indicated that the two “are spending time (*weilen*) at Villa Bellaria in Wörishofen in Bavaria, and [they] write that they are well.”<sup>202</sup> The *Star*’s German Column on the following day reported that the Kleinstubers “make no mention as to their return home. They have been absent for several months.”<sup>203</sup> In early November the *Lokal-Anzeiger* informed its readers that it had received from William Kleinstuber several copies (*eine Anzahl*) of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, “which contain interesting details about the war,” and that it intended to publish some of the articles from that Munich newspaper when the opportunity presented itself.<sup>204</sup> Apostolic work from afar! As was often the case, the *Star*’s German Column carried a similar though lengthier report the following day. The German Column, which mentioned that Wörishofen, the Kleinstubers’ current residence, is known for the “Kneip” water cure institute, also indicated that it had “received word from Dr. Kleinstuber in the form of interesting newspaper clippings from leading newspapers in Munich, which will be translated for the benefit of The *Star*’s readers next week.” As for the Kleinstubers’ plans: “[They] have no intention of coming home, and altho close to the scene of war, are seemingly content to stay in Germany for an extended time.”<sup>205</sup> True to its word, the German Column did publish some of the articles from the Munich press. In introducing them, the Column referred to Kleinstuber as “of this city, who is now with Mrs. Kleinstuber a temporary resident of Worishofen, near Munich, Bavaria, Germany.”<sup>206</sup>

The Kleinstubers remained in Germany into 1915. In March of that year the German Column reported that “Letters continue to arrive from Dr. Kleinstuber, who is wintering in Bavaria. They are brim full of optimism and presage a victorious climax to the war for Germany’s armies.”<sup>207</sup> Two weeks later, in an effort to reassure Wilmington’s German element that the Old Fatherland was not suffering serious food shortages, the German Column described a letter in which Kleinstuber claimed that “his wife pays \$1.25 for a large turkey in Munich. That surely does not look like starvation.”<sup>208</sup>

In April 1915 the *Star*’s German Column reported that the doctor had finally clarified his plans for the future: “One of our most estimable citizens, Dr. William Kleinstuber, has signified his intention of remaining in



Germany, where he went last July for his health." This was so despite the fact that Kleinstuber had maintained "a vital interest" in the affairs of Wilmington and Delaware and had followed conditions "over here" through the columns of the *Star*. "Dr. Kleinstuber will be missed greatly by his numerous friends and his absence will be felt in German-American circles especially. Besides maintainin[g] a large practice among the Germans [in Wilmington], the doctor was qu[i]te active in society, being a member of the German-American Society, of the Germania Social Club, of which he is the first departing member, of the Saengerbund and the Zion Lutheran Church." The German Column closed out its report by indicating that "The wishes of all Germans in this city for happiness in his new home and an occasional visit are hereby expressed."<sup>209</sup>

That same issue of the *Star* carried an article on the April 13 meeting of the German-American Society. The organization, probably acting in connection with Kleinstuber's decision to stay in Germany, "reluctantly accepted" the resignation of the doctor, "a charter member of the society, who is at present in Germany," and made him an honorary member of the organization.<sup>210</sup>

In light of these developments, news that the Kleinstubers had returned to Wilmington was nothing short of astonishing. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that the couple's arrival in the city on June 1, 1915, came "to the greatest surprise of their friends for it was said that they wanted to settle in Germany." In its brief account of this development, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* stated that the Kleinstubers' return to Wilmington was produced by the wartime situation and by the doctor's interest in resuming his medical practice.<sup>211</sup> The German Column of the *Star*, however, was unable to keep up with events. The day after the *Lokal-Anzeiger* announced that the Kleinstubers had returned to the United States, the German Column reported that "Mr. E. Schell has received a letter from Dr. Kleinstuber, who is in Germany, stating that he intends returning soon."<sup>212</sup> The *Star* redeemed itself a week later in an article located adjacent to, but evidently not part of, the German Column. The article provided a lengthy and revealing account of the Kleinstubers' experiences in Germany and their return to the United States, an account based on an interview with Dr. Kleinstuber.<sup>213</sup> According to the article, Kleinstuber "cut short what he had expected to make a prolonged visit to Der Vaterland" because of "the anti-American feeling which exists in the breast of the average German and for fear that the entrance of other nations into the European conflict might so complicate matters as to postpone indefinitely his return to America." The article pointed out that "While the doctor is a German by birth, yet, while travelling in Germany he was regarded by the German people as an American and as such he sensed the undercurrent of anti-American feeling as he was thrown into contact with the German people." Nevertheless,



Kleinstuber emphasized, "Americans at no time have been subjected to any indignities in Germany. They have always been treated courteously but there is an undercurrent, in conversations and manifested in other ways, of feeling against Americans." That feeling, Kleinstuber told the *Star*, was the result of the unevenness of United States policy toward England and Germany. Said Kleinstuber, "Their country, they think, should have been permitted to trade with the United States. Germany is placed at a disadvantage because England can trade with the United States but she cannot." Kleinstuber cited as "another cause for complaint" the fact that the United States was supplying munitions to England. In the course of their German stay, the Kleinstubers had visited Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, and Wörishofen. In the course of their travels, the Kleinstubers had been impressed by the large attendance at church services; by the "prompt measures [taken] for the relief of those among the country's poor, who might have been affected by the war"; by the presence of Russian prisoners of war at a camp near Munich; by the rail service, which seemed normal, "with no congestion whatever of passengers, troops or freight"; and by "women working on the farms in the place of their men folk who were in the war." All this led Kleinstuber to conclude that "Germany [remains] a country of quiet, orderly and systematically managed cities and towns, despite the awful throes of war into which its millions of men are plunged."

Kleinstuber cited no particular event, neither the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, nor the Wilson administration's reaction to the loss of 128 American lives, that might have precipitated the couple's decision to leave Germany for the United States. Perhaps it was only a coincidence that the Kleinstubers, despite their recent resolve to stay in Germany, sailed from Rotterdam for the United States on May 19,<sup>214</sup> just twelve days after the *Lusitania* went down. Perhaps nothing is to be inferred from the article's relating that on the couple's voyage to Europe the Kleinstubers "sailed on the Kaiser Wilhelm Der Grosse, which was later sunk," and that "The doctor, during a previous visit to Germany, returned to this country on the *Lusitania*, the tragedy to the passengers of which yet remains an awful and clear memory."<sup>215</sup>

With the Kleinstubers' return to the United States, Wilmington's German-Americans, and particularly the promoters of *Deutschtum* among them, had lost one of the very personal links between the New Fatherland and the Old. No longer able to rely on the testimony of the city's war-stayed, the local German element would have to turn to other devices, particularly the transatlantic mail, for first-hand German perspectives on the war and for news on the fate of their relatives and friends in the world they and their parents had left behind. And it was the letters and cards from Germany



to Wilmington, at least until early 1917, that would sustain the counter-narrative offered by the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column to the city's German element.

### **The Effects of Spreading the Gospel**

How successful were the returning German-American tourists in their efforts to spread Germany's gospel? An examination of Wilmington's press suggests that, for the most part, those eyewitness accounts informed the city's German-Americans who were inclined to support the Old Fatherland in the crisis. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* would continue to serve as a vehicle that explained events from a perspective favorable to Germany, and reinforcements for the *Star's* German Column arrived with the addition of a regular feature entitled "The War From the German-American's Viewpoint," which was introduced to the paper's readers on October 25, 1914, and which was authored by Zion's Reverend Siegmund G. von Bosse, the son of traveler the Rev. Georg von Bosse, and the person who would emerge as the leading voice of the city's German element.

The *Evening Journal*, which identified itself as a Republican Newspaper, one that "uses the United Press News Service," advocated a policy of strict neutrality for the United States regarding "the greatest war since the earth was created."<sup>216</sup> The "one wise thing" for the United States to do "in the present world-wide emergency. . . is to permit the other nations to fight to their hearts' content while [the U.S.] attends strictly to the pursuit of peaceful business, but ready at all times to defend its honor and territorial integrity."<sup>217</sup> The *Evening Journal* later underlined its view that the United States had no business involving itself in that "world-wide emergency" by insisting that "Any American citizen, no matter whether he be native-born or naturalized, who attempts to embroil our nation in the work of slaughter that now is going on should be looked upon as a criminal and treated as such."<sup>218</sup> In an August 7 editorial the newspaper had this to say: "The concensus [*sic*] of opinion seems to be that Emperor William precipitated the struggle and that the German people are destined to be the greatest sufferers from what he has done."<sup>219</sup> This rather tepid indictment of the German Emperor may have been an indication that, in the paper's commitment to neutrality, the *Evening Journal* would not, at least early on, take sides in the war that was already raging both in Europe and beyond that continent's boundaries.

The *Evening Journal* did offer harsh criticisms of Germany and its policies, most notably by publishing a series of opinion pieces that originally appeared in the *New York Tribune*, among them "German Diplomacy Chiefly to Blame for Germany's Predicament," "Germany Continues to Violate the



Humanities [sic] as Well as the Rules of War," "The Crime of Rheims and Herr Ridder's Vision of Its Atonement," "Neutral Nations Also Threatened by Germany's Uncivilized Methods of Warfare," and "More German-American Sophistries About Belgium's Neutrality."<sup>220</sup> Articles from London, appearing over the byline of United Press Staff Correspondent Ed. L. Keen, were more than offset, however, by reports from the United Press Staff Correspondent in Berlin, Karl H. von Wiegand, whose articles seemed to describe Germany's actions in a way that would not have troubled German authorities.<sup>221</sup> And readers who thought that much of the press in the United States failed to recognize Germany's achievements on the battlefield would have been cheered by *Evening Journal* editorials offering high praise for the German army's performance.<sup>222</sup>

The *Evening Journal* also published material of local interest that would have received a friendly reception among the city's "Germans." These included a substantial letter sent by a German soldier to his aunt in Delaware City,<sup>223</sup> and, as the Christmas season approached, the *Evening Journal's* editors' inclusion of the children of Germany and Austria among those—"the millions of helpless, dependent and destitute children"—who should benefit from the War Children's Christmas Fund.<sup>224</sup> Finally, the *Evening Journal* gave its readers the opportunity to hear the "German side" of developments as the returning tourists, especially Katie Clodi, George Kalmbacher, Samson Stern, and Georg von Bosse presented Germany's gospel to their fellow Wilmingtonians.<sup>225</sup> All in all, Wilmington's German-Americans would probably have regarded as balanced the "war news" as presented by the *Evening Journal*.

The *Wilmington Morning News*, which on its editorial page identified itself as an "Independent Republican Newspaper" and a member of the Associated Press, shared the *Evening Journal's* editorial position that the United States should adhere to a policy of strict neutrality in the conflict. The *Morning News* considered it "the duty of Americans . . . to keep their heads level and obey in letter and in spirit the proclamation of neutrality by President Wilson," and it expressed the hope "that the jingoes will not be able to stir up any kind of war scare in the United States of America."<sup>226</sup> Another editorial took pains to point out that "this country of ours has a more cosmopolitan population, far more cosmopolitan than the unthinking man may imagine." It would be natural enough, the editorial continued, that "there should be strong positions taken by many of our people who do not weigh the consequences [of their doing so]." Disputes within that cosmopolitan population "can accomplish no good purpose." In a subsequent editorial the *Morning News* reported on an unidentified Wilmingtonian, "just returned from Europe," who had no desire to stay on a continent that "promises to be one vast hospital." This prospect, the paper editorialized, furnishes "an irresistible reason for the United States



to keep clear of [the war].”<sup>227</sup>

At the same time the *Morning News* was quick to place responsibility for the war with the Kaiser. In its August 3 issue the paper found it

difficult to believe otherwise than that at the outbreak of hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia Germany foresaw that all efforts at peace would be useless and that the Kaiser had made up his mind to engage in a titanic struggle which promises to convulse Europe and cause a tremendous destruction of life and property, the effects of which will be felt throughout the world.<sup>228</sup>

Three days later the *Morning News* insisted that “had Germany desired peace it could have prevented Austria from taking drastic action against Servia or[,] after such action had been taken, German diplomacy would have found a way to adjust the trouble.” But

The fact that Germany entered upon this war, and is striking out right and left, as the saying is, must be explained, it seems to us, only on the theory that the Kaiser and his advisors have been calculating the cost [of the mighty struggle upon which he has entered] for years and years, and think Germany can hold her own and will emerge from the Herculean conflict as the greatest of European powers.<sup>229</sup>

The paper carried reports of German perfidy,<sup>230</sup> but it also gave the German point of view a hearing. The *Morning News* published letters from Germans arguing the Fatherland’s case to relatives in the United States;<sup>231</sup> a plea to Americans that originally appeared in the German press;<sup>232</sup> articles that explained the “German side” of burning issues in the early stages of the war;<sup>233</sup> letters to the editor defending Germany’s cause to the paper’s readers;<sup>234</sup> and even editorials that suggested caution in accepting accusations against Germany’s conduct of the war. The *Morning News* on at least two occasions carried articles by Herman Ridder, president of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*.<sup>235</sup> The paper also provided a letter written by a German soldier to his mother, and a German war correspondent’s rebuttal of charges that the German army had behaved horrifically against innocent residents of Belgium and France.<sup>236</sup> And, on one of the most sensitive subjects of discussion in the early days of the war, charges of brutality on the part of the German army, the newspaper’s September 7 edition featured a front-page article reporting that five American journalists, who had spent two weeks with German troops in Belgium, found such charges “groundless as far as we are able to learn.”<sup>237</sup>

Not surprisingly, such an assessment by reporters from a neutral country

found its way into several German newspapers.<sup>238</sup> The *Morning News* also carried three lengthy pieces that took Germany's part: an article by Professor Hugo Munsterberg of Harvard University urging that the Kaiser receive "fair play" in American newspapers; a report from an unnamed Associated Press correspondent "of American birth and antecedents" who recounted his experiences in Belgium at the time of Germany's invasion; and a lecture on the unity of Germans in the face of war.<sup>239</sup> Finally, the *Morning News* gave voice to the city's German-American tourists. This included an article about letters sent from Misses Clodi and Ploesser to their parents in which "They declare that the majority of the stories which have been told concerning the atrocities and insults which tourists have undergone are without foundation."<sup>240</sup> And once the city's German-American tourists reached Wilmington, the paper would report on their activities and on their assessments of events in Europe. The *Morning News* even seemed to allow that there might be an imbalance in its coverage of the war. In an editorial of August 19 the newspaper noted that "Our German-American citizens and their sympathizers took a sensible view of the war situation so far as Wilmington and its newspapers are concerned." It allowed that

the newspapers here, like most of those in other parts of the country, have had the greatest difficulty in getting accurate news of the war . . . . It must be remembered that much of what is printed is rumor and report [*sic*], gathered some distance from the scene of the conflict. Then, again, it has been almost impossible to get any information from German sources. Our newspapers are only too willing and anxious to print news from Berlin if they can get it, and we should think it would be to the advantage of the German government to assist in sending out news.

That same editorial complimented the city's German-Americans who

are putting their sympathy for the fatherland in the great calamity that has come upon it to a practical purpose. A large fund is to be raised for the relief of the widows and orphans of German soldiers killed or disabled in battle. . . . The woe and desolation that will be caused almost passes [*sic*] comprehension, and what generous Germans of this city will contribute will be but a widow's mite compared with the vast sum that can be used. But every penny secured, the donors may rest assured, will be helpful to those beyond the seas and will be greatly needed.<sup>241</sup>



All this is not to say that the *Morning News* was "pro-German." Rather, it is to suggest that the paper would be perhaps the least likely of Wilmington's three dailies to incur the wrath of the city's German-Americans.<sup>242</sup>

Things would go differently for the third of Wilmington's daily papers, the *Every Evening*. On its editorial page the *Every Evening* informed its readers that it was "the only evening Newspaper in Delaware using The Associated Press news service." Although not there identifying itself as supportive of a political party, the *Every Evening* would, in the upcoming November 3 local and congressional elections, recommend that readers vote for the entire Democratic slate. Early on, however, the paper's German-American readers were not likely pleased by an August 10 editorial in which the paper remarked that "It is a tribute to the blessing of peace that England and France held off until baited into conflict by 'The Troubler of the World,' as [English poet] William Watson calls the Kaiser. . . ." <sup>243</sup> A month later, in lamenting the inclination of the warring parties to invoke "the aid of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe," the *Every Evening* singled out Germany's William II: "The Kaiser calls upon the Lord and almost claims kinship with him, confidently relying upon His aid and co-operation in the work of slaughter." The paper contrasted such invocations on the part of the warring powers to that of Woodrow Wilson's, whose October 4 Day of Prayer would address "the Almighty in behalf of peace."<sup>244</sup> In a separate editorial published on the same day, the *Every Evening* mentioned that "England's cause in this war seems eminently just. . . . It is a war of aggression, started without the slightest justification for a resort to force and arms."<sup>245</sup> By this time, in the *Every Evening's* eyes, at least, there could be little doubt about the identity of the aggressor. Otherwise, the *Every Evening* was a staunch supporter of American neutrality, a neutrality that was to be shielded from both the cries for "preparedness"<sup>246</sup> and the enthusiasms of Americans who had emigrated from one or another of the combatant states: "It may be well for all foreign-born citizens of this country to remember that no matter how their sympathies may incline, their interests are with the home of their adoption. Let the warring nations across the ocean fight this dreadful war. We will be all the better for keeping out of it."<sup>247</sup>

An October 13 *Every Evening* editorial reiterated the paper's position regarding "this war of German aggression": "No matter what excuses may be offered for Germany, despite the insistent claim that she 'was obliged to fight,' the stern fact remains that she started the war and struck the first blows before an armed hand had been directed against her." Not likely to win new subscribers among Wilmington's Germans was the *Every Evening's* assertion that "It is apparent to all readers of the press and all intelligent observers that since the beginning of armed hostilities in England [*sic*] the sentiment of our people has been against Germany." This sentiment was "almost unanimous,

as it prevails among nearly all our people save citizens of German birth or ancestry who naturally feel an affection for the Fatherland and cannot bring themselves to condemn its attitude or refrain from extending to it their sympathy and good will."<sup>248</sup>

Although the *Every Evening's* editorial page clearly blamed Germany for the war, the newspaper otherwise offered a mix of stories some of which were critical of Germany,<sup>249</sup> while others offered accounts of events that, on their own, would not have upset Wilmington's German element. The latter included a lengthy article on the local "Germans'" decision to stand by their "Fatherland"; two letters to Mrs. Sadie Collison of Dover "from a resident of Germany, husband of an intimate woman friend"; and an article in which an Associated Press reporter described his week with a German army unit in France.<sup>250</sup> On August 15 the *Every Evening* even went so far as to print a substantial article, not at all unsympathetic to Germany, about a traveler who had returned to the U.S. on April 28, some three months before the war began.<sup>251</sup>

As with the *Morning News*, the *Every Evening* expressed its concern about newspaper coverage of the war. The *Every Evening* admitted to "an element of truth" in an "impression that seems to prevail with many persons . . . who are neutral in their attitude towards the combatants as well as those whose sympathies go out to Germany, that the newspapers are not treating Germany fairly in the news that is printed in their columns." The fault, however, lay not with the newspapers but with the "German sources of information" who provided comparatively less information than did their English, French, and Russian counterparts.<sup>252</sup>

In view of the opinions expressed in the *Every Evening's* editorials, few should have been surprised at the open conflict that broke out in December between the paper and representatives of Wilmington's German element. In a December 8 editorial, the newspaper took aim at those who argued that the United States, in view of "the valuable services of German immigrants or their sons in making the country and especially as soldiers in our Civil War," owed Germany more favorable treatment than it had thus far received. The *Every Evening* found German-Americans' "feverish concern" with the successes of the Germany armed forces "hard to conceive." Moreover, that concern

gives rise to the probability, fortunately, however, very remote [*sic*], that if Germany should emerge successful from the pending European conflict, and next attempt to extend her imperial war power to the extent of a conflict with our country, we might find ourselves tormented and threatened by some millions of naturalized citizens and citizens of German parentage who would become enemies in our



midst. . . . They should suppress their enthusiasm for Germany and remember they are citizens of the United States.<sup>253</sup>

That editorial earned for the *Every Evening* a protest from the Delaware branch of the National German-American Alliance. That protest, along with two pertinent editorials, appeared on the same page in the *Every Evening* on Saturday December 12. The protest took the form of a letter to the editor and included a series of "resolutions," among them one charging that the *Every Evening* "has insistently given evidence of a feeling hostile and unfair to Germany in every way. . . ." The Alliance concluded "That the policy of the *Every Evening* [is to] be condemned as one that is false, slanderous, libelous and untrue; [and] that the German people know how to act in the face of these insults. . . ." <sup>254</sup> In one of the accompanying editorials, the *Every Evening* reiterated its view of December 8 by disputing "the preposterous claim that this country is under obligations to Germany, the favorite argument of Germany's defenders in the United States." That editorial expressed the concern that "They came here, voluntarily and gladly, in the hope of bettering their condition. . . . Yet now they join in lustily singing 'German Land Above All Others,' and become wildly indignant over expressions of sentiment in this country which do not sustain Germany and [do not] admit that what it did in precipitating the most terrible war of all history was wise, patriotic and humane." A second editorial, on the same page, adopted a slightly different tone. The sympathy for the Allies, which "has been stirred to an unusual extent by the desperate plight of Belgium" and is "felt by a great majority of people in this country . . . does not grow out of any feelings of hostility towards the German people." Rather, "It is the ruling class, which stands for German militarism and absolute imperialism, that is held responsible and is justly condemned and detested." The editorial pointed to the stance taken by Karl Liebknecht, the Socialist member of the Reichstag who voted against funding necessary for prosecuting the war. "When the people of Germany make the attempt to rid themselves of the cruel influences which have led them into such a deep sea of suffering and disaster, and resolutely endeavor to reform the situation, they will not lack sympathy and encouragement from the people of the United States."<sup>255</sup>

The timing of the controversy prevented the *Lokal-Anzeiger* from providing an extended commentary on the *Every Evening's* "insults to Deutschtum" and the reactions of the local NGAA branch to them. The newspaper did on that same Saturday refer to the "resolution"—with its several parts—that was authored by Siegmund von Bosse and that represented the convictions of all of the delegates at the Alliance's Thursday night meeting.<sup>256</sup>

A day later the *Star's* German Column provided a fuller account of the

December 10 Alliance's meeting ("Every Evening Censured," December 13, 1914, 16). Included in the gathering's "new business" was a discussion of the *Every Evening's* original editorial, "which some of the delegates declared very unjust and misleading against the German-Americans of our city, State and country." The *Every Evening* editorial was "carefully read to the meeting and denounced as against the German-American interests as well as to the American citizenship of German residents, taxpayers and business men." The German Column provided the text of both the *Every Evening* editorial that sparked the controversy and the resolutions passed by the NGAA assembly that condemned the editorial. The Rev. Siegmund von Bosse "introduced the . . . resolutions, which were, with slight changes, unanimously adopted by the delegates [of the local branch]."<sup>257</sup>

The *Lokal-Anzeiger* did fire one last shot in this controversy, a December 19 article authored by its special correspondent "W." In the article the correspondent—Wilhelm Woernle—discussed a flier, distributed throughout Germany, that pointed to the close relations between Germany and the United States, and which emphasized the obligation on the part of Germans to extend hospitality (*Gastfreundschaft*) to the Americans in their midst. And how do "native-born Americans" relate to the German-Americans in their midst? "What does the Wilmington *Every Evening* do, a paper which thousands of German-Americans get and read? It *insults* [emphasis in the original] the Germans!" W., who insisted that England bore the greatest responsibility for the war, found it "truly unforgivable that German-Americans are vilified [here in the United States]," and he closed by urging "all right-thinking Americans" to protect their German-American fellow citizens.<sup>258</sup>

## Postscript

The December 1914 controversy between the *Every Evening* and Wilmington's German element offers a fitting conclusion to the mission of the city's tourist-apostles, the 1915 return of the Kleinstubers notwithstanding.<sup>259</sup> The German-Americans described in this study had, upon their return to the United States, spread Germany's gospel in a variety of venues. But the passage of time would, almost inevitably, have dulled the authoritativeness of what these eyewitnesses had to say. And developments in the war, especially Germany's decision in the early days of 1915 to unleash its U-boat fleet, would only serve to heighten tensions between the Old Fatherland and the United States. To be sure, public opinion in the United States was not particularly receptive to Germany's gospel, especially in light of reports about the actions of the German army as it swept through Belgium and into France. One fund-raising episode in Wilmington perhaps captures the challenges the



city's German-Americans, and particularly the German-American tourist-apostles, had to face. The Red Cross station at the Hotel du Pont reported on contributions made by "the people of Wilmington and this state [that] are indicative of their great heartedness and their sympathy for the many thousands of sufferers in lands across the sea." Of the \$2,160.46 raised by the Red Cross on that occasion, \$925 was donated for specified purposes. Of that amount, \$777 was intended for the Belgium Relief Fund; \$25 for English relief; \$13 for French relief; and \$100 for the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris. While funds specified for German relief (a mere \$10) would not seem significantly less than the money earmarked for England and France, the \$777 for Belgium relief represented a significant gesture of support made by persons not likely to sympathize with the German cause.<sup>260</sup>

The Great War did not mark the end of travel to Germany on the part of Wilmington-area German-Americans. Indeed, such postwar travel seemed to be as "moderate and periodic, somewhat casual and uneven and not routine" as it was before August 1914. Between 1920 and 1936 John Lengel visited Germany at least thirteen times, the last of them in 1936 at age 86. On eleven of those trips he was accompanied by his niece, Lina Mai, who went to Europe with him in 1914. Samson and Bertha Stern would make at least three trips to Germany after the war. Georg Kalmbacher did not make another trip to Germany, though his son Andreas did in 1921. Georg von Bosse traveled to Germany at least five times after World War I ended, and daughter Hildegard, who married Pastor Heinrich Kropp in 1918, made at least three postwar trips. The author has not been able to find evidence that Katie Clodi traveled to Europe after the war, but her father and mother did in 1922, and her father again in 1927.<sup>261</sup> Nonetheless, in the years after World War I Wilmington's Germans would lack crucial mechanisms—multipliers—that would have enabled their vicarious participation in that travel. The *Star* no longer carried a column devoted to the area's German-Americans, and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* had breathed its last well before the war ended. The demise of the "German-American press" in Wilmington not only signified a general decline in the strength of the forces of *Deutschtum*, but also, and more specifically, the absence of reporting about travel from the New Fatherland to the Old all but severed a public link between the area's German-Americans and their friends and relatives across the sea.<sup>262</sup> The ethnic synergy created by German-Americans' visits to the Old Fatherland, and the reporting of such by newspapers directed at the area's German element, would be lost. Travel would be travel, but it would no longer sustain the ethnic consciousness as it had done before, and in the early stages of, the Great War.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "German-Americans Abroad," *The* [Wilmington, Delaware] *Sunday Morning Star* (hereafter cited as the *Star*), August 9, 1914, 19. Wilmington's newspapers generally employed the hyphen in identifying the city's German-Americans, and this author will use the hyphenated form in this study.

Indeed, the person who would emerge as the most prominent advocate of *Deutschtum* in Wilmington, Rev. Siegmund G. von Bosse, insisted that "We resent the protest against the use of the word 'German-American,' for where is a native American in whose blood is no drop of foreign tincture?" See "The War From the German-American Viewpoint," *Sunday Morning Star*, November 8, 1914, 3. (Siegmund von Bosse and even more so his father Georg von Bosse will play prominent roles in this paper.) Because von Bosse's irritation was published almost three months after remarks made by President Woodrow Wilson, it was probably not a direct response to what the president had to say: "Some Americans need hyphens in their names because only part of them have come over, but when the whole man has come over, heart and thought and all, the hyphen drops of its own weight out of his name." ("President Urges Temperate Speech. Need of Observing Spirit of Neutrality Pointed Out in Address to Fellow-Countrymen," *New York Times*, August 19, 1914, 4.) It is nevertheless safe to say that Siegmund von Bosse did not agree with the president's sentiments.

<sup>2</sup> Martha Toepflitz, "Wir Amerikaner in Berlin," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 15, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Barkan's address was published as "Changing Borders, Moving Boundaries: Lessons from Thirty-five Years of Interdisciplinary and Multi-ethnic Research," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 26 (Winter 2007): 85-99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 93. The four groups Barkan treated in his essay were French Canadians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. A shortened, published version of Barkan's essay appeared as "Proximity and Commuting Immigration: An Hypothesis Explored via the Bi-Polar Ethnic Communities of French Canadians and Mexican Americans," in Jack Kinton, ed., *American Ethnic Revival* (Aurora, Illinois: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 1977), 163-183.

<sup>6</sup> "Proximity and Commuting Immigration," 163-164, 170. Ducharme offered his observation in *The Shadows of the Trees: The Story of French-Canadians in New England* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 14.

As would become abundantly clear in the summer of 1914, the German-Americans of Wilmington, Delaware, also maintained a postal connection to the Old Fatherland, and the city's newspapers would share with their readers some of the correspondence from Germany. This study will treat the "visiting" dimensions of Ducharme's observation. The author is treating the "by letter" aspects in a separate study.

<sup>7</sup> Elliott Barkan, "America in the Hand, Homeland in the Heart: Transnational and Translocal Immigrant Experiences in the American West," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 35 (Autumn 2004): 332, 340.

<sup>8</sup> The German-American population of Wilmington, Delaware, was large enough to have generated a full array of institutions and organizations capable of nourishing its German heritage. By 1900 home to an active German element and by far the largest city in the state of Delaware, Wilmington with its Germany-born population of 1,762 placed among the 94 American cities with Germany-born residents numbering between 1,000 and 15,000. (Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Arno Press reprint edition, 1976), 108.)



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By 1910 the number of Germany-born Wilmingtonians had risen to 1,911 in a population of 87,411, and they constituted some fourteen per cent of the city's foreign-born white population. The figure of 1,911 includes neither the 887 Wilmingtonians born in "Austria" nor the 215 born in "Hungary," some of whom were "German." (Department of Commerce and Labor, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census. Statistics of Population, Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining for the United States, The States and Principal Cities* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 95, 211.)

The city's businessmen included a substantial number of German-Americans, among them retailers, brewers, hotel keepers, and cigar and shoe makers. Churchgoers could attend German-language services at Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, the German Baptist Church, and the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart. (Sacred Heart was by 1910 no longer a "national parish," though German-language services continued to be offered there.) On the eve of World War I Wilmington was also home to a growing Jewish population, part of which had its roots in Germany. (For a history of Wilmington's Jewish population, see Toni Young, *Becoming American, Remaining Jewish: The Story of Wilmington, Delaware's First Jewish Community, 1879-1924* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).)

The activities of the many German-American societies—*Vereine*—called to the attention of the larger Wilmington population the presence of the city's German element. The *Directory of German-American Societies and Churches of Wilmington, Delaware, 1917-1918* (Wilmington: Delmarvia Printing & Publishing Co., n.d.) listed some 27 different German-American organizations and institutions in Wilmington.

<sup>9</sup> For "apostle," Toepfitz, "Wir Amerikaner in Berlin"; for an "apostle of truth," "Weitere Abreise von Amerikanern," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 11, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4; for "a bearer of truth," "Sympathiekundgebungen der Amerikaner," [Berlin] *Der Tag*, August 13, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2; and for the Americans' "sacred mission," "Die Haltung der ausländische Presse," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

<sup>10</sup> "Staatsverband Delaware," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, January 21, 1911, 1. This decline was attributed to improving conditions in Germany, specifically to health insurance and old-age pensions in the Old Fatherland. Ironically, the federal census for 1910 indicated that 1,911 Wilmingtonians were born in Germany, an increase from 1,762 just ten years earlier. See Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 211, and Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (reprint edition, Arno Press, Inc., 1976), 108.

<sup>11</sup> "Auch englischer Gottesdienst," *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 18, 1912, 1.

<sup>12</sup> The *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger und Freie Presse*, which by 1914 appeared each Saturday, was the survivor of a newspaper established in Wilmington in 1880. Bound volumes of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* for the years 1907-1917 were part of the "Wilmington Turners Lodge" collection (M91-145), which was donated to the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* is now among the holdings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

<sup>13</sup> As did many items mentioned in this study, "German-Americans Abroad" appeared in the "News Notes of the German-Americans" column of the *Star* (hereafter referred to as the German Column). The *Star* had since 1905 regularly carried an English-language column directed at Wilmington's German-Americans. The "News Notes of the German-Americans" would run under that heading until September 1915. Thereafter, substantively, if less conspicuously, the German Column would continue through March 31, 1918, though without the "News Notes . . ." heading.

In most cases the German Column items cited in this study carried subheadings, and those subheadings are used in the citations. In the absence of such subheadings, "Untitled item, 'News Notes of the German-Americans'" is cited.



The *Star's* German Column is replete with infelicities, among them typos, misplaced commas, inconsistencies in capitalization, and the absence of italics where contemporary usage might call for them, for example, in the names of ships and newspapers.

<sup>14</sup> Indeed, for turn-of-the-century German-Americans in Wilmington the Atlantic Ocean might have seemed less the "geographical obstacle to frequent cross-continental encounters and a barrier to communication" and more "a connective lifeline between the Old World and the New." These views are advanced separately in Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross, eds., *Traveling between Worlds: German-American Encounters* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Press, 2006). Viewing the Atlantic Ocean as "geographical obstacle," see Christof Mauch, "Oceans Apart: Paradigms in German-American History and Historiography," 5; for the Atlantic as "connective lifeline," see Thomas Adam, "Cultural Baggage: The Building of the Urban Community in a Transatlantic World," 80. In justifying his view of the Atlantic as a barrier, Mauch notes (also page 5) that "Radio, television, airplanes and the Internet had not yet come into existence." His failure to include the transatlantic mail seems a curious omission.

<sup>15</sup> One scholar has found this to be true of German-Americans in general as they tried to secure their footing in the early stages of the war: "On the basis of America's constantly emphasized neutrality, many German-Americans were actually convinced that their aggressive support for Germany would not place them at odds with their new, adopted fatherland." See Jörg Nagler, *Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: "Feindliche Ausländer" und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg: Hamburg Edition, 2000, 106-107).

<sup>16</sup> David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 67-68.

<sup>17</sup> See Christine M. Totten, "Elusive Affinities: Acceptance and Rejection of the German-Americans," in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History. Volume II: The Relationship in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press paperback, 1990), 186-203.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Finkelman, "The War on German Language and Culture, 1917-1925," in Hans-Jürgen Schröder, ed., *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924* (Providence, Rhode Island: Berg, 1993), 177.

<sup>19</sup> Reinhard R. Doerries has suggested that "no serious differences marred relations" between the United States and Germany before 1914. See Doerries, "Empire and Republic: German-American Relations Before 1917," in Trommler and McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans. Volume II*, 6.

Ellis Hawley, on the other hand, has found those relations much more problematic: "Between 1900 and 1913 American relations with Britain had steadily improved, while those with Germany had rapidly deteriorated." See Hawley's *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press [1979]), 16.

Some major figures had struck an ominous chord. Within the context of the Spanish-American War, "[American Admiral George] Dewey in 1898 flatly predicted that the next war of the United States would be in fifteen years with Germany." On the German side, "Kaiser [William II] was convinced by the turn of the century that especially in the field of economic competition the United States posed the greatest threat to Germany." See Holger H. Herwig, *Politics of Frustration: The United States in German Naval Planning, 1889-1941* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 18, 42.

<sup>20</sup> David Traxel, *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War, 1898-1920* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 137.

Writing shortly after the conclusion of the World War, one scholar chronicled the tensions that led to a "change in attitude" on the part of the United States toward Germany from 1870, when "the sympathies of the United States were unquestionably with Germany," to 1914, when "the prevailing attitude in [the U.S.] was anti-German." See Clara Eve Schieber,



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"The Transformation of American Sentiment towards Germany, 1870-1914," *The Journal of International Relations*, 12, 1 (July 1921), 50.

<sup>21</sup> Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, "The United States and Germany in the World Arena, 1900-1917," in Schröder, *Confrontation and Cooperation*, 55.

<sup>22</sup> Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 117.

<sup>23</sup> "Künftige Kabelsicherung," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, September 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1; "Die Wahrheit ins Ausland!" *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 24, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 2; and "Kabelverbindungen mit Amerika," *Tägliche Rundschau*, September 6, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>24</sup> The German Column of the *Star* employed the term "war-stayed" in its August 9, 1914 issue ("German-Americans Abroad," 19), the first issue published after the outbreak of full-scale war in Europe. On that occasion the *Star* placed the term in quotation marks, though the term was generally used without them.

<sup>25</sup> This coverage was not peculiar to Wilmington's press. Christopher Endy has written that "Metropolitan newspapers wrote frequent editorials on the travel scene and often printed travel letters of local citizens writing from across the ocean." Christopher Endy, "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1917," *Diplomatic History*, Volume 22, Number 4 (Fall 1998), 568.

<sup>26</sup> From August into early November 1914, the period during which most American tourists in Europe struggled to return to the United States, coverage of those tourists and, for that matter, of the war itself had to share space in Wilmington's newspapers with a number of extraordinary events, among them the death of President Woodrow Wilson's wife Ellen (August 6); racial turmoil in the city (August 16 and 17); the death of Pope Pius X (August 20); the election of Pope Benedict XV (September 3); and a November 3 election (for a variety of local and state offices as well as that of Delaware's lone member of the U.S. House of Representatives).

<sup>27</sup> As early as 1905 the *Star*'s German Column suggested that travel to Europe was not an extraordinary undertaking: "To make a trip to Europe is at the present time no more thought of than to spend a month at the seashore. The expense is about the same and the knowledge one derives from it is much greater. Nowadays a person or persons can make a trip abroad if the tour is practically mapped out at a very reasonable figure, and at the same time see and learn things which were formerly foreign to them." ("News of German-Americans," *Star*, August 13, 1905, 9.) The German Column did not speculate about how many of Wilmington's German-Americans could afford to spend "a month at the seashore."

<sup>28</sup> That the German Column of the *Star* did not limit its reports on transatlantic travel solely to German-Americans traveling *eastward* to the Old Fatherland is shown by the German Column of May 3, 1914 ("Notes of Special Interest," 9), which mentioned that "H. Sieberg, of 827 North Franklin street, is honored by a visit of his brother, Professor August Sieberg, of Dresden, Germany."

<sup>29</sup> "Will Sail May 9," *Star*, April 19, 1914, 18. "Bon Voyage to Mr. Lengel," *Star*, May 10, 1914, 6. "Herr Lengel reist," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 9, 1914, 1. Lengel had made at least eleven trips to Europe before 1914.

The newspaper coverage of travelers treated in this study has been supplemented by U.S. census records, passport applications, and ship arrival lists used at (and in the case of census records purchased from) the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The author has also used the websites of *ellisland.org* (passenger and ship arrivals in New York, accessed with home computer), *heritagequestonline.com* (U.S. census records, accessed with home computer), and *Ancestry.com* (passenger arrivals, passport applications, and U.S. population census records, accessed at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and the Chinn Park Regional Library in Prince William County, VA). Where no electronic source is indicated, the author used the



microfilmed record at the National Archives in Washington.

<sup>30</sup> Katie Clodi, age 18 in 1910, and the daughter of German-born immigrants Louis and Christine Clodi, was born in Pennsylvania. In newspaper accounts she is variously identified as Katie, Kätie, Katherine, and Catherine. This study will use "Katie." Rosa Ploesser was also 18 years old in 1910. She was then living with her father Christian and his second wife, Lydia, who was not Rosa's mother. Both Christian and Lydia were born in Germany. Rosa was born in Delaware. "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Katie A. Clodi and Rosa Ploesser. Original Source: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, National Archives Microform Publication (hereafter cited as NAMP) T624, roll 147, enumeration district 39, sheet 21, and enumeration district 54, sheet 10, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> Misses Leila Stoeckle and Bertha Erb "have been making an extended tour of Germany and other European countries. . . ." (Untitled item, "News of the German-Americans," *Star*, September 5, 1909, 5.) Mrs. Teresa Boeck and daughter Matilda "are at Schussenriehl, Württemberg [*sic*], Germany, taking a rest after several weeks' tour through European countries." (Untitled item, "News of the German-Americans," *Star*, September 12, 1909, 9.) Two sisters, Helene and Louise Pfisterer left the United States for München Gladbach and Stuttgart. ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 1, 1911, 1.) Mrs. M. Eisenmenger and Miss E. Eisenmenger sailed from New York to Bremen aboard the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*. ("Persönliches," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 13, 1911, 1.) The wife of William Scholl along with the family's four children sailed on the steamer *George Washington*, eventually to reach Bavaria, where she and the children would visit relatives. ("Deutschland-Reisende," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 14, 1913, 10.)

<sup>32</sup> Untitled item, *Lokal-Anzeiger*, April 25, 1914, 1.

<sup>33</sup> "Items of Special Interest," *Star*, April 26, 1914, 6. Hamburg is probably wrong. On two passport applications (1922 and 1927) Louis Clodi indicated that "I was born at Bavaria, Germany." He was probably born at Homburg am Main in Bavaria.

<sup>34</sup> "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 30, 1914, 1.

<sup>35</sup> "Will Take European Trip," *Star*, May 3, 1914, 9. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," May 2, 1914, 1) also mentioned the Grandhommes' pending departure for France, Germany, and other countries.

While the census records identified Mr. Grandhomme's ancestral homeland as France, his 1914 passport application indicated that he was born in "Bonhomme, Alsace-Lorraine-Germany" on June 23, 1844.

For the census, "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed July 19, 2007) for Constantin Grandhomme. Original Source: NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 78, sheet 7B.

For Grandhomme's passport application, see NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 207, certificate #26005.

Alsace-Lorraine had changed hands when France was defeated by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. Thus, when Mr. Grandhomme was born, Alsace-Lorraine was part of France; when he applied for a passport, it was a part of Germany.

<sup>36</sup> "Mutschler reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1, and "Mr. Mutsehler [*sic*] Goes Abroad," *Star*, June 7, 1914, 10.

<sup>37</sup> "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1. See also NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 210, certificate #29476).

<sup>38</sup> "Herr Kalmbacher reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 20, 1914, 1. See also "Zum Bunde' Off for Germany," *Star*, June 21, 1914, 16.

George Kalmbacher's June 17, 1914 application for a passport indicated that he had been born in *Wiltbad*, Germany, on February 16, 1861, and that he had sailed from Hamburg for America on April 10, 1880. Kalmbacher's passport application also showed him as a cabinet



## *Apostles for the Old Fatherland*

maker who had uninterruptedly resided in the United States (New York, Philadelphia, and Wilmington) for the previous 34 years. See "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for George Kalmbacher. Original Source: NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #35187.

For Kalmbacher's employment by the Jackson and Sharp Company, which built railroad cars and ships, see his obituary in the *Star*, January 25, 1931, 29. For his role in the founding of the Delaware branch of the NGAA, see the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, May 11, 1907, 1.

There is no indication in the newspaper reports that Kalmbacher's trip to Germany was meant to help him recover from the personal losses he had suffered in 1913, but those losses may have influenced his decision to see the Old Fatherland once again. On October 24, Nanita, "the [eighteen-year-old] daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Kalmbacher, died . . . after an illness of several years," and on December 23 his wife, Hedwig L., died. See "Death of Nanita Kalmbacher," *Star*, October 26, 1913, 11, and "A Sad Christmas," *Star*, December 28, 1913, 24.

<sup>39</sup> "Besuchen die alte Heimat," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 4, 1914, 1. The full identification of Koehler's adopted child and the child's aunt (the sister of the child's deceased mother) is taken from the German Column, "C. Koehler Speaks of War," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 11, 1914, page 1, "Reisen nach Deutschland." Wilmington's newspapers were not consistent in their spelling of "Kleinstuber." Except in quotations where the Kleinstubers' family name is spelled differently, this study will use "Kleinstuber."

<sup>41</sup> "Farewell to Dr. Kleinstuber and Wife," *Star*, July 12, 1914, 15.

<sup>42</sup> For 1896, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1795-1905* (NAMP M1372, roll 463, certificate #9729); for 1914, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 213, certificate #31514).

<sup>43</sup> Tammy M. Proctor (*Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York: New York University Press, 2010, 3)) has written that "The years between 1914 and 1918 witnessed the invention of the modern 'civilian,' the first mentions of the 'home front,' and the advent of a totalizing war strategy that pitted industrial nations and their citizenries against each other." Proctor did not have people like the Wilmington-area tourists in mind, but these travelers were witnesses to, and arguably participants in, the early stages of this "totalizing" war. Indeed, these travelers might have viewed their "home front" as Germany, a view not altogether undone by the tourists' return to the United States. For most of them, the United States as their "home front" was probably determined only when America declared war on Germany in April 1917.

<sup>44</sup> The assertion of divisions among Wilmington's Germans appeared in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("An das Deutschtum Wilmingtons. 'Seid einig, einig, einig!'" July 18, 1914, 1) and was countered the following day by an article in the *Star's* German Column ("Heise [*sic*] Luft," July 19, 1914, 18).

<sup>45</sup> The *Star's* initial coverage of the crisis appeared on its front page on July 26, some four weeks after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke. See "War That Will Involve All Europe Is Now Threatened."

<sup>46</sup> For an up-to-date account of that period, see Sean McMeekin, *July 1914: Countdown to War* (New York: Basic Books, 2013).

Ironically, one Wilmington traveler, who returned to the United States on June 3, more than three weeks before the crisis began, insisted that he had had premonitions about the war. According to the *Every Evening* ("War Opinions of Man from Austria. Aaron Keil of This City, Just Back From Europe, Gives His Views. Saw War Intimations. Talked With Many Persons and Became Convinced There Would be a Conflict," August 15, 1914, 1). Keil, proprietor of a saloon at Front and King streets, witnessed "As early as the latter part of April the fever of war [that] gripped the minds of the people of Germany and Austria. . . . At Berlin and all through Germany, Mr. Keil said, all the German people were talking war."

<sup>47</sup> "Should There Be War," *Star*, August 2, 1914, 15.



<sup>48</sup> "Der Krieg tobt," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 8, 1914, 1.

<sup>49</sup> "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

The literature on the World War is vast. Two relatively recent books place the German experience at the center of their accounts: Holger H. Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914-1918* (London: Arnold, 1997), and Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1998). An extensive treatment of Europe as it went to war is provided by Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Volume I: To Arms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The longer view is offered by Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2013).

<sup>50</sup> Untitled item, *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 8, 1914, 1.

<sup>51</sup> The most prominent of Delaware's transatlantic travelers in the summer of 1914 were Governor and Mrs. Charles R. Miller, who departed New York on July 28 aboard the North German Lloyd steamer *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*. The liner was scheduled to reach Bremen after intermediate stops at Plymouth and Cherbourg. Coverage of the Millers' experiences by the Wilmington press was both conflicting and sensationalized, due in no small part to reports that the ship was carrying some \$10,000,000 in gold and \$1,000,000 in silver. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of August 1 ("Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," 1) led its readers to think that the Millers were heading for Bremen, while other newspapers reported that they would be meeting their daughter in Plymouth and subsequently traveling to the continent. Upon learning that war had broken out, the *Cecilie's* captain, who was also a Lieutenant-Commander in the German naval reserve, reversed the ship's course and "made a dash back to the United States and put in at Bar Harbor, Maine, to escape British warships." See "Governor Home; Tells of Thrill of Over-Sea Dash," *Evening Journal*, August 27, 1914, 1-2. This article, based on an interview with the Governor once he had returned to Delaware, is one of the clearest and most comprehensive of the many reports on his adventure. See also the Associated Press Dispatch that was carried by the *Every Evening* on August 4, 1914 ("Cecilie Is Safe at Bar Harbor," 1).

<sup>52</sup> Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Abstract of the Census*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913, page 210. This does not include the 190,246 New Yorkers born in Austria (the figures for Hungary were listed separately) nor the 10,542 New Yorkers born in Switzerland. Of course, not everyone born in Germany, Austria, or Switzerland was "German."

<sup>53</sup> *New York Times*, August 1, 1914, 2.

<sup>54</sup> *New York Herald*, August 2, 1914, first section, part II, 4.

<sup>55</sup> During this same period of time Wilmington's *Morning News* carried an average of more than two articles per issue on the fate of American tourists trapped in Europe when war broke out.

<sup>56</sup> "Hülfe für Gestrandete," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 6, 1914, 2, and "Gestrandete Amerikaner," August 9, 1914, 7. The *Staats-Zeitung* also reported on the situations of individual German-Americans—not just New Yorkers—in articles generally carrying the heading or sub-heading of "In Sicherheit" or "Amerikaner in Sicherheit." See, for example, the *Staats-Zeitung* for August 15, 1914, 2; August 16, 1914, 3; August 18, 1914, 3; and August 22, 1914, 3.

"Stranded" seems to have been the term most frequently used to describe the Americans visiting Europe when war broke out. The *Wilmington Lokal-Anzeiger* used no term comparable to "war-stayed" or "*Die Gestrandete*." "War-stayed" seems to have been largely confined to the German Column of the *Star*, though Wilmington's *Every Evening* of September 29, 1914 ("News from Europe. A Number of Letters Received From Persons in the War Zone," 13) did describe those travelers as "war-stayed."

<sup>57</sup> For an overview of the German press and its coverage of the war, see Chickering's treatment of "The Mobilization of Morale" in *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*, 46-50.



<sup>58</sup> "In der amerikanischen Botschaft," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 6, 1914, 6: "Most of the Americans, that is those who do not understand German and must rely on the English language, now wear little flags or stickpins with the stars and stripes so as to make clear that they are American citizens."

<sup>59</sup> "Der Abschied der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5. Another Berlin newspaper offered a more specific observation: "Much consulted by the Americans was a Berlin lady (*eine Berliner Dame*) who voluntarily served as a translator." See "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3.

<sup>60</sup> Save for Katie Clodi and Rosa Ploesser, who were traveling together, each of the touring parties covered in this study included at least one person born in Germany. But both young women were born to parents who were born in Germany, and the chances are that Katie and Rosa would have been exposed to the German language of their parents.

English-speakers in the Berlin area who understood no German had at least one source of information to which they could turn: *The Continental Times*. This English-language newspaper was in August 1914 published in Berlin as an "Organ für Amerikaner!" (*The Continental Times* would evolve. Its February 1, 1915 issue, for example, described itself as "A Journal for Americans in Europe" and indicated that the then thrice-weekly publication was produced in Rotterdam, Lucerne, Berlin, Geneva, Vienna, and Rome.) German newspapers would occasionally draw on material in *The Continental Times*: see, as examples, "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 6, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 1; "England und das neutrale Amerika," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 13, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1; and "Die Heimfahrt der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Edward Robb Ellis, who devotes a brief chapter to "Americans Trapped in Europe," mentions that "120,000 Americans were traveling on the continent and in Great Britain. More than 10,000 were in Germany, 3,000 in Berlin itself." See Ellis's *Echoes of Distant Thunder: Life in the United States, 1914-1918* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1975 [reprint edition, Kodansha America, Inc., 1996]), 154.

<sup>62</sup> "Will Cable Money for Americans," *New York Times*, August 3, 1914, 7.

<sup>63</sup> "Amerikaner in Ausland," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 2, 1914, 3.

<sup>64</sup> "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

<sup>65</sup> "Schutz den Amerikanern in Deutschland," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5, and "Mehr Schutz den Amerikanern in Deutschland," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6. In covering events at the American embassy a few days later the *Vossische Zeitung* ("Auf der amerikanischen Botschaft," August 10, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 5) attributed the estimate of 75,000 to "communications from officials."

<sup>66</sup> "Helft den Amerikanern!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, August 10, 1914, Montags-Ausgabe, 3; "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, 1; "Gastfreundschaft den Amerikanern," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1; without citing the Wolff Telegraph Bureau as the originator, "Helft den in Deutschland befindlichen Amerikanern!" *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 10, 1914, Morgenblatt, 2; and, incorporated into a larger report, "Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 10, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

<sup>67</sup> "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2, and "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2. The *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ("Die Amerikaner in Deutschland," August 10, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2), which also provided the estimate of 25,000 Americans trapped in Germany in August 1914, mentioned that the American colony in Munich was taking pains to assist the 3,000 Americans traveling through the city. That same paper would later cite a report claiming that, of the 100,000 Americans in Germany in late August, only 60,000 at most would be returning to the United States. See "Verschiedenes. Die



Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 26, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2. The *Continental Times* had already reported ("Departing Americans," August 20, 1914, 1) that "A great number of Americans, however, have now made up their minds definitely to remain in Berlin where they are assured that their safety is [as] great [emphasis in the original] as if they were in their own country." And, on February 22, 1915, the *Continental Times* would report ("Munich Notes," 4) that "It may astonish you to hear that there are still over 500 Americans in Munich and I hear that several families who left at the commencement of the war contemplate returning."

<sup>68</sup> "Notes of Tourists Trapped in Europe," *New York Times*, August 7, 1914, 4. The *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* later reported ("Deutschland übertrifft sich selbst," August 21, 1914, 2) that the number of Americans stranded in Germany with no money totaled some 700 persons, most of whom were in Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt am Main.

<sup>69</sup> "Great Fears in Berlin," *New York Times*, August 4, 1914, 5. Ambassador James Gerard subsequently wrote that "as soon as there was a prospect of war, the Embassy was overrun with Americans . . . who literally in thousands crowded the Wilhelm Platz in front of the Embassy." See Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917), 108.

<sup>70</sup> "Achtet auf Spione!" *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, 1.

<sup>71</sup> "Spione und Verdächtige," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

<sup>72</sup> "Keine auslandfeindlichen Kundgebungen!" *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 6, 1914, 1.

<sup>73</sup> "Die Jagd auf Spione und auf Ausländer," *Vorwärts*, August 5, 1914, 7.

<sup>74</sup> "Ausländer in Berlin," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 10, 1914, Der Montag, 3.

<sup>75</sup> "Seid wachsam!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Mitbürger" and "Hütet Euch vor Alarman Nachrichten!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 4, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1; and "Ein Dementi," *Vorwärts*, August 5, 1914, 2.

<sup>76</sup> "Nehmt Vernunft an!" *Der Tag*, August 5, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

<sup>77</sup> "Unser Freunde aus Amerika," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 4; "Größtes Entgegenkommen gegen amerikanische Staatsangehörige," [Berlin] *Neue preussische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3; "Schutz den Amerikanern," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3; and "Hilfe für Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 9, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2. Of these four reports, all but the *Neue preussische Zeitung's* cited the Wolff Telegraph Bureau as the originator.

<sup>78</sup> "Unser bester Freund," *Der Tag*, August 8, 1914, Abendausgabe, 2. As was often the case, articles appearing in one newspaper subsequently surfaced, generally with attribution, in others. In this instance, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* ("Amerika-Deutschlands Freund," August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1) cited *Der Tag* in introducing its publication of Gerard's remarks. The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* published an article ("Unser bester Freund," August 8, 1914, Abendausgabe, 2) that duplicated fully the article that appeared in *Der Tag*, including the assertion that Gerard's comments were made "to our correspondent." A few days later, in its publication of Gerard's remarks, the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ("Deutschland und Nordamerika," August 12, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2) introduced the ambassador's comments as having been made to a correspondent for the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*.

Gerard seems to have acquitted himself reasonably well in facilitating the return of American tourists to the United States. His overall performance, however, was, according to Woodrow Wilson biographer Arthur Link, less impressive: "This former dilettante in Tammany politics was an authentic international catastrophe. At a time when circumstances demanded tact, understanding, and wisdom from the American representative in Berlin, Gerard could offer only ineptitude, ignorance, and folly." See Arthur Link, *Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960, 311). The author of this study was led to Link's assessment by Justus D. Doenecke, *Nothing Less Than War: A New History of*



*America's Entry into World War I* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2011, 11).

In fact, President Wilson instructed his adviser Colonel Edward House "to caution" Gerard about opinions that some thought "anti-German." The president "intimated [that] in the matter became serious, he would recall Gerard." In a subsequent memorandum to Gerard, House informed him that "the President yesterday . . . asked me to say to you to please be extremely careful not to permit anyone connected with the Embassy to express any sentiment whatsoever that is not strictly neutral." See "From the Diary of Colonel House [December 4, 1914]" and "Edward Mandell House to James Watson Gerard [December 4, 1914]," in Arthur Link et al., eds., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Volume 31, September 6 - December 31, 1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 383-88.

One author has provided a more positive assessment of the U.S. ambassador to Germany: "Gerard was faced with enormous tasks as a result of the war, and he and the embassy staff performed admirably. They were able to get just about every American who wanted to leave out of Germany. Furthermore, their efforts on behalf of the British prisoners of war certainly saved scores of lives." See Theodore Richard Barthold, *Assignment to Berlin: The Embassy of James W. Gerard, 1913-1917* (PhD diss., Temple University, 1981 [University Microfilms International/ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, accessed at the Library of Congress, February 4, 2013]), 112-14.

<sup>79</sup> "The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State, No 200," August 18, 1914, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914. Supplement. The World War* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928), 91-97. In the August 9 part of his memo, Gerard reported that "There appear to be over 3,000 Americans in Berlin itself and more than 10,000 in Germany desiring transportation to the United States."

<sup>80</sup> "Abzeichen für Amerikaner," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 7, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 3.

<sup>81</sup> "Die hier lebenden Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>82</sup> Ein Deutsch-Russe für viele, "Lernt unterscheiden!" *Der Tag*, August 13, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2. Later in the day (Abendausgabe, 3) the newspaper saw fit to publish a shortened version of the same article.

<sup>83</sup> "Warnung!" *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1.

At least one newspaper indicated that some Germans not only could not distinguish between Americans and Englishers and between Poles and Russians, but also between the Swiss and the French. See "Schweizer sind keine Franzosen!" *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 18, 1914, 5.

<sup>84</sup> "Keine Unfreundlichkeit gegen Amerikaner!" *Vossische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>85</sup> For German coverage of this matter, see "Die Behandlung der Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1; "Die Behandlung der Amerikaner in Deutschland," [Berlin] *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3; "Gegen die Auslandslügen," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2; "Eine Kundgebung des amerikanischen Botschafters," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 1; "Die Behandlung der Ausländer in Deutschland," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3; and "Botschafter Gerard über die Verleumdungskampagne gegen Deutschland," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 21, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4.

<sup>86</sup> "Dank der Amerikaner," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 7, 1914, Drittes Morgenblatt, 1.

<sup>87</sup> "Amerikaner vor der Heimreise," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 19, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 2, and "Heimkehrende Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 22, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>88</sup> "Die Stimmung in Amerika," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, September 28, 1914,

Morgen-Blatt, 3. A somewhat abbreviated version of this article appeared in other German newspapers. See, for example, "Aufklärung ins Ausland!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abend-Ausgabe, 3, and "Die Aufklärungsarbeit in Amerika," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abendblatt, 2.

<sup>89</sup> "Eine Hilfsaktion des Amerikanischen Roten Kreuzes," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1. See also "Hochherzige Hilfsaktion des amerikanischen Roten Kreuzes für Deutschland," *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, August 8, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

<sup>90</sup> "Nach Schluß der Redaktion eingetroffene Depeschen," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 2. This report identified its originator as the Wolff Telegraph Bureau. Other newspapers carried a similar report; some identified the W.T.B. as the originator, but others did not. *Der Tag* carried a somewhat different account of the matter. The church as lazarette was to be placed at the disposal of the Red Cross, and a special collection was to be taken up by the church community, with the proceeds donated to the Red Cross. See "Die amerikanische Kirche als Kriegslazarett," August 12, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 7.

<sup>91</sup> "Der Generalkonsul der Vereinigten Staaten," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Abendblatt, 1. German law provided that, "Upon declaration of national emergency, . . . executive power passed into the hands of the corps commander in each of the country's twenty-four military districts." These officers, or more generally their deputies, "enjoyed almost dictatorial powers in their respective districts, including censorship, transportation, and the preservation of public order in the civilian sector, as well as ensuring the recruitment, training, supply, and deployment of additional troops for combat." See Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*, 33. In this case, the Commanding General of the XVIII. Army Corps was Dedo Heinrich Karl von Schenck.

<sup>92</sup> Untitled piece with a dateline of "Würzburg, 12. Aug.," in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 12, 1914, Abendblatt, 2.

<sup>93</sup> "Amerikanerinnen im Dienste der Wohltätigkeit," *General Anzeiger der Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 2.

<sup>94</sup> "Die amerikanischen Gäste," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 1-2.

<sup>95</sup> "Hochherzige Spende eines Amerikaners," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2.

<sup>96</sup> "Amerikanische Hilfe," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 13, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 3.

<sup>97</sup> "Amerikanische Hilfsaktion," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 9, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

<sup>98</sup> "Spende der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Petroleum-Gesellschaft," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 23, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

<sup>99</sup> "Deutschfreundlichkeit in Amerika," *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, October 18, 1914, Vorabend-Blatt, 4.

<sup>100</sup> "Ein Aufruf von Deutsch-Amerikanern," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 16, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 1.

<sup>101</sup> "Die Gesinnung der Deutsch-Amerikaner," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 15, 1914, Erste Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

<sup>102</sup> "Dem Münchner amerikanischen Rotkreuzhospital. . ." *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, October 14, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 4. A thorough discussion of the work of the hospital itself had appeared some three weeks earlier: "Eröffnung des amerikanischen Rot-Kreuz-Hospitals," *MNN*, September 24, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 9.

<sup>103</sup> "Die Aufklärung des Auslandes," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 19, 1914, Erstes Morgenblatt, 2.

<sup>104</sup> "Helft allen Amerikanern, unseren Freunden!" *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 6.



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<sup>105</sup> "An die Amerikaner in Deutschland," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 21, 1914, Zweite-Morgen Ausgabe, 1.

<sup>106</sup> "In der amerikanischen Botschaft," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 6, 1914, 6.

<sup>107</sup> "Appeal to Germany for Americans," *New York Times*, August 5, 1914, 3.

<sup>108</sup> "May Soon Quit Germany," *New York Times*, August 6, 1914, 5.

<sup>109</sup> "Ausländer dürfen Deutschland nicht verlassen," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, August 5, 1914, 10.

<sup>110</sup> "Americans Free to Depart," *New York Times*, August 8, 1914, 3.

<sup>111</sup> For more on Germany's *White Book*, see below.

<sup>112</sup> "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 14, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 2; "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3; "Abschied der Amerikaner. Der erste Sonderzug nach Holland," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5; "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Der Tag*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Abreise von 800 Amerikaner," *Tägliche Rundschau*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5; and "Der Abschied der Amerikaner," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 5. The author has relied on these six accounts, but other newspapers reported in a similar fashion. A day after these articles appeared, for example, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2) carried a report that virtually duplicated the one published the day before in the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*.

The newspapers provided different estimates of the number of Americans traveling to the Dutch border. The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* and the *Tägliche Rundschau*, and, a day later, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported that 800 Americans were making the trip; the *Berliner Tageblatt*, 700; and the *Vossische Zeitung*, 600 Americans leaving the Charlottenburg Bahnhof on two trains. According to the *New York Times* ("10,000 Refugees Still in Berlin," August 18, 1914, 3), 261 Americans left Berlin on August 13. In his August 18 memo, Ambassador Gerard mentioned that "The Embassy has already sent one special train to Holland with nearly 300 Americans. . . ." Since Gerard's August 18 memo refers to "one special train," it is probably the August 13 train. See "The Ambassador in Germany (Gerard) to the Secretary of State, No. 200," 96.

Accounts in the German press often failed to distinguish between American tourists and members of the American "colonies" in Germany. The article in the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, for example, referred to the 800 departing Americans as "only a fraction of the Americans living in Berlin, whose total can probably be numbered at approximately 20,000." Most, if not all of the 800, were probably tourists who had intended to spend a month or two in the Old Fatherland. The *Berliner Tageblatt's* article, on the other hand, seemed to be distinguishing between those Americans residing in Berlin for the longer term and those American tourists caught unaware at the outbreak of war when it mentioned that "Members of Berlin's American colony hurried from car to car, offering their best wishes to their fellow Americans (*Landsleute*)."

Except for Berlin, Munich probably hosted more Americans than any other German city. On August 18, 1914, the *Continental Times* ("Departure of Americans from Munich," 1) reported that Americans left Munich for Holland by train the day before. The article noted that "It can be seen how numerous the American colony in Munich was, when it is stated that 1800 new passports have been issued by the Consul-General there during the last few days."

On that same August 18 the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* ("Abreise unserer amerikanischen Gäste," Morgen-Blatt, 3) reported that the first train serving Americans leaving Munich for the United States—with nearly 200 men and women—left that city the day before [Monday]. "In light of the military authorities' heavy use of the state railways, the special train will travel at only moderate speed and is expected to arrive in Holland on Wednesday." The *MNN* article mentioned that additional trains would be leaving Munich for Holland on



Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and that "this evening" a special train for Americans is leaving Nürnberg for Holland.

An August 18 article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," Mittags-Ausgabe, 2) described the departure of some 300 Americans from Hamburg the previous evening. Those Americans would travel by train to Rotterdam: "One has the definite feeling that there are 300 *sincere friends of Germany* [emphasis in the original] who are now traveling home and will remain our friends over there."

<sup>113</sup> "Geo. Kalmbacher schreibt," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, July 25, 1914, 1.

<sup>114</sup> "Aus Berlin," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 1, 1914, 1; "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

<sup>115</sup> "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

<sup>116</sup> *Star*, "Very Little News From Tourists," August 23, 1914, 10, and "Mail From Germany," September 6, 1914, 14.

<sup>117</sup> "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.

In "Search Census" in [heritagequestonline.com](http://heritagequestonline.com) (accessed October 11, 2013), NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 33, sheet 5B, John A. Lengel is listed as a sixty-year-old widower and retiree—"own income"—who came to the United States from Germany in 1881. In 1910 he headed a household that included a niece, two grandchildren, and a servant.

<sup>118</sup> "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, August 16, 1914, 15.

<sup>119</sup> "News From John A. Lengel," *Star*, September 13, 1914, 17. The article added that "The White Book for some days has been freely [*sic*] distributed by return[ing] passengers from Europe to this country. Its contents were published some time ago in many papers in the United States."

The *White Book* was intended to demonstrate that Germany was not responsible for the European war. On August 4, at the very outset of hostilities, a preliminary draft of the White Book was delivered to members of the Reichstag and published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Vorläufige Denkschrift zum Kriegsausbruch," Sonder-Ausgabe, 1-4). And by that same date some German newspapers were already using the title by which the text would be known. See, for example, "Das Weißbuch," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 1, and "Das Weißbuch. Vernichtende Aktienstücke [with a Wolff Telegraph Bureau dateline of August 3]," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 4, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1.

It did not take long for the German government to realize that an English-language version of *Das Weißbuch* could serve as a weapon that German-Americans returning to the United States could use in the battle for public opinion being conducted in the U.S. This "war of lies" seemed to blame Germany for the outbreak of war. ("Das deutsche Weißbuch in englischer Sprache," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 16, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 4.) Prominent Germans were convinced that the White Book would be an effective weapon in this *Lügenkrieg*. See their proclamation (*Aufruf*) in "Nachrichten ins Ausland!" *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 17, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3.

The *White Book* that Lengel mailed to Wilmington, was perhaps the fifty-page tract issued in English by the German Foreign Office. *The German White-Book. (Only authorized translation.) With the Original Telegrams and Notes* is a combination of narrative and twenty-seven documents or "exhibits." (The exhibits were for the most part English translations of telegraphic correspondence as diplomats and heads of state dealt with the repercussions of what Austria saw as Serbia's inadequate response to its demands in the aftermath of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.) The upper right-hand corner of the pamphlet's first page carries the imprint "Foreign Office, Berlin, August 1914."

Among the several editions of the *White Book* was one carrying this revealing full title: *The German White-Book (Only authorized translation): How Russia and Her Ruler betrayed*



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*Germany's confidence and thereby caused the European War* (Berlin: Liebheit & Thiesen, n.d.). Page 3 identifies the author, place, and date of publication as the "Foreign Office, Berlin, August 1914."

The following year the German-American publisher of *The Fatherland* produced *The German White Book with Important Official Addenda. Documents Anent the Outbreak of the European War. Issued by the German Government. Authorized Edition for America* (New York: The Fatherland [1915]).

If Lengel mailed his copy of the *White Book* to Wilmington, other war-stayed Americans would tote theirs home with them. The *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Die Abreise der Amerikaner," August 14, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2-3) reported that copies of the *White Book* had been given to stranded Americans before their August 13 departure from Berlin for Rotterdam. The *BNN* was convinced that the *White Book* along with other materials would enable these war-stayed tourists to share with Americans back home the truth about the origin and course of the war. The same article appeared in at least one other German newspaper: "Die Abreise der Amerikaner," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 15, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1-2.

Editions of the *White Book* are available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library ([hathitrust.org](http://hathitrust.org)).

This author could find no indication in the city's daily press that Wilmingtonians returning from Germany availed themselves of another tool that would have aided them in telling the Old Fatherland's "truth" to the people back in Delaware. This tool, which received a good deal of attention in the German press, was a relatively small book entitled *The Truth About Germany: Facts About the War*. A collection of anonymous essays assembled by an "honorary committee" of distinguished Germans for their American friends who were returning to the United States, the volume provided material that could be used to explain—and justify—Germany's actions at the outbreak of war. (Although occasionally referred to in the German press as the *Yellow Book* [*Gelbbuch*], the title is not to be confused with *The French Yellow Book*, a collection of documents that was, in part at least, the French government's response to Germany's *White Book*, and that intended to show how "Germany Forced the War.")

The *Vossische Zeitung* on August 15 ("Die Aufklärung Amerikas," Abend-Ausgabe, 3-4) reported that it had received "a little book, in a yellow envelope," which left the printing press the day before. "This little *Gelbbuch* should enlighten the American public about Germany, whose enemies control the transoceanic cable and fill the world with lies. A few hundred of our American friends are leaving German soil today. They are taking with them the translation of the *White Book*, in which the Reich's government laid out before the German Reichstag the prehistory of the war, and this *Yellow Book* that was written for the enlightenment of America." (A second, enlarged edition of *The Truth about Germany* was published on September 20, 1914.)

Two sentences in the early edition of the *Truth about Germany* (Trow Press reprint, page 35) perhaps express the aspirations of the Honorary Committee and the Board of Editors responsible for the publication: "The German Federated States of Europe are defending themselves with might and main, and are counting in this struggle for existence on the goodwill of the United States of America, for whose citizens they cherish the friendliest feelings, as they have proved at all times. All Americans who have visited Germany will surely bear witness to that effect."

For a brief history of the book and a summary of its contents see "Die Amerikaner und wir," in C. H. Baer, ed., *Der Völkerring: Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914. Große Ausgabe. Erster Band* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Julius Hoffman, 1914), 77-78.

On September 6, 1914, the *New York Times* carried a substantial article ("Brief for Germany by Noted Authors. Empire's Leading Citizens Write Book Appealing for Sympathy of Americans," 5) about *The Truth about Germany*.

And, beginning on October 31, 1914, a New York weekly, *The Vital Issue: WEEKLY Paper for TRUE INFORMATION; ready to help all who fight for PRINCIPLES, IDEALS, HONOR and JUSTICE [sic]*, began publishing essays from *The Truth about Germany*. (In the weekly's first issue [August 24, 1914], which carried the title *News Examiner and Commentator*, the periodical announced its intention to address "a great mass of much distorted War news," "the absolute LACK of FAIR play," and the "complete domination of a one-sided press, strongly under BRITISH influence. . . .")

Editions of the *Truth about Germany. Facts about the War* are available online at the Hathi Trust Digital Library (hathitrust.org).

<sup>120</sup> "Left Rotterdam for Home," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.

<sup>121</sup> "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19. The *Star* and the *Lokal-Anzeiger* were not the only Wilmington newspapers reporting on the travels of Clodi and Ploesser. See, for example, "Local Persons on the 'Gold Ship,'" *Morning News*, August 4, 1914, 3.

<sup>122</sup> "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 29, 1914, 1.

<sup>123</sup> "Letters from Misses Ploesser and Clodi," *Star*, August 30, 1914, 20.

<sup>124</sup> "Erl. Clodi und Ploesser schreiben," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 5, 1914, 1.

<sup>125</sup> "Mail From Germany," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. The *Morning News* ("Deny Stories of Atrocities," September 5, 1914, 5) provided a slightly different rendition of what the young women wrote to their parents: "[The travelers] declare that the majority of the stories which have been told concerning the atrocities and insults which tourists have undergone are without foundation. They say that the treatment accorded them everywhere they went was most courteous and kind." While German-Americans were very concerned about stories that American tourists were mistreated in Germany, and while they spoke to that issue quite often, the term "atrocities" as used in the *Morning News* story is likely to have been applied erroneously to the fate of sojourners in Germany.

<sup>126</sup> James W. Gerard, *My Four Years in Germany*, 143.

For Clodi's and Ploesser's joint "Emergency Passport Application," Stuttgart, August 19, 1914, No. 52, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Katie A. Clodi).

For Clodi's "Emergency Passport Application," Berlin, September 1, 1914, No. 13365, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Katie Clodi).

For Ploesser's "Emergency Passport Application," Berlin, September 1, 1914, No. 13364, see "U.S. Passport Applications," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 4, 2011), NARA, database-on-line (Rosa Ploesser).

<sup>127</sup> *Morning News*, August 6, 1914, 8.

<sup>128</sup> *Evening Journal*, August 7, 1914, page 4.

<sup>129</sup> "Tells of Arrest as 'English Spy,'" *New York Times*, August 9, 1914, 3. (As mentioned above, Wile was one of two American correspondents named in Gerard's report to the U.S. Department of State.) Another article on the same page of that issue carried the provocative heading "Says Prussians Act Like Lunatics." The article began by noting that "The Paris Daily Mail Says. . .," then mentioned how in their treatment of the "Norwegian Minister at Paris" and a Dutch Professor "The Prussians have behaved not like savages—but would be doing savages an injustice—but like lunatics."

<sup>130</sup> "News From Germany," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13. See also "A Number of Letters Received From Persons in the War Zone," *Every Evening*, September 29, 1914, 13.

<sup>131</sup> "Left Rotterdam for Home," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.

<sup>132</sup> Untitled item, "News Notes of the German-Americans," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19. According to a later report, the Sterns "were in Strassburg at the outbreak of hostilities and left for neutral territory at the earliest opportunity." See "Stern Family Are Now in Switzerland,"



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*Wilmington Morning News*, August 28, 1914, 9.

<sup>133</sup> "Germany May Have Called Mr. Stern to War," *Evening Journal*, August 13, 1914, 13.

<sup>134</sup> "Mr. Stern at Strassburg; May Have Gone into Army," *Evening Journal*, August 25, 1914, 2. When war broke out, several European states summoned to the lands of their birth men who still owed them military service. As early as July 30 the *Wilmington Every Evening* reported that "Austrians Here Called to Arms" (page 6). On August 3 the *New York Times* ("Nations Send Calls for Reserves Here," 5) indicated that other European states were using their consulates in the United States to do the same. Concerning Germany specifically, the *Times* had this to say: "Dr. Horst Falcke, the German Consul General, announced . . . that he had received official orders calling all German reservists to the colors. He said that the entire German land arm [*sic*] had been mobilized. All German reservists in this country are expected to get back to Germany as best they can, and in the quickest way they can. It was pointed out that these conditions are imposed in the passport of every man of military age who leaves Germany for foreign lands."

Some residents of Wilmington reacted quickly and positively to such calls. On August 4 ("Greco Pal First City Man for War", 7) the *Evening Journal* printed this report: "Greco Pal, a farm hand, . . . is the first Wilmingtonian so far as is known to offer his services to fight for Austria-Hungary." That same afternoon the *Wilmington Every Evening* ("Great Interest in the War News," August 4, 1914, 6) informed its readers that "Albert Frey, captain of the waiters [at the Hotel du Pont] and a subject of the Kaiser, will leave shortly for the Fatherland."

The difficulties of moving the subjects of Germany and Austria-Hungary from the United States to Europe were quickly apparent, however, and a few days later the *New York Times* ("Rush of Reserves Halts," August 8, 1914, 5) reported that "at the Consulates General of Germany and Austria-Hungary the officials are now busy instructing out-of-town consular representatives and agents not to send any more men to New York since there appears to be no possible chance of getting them to either Germany or Austria-Hungary at any time in the near future."

If this development seemed to close the book on the return of German and Austro-Hungarian reservists to their native lands, coverage of war-stayed Wilmingtonians Samson Stern and William Mutschler showed that the chapter on the military obligations of the city's German-born tourists was still to be written. The military obligations of German males included three years of active duty as well as service in the reserves that extended through age forty-four. See Steven D. Fisher's entry "Germany, Army" in Spencer C. Tucker, ed., *The European Powers in the First World War: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 294.

According to his passport application, cited above, Stern was in August 1914 forty-two years old. William Mutschler, whose story will be told below, had in June 1914 just turned forty-five. (See NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925*, NAMP M1490, roll 214, certificate #32567.) More information on the residual military obligations of German emigrants will be presented below, when this study discusses Mutschler's encounter with German authorities.

<sup>135</sup> "Local Man Returning Home From Holland," *Morning News*, September 4, 1914, 2.

Samuel Stern would appear again later in this paper. One must at least allow for the possibility that the person identified in this study as Samuel Stern was in fact his brother Samson Stern.

<sup>136</sup> "S. Stern May Return Tomorrow," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. This article seems to imply that the Sterns did not reach Germany. However, Samson Stern's passport application showed that he clearly intended to visit Germany, and articles in the *Every Evening* and the *Morning News* in late August, cited above, placed Stern in Strassburg, then a part of Germany. Moreover, Stern's apostolic work in behalf of Germany's "truth" (dealt with below) seems to be that of an eyewitness—a virtual participant—in Germany's mobilization for war.

<sup>137</sup> "Samuel [*sic*] Stern Back from Europe," *Morning News*, September 8, 1914, 7.



<sup>138</sup> "Mr. Stern Sees Triumph for the German Arms," *Evening Journal*, September 8, 1914, 2. Stern would send Wilmingtonians a very different message some three and a half years later. On April 9, 1918, the *Every Evening* (page 10) carried an ad for Stern's haberdashery on Market Street, and, the following day, the *Morning News* (page 5) carried the same ad. In it Stern addressed his "Fellow Citizens of Delaware" in this way: "I . . . appeal to YOU, having been one who has served under the Prussian military rules and KNOW their dominating power toward the common people. Humanity starts only at the rank of an officer. Protect our children from monsters of their kind and to do this I PERSONALLY APPEAL to YOU to subscribe every dollar available to the Third Liberty Loan." Two days later the editorial page of the *Every Evening* applauded Stern's remarks: "This is the kind of talk we like to hear from our citizens of foreign birth or extraction. We have been amazed, since the Great War was forced upon the world by the dominating spirit of German militarism, at the attitude of far too many of our citizens of German parentage. . . . [Some persons of German ancestry]—far too many of them—are in sympathy with the Fatherland, which offered their forebears nothing, and are today in hostility to this great country of opportunity, where they have been so well served." See "One Who Knows," *Every Evening*, April 11, 1918, 4.

<sup>139</sup> "Herr Stern zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 12, 1914, 1. Like the *Morning News* of September 4 ("Local Man Returning Home From Holland," 2) and of September 8 ("Samuel Stern Back from Europe," 7), the *Lokal-Anzeiger* identified the traveler as *Samuel Stern* rather than his brother *Samson*. That it was *Samson* (along with his wife *Bertha* and their children *Selma* and *Oscar*) is confirmed by the "List of United States Citizens" for the August 29-September 7, 1914 voyage of the *Rotterdam*. See NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2367, volume 5433, page 89, line 16 (*Rotterdam*).

The *Morning News* had on September 8, 1914 ("Samuel Stern Back from Europe," 7), cited Stern in reporting that "Many persons . . . are willing to pay any amount of money to get home. Some have paid as high as \$3,000 for a single passage, while [Stern] stated that he had to pay \$1,000 for steerage quarters." Whether Stern's \$1,000 fare included his wife and two children is unclear. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Herr Stern zurück," September 12, 1914, 1) also mentioned a fare of \$3,000. Regarding the \$3,000 fare from Rotterdam to the United States: *Endy* ("Travel and World Power," 567) notes that "All the while, the costs of the [transatlantic] voyage declined, from approximately \$200 for one-way cabin fare in the mid-nineteenth century to \$100 or even less by the century's end." Indeed, on the eve of World War I a person could travel to Germany for as little as \$20. Henry C. Zaro, an authorized ticket agent, advertised a fare of \$20 "by postal steamer to Bremen," while John Glueck & Son offered passage to Germany for \$22. See the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, July 31, 1914, 11.

<sup>140</sup> "Blames the Kaiser for Spoiling a Trip," *Star*, August 23, 1914, 1-2. The *Grandhommes* reached the United States on August 20. See the *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957* (NAMP T715, roll 2362, volume 5415 [*France* {sic}]). The *Morning News* also reported on the *Grandhommes'* disappointment with the Kaiser "as they say he shortened their trip, they having intended traveling farther and remaining in Europe much longer." "Angered at Kaiser for Spoiling Their Trip," *Morning News*, August 24, 1914, 5.

Were the *Grandhommes* aboard one of the trains mentioned in the *New York Times* article of August 6, 1914 ("No Favoritism to the Stranded: Hundreds of Women Have No Change of Clothing—Millionaires Ride on Cattle Trains to Havre," 3)? "Two cattle trains of fourteen carriages filled with Americans left here [Paris] last night for Havre, the French liner *La France* being expected to sail for New York today. Two companies of French soldiers accompanied the trains, riding on the tops of the cars, which were the size of American horse cars, with crude benches as seats."

<sup>141</sup> "News Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, September 20, 1914, 9.

<sup>142</sup> See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in *Ancestry.com* (accessed October 15, 2013) for George Kulmbacher [sic]. Original Source: NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels*



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*Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2371, volume 5445, page 138, line 18 (Nieuw Amsterdam).

<sup>143</sup> Kalmbacher is here referring to the *Verlustlisten*, lists of casualties suffered by Germany's armed forces. The Wolff Telegraph Bureau distributed the first *Verlustliste* on August 9, and it was published in some newspapers on August 10. Since he was in Berlin, Kalmbacher might have seen such lists in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, which published the first list of casualties on August 10, 1914 (page 2), though not under the *Verlustliste* heading: "Fürs Vaterland gefallen. Tote und Verwundete aus den ersten Kämpfen." Beginning with the publication of the second list of casualties the *BM* ("Verlustliste 2," August 15, 1914, 3) used the *Verlustliste* heading. Among the entries from *Verlustliste 2*: "Ulanen - Regt. Nr. 7. Tot: Teßmar, Oberleutnant." and "Jäger Bat. Nr. 1. ... Schwer verwundet: Mehl, Otto, Vizefeldwebel (Kopfschuß) Lazarett Neidenburg." The *Berliner Morgenpost* published no less than twelve such *Verlustlisten* in August alone.

In fact, one Wilmingtonian, Martin Marcus, received copies of the *Berliner Morgenpost's Verlustlisten* in the mail: "Verlustlisten hier," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, September 19, 1914, 1, and "Receives Valuable Paper," *Star*, September 20, 1914, 9.

<sup>144</sup> "Unite in Praise of German Treatment," *Evening Journal*, September 24, 1914, 2. The next day the *Wilmington Morning News* carried a report that was an abbreviated rendition of the story told by the *Evening Journal*. See "Local Man Back With Praise for the Germans," *WMN*, September 25, 1914, 2.

<sup>145</sup> "Die Stimmung in Amerika. Deutschlands korrekte Haltung—Eine Lanze für die Wahrheit," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, September 28, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 3; "Die Aufklärungsarbeit in America," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Abendblatt, 2; "Die Wahrheit für Amerika," *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 28, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 2; and "Für die Wahrheit," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 29, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 2.

<sup>146</sup> "George Kalmbacher Returned," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13.

<sup>147</sup> "What Mr. Kalmbacher Has to Say," *Star*, October 4, 1914, 13. In light of subsequent events, one might find Kalmbacher's remarks regarding a one-month war as little short of ludicrous. But he was not alone in his view that the war would be brief. The *New York Herald* of August 3, 1915 (page 19) prominently displayed an article entitled "European War Will Be the Shortest on Record Is the Opinion of Experts."

<sup>148</sup> "Mr. Kalmbacher Defends Kaiser," *Star*, October 11, 1914, 10.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> "Four Liners Bring 4,498 Refugees," *New York Times*, September 22, 1914, 4.

<sup>151</sup> "Kleine Stadtneugigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 11, 1914, 1.

<sup>152</sup> "Discussion about War at Zion's Men's Society," *Evening Journal*, October 7, 1914, 9, and "Progress of Army. Veterans of Franco-Prussian War Hear of Strides Made by Germans," *Every Evening*, October 7, 1914, 6.

<sup>153</sup> "Das klingt anders. Adresse der heimkehrender Amerikaner an den Präsidenten," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, September 22, 1914, 9.

For a full account of these matters see John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). Chapter 3 discusses "The German army and the myth of the francs-tireurs, 1914." The authors have shown that the German army's concern with civilian resistance was not confined to males (page 109): "Women and children, accused of barbaric conduct from the outset, were killed in several incidents at Liège, including the collective execution carried out by [Infantry Regiment] 165 at Melen on 6. August." These same authors address the tales of "severed hands" (page 204): "The emotive charge and metaphoric relevance for all the categories of people caught up in the invasion—women and men, civilians and soldiers—made children's 'severed hands' the key Allied myth of 1914." Finally, Cologne, the site of Richards's visit, was located not far from the German-Belgian border. It was through Cologne that many German soldiers returned from the western battlefields to Germany, and it was in Cologne that newspapers were especially



active in publicizing allegations of atrocities on the western front. See Horner and Kramer, 134.

A recent study of the Belgian experience during World War I includes careful attention to the behavior of the German army in Belgium during August 1914. See especially chapters 2 and 3 of Larry Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

<sup>154</sup> See Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914* (page 195), which discusses Belgian and French charges that German soldiers were using dum-dum bullets. For the Hague "Declaration (IV, 3) Concerning Expanding Bullets. Signed at The Hague, July 29, 1899," see Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, second edition, edited by James Brown Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1915), 227-228. See also Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, editors, *Documents on the Laws of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64-66. The Declaration is available electronically at <avalon.law.yale.edu/19th\_century/dec99-03.asp>.

<sup>155</sup> As early as August 6, 1914, the *Morning News* (page 1) carried an article on "Slaughter in France. Germans Shoot All Persons Friendly to France."

<sup>156</sup> *Morning News*, September 23, 1914, 10.

<sup>157</sup> "Allies Deny Use of Dum-dum Bullets," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 13. This article, which was not part of the *Star's* German Column, noted that the British embassy in Washington denied the charge.

<sup>158</sup> "Unite in Praise of German Treatment," *Evening Journal*, September 24, 1914, 2, and "Das klingt anders," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, September 22, 1914, 9.

<sup>159</sup> "Arrive Home from Germany: Miss Catherine Clodi and Miss Rosa Ploesser Reached This City Last Night," *Morning News*, October 26, 1914, 6.

<sup>160</sup> Clodi and Ploesser departed Rotterdam aboard the *Rotterdam* on October 15, and they reached New York on October 25. *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957* (NAMP T715, roll 2379, volume 5471 [*Rotterdam*]).

<sup>161</sup> "Return from Centre of World's War," *Every Evening*, October 26, 1914, 3. The *Evening Journal* ("Wilmington Girls Out of War Zone," *Evening Journal*, October 26, 1914, 6) also reported on the return of Clodi and Ploesser, though it had little to say about the experiences of the women in Germany itself.

<sup>162</sup> "Frl. Clodi und Frl. Ploesser heim," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 31, 1914, 1. Sedan Day commemorated the German victory over France on September 1-2, 1871. That triumph, which sealed the defeat of Napoleon III and the demise of the Second French Empire, concluded the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and paved the way for the birth of the German Empire.

<sup>163</sup> "Safe and Sound at Home," *Star*, November 1, 1914, 9.

<sup>164</sup> "Word From Mr. von Bosse," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* of August 15, 1914 (untitled item, 1) carried a report, quite erroneous, as it turns out, that Georg von Bosse and his daughter Hildegard had left London the previous Monday aboard the steamer *Virginia*, bound for Montreal. According to that *Lokal-Anzeiger* article, the departure of Georg and Hildegard von Bosse was made possible by the efforts of American ambassador to Germany James Gerard. As indicated above, Georg von Bosse would sail from Rotterdam to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*. He would reach New York on October 25. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Georg Bosse [*sic*], NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2379, volume 5471 (*Rotterdam*).

Although she too would return to the United States aboard the *Rotterdam*, Hildegard von Bosse would not leave Europe until November 14, and she would not arrive in the United States until November 24. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Hildegard Bosse [*sic*]. Original Source: NARA, *Passenger and*



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*Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2386, volume 5490 (Rotterdam).

<sup>165</sup> "Ein Schreiben von Pastor Geo. von Bosse," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 21, 1914, 1. The remarks of Georg Kalmbacher, Katie Clodi, and Georg von Bosse notwithstanding, scholars have recently challenged the notion that Germans of all stripes set aside their religious, political, social, and economic differences and universally and enthusiastically hailed their government's decision to go to war. See, for example, Wolfgang G. Natter, *Literature at War, 1914-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), and Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Two months before Georg von Bosse carried Germany's story back to the United States, evidence strongly suggests that he had conveyed the state of German-America to the readers of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The *NAZ* of August 21 carried an article ("America. Ein amerikanischer Geistlicher über die englische Brunnenvergiftung," August 21, 1914, Erste Ausgabe, 1) containing remarks by "a German-American, who for twenty-five years has served as pastor of the German Church in Philadelphia," who was staying in Dresden, and who was surprised by the outbreak of war. This description points to Georg von Bosse as the unnamed pastor. He had been ordained in 1889, was in 1914 a Philadelphia pastor, and, as mentioned earlier, was "in Saxony." In fact, his daughter Hildegard, who was listed on Georg von Bosse's passport when the two left the United States for Germany, went to the American Consul General in Dresden (in Saxony) to acquire a passport that would facilitate her return to the United States. See "Emergency Passport Application," Dresden, August 10, 1914, No. 286, "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925," in Ancestry.com (accessed April 30, 2013), NARA, database-on-line, for Miss Hildegard Von Bosse [sic].

Georg von Bosse's remarks, as printed in the *NAZ*, indicated that he had gathered material to use in influencing the American public mood when he returned to the U.S. He maintained that German-Americans were well aware of England's perfidy, and he thanked the Kaiser whose efforts had foiled England's attempts to damage relations between Germany and the United States. Finally, he offered this reassurance: "It is not true, as is often assumed, that German-Americans have been lost to the Old Fatherland. Oh no! We remain connected to it out of affection and respect. Its pain is our pain, its joy is our joy. Things are now already stirring among [the German-Americans], and abundant donations will be coming [to Germany]."

<sup>166</sup> "Massen-Versammlung des Deutschtums," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 21, 1914, 1.

<sup>167</sup> "German Mass Meeting at Zion Church Monday," *Evening Journal*, November 20, 1914, 17.

<sup>168</sup> "German-Americans Meet," *Morning News*, November 23, 1914, 7. The general mentioned in the article is probably the person identified by the German Column as General Rudolph von Bosse who in the spring of 1915 was serving with "the troops of Saxony at Verdun." See "Letter from a General's Wife," *Star*, May 16, 1915, 11. The General is elsewhere ("Father and Son Decorated," *Star*, March 7, 1915, 13) identified as *Ludolph* von Bosse by the German Column.

<sup>169</sup> "Sees Triumph for Kaiser in Great Struggle," *Evening Journal*, November 24, 1914, 1.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> See "Discuss the War," *Wilmington Morning News*, November 24, 1914, 7, and "Told of War," *Every Evening*, November 24, 1914, 10. According to the account in the *WMN*, "The Rev. von Bosse, Jr., delivered an interesting address, reading several extracts from foreign papers to illustrate his points."

<sup>172</sup> "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1, and "Second Mass Meeting" and "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16.

<sup>173</sup> "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.* Von Bosse's observations were not at all out of line with a recent assessment



of events: "The response of many on mobilization was to turn to religion for guidance and comfort. In Hamburg church attendance rose 125 per cent in August." Strachan, *The First World War*, 1116.

<sup>175</sup> "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16. Von Bosse's use of the phrase "world war" at this rather early stage of the conflict might seem a bit premature. Nevertheless, although the United States would not enter the war until April 1917, some German newspapers used the term (*Weltkrieg*) in the very first days of hostilities. See, for example, "Vor dem Weltkrieg. Ein befristete Note an Rußland.—Deutschland im Kriegszustand," *Berliner Morgenpost*, August 1, 1914, 1; "Dem Weltkriege entgegen," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 3, 1914, Mittags-Ausgabe, 1; and "Der beginnende Weltkrieg," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, August 6, 1914, Morgen-Blatt, 1. One scholar has placed the beginning of the *World War* at August 4: "There was no holding back now, and the course of events between the official beginnings of continental war on 1 August and of world war on 4 August may be likened to a chain reaction which can no longer be halted." See Imanuel Geiss, ed., *July 1914. The Outbreak of the First World War: Selected Documents* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), 336.

<sup>176</sup> "Fürs Vaterland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 28, 1914, 1, and "Second Mass Meeting" and "Rev. von Bosse's Address," *Star*, November 29, 1914, 16.

<sup>177</sup> "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.

<sup>178</sup> "Thinks Two Mines Damaged Noordam," *New York Times*, November 4, 1914, 6.

<sup>179</sup> "Durch Sturm behindert," *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, November 4, 1914, 9.

<sup>180</sup> "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Christian Koehler, according to his June 11, 1914 passport application, was born at Gellershausen, Germany, April 6, 1867. He emigrated to the United States in September 1883, and on October 20, 1888 he became a naturalized U.S. citizen. "Kohler" [*sic*] identified himself on his passport application as a "morocco worker." See NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #34406). According to the "1910 United States Federal Census" in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Christian Koehler (Original Source NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 147, enumeration district 68, sheet 7B), Koehler and Anna, his wife of 18 years, were born in Germany. The household included a son, William, born in Delaware, and an "adopted daughter, Katherine Fox [*sic*]," age four months, born in Virginia of parents born in Germany.

<sup>183</sup> Koehler's departure, initially planned for August 2, occurred when the *Potsdam* sailed from Rotterdam on October 22. The ship arrived in New York on November 3. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for Christian Kohler [Köhler]. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2382, volume 5470, page 151, line 3 (*Potsdam*).

<sup>184</sup> "C. Koehler Speaks of War," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.

<sup>185</sup> According to his passport application of June 1, 1914, Mutschler, a naturalized U.S. citizen and a "hotel keeper," was born in "Baden, Germany" on June 27, 1869, and he emigrated to the United States in August 1892. See *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 214, certificate #32567). In "Search Census" in heritagequestonline.com (accessed October 11, 2013), Original Source NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census*, NAMP T624, roll 146, enumeration district 23, sheet 13B, Mutschler is identified as the proprietor of a saloon.

<sup>186</sup> "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4. "Littisch" was probably Lüttich (Liège).

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.* This same article in the *Morning News* indicated that the German authorities had not limited their interest to William Mutschler, Sr.: "Inquiries were also made of Mr. Mutschler for his son William who had been born in Germany and had left there with his



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parents when he was only 18 months old. The records are being searched and every obtainable citizen is being mustered into the service."

<sup>188</sup> The *Wilmington Morning News* had raised the possibility that another Wilmington traveler, George Kalmbacher, was conscripted for German military service: "The prevailing sentiment of some of [Kalmbacher's] friends was that he had been drafted into the German army. This, however, seems absurd, as it is stated that the treatment of the Germans to citizens of the United States, whether they were born [*sic*] or naturalized, was good." See "Back from Germany. George T. Kalmbacher Arrives in New York City," September 23, 1914, 4.

<sup>189</sup> "Mutschler reist nach Deutschland," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 6, 1914, 1.

<sup>190</sup> "Mr. Mutscheler [*sic*] Goes Abroad," *Star*, June 7, 1914, 10.

<sup>191</sup> Edward W. S. Tingle, *Germany's Claims upon German-Americans in Germany: A Discussion of German Military and Other Laws Which May Affect German-Americans Temporarily in Germany Together with Some Comment upon Existing Treaties* (Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Co., 1903), 15, 38. The author of this study is grateful to Laraine Ferguson of the German Genealogical Society, who steered him to Tingle's volume.

Tingle (page 19) mentions that German males "between the ages of 17 and 45" were "liable for military duty," though that obligation did not include a person's 45th year. See also Steven D. Fisher, "Germany, Army."

<sup>192</sup> In addition to the *Evening Journal* and *Morning News* articles cited above, see "Was Mustered into German Army," *Every Evening*, November 4, 1914, 13.

<sup>193</sup> "Lengel, Mutschler und Koehler zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1; "John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17; and "Sängerbund besucht Mutschler," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 14, 1914, 1.

The failure of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the German Column to challenge or deny the reports appearing in the *Evening Journal*, the *Every Evening*, and the *Morning News* suggests that Mutschler's experience was reported accurately by the three dailies.

<sup>194</sup> "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4. For Mutschler's work in the harvest, see also "Wilmingtonian Serves in the Kaiser's Army," *Evening Journal*, November 5, 1914, 6.

The need to protect Germany's food supply was evident to the government at the very beginning of hostilities. On August 3 Berlin's *Der Tag* ("Erntearbeiter dringend gesucht," Montags-Ausgabe, 3) reported that the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture was urging women, older students, and pathfinders to help with the harvest. The article also included an appeal by Police President Becherer in Neukölln: "Everyone, man or woman, young or old, who cannot help the Fatherland by carrying weapons or providing medical care, can still perform invaluable service. To those who are willing to save unharvested crops from ruin and thereby make a great contribution to the Fatherland, I call upon them to register immediately with Police Headquarters in Neukölln."

At the very beginning of hostilities the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* ("Einbringung der Ernte," August 4, 1914, 4) published a decree issued by Minister of Agriculture Freiherr von Schorlemer, who called upon Germany's youth to rescue the harvest. "Only by securing the food supply for the army and the people (*Volk*) will the defense of the Fatherland be fully guaranteed." Five days later the *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* ("Auf an die Landwirte," August 9, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 3) reported on the Minister of Agriculture's insisting that "The harvesting of crops is at the moment the most important task of Germans who are not now facing the enemy."

Mutschler was not the only American to help in the fields: "American students are showing in the most magnanimous way how they stand with regard to our people. Twelve Americans are indefatigably helping with the *harvest* in villages near Brunswick [emphasis in the original]." See "Sympathiekundgebungen für Deutschland," *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, August 7, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

- <sup>195</sup> "Wilmington Man Has War Relics," *Morning News*, November 4, 1914, 4.
- <sup>196</sup> "Lengel, Mutschler und Koehler zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1. In fact, the very next day the *Star* ("John A. Lengel Speaks on War Topics," November 8, 1914, 17) carried a report in which Lengel recounted his experiences in Germany as well as his understanding of the issues that precipitated war in 1914.
- <sup>197</sup> "After War News," *Star*, December 6, 1914, 9.
- <sup>198</sup> See, NARA, *Passport Applications, 1906-1925* (NAMP M1490, roll 216, certificate #35150).
- <sup>199</sup> "German-Americans Abroad," *Star*, August 9, 1914, 19.
- <sup>200</sup> "Mail From Germany," *Star*, September 6, 1914, 14.
- <sup>201</sup> "News From Germany," *Star*, September 27, 1914, 13.
- <sup>202</sup> "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, October 17, 1914, 1.
- <sup>203</sup> "Notes of Special Interest," *Star*, October 18, 1914, 16.
- <sup>204</sup> "Kleine Stadtneuigkeiten," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, November 7, 1914, 1.
- <sup>205</sup> "Word From Dr. Kleinstueber," *Star*, November 8, 1914, 17.
- <sup>206</sup> "German Newspaper Clippings" and "News from Battlefields," *Star*, November 15, 1914, 6.
- <sup>207</sup> Untitled item, "News Notes of the German-Americans," *Star*, March 14, 1915, 13.
- <sup>208</sup> "Personal Notes of German-Americans," *Star*, March 28, 1915, 13.
- <sup>209</sup> "Dr. Kleinstueber Writes," *Star*, April 18, 1915, 19.
- <sup>210</sup> "German-American Society," *Star*, April 18, 1915, 19.
- <sup>211</sup> "Dr. Kleinstueber zurück," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, June 5, 1915, 1.
- <sup>212</sup> "Personals," *Star*, June 6, 1915, 19.
- <sup>213</sup> "Anti-American Feeling In Germany Leads Wilmingtonians [*sic*] To Return," *Star*, June 13, 1915, 13.
- <sup>214</sup> They arrived in New York on May 28. See "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957," in Ancestry.com (accessed October 11, 2013) for William Kleinstueber. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving At New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 2414, volume 5569, page 93, line 21 (*Rotterdam*).
- <sup>215</sup> "Anti-American Feeling In Germany Leads Wilmingtonians [*sic*] To Return." *Star*, June 13, 1915, 13.
- On September 17, 1910, William and Ida Kleinstueber had sailed from Liverpool, England, aboard the *Lusitania*. They reached New York on September 22. See "Passenger Search" in ellislandrecords.org (accessed July 2, 2001) for William G. Kleinstueber. Original Source NARA, *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1897-1957*, NAMP T715, roll 1560, volume 3439, page 24, line 25 (*Lusitania*).
- The *Every Evening* ("Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse Sunk by the British off Africa," August 27, 1914, 1) carried an August 27 announcement by Winston Spencer Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, that "the German armored merchant cruiser Kaiser Wilhelm Der Grosse . . . has been sunk by the H.M.S. High Flyer off the coast of Africa." The German ship "was one of the palatial steamers of the North German Lloyd Line [that at] the outbreak of the war [had been] converted into an armed cruiser and since had been reported active in searching for British merchantmen." The *Evening Journal* ("Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse Sunk Three Ships Before Going Down," August 29, 1914, 1) carried a United Press report indicating that the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse had sunk three British steamers before "being sent to the bottom off the African coast by the British light cruiser Highflyer."
- <sup>216</sup> "Allies Suffer Great Reverse," August 25, 1914, 4.
- <sup>217</sup> Untitled editorial, August 18, 1914, 4.
- <sup>218</sup> "Keep Out of It," August 26, 1914, 4. The *Evening Journal* had already addressed the issue of "American citizens, native-born or naturalized" in an editorial recognizing that "Every nation in the world is represented in the population of the United States. Those European nations which are participating in the war across the Atlantic are particularly strong in that



representation." The *Evening Journal* ("Charity in Thought; Moderation in Speech," August 20, 1914, 4) found it "only natural" that the war "should arouse the sympathies" of many Americans. "There is, however, a reasonable limit for [expressing those sympathies], and every foreign-born citizen of our country should bear that fact in mind. It would be unwise for the quarrels of those foreign nations to be reflected too acutely in the relations of the human units [sic] which, gathered from the four corners of the earth, are in the great American melting-pot."

<sup>219</sup> "The World's Greatest War," August 7, 1914, 4.

<sup>220</sup> *Evening Journal*: August 8, 1914, 4; September 24, 1914, 4; September 25, 1914, 4; September 29, 1914, 4; October 21, 1914, 4.

<sup>221</sup> The following articles by Karl H. von Wiegand as they appeared in the *Evening Journal*: "Kaiser Ready to Fight World in Defense of German Honor; Expects England to Give Battle," August 4, 1914, 7; "Want Americans Out of War Zone," August 4, 1914, 23; and "No Socialists Shot in Berlin; Americans Wear Flags, Are Well-Treated," August 17, 1914, 1.

<sup>222</sup> This from an untitled September 19 editorial (page 4) that appeared after the German offense failed to destroy the French and British armies and the German army had assumed a defensive posture: "In both [offense and defense the Germans] have acquitted themselves in a manner that, apart from the excesses committed in Louvain and elsewhere, has won the admiration of the world." See also "Self-Sacrificing German Valor," October 29, 1914, 4: "Even the most pronounced sympathizer with the allies in the European war must admit that, when it comes to a spirit of bravery and self-sacrifice for the glory of the nation, the German soldiers now fighting in France and Belgium cannot be excelled anywhere."

<sup>223</sup> "Letter Brings News from Firing Line. Delaware City Resident Hears From Nephew Whose Kin Fight For Kaiser," November 5, 1914, 3.

<sup>224</sup> Untitled editorial, November 5, 1914, 4.

<sup>225</sup> "Mr. Stern Sees Triumph for the German Arms," September 8, 1914, 2; "Unite in Praise of German Treatment. George J. Kalmbach [sic], Back from Fatherland, Gives Statement of Tourists," September 24, 1914, 2; "Predicts Victory for the Germans. Miss Clodi, Fresh From War Theatre, Says Kaiser's Armies Cannot Lose," October 26, 1914, 7; and "[Georg von Bosse] Sees Triumph for Kaiser in Great Struggle," November 24, 1914, 1.

<sup>226</sup> "Our Neutrality," August 10, 1914, 4.

<sup>227</sup> "The President's Address," August 19, 1914, 6, and "At Peace with All," August 25, 1914, 4.

<sup>228</sup> "The Clash of Arms in Europe," *Wilmington Morning News*, August 3, 1914, 4.

<sup>229</sup> "The Kaiser's Plunge," *Wilmington Morning News*, August 6, 1914, 4.

<sup>230</sup> See for example articles such as "Germans Brutal to Fugitives. New York Writer Tells of Many Indignities Suffered By Americans in Empire," August 6, 1914, 8; "Hang French Snipers. Germans Burn Villages to Teach Civilians Lesson," August 25, 1914, 1; "Germans Burn Louvain to Cover Their Error. Beautiful Belgian City Delivered to Flames—Minister to U.S. Protests," August 29, 1914, 1; "Belgian Refugees Prove Cruelties. Boys Had Hands Cut Off So They Couldn't Carry Guns," September 3, 1914, 3; and "Calls Germans 'Baby Killers.' Churchill Says British Navy Waits Chance to Avenge Scarborough," December 21, 1914, 1.

In an August 28 editorial ("Savagery of Airship War," August 28, 1914, 4) the paper described "a new and most savage development of 'civilized war' that illustrated the warring powers' willingness to 'go the limit. Germany certainly intends to do so if the dropping of bombs upon Antwerp from a big airship can be accepted as an example of the new tactics of modern warfare."

<sup>231</sup> "Germans Capture Many Prisoners. According to Letter Received by Mrs. John Netch [from her nephew, a clerk in a department store in Stuttgart], 250,000 Have Been Taken," November 5, 1914, 14, and "Letter from [F. Kleinberger, a cousin of Mrs. Alexander Hirschman in Nurweid {probably Neuwied}-on-the Rhine,] Germany. Reports of Heavy Losses by Kaiser Reported Untrue," October 3, 1914, 20.



<sup>232</sup> "German Woman Appeals to U.S. Urges Americans to be Fair in Their Judgment of the War in Europe," October 24, 1914, 10.

<sup>233</sup> "[Wilmington] Germans Plan to Aid Kaiser," August 18, 1914, 1; "Bernstorff Denies German Cruelties. Ambassador Will Probe U.S. Censorship Over Empire's Wireless Station," August 26, 1914, 1-2; "Germans Protect Tourists Abroad. Americans in Empire During War Were Not Molested, Say Travelers," September 2, 1914, 14; "Deny Cruelty by the Germans. Home Coming Passengers Say Reports of Ill Treatment are False," September 8, 1914, 1; "German Outlook Good, Says Berlin. Wireless Dispatch to Sayville Station Denies Stories of Marne Victory," September 17, 1914, 1-2; "Dum Dum Bullets Used by British. Red Cross Chief Finds Proof in Wounds of German Soldiers," September 22, 1914, 12; "Berlin Swept by Patriotic Wave. Less Depression in German Capital Due to War Than in London," October 26, 1914, 8; and "Officers and Men Are Just Alike. Spirit of Caste Has Rapidly Disappeared in the German Army," December 1, 1914, 8.

<sup>234</sup> One such letter was written by *Samuel Stern*, brother of *Samson Stern* who was one of the Wilmingtonians visiting Germany when war broke out. See "Letter to the Editor. Mr. Samuel Stern Has Something to Say About England," October 1, 1914, 4. The following day the *Morning News* printed a very critical response that assumed the earlier letter was written by *Samson Stern* rather than his brother *Samuel*. See "Letter to the Editor. Reply to Mr. Stern. John S. Hamilton Comments on His 'Undeniable Facts' in Letter," October 2, 1914, 4. Hamilton's piece in turn elicited two more anti-British letters to the editor: "Reply to Mr. Hamilton. Mr. Andrews Says English-Russian Alliance to Free Europe is a 'Grim Joke,'" and "Mr. Rothschild on the War. Recalls How the Nations of Europe Have Been Seizing Land," October 5, 1914, 4. The Stern letter could actually have been written by *Samson* rather than *Samuel*. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the *Morning News* had difficulty distinguishing between the two brothers.

<sup>235</sup> On August 13, 1914 the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (p. 1) announced to its readers ("An unsere Leser!") that it would carry information on the war, in English, to those who, because they were not sufficiently competent in the German language, were otherwise compelled to rely "exclusively on the erroneous reports and explanations as they have been presented in the English-language press." This information, over the name of *Herman Ridder*, appeared in a column entitled "The War Situation from Day to Day." The *Morning News* ("German Editor Defends Kaiser. Declares Emperor Went Far to Preserve Peace with the Czar," August 19, 1914, 10) published an edited version of *Ridder's* first column, which appeared on page 1 of the *NYSZ* on August 14. *Ridder* introduced that column by noting that "So much has been written regarding the attitude of Germany which is based upon sheer ignorance of the conditions abroad, and so much has been written in sympathy with the enemies of Germany, that I intend to state as frankly and clearly as I can the German point of view." On September 12 (page 8) the *Morning News* also published *Ridder's* column of September 8 (pages 1-2) as "[H.G.] Wells Criticized by Herman Ridder."

<sup>236</sup> "German Soldier Writes to His Mother. Officer's Letter Throws Light on Subsistence Conditions of Kaiser's Forces," October 14, 1914, 8, and "German Cruelty Tales Discredited. Correspondent on Firing Line Gives Different Versions of War Horrors," September 22, 1914, 12.

<sup>237</sup> "American Writers Deny German Cruelty. They Declare 'Numerous Investigated Rumors' of Atrocities Proved Groundless," September 7, 1914, 1. The five journalists were *Robert Lewis*, *Associated Press*; *Irvin S. Cobb*, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Philadelphia Public Ledger*; *Harry Hanse*, *Chicago Daily News*; *James O'Donnell Bennett* and *John T. McCutcheon*, *Chicago Tribune*. In an untitled editorial on September 19 (page 6), the *Morning News* mentioned that report in commenting upon a meeting between Belgian commissioners and President *Wilson*. The commissioners are "of course reputable men," and in the newspaper world "every one of the [five] American correspondents who signed the round robin ranks



very high." "Thus, we have conflicting evidence" regarding charges of German atrocities in Belgium.

Wilmington's *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("Ein Kuss war die schlimmste Greuelthat der Deutschen in Belgien," October 10, 1914, Beilage, 3) gave a good deal of attention to the work of the five journalists. Four weeks later the *Lokal-Anzeiger* published in English a letter from O'Donnell Bennett, identified as the War Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*. His remarks included these observations: "Certainly the Germans are getting a rotten deal from the rest of the world in the press reports of this war. . . . To us the German ascendancy seems as inevitable as sunrise tomorrow. God save us, but the system and the power behind the system are just incredible, and the spirit of the people is overpowering." See "The True Situation. Remarkable Letter of an American Correspondent from Germany," November 7, 1914, 6.

<sup>238</sup> See, for examples, "Das Zeugnis amerikanischer Pressevertreter [with this report attributed to the Wolff Telegraph Bureau]," *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Zweite Ausgabe, 1; "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Manneszucht," *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2; "Amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *Der Tag*, September 11, 1914, Morgenausgabe, 5 (of the Nachrichtenteil); "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für die deutschen Truppen," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Zweites Morgenblatt, 2; and "Ein amerikanisches Zeugnis für deutsche Kriegführung," *Vossische Zeitung*, September 11, 1914, Morgen-Ausgabe, 2.

<sup>239</sup> "Asks Fair Play for the Kaiser. Prof. Munsterberg, of Harvard, Analyses [sic] Causes of European Conflict," August 11, 1914, 11, and "Declares German Cruelties Myth. American Correspondent Tells of His Experiences at Seat of War," September 17, 1914, 1 and 11; and "Gives Lecture on Unity of Germany. Some Interesting Facts Set Forth in Speech By a Professor of Munich (December 14, 1914, 9 and 11). This last piece originally appeared in an issue of the *Strassburger Post* that was sent to Samuel Stern, brother of one of the tourists treated in this paper. The Rev. Siegmund von Bosse translated the professor's speech into English.

<sup>240</sup> "Deny Stories of Atrocities. Parents of Miss Ploesser and Miss Clodi, Who Are in Stuttgart, Get Letters," September 5, 1914, 5.

<sup>241</sup> "Aid for the Widows and Orphans," August 19, 1914, 6.

<sup>242</sup> The *Morning News* did have a link to Wilmington's German element, reporter and militiaman Louis F. Wagner. Before his freakish death—at age 30, on July 30, 1915, struck by lightning while on maneuvers with Company C of the First Infantry, Organized Militia of Delaware—, Wagner was a member of the Executive Board of the German-American Society of Delaware and of Zion's Men's Lutheran Society of Delaware. The *Star's* German Column ("Kind Words of War-books," August 22, 1915, 16) reported on a comment made by the editor of the *Lokal-Anzeiger*: "We can proudly say that the deceased was one of us and that he sympathized with German affairs and their cause." This article mentioned Wagner's "Being of German birth. . . ." In fact, NARA, *The 1910 Federal Population Census* for Wilmington (Series T624, roll 147, enumeration district 40, page 13B, in "Search Census" in heritagequestonline.com, accessed October 10, 2013) shows Lewis [sic] F. Wagner to have been born in Pennsylvania of parents born in Germany.

See also "Many Pay Final Tribute to Louis F. Wagner," *Morning News*, August 3, 1915, 1 and 11, and "Versammlung der German-American Society," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 14, 1915, 8.

Although unlikely to have affected its coverage of German-Americans in 1914, in 1904 and early 1905 the *Wilmington Morning News* carried an English-language column for its German-American readers. The feature appeared under various headings, among them the "German-American News Column." As mentioned above, the *Sunday Morning Star* began its English-language "News Notes of the German-Americans" in 1905, shortly after the *Morning News* discontinued its English-language German column.

<sup>243</sup> "The Blessings of Peace," August 10, 1914, 4.



<sup>244</sup> "Prayers and War," September 10, 1914, 4.

<sup>245</sup> "Why Men Are Slow to Go to War," September 10, 1914, 4.

<sup>246</sup> "Those Who 'Cry Peace!'," September 9, 1914, 4; "Estimating Our War Strength," December 11, 1914, 4; and "Why War?," December 15, 1914, 4.

<sup>247</sup> Untitled editorial, August 17, 1914, 4.

<sup>248</sup> "The Reason for the Sentiment," October 13, 1914, 4.

<sup>249</sup> Among the former, "Germans Wiping Out Many Towns. Belgian Peasants Declare the Invaders Are Waging a War of Extermination," and "German Soldiers Suffer Repulse. A Large Body of Troops is [sic] Checked in an Attack on Eydtkuhnen," August 13, 1914, 1; "Germans Burn Town of Vise. What Was Left After the Previous Fire Was Wiped Out Last Saturday," August 18, 1914, 1; and "Germans Are Near the Breaking Point. Allies Are Vigorously Meeting the Offensive in Belgium and France," November 2, 1914, 1.

<sup>250</sup> "Germans Stand by Fatherland. While Abating Not Their Loyalty to Country of Their Adoption," August 18, 1914, 2; "News of the War From Germany. Dover Woman Receives Two Letters Written From German Viewpoint," September 11, 1914, 3; and "Spent a Week with Germans. What a Correspondent Saw on a Visit to the Battlefields of France," December 11, 1914, 5.

<sup>251</sup> This article was mentioned above in note 46: "War Opinions of Man from Austria. Aaron Keil of This City, Just Back from Europe, Gives His Views," August 15, 1914, 3.

<sup>252</sup> "Newspapers and War News," September 7, 1914, 4. A month later the *Every Evening* ("The Reason for the Sentiment," October 13, 1914, 4) was still willing to admit that news about the war might be distorted: "Of course, in the fire and return fire of appeals and arguments for and against Germany, and in the news dispatches from the scenes of [the] war's operations, there have been falsification and gross perversions of the real situation, especially to the detriment of Germany. But this feature of the situation does not affect the direct case against that country."

<sup>253</sup> "Our 'Obligations' to Germany," December 8, 1914, 4.

<sup>254</sup> "What the People Say. A German Protest," *Every Evening*, December 12, 1914, 4. The letter appeared over the names of Gustav Ripka, president of the local branch of the NGAA, and Sigmund von Bosse, elsewhere identified as the pastor of Wilmington's Zion Lutheran Church and the son of traveler Georg von Bosse.

<sup>255</sup> "An Illogical Protest" and "Not Unfriendly to German People," *Every Evening*, December 12, 1914, 4.

<sup>256</sup> "Staatsverband-Versammlung," December 12, 1914, 1.

<sup>257</sup> "Every Evening Censured," December 13, 1914, 16.

<sup>258</sup> W. [Wilhelm Woernle], "Schütz Deutsch-Amerikanische Mitbürger. Ein berechtigter Notruf," *Lokal-Anzeiger*, December 19, 1914, 1.

<sup>259</sup> Once the city's German-American tourists had completed their return to the United States, letters from the Old Fatherland to the New—epistles, as it were—would serve to sustain the faith of their recipients. As with the gospel that was carried back from Germany by the city's tourists, the effect of some of these messages would be multiplied by publication in the *Lokal-Anzeiger* and the *Star's* German Column.

<sup>260</sup> "\$2,160.46 in the Red Cross Fund," *Every Evening*, October 24, 1914, 2.

Wilmington's German-Americans were probably not well represented among the donors at the Hotel du Pont. The area's German-Americans, especially those intending that their donations benefit relief efforts in the Old Fatherland, had other opportunities to do so. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* regularly reported on such donations, generally for the benefit of widows and orphans. See, for example, "Für edle Zwecke," September 5, 1914, 1. Such reports named the donors and specified the amount of their donations. Both the *Lokal-Anzeiger* ("\$1084 sind bis jetzt kollektiert.—Weitere Beiträge erwünscht," October 10, 1914, 1) and the *Star's* German Column ("Sent \$1000 to Germany," October 11, 1914, 10) provided a summary of



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funds collected for the widows and orphans fund. Of the total collected to that point, \$1,000 was sent to F. Tirak, National Treasurer of the German-American Alliance and a resident of Baltimore. The committee was instructed that two-thirds of the money benefit Germans and one-third "Austrians."

<sup>261</sup> For this information about the postwar travels of persons treated in this study the author has relied on Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [data base online].

<sup>262</sup> The classic treatment of the rise and fall of the German-language press in the United States is Carl Wittke's *The German-Language Press in America* ([Lexington]: University of Kentucky Press, 1957). Citing Ayer's *Newspaper Annual*, Wittke (pages 243 and 273) reported that there were 53 daily German-language newspapers in the United States in 1914, only 26 by 1920.





## Book Reviews

*Edited by Susan M. Schürer  
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### **Review Essay: Germans in the Soviet Union**

**The Open Wound: The Genocide of German Ethnic Minorities in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1915-1949 and Beyond/Der Genozid an Russlan-deutschen 1915-1949.**

*By Samuel D. Sinner. Fargo: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, Fargo, 2000. 353 pp. \$35.00.*

**We'll Meet Again in Heaven: Germans in the Soviet Union Write Their American Relatives, 1925-1937.**

*Translated and edited and by Ronald J. Vossler. Fargo: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, 2001. 314 pp. \$45.00.*

**The Old God Still Lives: German Villagers in Czarist and Soviet Ukraine Write Their American Relatives, 1915-1924.**

*Translated and edited by Ronald J. Vossler and Joshua J. Vossler. Fargo: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, Fargo, 2005. 272 pp. \$35.00.*

**Remember Us: Letters from Stalin's Gulag (1930-37): Volume One: The Regehr Family.**

*Edited by Ruth Derksen-Siemens. Translated by Peter Barga and Anne Barga. Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press, 2008. 407 pp. \$24.95 (Canadian).*

**Collectivization in the Soviet Union: German Letters to America, 1927-1932.**

*Translated and edited by Janice Huber Stangl. Fargo: Glueckstal Colonies Research Association in cooperation with the Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State University Libraries, 2012. 314 pp. \$55.00.*

For over a decade, once forgotten ethnic German voices in Soviet exile have come back to life louder than ever thanks partly to recent translation compilations and academic examinations of letters first published on the North American prairies between 1917 and 1937. The instrumental role of courageous German-language newspaper editors in America and their contributors in publicizing the letters at the time deserves special praise as well. Such printed articles appeared in *Fraktur* German. Moreover, an even larger corpus of ethnic German correspondences from the USSR simply remained unpublished until just a few years ago. Later stored on microfilm records, some of these letters were lost or destroyed, but numerous others were preserved and kept hidden in family attics, basements and garages as well as private and public archives for several decades in North America. Individual collections of unpublished written materials from the Soviet Union, composed typically in the old German script, ranged anywhere from one letter or a few to as many as dozens and, in rare cases, even hundreds.

This review essay draws attention to the relatively new scholarship conducted by a small cadre of scholars and translators concerning the thousands of correspondences produced by ordinary ethnic Germans in the USSR and mailed or even smuggled to friends and relatives in North America during the Lenin-Stalin era. The survey covers the five volumes listed above, four of which are compiled letter translations with commentaries, appearing in the order of their publication dates between 2000 and 2012. All but one of these were published by the Germans from Russia Heritage Collection at the North Dakota State University Libraries in Fargo, one of the largest and most active archives and institutes dedicated to the German from Russia Diaspora worldwide. One of the translators produced two of the works under review, while at different times all the authors, editors and translators have actively presented and advanced their findings to the public. All the authors, editors and translators also claim at least some German from Russia ancestry.



Ethnic German correspondences on both sides of the Atlantic had gone on for decades before 1917, but the turbulent events of the Communist take-over and consolidation of power after this time alarmed and even created desperation for those facing revolutionary changes, especially after Stalin's forced collectivization drive. From the Bolshevik Revolution until around 1937, at the peak of Stalin's Great Terror, a substantial portion of these famine, gulag and repression letters appeared in German-language newspapers on the Great Plains, including the large-circulation *Dakota Freie Presse* (Yankton, South Dakota, and New Ulm, Minnesota) and *Die Welt-Post* (Lincoln and Omaha, Nebraska), as well as smaller press venues. The letter writers' often disturbing messages related to the outside world what was in fact happening in the old country. Soviet authorities severed any further effective trans-Atlantic communications after 1937, however. In time, memories of the letters and the harsh experiences of the early Soviet period faded into relative obscurity, at least until the end of the Cold War, when younger generations of scholars and ethnic German relatives began to reflect on the past and search university, state and local archives and even private residences in North America, uncovering a nearly untapped treasure-trove of information.

Among the Soviet peoples, the ethnic Germans until the late 1930s had represented one of the most literate national communities. In subsequent decades following persecution, deportation, exile and limited cultural opportunities, however, the ethnic group's overall literacy rate declined somewhat, as evidenced in Soviet census records. The precious ability of both ethnic elites and rank-and file to express their sentiments in writing at the time has assisted scholars in examining early Soviet history at the grass-roots level.

The historical backdrop of ethnic German letters both published and unpublished in North America spans several distinct phases of Soviet policy-making, thus influencing the tone and temperament of correspondences that can be distinguished today: 1) Bolshevik Revolution, "War Communism," and Russian Civil War (1917–21); 2) "Great Famine" of 1921–23; 3) the breathing-spell of the mid-1920s New Economic Policy (NEP); 4) collectivization drives as well as peasants' and women's revolts (1929–31); 5) Ukrainian *Holodomor* and Volga famine (1932–33); Stalin's "Great Terror" and mass purges (1934–38); and "The Years of the Great Silence" (*die Jahren des Grossen Schweigens*) following mass deportations to and exile in Soviet Central Asia and Siberia (1941–55), but arguably lasting until the Cold War's end. The substantial compilation of documented letters is now more widely available to us, serving to supplement yet another scholarly resource in the continuing post-Cold War archival research on policy fluctuations of the often repressive and brutal Lenin-Stalin era and beyond. The general pattern holds that the more troubling correspondences occurred during the tumultuous periods of



1917–23 (wars and famine) and 1929–37 (Stalinism rising), contrasted with relatively normalized communications during most of the NEP period, a declining number of troubled exchanges following the early to mid-1930s mass persecutions and exiles, and a near-complete suffocation of any contacts after Stalinism's domination by the late 1930s. Ethnic German networking outside of the USSR only slowly percolated with Khrushchev beginning in the mid- to late 1950s, but remaining survivors finally breached the Cold War's Iron Curtain after the late 1980s under Gorbachev.

Similar to the international academic community, North American scholars since the Cold War have begun to establish a growing body of literature on the Soviet mass repressions against ethnic minorities, including the Germans. In 2000, North American linguist and archivist Samuel D. Sinner was the first to address at length the issue of genocide of ethnic Germans in a groundbreaking dual-language academic study (in two complementary parts): *The Open Wound: The Genocide of German Ethnic Minorities in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1915-1949 and Beyond/Der Genozid an Russlanddeutschen 1915-1949*.

Standing as probably the most scholarly of the books under review, *The Open Wound* utilizes detailed statistical methods and tables. Sinner lays down the historiographical debates surrounding the definition of "genocide" and its historical application to late tsarist Russia, Lenin and Stalin. He concludes that, despite factoring in the group's natural birth and death rates, an estimated one million ethnic Germans died as a result of regime policies in late imperial Russia and the young USSR during a thirty-four year period. In order to document the human losses as well as offer eyewitness accounts to them, he incorporates hundreds of English-, German-, and Russian-language primary and secondary sources, not least of which were famine letters published in North America during the 1920s and 1930s.

After Communism's collapse, the emerging discipline of comparative genocide studies in North America and Europe garnered widespread academic attention, but not without bitter disagreement and heated controversy in the field over whether Stalin's deportations and repressions of peoples could be technically considered "genocide." Some critics have charged that such comparisons would challenge the Nazi Holocaust's historical uniqueness and even diminish the tragedy.

Citing official state documents and contemporary accounts, however, *The Open Wound* takes care to place Soviet police actions against minority groups within the parameters established by the December 1948 United Nations' definition of "genocide," but also considers earlier and much broader conceptual formulations of "genocide" by lawyer, scholar and activist Raphael Lemkin (1900–59), who first defined the term in his influential 1944 book



*Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Lemkin's original definition of "genocide" emphasized the destruction of group identity rather than the killing of group members. Lethal and non-lethal means, especially against unarmed civilians, might therefore constitute "genocide" if the intent of such actions is the elimination of a group's ethnic identity, as Sinner maintains in the case of the USSR's German minority.

In his investigation, Sinner discerns troubling continuities of Russian history, especially authoritarian tendencies and national animosities. Additionally, he admits in a separate related article published that same year that, when writing the ambitious *The Open Wound*, he turned to Jewish and Armenian genocide victims and scholars for inspiration and historical precedent. Some frustrated members of the Germans from Russia community believe that the Nazi Holocaust has obscured the full extent of the past century's Soviet and other (notably Communist) mass repressions, though most such critics do not deny the Shoah. Without relying on a debilitating victim-group narrative, however, Sinner seeks guidance from the more constructive intellectual, artistic, and spiritual responses of Jewish and Armenian survivors and descendants to their own genocide and repression. In fact, he cites in the same article how Armenian literature gave impetus to the decision to entitle his book *The Open Wound*.

In North America, Sinner provided a comprehensive framework for studying Soviet mass repression, though he also called on scholars to continue translating and analyzing extensive collections of ethnic German famine and repression letters which appeared in the West during the early years of Soviet rule. Indeed, until about ten or fifteen years ago, correspondences taken out of the USSR and then published in the German-American newspapers *Dakota Freie Presse*, *Die Welt-Post*, and elsewhere remained virtually untouched in the microfilm archives on the Great Plains. When writing his opus, Sinner also found time to produce in 2000 the special topic booklet *Letters from Hell: An Index to Volga-German Famine Letters Published in 'Die Welt-Post': 1920-1925; 1930-1934*, printed by the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR). This listing of many crucial German-language newspaper sources came out of his research at the Nebraska State Historical Society's microfilm archives. Moreover, Nebraska's holdings include many of the Volga Relief Society microfilm records from the Great Famine period, including official correspondences. This publication supplements well *The Open Wound*.

Local and regional German-language newspapers of the 1920s and 1930s indeed offered tantalizing prospects for important research into the Lenin-Stalin terror regime. North Dakota poet and educator Ronald J. Vossler, acknowledging Sinner's profound influence on him in this regard, has led the



charge in reclaiming the history of a vast goldmine of famine and repression letters. For the past decade, Vossler has traveled the lecture circuit, engaging in various literary, video documentary and public outreach projects related to the Germans from Russia. As the culmination of his many efforts, he compiled, translated, and published in 2001 an impressive collection of hundreds of heartfelt correspondences that had come from the Glückstal enclave of a number of ethnic German villages in western Soviet Ukraine: *We'll Meet Again in Heaven: Germans in the Soviet Union Write Their American Relatives, 1925-1937*. These letters were printed between 1925 and 1937 in local and regional newspapers on the northern plains. Vossler consulted the newspapers the *Wishek (North Dakota) Nachrichten* and the *Eureka (South Dakota) Rundschau*, subsequently called the *Dakota Rundschau* (based in Bismarck, North Dakota, and Winona, Minnesota). The *Dakota Rundschau* was later absorbed into the well-known regional German-American paper the *Dakota Freie Presse* in Bismarck. Vossler establishes that relatives and friends in North America also mailed written responses to their own living in the Soviet Union during this time. Diaspora Germans on both sides of the Atlantic, however, realized that it was becoming increasingly dangerous for them to maintain contacts, especially by the mid-1930s as the Communist authorities tightened their grip on the levers of power.

Vossler grew up in the small community of Wishek, North Dakota, giving him an intimate understanding of the cultural milieu where these Glückstaler letters first became public. Providing readers with the necessary historical overview, he includes a documented twenty-five-page introductory essay in the compilation. In addition, he expresses keen sensitivity to and a clear comprehension of the issues of shame and silence that the ethnic group as a whole had exhibited in the wake of hearing of these traumatic experiences. For special effect, his son Joshua J. Vossler, a graphic artist, contributed to this work numerous haunting sketches and powerful death-motif illustrations. From this body of letters, readers can better comprehend the forces of socio-economic modernization and Communism's brutality that in time wiped out the ethnic villages and much of the traditional way of life. Under the Bolsheviks during this painful transitional phase or harsh baptism into modernity, the former relative cultural insulation and older agrarian and religious worldview of ethnic Germans began to crumble.

*We'll Meet Again in Heaven* presents stark apocalyptic religious imagery which weighed down the Glückstalers' correspondences written during the late NEP period through the rising tide of Stalinism. Since most villagers were still farmers maintaining a traditional religious outlook, it was most understandable why they viewed the terrible and traumatic famines and persecutions of the early Soviet regime from a Biblical perspective. In the



early 1930s, émigré writer Johannes Schleuning had already noted the ethnic German farmers' tendency to describe events in this manner. In the introduction, Vossler makes these equally perceptive observations on the matter, writing:

Some letter writers, notably village correspondents, but also some of the elder letter writers, illustrate a facility with the German language that can be, at times, both striking and beautiful. This richly figurative language often involved the religious domain of their lives, describing their travail on "this whirlpool of sorely troubled existence," where the "the Death Angel" comes to "call decrepit earth pilgrims" to their "homeland of Heaven." There are also frequent allusions to the belief that they'll again meet their American kin in Heaven, "the homeland above," as well as to references to Biblical characters such as Lot, Job, and Lazarus, and to Biblical situations and concepts, such as Mammon, the Anti-Christ, and also the Egyptian captivity of the children of Israel—all of which were used to illustrate the extremity of their distress. (xvii)

In 2005, Vossler delved further into this ethnic literature with a second major translation compilation: *The Old God Still Lives: Ethnic Germans in Czarist and Soviet Ukraine Write Their American Relatives, 1915-1924*. This time Vossler as editor and translator shared duties with his son, concentrating on the late tsarist period, including World War I, the Russian Civil War, and the early period of Soviet power, when ethnic relations in Ukraine exploded. They accessed private, state and university archives in North Dakota to chronicle a decade of correspondences from Ukraine's ethnic German communities in the Glückstal enclave, drawing letter entries from the *Wishek Nachrichten*, *Eureka Rundschau*, *Dakota Freie Presse*, *Der Staats-Anzeiger* (Bismarck), and *Nord-Dakota Herold* (Dickinson).

*The Old God Still Lives* delivers several striking observations, though two deserve special mention here. The first concerns many of the letters often using double-meanings, irony, metaphors, symbols, code words, Biblical expressions, as well as legends, folklore, mythology and nature imagery from world literature, along with other literary practices, to attack or undermine Soviet authority right under the official censors' noses. Vossler and others have compared such sophisticated deceptive literary devices with African-American code practices, including covert musical traditions and quilting designs, performed in the antebellum American South to prevent whites from learning about calls for hope, defiance, escape and freedom.

The volume's second powerful conclusion addresses how the Soviet Com-

munist takeover served only to strengthen anti-Semitism among segments of Ukraine's beleaguered multinational population. The toxic connection of Judaism with Marxist-Bolshevism at this early point permeated some of the ethnic German letters. The translators observe in the introduction: "Most chilling was the vow of revenge penned by the Kirtum writer in 1922, whose virulent language seems to presage the Holocaust: "This situation will give rise to a slaughter of Jews such as history has never seen. Even babies in their cribs will not be spared, for the Jews will have earned their own terrible reward" (xiii).

In public talks, Vossler sometimes has had to address critics of Soviet-era famine, gulag and repression letters who hold that such historical artifacts from this period are too emotional and tend to express a marked bias in response to events still in progress. More pro-Soviet critiques especially claim that the writers and victims were "too caught up in the moment" to present an accurate portrayal of the period in question. In less diplomatic terms, the argument goes that these correspondences present a skewed anti-Soviet perspective. Though eyewitness accounts and historical actors were limited in their perspective at the time, and indeed were critical of or even hostile to Communism, they still offer us another powerful angle and interpretation of the course of events within the Soviet state.

In 2008, Ruth Derksen-Siemens, a professor of rhetoric and writing, compiled another groundbreaking resource on the matter of ethnic Germans letters from the Soviet Union: *Remember Us: Letters from Stalin's Gulag (1930-37): Volume One: The Regehr Family*. She is also familiar with Vossler's and Sinner's previous research, even mentioning their early contributions to the field in some of her public presentations.

Derksen-Siemens opens the first of a much anticipated three-volume series with a brief historical background on the Mennonite people and their arrival in tsarist Russia. She then summarizes the early Soviet period that serves as the tragic backdrop to the odyssey of one Russian Mennonite family, the Regehers, whose 463 letters between 1930 and 1937 amazingly made their way from confined special settlements of exile in the Ural Mountains to their relatives in the small Canadian prairie town of Carlyle, Saskatchewan. Forgotten for over five decades in the family attic, these gulag letters represent the largest international collection of its kind ever to be authenticated (respected British scholar Anne Applebaum and others were involved in the verification process).

Derksen-Siemens' compilation includes a useful glossary in the front, as well as a number of maps, charts, and bibliographical notes at the end. Published in an attractive soft-cover volume, *Remember Us* incorporates old family photos and scanned images of original letters, envelopes, and postcards,



etc., on which the Regehrs described their ordeals under Stalin. Those in exile were quite desperate to procure or recycle paper scraps and any writing utensils with which to communicate, as such basic materials proved extremely scarce in the Urals. One of the passionate letter-writers included nine-year-old Lena.

Like Vossler's two compilations, *Remember Us* considers how the letters, in order to avoid Soviet censorship or interception, transmitted information by way of certain code words, phrases and even religious allusions, what sometimes in the ethnic tradition is called "speaking through the flowers." Derksen-Siemens also produced a forty-seven minute documentary DVD, *Through the Red Gate*, which serves as an excellent visual supplement and summary for the book, depicting the accidental discovery in 1989 of this incredible body of letters bundled in a Campbell's Soup box in an attic.

During the Lenin-Stalin years, as *Remember Us* suggests, some letters passed through the Soviet postal system, though others followed a more secretive and illegal route. Either way, in view of the incredible communication about what was happening in the remote places of confinement, one intriguing question remains whether any correspondences from Canada and the United States sent to the Soviet Union were ever received and preserved, either in personal homes or Soviet archives. It seems unbelievable how this network managed to work its way through the "system" or bypass it altogether, leaving one to wonder about the number of letters never reaching their destinations, either intercepted by officials or simply lost.

Also noteworthy is that the Soviet regime permitted or at least put up with letter exchanges and even smuggling for much of the time of Stalinist collectivization drives and terror. The regime's twisted logic was to keep at least some of these unfortunate people alive in the gulags or places of exiles by allowing the outside world to help encourage them emotionally, and even to feed them or provide them money via the Torgsin stores. This policy might also have offered the regime other opportunities to gather intelligence on public opinion and private activities both at home and abroad. Thus the Soviet regime for a time needed to keep the official letter exchanges going, later only to shut them down altogether.

In *Remember Us*, the significant role played by sympathetic camp guards and locals outside of the special camps deserve recognition in these cases, too. Despite the harsh Stalinist system, a semblance of humanity persisted, even if only small acts of consideration and kindness. This stubborn communication link indicated that at least at the local level the system of Soviet "totalitarianism" contained certain limits to what the regime at times was willing or even able to do against its real or perceived internal enemies, whether the kulaks, national minorities or other political targets.



The Regehr family's case also reveals how those in North America who received such horrible and troubling accounts and details had to endure the guilt and anxiety about those left behind in a turbulent Soviet Russia. Pained silence or denial might have been the most logical survival response.

The last title under review is Janice Huber Stangl's 2012 translation compilation of German-language letters from Soviet Ukraine to North Dakota: *Collectivization in the Soviet Union: German Letters to America, 1927-1932*. Stangl and her husband, Thomas J. Stangl, are longtime active members of the Germans from Russia Heritage Society (GRHS) and the Glückstal Colonies Research Association (GCRA). They received considerable assistance from their dedicated GCRA colleagues in compiling, translating and editing the material. An eclectic group of enthusiasts and volunteers, whose ancestors left the Glückstal enclave in Ukraine at the turn of the last century, comprise the GCRA. The association has produced over the years several highly regarded village histories and document compilations, this one being the latest to appear in print. Stangl admits that tracking down and deciphering old and sometimes damaged or faded microfilm records proved most challenging and time-consuming. Moreover, the rigorous task of translating articles from the Fraktur German posed at times other difficulties, especially to make sense of particular idiomatic expressions and metaphors. In other instances, old microfilm records simply went missing.

Stangl's lavish red hardcover volume incorporates several historic photographs, maps, documents, and sketches, as well as a useful glossary and appendix. Extensive surname, place and other indices will also benefit readers. Of particular interest, one appendix contains several translations of authenticated KGB documents, as well as scanned original images of said records accessed from the Odessa archives. Their purpose is to share the fate of Soviet Germans after the 1930s. This section alone represents a major contribution to North American audiences. Not least of all, family, village and other information contained in this work will provide a valuable genealogical tool for Glückstaler descendants.

The vast portion of Stangl's compilation, however, is dedicated to the numerous letter translations spanning the period of 1927 to 1932. Most letters appearing chronologically sprouted from the adroit pen of Jakob Ahl (1873-1936) from the ethnic German village of Bergdorf near Odessa in Soviet Ukraine. Ahl was a Lutheran lay pastor, blessed with a classical education in philosophy and theology, an excellent writer with a penchant for providing details, knowing the local residents, and closely following current events at home and abroad. Readers will also find his strong opinions on American fads and fashions at the time quite entertaining and provocative. Since many area residents were either not literate enough or physically capable of writing,



he often assumed the task of community letter-writer and courier (Vossler's examinations also acknowledge the special place that village correspondents held). For compatriots abroad, he submitted his earliest correspondences to the *Eureka Rundschau* for publication, but shortly later the large majority appeared in the *Staats-Anzeiger*. Stangl observes, "While he was free with his strongly stated opinions, he often used humor to soften his language. The adages and poems were based on folklore and the text of German hymns which dated back to pre-colonial times" (viii).

Most of Ahl's writings were normal, direct correspondences, without needing to resort to subversive writing techniques and codes, but he employed metaphors and other clever literary devices when circumstances demanded it. Significantly, his letters coincided in the late 1920s with the Soviet regime's increasingly oppressive censorship policies. His communications overseas offered accounts of the first stages of Soviet collectivization in the Odessa region. State-led attacks on kulaks and clergy appeared in some of his more serious reports. Over time, as political conditions worsened, he grew reluctant to provide names or write on certain topics. One of his recurrent expressions was "After the wolf comes the bear" (It will get worse). A growing sense of foreboding arose in his later writings, and eventually he requested that his associates abroad hold off from mailing materials to him so that he could avoid drawing the authorities' suspicion, or worse. Stangl concludes that his "letter writing service was to become his albatross. He was falsely accused of being a spy who spread secret information and slanderous statements in his writings. Eventually, he was accused of conspiring with a foreign secret service attempting to overthrow the Soviet regime" (viii).

After the 1930s, ethnic German correspondences from "Soviet paradise" ground to a halt. These death screams seemed doomed to oblivion. Sinner's proverbial cry in the academic wilderness for scholars to pursue more intensive inquiries into matters of Soviet genocide and ethnic German famine and repression letters, however, have borne considerable fruit over the past decade. Because of his insights, scholarship on ethnic Germans and awareness about the Lenin-Stalin era have made tremendous strides in North America and beyond. In 2009, for example, I collaborated with longtime colleagues J. Otto Pohl and Ronald J. Vossler to publish a major international academic article on ethnic German experiences under Stalin: "In Our Hearts We Felt the Sentence of Death': Ethnic German Recollections of Mass Violence in the USSR, 1928-1948," *Journal of Genocide Research* (Routledge Press) 11:2-3 (June-Sept. 2009): pp. 323-354; part of special topic issue: "New Perspectives on Soviet Mass Violence." This effort grew out of Sinner's legacy. My co-authors and I endeavored to synthesize our major findings on the early USSR's repression of ethnic Germans into a more coherent narrative for the

international academy, including referencing four of the five books under review (Stangl's work was still unpublished at the time).

In closing, the discussions which Sinner, Vossler, Derksen-Siemens and Stangl have generated in the ethnic and wider academic community inform us of the broader problem of historical memory, as well as some of the political sensitivities surrounding this field of inquiry and the scholarly criticisms sometimes leveled against these findings. Their considerable efforts up to this point present us with the following broad conclusions: 1) the letters' sometimes clandestine escapes revealed cracks and soft spots in the increasingly powerful Soviet police state, thus fortunately indicating that the USSR's scope of power was not always "absolute"; 2) scholars ultimately need to consider the victims' side of the narrative in addition to the perpetrators' and bystanders' perspectives in order to construct a more balanced "big picture" of historical events in question; and 3) these contemporary written testimonies have represented compelling "windows" into Soviet reality both at the time in question and for us today. To a certain extent, the correspondences portrayed the young Soviet regime for what it really was, long before the damaging revelations of Khrushchev's 1956 "Secret Speech" and the post-Cold War opening of Soviet archives. If anything, recent archival findings have only helped serve to validate and expand upon what these letters were describing at the time. Through extensive compiling, translating and editing labors, Sinner, Vossler, Derksen-Siemens, Stangl and others have set into motion the means for posterity to hear voices from the past bearing witness to one of the most earth-shattering events in modern human history, the Bolshevik Revolution.

The works listed above will provide scholars and general audiences alike with a solid foundation to familiarize themselves better with this tragic, though varied, rich and engaging literary genre. More scholarly opportunities, whether approached through such diverse fields as ethnic, gender and women's studies, family genealogy, German literature, history, politics, or even theology, await us to build upon this core of important publications and special collections, even while additional published or unpublished materials from the tumultuous early Soviet era continue to be uncovered, translated and analyzed. Not least of all, North America's academic strides of recent years on the subject also raise a related matter demanding further investigation, namely, the quality and extent of similar ethnic German correspondences from the early Soviet period distributed to the significant German from Russia Diaspora communities in South America, especially Argentina and Brazil.



## Immigration

### **Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future.**

By Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron, and Meera Balarajan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011. \$22.95.

Pay attention to the subtitle: this is a study of migration across international boundaries, not just *immigration*. While current debates swirl around the introduction of foreigners into our societies, the authors of this well-researched study focus on the process of migration, successfully deconstructing the concept to analyze the policies which have, will and should address it. Theirs is an outspoken argument for the benefits of migration: "By adapting, innovating, and combining knowledge across cultural barriers, migrants have advanced the frontier of development since humans departed from Africa some 50,000-60,000 years ago" (3). Their perspectives are both historical and global, with ample supporting economic and social data to illustrate them. Their bias is, frankly, both enlightened and refreshing in our current atmosphere of negativity. The clear organization of the eight chapters makes this massive concept manageable. The first three chapters are devoted to the past history of human movement out of Africa toward a global society. The internal subtitles show the recapitulation of familiar migration history from the explorers to the builders of the contemporary world. This migration has been viewed positively until recent times. But the third chapter signals the important modern introduction of "managed" migration in the twentieth century. It discusses how states have found political and social reasons to protect the *status quo* by controlling migration, and how these policies have impacted the process.

The second section concentrates on the twentieth century. Its three chapters address first, the decision making of the migrants, the efforts of governments to control their borders, and the way migration affects both the old and new homelands. Chapter four presents the migrants, moving beyond "push/pull" theories to three theories of motivation: a cost/benefits analysis for the individual and the family, the institutional networks which facilitate the movements, and the changes in demography for both the sending and receiving countries. Chapter five begins the discussion of border controls, pointing out that almost seventy-five percent of the world's 200 million migrants move toward only twelve percent of the world's countries, mainly the more developed countries. One in five heads for the United States (132). Thus issues of skill levels are significant. The authors identify six types of migrants but point out that refugees and asylum seekers, unlike the others,

have some protections under international law. Migrants with high skill levels are generally admitted by the receiving countries, while those with low levels are often deemed to be a potential economic burden. The latter often have restricted visas or contracts which require them to leave when their term is up. For example, charts and graphs illustrate how the Arabian Gulf oil states depend on such arrangements to support their productivity. Seasonal farm workers, students, many domestics and tourists have similar restrictions.

Chapter six analyzes the impact of migration. It starts by pointing out that about fifty percent of respondents to a survey in Europe and the United States believe that immigrants are a burden on or even a threat to their societies and have supported regulations to restrict them. This is countered by an estimate from the World Bank that "increasing migration equal to 3 percent of the workforce in developed countries between 2005 and 2025 would generate global gains of \$356 billion" (162). Data from the European Union shows that employed migrants contributed more in taxes than they received in benefits, and that foreign-born men were more numerous than local men in the work force (170). Even in the United States the controversial undocumented workers "have a higher rate of labor market participation than native workers or other migrants" and, thanks to false social security cards, paid more than \$20 billion into social security between 1990 and 1998 that they will never be able to claim (171). Many of these workers send part of their paychecks home, remittances that are directly invested into less developed economies and in amounts which far exceed the foreign assistance offered by the developed countries. "Every dollar in remittance spending creates two or three dollars of income in the [migrant's] source country . . . [and] "have increased the per capita income in many Central American countries by around 7 to 14 percent" (191). Returning migrants have often acquired advanced skills, education and health which they contribute to improving their home country. Many other examples, and the twenty-six exhibits of data from global sources, help this second section to demonstrate that the current perceptions of immigration are far from an understanding of the reality and potential of migration.

The two chapters of the final section thus focus on the future, considering how globalization has changed both the supply and demand for migration. Because of that the authors argue for a new discussion, a new agenda, and new agencies, all of which will provide for freer movement of peoples. New technologies and modes of communication have opened up vast global pathways for funds, ideas and trade. Only human beings are restricted by national sovereignty.

This study is clearly written and well argued. With a comprehensive index, meticulous notes and a large bibliography, its sources are easily accessible to



every reader. Its arguments are controversial and, in places, counter intuitive, but deserve thoughtful consideration by anyone involved in the issue, especially legislators and policy makers.

*Indiana University East*

*Eleanor L. Turk*

**Postcolonial Migrants and Identity Politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in Comparison.**

*Edited by Ulbe Bosma, Jan Lucassen and Gert Oostindie. International Studies in Social History Vol. 18. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012. 259 pp. \$90.00.*

This is a collection of seven essays plus introduction in which the authors try to capture the different approaches toward immigration policies taken by various countries since World War II. Since then the world has seen large scale migration triggered by various political shifts. The geographical area included is very large. It basically covers the entire northern hemisphere reaching from the United States over Europe to Japan. The questions the book tries to answer are: How do countries grapple with their colonial past and their former "colonial subjects" in terms of migration, identity formation, and political rights? Do pre-migration legal status, possible familiarity with culture and language, or kinship relations have an impact on post-colonial migrants? The term "post-colonial" is applied here not only to the group of more "traditional" post-colonial powers such as Great Britain, France, the Netherlands or Portugal that have distinct colonial histories reaching far back into the fifteenth century. It also comprises any form of migration caused by metropolitan powers retreating from occupied territories as in the cases of Russia, Japan and even the United States. Although the essays show that each country deals with different groups at different times, many issues remain the same. The political answers each metropolis gives, however, are quite different. Those countries that deal with many different ethnic migrant groups have to find ways to integrate newcomers and open up for their participation. Other countries who receive back whom they once send out have to make sure that the ex-patriots find their way back into society. All fight against a fragmentation of their population.

There is no room here to discuss all seven articles separately. The introduction by the editors Bosma, Lucassen, and Oostindie includes an overview of postcolonial migration, a discussion on the concepts, and interesting statistics. The trio argues that European countries have embraced

multiculturalism as a national ideology to very different degrees. Those countries that look back on a colonial past and have seen a wider range of immigrant groups seem to have adopted the concept of multiculturalism faster than others. In general they notice a "broad acceptance of postcolonial voices" (21) in most European countries. All studies are very interesting and point out valid points within the migration discussion in general. Here, however, I will focus on the four essays that deal with the situation in France, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia.

In his essay James Cohen asks how the colonial past affects the life chances of the descendants of colonial subjects from North and West Africa in present France. The group includes Algerian Jews who came after 1962 as well as those who came to France after the independence of their home countries. He points out that migration flows had already started during the times of colonization and especially during the World Wars when soldiers from the colonies were recruited into the French army. Cohen argues that hierarchical structures and relationships were carried over, thus laying the foundation for disadvantages for colonial migrants, here in particular Algerians (28-29). During the post-war years France recruited foreign workers from other European countries such as Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, or Turkey to counter-balance the strong Algerian presence (30). The 1970s French "integration policy" included housing projects and segregated neighborhoods which resulted in increasing social frustration and problems. Fewer opportunities, poor school performance, lower job prospects, and few chances of upward mobility all led to the social and political tensions of the 1980s that last until today. In 1972 the political party "Front National" led by Jean-Marie le Pen picked up the problems and put the question of immigration and xenophobic threads on its political agenda. With its strong focus on national interests and slogans such as "French jobs for French people" (37) the party still pushes exclusion and discrimination. Since then, all political parties have recognized the importance of addressing the topic of national identity and immigration in France. Cohen draws the French Republic model of citizenship into question that is defined as a normative model of citizenship. At least the problems of discrimination and disadvantages on the ground of ethnic backgrounds have been recognized by politicians and measurements have been set into place since 2000 (41-42). Now, diversity has become a desirable attribute of French public life, although participation of minorities in politics is still limited. Cohen further examines how the more recent discussions on the role of religion, in particular the question of Islam, shape the immigration debate. The "head-scarf debate" showed that the French strict separation of public and private spheres is easily challenged and borders often crossed. He concludes his article with a closer look at three minority groups and their interpretation



of their postcolonial identity: the association that preserves the memory of slavery and abolition; black people in their struggle against discrimination, and a group of intellectual activists concerned with "postcolonial colonialism" (50).

A different picture is drawn by Shinder S. Thandi in his piece on "Postcolonial Migrants in Britain: From unwelcomed guests to partial and segmented assimilation." Here the author focuses on South-Asian migration to Great Britain from the 1950s to the present. Thandi shows that British post-colonial society is made up by a wide range of different groups who are able to collaborate on issues of discrimination, but their degrees of acceptance into society, their image, and readiness to take up forces differ greatly. He sets out with a brief statistic: In 2001 the British census revealed that among the entire British population 92% counted themselves as white and 8% as non-white. Among non-whites 50% came from Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc.), 25% from the Caribbean and Africa as well as a large segment from China. In religious terms Christians remain the largest group with nearly 72% of the entire population; Muslims account for only 2.8% of the population but 52% of the non-Christian group. In terms of spatial demographics he finds a strong concentration of non-whites in urban areas, especially in London and the West Midlands. In his estimation "in the forking path of post-colonial migration" (67) South Asians, especially Indians, have fared better than other groups. In his statistical evidence he presents that different migrant communities have a wide range of experiences, accomplishments, and levels of integration (67). In his historical account he traces the "unwelcomed guests from the colonies from 1947 to 1980." The first south-Asian groups arrived in the 1950s and settled in urban areas. Thus by the 1980s they had laid the foundation for a multi-cultural and -religious Britain. Later migration flows were influenced by chain migration and family reunions. When discrimination in housing, employment, education, and other public services became evident, immigrant groups began to organize, lobbying and fighting for more access and inclusion. Since the 1980s, however, global political developments have led to a separation along religious lines (Rushdie Affair, 9/11, etc.) The trust between the Muslim community and the British public has been damaged. The author further explores the relationship of Hindus and Sikhs communities, their community building, as well as their attempts to negotiate respect toward their cultural traditions and common British right of freedom. Thandi pleads for a "renegotiation of the notion of Britishness not only for the British state but also from migrant communities for a truly Multi-Ethnic Britain (90).

In contrast to the works that deal with "traditional colonial powers" Nicole Leah Cohen in her essay "Return of the Natives: Children of Empire



in Post-imperial Japan” turns to Japan. She challenges the political narrative of a homogenous Japanese population. Cohen examines the repatriation of over 6.5 million Japanese who returned from Taiwan, Korea, China, and smaller territories to Japan after its defeat in World War II. In its strict post-imperial politics, Japan made no difference between returnees from newly acquired territories during the war or from places with historic Japanese settlements since the nineteenth century. All Japanese in Asia had to return to Japan. Many of them were military personal, but not all of them. After World War II the whole Japanese population of Korea was pulled out, nearly 9% of the entire population. 1.5 million Japanese left China returning home (158). With anti-Japanese feelings running high all over Asia after the defeat, large missions were started to rescue Japanese—including those who had rather stayed behind or had spent their lives abroad. Returnees, however, were not welcomed back easily. Although their looks did not give them away, they were regarded as newcomers. The official mono-cultural ideology of the leadership brushed over the problems of integration. In the post-war years, Japan defined itself as “peace loving, mono-ethnic, and homogeneous” state which left little room for hybrid identities of children who had, for example, grown up in Korea or other places. These children lacked the local dialects and differed in behavior (163). Returned military personal reminded everyone of the shameful downfall and recent past. Until today Japan’s post-war ideology of homogeneity has fostered exclusion more than a multi-ethnic society. Not until the 1980s did former repatriates form the first alumni organizations to remember their former homes and celebrate their biographies (169-170). Cohen, however, argues that “the end of the colonialism meant the disintegration of their hybrid-identities as well as the collapse of the links between their two ‘homes’” (177). It has to be seen in the future, whether or not Japan will be able to continue this political course and hold on to its narrative of a homo-ethnic society in the face of its aging population and diminishing workforce. The essay, however, is not only interesting because it illustrates Japan’s “Sonderweg” but also because it offers material for a possible comparative study of German nationals who were forced to leave their former homes in today’s Poland or the Czech Republic. The negotiation of their hybrid identity still continues today.

Yet another category of post-colonial migration is opened by Allison Blakely in her essay on “Postcolonial Immigration and Identity Formation in Europe since 1945: The Russian Variant.” She examines the emigrants who came to the Russian Republic after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 did not only lead to many political disputes based on ethnic issues but also resulted in ca. 9 million forced migrants. Today 20% of the Russian Republic’s population is non-ethnic Russians and



as much as 15% Muslims (184). Between 1990 and 1996 nearly 2.4 million people moved to the Russian Republic. Many were forced to do so due to persecution and disadvantages in their former place of residence. Besides the legal migration Blakely also looks at the tremendous illegal migration that is taking place, especially from economically weak countries such as Armenia or Georgia. "Official estimates find that . . . only around 10% of foreign workers in Russia as a whole have proper documentation" (188). Illegal immigrants face the typical dangers and problems of exploitation, violence, and racism (189). They receive little legal protection and have a low civil and political profile. And Putin's new legislation against non-profit organizations does not offer much hope. She concludes that Russia is the least advanced of all European countries in regard to immigration policies.

The volume offers a wide, comparative look on migration politics in its different forms and historical contexts, the national debates on citizenship, and multi-ethnicity. The quality of research is impressively high. Each piece offers deep insights into various aspects of the topic. Especially in the light of increasing migration flows around the globe, such as the one from Africa to Europe, it is important to find expert answers to pressing questions of integration and identity. This volume helps us to understand the current issues and offers valuable answers. Although German migration—neither to nor from Germany—is not directly addressed, this book offers helpful perspectives into present day migration problems and identity formation, and should be included in any study on post-World War II migration. The book includes a bibliography, an index, and valuable statistics throughout the essays.

*Berlin, Germany*

Katja Hartmann

**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, Werner 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, dividing his book into four main parts (7-8).

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 perceptions about immigrants 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). Originally these early colonies were relatively isolated, farm-based economies but, 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 forced German colonists to question 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 World War II, and after the war, the common identity as German persisted (31-32).

In chapter two, "Receiving Cities," Werner looks at the history of Winnipeg and Bielefeld as receiving societies and the reception of the 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 influx of immigrants from various parts of the world in the late 1800s to the early 1900s, Bielefeld was receiving migrants largely from other areas of Westfalen (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 three, "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 four) and Bielefeld (chapter five). 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 six), the role of religious institutions (chapter seven), and language use in the ethnic German communities (chapter eight). In chapter six, "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 of family composition explored in this chapter include endogamy, attitudes toward family size and the socialization of children. Chapter seven, "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 had been

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 eight, "Linguistic Paradox," looks at language use among the ethnic Germans, focusing on domains for German, Russian and English language use. Werner argues 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 they but were unprepared for the changes in German that had taken place in Germany, which complicated 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 nine). For Werner, "If they [immigrants] participate chiefly or exclusively in ethnic- and immigrant-specific association life . . . they may be considered to have established only limited acceptance in, and influence on, the dominant society and its culture" (201). He found 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 were 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 it will also be of great interest to anyone in migration studies, ethnic history, immigration politics, and language contact in immigration contexts.



**Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of membership in Canada and Germany.**

By Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2012. 304 pp. \$ 32.95.

In this largely descriptive and highly detail-oriented study of changes to laws about citizenship and naturalization in Canada and Germany/West Germany, Triadafilopoulos argues that both countries, in spite of their differences with regards to the composition of their population and the (perceived) role of migration in the formation of their populations, followed in the course of the twentieth century “remarkably similar long-term trajectories” (2). Driven by racial prejudices, both countries sought to exclude from immigration and naturalization people who originated in particular regions of the world that were deemed undesirable as points of origins. In the case of Canada, the government restricted migration from Asia and the Caribbean at the beginning of the twentieth century while Germany, according to Triadafilopoulos, was mostly concerned with imposing limitations on the migration of Poles to Eastern and Western Germany. In both countries, ruling elites embraced an image of the country’s population that was guided by racial hierarchies and by the idea that the population had to be constituted of Western and Central-European people. By the end of the twentieth century, however, both countries had largely moved away from racist conceptions and embraced more or less open concepts of multiculturalism. The introduction of the point system for immigration to Canada and the slow move from *jus sanguinis* to *jus soli* in Germany, after German Unification in 1990, paved the way for migration laws that provide seemingly equal opportunities to applicants.

The book is divided into four chapters with a lengthy introduction and conclusion. The first chapter seeks to explore the creation of exclusionary citizenship laws at the beginning of the twentieth century in both Germany and Canada. The author begins his discussion with the 1913 German citizenship law which he discusses only in the context of excluding the Poles and Jews of Eastern Europe from acquiring German citizenship. Unfortunately, Germany’s colonial entanglement and the challenges that derived from German settlers living in Germany’s colonies in Africa did not catch the eye of the author. Yet, it was in fact the problem of intermarriage between German settlers and African natives that caused the German government to reconsider the definition of German citizenship. In general, the discussion of Germany’s first citizenship law appears all too superficial and provides little background information about the motives and goals of lawmakers. Canada’s immigration laws received, by contrast, a much more detailed discussion. The exclusion of Chinese migrants from entrance to Canada and citizenship reminds the



reader of similar processes that occurred in the United States around the same time. Triadafilopoulos concludes this chapter by arguing that both countries created migration laws that sought to exploit labor but blocked access to people who were deemed "unsuitable" to become part of the Canadian and German society.

The second chapter addresses the changes with regards to racist discourses after World War II and the repercussions for restrictive and racist migration and citizenship laws. Initially, both countries sought to continue to restrict migration to desirable candidates. Canadian politicians insisted that their country's "national character" had to remain "essentially white European" (65). West Germany avoided discussions about reforming German citizenship laws because of the German division and the integration of Eastern German territories into Poland and the Soviet Union. The principle of *jus sanguinis* allowed the West German government to provide citizenship to all ethnic Germans regardless of whether they lived in West Germany or behind the Iron Curtain. For political reasons and the claim to represent all Germans, the West German government could not give up this rather racist definition of German citizenship until after German Unification. The general use of the term "German" throughout the entire book when the author is in fact discussing "West Germany" and the complete exclusion of East Germany and its citizenship regulations raise some uncomfortable questions. Why would the author exclude East Germany from this study? And why would he refuse to use the term West German when it is appropriate?

This and the following chapter also provide an in-depth discussion of the evolving "guest worker" program which brought millions Southern and Southeastern European migrants to West Germany. Racist and migration-limiting programs such as the guest worker program gave slowly but surely way to increasingly neutral systems of admission to residency and citizenship that changed the composition of the population in both countries. While the discussion certainly sheds light on every legislative initiative, the author does not provide a sound explanation for how it became possible to replace racist policies rather suddenly with non-racist citizenship requirements. Canada's point system for the acquisition of citizenship seems to appear out of nowhere. How is it possible that politicians who for decades went along with or even supported racist policies suddenly embrace multiculturalism? The description of pogroms in Germany in the early 1990s points to the survival of rather racist stereotypes among the population but also among conservative politicians who share some responsibility for the attacks on migrants. While the author provides a rather clear discussion of the political fault lines between CDU/CSU on the one side and the other political parties on the other, the picture for Canada seems to be much too unclear to identify fault lines



and changing political attitudes among the political establishment of Canada. I find it interesting that the author discusses all political parties from the far-right-wing CSU to the Green Party but does not even consider the PDS in his analysis. Taken together with his use of the term "German" when he talks about West Germany, this seems to suggest a rather politicized or even ideologized usage of terms.

While this book provides a useful survey of evolving policies with regards to citizenship and immigration, it seems that the comparison between Canada and Germany has not been used to its full potential. Canada and Germany are remarkably similar not just in their embracement of multicultural practices today but also in their racist attitudes and approaches to citizenship at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, readers would also have been interested to learn more about attitudes towards the concept of dual citizenship, and the readiness of permanent residents to become full citizens in both countries. There seems to be a trend to forgo citizenship for permanent residency in many countries including Germany, Canada, and the United States. We will need more research to assess whether this is a phenomenon that points to a post-nationalist era or whether it has always been present even in the era of nation states. This book also seems to be quite old-fashioned in that it treats public policy separately from questions of culture. Changes in policies appear unmotivated and even illogical. This study, which is rich in detail of legislative acts, would have benefitted from a better contextualization and a broadening of its scope beyond the simple legislative changes and maneuvers.

*The University of Texas at Arlington*

*Thomas Adam*

**Beyond the Nation? Immigrants' Local Lives in Transnational Cultures.**

*Edited by Alexander Freund. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. 305 pp. \$65.00.*

Within the fast-moving cycles of social science theorization, transnationalism seems set to stay. In migration studies in particular, it questions the usefulness of the nation being the ultimate container for encapsulating the motives, experiences, and identities of *homines migrantes*. As the editor, Alexander Freund, stresses in his introduction, immigrants' lives are best understood between the local and the transnational. In exemplary fashion, his volume applies transnational theory to the burgeoning field of German Canadian studies. The first two contributions by Dirk Hoerder and

Christiane Harzig chart the methodological and theoretical territory, the latter with regard to gender. They are relevant not only to the Canadian context but can serve as concise introductions for anyone interested in Germans living within different cultural contexts. What follows are ten highly readable case studies tackling themes from the eighteenth century up to the present.

Retrospective attempts to squeeze Moravian missionaries in Labrador during the 1770s and Pennsylvania Germans in Upper Canada between the 1760s and 1830s into national narratives are conclusively deconstructed by Kerstin Boelkow and Ross D. Fair. Both contributions, though, would have benefited from more explicit adherence to the volume's theoretical framework. Barbara Lorenzowski, in her article on German Canadian celebrations of German unification in 1871, tests the limits of how far the nation can be pushed out of migrant identity. Angelika Sauer shows that transculturalism is a useful category to approach the life of immigration agent Elise von Koerber (1839–84), who oscillated between countries and continents and does not allow for a neat fit with any national historiography. Moving into the twentieth century, subsequent contributions provide differentiated analyses of regions and groups. Manuel Meune identifies a 'double integration' of Germans in contemporary Quebec, both as Germans in Canada as well as in Quebec. Patrick Farges concentrates on Jewish Nazi-refugees and their multiple obstacles towards integration, both into 'host' and minority cultures. Diasporic imaginations of a German homeland by refugees from Soviet Russia are examined by Hans Werner. Pascal Maeder looks at refugees from those Eastern territories that Germany had to cede after 1945. Their identity constructions gravitated towards the European, rather than the German. The concluding section entitled Language and Literature is opened by Grit Liebscher's and Martin Schulze's co-authored linguistic analysis. Refuting any laments about linguistic correctness or language death, they see mixed expressions as a barometer of acculturation. Myka Burke, finally, points to the poignancy of literature as a platform to negotiate different facets of ethnicity.

Taken together, the contributions show that a one-size-fits-all label of "German" does not do justice to the multifaceted migrant experience. Readers will find it impossible in future to use the term "German Canadian" without inverted commas. The only criticism of this book is the title, which promises a far wider scope than it delivers. Other than that, however, the volume opens up important questions not just for the Canadian immigrant context and should be read by migration scholars of different ethnic groups, periods, and world regions.



**The Borders of Integration: Polish Migrants in Germany and the United States, 1870–1924.**

*By Brian McCook. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011. 270 pp. \$26.95.*

Brian McCook evaluates the complex integration processes for Polish migrants into German and American society between 1870 and 1924. Through comparative analysis and the conceptual tool of transnationalism, McCook realized that Polish coal miners neither fully assimilated nor stubbornly retained their ethnicity but constructed an entirely new and multilayered identity that associated them with the host country yet also maintained ties with the homeland. The degree of affinity, or the borders of integration, depended on factors such as host and home society's definition of ethnic or racial others, government policies regarding citizenship, degree of occupational inclusion or exclusion, and ability to participate in community life. McCook concludes that the nearly 300,000 Poles living in Germany's Ruhr region and the approximately 160,000 residing in northeastern Pennsylvania, despite their commonalities as coal miners, Poles, and Catholics, developed two different communities. The distinct cultural, political, and economic environments of the host countries contributed to varied experiences and degrees of integration. Consequently, by the 1920s two-thirds of the Polish migrants in the Ruhr either returned to Poland or moved to France; those who remained rapidly integrated into society. In contrast, most Poles living in Pennsylvania adapted to the American way of life although full integration would not happen until after World War II.

The study begins by evaluating why Poles left their homeland, why they chose the Ruhr region or northeastern Pennsylvania, what settlement patterns they followed, and what ethnic organizations they established. McCook explores development of the coal industry, formation of worker associations, divisions between skilled and unskilled workers along ethnic lines, prevailing wage rates and standards of living, as well as labor discontent, history of strikes, and government labor policy. He convincingly argues that Polish workers in Pennsylvania were able to create worker solidarity across ethnic lines and gain greater acceptance in the community by referring to American principles during strikes. In contrast, employers and authorities in the Ruhr region used Polish participation in strikes to define them as outsiders. Consequently, Polish workers formed their own trade union.

McCook is at his best when he evaluates the role of religion in Polish life and the establishment of secular associations. The Catholic faith was crucial for Polish identity and aided in working-class and social integration. The Catholic Church's hesitancy to allow religious ethnic traditions, the establishment of ethnic parishes, or the use of Polish priests resulted in two different

reactions. In Germany, Poles concentrated on improving the church in order to gain acceptance and representation in local parishes. In contrast, Poles in Pennsylvania established the Polish National Catholic Church. Although only about one third of Polish workers joined, the competition resulted in Catholic Church hierarchy becoming more aware of and administering to ethnic working class needs. McCook evaluates politicians' perceptions about Poles as well as opinions expressed in popular literature and by academicians in order to understand how growing concerns about Polish migrants in Germany and Pennsylvania contributed to debates over citizenship and attempts to exclude Poles from German or American community. Polish workers reacted to anti-Polish sentiment by forming secular and political associations to reinforce ethnic identity, assist in the defense of their interests, and promote greater inclusion in society. In Germany, these organizations encouraged voter participation, court actions, and a greater presence in public. In Pennsylvania, these groups served as mutual-aid societies, helped Poles transition into the American political process, and united with national associations.

Poles in both regions had created versatile multinational identities that aided in the integration process but also maintained ethnic character. World War I and its aftermath, however, changed the political climate in both countries and Poles had to decide to become either German or American. Maintaining a transnational identity was no longer possible. The deeper integration into Pennsylvania society despite fewer political rights encouraged Poles to stay in America. In contrast, in Germany most Poles had not become fully integrated into society although politically they were citizens. Consequently, when popular resentment against them grew in the 1920s and when Polish independence encouraged nationalism, most returned to Poland or moved to France.

McCook has updated existing ethnic studies by demonstrating that comparative studies of the factors shaping the complex integration process help us to better understand the immigrant experience. Scholars should follow his call for using this approach to evaluate recent and current migration trends. The author could have offered additional background information, such as a description of the Prussian three-tiered voting system. Despite this, however, this work serves scholars and students of ethnic studies well.

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*Petra DeWitt*



### Journey through America.

By Wolfgang Koeppen. Translated by Michael Kimmage. Vol. 1 of *Transatlantic Perspectives*. Edited by Christoph Irmscher and Christof Mauch. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012. 172 pp. \$29.95.

*Transatlantic Perspectives* is a new series of books that brings to the reader the topics and issues associated with migration between Europe and North America such as cultural exchange, influence in politics, impact on society, and effect on literature. The first volume is Wolfgang Koeppen's *Journey through America*, originally published as *Amerikafahrt* in 1959. Translator Michael Kimmage added an extensive and complex introduction explaining the author's literary history, outlining the highlights of the *Journey*, and placing the work into the context of twentieth-century German and American history.

Koeppen, a German novelist, published several well-known works including *Pigeons on the Grass* (1951), *The Hothouse* (1953), *Death in Rome* (1954), and several travel journals. *Journey through America* reflects the impressions and thoughts Koeppen noted during his three-month voyage by train through the contiguous United States in 1958 on behalf of and initially broadcast on the *Süddeutsche Rundfunk*, the South-German Radio station in Stuttgart. Koeppen writes from the perspective of a German, who lived through the Nazi regime and what he perceives as its intellectual death as well as occupation by the allies in the post-World War II years. He hopes that his travels can reveal to him the real America and how continued interaction between Germany and the United States might shape his country's future.

Koeppen brought with him a set of expectations about America and its people formed through interaction with American soldiers stationed in Germany and by reading, among others, Franz Kafka's novel *Amerika*, Karl May's *Winnetou* and *Old Shatterhand* series, William Faulkner's novel *Pylon*, and Jack Keruoac's *On the Road*. These imaginations of America shape his experience. For example, as the skyline of New York City came into view he immediately thought of numbers, stock prices, and a financier's paradise. The strange familiarity, however, led to disappointment because he was not awed by the city. Koeppen instead realized that New York City was constantly changing or remaking its image. *Journey through America*, therefore, offers insight to how Europeans perceived or imagined America, how visitors like Koeppen reformulated that constructed Americanism, and how readers of travel accounts in Germany came to accept these published versions as "American identity."

The reader learns primarily about urban America, as Koeppen spent several days each in New York City, Washington D.C., New Orleans, Los

Angeles, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Chicago, and Boston. This is where he imagined the American character existed, where it changed, and where it exposed its flaws and contradictions. New Orleans represented to Koeppen sadness, hopelessness, a world divided by segregation, and devoid of original jazz. Los Angeles, in contrast, appeared to him as joyful and tolerant, lacking prejudice and arrogance, and unlike anywhere else in the United States. Rural America appears through train windows as a wide open, unspoiled, and unsettled place. Koeppen admits that he is unable to overcome the country's massiveness, endlessness, emptiness, and its loneliness.

One major theme that emerges in *Journey through America* is artificiality, for example, artificial climates in office buildings and train cars. Koeppen also associates artificiality with insincerity and playacting. For example, during a tour through the New York Stock Exchange he learned how easy it was to become a millionaire in the marvelous world of finance. Upon stepping outside of the building he realized the stark contrast between this make-belief world and the truth of economic uncertainty, unemployment, and poverty. While visiting the headquarters of *Ebony* in Chicago he is struck by the optimism radiating from magazine covers and articles that concealed the reality of poverty and hopelessness for African Americans living in the city's ghetto. In Boston school children learned a bloodless history of bravery, and money assured academic freedom at Harvard while ordinary students, disadvantaged through social class settled for more practical degrees. Koeppen is not daunted by these contradictions and during his tour of the United Nations sees hope for America, Germany, and the world.

Koeppen's vivid style is engaging and gives the reader the opportunity to envision what he experiences. Long run-on sentences reflect the chaos of impression upon impression before he has an opportunity to evaluate what he sees. A second pattern describes images during slower travel, as he observes and learns the meaning of what he witnesses. This travel journal offers a unique mid-twentieth century perspective on how one German viewed America and should be a must read for anyone interested in travel journals or studying the impact of literature on identity construction.

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## Jewish Immigration and Jewish-American Culture

**None is too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948.**  
*By Irving Abella and Harold Troper. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.*  
*Rpt. 2012. 340 pp. \$29.95.*

For many of my German acquaintances (and for Canadians themselves), Canada represent a “kinder, gentler” version of the USA, with all of the advantages and few of the shortcomings of its southern neighbor: the same natural grandeur and inspiring national parks, a land of similar opportunities for immigrants, but without the aggressive foreign policy and domestic violence that too often makes headlines in Europe with respect to the United States. This book, however, gives pause to that view. At the conclusion of what some of my history students must consider my “anti-American week” where they are exposed to the inadequate response of the United States to Jewish persecution under the Nazi regime and our scapegoating and persecution of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor, I present the parallel case of Canada, which is hardly distinguishable from that of its southern neighbor. Prominent in the evidence I cite is this book and its telling title: “None is too Many.”

This book also has implications for U.S. history of the time when Jews were desperately seeking any country that would provide them refuge from Nazi Germany. Jewish Americans have sometimes been criticized for their ineffectiveness in lobbying the United States to offer refuge to persecuted fellow Jews, among other things on account of their diversity and lack of unity. (FDR once quipped that he wished the Jews had a Pope). But the parallel case of Canada, whose Jews were much more unified and homogeneous, suggests that even a united Jewish front could achieve little in the face of widespread indifference and even hostility to Jews in both nations of North America. The Canadian story sounds depressingly familiar to that of the “Lower Forty-Eight.”

The parallels begin well before the Nazi seizure of power for, like the U.S., Canada had severely restricted immigration in the 1920s. Yet, in contrast to the U.S., Canada had no constitutional strictures against religious preferences, and made Jews explicitly as well as implicitly unwelcome. There were of course the extenuating circumstances of high unemployment and an underestimation of Hitler’s intent in the early 1930s, but improvements in the economy and an intensification of Nazi repression brought no change in Canadian policy. In fact, admission procedures were tightened in mid-1938. Hostility to Jewish immigration was a matter of consensus between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians (50). There was an almost exact parallel with the United States when Canada refused to admit Jewish refugee children

in 1939, and only a few months later welcomed with open arms British children fleeing the Blitz, only a tiny fraction of whom were Jewish (101-5). In 1943, an international conference on refugees, originally proposed for Ottawa, was diverted to Bermuda instead. Canada did not even attend, and in any case "the Bermuda Conference was a fatal betrayal" (143). Even the Holocaust was insufficient to erase Canadian anti-Semitism; tellingly, the book's title is taken from a 1945 quip by a senior official when asked how many Jews would be admitted to postwar Canada (xix). A 1946 Gallup poll placed Jews second only to Japanese as the least welcome immigrants, even ranking below Germans (231-32). As in the United States, a preference for agricultural workers made it harder for Jews than other displaced persons to gain admission.

An epilogue from the 1991 edition relates how, the night after the book was released, one of the authors was awakened at 3:00 a.m. by a call from a Jewish-Canadian woman from Poland who had devoured the book, asking for and receiving confirmation that there was nothing more she could have done to bring her family to Canada. She then thanked him for writing the book: "It's the only monument my mother and sisters will have. They were gassed at Auschwitz" (287). This private testimony to the book's impact is reinforced by the introduction to the new edition, thirty years after the original: the *Canadian Literary Digest* recently voted it as one of Canada's 100 Most Important Books. Even before it was in print, the authors sent a copy of a manuscript based on preliminary findings to the Canadian Minister of Immigration just as the Vietnamese refugee crisis was reaching its peak. As they learned only later, it was read at the highest level of government and led to a Canadian refugee program "second to none of the nations of the world" (xvi). If Canada and particularly its immigration policies now indeed live up to its positive image, this book was an important catalyst of the change. It remains as relevant as it was thirty years ago.

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**The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas.**

*By Bryan Edward Stone. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010. 294 pp. \$30.00.*

Every year in early June, the signature public event sponsored by the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio is the Texas Folklife Festival. The festival offers up a fascinating array of crafts, food, and entertainment showcasing the ethnic diversity of Texas, past and present. Sweating under the



summer Texas sun, Irish dancers rub shoulders with Zydeco musicians while waiting in line to sample Filipino lumpia. Non-Texans are regularly surprised to learn how truly multicultural the state is and are quickly compelled to abandon stereotypes of cowboy boots, barbecue, and big hair. The roots of Texas' ethnic diversity, which is as complex as that of any other American state, run very deep, extending back long before statehood in 1845.

Readers of this yearbook are likely familiar with the German presence in Texas, whose beginnings roughly coincide with the establishment of German and other European immigrant settlements farther north, in the Plains states and Upper Midwest. Perhaps less familiar are the many other groups who made Texas their home in the nineteenth century coming from all parts of Europe, from as far west as the British Isles eastward to Russia; and from Scandinavia down to Italy. It should not be unexpected, then, that among the thousands of European immigrants to Texas during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Jews. In virtually every Texas community, large and small, in which arrivals from Central and Eastern Europe settled, there was often a small but vibrant Jewish presence. Although most of the descendants of these early settlers no longer live in rural Texas, with most eventually moving into larger cities, the dozens of cemeteries across the state containing headstones with inscriptions in Hebrew bear witness to a rich part of Texas history.

Bryan Edward Stone's history of the Jewish presence in Texas is an engaging, beautifully written book that fills significant gaps in historical writings on both Jewish America and Texas. To call it a book about Texas Jewish "history" is technically correct, but it is just as much about the formation of a cultural identity of ethnic and religious minority groups in the United States more generally. As such, this study is highly relevant for understanding cultural contact and change, especially in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century rural America. The central concept in Stone's book is "frontier"; hence its prominence in the book's subtitle. To be sure, when the student of American history hears the term, one thinks immediately of Frederick Jackson Turner's classic—and highly problematic—thesis about the formation of the American character. In Turner's view, the frontier of the American West offered Euro-Americans challenges that would make them bold and strong. That overcoming these challenges would inevitably mean the subjugation of Native Americans and the exploitation of natural resources makes elevating the frontier onto a pedestal distasteful today.

Stone has a different take on the concept of "frontier." Building on others' work, including in Jewish studies, Stone views frontier areas in a positive light, as borderlands or meeting places where cultural contact occurs but also where particular identities are reinforced and compelled to evolve. Stone



also shares the perspective that a center-periphery model in understanding Jewish identity is fraught with problems. For example, making Israel the only place where one can be “really” Jewish devalues diasporic cultural expressions. Just as problematic for Stone is, in the American context, establishing New York City as the center against which Jews on the geographic periphery are negatively compared. While the experience of Texas Jews includes many stories of those who have felt the need to leave their small communities and move to places like New York to become more completely Jewish, others have embraced their lives as Children of Israel in a proverbial and literal wilderness.

Moving generally chronologically, Stone begins his odyssey in the late sixteenth century, with speculation on the presence among Spanish colonists of “crypto-Jews” in early Texas, Jews who publicly professed Christianity, typically under duress, while maintaining some aspects of Jewish faith and traditions. Much better documentation exists for the immigration of Ashkenazic Jews, who began arriving in what was then Mexican Texas, then during the shortlived years of the Republic of Texas (1836–46), and especially in the middle and latter half of the nineteenth century. Many bypassed the eastern United States, arriving instead through the port of Galveston, which was known as the “Ellis Island of the West.” It is refreshing to learn that many Jews in early Texas experienced a measure of material and spiritual comfort among their largely Gentile neighbors. Much of this was due to their acceptance by other Euro-Americans as “Anglos,” defined in largely racial terms as neither African-American nor Hispanic (nor Native American). While feeling a part of the social majority offered Texas Jews security, it also opened them up to the same kinds of views of superiority, even racism, with which gentile Texas Anglos regarded their black or Hispanic fellow Texans. A watershed experience for Texas Jews came in the 1920s, with the brief rise to prominence, including politically, of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas. That Jews were still different from other Anglos was brought into relief during this era, but perhaps sensitized them to the sufferings of others, especially African Americans. One of the most compelling chapters in Stone’s book addresses the strong involvement of Texas Jews in the civil rights during the 1960s and beyond.

The considerable value of this book lies in its relevance for those interested not only in the details of (American) Jewish or Texas history, but for anyone seeking to understand just how cultural or national identities are formed, especially in the American immigration context. And Stone underscores that no American fits into simple, individual pigeonholes. We all identify with multiple groups, social, ethnic, and religious, and these groups themselves are not homogeneous, but profoundly hybrid. Hybridity need not be construed as impurity or a fall from cultural grace, and Stone argues convincingly that



the Texas Jewish experience is no less valid an expression of Jewish identity than what one finds elsewhere. In that sense, the Texas Jewish experience is but one example of the American experience.

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Mark L. Loudon

**Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840-1920.**

*By Annie Polland and Daniel Soyter. Vol. II of City of Promises: A History of the Jews in New York. Edited by Deborah Dash Moore. New York: New York University Press, 2012. 368 pp. \$39.00*

New York and the history of the Jewish people have been connected for a long time (the first volume of the trilogy starts in 1654). The presence of Jewish immigrants formed and changed the city for centuries. Therefore, the story of New York is also the story of Jews and their struggles, successes, and influences. In the second volume of *City of Promises: A History of the Jews in New York*, Annie Polland, Vice President for Programs and Education at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, and Daniel Soyter, Professor of History at Fordham University, cover the years 1840 to 1920 and explain how New York was shaped by immigrants, especially by Jewish immigrants.

Ellis Island was the first step for many Jewish immigrants but the problems and the promises of a better life did not stop there. The immigrants who were lucky enough to get through the check point—most of them were—found help in Jewish neighborhoods where they often found people from their own villages back home. The authors use stories and quotes to visualize their facts, which give a personal note to the well-researched details about Jewish life and struggles in New York, a lot of them stemming from autobiographical records.

Polland and Soyter successfully demonstrate how neighborhood networks were formed in the early 1840s, and how congregations and societies developed from there. Jewish immigrants usually went where other Jewish immigrants already lived, so large Jewish neighborhoods formed in New York. The authors explain how Jewish people helped each other but also how they struggled to fit into American society at first. One significant problem they faced was the common practice that Sunday was the day of rest in the city while Saturday, the day Jews observe the Sabbath, was a normal workday.

Jews influenced almost every aspect of growth and development in the city of New York, for example the growth of the garment industry and the rise

in retail stores operated by the Straus brothers and R.H. Macy. In chapter two the authors focus on the need for charity because of the increasing numbers of poor Jewish immigrants. They describe the founding of Jewish hospitals and the start of the Purim Balls to raise money for charity by the rich members of the Jewish faith. Although there was a rich Jewish population, many Jewish immigrants struggled and had to work hard to survive. Polland and Soyter talk about the tenements, shops, stores, and the street; all places to make a living. Jewish immigrants were not the only ones to use these means to earn money, other immigrants did so as well, showing how closely New York's history is connected to the Jews. Tenements, a big part of New York life in the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth century, were an important part of Jewish integration into American culture. "The tenement provided the stage for immigrants' first encounter with American daily life, a remarkably consistent stage over the twenty-five blocks of Manhattan's Lower East Side, where three hundred thousand Jews lived by 1893. By 1900, over 90 percent of Jews lived in tenement rooms" (113). These large numbers show the struggles of Jewish immigrants but also the big part they played in New York life.

New York grew into the unofficial capital of the Jewish world, and the authors show that while Jewish immigrants influenced New York, they also faced challenges like the rise of local anti-Semitism. For example, police commissioner Theodore A. Bingham blamed the Jews for much of the city's crime. While the accusations upset the Jewish community, many Jews feared that he was actually correct. The Jewish population influenced and changed New York politics, and Jewish members could be found among Tammany Hall, the Republicans, and the Socialists. Also, "a variety of reform-movements—whether of the good-government or social-reform type—enlisted the energies of middle- and upper-class Jewish activists" (191). This shows that Jews had a hand in various influential aspects in the city. Jews also played an important role in city culture. "[A]s New York became both the nation's cultural capital and its Jewish capital, Jews came to play a leading role in the production of all sorts of music, literature, drama, and visual art" (209).

Polland and Soyter write a compelling history of both New York and Jewish immigration that will appeal to people who are familiar with New York history and/or Jewish history but it is also a good starting point for people who are new to either New York history or Jewish history in the United States. Quotes and stories, as well as pictures make this volume lively, original and a useful source for teaching.

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**City of Promises: A History of the Jews of New York.**

*General Editor, Deborah Dash Moore. New York: New York University Press, 2012. 3 Vols. Set \$99.00.*

**Vol. I: Haven of Liberty: New York Jews in the New World, 1654-1865.**

*By Howard B. Rock, 369 pp.*

**Vol II: Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the Age of Immigration, 1840-1920.**

*By Annie Pollard and Daniel Soyer, 368 pp.*

**Vol. III: Jews in Gotham: New York Jews in a Changing City, 1920-2010.**

*By Jeffrey S. Gurock, 326 pp.*

Scholars of immigration and ethnicity in America, urban historians, those interested in the influence of German language and culture in the nineteenth and early twentieth century United States, and anyone who has ever resided in any of the five boroughs of Greater New York will find much fascinating material in this ambitious three-volume history of the Jews of New York City over the course of 350 years. Stretching from colonial days of Dutch control, when in 1654 the authorities of New Amsterdam gave a less-than-warm welcome to the first community of twenty-three, to the twentieth century, when at its peak two million residents dwelling in relative safety and security gave New York the largest Jewish population of any city in recorded history and made it a world Jewish capital, "City of Promises" provides much to digest in its 1108 pages.

Topics covered (drawing on extraordinarily detailed research and a range of ethnic newspapers and periodicals) include the role Jews played in the American Revolution, stories of Americanization and acculturation, economic and technological development, the rise of labor and radical political movements, the history of the American garment industry, United States religious history, the rise of the Reform Jewish movement in America specifically and the controversies surrounding it, New York City during the Civil War, late nineteenth-century fraternalism, the innovations of the Progressive movement and the public roles it offered to women, American aid to the world after World War I and World War II, New York politics up to the mayoralties of Ed Koch, Rudolph Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg, black-Jewish relations, and the disproportionate role New York Jews played as producers, consumers, and critics in the city's (and the nation's) manufacturing, retailing, art, music, literature, publishing, advertising, fashion, finance, educational, and mass-media sectors. We see that America offered freedom and voluntarism as op-

posed to the formally constituted religious communities of Europe, and that the result was literally thousands of congregations and organizations in New York which reflected the differing religious, social, linguistic, economic, and political preferences within the vast Jewish population, from ultra-Orthodox on one end of the spectrum to Socialists and atheists on the other.

New York City owed its position as one of the nation's and the world's greatest metropolises first of all to natural advantages, such as a well-protected harbor, deep channels, and access to the hinterland through the Hudson River, Long Island Sound, and after 1825, the Erie Canal. Innovative business practices and government support also made a contribution. Regular transatlantic voyages to and from the city began in 1818, and in the 1820s New York surpassed Philadelphia as the nation's largest and busiest port (II, 2). Site of the New York Stock Exchange, New York banks provided investment capital for the South and West, in the process making the city the nation's financial center. Wealthy elites were able to endow a plethora of opera houses, theaters, and academies of music, and museums; that, and the large audiences such places were able to command in the New York area, made it a national and international cultural capital.

New York was also at the hub of the nation's railroad system, a leader in manufacturing, and a center in the American communications network. City clothing firms enjoyed close proximity to New England textile mills as well as European textiles and fashion ideas. The port of New York became the dominant entry point for people as well as goods. By 1855 half the city's population was made up of immigrants (I, 154). Three quarters of the 33 million immigrants who went to the United States between 1850 and 1915 passed through New York. Among the Jewish immigrants who came, twenty-five percent continued on to other locations, but seventy-five percent chose to remain in the city, (II, 6) where employment, Jewish communal institutions, and opportunities to live among *landslayt*—those who came from the same part of the world or spoke the same language—were plentiful.

There are many fascinating stories and previously unpublished anecdotes in *City of Promises*, but one of the most notable themes covered, in this account of the development of American Jewry's largest and most important center, is the enormous influence that German language, culture, politics, philosophy, forms of leisure, and even journalism had on New York Jews and the American Jewish community in general. While anti-Jewish laws and discrimination might be the rule in their common homelands, in New York City German Jews and non-Jews for generations apparently lived together, worked and played together, joined the same organizations, went to the same theaters, borrowed ideas from each other, and in general got along with each other remarkably well. When it came time to form their own specifically Jew-



ish organizations and institutions, New York Jews looked to already existing German immigrant models for guidance.

Furthermore, all of this German cultural baggage was well in place in New York by the time of mass Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe (mostly from Tsarist Russia, Romania, and Austria Hungary) set off in part by the assassination of the Russian Tsar in 1881. It was these masses that were the demographic base of much of the American Jewish community in the twenty-first century. The existing German Jewish community of those days, especially the women of synagogue sisterhoods, threw themselves into the task of educating and Americanizing the new immigrants, providing food, lodging, medical care, burial services and employment bureaus, kindergartens, vocational classes, and schools (II, 63-69) Indeed, this was one of the factors that accounted for the remarkably swift upward mobility of Yiddish-speaking Jews relative to other immigrant groups who came to America at around the same time.

All this transference of aid and education, which could not help but exert a strong influence, took place despite the historical rivalry that existed between "German" Jews and "Russian" Jews, or the enmity that speakers of one Germanic language supposedly had for speakers of the other. We find in *City of Promises* that the boundaries between the German and the Yiddish languages were far more porous than has been believed (both had a common linguistic ancestor, Middle High German) and that the innovative secular, fraternal, and philanthropic organizations founded predominantly by German Jews eventually were quite successful in incorporating later waves of Jewish immigrants once they achieved their own economic maturity. Many of these organizations continue to exist down to the present day. The help that German Jews gave at a crucial time in American Jewish history was at the very worst a desire to avoid negative associations with the newcomers and to deflect possible anti-Semitism directed against all Jews; at best they were a religious duty that better established Jews anywhere owed to their brothers and sisters.

What might be called "the German connection" to New York and by extension, American Jewish life as a whole, is particularly apparent in the first two volumes of the series, which cover the period from 1820 through 1920. While Sephardic Jews—those who had been expelled from Spain and Portugal and found haven in the Netherlands and England—predominated among the earliest groups of Jews making lives for themselves in New York, it was Jews from the German-speaking areas of Central Europe who predominated from approximately the 1820s through the 1880s (these included many from Posen, a Prussian-ruled area of Poland where German language education became compulsory in 1833). By 1880 there were almost 250,000 Jews living in



the United States and most of them had come as part of a larger immigration to America from what would later become Germany.

For generations German was the language that these new American Jews proudly spoke, prayed, wrote, and socialized in. They used their new-found freedom to create new forms of life and community that had not been possible in Europe and established the building blocks of what would someday become the English-speaking American Jewish community. Synagogues kept their minutes and sang hymns in German; rabbis with doctorates from German universities extolled the virtues of the German tongue and German philosophy and modern German religious ideas from the pulpit, furthering the development of new American Jewish denominations (II, 209-10). Debates over the details of Jewish religious practice, including the radical notion that men and women should be treated equally, took place in German newspapers and were translated for the Anglo-Jewish press; German Jews and non-Jews sat together in trade union and political meetings, participated in the same literary and singing societies, and attended German cultural events together.

Although the book does not mention it, after 1871 a portrait of the German Kaiser hung in the hallway of the prestigious New York German-Jewish Gesellschaft Harmonie (founded in 1852 by six German Jewish immigrants) later the Harmonie Club. Early members played cards and billiards, attended lectures, and enjoyed musical and dramatic productions, singing circles, balls, libraries, and held carnivals, all in German. In 1859 they even held a *Mai-Fest* in one of the city's parks (II, 211-12). Although English became the Club's official language by 1893, older members continued to converse in German, and the Kaiser portrait did not come down until the advent of World War I (II, 208; 211-12).

Comfortable and acculturated though most of their families were by the late nineteenth century, almost all German Jewish immigrants to America started off from humble beginnings. The shift to industrialization and economic dislocation affected Germans of all backgrounds. However, in addition, laws restricting Jewish marriage in Bavaria and numerous other restrictive and persecutory laws there and elsewhere made it all but impossible for young Jews to establish households, get an education, or make a living in the occupation of their choice. A large portion chose escape by converting to Christianity, and some migrated to larger cities in search of work, but others sought freedom and economic betterment by immigrating to the United States from approximately the 1830s onward. Migration soared in the 1850s due to letters home and newspaper articles giving glowing accounts of opportunity in the new land. Indeed Jews tended to emigrate in larger proportions than their non-Jewish neighbors. For example, we are told that while Jews made up 1.5 percent of the Bavarian population, they composed five percent



of the Bavarian emigration to the US (II, 17). Whereas most Germans traveled in family units and sought to buy farmland, Jews tended to arrive first as single men and women and opt for settlement in towns and cities, sending for family members later as they saved up enough funds to send tickets overseas. By 1859 there were nearly 40,000 Jews in New York City and half of them were German Jews (I, 155).

Jews from Central Europe came with experience in trade, dry goods, and peddling. Peddling in America was the simplest way to start, offering promises of advancement (one might eventually be able to settle down and open a small store) and required little English or capital. Many others in New York entered the city's economy through the unpopular and unsavory secondhand clothing trade centered in Chatham Square where non-Jewish German immigrants also had business establishments. (Selling used clothing had long been a Jewish economic niche in Europe). Success could mean moving uptown to retail and wholesale firms. In the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, most Americans sewed clothes at home, had clothes made by a custom tailor, or bought reconditioned used garments. With that as a point of entry, German Jews played a pioneering role in creating the ready-made garment industry, both as manufacturers and marketers, giving Americans the novelty of new ready-made clothing mass produced for middle-class and upper-middle class people. For example, when the Civil War demanded the production of uniforms and shoes, there was no time to measure every single soldier. Jewish suppliers (among them Joseph Seligman, who came to America from Bavaria in 1839) developed a system of standardized clothing and shoe sizes for the first time. This helped in rapid production of uniforms but also made possible mass production for the civilian market (II, 39).

That German Jews and non-Jews living in New York City got along remarkably well, and that German culture must have strongly influenced American Jews, is evident from numerous factors. First, certainly in the antebellum period, they lived together in the same neighborhoods and even the same buildings. While upward mobility and later the consolidation of Greater New York and the building of subways and bridges led to distinct and virtually all-Jewish neighborhoods all over the city, both Jewish and non-Jewish German speakers started off their American lives in exactly the same areas of Lower Manhattan: Five Points, Kleindeutschland ("Little Germany") and Chatham Square. There were indeed enclaves of city blocks where natives of Hesse, Darmstadt, Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, and other regions congregated; all the more reason, it appears, for the Jews to be viewed not as enemies or aliens but as one of Kleindeutschland's many regionally or religiously defined ethnic subgroups (I, 157-58; 251; II, 17) Moreover, they worked together and patronized one another's businesses. The whole economy in Kleindeutschland



catered to German-speaking immigrants, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Shoemakers, furniture makers, dry goods stores, grocery stores, saloons, breweries, cigar manufacturers and delicatessen owners all depended on resident neighborhood customers who liked to do business in their own language (II, 30-31) (Incidentally, we are told in the third volume of *City of Promises* that the delicatessen or “deli,” that well-known twentieth-century marker of a New York Jewish neighborhood, was actually inherited from German immigrants) (II, 133).

German Jews and non-Jews in New York in the mid-nineteenth century also demonstrated a common disinclination to attend worship services in their faith and a tendency to put time and energy into secular organizations instead. Both groups had reasons to oppose the mostly native-born Protestant Sabbatarians and makers of blue laws who decreed that every Sunday, mornings should be spent in church, drinking alcohol should be prohibited, and all businesses should be closed. German immigrants in New York fought for the right to enjoy the so-called “continental Sabbath” and to spend their day off from work any way they pleased. Many, we are told, were freethinkers who did not attend a church of any kind. The *Staats Zeitung*, the city’s major German language newspaper, noted in 1860 that fifty percent of the Kleindeutschland community lacked church affiliation; in another article the newspaper claimed that only one out of five German immigrants could be considered a regular churchgoer (II, 32).

As for the Jews living in the same neighborhood at exactly the same time, congregational leaders in New York in the 1840s and 1850s were complaining that synagogues were empty and that they had to hire the requisite quorum of ten members so that services could be held at all (II, 32). Lack of interest could not be traced only to the fact that until the Great Depression, Saturday was generally a regular workday in the United States. For many Jewish immigrants who came before the aftermath of World War II, immigration to America had been a rejection of the restrictions of living within the boundaries and laws of a traditional Jewish community. Although numerous synagogues were established in New York by Jewish immigrants—*City of Promises* contains many details on the founding and building of the best-known and most distinguished ones—the majority of the city’s Jewish residents chose not to affiliate with any of them, then or now. Even into the twenty-first century American Jews (with the important exception of a strictly Orthodox minority) are far less likely to attend religious services regularly than American Catholics or Protestants, and are far more likely to express any religious or ethnic identity they may still have through participation in secular or social organizations.

As for the performing arts and music, which became such an important



part of New York life, German immigrants were known for their singing and dramatic societies and a German-language culture that thrived alongside an English one in the nineteenth-century. German Jews joined leading German singing societies such as the New Yorker *Saengerrunde*, the New Yorker *Maennerchor*, the *Deutsche Liederkrantz*, and the *Arion* Glee Club. The talents of writer Max Cohnheim, later a leading local German playwright, and musical director Leopold Damrosch, we are told, helped to make the *Arion* perhaps the preeminent *Gesangverein* in the city. Besides widespread participation as individuals, at least one predominantly Jewish singing society, the *Orpheus*, was invited to participate in the great *Saengerfeste* (singing festivals) which were a highlight of the German communal calendar. After the Civil War, when anti-Semitism flared on both sides of the Atlantic, the *Arion* Glee Club apparently banned Jews for a time and incorporated anti-Jewish lyrics into its repertoire. However, by 1895, that lapse was over, and Jewish names once again figured on the roster of the *Arion* Club (II, 217-18).

German societies also staged amateur theatrical productions in New York as early as the 1840s, and the opening in 1854 of the German State Theater marked the beginning of a professional German-language stage in the city (I, 177). Jews contributed to this theater as actors, playwrights, producers, financiers, and above all as audience members. Observers estimated that they made up as much as eighty percent of the audience at any one time, and attributed the success of German theater in New York, as opposed to that in other cities, to the "large Jewish element" that resided there. Jewish shop clerks and peddlers, we are told, loved to attend theater, and Jewish organizations helped keep German theaters afloat by buying blocks of tickets for benefits (II, 218). (Later in the series, we are told that in the 1930s New York area Jews made up more than half the subscribers to the New York Philharmonic and that in the 1960s they were half of the audiences for Broadway shows) (II, 242). Nineteenth-century German Jewish stars who became popular culture celebrities included Daniel Bandmann, who was born in Cassel in 1840. He became known for his German language portrayals of Shakespeare's Hamlet, Richard III, and Othello, as well as Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*, and eventually crossed over into the English stage. (II, 218). German Jews also figured prominently as performers, managers, and patrons of the city's opera companies. When the much better remembered professional Yiddish language theater debuted in New York in 1886 (at its peak in 1917 there were no fewer than twenty-two Yiddish theaters in the city) some early Yiddish writers simply plagiarized scripts from German, transposed the setting to a Jewish venue, and gave the characters Yiddish names (II, 219-20).

In an even more intimate setting than the theater, German Jewish and non-Jewish men joined the same fraternal organizations and secret societies,



which often gave material benefits. A myriad of such groups, beginning with the Freemasons and the Odd Fellows, were at the height of their popularity in the United States as a whole in the late nineteenth century, and these fit well with the German custom of the voluntary organization or the *Verein*. German-speaking men of all backgrounds joined their own version of the Independent Order of Red Men, whose founders translated the pseudo-Indian lore of an American order into German. Jews, we are told, assumed leadership of lodges of such German fraternal orders as German Order of the Harugari, the Orden der Hermanns Soehne (Order of the Sons of Hermann) and the Improved Order, Knights of Pythias, the last also a German version of the mainstream English language group (II, 33-35). According to notices published in the German-language *Staats Zeitung*, hundreds of chapters of these groups gathered in the rear rooms of New York saloons for their meetings.

When in 1843 the first of many specifically Jewish fraternal organizations in the United States was established by a group of a dozen German Jewish immigrants (*B'nai B'rith*, or "Sons of the Covenant" in Hebrew) a quarter of the founders were already members of German fraternal groups, and one, a mechanic named Henry Jones (born Heinrich Jonas in Hamburg) was secretary of one of the most important German Jewish congregations in the city. Their ritual grafted Hebrew words and elements and Jewish ideals onto a model of fraternalism that the men were already familiar with. *B'nai B'rith* was, after all, founded in the rear rooms of Sinsheimer's, a Jewish-owned saloon on Essex Street in Kleindeutschland, and for the first ten years of the organization all of the meetings were held in German (I, 158-61; II, 33-35). Later they switched to English and dropped some of their ritual, but Chapters or "lodges" of *B'nai B'rith* continued to spread across the nation and around the world. Perhaps the organization's best-known contribution was the establishment of the Anti-Defamation League in 1913. *B'nai B'rith* exists as a major American Jewish organization into the present day. At least sixteen additional national Jewish fraternal orders arose between the 1840s and the 1910s, all following the lead of *B'nai B'rith*, including the Independent Order *B'rith Abraham*, which had 200,000 members at its height in 1917, half of them in New York (II, 35). Officially, *B'rith Abraham* began as a bilingual society, with German and English as its languages; in later years it added Yiddish (II, 149).

American Jewish women, too, benefitted from the model of German Jewish fraternalism. One case was the Unabhaengiger Orden Treuer Schwester (Independent Order of True Sisters) which began in 1846 as a ladies' auxiliary to Congregation Emanu-El, New York's and the nation's most prominent Reform German-Jewish synagogue. By 1851 it had involved into the first independent national Jewish women's organization, and at its height had



twenty-one chapters across the country and over 6,000 members. The True Sisters gave all the material benefits of a fraternal order and also had a system of four degrees of membership, named after Jewish heroines: Miriam (sisterly love) Ruth (friendship and loyalty) Esther (fidelity) and Hannah (piety). Most of the women had learned about fraternalism through their husband's B'nai B'rith memberships, but they themselves were completely independent. The Order of the True Sisters promoted "the development of free, independent and well-considered action of its members. The women are to expand their activities, without neglecting their obligations as housekeepers, in such a manner, that if necessary they can participate in public meetings and discussions *beside* the man, not inferior to him" (II, 35-36). In 1893 the well-known National Council of Jewish Women was founded, a group of mostly Reform Jewish American women who strove heroically to help new Jewish immigrants arriving daily at New York's ports, especially young single women traveling alone. The nucleus of this group was members of the Order of the True Sisters. This organization too exists into the present day.

Even the radical politics, labor activism, and socialist Yiddish press which are so identified with East European Jewish immigrants in New York, and which many historians believe underlies the relatively liberal political stance of most American Jews today, owes much to the "German connection." If they did not know it already, the linguistic closeness between Yiddish and German made learning to read the latter an accessible goal for speakers of the former; and when Yiddish, which originated in the Rhineland in the Middle Ages, lacked the necessary vocabulary to discuss modern social sciences and the industrial class struggle, writers and speakers felt free to borrow hundreds of words straight from modern standard German. The same linguistic affinity operated later in twentieth century in American academia, where a generation of scholars born into Yiddish-speaking immigrant households learned to read German fluently in college or graduate school.

Abraham Cahan (1860-1951) the Russian-born Jewish journalist who edited the largest Yiddish socialist daily in New York for more than fifty years, recalled that the German newspapers, especially Johan Most's Anarchist *Der Freiheit* and Sergei Schewitsch's Socialist *Volkszeitung*, "played a major role in the intellectual development" of New York's Yiddish-speaking radicals (II, 184). Starting in the 1880s, this group was strongly influenced by an already-existing small but active German radical milieu. Over the years, this American group was augmented by the immigration of Jews already radicalized in the Russian revolutionary movements. When it came time to found their own Socialist newspapers, Jews borrowed their names from German papers; the *Nyu-Yorker yidische folkstoytung* was named for the sheet of the local German Socialists; and the largest circulation Yiddish-language daily the *Forverts*

(founded in 1897) originally took its name and its political orientation from the *Vorwaerts*, then the organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. It was reportedly with the help of the Germans that most Jewish radicals found their way to Marxism in America and to the then predominantly German Socialist Labor Party (p. 184-91; 221-22). That party was embraced by later Jewish immigrants. In 1914 the mostly Yiddish-speaking residents of the Manhattan district that included the Jewish Lower East Side of New York, of which Kleindeutschland had once been a part, succeeded in electing Meyer London to Congress—the second member of the Socialist Party of America ever to sit in the House of Representatives (the first had been Victor Berger in Wisconsin).

When the appeal of Socialism faded, many New York Jews in later years channeled their relative political progressivism and activism into support for President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, the Democratic Party, and numerous causes for social reform, including the historic civil rights movement. Perhaps, in a sign of poetic justice, in the same year that Hitler came to power in Germany Herbert Lehman, the son and grandson of German-Jewish immigrants took his seat as the first Jewish Governor of the State of New York. He was reelected to that post four times, later served for six years in the U.S. Senate and in the year of his death (1963) was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Large-scale German Jewish immigration to America revived after 1933 and Hitler's rise to power. This group, which contributed immeasurably to American intellectual, artistic, and scientific life, benefitted from the relatively large German quota that existed under the strict immigration limits that had been put in place in the United States in the early 1920s, in part to limit the incoming of more masses of East European Jews. The quotas, which critics have noted still kept an unforgivingly large number of refugees from Hitler from reaching the United States, were nevertheless based on the percentage of a national group in the population in 1890; since plenty of people born in Germany had been living in America at that time, the quota for Germany (which after 1938 included Austria) was a not insignificant 25,000 per year, while the quotas for Poland and Russia were far smaller. The majority of the refugees who chose to settle in New York did not gather in Lower Manhattan this time, but chose another neighborhood—Washington Heights in upper Manhattan, which by the late 1930s had acquired the nickname "The Fourth Reich." It offered affordable housing in what was then a middle-class part of town, where, as author Jeffrey Gurock describes it, "the parks nearby and the cool breeze of the Hudson in the evening carried vague reminders of the bourgeois section of German cities of their past" (III, 27).

Even in 1930s New York, relations between non-Jews of German ances-



try, especially in relation to other ethnic groups, and New York Jews, were relatively cordial. There were indeed serious problems in the upper Manhattan neighborhood of Yorkville, where the rabidly anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi German American Bund had its headquarters. However, we are told that their leadership and much of their support came from a relatively small segment of the German American community: immigrants who had left after World War I because of economic calamity and hostility toward Weimar democratic policies (III, 33).

In 1937 the German American Bund members petitioned for the right to march in full Nazi regalia through the streets of Manhattan. Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia was pressured by the Jewish community not to allow this to happen; eventually, in deference to the right of free speech and assembly, he allowed the march to go forward, but specifically forbade the Bundists to march in their Nazi uniforms or to sing Nazi songs. According to Gurock, who studied interviews conducted in the 1970s with subjects who lived in New York at the time, most native-born Germans "either stood at the sidelines or actively opposed the radical rightists. They, too, were proud of Germany for reviving itself after the cataclysm of World War I defeat. But, at the same time, they did not want their ethnic group's good name associated with the bigotry of a foreign totalitarian power and a potential threat to the United States, especially as America and Germany in the late 1930s seemed to be moving toward war footing" (III, 34). As additional proof, he noted that the Upper East Side synagogue Kehilath Jeshurun, located one block away from the New York Turnverein, the Bundist stronghold, never once suffered from pro-Nazi vandalism. This alternate and more tolerant view, he continues, was personified by Senator Robert F. Wagner, not Jewish, who had immigrated at the age of nine with his family from Nasttatten, Germany in 1886 and won his first elective office as a state assemblyman from Yorkville. From the Senate he championed the cause of Jewish refugees, most importantly through his introduction in 1939 of the Wagner-Rogers Act, which would have brought ten thousand German and Austrian Jewish children into America beyond the existing quotas. The Act did not pass Congress and the children were not saved.

It is no doubt in large part a response to two World Wars and the resulting catastrophes for Jewish people that the "German connection" in Jewish New York and American Jewish life in general has been ignored or forgotten. It is perhaps not surprising that today most American Jews, who have long since lost any memory of their ancestral languages or knowledge of their ancestors' first days in America, would be struck with disbelief to find out that there was ever anything positive between anything Jewish and anything German. However, it would be historically incorrect to neglect or disregard

the enormous role that German culture had in the creation of New York and American Jewish life and indeed in the life of the United States a whole. *City of Promises*, along with everything else it tells us about one of the greatest cities in the world, allows us to become reacquainted with that role.

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**We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945-1962.**

*By Hasia R. Diner. New York: New York University Press, 2009. 527 pp. \$23.00.*

Until recently, it was widely believed that little was generally known or disseminated about the Holocaust in the U.S. in the years after World War II because American Jews chose to avoid dwelling on this tragedy. Instead, so the argument went, Holocaust survivors who came to the United States concentrated on rebuilding their lives, while American Jews “embarked on the good life of suburbia and the 1950s” (8). In this older interpretation, American Jews only began to confront the Holocaust in the wake of the Eichmann trial in 1961. Diner’s superb study effectively shatters this notion of avoidance, and argues effectively that American Jews were engaged with the Holocaust and its impact in deep and meaningful ways for many years preceding the trial. She has uncovered massive amounts of untapped evidence of “widespread and intense American Jewish engagement with the Holocaust precisely in the years when silence supposedly reigned” (367). Their expression took several forms, including “scattered books, prayers, songs, pageants, poems” generated by Jews from all classes and walks of life; “in every sector of the American Jewish collectivity, Jews told the story” (367).

That the Holocaust was memorialized by Jews was not without precedent for they had always seen their history as a series of catastrophes. But the Holocaust clearly was the most catastrophic of them all, and therefore its memorialization became a pressing matter for American Jews after the war. Far from being a time of silence, the years after the war were a time of exploration and discernment, as American Jews “experimented with various ideas as to the best, most appropriate, and most effective means by which to weave the Holocaust into their lives” (13).

In this quest, they had to surmount obstacles, not the least of which was the anti-communist witch hunt of the 1950s McCarthy era, which witnessed anti-communists making the terms “Jew” and “Communist” synonymous. In this unfortunate formulation, far from being cast as victims of a horrendous



catastrophe that was the Holocaust, Jews instead were seen once again as potential enemies of the state, just as they had been seen in Germany during the Nazi era. They also struggled with America's willingness to embrace the Federal Republic of Germany, which in turn gave "American policy makers no incentive to keep alive the history of Germany's unprecedented brutality towards the Jews" (218). This scenario gave American Jews no choice but to "go it alone when it came to keeping a vigilant eye on Germany and the ways in which Nazism's legacy lived on despite defeat and military occupation" (218). This legacy was painfully evident in the rantings and ravings of American Nazi Party leader, George Lincoln Rockwell, who appeared in Nazi garb at rallies "praising Hitler for his keen insights into the threat posed by 'the Jews' and lauding his policies" (211). American Jews who were Holocaust survivors successfully put pressure on mainstream Jewish agencies to revise their policies of passive opposition against Rockwell. These efforts bore fruit when these agencies, in turn, called for city officials to deny Rockwell's application for a permit to demonstrate in New York.

Despite having to confront such unpleasant realities, American Jews nonetheless persisted in their attempts to bring to the fore the catastrophe of the six million who were murdered. This was done by disseminating information about the Holocaust at ritual moments of the Jewish calendar such as Passover and Yom Kippur. In addition, "Jewish communal institutions also created and sponsored new texts and practices that provided platforms from which to think about the Holocaust" (15). These texts and practices became part and parcel of the lives of all Jewish schoolchildren and synagogue attendees. What American Jews ultimately created was a commemorative culture that, in turn, "actually laid the foundation for the better organized, bigger and more elaborately funded Holocaust projects of the last decades of the twentieth century" (17). The latter could not have existed without the former.

Diner concludes that far from ignoring the Holocaust, Jews of postwar America were deeply engaged. Diner drives her point home with a scrupulous research and clear prose style that is readily accessible to the general public. By successfully proving that historical accounts of Jews avoiding the Holocaust in the postwar era are incorrect, Diner's account is revisionist history at its best.

**Shoah-Erinnerung und Restitution: Die US-Geschichtspolitik am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts.**

By Jan Surmann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. 301 pp. \$64.30.

The year 1990 marked a watershed in the history of geopolitics and ideas. The Cold War had officially ended, together with the partition of the world into two blocks comprising competing ideologies and socio-economic systems. The American Century could now continue its triumphal march, unfettered by any formidable adversaries and critics, except perhaps from within. A new variant of liberalism emerged which reinvigorated the traditional belief in free and open markets with one important nuance: free and open markets could now be extended to every corner of the globe; in other words, globalization was promulgated as a guiding principle of the new order.

Wedded to the idea of open markets, the concept of rights also became globalized, encompassing all human beings, even extending to animals and to a more complicated degree to the environment, which presumably meant that plants and other forms of life should also be afforded rights. In addition, a panoply of new rights was announced in the cultural and social spheres without ever including one of the most important rights of all—the right to work. All those groups that had been ignored or had even been oppressed by the traditional forms of liberalism were now to be integrated into a rights culture. Hence a global community was constituted with each member endowed with certain inalienable rights which could not be infringed upon with impunity.

As the victor of the Cold War, the United States proceeded to refashion the post-Cold War world in its own image. This led, as Jan Surmann carefully points out in his study, to the Americanization of the Holocaust. The author traverses on well-trodden ground here, even suggesting that established ideologies constantly require new motifs and images to renew their legitimacy. Hence anti-Semitism, which was endemic to American society in the first half of the twentieth century, was conveniently forgotten and a new version of cultural pluralism emerged, proclaiming Judaism as one of the three central religions of the United States. In conjunction with the official recognition of Judaism, the Jewish catastrophe became the seminal narrative of the twentieth century with the Jewish people being represented as the victims of a monstrous totalitarian state intent on creating a *univers concentraine*, whose ultimate goal was to commit the most heinous crime of all: the systematic destruction of an entire people.

Jan Surmann's contribution to illuminating these questions is marked by the assiduous, sometime painstaking, documentation of the attempts by the United States government and other organizations and jurisdictions to



achieve justice for the victims of these sordid crimes over a half a century later. The Clinton administration, as Surmann tell us, took it upon itself to become the champion of human rights in the world, assuming the mantle of Woodrow Wilson, who had also attempted to moralize world politics with disastrous results. The Clinton administration, however, did not codify its foreign policy, as Wilson did, but instead adorned its program with a polemical slogan: "unfinished business." "Unfinished business" in practice meant bringing to justice the vast number of enterprises and other interests which had hoped to profit from the Nazi occupation of Europe and as a result collaborated with the Nazis on an array of crimes, including the confiscation and misappropriation of bank accounts, insurance policies, art works and real estate. The miscreants included, *inter alia*, banks, insurance companies and firms of all kinds, many of which had no scruples about introducing slave labor or forced labor (*Zwangsarbeit*) when it promised to yield enormous profits, since this type of state terrorism and looting had been sanctioned by law and public policy.

In order to achieve justice, the Clinton administration felt impelled to reappraise history. Attempting to ascertain the crimes committed over a half a century ago with the aim of compensating the victims is a daunting task. This is why Surmann's historical narrative is to a large extent devoted to a detailed chronology of the attempts made by the litigants to define the victims and perpetrators in these cases and to clarify the nature and magnitude of the assets that were stolen, meaning the ownership of the anonymous bank accounts, the dormant assets, the stolen gold, as well as all of the expropriated real and personal property.

Surmann also devotes an equal amount of attention to the parties involved, citing with remarkable thoroughness the almost endless number of actors, organizations, commissions and scholarly think tanks—all called to life to assign guilt and liability to crimes that had conveniently been assigned to the repressed underside of European history, for which no one previously needed to be held accountable. As we know, the repressed often returns at unexpected times in new guises and variations. Surmann shows how the search for culpability was initially directed to the neutral countries, most notably Switzerland, and then shifted to Eastern Europe, until finally the Western victors of the war against Nazi Germany became the object of scrutiny. In all of these countries, the attempts at seeking justice were met with evasion, denial and resistance, usually manifesting itself in squabbling over restitution amounts and a specious disavowal of responsibility. Ultimately, the investigation of Holocaust crimes ran full circle: the initiator of this crusade for justice—the United States—was also found to be entangled in the mire of Holocaust history.

Surmann is fond of using the term “paradigm,” which presumably means in the context of his study a new mode of approaching and understanding history. The new paradigm began to unfold in the three major conferences on Holocaust restitution: the London Conference (1997), the Washington Conference (1998) and finally the Stockholm conference (2000). In all of these conferences, Surmann attempts to show a shift from questions of restitution to questions of memory and the reconstruction of history. According to Surmann, the new paradigm comprises three elements: first, the unconditional recognition and acceptance of the enormity of the Nazi crimes against European citizens, most notably Jews; second, supplanting the national view of the past by a transatlantic or international rewriting of history; third, defining the Holocaust as the central narrative of the twentieth century (225–26). Several corollaries emerge from the latter thesis. First, the Holocaust embodies the destructiveness of the genocidal twentieth century. Second, the Holocaust marks the dividing line between the twentieth century with its totalitarian catastrophes and the burgeoning twenty-first century with its devotion to peace and human rights. Third, the Holocaust epitomizes not only the suffering of the Jewish people, but people in every corner of the globe; hence the universalization of the Holocaust as an evil to be transcended by all civilized societies. Fourth, the Holocaust represents the antipode of the new liberalism of the twenty-first century, positing the commitment of the international community to the rule of law and respect for the individual; in other words, it is not only a symbolic construct, but also the prime mover of a new ideology.

The subtitle of Surmann’s study: *Die US-Geschichtspolitik am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* indicates that the author intends to study the politics of history, as opposed to *Geschichtswissenschaft* or history as scholarship. The lines between the two, of course, cannot always be clearly drawn, but, nevertheless, the politics of history suggests that history is being used in the service of political aims and ambitions. What these political aims and ambitions actually encompass is not elaborated on by the author. Brief mention is made of a new transatlantic alliance or a new post-Cold War consensus or the creation of a “Legitimierungsdiskurses US-amerikanischer Aussenpolitik” (260). Even more significantly, the author alludes to “The Project of the New American Century” (259), but does not develop the notion of how the new Holocaust narrative was intended to be used to promote imperial plans and ambitions.

Surmann’s study meets all the requirements of careful historical scholarship. The sources and references are clearly collated and presented, and the conclusions drawn are judicious and sound. Still, there is a disembodied tone to the entire study, as if the politics of history were bereft of interests and protagonists. For example, although Surmann mentions that many



political groups in America, including individual states, became involved in the *cause célèbre* of Holocaust assets, raising questions of jurisdiction and standing, the actual political motivations and allegiances are never elucidated. Neither are the principal protagonists. Stuart E. Eizenstat, for example, the principal architect of many of the restitution plans and proposals and the author of numerous writings on Holocaust victims and their rights, remains a nebulous figure, whose own interest in the Holocaust is never disclosed. The same shortcoming applies to Alphonse D'Amato, a Republican Senator who became a key figure in the political negotiations conducted to identify and recover the dormant assets (*nachrichtlose Vermögen*) in Swiss banks, yet whose own political career was marred by scandal and intrigue.

Sad, yet not surprising, the policy of "unfinished business," elevated to the leitmotif of this study, remains unfinished in providing justice to the victims. However, not only is there "unfinished business" with respect to the Holocaust, but also with respect to the author's own attempts at exploring the history of the Clinton administration's abortive political campaign.

University of Turku

Jerry Schuchalter

### **Einstein's Jewish Science: Physics at the Intersection of Politics and Religion**

By Steven Gimbel. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2012. 245 pp. \$22.95

Is there a such thing as "Jewish science?" The question seems absurd today, but the notion was once promoted by some of Germany's leading physicists. Their main goal was to discredit their fellow German Albert Einstein, whose relativity had turned familiar notions of space and time on their heads and revolutionized physics. To certain sclerotic older scientists like Philipp Lenard, who won the Nobel Prize in 1905 for his work on cathode rays, Einstein's strange, paradigm-shifting theory was troubling, even dangerous. This fear aligned perfectly with the anti-Semitic paranoia that had engulfed Einstein's native country.

Lenard laid out his argument in a four-volume work on "German Physics," published in 1936. In it, he wrote that relativity was a sham, "never even intended to be true." (quoted in Gimbel, 145) Einstein's Jewish science, Lenard believed, was mere mathematical trickery, designed to "bamboozle" the proper German experimental physicist (145). Good, empirical, Aryan scientists needed protection.

Modern sensibility rightly rejects the notions of Aryan and Jewish sci-

ence, along with the rest of the pernicious Nazi ideology. But in his engaging and provocative book *Einstein's Jewish Science*, philosopher Steven Gimbel of Gettysburg College asks whether the slur used against Einstein and his relativity might now be repurposed for good. His answer, entirely appropriate to his subject, is both "yes and no" (217).

First, Gimbel points out, we must specify what we mean by "Jewish science." It could mean science carried out by a Jew, in which case relativity would presumably qualify (though Gimbel notes that varying opinions on who is a Jew complicate even this rather trivial definition). Jewish science could also mean science that is influenced by Jewish texts and teachings. Relativity would fail this test: Einstein's writings make clear his physics is indebted not to the Torah or Talmud but to the leading physicists of his day, particularly Hendrik Lorentz and Ernst Mach (both not Jewish).

The question becomes more interesting, however, when we ask whether relativity reflects an intellectual methodology that is, in some sense, Jewish. To frame this discussion, Gimbel first considers what Catholic science might look like. He shows that when the devout Catholic René Descartes needed to reconcile Pope Urban VIII's declaration that the Earth is stationary with Galileo's convincing evidence that the Earth in fact revolves around the sun, he developed a clever scientific device: the Earth does move, but drags a gravitational "vortex," relative to which it does not move. This papally approved sleight-of-hand, Gimbel argues, could be considered "a Catholic theory of gravitation." (48)

Judaism, by contrast, has no such privileged position—no pope. Truth is approached by through the process of "midrash"—generations of rabbis and scholars interpreting and reinterpreting the sacred texts. Likewise, Einstein's relativity privileges no single observer or reference frame. A person on the ground and one on a moving train will not agree on exactly how long the train is, or exactly how long it takes to get from point A to point B, and neither can be said to be right or wrong. But all observers will agree on one measurement, an abstract quantity known as the four-dimensional space-time interval. Similarly, the Jewish tradition provides both relative truths, such as how to apply God's commandments in particular moral contexts, and absolute truths, such as the existence of one God. Rabbis will argue endlessly over the former, but none will dispute the latter.

So maybe relativity can be considered, in at least this sense, Jewish science. On the other hand, Gimbel points out, Einstein's detractors were so determined to tar his theory with that label that they worked themselves into baffling inconsistencies. Had Lenard understood Einstein, he would have realized that relativity was no free-floating mathematical formalism, but rather a theory grounded in hard empirical evidence—in particular that collected by



the American physicists Albert Michelson and Edward Morley. And strangely, even the strongly nationalistic Werner Heisenberg, who was tapped to lead the Nazi nuclear bomb effort (spurring Einstein to sign the letter to Franklin Roosevelt that launched the Manhattan Project), was accused of practicing non-Aryan physics when developing his highly abstract formulation of quantum mechanics, the other revolutionary physics theory of the time.

Gimbel's writing is strong, his scholarship impressive, and his arguments compelling. He takes pains to place both Einstein and his detractors in their historical context, showing how the romantic German ideal promoted by Goethe, Wagner, and Nietzsche set the stage for the archetype of the "Aryan scientist." I for the most part enjoyed following these "winding intellectual paths," though I occasionally grew impatient with some of the book's longer digressions (12). Nevertheless, on a subject as thoroughly trodden as Albert Einstein, Gimbel succeeds in providing a remarkably fresh perspective.

*Independent Science Writer*

*Gabriel Popkin*

**Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition.**

*By Marni Davis. New York: New York, University Press, 2012. 261 pp. \$32.00.*

Although the title is misleading, leaving the reader with the impression that this study is limited to the Prohibition era, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* is a comprehensive study of Jewish immigrant participation in the alcohol commerce in America. The book documents Jewish involvement in all segments of alcohol production and contains such diverse topics as the early development of wine production in Israel and the manner in which Henry Ford's support of prohibition influenced his anti-semitism. Furthermore, Davis describes the development of the prohibition movement in the United States and links support for a secular state with opposition to prohibition.

Davis's story begins in the mid-nineteenth century when German immigrants, including Jews, migrated from Europe to escape repressive counter-revolutionary measures that swept Europe during the late 1840s and 1850s. Although many of these German Jewish immigrants settled in the Midwest, some traveled as far west as California where they bought land and established vineyards. Davis continues through the late nineteenth century explaining that Jewish immigration evolved simultaneously with the push for prohibition. Jewish immigrants who arrived after 1900 emigrated primarily from Poland and Russia, whereas those who emigrated prior to 1900 came

from Western Europe, mainly Germany.

Davis explains that in Russia and Poland few professions were opened to Jews. Thus, many Eastern European Jews owned taverns where they distilled and sold their own liquor. When these families immigrated, they brought their experience to the United States and opened bars in cities from New York to Atlanta; and as they prospered, they brought brothers, cousins and other family members to the United States and into the business. Bar owners and distillers interacted with non-Jewish businessmen as did the Jewish patrons. Accordingly, Davis argues that alcohol culture, production, distribution, sales and consumption aided the integration of Jewish immigrants into American life. Likewise, she asserts that these Jewish businessmen were not disadvantaged by overt prejudice when seeking credit, as evidenced in the R. G. Dun & Co. records she accessed.

Davis also explains the evolution of the anti-alcohol movement itself, documenting its growth from a paternalistic crusade seeking to protect women and children from drunken husbands and fathers to a mature political organization. She details the emergence of anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic rhetoric within the prohibition movement. She also explains how Catholic and Jewish leaders, as representatives of two religions that use wine in religious rituals, joined together in an effort to prevent or limit the impact of prohibition.

Most Jews and Jewish leaders feared government regulation of religious practices and thus argued against prohibition. But a few Jews such as Steven F. Wise and Lillian Wald supported prohibition because they equated it with Progressivism. Eventually, Congress worked out a compromise to supply wine to both Catholics and Jews. Catholics priests received government allotted wine for religious use in church services; however, because Jews consumed wine during family ceremonies at home, the government faced a more complicated distribution task. Ultimately, Congress allowed rabbis to distribute wine to congregants. Davis candidly documents the problems that arose from this governmental compromise. Unscrupulous Jews, including rabbis, tried to subvert the law and involved themselves in clandestine alcohol sales. Davis also discusses the divide that developed between the Reform Jewish establishment, primarily descendants of more established German Jewish immigrants, and the growing Orthodox Jewish population comprised primarily of more recent Eastern European immigrants, in which the alcohol issue presaged the later rift over Zionism.

Although Davis wrote about alcohol production nationally, her research emphasized specific cities such as Newark, New Jersey, Cincinnati, Ohio, St. Louis, Missouri, and Atlanta Georgia. Beginning with the mid-nineteenth century, Davis provides a solidly documented study of Jewish participation



in the American alcohol industry, and she carefully verifies her stories with specific examples from many sections of the country. Furthermore, she shows that the alcohol industry provided an avenue of acculturation first of German Jewish immigrants and later of Eastern European Jewish immigrants. The book is not for those looking for a light-hearted read; however, it presents a solidly researched and well-documented history in a field that has been overlooked in Jewish studies.

*Texas A&M University*

*Kay Goldman*

**Jewish Radicals: A Documentary History.**

*Edited by Tony Michels. New York: New York University Press, 2012. 356 pp. \$24.00.*

Tony Michels opens by addressing the relationship between Jews and American socialism, a long, complicated involvement “in which class conflict, political repression, revolutionary fervor, and universalistic visions of humanity collided into and intermixed with faith in American democracy, striving for economic success, and commitment to Jewish group solidarity” (1). Michels posits both the importance of the Jewish labor movement and the fact that it emerged in cooperation with the American socialist movement. The American socialist movement, dominated by Germans, imported from Germany two schools of thought: social democracy and anarchism. Michels contends that socialism became an important force among immigrant Jews due to several factors: the sudden appearance of a large and growing Jewish working class, the early support of German radicals, and the general growth of socialism in American society. In terms of method, Michels does not limit his focus to first generation immigrants and pays close attention to the second generation as well. Furthermore, Michels includes “non-Jewish Jews” and justifies the inclusion by arguing three points: ethnicity was both a formative influence and a target of rebellion; the need for flexible categories; and evolving attitudes toward the “Jewish question” over time. In essence, “self-identified Jews and ‘non-Jewish Jews’ should be studied together, not in order to collapse distinctions but because categories of ‘Jewish’ and ‘non-Jewish’ shifted over time and were blurry from the outset. They existed as types in relationship to one another along the same spectrum of socialist politics” (15). Michels also argues that the disproportionate involvement of Jews on the Left mattered because Jews kept radicalism alive and functioning, played important roles in organizing, had a profound influence on culture,

and played an important role in social reform efforts. Michels notes, by way of conclusion, that he attempted to “uncover the increasingly remote voices of immigrant Jewish radicals and their children” (19). Whether or not he was successful we will consider momentarily.

Michels offers an impressive collection of documents, some familiar, others more obscure, divided into five sections. The first section discusses awakenings and draws from the autobiographies of five radicals: Alexander Bittelman, Abraham Bisno, Emma Goldman, Lucy Lang, and Paul Jacobs to illustrate how many Jewish radicals awoke, either suddenly or gradually, to a world of new ideas and possibilities and thus initiated a process of self-discovery. The second section deals with the theme of struggle. Michels asserts that “a hopeful conviction radiated from the very core of socialism and roused people to action. This was a belief in the capacity of the poor and exploited to rebel and create a just society. The imperative to act could lead in any number of directions” (81). Indeed, Michels presents an impressive variety of documents: announcements of women’s societies; Berkman’s attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick, and Rose Pastor Stokes’s speech in favor of birth control. The third section handles the theme of the life of the mind. Michels offers documents that illustrate how men and women embarked on a “quest for knowledge and culture that often impressed outside observers” (151). Documents in this section provide an excellent picture of the intense desire of Jewish radicals to study and debate, the power of education, and the move away from religion (a power struggle between religious conservatives and radical atheists). The fourth section takes up the theme of the Russian Revolution. Michels asserts that the question as to whether the Soviet Union was a workers’ paradise or a totalitarian hell proved contentious and was eminently capable of dividing families, friends, and the Left. This tension was perhaps best illustrated by the correspondence between Roger Baldwin of the ACLU and Earl Browder of the Workers (Communist) Party. Browder and his fellow Communists, following the lead of the Communist International, attempted to break up anti-Soviet gatherings. Baldwin eloquently reminded Browder that their actions put the ACLU in an impossible position. How could the ACLU fight for freedom of speech for Communists if Communists suppressed the right of other groups to free speech? Finally, the fifth section considers the question of Zionism and the transformation in attitude. Initially many socialists opposed Zionism, but “an increasing number of leftists grew to appreciate Zionism, if not embrace it outright, from the 1910s forward” (277).

In sum, Michels has assembled a fine collection of primary sources, one that successfully illuminates the experiences of Jewish radicals and uncovers



many unknown and remote voices. This book will appeal to both lay readers and a scholarly audience.

The Pennsylvania State University

Evan C. Rothera

**Jüdische Nachbarschaften in New York: Eine Lektüre der lesbaren Spuren der "jüdischen Frage deutscher Art" in Uwe Johnsons *Jahrestage*.**

By Stefan Gädtke. *Historisch-Kritische Arbeiten zur Deutschen Literatur*, vol. 48. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/Bruxelles/New York/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang, 2012. 422 pp. \$87.95.

Stefan Gädtke's book title could not be more precise as well as inaccurate at the same time. The title promises a reading or interpretation of Jewish neighborhoods as they are depicted in Uwe Johnson's novel *Jahrestage*. But instead of a close description of those neighborhoods in the novel, the author chose to deviate consciously and productively from the beaten paths of *Johnson-Forschung*, the literary business of explaining and interpreting Johnson. Thus, Gädtke offers a reading, eine Lektüre, of Johnson's epic trial to create a modern saga instead of an interpretation.

In chapter one, the author explains in detail his usage of a polyphone approach that combines theories by Gérard Genette as well as Roland Barthes ranging from the meaning side of a sign (signifier) to the *spatial turn* and the meaning of space in literary texts. Further, the use of cultural science theories by known contemporary cultural scientists such as Hannah Arendt, a friend of Johnson, shows the difficulties of a dialogue between Jews and Germans, not only but also in New York, and the portrayal thereof in Johnson's novel. The second chapter connects and proves that the author, Johnson, thought his environment as an *intertext* (a text that refers to other texts) and sought to write like a *flâneur*, a man who takes his time to explore, observe, and experience his city consciously as if seen for the first time. Despite the title, the apparent focus of this book seems to be the explanation of the origins of *flâneur*, an idle man-about-town or flâneur (the reviewer prefers to use the French term in this essay since it is more appropriate to the term and time period the author describes). The author also focuses on finding connections between the first French flâneurs in Paris, German Jews who learned the art of *flanerie* (possibly best translated as "art to meander") through French authors such as Louis Sébastien Mercier and who transplanted that French experience to their meandering in Berlin that influenced the (Jewish) authors

in New York. This broad social historical approach is presented in chapters four and five. Chapter six focuses on the reader, whereas the final chapter, chapter seven, describes *Jüdische Nachbarschaften in New York* and focuses on the relation between Gesine Cresspahl, the main character of "Jahrestage," and one of her Jewish neighbors, Mrs. Ferwalter, who had been in a German concentration camp and who is attracted to Gesine as a European roots rather than as a German. German Gesine is afraid of a confrontation with her Jewish neighbors because she had lived during the time of the holocaust, thus being under the suspicion that she could have stopped the mass killing of Jews in German concentration camps. Gädtke calls this "die jüdische Frage deutscher Art," the Jewish question of German kind, which he later rephrases as "die deutsch-jüdische Frage moralischer Art," the German Jewish question of a moral kind (11; 344). According to Gädtke, a friendly dialogue between the German emigrant and the Jewish woman is possible, but it can only find its realization in a faraway country in which both are (cultural) strangers. The friendship between Mrs. Ferwalter's and Gesine's daughter Marie depicts the actual dialogue between Jews and Germans. Neither Marie nor Mrs. Ferwalter's daughter have experienced the National socialist regime in Germany; for them it is already history. The question of how to interact with the other after the holocaust is not part of their heritage because they were raised in the United States. This answers the final question as to whether or not it is possible for Jews to live amongst Germans and vice versa (Gädtke calls this "die deutsch-jüdische Frage New Yorker Art") (374).

More than half of the book emphasized the explanation of the theoretical background, whereas the literary exploration of the Jewish neighborhoods in New York, as promised in the title, seems almost like an afterthought. When Gädtke finally focuses on Johnson's text, the analysis is short and limited to the neighborly relation between Gesine and Mrs. Ferwalter. But Gädtke's way to present his point of view of Johnson's work evokes thoughts about the novel and the writing process, applying the art of *flanerie* quite literally by meandering through theories, history, and biographies. Although the reader may become sidetracked in the overall purpose of the offered analysis, the argument is strongly built and, nevertheless, convincing.

*University of Kansas*

*Jenny Baisert Meacham*



**A *Titanic* Love Story: Ida and Isidor Straus.**

By June Hall McCash. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2012. 268 pp. \$29.00.

The story of the *Titanic* is well-known. Almost as legendary is the story of the Strauses, the elderly couple who went down together with the ship rather than be parted from one another. Yet McCash tells a singular story, the uniqueness of which is signaled by the title of the volume itself, for this is the tale of an enduring and encompassing love between two individuals, Ida and Isidor, who quite accidentally end their life together aboard the ill-fated *Titanic*.

In the preface McCash details her fascination with the story of Ida and Isidor. Like many she was familiar with the basic narrative. Yet it was the depth of the bond between Ida and Isidor as well as the connection to Georgia which captivated McCash and drove her to pursue the story. As a result, this is a story of a family of immigrant German Jewish peddlers which begins in Georgia in the 1850s and ends sixty years later in the icy waters of the North Atlantic.

McCash has done her homework. The bibliography contains a remarkable number of primary materials from a range of archival collections complemented by numerous secondary materials, most notably contemporaneous newspaper reports. Among the many sources, Isidor's letters stand out. One can't help but be grateful that Isidor was a prolific letter writer even in an age when written communication was primary. From the riches of the Straus Family Archive, the Macy's archive, and the personal archives of families related to the Strauses, McCash is able to piece together an extremely intimate picture of the rise of an immigrant Jewish family to wealth and prominence. The resultant narrative is impressive, both for what it says and how it says it.

The first chapters relate the early years in Georgia. They provide the background for both the family and business history of the Strauses. There is a detailed account of Lazarus Straus, Isidor's father, as he makes the transition from itinerant peddler to an established merchant in a growing Georgia community, but there is little which is as extremely personal as the story becomes once Isidor and the business move to New York.

Ultimately McCash relates the story of a prominent and successful Jewish family. It is the story of Macy's, of L. Straus & Sons, and of several offshoots of the original business run by sons, sons-in-law, and nephews. It is a tale of commercial success told from the perspective of the drawing room rather than the boardroom. Yet there is something unusual about the story. Although business decisions and historical circumstances, the American Civil War in particular, which affect the family's business are mentioned, the

transition from modest means in Georgia to affluence in New York seems to just happen. The focus is on the family, not on its business enterprises. As McCash intended, this is the story of two very principled individuals who were devoted to each other. Their wealth and influence are a given and do not necessarily cushion them from the vicissitudes of life or the randomness of fate. Even their passage on the *Titanic* was coincidental. They booked at the last minute when the ship on which they had intended to sail was laid up for repairs unexpectedly. They were anxious to return home quickly to attend to family affairs.

McCash's story ends where so many tales of the *Titanic* disaster begin. Although here McCash succumbs to a degree to the temptation to romanticize the situation, she largely maintains her focus. She researches once again the mysterious circumstances surrounding the incident, particularly those which affected the Straus family. She reviews interviews with the survivors and notes the consternation of the family when Ida's body was not recovered and could not be properly buried. She even recounts the suspicious reappearance of the jewelry Ida was wearing on the fateful night. While paying homage to the mythical proportions of both the love story and the tragedy, she rounds out her narrative with an account of the posthumous tributes to Isidor and Ida. Certainly there are aspects in McCash's story of an economic history or the experience of many a nineteenth-century German immigrant, but primarily this is the story of the Strauses and their family. In fact, if this reader felt any lack, it was of a family tree as there were moments when the many relations and relationships proved confusing. Nonetheless, the book is an engaging read and a rewarding experience.

*Loyola University Maryland*

*Randall P. Donaldson*

## **Anabaptists and Religion**

### **Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies.**

*By Frances Swyripa. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010. 296 pp. \$26.95.*

Canada, in contrast to the United States, permitted and encouraged group immigration for centuries. Thus colonies could settle its vast prairies, where the lack of substantial pressure to "assimilate" meant that immigrants could build their own community identity in their new homeland. Swyripa uses this circumstance to great advantage in her analysis of groups that



immigrated to the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta starting in the nineteenth century. A few of the groups identified themselves by their religion, namely, the Mennonites, Jews and Doukhobors who came mainly from southeastern Europe, and Mormons. Most of the immigrants, however, identified themselves by their original nationality, including the Ukrainians, Poles, Romanians, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Finns and Icelanders, even as they maintained a strong internal religious cohesion. Thus, it is appropriate to identify them as ethno-religious groups and base the analysis upon that premise.

The author overcomes the complexity of dealing with such a wide range of subjects by beginning her study with a comprehensive statement of her analytical questions and strategies. Rather than dealing with each group individually, or making a simple comparison and contrast, she focuses on the reactions of groups to the processes of immigration. She studies the processes through which they established settlements on the land, changed that land into communities, and expanded the impact of these communities through stories, commemorations and practices that demonstrate the persistence of their self-image. Her extensive research provides examples that illustrate the path each group took through these stages. Although she focuses on the majority Ukrainians who fled oppression in Russia, she also explains how the small but proud Icelandic colony formed a clear rural presence in Manitoba while retaining strong links to the home island. The unbending pacifism of the Doukhobors, on the other hand, caused conflict with both their old and new homelands which resulted in a breakaway group emigrating further into British Columbia.

Settling the prairies gave these groups and the region a special history. They built rural communities with their own choice of building types and placement of communal churches and cemeteries modeled on those of the former homeland. Their stories and celebrations often followed those norms as well. With time, the new land took its place in an expanded self-image that incorporated the commemoration of settlement dates, places, and community leaders. In more recent times these communal self-images were often dignified by recognition from regional, national and even former homeland governments, including special museum exhibits, commemorative celebrations, and even a Canadian stamp honoring the centennial of Ukrainian settlement. Significantly, the ethnic and religious geography of the foundation years persists to the present.

Swyripa carefully introduces each of the eight chapters by refining her questions and analysis as the discussion progresses. The writing is clear, focused and interesting, with comprehensive footnotes. The maps and generous inclusions of photographs to illustrate the descriptions are

extremely helpful, especially to a reader from the United States who lacks a knowledge of Canadian geography. There is a comprehensive index but, sadly, no bibliography to make the scope and content of the author's research more accessible to those who want to look further.

The Canadian prairies are vast and generously accommodating to the many different immigrant groups. This excellent study introduces them and provides a fine analytical model for continuing research.

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*Eleanor L. Turk*

### **German-American Influences on Religion in Indiana, Part 2.**

*Edited by J. Gregory Redding. Studies in Indiana German-Americana, vol. 3. Indianapolis, IN: IUPUI Max Kade German-American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc., 2011. 139 pp. \$10.00.*

This slim volume is the second part of an exploration of German influences on religion in Indiana. While the first part, which appeared in 1995, looked not only at particular religious communities but also at religious art and German immigration, this volume seems more narrowly focused. Of the seven articles in this collection, two focus, and a third tangentially, on the Benedictines and two others on the Moravians. Nevertheless, *German-American Influences on Religion in Indiana, Part 2*, like its predecessor, demonstrates the state's rich religious history.

The first two articles of this collection focus on the Benedictines in Indiana. In "On the German Background of the Sisters of St. Benedict in Ferdinand, Indiana," Eberhard Reichmann discusses why the Benedictine sisters came to Ferdinand and the role of German language and culture in their religious life and ministry. This is followed by Patricia Wittberg's "Benedictine Orders and Education." Wittberg makes the case that the parochial schools established by the Benedictines and others were the primary means of educating Indiana's citizens for much of the nineteenth century, but she also demonstrates the changing nature of parochial education through the twentieth. James J. Divita continues to explore the interaction between the Catholic church and education in "Sister as Schoolmarm: Contribution of Religious Communities of Catholic Women to Indiana Education." Divita, like Wittberg, establishes the influential role played by the Indiana Catholics in developing the state's educational system, yet the German component is not much emphasized.

Subsequent articles in this collection shift the focus from education.



Roger P. Minert's "German Immigrants in Indiana Church Records: Personal Details on 15,375 Immigrants," shifts the focus from education to immigration, and this fascinating article demonstrates the wealth of biographical data available from church records. In "Legacies and Lessons from the Harmony Society," which was earlier presented as the keynote address to a joint meeting of the Society for German American Studies and the Indiana German Heritage Society, Donald E. Pitzer looks at the interaction of two groups, the Swabian Germans who, as members of the Harmony Society, founded New Harmony, Indiana, and the ethnically mixed members of the Owenites, who later purchased the town. These two articles contribute much to our knowledge of the 19th-century German immigrants who settled the Midwest.

So, too, do the two articles in this collection that focus on the Moravians, both by William E. Petig. In "The Moravian Economy in Hope, Indiana," Petig focuses on the work of Martin Hauser, who in 1829 began the mission effort that led to the establishment of the Hope, Indiana, Moravian church-community. In the following article, "Moravian Pacifism and Martin Hauser and the Civil War," Petig explores evolving Moravian notions of pacifism. These two articles, like others in this collection, reveal considerable interaction between communities in Indiana and those in the eastern and suggest key ways in which regional interaction shaped immigrant culture in Indiana.

The remaining two articles in this collection further demonstrate the impact of events outside of Indiana on the religious life of Indiana's German immigrants and their descendants. In "Picking Up the Common Thread: The Ethnic and Religious Heritage of Southwestern Indiana's German Evangelical Synod of North American Congregations," Heiko Mühr explores the creation of the United Church of Christ, which involved the merger of two German American and two Anglo-American religious groups. Although he focuses on the Evangelical and Reformed response to the merger and says little about how Anglo-American members from the Congregationalist side felt about the merger, Mühr makes it clear that this new church organization was a somewhat uneasy blending of ethnicities, languages, and religious understandings. His discussion of the shift from German to English in church services is particularly fascinating. Mühr continues to explore changing religious identity in "Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken and the Rise of Lutheran Confessionalism in America."

Part 2 of *German-American Influences on Religion in Indiana*, like its predecessor, offers much to scholars of American ethnic history and religious life. Its importance extends beyond Indiana's borders.

**Records of the Moravians among the Cherokees, vol. 4: The Anna Rosina Years, part 2: Warfare on the Horizon, 1810-1816.**

*Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. Talequah, OK: Cherokee National Press, 2012. 618 pp. \$50.00.*

This book consists of English translations of German letters, diaries, and reports housed in the Moravian Archives in North Carolina, which tell the ongoing 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 fourth of five volumes covers seven years and offers the reader intriguing insights into the era surrounding and including the War of 1812.

A major theme in this volume concerns the various ways in which the War of 1812 impacted the residents of Springplace. In advance of the outbreak of war, the Cherokee Nation initiated a process to remove those Whites who had established homesteads on tribal lands without permission. In the fall of 1810, the Cherokee Tribal Council decreed that every White man who settled on their land with his family without permission of the Council should receive 100 stripes, pay a \$100 fine, and be driven out of the land (1497). By the spring of 1811 the Cherokees began to systematically force all Whites out by giving offenders notice to remove themselves and their property, and where not complied with, the Natives carried all the possessions out and set the house on fire (1547). By May, Cherokee Commando troops were moving through the area giving White settlers several days to sell their improvements to the Indians, and where not accomplished, the Cherokee troops then removed the possessions, burned the house and the fencing, cut down the fruit trees, and demolished everything out of the ground so that the White people would have no inclination to return (1584). Some Whites were spared removal. Significantly, the Moravian Mission at Springplace was left alone because it was seen as helpful to the nation rather than for self-enrichment (1547). Whites who married and blended in with Cherokees were exempted as well.

On May 18, 1812, General Andrew Jackson spent the night at Springplace. He dropped off a letter to the Gambolds and promised to deliver their mail to the post office in Athens, Georgia (1694). The Secretary of War ordered the Cherokees in the fall of 1813 to pull together six to eight companies under the leadership of their own Chiefs and be ready on order to make common cause with the American armies planning to fight the neighboring Creeks (1818). The Cherokees complied and emerged from this combat with minimal casualties scarcely losing twenty men (1919).



The White removal efforts and the War of 1812 made the Moravian mission a more remote location. As Whites left the area, mail delivery stopped and much greater efforts were needed to communicate and obtain food commodities. This era brought inflation for basic food staples such as ground grain, coffee, and salt. Exchange trade with the Natives remained critical for the sustenance of the Mission and the low cost of trade items. The fact that the Moravians did not shoot guns and would not hunt, rendered meat provided by the Cherokees an affordable necessity. For venison or a ham the Natives charged either two strings of beads of a dozen glass beads, two and a half yards of binding, four bundles of thread, a dozen sewing needles, or perhaps one pound of salt or a half pound of lead. A turkey was the same price as hams and the shoulders or front hams and live hens were worth half as much (1512). Five hams exchanged for a pocket mirror (1844). When the Natives did not have meat available and drought significantly curtailed the growth of garden crops, the residents often subsisted on bread, water, and a few root vegetables.

In a letter written on the 26th of November 1816 John Gambold of Springplace wrote back to Salem about his views on what might happen to the Cherokees in the future. He argued that they would have to learn English. The Cherokee language could not be learned fluently by an adult White since there were so many sounds that could not be represented by any letter known at the time. At the end of this volume Springplace leader, John Gambold, concluded that, in time, the Cherokees would have to be governed by the laws of the United States making them useful citizens of the country (2043).

Daily life in a Moravian mission in the outback of the American Republic is clearly demonstrated in this collection of primary source materials. The reader interested in the fine details of running a Moravian outpost designed to educate Cherokee children in the Christian faith, will be well rewarded for reading this book. The wide variety of themes covered in these pages illuminates the interactions between Moravians and Cherokees, the struggle to feed, clothe, shelter, and sustain the residents of Springplace, the constant shortage of reliable labor to provide for the modest community, the material culture of early nineteenth century frontier life, and the faith held by the Moravians. This faith in leading even a few young Native souls toward Christ justified for them their commitment and willingness to live on the edge of America among the Cherokee Nation.

**Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia.**

By Susan L. Trollinger. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. 196 pp. \$50.00.

As the success of various Amish-themed “reality” shows demonstrate, the Amish are HOT! And Amishness sells. In *Selling the Amish. The Tourism of Nostalgia*, Susan Trollinger explores three small villages in “Amish Country, Ohio” to understand what, how, and why marketing the Amish works. Treating the villages of Walnut Creek, Berlin, and Sugarcreek as texts, Trollinger explores how tourism that incorporates the Amish or that builds on an Amish presence sells particular cultural values. She draws on “visual rhetoric,” the notion that spaces and objects are modes of communication that shape how human beings think and act, to argue that tourism in Amish Country is successful when it reassures tourists and offers resolution to cultural conflict.

Trollinger begins her work with a discussion of who the Amish are. She notes that, although most mainstream Americans are familiar with the Amish because of media coverage, understanding Amish origins and history makes it easier to see how tourism draws on Amish culture in its appeal to the tourist. Chapter one, “Who Are the Amish?,” explores both the European roots of Amish faith and the twenty-first century realizations of Amish beliefs and practices. This chapter is broad, covering topics ranging from the family and education to dress, technology, and language. In this chapter, the author makes it clear that the Amish world is diverse, even as the rest of this work suggests that Amish diversity is unimportant to Amish tourism. What counts is that the Amish are different from the tourists and those differences can be marketed as offering tourists access to a less stressful life apart from the mainstream.

Chapter two, “Tourism in Amish Country,” provides a good overview of the history of tourism, tourist sites, and the tourists themselves in the three major Amish settlement areas: Lancaster County, Elkhart and LaGrange Counties in Indiana, and Holmes and Wayne Counties in Ohio. Of particular interest is Trollinger’s exploration of the authenticity of Amish tourism. Her analysis of how representations of the Amish address concerns of twenty-first century tourists is informed by the diverse scholarship of both tourism and the Amish. Key to Trollinger’s understanding of Amish tourism is the notion that it links the Amish to one set of meanings (e.g., the Amish as “relics of the past”) and tourists to another, thus giving tourists a clear way in which to understand the Amish and themselves (42).

Trollinger elaborates on this notion in the next three chapters, which look at the primary tourist sites in the Holmes-Wayne region: Walnut Creek, Berlin, and Sugarcreek, respectfully. Each, she argues, has a different theme.



In chapter three, "Time and Gender in Walnut Creek," for example, Trollinger suggests that Walnut Creek has a "Victorian theme." In architecture, accommodations, and shopping, the village is constructed to take tourists back to a period in which Americans seemed to move more slowly. Large porches emphasize a "time feast" for an era that suffers from a "time famine" and home-cooked meals and shop interiors that emphasize slow browsing invite the harried tourists to slow down and regain control over their lives. Products offered for sale emphasize this slow time experience: cookbooks to prepare home-style meals and reproductions of items of Victorian décor. According to Trollinger, Walnut Creek also offers resolution to the confusing gender lines that mark today's fast-paced, time-starved world, with the interior spaces of Walnut Creek's Carlisle Inn offering the private respite of traditionally feminine spaces. Masculinity, Trollinger claims, is found at Der Dutchman Restaurant, with "Amish-style" meat-and-potatoes food that is simple and hearty—and cooked and served by a primarily female staff. Trollinger notes that while the Victorian fuss of Walnut Creek is the antithesis of the simple Amish lifestyle, the Amish are nevertheless the supporting evidence. Their horse-and-buggy lifestyle means they are not time-starved like the tourist, and the obvious gender distinctions in their dress and occupation mean they have avoided the gender complications of modern American life. Linking them to the products on offer at Walnut Creek makes the visual rhetoric work. Interestingly, Trollinger also notes Walnut Creek's overt patriotism, emphasized in flag displays, "patriotic" merchandise, and Thomas Kinkadee prints. Together these highlight the USA's traditional role as the protector of traditional freedom. Here, again, Trollinger asserts, the Amish provide the proof, for they emphasize the protection the nation offers to even those who choose to differ.

If Walnut Creek promises the tourist that it is possible, through judicious purchase, to transform one's life and gain the time, gender clarity, and tradition, values exemplified by the town's Victorian architecture, family-style restaurants, and Amish neighbors, then Berlin offers a resolution to the problems posed by creeping technology. Chapter four, "Technology and Innocence in Berlin," suggests that Berlin's theme of the frontier, presented visually in buildings that represent forts and trading outposts, and its flea-market approach to merchandise display evoke ideas of "freedom, self-reliance, and individual expression" (89). Interestingly, from its name to the frontier architecture it embraces to the strong presence of 1950's era popular culture, Berlin suggests little obvious connection to the Amish. What it does present, according to Trollinger, is a particular understanding of the American past as a time when European immigrants, by starting over in a more primitive way, took control of their lives. The Amish, Trollinger argues, contribute by repre-

senting these Americans from another time: innocent and good. Further, by demonstrating that, even in the twenty-first century, Americans can control technology, they empower the tourists who come to Berlin to take charge of their future.

Trollinger's final case study, Sugarcreek, presented in Chapter five, "Ethnicity and Performance in Sugarcreek," features an Amish Country village that has slowly been losing the tourist business. In attempting to understand why Sugarcreek is not as attractive to tourists as the nearby towns of Walnut Creek and Berlin, Trollinger notes that it has adopted a "Swiss" theme, billing itself as "the little Switzerland of Ohio" and holding an annual Swiss festival. At the same time, the village has not forgotten its Amish neighbors, and images of the Amish are pervasive. The result, according to Trollinger, is a theme of ethnicity rather than nostalgia. Yet, as Trollinger notes, the Amish who come into Sugarcreek are always being Amish; they have not assimilated to mainstream life as have the tourists and merchants, who stage Swiss dress and ethnicity rather than live it. Rather than drawing the tourists in and giving them control over their past and future, Sugarcreek turns them into outsiders and emphasizes their own history as one of assimilation and loss.

In "Nostalgia and the Power of Amish Witness," Trollinger concludes her work by emphasizing that Amish Country tourism is strategically designed to accomplish particular goals. When the theme embraces tourists and gives them at least the illusion of control, it succeeds. Walnut Creek and Berlin are seeing growing numbers of tourists annually. When the theme excludes its audience, turning tourists into outsiders and offering them nothing to take away, the tourists move on. Sugarcreek is seeing tourist numbers drop and tourist income decline. But Trollinger also points out that the constructed tourism of these villages is challenged by the very presence of the Amish themselves. Discouraged by the constructed tourism from taking photos of the Amish they encounter, tourists might well, according to Trollinger, "truly notice the strangeness of the Amish . . . [and] the questions that the Amish pose through their very visible witness will remain alive for those who are observing them" (148).

Selling the Amish is a well-written and engaging narrative that begins the important and much needed exploration of the commercial use to which the Amish are put in the construction of mainstream life and modern American identity. Looking at how these three villages have used the Amish in the construction of targeted themes and the relative success of these themes for the target audience will, I hope, shed light on the broader commercial use made of the Amish by such diverse marketing entities as reality TV producers, the fashion industry, and fiction publishers.

Towards this end, several key components of this work need further



study. Trollinger identifies the tourists who come to Ohio's Amish Country as "middle Americans" and notes that this population is much as it was described by *Time Magazine* in January, 1970 (fn23, 159). They are, she notes, generally white and middle to retirement age. She adds that they are "working class or middle-class people of moderate income, average education, and moderately conservative views," adding that they are generally from the Midwest (29). But this description is too broad to be very useful. Trollinger recognizes that tourists come to Amish Country with a range of interests, but she chooses instead to focus on the characteristics they share, leaving unexplored the impact of race, income, religious background, political persuasion and education on how or whether the message is received. Further, in treating middle Americans as a largely homogenous group, Trollinger seems at times to present them as stereotypically as tourist sites present the Amish. For example, in her discussion of the slow food available at Der Dutchman, Trollinger notes that tourists are recreating the cultural tradition of the family meal "[w]hether or not they have ever eaten a meal with their entire family before" and that they can remember passing dishes of food around the table "even if they have only seen it on TV" (56). Perhaps by exploring further the invention of this tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983), we can understand better its apparent loss for those who, Trollinger suggests, never had it. Yet Trollinger presents little evidence that middle Americans are indeed so far from their family-style roots.

Selling the Amish makes clear that the story of Amish-themed tourism is about middle Americans and their *Angst*, yet the *Angst* is largely assumed, and this group is relatively silent. Seldom in Trollinger's work do the tourists speak for themselves to help us understand their actions. At the very least, one wants to know whether the marketing message being read by Trollinger is indeed the same message being received by the middle American tourist and whether the tourist's motivations are in fact what Trollinger assumes they are.

Further, while Trollinger gives an excellent introduction to the Amish, the portrait of the Amish conveyed by the advertiser is less clear. What does "Amish" mean to the business owner and does it mean the same thing to the tourist? Is "Amish-style" simply "old fashioned" or "family style" depending on context? How is Der Dutchman's roast beef "Amish style" since few (if any) Amish families are roasting beef for nine hours (56)? How are the "Swiss-style" meals different from the "Amish-style" at Beachy's Country Chalet Restaurant (135)? And since the tourist is not really learning about "Amish food," what is the tourist learning about other aspects of Amish life for sale with the particular themes of Amish Country tourism? What does the tourist learn, for example, about the complicated and varied relationship different Amish communities have with technology? Trollinger suggests that

“the Amish appear to live as Americans did before the nuclear-digital age and . . . to embody the innocence of that moment as well” (110). Since the marketing of the Amish does not focus on how the Amish actually live, clearly what’s being sold is the myth of Amishness. So what is this myth? How are marketers and tourists constructing the Amish? Why do the Amish fit so neatly into themes of nostalgia and ethnicity? Trollinger makes it clear that what is for sale in Amish Country is a myth of America and Americans. It would be interesting to explore how the American and Amish myths interact and reinforce each other.

Finally, in her introduction, Trollinger includes a section subtitled “Shaping the lives of Tourists and Amish.” In fact, this work does not explore at all how tourism might shape Amish life. In this text the Amish are simply there, working behind the scenes to keep it all running smoothly (e.g., the cooks and wait staff of Der Dutchman Restaurant) or functioning as inadvertent extras, reinforcing the themes as they drive through town. But what is the impact of Amish-themed tourism on the Amish who live and work in the middle of it? Is the happy Amish employee just a stand in for the exploited third-world laborer, content to be doing gender-appropriate work in a clean environment for wages low enough to keep the product affordable for middle Americans (75-77)? If our identities are constructed by our myths, how is Amish identity being constructed by those who willingly engage in bringing the myth to life?

Trollinger’s “reading” of these tourist villages will engage not only scholars from a wide variety of fields, but non-scholars interested in the Amish and in exploring that interest itself. This work offers fascinating arguments as to why Amish-themed tourism works or doesn’t, and raises some very challenging questions.

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### **Snow Hill: In the Shadow of the Ephrata Cloister.**

*By Denise A. Seachrist. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2010. 167 pp. \$45.*

In 1991 Denise A. Seachrist visited the Snow Hill Cloister, an offshoot of the better-known Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania to study the congregation’s unique system of music and harmony. With training in ethnomusicology, she examined Snow Hill’s music life contextually as both a continuation and an evolution of Ephrata. While conducting *in situ*



fieldwork for her dissertation during the summer months of that year, she not only received an insight into the cloister's history, spiritual tradition, and music, but she also built a relationship with some of the individuals connected to the church and learned about the ongoing legal dispute among members of the Snow Hill Board of Trustees that would result in the demise of the cloister not long after she completed her doctoral thesis on the church's distinct musical system. In the tradition of ethnographic research, she kept a detailed journal during her time at Snow Hill, recording interviews with informants, notations from written materials, and personal observations and contemplations.

While her anthropological study of the cloister's music produced numerous journal articles and conference papers, Seachrist, now Associate Professor of Music and director of Kent State University's Hugh A. Glauser School of Music, felt that she had not quite given a definitive account of her experience at Snow Hill that connected her research with her personal encounters. The intention of this book was, therefore, to present a combination of personal memoir and ethnographic study. After her main informant, George Wingert, died and the last remnants of the cloister community disappeared, she ventured to describe her research "with sensitivity, compassion, and candor" (xvi). In this book, she blends two separate stories, "one strictly scholarly and one more personal," thereby creating a complex narrative that appeals to "the casual reader as to the scholars of Pennsylvania German history and culture, communal and utopian studies, Sabbatarianism, music, hymnody, and folk arts" (xvi, xiii).

Seachrist's examination of Snow Hill's spiritual and work culture, as captured through her participant observation, enables her to narrate the cloister's decline as well as to describe what the community might have been like during the period of its greatest prosperity. After an introduction of the people associated with Snow Hill as well as the cloister's interior and architectural particularities, as visualized in several photos, chapter two gives an account of the congregation's early development. The reader learns about the historical background to the cloister's 1762 founding by members of the German Seventh-Day Baptist Church. In this chapter, Seachrist also discusses the community's early power struggles, its economic basis in the nineteenth century, and characteristic church practices, such as immersion baptism, footwashing, and the Love Feast.

Drawn to Snow Hill by its music, Seachrist devotes chapter three of this book to the cloister's musical tradition. She describes the music's singular part writing and melodic content, and provides translations of handwritten inscriptions found in old manuscripts. This chapter is filled with printings of musical scores and hymnals to illustrate the particularities of the congregation's

system of music and harmony. With her cataloging of the cloister's manuscript collection in 1991, Seachrist performed a valuable service to the Snow Hill community. Furthermore, she prevented the auctioning of Snow Hill's music manuscripts and other written material when assisting the transfer of papers to the archives at Juniata College in 1997. Other historically important items from the cloister were sold in 1998 after a lawsuit between factions of the congregation, which is presented in the last chapter of this book.

Interspersed through this narrative of Snow Hill's history and late twentieth-century demise are stories of Seachrist's interactions with members of the modern congregation, many of whom are descended from the nineteenth-century non-celibate order. At times, the seemingly "convoluted genealogical quagmire" in which the author became entangled during her fieldwork appears overwhelming to the reader (56). On the other hand, her experiences with individuals from the Snow Hill community turn this book into an engaging narrative. Her interaction with Wingert in particular and her access to his world take over the second half of the book. This inhibits, however, a more critical analysis of the historical sources and their relation to the cloister's theology and practices. Yet, keeping in mind that Seachrist sought to integrate diverse kinds of information into her account of the Snow Hill research, the reader should not be surprised to find a narrative characterized by a composite nature. Rather than looking for an in-depth historical and musicological analysis, the reader finds a report of a scholar's rich and personal experience exploring the culture of a dwindling religious community.

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## **Germans and Latin America**

### **Die Souveränität der Schwachen: Lateinamerika und der Völkerbund, 1920-1935.**

*By Thomas Fischer. Vol. 98 of Beiträge zur Europäischen Überseegegeschichte. Edited by Marcus A. Denzel, Hermann Josef Hiery, and Eberhard Schmitt. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. 459 pp. €68.00.*

Dieses umfangreiche Buch ist die sehr detaillierte Spezialstudie eines fleißigen Autors in klarer Sprache. Es ist keine leichte Lektüre wegen der Überfülle der Einzelheiten und der zahlreichen Zitate in spanischer, französischer und englischer Sprache. Das Thema sind die Beziehungen Lateinamerikas



zum Völkerbund, dessen Satzung am 28. April 1919 verabschiedet wurde. Als übergeordnetes Motiv der Länder dieser Großregion für die Mitwirkung im Völkerbund nannte der Präsident der Kubanischen Gesellschaft für Internationales Recht Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante die Bewahrung der "dignidad de la independencia y de la soberanía nacional de cada uno de nuestros países," also ihre Sicherstellung des Territoriums und der politischen Autonomie.

Nach einem ausführlichen Forschungsbericht und der Aufzählung seines Quellenmaterials, wobei er seine umfangreiche Auswertung von Zeitungsartikeln neben der Nutzung lateinamerikanischer und europäischer Archive betont, zieht er das Fazit, dass trotz Abdeckung wesentlicher Teilbereiche es noch eine Reihe von Desideraten gibt. Im Folgenden analysiert er die außenpolitischen Optionen und Positionen der Länder Lateinamerikas gegen Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges; die Beweggründe und die Formen der Teilnahme oder des Abseitsstehens der Staaten; die Interaktion zwischen der Völkerbund-Sekretariat und den lateinamerikanischen Regierungen und der dortigen Öffentlichkeit; die Repräsentationsfrage; die Debatte um Bedeutung und Inhalt der Monroe-Doktrin, welche im Artikel 21 der Völkerbund-Satzung erwähnt war; die Rolle des Völkerbundes in den beiden Kriegen zwischen Peru und Kolumbien (1932–34) und zwischen Bolivien und Paraguay (1932–35). Im Schlusskapitel wird das weitgehend negative Fazit der ersten Erfahrungen Lateinamerikas mit dem Völkerbund abgehandelt.

Regionale Ansätze zur Konfliktbewältigung existierten im Bolivarianismus, Lateinamerikanismus und Panamerikanismus, Konzepten, die miteinander konkurrierten. Der Eintritt der USA in den Ersten Weltkrieg zwang die Staaten Lateinamerikas zu Stellungnahmen bezüglich Kriegseintritt oder Neutralität.

Da das theoretische Völkerbund-Prinzip der Gleichheit aller Mitglieder im Rat und im Sekretariat—wie vom Autor ausführlich dargetan wird—nicht verwirklicht wurde und die Lateinamerikaner in diesen Gremien nur sehr geringen Einfluß hatten, nutzten sie die Vollversammlungen, um ihre Anliegen vorzubringen und international bekannt zu machen. Sie betonten den Universalismus des Völkerbunds. Immerhin erreichten sie 1927, dass sie drei der neun nichtständigen Sitze im Rat sowie Repräsentation in Sektionen und Kommissionen zugestanden bekamen. Ausführlich werden die Positionen der einzelnen Staaten im Völkerbund abgehandelt. Viel Platz räumt der Autor auch den Diskussionen und Friedensbemühungen bezüglich des Tacna-Arica-Problems zwischen Chile einerseits und Peru und Bolivien andererseits, des Chacokrieges und des Leticia-Konflikts ein.

Bei den Diskussionen um die Bedeutung der Monroe-Doktrin, bei denen die amerikanische Führung lange Zeit auf der unilateralen Definition beharrte (die Positionen der Präsidenten und Außenminister werden

erläutert), betonten die Lateinamerikaner, dass diese Doktrin nicht als Vorwand für USA-Interventionen (wie in Nicaragua und Kuba) missbraucht werden dürfe. Sie drängten auch auf Präzisierung des diese Doktrin vage als "regional understanding" definierenden Artikel 21 in der Völkerbund-Satzung. Immerhin wurde in Genf klargestellt, dass die Monroe-Doktrin dem Völkerbund nicht übergeordnet sein und den Grundsätzen der Völkerbund-Satzung nicht widersprechen dürfe.

Im Chacokrieg überließ der Völkerbund schließlich Argentinien die Friedensstiftung, im Leticia-Konflikt bot der Völkerbund Möglichkeiten zur Friedensschließung; die unter dem "Dach" des Völkerbunds ausgehandelten Verträge bildeten die juristische Grundlage für die akzeptierte Grenzziehung.

Vom spezifisch deutschamerikanischen Standpunkt ("to support research on the German element in the Americas") ist das Buch unergiebig. Viele Fragen bleiben offen. Die einzige Deutschland betreffende Frage, die ausführlich behandelt wird, ist Brasiliens Veto 1926 gegen die Aufnahme Deutschlands als permanentes Völkerbund-Ratsmitglied. In diesem Zusammenhang würde man gerne etwas erfahren über die Position der USA. Der Autor erwähnt beiläufig, dass eine Reihe südamerikanischer Staaten gegenüber den Deutschen positiv eingestellt war, aber er erklärt nicht zureichend, warum sich die einen für Kriegseintritt, die anderen für Neutralität entschieden. Zwar wird erwähnt, dass eine Völkerbund-Kommission die Mennoniten und ihre Leistungen im Chaco zur Kenntnis genommen hat, aber über das Schicksal und die Haltung dieser Volksgruppe im Krieg erfahren wir nichts.

Angesichts seiner Fülle von Informationen könnte das Buch als Nachschalgewerk dienen, wenn die Register komplett wären. Es gibt zwar Verzeichnisse von Quellen, Literaturwerken, Tabellen, Karten und Abbildungen, aber ein Personenverzeichnis fehlt.

*University of Toronto*

*Hartmut Fröschle*

## **Social and Political Groups**

### **Builders of a New South: Merchants, Capitol, and the Remaking of Natchez, 1865-1914.**

*By Aaron Anderson. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013. 279 pp. \$40.00.*

Aaron Anderson studies the manner in which a group of merchants in Natchez, Mississippi, seized upon economic turmoil and favorable laws to



triumph after the Civil War. Natchez had the climate, the soil, and the ideal transportation route to take advantage of England's demand for cotton in the late eighteenth century. Over several decades, local merchants perfected the trade in cotton. They bought, sold, stored, and shipped it, loaned farmers money to grow it, and even used it as currency. Merchants encouraged the cotton economy before the 1860s but after slavery's end they became indispensable. The men that Anderson studies were the "new bourgeois generation of merchant-entrepreneurs" (39) who built a New South from the rubble of the Old. They were at the right place at a devastating time for the old plantation system, and those who triumphed did so by taking advantage of widespread desperation.

Anderson convincingly treats sharecropping as a contingency; nothing guaranteed that the arrangement would become the bedrock of southern agriculture in the 1870s. After abolition, the cotton itself, not the human workforce that grew it, became the leading form of collateral for loans. Ruined planters and landless freedpeople alike needed loans to make any money in cotton. Merchants could offer such credit, and the Mississippi legislature guaranteed that merchants, not the people who owned or worked the land, had first claim to the harvests. Crops failed frequently, so merchants balanced their risks with high interest rates. The result was a weakening of many planter families and an "almost medieval form of debt peonage" (76) that ensnared poor Mississippians. Anderson's ambivalence about merchants' role is clear: their credit lines certainly allowed southern economic life to recover, yet their drive for personal advantage brought misery to a wide swath of the population. Debts carried over each year, as former slaves slid further away from anything resembling economic freedom. "There is scant evidence . . ." Anderson writes, "that the merchant class ever did anything to make the system more equitable. Indeed, they dug into the system that favored them with both hands" (105). Later, Anderson tempers that verdict somewhat with a sobering look at the legal fights, family squabbles, bankruptcies, and waves of yellow fever through which even the wealthiest merchants struggled.

Amidst Anderson's ten business dynasties were a handful of Jewish families with German origins. After 1820 a steady stream of German Jews earned a living around Natchez as peddlers. By the war decade, roughly one-fifth of the merchants in Natchez were German immigrants. Isaac Lowenburg started a mercantile business in Natchez during the war, selling to residents and Union troops. A decade later he commanded the local trade. A decade after that he became mayor. Such a meteoric rise was not the rule, yet a vibrant community of Jewish merchants emerged, with Lowenburgs, Beekmans, Lemles, Mayers, and Friedlers leading the way.

For readers interested in German-American Studies, *Builders of the New*

*South* might disappoint in one respect. Anderson claims that strong cultural/religious communities helped merchants thrive. Yet beyond references to partnerships and marriages among German Jews, he demonstrates that claim rarely. Although intermarriage clearly helped to connect businesses, the motivations behind such practices are shrouded. Second-generation immigrants might have “maintained ethnicities” (45) in Natchez, but it is not clear just what that means. Causation matters here. On the one hand, perhaps business success was an *unintended* consequence of a deep, communal identity. On the other hand, perhaps maintaining ethnicity meant sticking together for business purposes. Did the Beekmans pay the most in “pew assessments” at the Temple B’Nai Israel because they were leading Germans Jews, or had business logic merely extended itself into all aspects of daily life? Anderson notes that in Natchez “the language of business and wealth spoke louder than religious or cultural derivations” (62). It seems that businessmen did well in Natchez if they had connections, money, a supply chain, flexibility, instincts, and luck. Just how much ethnicity came into that equation remains murky.

Anderson closes by showing how the merchants gradually lost their perch atop the local economy. Large banks and land-holding companies elbowed them out of the credit game, and the political challenge of populism focused resentment against their predatory system. In the end, it was the boll weevil’s arrival in 1907 that ended the run of Natchez cotton merchants. The risks of betting on cotton finally outweighed the potential for profit. *Builders of a New South* asks readers not to celebrate those who remade Natchez, but rather to understand how they represent a particular historical moment and a particular crossroads of politics, economics, and society. To call them products of their time undersells their ability to decide their (and others’) fates. They were “builders,” and this book succeeds in revealing how they pieced together a vibrant, brutal world.

*Susquehanna University*

*Edward Slavishak*

**The American Turner Movement: A History from its Beginnings to 2000.**

*By Annette Hofmann. Indianapolis, IN: Max Kade German-American Center, IUPUI, and Indiana German Heritage Society, 2010. 276 pp. \$15.00.*

The current volume is an English translation with some accommodations for an English-speaking audience of Hofmann’s *Aufstieg und Niedergang des deutschen Turnens in den USA* (Hofmann Verlag, 2001), which itself is the published version of her doctoral dissertation for the Eberhard-Karl



Universität, Tübingen, in 2000. As such, it represents a significant addition to the resources on the American Turner movement available in English.

In either language the volume is a prodigious undertaking. The scope of the project is impressive, providing exactly what the title promises. One wonders, however, for whom the volume is intended. An English translation clearly makes material available which wasn't available previously, yet the format, which has lost none of its resemblance to the dissertation which preceded it, hardly invites the attention or the interest of a general reader. On the other hand, the experienced hand is not likely to require a short introduction to such complex, well-researched, and potentially controversial topics as the nature and definition of ethnicity. By the same token, someone well-versed in the essentials of the Turner movement in America might find a few short pages on each of a broad variety of topics related to the German gymnastic tradition in the United States less than satisfying.

Hofmann's accomplishment is considerable. Her work brings a wealth of information from extensive archival resources together to present a comprehensive view of the Turner movement in the United States. Nonetheless, in its present form the volume will likely serve as a quick reference to a forgotten source or quote for the initiated or a quick introduction to one or the other of the many aspects of *Turnen* in America for the neophyte. The bibliography, a valuable resource on its own, can provide a point of departure for all in inspiring further research.

*Loyola University Maryland*

*Randall P. Donaldson*

**Helvetia: The History of a Swiss Village in the Mountains of West Virginia.**  
*By David H. Sutton. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010. 176 pp. \$25.00.*

The reissue of David Sutton's socio-historical portrait of the history of Helvetia is most welcome. The quality of the new edition far surpasses the first in layout, font, and reproduction of photographs. The book is an aesthetic pleasure to leaf through. A new chapter eight, furthermore, titled "Helvetia Life 1950–2009," contains 40 full-page photographs of the village and its buildings, and above all portraits of Helvetia's people at work or at festivities. The new chapter complements some 40 pictures set in the text and makes the book visually impressive. Except for a new introduction neither the text nor the bibliography have been updated, however, although during the past three decades much new work has been published on nineteenth century immigra-

tion to the United States, in general, and on Swiss immigration, in particular. Given the quality of the study, an update would have been desirable.

The book is based on a solid set of primary sources. Foremost are the interviews David Sutton conducted, being himself a native of the village and having attended Davis and Elkins College some forty miles from Helvetia. His graduate studies at West Virginia University enriched his personal knowledge by a general scholarly understanding of West Virginia's history as well as of the United States. Sutton also explored minutes of local organizations such as the Helvetia Brass Band (1921–27), the Helvetia Fair Association (1917–52), and the Helvetia Evangelical Reformed Church. Furthermore he used relevant sources preserved at the Elkins Courthouse, the West Virginia State Archives in Morgantown, the National Archives in Washington, and in the State Archive of Canton Bern in Bern, Switzerland.

The author divided the study into seven textual chapters. A first sketches some general aspects of nineteenth century immigration to the United States in general and the Appalachian Mountain range in particular, while the second features the sometimes turbulent founding years. The uncertainty of land titles, the profit oriented activities of agents, and the difficulties to eke out an existence dominate the years 1870 to 1875. Chapter three, "Building a New Community," and four, "An Agricultural Way of Life," feature the kind of society and economy the settlers built. They had hoped to reestablish a village community they had known in the pre-alpine regions of Germany and Switzerland and a way of life that depended on local agriculture and the use of given resources such as maple syrup and berries growing in the surrounding forests. The next two chapters explore the destructive changes that the lumber, coal, oil, and gas industries brought about. By 1920 the ten million acres of West Virginia's virgin forests of 1870 were depleted. The Buckhannon Chemical Industry not only brought a railroad to Helvetia, but its demand for lumber was also "quickly turning the area forests into fields of stubble and culls" (65). The arrival of electricity in 1939, the telephone, domestic appliances, and a monied economy fundamentally changed the way of life. Voluntary associations—previously crucial instruments of social cohesion—dissolved and the young moved away. Chapter seven outlines the change in the language from German to English, the gradual disappearance of ethnic traditions, and the repacement of the German Reformed tradition with the Presbyterian. Four appendices add statistical findings and a fifth lists the names of 387 foreign-born, their country of birth, and date of their arrivals in Helvetia.

In the new introduction, the author outlines the revival of Helvetia from a settler community to a village of memory. Communal traditions were revived as folklore that might attract tourists, a process initiated mainly by Delores Baggerly and Eleanor Mailloux. A "Restauration and Development



Association" established a "Settler's Cabin Museum" and an open space called "Meadow" for gatherings. It promoted a restaurant, a gift shop and the establishment of an "Alpine Rose Garden Club" and supports the observing of festivals. Such efforts led to Helvetia's inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

Three aspects of the story stand out. First, Davis Sutton features Helvetia as one of three types of Swiss and German immigrant communities. While some 40 percent of Swiss settled in urban areas to pursue occupations such as carpenter, cook, butcher, or clerk, and a few also to follow their specialized profession, a second and largest group was in search of good agricultural land to farm and eventually to own, often in the vicinity of larger towns and cities. Helvetia's settlers represented a third group. It might be called refugees from industrialization who hoped to avoid the shift from integrated "community" to atomized "society." This group aimed to reestablish the small community that was largely self sufficient and lived from what its people produced, supplemented by hunting and gathering as it still exists in mountain areas of Switzerland. All knew each other, helped where help was needed, and were united by the bond of religion. One aspect, however, the newcomers had not considered: at home the communes, the "Gemeinden," controlled and protected the so-called "wilderness"—the forests and alpine pastures of communal use—by centuries-old practice and watchful care. Helvetia could not replicate that relationship to their environment and fell victim to the voracious needs of lumber, oil, and gas companies

A second aspect of their new lives involved the activities of land agents whose primary goal was profit. There was the Swiss, John B. Isler, who prompted six men from Brooklyn to investigate his clients' holdings and five of them became pioneers of Helvetia themselves. Later the Swiss, Karl Lutz, was instrumental in enticing settlers to the region. He had been well to do and was prominent in Bern as cantonal "Baumeister" or architect. When he was prosecuted for a serious felony, he escaped to the United States. Lutz found his nemesis in Christian F. Stucki, a physician, who had come to Helvetia from Ohio. David Sutton views Lutz as a mix of skilful entrepreneur and charlatan, able to convince influential people in business and government of his good intentions and also to compromise the interests of settlers.

A third feature of Helvetia was its ethnic composition. In 1880, Stucki reported to Adelrich Steinach, who gathered materials for a book on Swiss "colonies" in behalf of the "Schweizer Bund," the national organization of mutual support societies: in 1880 Helvetia counted 128 families with a total of 652 persons. Of those 291 were Swiss, 116 German, and 245 American. (He also reported that the settlement had 653 heads of cattle, 300 milk cows, 84 horses, and 47 oxen.) It seems that the search for community in language

and religion, that is, the search for a homogeneous "Gemeinschaft," was more important than national origin.

Although the book presents a micro-history, it also shows dimensions of general significance: the processes of community building—for people of Western culture undertaken in a "wilderness"—as well as the transformative impact of industrialism and capitalist profit seeking.

*University of Illinois at Chicago*

*Leo Schelbert*

**Sauerkraut, Suspenders, and the Swiss: A Political History of Green County's Swiss Colony, 1845–1945.**

*By Duane H. Freitag. Bloomington: iUniverse, 2012. 337 pp. \$23.95.*

The journalist, Duane Freitag, former editor of the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, wrote this book "in memoriam" of ten women and nine men, his immigrant ancestors (vi), wondering "how they voted politically." He was surprised to find relatives as political actors, but he expected that "the evolution of political feelings" made Greene County rather conservative in outlook compared to adjacent more liberal/progressive Dane County (xi). The author offers more than political history, however. While the main text features political developments chronologically in meticulous detail, extensive footnotes offer data on newcomers and events, making the book also an ethnic history. Earlier work shows Freitag's intimate personal and scholarly knowledge of the Greene County's Swiss community. In 2003 he did an article on the "Pioneer Cemetery of New Glarus," and in 2005 he did another on the "Disposition of Swiss Colony Land" that in 1845 had been purchased for the emigrants by the Glarus Emigration Society in Switzerland. He also collaborated with Robert A. Elmer on a special 2005 issue of the *SAHS Review*, the journal of the Swiss American Historical Society, presenting new material about the making of New Glarus, and on an extended article for the 2008 SAHS journal that features the making of New Bilten.

In thirteen chapters Freitag describes the political activities of the Swiss community in the context of national developments. Some eighty tables set in the main text list "selected vote totals to reflect the overall pattern of voting" year by year (viii). Data are mainly based on the official canvass as posted in local newspapers, given not only for president and governor, but selectively also for senator, state senator, assemblyman, county treasurer or register of deeds. Tables list vote totals that each party nominee received for



a position. As to area, Freitag included vote totals from the towns of New Glarus, Washington, Mount Pleasant, York and Exeter for the years 1851 to 1896, from then on also from the village Monticello and, after 1902, separately from the village and town of New Glarus.

The study takes the reader through the shifts of national and state party dominance, from the rise of the Whigs and the Republican Party in mid-century to the Greenbackers and the Progressives dominated by Robert La Follette. He also discusses the response to controversial issues such as branch banking, absentee balloting for soldiers, women's suffrage, prohibition, and efforts of the Ku Klux Klan. The author is aware of the influence of local personal ties. At times a person of Swiss descent is voted into office regardless of party affiliation, at others the latter seems to have been decisive. Freitag also considers special events, drawing thousands of visitors, as an expression of "immense pride among Greene County Swiss" (100), such as their 1891 celebration of six hundred years of Switzerland or of the fiftieth anniversary of New Glarus in 1895. The celebration of September 3, 1891, for instance, was marked with speeches, "a procession, musical entertainment and six tableau scenes from Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*" (101). The study also mentions some dark occurrences. On September 17, 1877, Joseph Aebli killed his father who had a farm in Galena, Illinois, and had planned to return to Switzerland (70). On November 5, 1882, the twenty-two year old farmhand, Burkhardt Bram, from Engi, Canton Glarus, shot and killed Heinrich Stüssy because he had fallen in love with Stüssy's pregnant wife (84). On May 7, 1919, the hired hand Gottfried Vögeli killed the immigrant farmer, Dietrich Marty, and then the Sheriff Matt Solbraa who had been called to the scene (201-202). As in all groups, saints and sinners were intermixed.

Among the Swiss in Wisconsin politics, Freitag lists among others J. Jakob Tschudi, John Luchsinger, Samuel Blum, and Emanuel Philipp, the latter elected governor in 1916 and 1918. A unique example is the career of New Glarus resident Solomon Levitan (1862-1940), a German and of the Reform Jewish persuasion, according to Freitag "New Glarus's most famous politician" (116). Born in today's Lithuanian town Tauroggen (Taurage), at that time in East Prussia near Tilsit (Sovetsk), he moved in 1880 to his uncle in the Crimea and the following year to the United States. Working first as a peddler in Pennsylvania, then in Wisconsin, he settled in New Glarus about 1886. Meeting Robert La Follette in 1884, Sol Levitan told the story that, after they had talked politics, "I right away sold him a pair of suspenders,"—they made it into the book's title—"and I supported him the balance of his life" (121). In 1905 he moved to Madison with his family, by that time having become a merchant, banker, and entrepreneur. He was elected Wisconsin State Treasurer for five consecutive terms but lost his office in the Democratic

sweep of 1932. Levitan was also a noted speaker and “spoke fondly of his life among the Swiss” (121). He supported major projects of the village and invested in the Bank of New Glarus. His wit and personal warmth were widely appreciated.

The author offers his main conclusion in an “Afterword”: after World War Two the Swiss communities of Greene County changed fundamentally. Although an overall sense of ethnic identity persisted, festivals became rather folkloristic rather than living cultural expressions. Farms turned from dairying to cash crops, dairy operations became corporate, and mobility increased significantly. The railroad disappeared, the embroidery factory shut down, and the Pet Milk condensing plant closed. People found employment increasingly in Madison, the promotion of tourism became a main concern, and agricultural interests shaped politics by far less. The Progressive Party had vanished, and villages tended to vote Republican, the towns Democratic.

Freitag’s book stands out as a well researched, richly documented and well-written study. Interpretations are judicious, the analysis is lucid, the style lively. A quiet pride in being of Swiss, or rather, of *Glarnese* descent—for Swiss cantonal identity has primacy—is apparent. Freitag mentions pointedly that Canton Glarus had introduced a pension plan for workers in 1855, a workers’ food cooperative in 1863, improved factory hygiene as well as the abolition of child labor and the 12-hour day in 1864, social security in 1918, and unemployment insurance in 1925, all way ahead of national developments. The canton had been tardy only in regard to women’s suffrage introduced in 1972.

Freitag amply satisfies his (and a reader’s) curiosity about how his ancestors voted. It also reflects genuine understanding of Greene County’s Swiss American ethnicity and expresses an implied appreciation of being an American whose ancestors hailed from Canton Glarus.

*University of Illinois at Chicago*

*Leo Schelbert*

**Women of Two Countries: German-American Women, Women’s Rights, and Nativism, 1848-1890.**

*By Michaela Bank. Vol. 2 of Transatlantic Perspectives. Edited by Christoph Irmscher and Christof Mauch. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012. 216 pp. \$70.00.*

The second volume of *Transatlantic Perspectives* introduces the reader to the fascinating subject of German American women who participated in the



American women's rights movement. Author Michaela Bank suggests that her three subjects, Mathilde Wendt, Mathilde Franziska Anneke, and Clara Neymann, were women of two worlds as they navigated between being German and becoming American. As advocates for liberation and enfranchisement as well as immigrants they confronted stereotypes of women and Germans in both the US-American and the German-American communities. In order to gain acceptance and support from both, these women had to convey German ideologies to the American group and vice versa, and in the process update the misconceptions each group held of the other.

Bank expertly outlines the major ideological difference between American and German women's rights advocates. American women viewed themselves as leaders in a transatlantic movement for women. They associated liberation with enfranchisement and equal rights to property in marriage. To achieve their goals and gain the support of men, they advocated temperance and preservation of feminine piety. They viewed German women as representing the ethnic group's stereotypical traditionalism, clannishness, and opposition to reform. Although German women wanted to vote as well, they also agitated for liberation from religious control and advocated social reform to establish true equality in the social-democratic sense. They opposed temperance and hoped to preserve femininity and emotionality, traits they feared the emasculated emotionless US-American women were destroying through their materialism.

Mathilde Wendt, co-founder of the *Deutscher Frauenstimmrechtsverein* in New York in 1872, and owner-editor of the German-language women's rights paper *Die Neue Zeit* represented a uniquely ethnic perspective in the women's rights movement. She viewed German women's rights activists as intellectually superior to their American counter parts. Unlike American women who seemed to agitate for only the vote, she advocated the liberation of women to establish social justice, including equality in wages, equal right to education and work, and thus to acquire both economic and political equality. Wendt served as a bridge between both the German and American women's rights movement and was a member of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mathilde Franziska Anneke's participation in the 1848 Revolution marked her as an activist and made her a valuable member of the US-American women's rights movement. As a participant in the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association she had to explain, or translate, national US-American ideologies with nativist twinges to the German-American community. At the same time, as a member of progressive organizations such as the German Radical-Club and the *Freie Gemeinde* in Milwaukee, she could also inform American nativists that German-Americans were indeed dedicated to reform.

Bank is at her best as she evaluates Clara Neymann's role in the women's right movement. As a professional speaker at conventions on behalf of a variety of local, state, and national women suffrage associations and as a frequent traveler to Germany and Switzerland where she also spoke about women's rights, Neymann represents the most literal reflection of Bank's concept of "women of two countries." Bank suggests that Neymann's eloquence, social class, and definition of women's rights as human rights allowed her to easily navigate the divide between being German or American. She could speak on behalf of all women who desired equality with men regardless of their educational level or ethnic background. As a naturalized U.S. citizen traveling and speaking in Germany she could also assert her Americanness. Although adopted as an equal to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Gage, her involvement with Stanton in *The Woman's Bible* project marked her as a critic of the Christian religion and forced her out of the more conservative US-American women's rights movement.

There are a few minor problems with this well-argued book. Although Bank suggests that her three subjects hailed from various socio-economic backgrounds, they appear to be well educated, represent the middle class, and adhere to free thinking and social-democratic ideologies. Future scholars might want to compare them with German-American women's rights advocates from rural and more conservative ethnic settlements. The editor might have also been more assertive in suggesting that the author use active instead of passive voice to improve her unique writing style. Nevertheless, this work, based on extensive research in primary documents, offers an important insight to the history of German immigrant women, their thoughts, their interaction with American women, and their use of the women's rights movement to transition between the German-American community and the US-American society.

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## **World Wars and the Post-War Period**

### **Adenauer's Foreign Office: West German Diplomacy in the Shadow of the Third Reich.**

*By Thomas W. Maulucci, Jr. DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2012. 304 pp. \$45.00.*

One of the most seductive ideas for postwar German society was that 1945 represented *Stunde Null*, a moment when everything old had ended,



and a completely new life could begin. It was seductive because it allowed all Germans—the criminal, the innocent, and the vast, silent majority with guilty consciences—to put aside their memories of horror and crime and imagine themselves newly born. Like most seductive ideas, it was based on a comforting, self-serving lie. The truth was that even as the Germans, especially those west of the Elbe, did indeed succeed in building a new and ultimately successful democratic society, they did so by building on the same people and some of the same institutions that had lived and worked through the darkest years in German history. The question that has haunted German society ever since is whether in the rush to build that new society, too many people closed their eyes to criminal responsibility, allowing guilty individuals and institutions to escape their just deserts.

The German Foreign Office was one of those institutions. As the Federal Republic of Germany returned to normal international relations in the 1950s, many former diplomats, veterans of the old headquarters in Berlin's Wilhelmstrasse, re-entered the service in Bonn. More than a few of them were implicated in Germany's aggressive imperialist war, and even in helping to facilitate the Holocaust. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer chose to downplay all but the worst transgressions, and encouraged a culture of forgetting, if not forgiveness, emphasizing a few stories of resistance to Hitler rather than the many more stories of collaboration. Despite a few controversies over the years, it took decades for the Foreign Office to confront its past directly and comprehensively. Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer commissioned a mammoth study of the Office's role in the Third Reich, a research project led by Germany's leading historians, with a transatlantic team of researchers and writers. The result, *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit*, published in 2010 to broad if not universal acclaim, painted a much darker picture of a Foreign Office deeply implicated in the worst Nazi crimes. A welcome corrective to claims that the Foreign Office resisted Nazi penetration, *Das Amt* also earned criticism from those who hoped for a more nuanced assessment of the role of diplomats in Germany's transition from dictatorship to democracy.

Thomas Maulucci, one of the contributors to *Das Amt*, offers a welcome addition to the literature on that transition. *Adenauer's Foreign Office*, a revision of his Yale dissertation, makes accessible to an American audience the details of the Foreign Office's role in postwar Germany, and its early incomplete efforts to make sense of its past. Drawing on broad and deep archival research and wide reading in the literature on German foreign policy, Maulucci has produced a truly impressive study. He traces the course of the Office from 1870 to 1945, and then discusses the careers of specific diplomats as they adjusted to the new regime under Adenauer. After successfully negotiating with the Allies to allow the Federal Republic to re-open the Foreign Office

in 1951, Adenauer held the dual role of chancellor and foreign minister until 1955. Along the way, he re-oriented German foreign policy from its traditional fixation on balancing between East and West (*Schaukelpolitik*) to an orientation toward the western allies (*Westbindung*). Some veteran diplomats were initially skeptical, and Adenauer returned the favor. Eventually, however, many of them came to play important roles in the reconstruction of German diplomacy and its embassies and consulates, contributing to the success of the Federal Republic.

Maulucci is forthright in discussing the role that diplomats played in Nazi Germany, and also their efforts to obscure their unsavory past. At the same time, however, he avoids sensationalism and apology. As he concludes, the foreign office "was an instrument of the National Socialist state" even if there had been a few resisters; "on the other hand, many Wilhelmstrasse veterans proved capable of contributing to a new foreign policy and a new democratic state" (250). Both of those observations are true and valuable. Any reader who hopes to understand Germany's transition will find this book to be a rich resource. Ultimately, there was no *Stunde Null*, no clean slate. West German success was only possible because many Germans, haunted by evil done and good undone, were willing to devote themselves to the hard work of fashioning a new society from the ruins they had also helped create. The result was sometimes messy and morally ambiguous, but no less impressive for all that.

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### **The Collaboration: Hollywood's Pact with Hitler.**

By Ben Urwand. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013. 324pp. \$26.95.

The driving question behind Ben Urwand's provocative new book is why so few films made during the age of "classical Hollywood cinema" represented either the Nazi regime or the persecution of the Jews. In this respect, the book covers much of the same territory as Thomas Doherty's *Hollywood and Hitler, 1933–1939*, published earlier this year. However, in contrast to Doherty's account of Hollywood's gradually increasing awareness of Nazism, Urwand's exposé argues that studio executives "knew exactly what was going on in Germany" and chose to continue doing business in spite of this knowledge (63). In calling their relationship with representatives of the Nazi regime a "collaboration," the term usually reserved for those who



aided Nazi occupiers, Urwand makes the moral stance of his history clear: studio executives were themselves responsible for the non-representation of Nazis and Jews in Hollywood films. To Urwand, the motivation for this "collaboration," especially troubling in light of the Jewish background of many studio executives, was neither ignorance nor indifference but rather the desire to continue turning a profit.

After a short prologue about a censorship hearing for *King Kong* (1933) in Nazi Germany, the first chapter, "Hitler's Obsession with Film," develops an image of the cinephilic leader of the Nazi Party as an aspiring film critic, theorist, and producer. According to Urwand, Hitler's responses to nightly screenings of Hollywood feature films, reconstructed from his adjutant's notes, fell into three main categories: "good," "bad," and "switched off." Against this backdrop, Urwand develops the argument that the Foreign Office in Germany gradually became a venue for censoring Hollywood films. As early as 1930, the Foreign Office had started researching the international reception of American films, and it would eventually demand the same cuts to all copies of a film, regardless of where they were screened, in an attempt to control the German national image abroad (32–33). In the wake of Nazi riots at the Berlin premiere of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), the Foreign Office went over the heads of the Hays Office and struck a deal directly with Carl Laemmle, the producer of the film and president of Universal Pictures, demanding significant edits to this film so that screenings in Germany might be allowed to continue (21–38). In spite of making this crucial concession, Laemmle is not subject to the same harsh criticism as other studio executives in Urwand's book, partly because he later worked to help Jews escape from Nazi Germany (36–37).

Chapter two, "Enter Hollywood," spells out the consequences of the German film quota law passed in 1932 for the distribution of Hollywood productions. Significantly, Article 15 of the new quota law stated that any anti-German film distributed anywhere in the world would endanger a company's chance of getting a distribution permit in Germany (48). This article was integral to the Foreign Office's attempts to regulate productions in subsequent years, first being used by the Office's representative Martin Freudenthal to block the production of "hate films" about Germans in World War I, and subsequently by his replacement, Georg Gyssling, as leverage for censoring anti-Nazi films. In 1933, the failure to make the anti-Nazi film *The Mad Dog of Europe* marked a turning point in the "collaboration," as the studio stopped production out of fear of public backlash in both America and Germany (64–78). The German market seems to have been too valuable to lose: before World War I, it was the second biggest export market after the British; after the war, it remained "a small but important source of foreign

revenue" (59). More exact information about this market would be useful, since Urwand's main claim is that studio executives would go to any lengths necessary to keep it.

The next three chapters address the Nazi reception of Hollywood films from 1933–40, which tended to fall into the same categories that characterized Hitler's responses: "good," "bad," and "switched off." In chapter three, "Good," Urwand examines the reasons for the positive reception of Hollywood movies in Nazi Germany during the 1930s—primarily, the films' technical superiority, reliance on a star system, light comedic touches, and mastery of the musical genre (112). However, some Hollywood films, such as *It Happened One Night* (1934) and *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935) may have also appealed to German audiences for their seeming confirmation of Nazi ideology (115). Furthermore, an entire series of films were praised in Nazi Germany as perfect examples of the "Führerprinzip" (121–26). Although Urwand's arguments about these exemplary cases are persuasive, his conclusion that the American studios "found a special market [in Nazi Germany] for their films about leadership" lacks supporting evidence (127). Even granting the existence of a market for "leadership films" in Nazi Germany, there is no evidence that American studios deliberately attempted to tap into it, and many of the leadership films seem to have been equally popular among American audiences.

The title of chapter four, "Bad," alludes not only to Hollywood films that were disliked and censored in Nazi Germany, but also to the increasingly deteriorating situation in the film industry for Jewish employees. Changes to Nazi censorship laws in 1934 allowed films to be banned for considerations other than their content, beginning with the racial background of the cast and culminating in the Propaganda Ministry's 1938 "blacklist" of all Jewish employees and sympathizers in Hollywood. By 1936, the smaller studios (Warner Brothers, RKO, Disney, Universal, Columbia) had all left Germany, and only the largest studios (MGM, Paramount, 20th Century Fox) remained (142). The actions of the latter three studios in 1937–38 are the target of Urwand's most damning indictments: Paramount chose a member of the Nazi Party to manage its German branch; a member of Twentieth-Century Fox's Berlin branch sent a letter that closed with "Heil Hitler"; and Paramount and Twentieth-Century Fox found workarounds for laws that forced them to use their money in Germany by spending it on pro-Nazi newsreels, while MGM loaned its money to German firms in exchange for bonds, thereby financing the production of arms (144–47). Most provocatively, Urwand suggests that the only real opponents of the "collaboration" were the SS, who were worried that Nazi censors had stopped paying attention to the content of films, even if they contradicted official ideology (148–51).



In chapter five, "Switched Off," Urwand discusses failed attempts to produce anti-Nazi movies in Hollywood, centering on the failed adaptation of Sinclair Lewis's novel *It Can't Happen Here* (162). Eventually, Georg Gyssling, the German consul in Los Angeles, intensified the "collaboration," threatening to invoke Article 15 no longer only against studios but even against individuals (183). In addition to Gyssling, Urwand singles out Louis B. Mayer, the head of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, for particular criticism, recounting a 1937 tour of the MGM studios given to Nazi representatives (199). For Urwand, the main counter-example representing the possibilities of Jewish activism is Hollywood screenwriter, Ben Hecht (231).

The last chapter, "Switched On," covers the successful production of anti-Nazi films after the "collaboration" that lasted from 1933–39 had broken down, all of which seems to have been too little, too late. As soon as the hope of profit from the German market was gone, the studios started making anti-Nazi films, ignoring Hitler's threat that anti-Nazi films would be countered by anti-Semitic films (204). Still, from 1939–42, the period in which the studios seem to have been finally willing to make anti-Nazi films, only a relatively small number of anti-Nazi films were actually made: Warner Brother's *The Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), MGM's *The Mortal Storm* (1940), Twentieth-Century Fox's *The Man I Married* (1940); and the studio-independent *Four Sons* (1940) and *The Great Dictator* (1940) (205–19). From 1942 to 1945, the situation changed drastically, with roughly 800 films representing World War II, 242 of those referencing the Nazis, and 190 Hitler, a change due in part to Roosevelt's creation of the Office of War Information (225). For all the films about World War II and the Nazis, however, Hollywood films still did not represent the persecution of the Jews in spite of widespread knowledge of the event, a point Urwand drives home in an Epilogue about a postwar tour of Europe made by major studio execs that included visits to concentration camps.

Although Urwand ascribes the reluctance to make films about the Holocaust to the six years of "training" in the "collaboration" (230, 246), a number of other factors seem equally plausible, including the traumatic memory of the event and the complicated enforcement of the Motion Picture Production Code. The main assumption underlying Urwand's critique is that more representations of the Nazis and the persecution of Jews would have been beneficial for American audiences. Yet, he also holds that these subjects were already common knowledge. Ultimately, *The Collaboration's* focus on the studio system and debunking "classical Hollywood cinema" makes for a compelling, though problematic, narrative. More comparative studies are needed to put the book's alarming claims into perspective.



**A German Generation: An Experiential History of the Twentieth Century.**

By Thomas A. Kohut. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012. 335 pp. \$38.00.

The author concludes this rather bold book by comparing its subject, the generation of Germans who were young adults during the Hitler period, with that generation's American chronological counterpart—our so-called “greatest generation.” The author is Thomas Kohut, a historian interested in “how the psyche and history mutually shape one another” (2), and son of Heinz Kohut, a well-known émigré psychoanalyst. Thomas Kohut asserts that the German generation defeated in the Second World War and its victorious American counterpart had a great deal in common. Both the generation which some Germans are not too sorry to lose and the generation which Americans cannot seem to praise enough valued “duty, honor, country, personal responsibility, and the marriage vow” (238). Both “took the obligations and difficulties that came their way and did what was expected of them without complaint or the sense that life owed them a favor” (239). Both accepted responsibility for only one major failure, that of allowing their children to be spoiled by affluence. What really distinguished the Germans from the Americans of that time period was not a political *Sonderweg* or American exceptionalism, according to Kohut, but historical experience. It was defeat in the First World War and the political and economic chaos of Weimar that made this German generation what it was. The culture through which the Germans experienced this historical experience was, at best, only a secondary factor for Kohut. Some readers will abhor such a conclusion. Even a reader as sympathetic as this reviewer feels the need to express reservations and caveats.

The central part of this work consists of composite interviews with 62 (22 men and 40 women) members of the German generation born between 1900 and 1926, but especially just before the First World War. The interviewees are a special segment of their generation. Most were from a secure middle-class urban background, and most were well-educated. The group included only one Catholic. All the others were Protestant or were not religious. They all belonged to the non-political youth movement in the Weimar period and to the Free German Circle after 1947. According to the interviewees, it was the youth movement and its Free German aftermath that gave meaning and continuity to their lives. Thus they are a unique group. Certainly their self-reported life stories reflect all the horrendous events of twentieth century German history, but only as those events influenced one quite homogeneous segment of their generation. The reader is given few means to understand to what degree this segment is typical of its entire generation.

Whatever the typicality of the interviewees, most readers will probably



agree with the author that the "life stories are shallower and colder than one might have expected them to be" (9). Kohut believes that this generation's life long experience of so many losses (beginning in the Weimar period) is a greater factor in producing these shallow and cold narratives than is any suppressed sense of guilt for Nazi crimes. This sounds plausible to the reader as does the remainder of Kohut's analysis of why this generation failed to ever come to terms with the Holocaust. At the same time, the author's collective psychologizing, if not clearly open to refutation, can sound somewhat *passé* in the second decade of the twenty-first century.

A last caveat concerns the acclaim commonly given to America's "greatest generation." This characterization, although useful to Kohut, is itself open to challenge. To take only one example, members of the "greatest generation" did indeed fight in World War II, but America's participation in that war was planned and administered by an older generation. The war which the "greatest generation" planned and administered was Vietnam—a much less successful endeavor for the United States.

In the end, despite caveats, Kohut's carefully produced study is both informative and revealing. This is the German generation that did experience nearly the entire twentieth century. Its thoughts and reactions are essential to any understanding of Europe's recent past.

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Robert W. Frizzell

### **The "Good War" in American Memory.**

By John Bodnar. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 299 pp. \$25.00.

John Bodnar began his academic career as a scholar of immigration working for the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. He wrote several books on immigration and ethnic groups in Pennsylvania, and is best known for *The Transplanted: A History of Immigration in Urban America* (1985). That book is regarded by many as a rejoinder to Oscar Handlin's classic work, *The Uprooted* (1952). While Handlin emphasized the alienation that new immigrants suffered in the American environment, Bodnar argued that the far more common experience of the immigrant was to bring to America institutions and cultural practices developed in the old country which served to ease the transition to American life.

After Bodnar joined the University of Indiana in 1981, he turned increasingly to writings in American cultural history, including the study of

patriotism and its symbolism. One result was his *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define their Patriotism* (1996). Bodnar's book on "the Great War" follows in the same cultural-historical line. He undertakes to examine how the conflict was remembered in the popular mind in America in the years since World War II.

Bodnar approaches his subject in various ways: in the memoirs of veterans, in literature and film, in the war memorials erected in communities across the country, and in political speeches, to name a few examples. Although there was a great variety of responses to the war, Bodnar describes two general views. One celebrated the war as a victorious struggle against evil, and a heroic effort to rid the world of authoritarianism and militarism; this was symbolized especially by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's call to defend the "four freedoms" for people throughout the world. That remained the "official" view of government propaganda during the war. The other view included a broad spectrum of negative outlooks: disillusion with what the war actually achieved, reaction to the treatment of soldiers drafted into the service, horror over the brutality that seemed a part of any war, and, of course, shock at the massive numbers of dead and wounded.

Bodnar shows that negative reaction to the war emerged even among participants in the war, and was reflected in the memoirs of veterans. These opinions also found their way into fictional accounts, as was seen in Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (1948) and James Jones's *From Here to Eternity* (1951). Both authors saw the war in part as a reflection of the darker side of American society. When conflict developed in Korea, American public opinion was divided about the purpose of the war. Many applauded the decision of President Harry Truman to dismiss General Douglas MacArthur from his command, reacting to MacArthur's willingness to pursue to complete surrender the war against North Korea.

Mailer's and Jones's criticisms of the war were reflected in the film versions of their novels, but there were many heroic versions of the war in other films. There was a tendency to celebrate strong leadership as a vital element in the victory. Even during the war, John Wayne, who never actually served in the war, portrayed the patriotism of the American soldiers and seamen in films such as *The Fighting Seabees* (1944), and (later) *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949). In pursuing this theme, Bodnar remarks that the "veneration of leading men and commanding figures reached an apotheosis in the early 1960s with *The Longest Day* (1962)" (143). That chronicle of the Normandy invasion in 1944 was among the films remembering the war in Europe; others tended to dwell on the more difficult war in the Pacific.

Attitudes toward the war changed over time. The developing Cold War dimmed the celebration of the victory of 1945; when the fighting began again in Korea, some began to question the value of "limited war"



without the redemption of a victory. It was difficult to maintain support for a strong military (and a draft) without the promise of a victory. The rise of the civil rights movement in the United States during the 1960s reflected disappointment in the wartime expectation that it would somehow end prejudice and discrimination. The war in Vietnam especially led to a more critical view of World War II, a reflection of the newer anti-war movement. There was some revival of the mythic view of the war in the early 1990s, when the Cold War memories began to fade at the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the "good war."

The one postwar theme that seemed to have little place in Americans' memories is that of reconciliation. The enemies in the war continued to be portrayed as villains, and it was hard to portray both sides as fighting for what each thought was right. The United States took a long time to atone for the internment of thousands of Japanese Americans who were U.S. citizens and were hardly responsible for Pearl Harbor. Citizens of occupied Germany had a hard time escaping from suspicions of Nazism. With the advent of the Cold War, Americans had to seek assistance from both Germany and Japan, and American soldiers began to bring home spouses from the occupied countries. It would be a long haul from the celebrations of victory to the acceptance of those former enemies.

Bodnar's work rests upon indefatigable researches in a wide variety of sources: novels, films, oral histories, newspaper accounts, municipal and other local archives, and memoirs of war veterans. Because of the great variety of opinions, it is difficult to characterize them beyond the two broad categories of "heroic" or "critical." Consequently in Bodnar's discussion it sometimes becomes difficult to see the forest for the trees. Specific examples of experiences and opinions are accumulated without a clear guiding structure of interpretation. We end with a conclusion that says about the same thing as the introduction. Yet Bodnar's book is a remarkable achievement in displaying the tangled memories that can be the result of any great war.

*Villanova University*

*James M. Bergquist*

**Militarism in a Global Age: Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States Before World War I.**

*By Dirk Bönker. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012. 421 pp. \$49.95.*

In his new work, Dirk Bönker constructs a transnational history examining the parallels and deviations of German and American naval policies prior to the outbreak of the First World War. Beginning in the 1890s, the work follows the progression of German and American naval development in pursuit

of global power. With both nations emerging as industrial powers in the late nineteenth century the similarities in goals and the techniques used to pursue "global power, maritime warfare, and national politics" by their respective naval establishments are extraordinarily similar (17).

Bönker does an admirable job of leading the reader through a re-examination of American naval expansion during the Progressive Era and the startling cross Atlantic connections between naval theorists in the United States and Germany. Throughout the work Bönker focuses particularly on the influence of Mahan and Tirpitz, whom he uses as representatives of each nation's naval elites. This is despite the fact, as Bönker clearly details, each state had already recognized the other as a likely potential rival. The work is broken into eleven chapters and a short conclusion, separated into four thematic parts, which include: "Military Force, National Industry, and Global Politics: Naval Strategies of World Power; The Cult of the Battle: Approaches to Maritime Warfare; The Quest for Power: The Navy, Governance, and the Nation; and A Militarism of Experts: Naval Professionalism and the Making of Navalism" (v-vi). The work is completely text driven without diagrams, charts, lists, or photographs. Despite this, the work is well cited throughout and Bönker makes extensive use of American and German archival and published primary sources. The work also supplies the reader with an extensive listing of secondary works on German and American militarism and military philosophy.

Part one of the work focuses on the German and American views of world power. "The notion of 'world power' figured prominently in the two naval elites' approach to global power, foreign policy, and empire, as it congealed into a distinct set of ideas and practices around the turn of the twentieth century" (23). Central to these ideas and practices was the expansion of maritime power or, as referred to throughout the work, navalism. As Bönker argues, the study of military history and the applications of its axioms, particularly Alfred Thayer Mahan's work: *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, galvanized both the American and German naval elites into a geopolitical viewpoint that each nation required maritime strength in order to maintain its industrial and economic growth. From the resultant competition for natural resources and new markets a naval arms race ensued, as both naval elites believed "world power required massive armaments, . . . because military force would ultimately mediate the relations among powers" (25).

From this premise, the work focuses on each nation's naval efforts to secure global naval superiority, with a fixation on large fleet engagements based on capital ships that would summarily bring to a conclusion any conflict. This goal led each navy to insist upon programs of significant naval construction involving the corresponding issues of politics and funding. The examination



of these issues is one of the most interesting questions examined in the work. Bönker traces the views and policies of the naval officers on both sides of the Atlantic and clearly shows how each navy dealt with government interference, public support, and securing funding. While clearly contrasting the differences in the governmental systems of the United States and Imperial Germany, Bönker delineates the approaches used by navalist minded supporters to sway public opinion and garner support among political representatives, which were remarkably similar in approach. The formation of the U.S. Navy League and The Office of Naval Intelligence, along with a concerted effort to collaborate with print and film industries, demonstrated the effort of U.S. Navy Officers to sway public opinion to the navalist cause—as did their counterparts in Imperial Germany. The inclusion of this comparison of what amounted to domestic propaganda by both naval establishments, significantly adds to the value of the work.

Well-researched and easily readable, Bönker's work is certain to rekindle an examination of the role of naval power, professionalism, and perhaps, most importantly, a re-examination of the military's limits within a society.

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David M. Longenbach

**Rückzug: The German Retreat from France, 1944.**

By Joachim Ludewig. English translation edited by Maj. Gen. David T. Zabecki, AUS (Ret.). Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2012. 504 pp. \$40.00.

The adage that “history is written by the victors” is often attributed to Winston Churchill, though he is clearly not the first to have reached that conclusion. According to its publisher, the new series entitled *Foreign Military Studies* intends to “feature original works, translations, and reprints of military classics outside the American canon” and is dedicated to addressing this imbalance in perspective. Ludewig's *Rückzug*, originally published in German by the *Militärhistorisches Forschungsamt* in Potsdam, has gotten the series off to a promising start. The blather of the publication notwithstanding, the key issue addressed by Ludewig is not whether the western Allied forces could have beaten the Red Army to Berlin and changed the nature of post-war history, but how the Germans were able to recover thousands of vanquished troops from southern and southwestern France after the fall of Normandy and effectively reconstitute a defensive front on the Siegfried Line at the border of the German Reich.

The stabilization of the German defensive line was anything but a given

following the success of the Allied invasion of Normandy, Operation Overlord. Despite the Allied failure to pin down the Fifth and Seventh Panzer Armies due to the slowness of the Allied advance, by the end of August 1944, all indicators were pointing towards a quick Allied victory in the west. After initial hard progress, the Allies concluded the Battle of Normandy by closing the so-called Falaise pocket on 24 August 1944, trapping some fifty thousand German soldiers west of the Seine and leaving open the road to Paris and the German border.

Meanwhile, two months after the 1944 D-Day invasion, the German forces remaining in southern France had been stripped of their most valuable units and weaponry, leaving a single armored unit, the 11th Panzer division, to anchor the forces of Army Group G, a military entity dominated by headquarters, units, air force personnel, wounded veterans from the Eastern Front, and the so-called *Ostlegionen*, which consisted of volunteers from defeated Soviet units. Thus, the weakened German forces guarding the Mediterranean coast were not equipped to withstand the Allied invasion force that landed on the 15th of August, actions beginning the so-called Operation Dragoon. Complementing the actions in Normandy (originally known as Sledgehammer), the counterpart Anvil operation in southern France would destroy the remaining German forces deployed in the south and southwestern parts of the country and prevent their link-up with retreating troops further north. While the invasion achieved its initial goals with only light resistance, effectively bypassing German fortresses and strong points, the German leadership managed to mount an organized retreat of the bulk of its forces to link up with forces retreating from Normandy.

Ludewig's well-documented study makes use of the German military sources of the era to outline how the German forces effectively maintained tactical control of their remaining troops while taking advantage of missed Allied opportunities to gain the time necessary to reconstitute their lines and slow down the Allied offensive. In this account, the retreating German forces faced two major obstacles: the western Allied forces, including the French Resistance, and Adolf Hitler and his party minions in the SS, most especially *Reichsführer*, Heinrich Himmler. As Ludewig has shown, Hitler insisted on making full use of his status as commander-in-chief as he micro-managed his troops from his military headquarters hundreds of miles to the east in what was then East Prussia. Hitler's unwillingness to abandon positions and cede territory, and his failure to trust his leading military commanders led to a series of mindless sackings. Despite being the target of Hitler's paranoia at various times, Field Marshal Walter Model and General Johannes Blaskowitz managed to find ways to circumvent the Fuehrer's more implausible strategies while guiding the retreat, even issuing the so-called War Diary Order, a docu-



mented fiction created in an effort to make the historical record appear as if they were attempting to follow Hitler's guidance to the letter. Hitler's preference for appointing party loyalists such as Himmler to positions of military power was thwarted by their military incompetence. That did not preclude the SS and party *Gauleiter* from asserting their prerogatives wherever possible. Nonetheless, Blaskowitz succeeded in stabilizing the progress of the retreat from the south, with his key units fighting their way up the valley of the Rhone, to rejoin the German lines consolidating on a line stretching from the Meuse to the Vosges.

While the political and military decision making process leading to the Allied defeat at Arnhem has been documented elsewhere, Ludewig's focus on the failure of the Allies to secure fully the port of Antwerp on the 4th of September brings the Arnhem disaster into sharper focus. American accounts of the advance out of Normandy are explained in part by the success of the so-called Red Ball Express convoys in keeping the advancing Allied forces supplied. However, Ludewig's detailed analysis of the missed opportunity at Antwerp shows that the Allies lost efficiency from their failure to use its advanced port facilities, instead relying on truck convoys to rush supplies from offloading operations taking place at Normandy beaches many miles to the west. This proved a key factor in slowing down Allied progress. Meanwhile, some eighty-five thousand German troops, along with weapons and equipment, had been able to escape the port area and rejoin German lines to the east. It was not until mid-November that the Allies fully secured the Scheldt River estuary, and hence the port of Antwerp, but by then much damage had been done.

All in all, the Germans succeeded in evacuating at least 160,000 of the 235,000 troops from southern France, including Blaskowitz's sixty thousand, who fought their way over six hundred miles from the southwest to reach German lines at the Dijon bridgehead by mid-September. Thus, German forces were given added strength at a key time in their efforts to consolidate lines and blunt the Allied surge, despite the clear superiority in Allied personnel and equipment.

While Eisenhower remained confident in mid-September that all was going according to plan and that the U.S. First Army "was driving straight on to Cologne and Bonn" (265), it was already clear to Montgomery that German reconsolidation had been accomplished and the time had come for Patton's Third Army to go on the defensive. Thus, Ludewig concludes that Eisenhower based his decision to execute the Market Garden Operation on an estimate of the situation that was no longer valid. As Ludewig points out, Field Marshal Model would have agreed with Eisenhower if he had been asked for an estimate of the situation during the first week of September but by the middle

of the month, the German left wing had been strengthened by Blaskowitz's troops, while the right wing had been buttressed by those who managed to escape the nearly encircled pocket in the Scheldt estuary. Ludewig concludes that "the Allies did not realize that the situation along the front had changed significantly in the favor of the Germans in the period between the planning of the operation and its execution. They failed to detect that the Germans had assembled the means with which to close what earlier in the month had been a wide-open door to northwest Germany" (278).

The translation, documentation, and editing of this new contribution to military studies are uniformly excellent, and Ludewig is to be commended on the value of his work and its accessibility. The study makes fascinating reading and is recommended not only for military collections, but also for general and academic libraries.

*Longwood University*

*Geoffrey Orth*

### **Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War.**

*By R.M. Douglas. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012. 485 pp. \$38.00.*

The post-World War II expulsion of millions of ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Eastern Germany, Romania, and Yugoslavia represents the "largest forced population transfer . . . in human history" (1), and resulted in the permanent displacement of 12,000,000-14,000,000 people, mostly women and children. As many as 1.5 million expellees died as a result of abuse, starvation, and disease while detained in collection camps; many more died on locked trains without food, water, or heat during weeks-long journeys, or on the roadside while being driven on foot to Germany. Further deaths occurred as expellees succumbed to hypothermia, malnutrition, and other effects of the ordeal in camps that were hastily erected and poorly supported by a Germany unable to absorb the stream of deported *Volksdeutsche*. These expulsions, which took place "without concealment, before journalists and other observers" (2), aroused little attention at the time and are almost completely unknown outside Germany. Yet, many Germans and German Americans (including this reviewer) know *Vertriebene* and their stories. In fact, these narratives constitute part of the founding myth of modern Germany, according to which the *Stunde null* represented a new beginning for Germany, with Germans, purified by suffering, repudiating the Nazi past, and moving beyond defeat to become a *Wirtschaftswunder*, fully



integrated into Europe.

R.M. Douglas, Professor of History at Colgate University, provides a well documented and readable account of the expulsions for an English-speaking audience, beginning with the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and ending with the integration of the expellees into East and West Germany in the 1950s and 1960s. The postwar expulsions were ostensibly carried out with both humane and pragmatic intentions (to correct earlier expulsions perpetrated by the Nazis, to "protect" ethnic Germans from the majority populations' "justifiable wrath," to punish the *Volksdeutsche* for alleged collaboration with the Nazi regime, and to assure the stability of the resulting "purified" countries). However, larger geopolitical, sociocultural, and more down-to-earth human, motivations also played roles, as East Central European nations sought to create ethnically monolithic nation-states, denationalizing and expropriating ethnic Germans and expelling women, children, and the elderly, while retaining men, especially those in skilled trades, and using confiscated property as a "virtually inexhaustible political slush fund" to increase their power at home (261).

While the expulsions were to be carried out in an "orderly and humane" fashion (90), Douglas demonstrates that the expelling nations, in imitating the Nazis' wartime attempts to alter the demographics of Central Europe, inflicted harm mostly upon noncombatants, many of whom were innocent of associations with Nazi Germany and considered the expelling countries, not Germany, their homes. Those managing the transfers neglected the necessary planning, and they were unable (or unwilling) to devote the necessary funding and resources to this immense project; moreover, defeated Germany lacked the wherewithal to absorb millions of ethnic Germans from its diaspora. While it is customary in expellee narratives to blame the expelling countries for the hardships suffered by the transferred *Volksdeutsche*, Douglas also locates blame for "one of the largest episodes of mass human rights abuse in modern history" squarely on the Allied Powers (3). The Allies acquiesced in the mass expulsions; neglected, or refused, to plan for the collection, transfer, and resettlement of the expellees; and turned a blind eye to their circumstances in collection camps, en route, and in Germany. The United States and Great Britain then made cynical use of the notions "orderly and humane" to end the expulsions as the arriving *Vertriebene* stressed the extremely limited resources and infrastructures of their zones of occupation, blaming the transfers' lack of order and humaneness on the expelling countries and, as the Cold War developed, the Soviet Union.

Since the expulsions are still a sensitive topic in Germany and a source of friction between Germany and the expelling countries, Douglas limits his use of expellee narratives to those that can be independently verified

by records of humanitarian agencies and other NGOs, Western diplomats and officials, foreign journalists, and archival records. The author treads a careful line between validating the expellees' hardships and equating their victimization with that of Jews and other ethnic minorities oppressed by the Nazis. He dispassionately relates the history of the expulsions, laying blame on the guilty parties, and drawing important conclusions about forced mass transfers of populations. In the light of occurrences of ethnic cleansing that continue to plague multiethnic nations in our time and Western academics' endorsement of mass transfers as efficient means of solving ethnic conflicts, Douglas' conclusion about the ethicality of mass expulsions, i.e., that they are only practicable if accomplished quickly, yet if done quickly, cannot be done humanely, should be heeded and acted upon to prevent future instances of such a "tragic, unnecessary, and, we must resolve, never to be repeated episode" (374).

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*Carol Leibiger*

**Last Waltz on the Danube: The Ethnic German Genocide in History and Memory, 1944-1948.**

*By Ali Botein-Furrevig. Margate, NJ: ComteQ Publishing, 2012. 154 pp. \$19.95.*

The history of the Balkans, in particular of the German-speaking population known as *Donauschwaben*, is a rather complex and controversial subject. Thinking of an identifiable demographic segment with a German language connection, one may perhaps name the Jewish inhabitants of the Bukovina, of whom the poet Paul Celan is the most prominent. As far as the life of ethnic Germans during the transitory period of the 1940s before and after World War II is concerned, Nobel Prize winner Herta Müller gives a convincing scenario in her novel *Atemschaukel* (American title *The Hunger Angel*). In regard to the official rendition of the past, one can again confirm the old experience that he who wins the war also writes the history. It is, therefore, not surprising that only after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the break-up of Tito's Yugoslavia have different readings of history emerged. Dr. Ali Botein-Furrevig, a professor of English at Ocean County College in New Jersey, has offered such a new reading. Being of American-Jewish background and not personally affected by the fate of that region, this author clearly had a better chance to present the subject *sine ira et studio*. The reason



why her book is being discussed in this German-American publication stems from the fact that most of the surviving *Donauschwabern* chose the U.S.A. as their preferred land of emigration (apart from Germany and Austria, of course). There are *Danube Swabian Associations* in Philadelphia, New York, Trenton (New Jersey), Chicago, Santa Ana (California), and also in Canada.

It should be noticed that the author, who gives an overview of the sufferings of the ethnic German element in East and Southeast Europe towards the end of and after World War II, does not deny or downplay the involvement of this group with the crimes of the occupying Nazi forces, especially of the infamous *Siebte SS-Freiwilligen-Gebirgs-Division Prinz Eugen*, established in 1942 as a division of the *Waffen-SS*. Focusing on the town of Palanka in the Batschka region (today in Serbia), the author applies to the treatment of the ethnic German minority a detailed interpretation of the concept of genocide. Already in 1950, Konrad Adenauer, the first German Chancellor after World War Two, condemned the continued internment of ethnic German POWs by Yugoslavia after 1945 as crimes against humanity (“Vergehen und Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit”).

Dr. Botein-Furrevig, who published her book at a company that cooperates with the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, refers to the *Donauschwabern* as “Hitler’s last victims” (19f.). She has supported her research with interview material provided by a survivor of that region, Mrs. Katharina K. Marx, now living in Philadelphia. This approach obviously makes use of a method known as oral history. Since the author is also Academic and Programming Director of the *Center for Peace, Genocide, and Holocaust Studies* at Ocean County College, her volume is supported with a teaching guide and a list of definitions of the term “genocide.”

Botein-Furrevig offers in *Last Waltz on the Danube* a well-balanced combination of abstract figures and personal eyewitness-accounts. Of special importance to her is the human perspective of historiography. She gives a very fine description of the value of memory and remembrance in regard to our human existence (125-26). Therefore, this volume—the author’s second book after *Heart of the Stranger: A Portrait of Lakewood’s Orthodox Community* (2010)—avails itself as instructional material for high schools and colleges.

**Reassessing the Nuremberg Military Tribunals: Transitional Justice, Trial Narratives, and Historiography.**

*Edited by Kim C. Priemel and Alexa Stiller. New York: Berghahn, 2012. 321 pp. \$95.00.*

This superb collection of essays makes a formidable contribution to the growing body of literature on the Nuremberg trials of Nazi War criminals. The forward, written by Michael Marrus, explains that a wealth of confusion surrounds the trials as a whole. In fact, the first books written about the trial of the most infamous Nazi war criminals referred to it in the plural as opposed to the correct singular. As a result of this and other factors, the trials that followed were largely ignored despite the fact that they were just as significant and most certainly warranted attention. They, too, shed light on how the Allies and the Germans dealt with the defeat of the Hitler regime and with those guilty of perpetrating crimes against humanity.

The introduction sets the record straight regarding the trials of Nazi war criminals between 1946 and 1949, and subsequent chapters fill in fascinating details about them, focusing not only on the lesser known war criminals, but also on the backgrounds of the prosecutors, such as Robert Kempner, one of many German emigres who escaped persecution in Nazi Germany and used his knowledge to bring Nazi perpetrators to justice. Unfortunately, he was viewed by many Germans as a “resentful retaliator who had come back to Germany only to take revenge on his former colleagues” (41). A better-known prosecutor, Benjamin Ferencz, a central figure in the history of the trials, is highlighted in Hilary Earl’s excellent account of courtroom dynamics in the *Einsatzgruppen* Trial. She concludes that there were others whose achievements matched those of Ferencz, but that his “adroit speaking skills and gift for storytelling” pushed his accounts to the forefront. The central figure in the trial, she effectively argues, was not Ferencz but the defendant Ohlendorf, whose “description of events has had the most significant impact on the historiography of the final solution” (67). Paul Weindling’s essay on the perpetrators of medical experiments sheds light on some painful realities that prosecutors had to face—not the least of which was the fact that the most of victims who had powerful evidence against the defendants were dead. Overall, as he notes, historians see the Nuremberg process as failure since many major culprits were not brought to trial, yet on the other hand, the wealth of information about victims and perpetrators collected through the trial process preserved for posterity evidence of the Nazis’ atrocities for research and compensation for victims.

Alexa Stiller’s essay on the semantics of extermination points out that while the trials brought into the open the idea that the mass murder of the



Jews constituted a true genocide for which thousands of Germans were most certainly responsible, the wholesale prosecution of perpetrators as priorities of prosecutors shifted with the dawn of the as the Cold War. Indeed, many saw that "West Germany's integration in the Western Hemisphere . . . would have been far more difficult" if large numbers of Germans had been convicted on charges of large scale murder" (126). It, therefore, made sense, as Jan Erik Schulte's essay argues, to place primary if not sole responsibility for the genocide on the SS, which the trials successfully yet so erroneously portrayed as an organization "completely isolated from the rest of German society" (153). The myopic focus on the SS, and the notion that all outside this institution were victims of a totalitarian regime also helps to explain why the Nazi industrialists brought to trial did not serve out their prison sentences (182). Valerie Hebert shows that while that the military trials did implicate thousands of "ordinary Germans" as equally guilty, the goal of persecuting these additional numbers faltered either because "the trial's message of . . . participation in unprecedented atrocity might have been too much to bear" or because U.S. officials involved "made . . . decisions that subordinated the educative goal to political interests" (212). Ulrike Weckel shifts the focus to the visual proof used by the prosecution in the form of captured Nazi films of the camps along with Allied films of camp liberation. While films of atrocities provided powerful visual evidence of Nazi crimes, she points out that they did not work wonders in bringing Nazi defendants to justice as the films did not "show any defendant in the act of committing one of the crimes of which he was indicted" (241). But in the long run, the films provided a powerful legacy as many feature movies were based on these films and they, in turn, disseminated images of Nazi cruelty to wide audiences, preserving the images for posterity. Devin Pendas discusses the failure of the Nuremberg Subsequent Proceedings to create to ensure successful continuation of trials by the German courts. Lawrence Douglas' final chapter brings to the fore a central argument in all of the previous essays, namely that, for one reason or another, the trials failed to transform German society. While he concedes that societal transformation may not have taken place even if there had been no flaws in the Nuremberg prosecution, the trials have one positive outcome: they uncovered irrefutable evidence of atrocities that future generations would never be able to ignore.

Each of the essays is meticulously researched and invites scholars to continue their re-examination of the massive evidence available from the trials from a broader post-Cold War perspective.

## Biographies, Diaries, Letters

### **A German Hurrah!: Civil War Letters of Friedrich Bertsch and Wilhelm Stängel, 9th Ohio Infantry.**

*Translated and edited by Joseph R. Reinhart. Civil War in the North series. Edited by Lesley J. Gordon. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press. 370 pp. \$59.00.*

In the aftermath of the assault on Fort Sumter, President Abraham Lincoln issued a call for volunteer units to assist in putting down the rebellion. Among the various groups who answered President Lincoln's call to defend the Union, large numbers of immigrants flocked to the colors. Many joined out of simple economic necessity, or to prove that they too, were patriotic citizens, deserving of the republic's acceptance as equals. One of the most notable of the solidly German units was the 9th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, also referred to as the 1st German Infantry Regiment of Ohio. In this collection of letters from two of the regiment's officers, Reinhart is looking at the war from an unusual viewpoint. Both Friedrich Bertsch and Wilhelm Stängel were of a progressive bent—both were Turners and Stängel had been a Forty-Eighter. What sets these letters apart from other collections he has edited is that these letters were intended for public consumption. We are familiar with the concept of the embedded journalist, but not from the viewpoint of the journalist as frontline combatant. Friedrich Bertsch sent his letters to the *Cincinnati Volksfreund*, while Stängel's were published in Kentucky's *Louisville Anzeiger*. These were both important German language publications, and interestingly, as Reinhart points out, both Democratic papers, rather than Republican. The letters are also important, as they shed light on a less reported theater of the war, in which western Virginia and Kentucky were secured for the Union, and in which the 9th played an important role, particularly at the Battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky, where a daring bayonet charge (commemorated by Currier and Ives) turned the Confederate left flank and gave the North its first major victory of the war. Being in the nature of war reporting, they lack some of the familiarity of family letters and diaries; however, they also have an immediacy about them, which can be lacking in memoirs or regimental histories written many years after the fact.

The 108 letters, which span a fourteen month period from June, 1861 to September, 1862, are filled with a wealth of detail about training and camp life, with glowing assessments of the qualities of their German soldiers compared to the native Yankees and other [Irish] ethnic units, particularly at the beginning of the war. As the war moved slowly along, the officers and men of the 9th suffered severe hardships from lack of supplies, and having to fight an enemy ensconced in his own country, able to strike and melt back into



the forest. In more general terms, the letters also show how literate, educated German immigrants perceived their place in American society. They believed they had something to prove, not only to themselves, but to the "Regular" U.S. troops. Since they were a volunteer regiment, they had been responsible for their own organization and training, which they did according to the Prussian methods many of their officers had learned in Europe. German drill and German commands were the norm. There was understandable resentment when the 9th were expected to adhere to "Army Regulations." Yet, oddly enough, the 9th was absolutely devoted to its commander, Colonel (later General) Robert McCook, and he was equally dedicated to the well-being and preparedness of his troops, going so far as to learn sufficient German to give necessary commands and consult with his officers.

As to the importance of the German language press, Reinhart discusses the role the papers played in fostering a sense of ethnic identity and solidarity within the command. By sending their letters to the *Volksfreund* and the *Anzeiger*, Bertsch and Stängel sought not only to inform public opinion, but also to influence it. Arrival of recent newspapers in the camp was a great morale booster, and the public in Cincinnati and Louisville were made aware, not only of the travails and battles engaged in, but also of the hardships of campaigning, as well as details of losses within the regiment in combat and from disease. The letters were a vital connection to the folks at home. In fact, the letters are so full of information about the state of the regiment's health and preparedness, as well as its morale, that they could be viewed as breaches of operational security by today's standards.

Reinhart's treatment of the letters and the history of the 9th's campaigns show him to have a great familiarity with the subject matter. Each letter is prefaced with an abstract of its content, and its historical context. Errors within the letters, usually an incorrect name or rank, are corrected with parenthetical entries. As to the translation, he has done well with a daunting task, and acknowledges the assistance of several people. Nonetheless, his translation leaves in place some of the native German syntax and wording, which makes it occasionally awkward to read. I found myself wishing more than once that I had the original German in front of me, to know what words Captain Stängel actually used when Reinhart quotes him as calling someone a "jerk" or the like.

The 9th continued their service long after the period covered by these letters, serving in Tennessee and Georgia, notably at Chickamauga. They mustered out in 1864, at the end of their three years' service. The regimental history, which Reinhart referred to a good deal, was written by Constantin Grebner as "Die Neuner," and was published in 1897. *A German Hurrah* adds to the growing list of Reinhart's accomplishments in writing about German

units in the Union army. His introduction gives an outstanding overview of the unit's history, and that of its correspondents. Reinhart includes an extremely useful bibliographical essay at the end, a good resource for general scholarship, and a very useful resource for those working on their own translations or historical articles.

*William Woods University*

*Tom R. Schultz*

**Arnold Schwarzenegger oder Die Kunst, ein Leben zu stemmen.**

*Jörg Scheller. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. 279 pp. €29.90.*

Das Feld Germanistik hat über die Jahre mit allen Trends der akademischen Forschung mitgehalten und zwar aus dem einfachen Grund, dass *German Studies* ein Fach ist, welches sich in der Tat aus Philosophie, Linguistik, Kulturgeschichte, Kunst u.v.m. zusammensetzt. Es scheint also, als gäbe es kein Thema mehr worüber unsere Kolleginnen und Kollegen nicht souverän berichten können.

Was in der deutschen Kultur unter Germanisten und Ästhetikern einst als Popkultur oder sogar Kitsch galt, könnte heute Forschungsgegenstand einer Dissertation sein. So ist der Fall bei Jörg Schellers Buch *Arnold Schwarzenegger oder Die Kunst, ein Leben zu stemmen*. Sein Buch ist keine Biographie, sondern eine Studie, in der er den Effekt von Arnold Schwarzeneggers ganzer Erscheinung in den amerikanischen Medien und in der Öffentlichkeit lokalisiert und analysiert: 'Arnoldologen' gibt es genug, meint der Autor (36).

Puristen in unserem Fach würden vielleicht das Thema Schwarzenegger sofort streichen, da der ehemalige Bodybuilder, Hollywood-Actionfilmstar und letztendlich US-Politiker überhaupt nicht mit der Literatur des deutschen Sprachraums verbunden werden kann; seine Ausstrahlung jedoch hat jahrzehntelang die Aufmerksamkeit eines internationalen Publikums auf sich gelenkt während er Schritt für Schritt das US-amerikanische Konzept vom 'Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten' nicht nur realisiert sondern auch für uns alle neu interpretiert hat. Nicht das Individuum sondern der Mythos liegt in dieser Analyse zugrunde.

Was ist es also an diesem Mann, der mehr für die Popularität von Deutschprogrammen unter Jugendlichen an amerikanischen Middle- und High Schools als alle anderen Figuren zugleich getan hat und weder Wissenschaftler noch Schriftsteller ist, welcher mit einem Nobelpreis ausgezeichnet worden ist? Sogar Schwarzeneggers erste Leidenschaft, Bodybuilding, lag auch zu seiner Zeit noch am Rande der sportlichen Welt. Die jährliche Welt-



meisterschaft der Profi-Liga *International Federation of Bodybuilding* (IFBB) wurde bis vor Kurzem kaum von Sportsendern ausgestrahlt. Aber sein bloßer Vorname ruft für fast jeden Menschen auf der Erde das Bild von einem Halbgott, der nur siegen kann, vor das geistige Auge.

Sein Familienname, sein Akzent, sein Körper; diese Facetten seines Wesens machten ihn bei jedem Interview umso unvergesslicher. Aber auch mit dieser Kombination braucht ein Entertainer eine innere Kraft, welche ihn in amerikanische Kultur so durchdringen lässt, dass er in allen Situationen ein Gewinner verbleibt, egal wie verpönt die Lage sich erscheinen mag (Schwarzenegger hat die Vorwürfe nie widerrufen, er sei fremdgegangen und habe ein uneheliches Kind erzeugt). *Besser schlechte Presse als keine Presse*, diesen Spruch hätte der 'Governator' selbst prägen können.

*Arnold Schwarzenegger oder die Kunst, ein Leben zu stemmen* ist genau das, was unser Fach heute alles kann. Eine populäre Persönlichkeit wird unter die Lupe genommen und mit allen Mitteln der deutschen Sozialkritik analysiert und zwar bis hin zu dem Zustand, wo es überhaupt keine Hoffnung mehr auf eine friedliche persönliche Begegnung zwischen dem Autor und seinem noch lebenden Forschungsgegenstand gibt.

Schwarzeneggers viele Stationen in den USA und seine Bekanntschaften mit großen Prominenten wie z.B. Andy Warhol sind in dieser Studie nicht nur dokumentiert, sondern aufgrund ihrer kulturellen Relevanz diskutiert. Warhol hat sogar Schwarzeneggers Bizeps fotografiert, was sich als früher Beweis einer Funktionalität von Arnolds Erscheinungsbild interpretieren lässt. Das wirft die Frage auf, ob Arnie als Teenager von einem Leben als Superstar in Amerika träumte oder war es vielleicht Amerika im kollektiven Sinne, das sich kurz vor seinem 200. Jubiläum nach einem Superheld aus dem All sehnte, der wie im Comicheft die USA zu seiner Wahlheimat macht und in Talkshows stolz von seinem Glück erzählt?

Der Autor dieser Rezension ist und bleibt wie viele Menschen seines Jahrgangs ein Schwarzenegger-Fan aber dennoch wirken die Wörter 'Arnold Schwarzenegger' und 'Doktorarbeit' zusammen etwas seltsam. Wenn man aber *das Phänomen* Arnold Schwarzenegger meint, dann muss man plötzlich alle Werke der Frankfurter Schule durchsuchen, weil an dieser Stelle unendlich viele Bereiche der Geisteswissenschaften erkennbar sind. Der Fall Schwarzenegger muss weiter geforscht werden und an Jörg Schellers Arbeit kann man bestimmt anknüpfen.

**Liberty Is Dead: A Canadian in Germany, 1938.**

Edited by Margaret E. Derry. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012. 170 pp. \$24.95.

Franklin Wellington Wegenast was a Canadian lawyer of German descent who traveled extensively through Europe from February through July of 1938. His observations about the state of Europe, and of Hitler-controlled Germany in particular, in this pre-World War II time period are contained in the extensive journal entries he kept throughout his travels. In *Liberty Is Dead: A Canadian in Germany, 1938*, Margaret Derry has compiled Wegenast's writings and edited them to create a compelling narrative of this Canadian's thoughts and experiences. The uniqueness of this work stems from its point of view, not that of a visiting Canadian government official, reporter, or diplomat, but rather that of a common person who experienced first-hand the conditions in Europe at the time, and who spoke with other common people about what was happening in Germany.

Derry assists the reader in understanding Wegenast's writings by first providing his biography in chapter one. Wegenast was born in June 1876 in Waterloo, Ontario. He was a third-generation German-Canadian and was entirely of German descent. He likely spoke Pennsylvania Dutch in the home, and as an adult, he spoke both German and French. After first working as a school teacher, choirmaster, and music teacher, Wegenast earned his law degree in 1909 from Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto. As part of Wegenast's position representing the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, he took several extended trips to Europe, and he returned to Europe in 1938 to recuperate after a heart attack. It is this six-month time period that is covered in *Liberty Is Dead*.

In chapter two Derry further prepares the reader for the journal excerpts by discussing the perception Wegenast may have had of Germany during this time, using the coverage provided by the newspapers he had read. Derry focuses on the Toronto paper *Globe and Mail* and London's *Times*. She notes that neither paper reported on the thoughts of the average German. Rather, the *Globe and Mail* focused in particular on what seemed to be an inevitable progression towards war, and as Derry notes, both papers emphasized "Hitler's involvement in the Spanish Civil War, . . . the persecution of the Christian church by the Nazis, and developments in Austria" (20). Ultimately, Wegenast seemed to adopt the sentiment reported in the *Globe and Mail* that the British Empire was the hope of the time.

Chapter three contains the excerpted journal entries, chosen by Derry to create as full a picture as possible of Wegenast's wide-ranging thoughts and interactions during his trip. Derry includes Wegenast's writings about



events, such as his witnessing of the power of Hitler's speech in Innsbruck, Austria on April 5, 1938. Wegenast's words present a vivid picture of the ardor displayed by the spectators and of the strong impression left on him by Hitler's words and demeanor. Wegenast writes, too, of many conversations he has had during this trip, including those in which he learns of the lengths to which the Nazis would go to create the impression of being beloved and effective. One example of this was the sending of enthusiastic supporters to public events in areas where there were fewer people convinced of Nazism. Conversations with those outside of Germany reflected a range of sentiments including the fear in neighboring countries that the Nazis would attempt a takeover of their homeland. Wegenast's thoughts about this time also elucidate his opinion that Germany was well on its way to recovery from World War I before Hitler's rise to power, rather than because of it. Another of his assertions is that despite what was happening in the country, most Germans were still upright people. He is nonetheless disturbed by the rise of the Nazis and the people's willingness to follow them. Perhaps the most striking aspect of his record is the relief he feels when leaving Germany and his discomfort upon re-entering the Nazi-occupied territories.

Chapter four consists of sections of letters that Wegenast exchanged with a young German, Sigfrid Schmidt, after he returned home. Schmidt defends the Nazi efforts, while Wegenast reiterates his view that Germany is a threat to democracy, to freedom, and to Europe.

*Liberty is Dead* leaves the reader with both a greater understanding of this time in Europe and of what common people were thinking in and around Germany. Although one wishes at times for even more depth to the selection of Wegenast's writings, the book is a significant addition to the chronicle of this period. The historical information Derry provides in addition to Wegenast's journals and letters enriches the reader's understanding of the context for his writings, and Derry's choice of entries weaves together a captivating narrative of Wegenast's experiences.

Doane College

Kristen M. Hetrick

**Michael F. Rinker: Pioneer Pastor.**

By Richard N. Rinker and David B. Rinker. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Quill House Publishers, 2012. 151 pp. \$18.00.

The authors of this slim volume were researching family history when they came across a letter written by Michael F. Rinker on the 17th of May 1864.

He wrote from Spotsylvania Courthouse where he was serving as a regimental teamster for the 12th regiment of the Virginia cavalry, then combatting the Yankees during the Wilderness Battle. His direct, graphic descriptions of the combat, and perhaps his homely plea for a fresh pair of socks, intrigued the authors, and they decided to pursue his life history. Unfortunately, they never really caught up to him. As a result, this study is more about the context of his life, a rather inverse analysis, than about the man himself.

This much they can tell us. Michael Franklin Rinker was born in 1841 in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, one of the seven children born to Absalom Rinker. The Rinker forefathers, Swiss German in origin, immigrated to Virginia in 1743. Michael had "little formal education" (9) and served four enlistments as a Confederate teamster between July 1861 and April 1865. On 23 March, 1864 he wrote a letter to a Lutheran Pastor in New Market, Virginia stating his "desire to become a minister from my boyhood" (53) and requesting his help to do so. On 26 March, 1868 he married Minerva Hammond from a neighboring farm. With her he moved to Springfield, Ohio in the early 1870s, where city directories record his employment variously as a carpenter, sales representative, and machinist between 1876 and 1885. In 1881 he enrolled in a preparatory course to enter Wilberforce College. In 1885 the Rinkers followed went with a local Lutheran minister to Emporia, Kansas. It was there that, aged 44, Michael received his first pastoral license from the Kansas Evangelical Lutheran Synod on 23 October, 1885. The authors track him through the following 27 years as he served 24 churches in 9 states, concluding his pastorate following "a nervous breakdown" (110) in 1913. He died in Los Angeles, California on April 7, 1930.

The principal sources for this research are of two types: secondary studies about the Shenandoah Valley, especially focusing on its devastation during the Civil War, and histories of the region and Lutheran Church in America. The majority of the information on Michael Rinker's pastorate come from Synod reports and other publications of the Lutheran Church. Notably missing, with the exception of four letters, is any writing by the subject or his intimates. Thus, we don't know why he left Virginia, or why he had such a consistent pattern of short term employment, secular as well as religious. The writing is speculative at best, assuming that the context for Rinker's activities determined his actions or beliefs. For example, chapter six, "Decisions," suggests that the Rinkers moved to Ohio "possibly because the South was in such poor shape after the war" (46) and asks "Why did Michael and Minerva move with Dr. [Pastor] Altman [to Emporia]" (49) when there is no record of their even being members of his church. "We have found no writings by Michael that would help us understand something of his faith," the authors admit (59) in the chapter on "His Faith and Religion." Not to belabor the



point further, the subject remains a mystery. Therefore, as a biography of Michael Rinker, this work falls far short of the mark. On the other hand, those interested in Lutheran Church history can benefit from the discussions of its practices and organization, and of the richness of the resources for the study of it; and the work contains meticulous genealogy of the Rinker and Hammond families.

This study demonstrates both the positive and negative aspects of the subsidy press. It allows the authors to share the results of their careful research. On the other hand, its publication is premature: a thoughtful editor would have pointed out the lack of more personal information about Michael Rinker and his family, and would have urged wider research for a more balanced report.

Indiana University East

Eleanor L. Turk

**Nuclear Forces: The Making of the Physicist Hans Bethe.**

By Silvan S. Schweber. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2012. 579 pp. \$35.00.

The influence of scientific research known as quantum physics, which led to the discovery of nuclear power, began to burgeon in 1920s and early 1930s, mainly in Germany. Forces of Liberal Judaism allowed scientists of Jewish and non-Jewish heritage to pursue their research and to work together before Nazi laws expelled most Jewish professionals. As we all know, many at that time emigrated to the United States. *Nuclear Forces*, is an exceptionally insightful book that ushers us into the complex world of one of these émigrés: Hans Bethe (1906-2005) who lived in extraordinary times before, during, and after World War II.

The author traces Bethe's studies at the *Gymnasium*, universities in Germany, and laboratories in Italy, to his career as a researcher and professor at Cornell University. Other powerful forces shaped his world view. His scientist father, Albrecht, inculcated in his son a commitment to a rational approach to the world and a belief in progress; his possessive mother inspired him to seek self determination and to know his limitations; and his wife Rose was an ethical benchmark for his work in designing nuclear bombs.

After arriving in America, Bethe initially found his niche working at the Los Alamos Laboratory with Edward Teller—on the nuclear bomb. He then became the director of the Los Alamos Laboratory where he molded himself into a theorist who could “explain experimental data and suggest

new experiments to verify the predictions of particular theories, assumptions, and models" (390). After World War II, Bethe yearned to work in a less hierarchical environment and turned his attention to conferences that allowed open forums to discuss, collaborate, and share. In these flexible arenas, Bethe found ways to introduce nuclear power as a viable peace option. With his wife Rose's encouragement, he also became an influential advisor to Los Alamos and to the Pentagon. Bethe was awarded a Nobel Prize in physics in 1967.

Schweber's writing style is accessible enough that his reader need not have a background in physics. He has written an intensive, sensitive, and soulful book about a scientist who stayed in touch with humanity. This biography should appeal to audiences academic and general.

*Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*

*Rowena McClinton*

**To Russia with Love: An Alaskan's Journey.**

*By Victor Fischer and Charles Wohlforth. Fairbanks: University Press, 2012. 405 pp. \$20.37.*

In *To Russia with Love: An Alaskan's Journey*, Victor Fischer, son of the renowned American journalist Louis Fischer and Russian writer Markoosha Fischer, recounts, with the support of author and lifelong Alaskan resident Charles Wohlforth, the events of his life. Born 1924 in Berlin, Victor was a year younger than his brother George. Markoosha, and the two boys witnessed National Socialism gain power in Germany and later moved to Soviet Russia only to suffer Stalin's Great Purge. Due to the efforts of his otherwise absent father, and with the help of Eleanor Roosevelt, Markoosha and the boys fled to the United States.

In 1945, Victor would go on to serve on a troop ship in World War II. In the ship's library, Victor, an avid reader since childhood, found a book on architecture, which inspired him to pursue a city and regional planning degree from MIT as well as a M.P.A. in economics and government from Harvard. He began his work at the Bureau of Land Management in Anchorage in 1950 and was elected as delegate to the Alaska Constitutional Convention. Victor served in the House of Representatives and the Alaska State Senate. As faculty member of the University of Alaska, Victor served ten years as director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research and focused on local self-governance, Alaska Native issues, and Alaska Russia related affairs.

Despite or perhaps because of being constantly uprooted in times of extreme turmoil and trauma, Victor remained open and outgoing, choosing



humanitarian connectedness over isolation. He "was born adaptable" (34) after all. In 1933, when Markoosha and the boys moved back to Moscow, Victor describes this as one of the happiest times of his early life. During this time, he became close friends with Lothar Wloch and Konrad Wolf forming what Victor calls "the troika" (33), three boys having "a fabulous time" (38) playing pranks, reading Karl May books forbidden by Stalin, and remaining unimpressed by intellectuals (40). World War II divided them, leaving each of them fighting for opposing forces: Victor enlisted in America, Lothar joined the Luftwaffe, and Konrad became a lieutenant in the Red Army. Their love for one another and devotion to their friendship, however, survived the war, politics, and ideologies.

After these early years, or as the chapter is entitled "Formative Years," Victor highlights his "Beginnings in Alaska" and "Making Connections." He describes Alaska's post-war development and becoming Alaskan, as well as Alaska's battle for statehood, which he equates with his own fatherhood (169). He reminds the reader of the Great Alaskan Earthquake, the wake of its 9.2 magnitude, and oil development in the state. When his childhood friend Lothar succumbs to a heart attack in 1976, the feeling of loss becomes a metaphor for Victor's life at the time. He embarks on "Starting a New Life" only to come "Full Circle" in the final chapter. Next to discussing his services for the State Senate, coming full circle means for Victor to also reconnect with Russia while working internationally. Lastly, he reveals his secret to a long life and concludes: "Part of the secret of my longevity is avoiding duels" (368).

Connectedness can also be found reflected in the writing style of this extraordinary autobiography, which makes for an equally stunning history book filled with firsthand accounts grounded in honesty. The book is adorned with photographs and references, not just political events, but also movies, books, and plays, and thus aims to preserve history, not solely personal memories. The tone is objective, unbiased, and observant, although not without emotion or humor. Reading, for example, that Lothar joined the Luftwaffe, likely triggers a judgmental kneejerk reaction in the reader, but Victor seemed to have had similar questions and continues: "He [Lothar] had several reasons. He hoped his service could ease the Gestapo's pressure on his mother. He wanted to avoid being made a laborer for the Nazi state. And he wanted to beat Stalin, who had killed his father" (76), hence leaving it up to the reader to come to a conclusion and form their own opinion. *To Russia with Love: An Alaskan's Journey* is carefully researched and thoughtfully written in an easy-to-read style that makes it impossible to put down.

**Wer hat Angst vorm schwarzen Mann: Mein Leben in Deutschland.**

*By Gert Schramm. Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2011. 266 pp. €19.95.*

This auto-biography by Gert Schramm is a unique manifestation of hope, hard work, and unbelievable endurance. Born in 1928 as the son of a German mother and an African-American engineer who worked for an American company in Germany, Schramm belongs to the small group of black German children who were born before the more commonly known "black babies" after World War II. Born in Erfurt he grew up with his mother and her family after the father returned to California. During the first years he found himself cradled in his loving family who lived in a small village in the countryside of Thuringia. Even the first years of the Nazi-dictatorship his life remained untouched. That changed after 1939 when Nazi-loyal individuals gained influence. In the summer of 1941 his grandparents sent him to Langensalza to live with his mother after school authorities began with actions to remove him from the village. Two years later, in 1941, he left school and began work as a mechanic, although the racial laws prohibited his employer from accepting him as an apprentice. His unexpected martyrdom began when the police picked him up in 1943. He spent several months in different Gestapo prisons in Erfurt, Petersberg, and Weimar without a trial or even a notion of what he had done. He worked alongside Russian and Polish prisoners of war until he was formally informed that he had violated racial laws. On July 20, 1944, he was taken to Buchenwald at the age of sixteen.

Violence, hunger, death, dirt and despair were what Gert Schramm experienced during his time in the concentration camp. Fortunately, he also met people who tried to help, who offered their support and protection to the boy. He had to labor in a stone-pit and other hard manual labor jobs. When allied forces drew nearer he survived a bomb attack but was severely injured. Again, camp inmates took care of him. The camp community offered solidarity and tried as best as possible to find strategies to cope with the SS terror. On April 13, 1945, the American army liberated Buchenwald and Gert Schramm could hardly believe that he had survived. He returned to his family but the lost childhood and the horrible experiences in Buchenwald certainly left their marks.

Back home, the American army gave him a job taking care of their supplies. Here, he not only earned money and learned English but also had access to enough food to help his family over the immediate post-war years. When Thuringia fell into the Russian sector and the Americans left, he found a job as translator in the Russian administration. His status as a former Buchenwald prisoner gave him much credibility.

In the early 1950s Schramm went to Liévin, France, to work as a miner.



First unskilled, he soon learned the different trades in the mine. After two years he returned to Thuringia and found work in the mine "Wismut," an uranium mine under Russian control. Although the money was good in 1952, he quit the job after a serious illness and turned to something else. In the same year he met his wife Edith and they began a family. Within a few years, four children were born. The family moved to Essen in West Germany where Gert Schramm again found work as a miner. In the meantime, however, the wall had been built, and East and West Germany further separated. The Schramms missed their family and in 1964 decided to move back to East Germany. Back in the German Democratic Republic, he was directed toward Eberswalde where he was employed as a mechanic. With his organizational talent, energy, and discipline he was soon promoted to leadership position. Due to his good contacts with the Russian army, he had access to fuel and other goods. Later he changed jobs and worked for the *Eberswalder Tiefbaukombinat*, which was responsible for building projects in the area. He never joined the SED party and never gave in to attempts to recruit him. Instead he described the common practices of "trading" goods and services in the GDR, a pure necessity to get by. In 1985, four years before the wall came down, Gert Schramm left his secure job to start his private taxi company, something literally unheard of in the GDR of the 1980s. Only 2 % of companies were privately owned. After unification he continued his company and became an active member in the taxi-driver's union in which he was an important link between east and west. The drastic changes in the political and economic systems caused many to leave their well-established paths. Schramm, however, again proved his incredible abilities to adjust to new situations. With willpower, hard work and a great deal of talent he faced new challenges and obstacles. Today at the age of 85 he is still a member of the Buchenwald committee and an active advocate against racism and right-radical activities. He tours schools and speaks to youths about his experiences. Asked what connects him to today's youth he answers: the future.

This auto-biography is an incredible narration of a life full of unexpected turns and twists. Pulled from a small village in Thuringia, the political realities of the 1930s forced the end of his childhood. His survival in Buchenwald as a 16-year old with all its horrible experiences shaped his youth but didn't break his enthusiasm and engagement with others. The story of a life in the western and eastern parts of Germany alone would have made for an uncommon biography. Life as a black German in both parts makes the book even more fascinating. Besides the chronological narration of his life story Schramm also includes his observations on daily life and how ordinary people deal with it. Unlike the well-known auto-biography by Hans Massaquoi, *Destined to Witness* (Neger, Neger Schornsteinfeger) published in 1999, which also gives

insights into the childhood of a black German child before and during the war, Schramm did not leave Germany after the war. He remains what he is: a black Eberswalder with a life full of good and bad experiences. Anyone teaching German history through personal accounts should include this on the reading list. Apart from 266 fascinating pages of reading, the book includes eight pages with black-and-white pictures, a very personal voice, and countless little touching memories Schramm is willing to share with his reader.

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## **Linguistics**

### **Dialect Diversity in America: The Politics of Language Change.**

*By William Labov. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. 192 pp. \$30.00.*

Although William Labov's latest book does not fall into the area of German-American studies *per se*, this slim volume should appeal to many readers of *YGAS*, especially those interested in linguistic topics. Labov succeeds in presenting complex subject matter clearly and logically, taking care to explain at the beginning of each of his eight chapters how the respective subtopic relates to the whole. The book's overall topic is the interconnection between the diversity of English spoken in the United States and historical and current political trends within American society.

Chapter one serves as an introduction by exposing some common misconceptions about American English, such as the notion that the dialect differences in the United States are disappearing. It also highlights the two main approaches modern linguistics has taken in trying to gain a better understanding of human language (i.e., the Chomskyan search for universal grammar and the Labovian attempt to understand language change). Labov explains that while linguistic evolution has much in common with biological evolution, the two differ in the most crucial aspect: linguistic evolution lacks the process of natural selection and therefore progress. In fact, change within the Proto-Indo-European dialects over the centuries has resulted in mutually unintelligible languages (such as Russian, Hindi, Greek, German, and English).

In chapter two, the discussion focuses on one linguistic variable that offers a glimpse into the historical, geographical, and social factors that affect



variation: the realization of (ING) in unstressed syllables at the end of words as either *-ing* or *-in'* (*He is working* vs. *He is workin'* and *Good morning* vs. *Good mornin'*). Data are presented from New York City's Lower East Side, Philadelphia, and South Carolina as well as from President Obama and Sarah Palin speaking in casual, careful, and formal style. As it turns out, variation of (ING) is not chaotic, but highly predictable and, in some sense, stable. There is consensus among speakers on how the speaking situation governs language use.

By contrast, chapter three presents an example of linguistic variation that is rather instable and rapidly changing: the so-called "Northern Cities Shift." This is a chain of five sound changes involving the vowels in the words *bat*, *got*, *bought*, *bet*, and *but* observed in the cities in the Great Lakes region (including, among others, Syracuse, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Chicago, Madison, and Milwaukee), which, among dialectologists, is also known as Inland North. Unlike the (ING) variation, this sound change actually causes misunderstandings among speakers of English. As Labov points out, this miscommunication is not due to a lack of communication across dialect boundaries. The question is why this increasing linguistic diversity occurs in an age of mass media and increased mobility.

Chapter four adds another example of increasing diversity among American dialects. Labov shows that the gulf between white varieties of English and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is actually increasing. While AAVE itself shows very little regional variation, it increasingly differs from other varieties of English since it does not participate in the regional differentiation of white dialects (caused, for instance, by the Northern Cities Shift). The ongoing development of new meanings within AAVE, according to Labov, is fostered by residential segregation in the big northern cities. The author is adamant in maintaining that AAVE constitutes its own grammatical system rather than a collection of deviations from Standard English, a stance further explained in a "Summary Statement on African American Vernacular English" from 2008, signed by Labov and eight other prominent linguists and printed in the appendix.

The discussion becomes most political in chapter five, which deals with the social consequences of the divergence of AAVE from the mainstream American dialects. One of these consequences is a gap in reading achievement between black and white students. Efforts to use contrastive analysis (i.e., translation) in the teaching of reading have caused a political firestorm as critics of AAVE refuse to accept it as a separate language. Labov showcases two of his own reading programs, built on the premise that the differences between AAVE and the mainstream dialects of English have to be accepted. In other words, AAVE is not itself the problem, just a reflection of the division



in our society. The solution, according to Labov, is to construct educational programs that bridge the gap and facilitate upward mobility.

Chapter six returns to the question of why dialects in America appear to be diverging despite the presence of national media and adds the question of who is changing the language. Labov's studies on Martha's Vineyard showed that vowel centralization (as, for instance, in *right* and *out*) was used to mark local identity. However, fronting of *out*, *south*, and *down* in Philadelphia was found across the metropolitan area and even social classes, which makes the role of local identity in sound change questionable.

Chapter seven adds a distinct historical nuance to the discussion of linguistic change and political ideology. Labov demonstrates that the sound change of the Northern Cities Shift was triggered by the construction of the Erie Canal between 1817 and 1825 and the influx of laborers into the region. Other historical events that affected language development included the Second Great Awakening of the 1830's and, connected with it, the abolitionist movement in the North. Even the North's opposition to the death penalty, according to Labov, is reflected in linguistic dividing lines. A discussion of the rise of the Republican and Democratic parties leads to that of the so-called Red and Blue states, the latter of which coincide remarkably well with the area of the Northern Cities Shift. Labov shows that Inland North and Northern speakers significantly contributed to the Kerry vote in the 2004 presidential elections. The chapter ends with a discussion of the recently completed geographic reversal: the South, which once was staunchly Democratic, is now majority Republican. Conversely, the formerly Republican North is now Democratic. Labov connects this development with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, proposing that the continuation of a "Yankee" attitude against inequality resulted in the recent coincidence of the territory of the Inland North dialect area and the Blue States.

"Putting It All Together" is the title of the final chapter. Despite his cogent attempts at accounting for the growing divergence of regional dialects in the United States through an array of social factors, Labov, in the final analysis, remains cautious: "the mechanism by which cultural patterns drive language change remains mysterious" (137). Nevertheless, he has given us much food for thought, and, in his final paragraph, even the vision of a connection between linguistic change and the goodness of human nature, when he suggests that the striving for fairness and equality inherited from original Yankee settlers continues to drive language change in modern American society.

I read this book with much delight and have very little criticism. The use of endnotes instead of footnotes in this day of computerized typesetting is simply annoying. In addition, I noticed some incongruence in the use of



symbols between the scattergram and its legend in Figure 31 (127). Overall, however, because of its non-specialized language and clear explanations, Labov's book can be highly recommended to experts in linguistics and interested laypeople alike. It offers fascinating insight into the interplay between language and society.

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**1968: Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Zwischenbilanz.**

*Herausgegeben von Heidrun Kämper/Joachim Scharloth/Martin Wengeler. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2012. 414 S. \$140.00.*

“Die Topoi des Redens über ‘1968’ sind zahlreich und widersprüchlich” (3), heißt es in der Einleitung der Herausgeber Heidrun Kämper (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim), Joachim Scharloth (TU Dresden) und Martin Wengeler (Universität Trier). Die Konstruktion von ‘1968’ führt zur Polarisation, weil den gesellschaftlichen und politischen Ideen, Akteuren (Einzelpersonen, Gruppen, Generation) und deren Handlungen (1) jeweils bestimmte Ziele, Erfolge und Misserfolge zugeschrieben werden. Sich dem Gegenstand wissenschaftlich zu nähern, um die “Chiffre Achtundsechzig” (1) besser zu erfassen und die sprachlichen Besonderheiten in der Erinnerung angemessener zu bewerten, scheint demnach geradezu gefordert. Der hier besprochene Sammelband geht auf eine sprachwissenschaftliche Tagung zurück, die Anfang Mai 2008 an der Heinrich-Heine-Universität zum Thema, “1968” stattfand. In der Einleitung heißt es, der Band begreife, 1968 “als Erinnerungsort” (1 u. 9). Hier hätte man sich einen Verweis auf den Urheber gewünscht, den französischen Historiker Pierre Nora, sowie einen Vorschlag, wie das mentalitätsgeschichtliche Konzept sprachwissenschaftlich operationalisiert werden könnte.

Fast alle Beiträge teilen grundsätzlich die Einschätzung, dass in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland die Bewegung in den späten sechziger Jahren eine “sprachgeschichtliche Zäsur” (Peter von Polenz) darstellt; hierfür lassen auch mehrere lexikologische, diskursanalytische und varietätenlinguistische Befunde finden (5-7). Die drei ersten Kapitel bilden den Schwerpunkt des Buches. Das erste Kapitel behandelt längerfristige Folgen von ‘1968’, das zweite Kapitel widmet sich den “Medien des Protestes” und im dritten Kapitel werden diskursanalytische Perspektiven zur Semantik und zur Funktion von ideologischen Begriffen vorgestellt. Ein viertes Kapitel zur Rolle der Sprache bei der Konstruktion des Terrorismus in den siebziger Jahren schließt eher mittelbar

an das Thema an und ist vermutlich primär als eine Reaktion auf die massenmediale diskursive Verknüpfung zwischen ‚den Achtundsechzigern‘ und der Entstehung des Terrorismus der RAF (2) zu lesen.

Joachim Scharloth, mittlerweile sicherlich einer der besten Kenner des Themas, 1968 ‚aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht, eröffnet den ersten Teil mit der Feststellung, dass das Verhalten und die Kommunikation ‚der Achtundsechziger‘ als performative Unordnung die „herrschende Ordnung“ irritierten (28). Die anfängliche Unordnung wurde nach ‚1968‘ zwar nicht zur gesamtgesellschaftlichen Norm, allerdings kam die vermehrte sprachlich-kommunikative „Inszenierung von Vertrautheit und Nähe“ (50), die Scharloth als „doing buddy“ bezeichnet, als stilistische Variante in der Mitte der Gesellschaft an. Scharloth zeigt anhand von Ausschnitten aus Kommune-Gesprächen den „hedonistischen Selbstverwirklichungsstil“ (38) sowie anhand der Gäste in einer TV-Talkshow 1978 einen spezifischen Habitus (beschreibbar v.a. an Körpersprache, Sitzhaltung, Gestik, Verhältnis zu Gesprächsnormen). Der Kommunikationsstil von ‚1968‘ wirkte sich auf die Gesamtgesellschaft aus, behauptet Scharloth und verweist auf den Wandel von Anrede- und Verabschiedungsformeln in Benimmbüchern (zwischen 1956 und 1996).

Der Beitrag von Martin Wengeler weist frame-semantisch Kontinuitäten und Brüche im Erinnerungsdiskurs zu ‚1968‘ in Artikeln des ‚SPIEGEL‘ zu den Jahrestagen 1988, 1997 und 2007 nach. Die Artikel haben als Teil des Erinnerungsdiskurses mit ihren unterschiedlichen Schwerpunktsetzungen (z.B. ‚1968‘ als Konfrontation mit der Elterngeneration, die APO, Protest gegen den Vietnamkrieg) „kontinuierlich zu einer positiven Bewertung von ‚1968‘ als dem Beginn einer Liberalisierung und Demokratisierung der Bundesrepublik und einer alltagskulturellen Umorientierung beigetragen“ (79). Nicole Müller geht der Frage nach, ob sich Elemente (man könnte auch sagen: Spuren) der v.a. postmarxistischen Kritik am Kapitalismus der ‚Achtundsechziger‘ lexikalisch in Stellenanzeigen von Zeitungen nachweisen lassen. Der „Rekrutierungsdiskurs“ (84) zwischen den sechziger Jahren und heute zeigt tendenziell ein erhöhtes Aufkommen (107) von Ausdrücken wie *Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten*, *Verantwortung* und *ganzheitlich*, die aus der Kritik an der ‚Entfremdung‘ in der Arbeit stammen können, so das Ergebnis. Auffällig sind ferner die postmaterialistischen Werte, die sich in *Spaß*, *hochmotiviert*, *Kreativität* zeigen—in recht starkem Kontrast zu Anforderungen, wie *Ordnungssinn*, *Allgemeinbildung* für die angebotenen *Lebensstellungen*.

Thomas Niehr eröffnet mit seinem Beitrag zu ‚sprachreflexiven Elementen in Flugblättern der Kommune I‘ den zweiten Teil des Bandes. Die von ihm analysierten Flugblätter sind gegenüber vergleichbaren fast eine „Kleinkunst avant la lettre“ (132), da sie Register- und Textsorten-Parodie, sprach-



spielerische Verfremdung von Phrasen, "fiktive Sprachberatung" und Remotivierungen enthalten, z.B. im die Haftentlassung Fritz Teufels fordernden Satz *Lasst den Teufel frei, sonst ist er los!* (127).

Peter Zaugg untersucht den v.a. visuell auffälligen Textstil von *Hotcha!*, einer Zeitschrift der Zürcher Subkultur. Wiederum ist es die Unordnung/"Unordentlichkeit" (141) die auffällt: Non-Linearität des Layouts, uneinheitliche Groß- und Kleinschreibung, "bricolage" sowie "eine bunte Ansammlung verschiedenster Bildtypen und Abbildungspraktiken" (147), vom Comic über Ornamente bis Collagen, prägen die Zeitschrift.

In "Das politische Liedermacherlied vor, während und nach 1968" verortet Kersten Sven Roth diese Textsorte zunächst in ihrer Tradition, um sie dann—verstanden als Positionierung in den jeweiligen "Diskurskonstellationen"—bewerten zu können. In Strophen aus Liedern von Hannes Wader, Jan Degenhardt u.a. zeigt Roth, wie mit den Texten bisweilen auf aktuelle Ereignisse reagiert wird, bisweilen auch Diskurspositionen über die Zeit unveränderlich bleiben, Diskurspositionen von Akteuren ('Täter', 'Opfer', 'Spießler') konstruiert werden und in 'metadiskursiven Aussagen' die Funktion des Liedermachers selbstreferenziell (*ich sing für euch*, 183) thematisiert wird.

Angelika Linke untersucht die "Protestsemiotik von Körper und Raum." Sie beginnt mit einem diachronen Aufriss, der verdeutlicht, "dass ein tiefgreifender sozialer und kultureller Umbau der Gesellschaft zeitgenössisch in programmatischer Weise an der Körpersemiotik festgemacht wird" (208). Statt der Untersuchung der "Entdifferenzierung" (Jürgen Link) mittels Kleidung 'wendet sich Linke dem 'neuen Sitzen' (sit-in, zuhause oder im Hörsaal auf dem Boden sitzen) und dem 'aktiven Liegen' (etwa dem halbliegenden Telefonieren auf dem Sofa) zu, was insgesamt eine Entdifferenzierung von Topographien mit sich brachte, z.B. dem Bett als "multifunktionale[m] Aufenthaltsort" (221). Die Folgen der Entstehung des körperlichen Habitus spiegeln sich laut Linke im "hedonistischen Selbstverwirklichungsmilieu" (Scharloth) wider und berühren Aspekte wie Erziehung und Umgestaltung der Wohnräume.

Der für '68' als charakteristisch angenommene Diskussionskultur mit der "Formel des 'Ausdiskutierens'" (234) nimmt sich Nina Verheyen an. Als Gründe für das Entstehen dieser Kultur führt sie den Wunsch nach Austausch jenseits der bürgerlichen Massenmedien, den Glauben an unvermachtete, zeitlich unbegrenzte und thematisch offene Diskussionen an sowie das Bedürfnis, dem Schweigen der Eltern das Gespräch entgegenzusetzen. "Revolution durch Kommunikation" (247) ist denn auch das Thema von Monika Schnoz, die die kommunikative Funktion der Wandzeitung untersucht, die unmittelbar im Anschluss an die Krawalle im Zürcher Sommer 1968 eine



wichtige Rolle spielte. Schnoz erinnert an die historische Situation, in der das damals neuartige 'alternative Medium' genutzt wurde: Der Filzstift war erst gerade erfunden und Maos Schrift 'Meine erste Wandzeitung' zirkulierte. Die Wandzeitung ermöglichte Öffentlichkeit durch aktuelle, sogar spontane Textproduktion ohne Zensur. Zu ergänzen wäre hier allerdings die Freiheit, die die kollaborative und anonyme Autorschaft mit sich brachte. Ein Indiz für das Fehlen von Regeln im Umgang mit dem neuen Medium ist das geschriebene Schweizerdeutsch. Nicht bestätigen lässt sich interessanterweise das Stereotyp des studentischen "Soziologenchinesisch" (Lhotta 1989) (249).

Der dritte Teil "Kritische Semantik" beginnt mit Heidrun Kämpers Auseinandersetzung mit dem "Faschismus-Diskurs 1967/68" (siehe auch der Beitrag von Andreas Musolff). Innerhalb des politischen Diskurses Ende der sechziger Jahre bildet *Faschismus/faschistisch* einen zentralen Topos mit der Funktion der Eigenschaftszuschreibung/Stereotypisierung (259), sowohl von der Linken wie von der Rechten. Ihre drei Antworten auf die Frage, was die Kategorie des Faschismus "als verbale Waffe im politischen Kampf" so "überaus geeignet macht (260), lauten: Das Faschismus-Stereotyp muss, um es argumentativ gegen Gegner einzusetzen, abstrakt und ahistorisch sein; die studentische Linke hatte das Bedürfnis, die von ihnen erlebte Bundesrepublik und den zurückliegenden Faschismus (Nationalsozialismus) in eine Beziehung zueinander zu setzen; der Faschismus-Diskurs ist in Relation zum "Leitkonzept Demokratie," z.B. des Ideals einer radikal Demokratie, zu interpretieren (281).

Jörg Kilian möchte die Annahme einer sprachlichen Zäsur von '1968' auf die Varietät der Studentensprache beschränken. Ihn interessiert der Wandel des Gewalt-Begriffs "im Zuge der Ereignisse um und von 1968," den er überwiegend in Flugblättern untersucht (290). Die Neubewertung von staatlichen, sozialen und ökonomischen Zwängen und Machtstrukturen als *Gewalt* und die damit einhergehende Umdeutung des Gewaltbegriffs (z.B. das Konzept der *Gegen-Gewalt*) setzte sich—abgesehen von vereinzelten Differenzierungen wie *Gewalt gegen Sachen/ Gewalt gegen Personen*—nicht durch, so das Ergebnis. Aus diesem Grund plädiert Kilian, die Konstruktion von 'den Studenten' und 'den 68ern' stärker zu differenzieren (292 u. 303).

Dietz Bering ('Die Intellektuellen,' 1978) konstatiert mit der Frage, ob die '68er' "anti-intellektuelle Intellektuelle" waren, einen Widerspruch, den er bei Wolfgang Kraushaar bestätigt findet: Auf einer Seite entstammten die Hauptakteure von '1968' "einer akademischen Elite," auf der anderen Seite waren sie und ihre Vorbilder des Reflektierens und Theoretisierens bisweilen überdrüssig. Ein eindeutig negatives oder positives Verhältnis zum Intellektuellen findet sich zwar nicht; aufschlussreich ist jedoch, dass in Herbert



Marcuses wirkmächtigem 'Der eindimensionale Mensch' die Intellektuellen "radikal negativ bestimmt" werden (317). Bering antwortet auf seine selbstgestellte Frage in starker Anlehnung an Sartre (1971): "Ja! Sie waren ziemlich 'anti-intellektuelle Intellektuelle', aber Intellektuelle, die sich geirrt haben." Dazu merkt Bering an, dass es einen Sartre in der Bundesrepublik nicht gab.

Einen kontrastiv-diskurslinguistischen Ansatz wählt Andreas Rothenhöfer zur "Untersuchung pragmatischer Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten des Protestes in den Einzeldiskursen" (338), um zu klären, ob es '1968' einen 'globalisierten Politjargon' gab. Grundsätzlich findet er in US-amerikanischen und deutschen Flugblättern, einer Diskussionsendung auf BBC und der deutschen Übersetzung von 'One-Dimensional Man' hierfür Belege.

Die marxistisch geschulten 'Achtundsechziger' müssten auch die Kritik der Sprache— ob als Basis, Überbau oder "Metainstitution" (Habermas 1971)—verfolgt haben, so die einleitende Annahme im Beitrag von Olaf Gätje. Dass Marcuse hier einen großen Einfluss hatte, ist richtig; dass er "einer der ersten und einflussreichsten Kritiker an der herrschenden Sprache im Kapitalismus" war (361), ist indes fraglich. Die damaligen Ziele, 'Sprachbarrieren überwinden' und die 'Erweiterung der Sprache' in der Gesellschaft, wurden insofern verwirklicht, so Gätje, als sich der sprachliche Ausdruck 'der Achtundsechziger' selbst recht rasch wandelte (370).

Im vierten Abschnitt des Bandes erfasst Martin Steinseifer den deutschen Terrorismus als "eine heterogene Serie von Medienereignissen" (375), die vor allem die RAF und ihre Protagonisten" und nicht etwa die Opfer ihrer Gewalttaten oder die politischen Konsequenzen in den Mittelpunkt rückte (379). Steinseifer, der eine Dissertation zu diesem Thema vorgelegt hat, zeigt die Fahndungsplakate als wichtiges Element der Text-Bild-Beziehungen und belegt, wie das RAF-Logo in und durch die Berichterstattung zur Marke wurde.

Der letzte Beitrag greift einen deutschen Aspekt von '1968' auf, diesmal im "Selbstbild" des Linksterrorismus als ,antifaschistischer Widerstandskämpfer' (404) und der Zuschreibung der bundesrepublikanischen/imperialistischen Politik als *faschistisch* (399).

Mentalitätsgeschichtlich belegt Andreas Musolff, dass die (noch nicht abgeschlossene) 'zweite Vergangenheitsbewältigung' (nämlich von 1968 und den Folgen, 409) über die Metapher der Familiengeschichte funktioniert, z.B. *Schleiers Kinder*, *Dutschkes*, *Guevaras* und später auch *erstel/zweitel/dritte Generation der RAF*. Eine einfache Kontinuität der frühen Texte der späteren RAF-Gründer zu den 2. Juni-Erklärungen und ihren "Selbstinterpretationen" ist nicht nachzuweisen, so Musolffs "vorläufige Schlussfolgerung" (409).

Der Sammelband verspricht eine sprachwissenschaftliche Zwischenbilanz (1)—dieses Versprechen wird eingelöst. Das Ganze ist mehr als die

Summe seiner Teile: Auch wenn die Beiträge jeweils für sich stehen, treten Schnittmengen und Desiderata zu '1968' deutlich hervor.

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*Philipp Dreesen*

**Language Maintenance and Language Death: The Decline of Texas Alsatian.**

*By Karen A. Roesch. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012. xv + 253 pages. \$149.00.*

Texas Alsatian is a dialect distinct from other varieties of Texas German and is mainly spoken in eastern Medina County in and around the city of Castroville, roughly twenty-five miles southwest of San Antonio. Roesch describes Texas Alsatian as a language undergoing death with minimal change. As is typical with such heritage varieties of German in the United States, the speech community now consists of an ever declining elderly speaker population with no transmittal of the language to succeeding generations. Thus, survival of Texas Alsatian is limited to perhaps two or three decades. Roesch's study, based on her dissertation at the University of Texas-Austin (2009), places Texas Alsatian in its socio-historical context and provides an in-depth overview of the dialect's lexicon, phonology, morphosyntax as well as a discussion of language attitudes. Roesch also compares the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the dialect with other varieties of Texas German.

Beginning in 1844, some 2,500 colonists from the Alsace and nearby areas were brought to Texas by French entrepreneur Henri Castro to land grants in Medina County. The cohesiveness of this settlement rests on both the common linguistic basis of the dialects from the Alsace as well as on the strong ties provided by the common Catholic religion of the colonists. Thus, Texas Alsatian has maintained lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic features which differentiate it from the prevalent near-standard varieties of Texas German for some six generations.

To investigate the extent of the maintenance of lexical, phonological, and morphological features, Roesch identifies the main donor dialect(s), Upper Rhine Alsatian, and compares its linguistic features to those presently maintained in the community, based on current data collected between 2007 and 2009 and Glenn Gilbert's (1972) data collected in the 1960s. Her discussion of Texas Alsatian is three-fold: (1) an analysis of social, historical, political, and economic factors affecting the maintenance and decline of Texas Alsatian, (2) a detailed structural analysis of the grammatical



features of Texas Alsatian, supported by a description of its European donor dialect and substantiated by Gilbert's (1972) data, and (3) a discussion of the participants' attitudes toward their ancestral language, which have either contributed to the maintenance of Texas Alsatian, or are now accelerating its decline, based on responses to a survey developed for the Texas Alsatian community, the Alsatian Questionnaire.

Roesch appears to attribute the decline of Texas Alsatian largely to the "events surrounding the two World Wars with Germany as the enemy" and cites several studies of Texas German dialects from 1950 to 2009 to support that claim. She goes on to state that "it is clear that the national ideology that associated German-Americans with the German enemy stigmatized the language in general and minimized its viability in public domains, but I have also shown that Texas Alsatian continued to be spoken and taught in the home until the early 1940s" (197). The real question is not what effect the conflict between the United States and the German Empire had during World War I on the demise of German-American varieties, but why that "turning point" did not wipe out those varieties of German or at least stop the transmission of those varieties to younger generations. Researchers of German-American varieties in decline need to look elsewhere for the sociocultural context or even impetus for that decline: instructional language use of English in schools often mandated by state law, decisions by church groups to switch to English to keep the younger generations from leaving the congregation, massive movement of population from rural to urban areas, mobility of the rural population following the introduction of the automobile and paved roads, aging of the rural population, etc. All of these factors played a role and became critical precisely during the middle of the twentieth century when we note the precipitous decline of so many German-American varieties. It may be that Henry Ford and his "Model T" had a greater role in the decline of German-American varieties than the horrific "Halt the Hun" posters of the Liberty Bond drives.

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

**Pennsylvania German in the American Midwest.**

*By Steven Hartman Keiser. Durham, NC: American Dialect Society, 2012. 197 pages. \$20.00.*

Keiser's study, an expanded version of his 2001 doctoral dissertation at Ohio State University, reflects the linguistic usage that we have encountered

among the Old Order Amish in Kansas: there are some salient phonological differences as well as lexical differences that only or largely occur in the speech of the Old Order Amish outside of Pennsylvania. Fully one-half of his book treats these differences in great detail (the orthographic version of Pennsylvania German forms cited below follows the entries in *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, 11 vols., ed. C. Richard Beam et al. [Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 2004-2007]):

1. The monophthongization of the diphthong phoneme /ai/ spelled <ei> in such common words as *Deutsch* 'German', *Leit* 'people', *Zeit* 'time', *frei* 'free', *Heiser* 'houses' to the long-vowel phoneme /æ:/ or /ɛ:/ which occurs in varieties of Pennsylvania German in the Midwest but not in Pennsylvania;
2. The positional use of a retroflex variant for the consonant /r/ in the variety of Pennsylvania German spoken in Pennsylvania as opposed to those variants outside of Pennsylvania;
3. The positional use of a velarized or dark // in the variety of Pennsylvania German as opposed to those variants outside of Pennsylvania; and
4. Lexical variation in the varieties of Pennsylvania German in Pennsylvania and in the Midwest: e.g., Pennsylvania *Kiwwel*, *Haerbscht*, *Maschien* vs. Midwest *Eemer*, *Schpotyaahr*, *Kaer* for 'bucket, autumn, car'.

Keiser compares data he collected in interviews and conversations regarding these linguistic phenomena in several Midwestern locations with the descriptive studies of Pennsylvania German, both in Pennsylvania and in the Midwest, by a number of other researchers. For his dissertation he focused on the large Amish communities in Holmes County, Ohio, and near Kalona, Iowa. For this book publication, Keiser expanded his database to include interviews with speakers in Amish settlements in Grant County, Wisconsin, as well. Keiser also explores the settlement histories of Pennsylvania German speech islands in the Midwest as well as the current patterns of interaction between them and with the Pennsylvania settlements. Keiser claims in summary that the historical, social, and linguistic facts demonstrate that Midwestern Amish speech enclaves are better conceived of as a loosely connected "archipelago" whose interconnecting family and church networks have promoted the emergence of a regional dialect as a marker of a distinct regional social identity.



By providing empirical detail on the distribution of key linguistic variants in several Pennsylvania German-speaking communities in the Midwest, Keiser explores the internal changes, patterns of migration, and language contact that have led to the current geographic and social distribution of these features. In addition, he considers the potential for future dialect divergence or convergence as he describes the links between these language varieties and the notions of regional identity in the attitudes of Pennsylvania German speakers in the Midwest and those in Pennsylvania toward each other.

Keiser notes that the majority of speakers of Pennsylvania German today, found largely in communities of Old Order Amish, live in small Midwestern rural settlements in such states as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and a scattering of other states including Kansas and Missouri. Most people, however, when they think of Pennsylvania German, think of it as being native to the Amish in Lancaster County and neighboring counties in southeastern Pennsylvania. His claim that this German-American dialect has outgrown its name should be taken seriously.

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*William D. Keel*

## **The Arts: Fine, Decorative and Criticism**

### **Cinema and Experience: Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno.**

*By Miriam Bratu Hansen. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 378 pp. \$31.95.*

### **Siegfried Kracauer's American Writings: Essays on Film and Popular Culture.**

*Edited by Johannes von Moltke and Kristy Rawson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 290 pp. \$31.95.*

The cinema has long occupied a precarious position within critical theory, especially among members of the Frankfurt School, from Siegfried Kracauer's analysis of "the little shopgirls" at the movies, to Walter Benjamin's essay on art in the age of its technological reproducibility, to Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer's critique of the American "culture industry." A crucial stake in these texts is the cinema's tendency to form, and perhaps even transform, modes of experience in modernity. While the oppressive structures of cinema

seemed self-evident in the 1970s, its ability to inform alternative modes of experience only gradually emerged through the revisionist film history of the late 1980s and early 1990s. This work brought to light an "Other Frankfurt School," to borrow the working title of Miriam Hansen's posthumous book, one that viewed the medium of film as not only a cause of modern alienation, but also as a possible cure.

Among the three thinkers listed in the subtitle of *Cinema and Experience*, Hansen seems to have had the strongest affinity to Siegfried Kracauer, not only in terms of their fondness for film or aversion to building rigid systems of thought, but even more significantly in terms of their understanding of the intellectual's task as one of "redemption," itself a highly-loaded term for Hansen that resonates strongly with Kracauer's philosophy and theology of history. For Kracauer, the possibility of change in a postlapsarian world is not historically immanent, and consequently, the intellectual, though unable to intervene directly in the present crisis, must still "furnish an archive for the possibility, even if itself unrepresentable, of a utopian restoration of all things past and present" (22). This archive of "things as yet unnamed" (*ibid.*), in Hansen's book, is composed largely of Adorno, Benjamin, and Kracauer's reflections on Americanism and media change, two strong undercurrents in Hansen's previous work on "vernacular modernism" and embodied modes of spectatorship that are made explicit here against the backdrop of recent debates about the "death of cinema."

On the whole, *Cinema and Experience* can be understood as an attempt to "redeem" both the potential of cinema for the ongoing project of critical theory, and, to a lesser extent, texts written by critical theorists for the discipline of film studies. At one level, Hansen's insightful analyses of Adorno's, Benjamin's, and Kracauer's canonical writings on media and culture attempt to salvage the meanings of such overused terms as "aura," "innervation," and "play;" at another, her insightful re-readings of what may initially seem to be their dismissive statements about film as a "mass medium" nuance our understanding of changes in their theoretical positions. Throughout the book, Hansen's eye for detail, her complete mastery of the source material, and her ability to provide fresh readings of canonical texts are always on display, whether in sifting through multiple versions of Benjamin's Artwork Essay (chapter three), interrogating the question of Adorno's relation to film (chapter eight), or sorting out the evolution of Kracauer's attitude toward American culture during the Weimar Republic and his postwar years in America (chapters two and nine). Ultimately, *Cinema and Experience* should not only provide an indispensable commentary on Adorno's, Benjamin's, and Kracauer's writings on cinema, but also highlight the "actuality" of these writings, and raise further questions about the modes of experience that are available



in our own changing media environment.

Along with the revaluation of film's status as a mass medium for Weimar intellectuals has come the revaluation of their views on Americanism, a key symbol of disenchanting modernity in the Weimar Republic, especially in light of some of their postwar experiences of exile. If there was a "Weimar on the Pacific," so there may have been a "Frankfurt School on the Atlantic," as Johannes von Moltke and Kristy Rawson suggest in the Introduction to their edition of *Siegfried Kracauer's American Writings* (12). This anthology presents forty-three of the eminent critic's writings on film, literature, media, and culture from the decades he spent in exile in the United States. The wide-ranging material in the collection should not only attest to Kracauer's eclectic interests, but also appeal to a variety of audiences: film studies (esp., "Dumbo," "Paisan," "Those Movies with a Message," and "Filming the Subconscious"); critical theory (esp., "Talk with Teddie"); and exile studies (esp., "On Jewish Culture" and "The Teutonic Mind"). The volume should deepen our appreciation of Kracauer's multi-faceted oeuvre and provide further insights into his views on visual culture, film noir (*avant la lettre*), and cinematic realism.

As the editors note, this collection of Kracauer's American writings does not aspire to comprehensiveness, for which interested scholars should still consult the nine-volume edition of Kracauer's *Werke*, along with the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach. Conspicuous omissions in the *American Writings*, as the editors again note, include essays that would later be integrated without changes into Kracauer's monographs; reviews taken to provide more summary than analysis; and his writings on propaganda and communications research. A tantalizing preview of the latter type, soon to be published in Kracauer's *Selected Writings on Media, Propaganda, and Political Communication*, can be found in Kracauer's extended essay on "National Types as Hollywood Presents Them," a comparative study of Hollywood's representations of British and Russian characters that had been commissioned as part of a project for UNESCO. Totalling 24 pages, Kracauer's essay on "National Types" is the longest in the collection by far, which might disappoint readers familiar only with Kracauer's longer-form essays from the *Mass Ornament* or from his massive Weimar corpus. Furthermore, readers hoping for more of Kracauer's penetrating analysis of cultural phenomena may be disappointed that more than half of the documents in the *American Writings* are reviews—of books, individual films, or filmic genres, several of which are misleadingly placed in the first category, "A Cultural Critic in New York," rather than the second, "Film Reviews."

Some readers might also take issue with the editors' designation of Kracauer's later writings as "American," a modifier that can only rest on his biography and not always on the original language, places of publication, or even



content of these writings themselves. However, the editors are well aware of the risks of “re-territorializing” Kracauer’s later work, and their useful Introduction anticipates the objections that they are dismissing the paradigm of “extraterritoriality” developed in Martin Jay’s work on Kracauer, and that they are returning to a naive narrative of assimilation that ignores the hardships of exile (8). To be sure, the editors’ aim is not to dismiss the struggles of Kracauer’s period in exile, manifest throughout his letters from the period, but merely “to shift the image of Kracauer as an ‘extraterritorial’ critic by considering him not only as a refugee in exile, but also as an immigrant” (4). To this end, the Introduction emphasizes continuities in Kracauer’s intellectual biography and elaborates on the significance of his later writings in relation to the institutions that supported his practice of criticism and helped him gain acceptance in the New York film scene. Yet, whether or not Kracauer was actually “the missing link between the Frankfurt School and the New York Intellectuals” still remains to be seen, especially given evidence of his lifelong resistance to having his name associated with any particular group (12). More productively, perhaps, the documents in this volume can be taken to provide “a counterpoint to the later reception of Kracauer’s monographs, which has tended to postulate two monolithic and somewhat dogmatic works of ‘classical film theory’”—namely, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (1947), and *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (1960) (200). This reductive binary is put to rest in Martin Jay’s Afterword, “Kracauer, the Magical Nominalist,” a dialectical intervention in the longstanding debates between Kracauer and Adorno about film’s potential to bring about historical change.

At the end of *Cinema and Experience*, Miriam Hansen updates a question that Kracauer asked in the epilogue to his *Theory of Film*; in her words, “‘What is the good of film experience’ today, in a moving image culture transformed by new media?” (279). This formulation only slightly revises the questions about Kracauer’s relevance that Hansen posed at the end of her 1997 Introduction to *Theory of Film*: “what, in the age of video and the digital, are we to do with a film theory that insists on the ‘photographic nature’ of the medium? Which fragments from this quarry, which layers of this palimpsest can help us reconfigure the place of the cinema within contemporary (audio-) visual culture?” (xxxv). Comparing these two sets of questions, then, the problem no longer appears to be the relevance of Kracauer’s realist aesthetics for contemporary film theory, but rather the far more widespread de-centering of film in current moving image culture. Today, the most pressing question seems to be whether or not film theory still needs Frankfurt School-style critical theory (or vice versa) if our changing media environment continues to make conceptions of “mass media” seem increasingly irrelevant. Hansen’s ambivalent



answer, undercutting alarmist responses to media change, ultimately holds out that the hope that we can “identify and envision comparable ‘chances of alienation’ in the new media and in digital cinema” (279).

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### **Screen Nazis, Cinema, History, and Democracy.**

By Sabine Hake. In *Wisconsin Film Studies*. Patrick McGilligan, Ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. 308 pp. \$34.95.

Sabine Hake's *Screen Nazis, Cinema, History, and Democracy* (2012) deals with the fascination that fascism exudes in international cinema and culture. *Screen Nazis* is closely connected to her previous research on German film of the first half of the twentieth century, especially on Weimar and Third Reich cinema. Parts of the book appeared earlier in various publications. *Screen Nazis* is a fascinating read. Hake not only includes an impressive variety of international high and low budget films from the 1940s to the present that feature Nazis, antifascists or resistance fighters in her text, but she also offers highly contextualized readings of these films. She situates the feature films “within the political, social, economic, cultural, theoretical, and ideological constellations of postfascist cinema and society” (25).

Sabine Hake analyses the—as she calls it—“fascist imaginary in postfascist cinema” not through “the historical but the political” (4) perspective. She also uses affect theory as a new approach to explain “fascism’s enduring attractions” (4) both for filmmakers and audiences. The book’s central argument is therefore constituted by two terms: ‘political’ and ‘affect’. Hake proposes that “filmic representations of Nazism/fascism have provided a projection screen for the problems of postwar democracies and the contested status of ideology in the postfascist period” (4-5). Hence she analyses in seven roughly chronological chapters the antagonistic friend-enemy relationship “that makes the fascist imaginary the absolute other of the democratic imaginary, with both terms to be understood as two competing and evolving sets of feelings, attitudes, and beliefs about government, society, community, nation, and, most importantly, the individual as the founding site of democratic subjectivity” (5). Hake examines this relationship through what she describes as “political affects” (5): specific feelings, emotions, and effects produced by, and projected onto, the fascist spectacle in film to create a democratic subjectivity. But she also places clearly defined parameters within the functioning of affect which determine the use of political affect as tool to “identify the competing interests and

conflicting positions that, in fact, sustain the fascist imaginary as an affective force" (20).

The introduction outlines the theoretical approaches and definitions used to analyse the feature films chosen. Hake bases her discussion not only on affect theory and political theory; she draws on cognitive film theories, cultural studies theories and sociopsychological theories of fascism as well. Yet, she is conscious of "the limitations of cognitive film theory and affect theory for an analysis of historical films based on clear ideological differences and informed in equal measure by the cognitive, affective, aesthetic, and discursive processes required to produce/ reproduce these differences" (19).

In chapter one, "Democracy in Action: The Hollywood Anti-Nazi Films of the 1940s," Hake discusses how the Hollywood anti-Nazi films in the early forties constituted through their functioning as propaganda films the Nazi as "absolute enemy" (33), as absolute other of democratic subjectivity. She argues that fascism in these films functioned as Foucault's "floating signifier" (63) to strengthen 'self and other' relationships, to confirm stereotypes and to communicate American values.

Triggered by her observation "that fascism played a key role in the assertion of American postwar hegemony" (64), Hake develops concluding questions she answers in the following two chapters on German cinema from the 1950s to 1970s of Western and East Germany. In her analysis of West German films, she points out a "shift from Nazi to anti-Nazi as the primary figure of German self-identification" (67) and suggests that this transfer of signification causes ambivalent feelings towards the men of resistance in *Des Teufels General* (1955) and the Stauffenberg story in *Es geschah am 20. Juli* (1955) and *Der 20. Juli* (1955). The ideological and political conditions of the Cold War and its influence on film productions are stressed throughout both chapters.

In chapter four, five and six Hake discusses an impressive range of films reaching from Italian low budget Naziploitation productions to Quentin Tarantino's *Inglourious Bastards* (2009). She illustrates very well how these films rely through intertextuality on former cinema production about the Third Reich. The sexualisation and aestheticization of fascism, power and violence, the breaking of taboos and "the affective nature of aesthetic registers such as elegy, irony, or parody" (164) are central keys leading the reader through her argumentation. Recent films about the Danish, Norwegian, French, and Dutch resistance are analysed according to their postpolitical and postfascist identity politics.

The last chapter is solely dedicated to Oliver Hirschbiegel's *Der Untergang* (2004) and its new approach of picturing the last days of the Third Reich



through historicism. Hake argues that this approach opens up “a space for new conceptions of German history and identity developed within contemporary media society and event culture” (225).

While each well-structured chapter gives a slightly different perspective on the films discussed, the final one brings together all notions of ‘political affect’ and its influence on the constitution of democratic subjectivity. *Screen Nazis, Cinema, History and Democracy* not only offers an excellent comprehensive historical overview of a wide ranging selection of European and American films dealing with all aspects of the Third Reich, but also develops a new theoretical approach in film analysis. Hake’s most recent publication is an important contribution to the study of cultural representation of German history and cinema. With its extensive references to other essential works in that field, it will be welcomed by teachers and students alike.

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Anna Stiepel

#### **American Dreams: Reveries and Revisitations.**

By Norbert Krapf. Norman, Oklahoma: Mongrel Empire Press, 2013. 100 pp. \$15.00.

Contemporary American poetry is to a large extent narrative poetry, i.e. its break-up into strophes is often nothing but a *trompe l’œil* without any inner artistic necessity. What looks like strophes might as well be typeset as running text, and Norbert Krapf, poet laureate of his home state Indiana for the years 2008-10, drew the consequence: the texts of his latest poetry collection *American Dreams. Reveries and Revisitations* have been typeset as prose, thereby continuing a respectable literary genre known since Baudelaire as *poèmes en prose*. The well-organized collection consists of seven cycles of which two, “On a Hill Near the Rhine” and “The Sunday Before Thanksgiving,” were already published in 1999 under the subtitle “two prose memoirs.” Most of the prose poems are not longer than a page.

The leitmotiv holding the texts together is the search of the individual for identity, an old theme in German literature. However, Krapf speaks as an American author and chose American authors (Ezra Pound, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Emily Dickinson) to provide a collective motto for his enterprise. The title of his own poem “Fishing for Childhood” (10) could also have served as a motto.

It is fascinating to see how Krapf revitalizes literary themes like the

encounter with nature, known since German Romanticism, in his description of man's life in the New World. In "Letter from a Star above Southern Indiana" (16-17) even a *unio mystica* of the individual and the universe occurs. This individual is also embedded in family and family history, land and language of the forbearers. It is this concept that establishes the German-American dimension of Krapf's poetry. The German-American theme is worked into the text just as a thread of a specific color is woven into a tapestry, becoming noticeable without being disturbing.

Another merit of Krapf's method lies in the fact that, despite a clear ethnic identification of people and places, his poetry does not take any chauvinistic or otherwise reactionary turn. What carries his poetry is his interest in the human experience, which shines through the individual life story. Indeed, life was not easy for nineteenth-century immigrants from Bavaria, nor for any Krapf generation in southern Indiana. Jerome Krapf, an uncle of the author, was refused entry into the priest's seminary and wound up as a GI in Germany where he was killed shortly before the end of World War Two (cycle II); Clarence Krapf, father of the author, became a victim of a car accident and later of electric shock treatment (cycle III); his wife Dorothy, the author's mother, died after a misdiagnosis of stomach pain (cycle IV).

An important, yet unpleasant subject has also been touched upon in this collection: the sexual abuse of children committed by a local priest of the Catholic Church. Krapf refers to this experience early in the collection (9, 10). It is a historical case that has been officially acknowledged and will be the subject of the author's upcoming book *Catholic Boy Blues* to be published in 2014.

Krapf manages to introduce relief through literature into a distressing event that he and his family experienced in Communist Czechoslovakia. While standing in line to buy Bohemian glassware in Prague, his wife fell victim to a pickpocket who stole her and the two children's passports and exit visa. What followed was a Kafkaesque encounter with the local bureaucracy, which prompted the author to entertain the exhausted children with a retelling of Kafka's famous short story *Die Verwandlung*. The nightmare eventually fizzled out due to the friendly support of local people (cycle V).

The last cycle of the collection has been composed on a lighter note, "The Minnesota Minstrel in Manhattan." This part is a tongue-in-cheek self-parody of the author and at the same time a homage to Bob Dylan who generally is not only celebrated as a singer, but also as a poet. Krapf mixes the down-to-earth speaking style of country people with the jargon of people from the commercial music scene. One of the recent, absolutely serious endeavors of Norbert Krapf has been the reunion of poetry and music. The Arts Council of Indianapolis had awarded him for 2011-12 a Creative Renewal Fellowship



to combine poetry and blues. He has been on stage with Gordon Bonham and other musicians in the *Hoosier Dylan* show appropriately subtitled *The Songs of Bob Dylan*.

In a broader sense, the purpose of the texts in this collection is to express "a sense of belonging and a need to preserve our story for those who follow" (83). The prose form chosen for this project does more justice to the longer narrative quality of the contents, often in anecdote, moral reflection, and sometimes even dead-pan humor.

*Point Pleasant, New Jersey*

Gert Niers

### **In the Moment: The Life and Art of Schomer Lichtner.**

By Susan J. Montgomery: *West Bend: Museum of Wisconsin Art, 2011. 216 pp. \$29.95.*

*In the Moment: The Life and Art of Schomer Lichtner* tells the story of Schomer Lichtner (1905-2006), a celebrated regional artist from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Lichtner was a remarkable figure, and he remained dedicated to his art until his death at the age of one hundred and one. His style evolved over his decades-long career, but he maintained a keen interest in depicting not only his beloved Wisconsin landscape but also a rich set of personal interests. During the 1920s and 1930s, Lichtner's work was marked by Social Realist tendencies. This stylistic approach culminated in the WPA mural commissions he received during the years of the Great Depression. In later years, Lichtner boldly drew from a range of cultural sources including Asian art, Zen philosophies, the design work of Frank Lloyd Wright, and his connections to the Milwaukee Ballet. From the later 1940s until the end of his career, Lichtner's increasingly colorful, bold imagery often focused on his two favorite subjects, the female form, especially dancers, and cows in the Wisconsin countryside. In equally humorous and beautiful imagery, Lichtner managed to join these two seemingly contrary forms in compositions that might best be described as exuberant celebrations of life. This was Lichtner's greatest legacy.

Montgomery's text is a touching tribute to Lichtner. Through conversations with both the artist and his close friends and family, the author manages to provide an intimate account of Lichtner's life and art. Yet, the true strength of this volume is its stunning collection of imagery. Made possible by the generous support of private donors, charitable trusts, and museum collections, the text includes 350 color reproductions, many

previously unreleased. These images provide a captivating visual journey through Lichtner's creative life.

Despite the beauty of Lichtner's imagery, the text is marked by several inadequacies. The reader often becomes lost in unnecessary anecdotes culled from Lichtner's close friends. While this information certainly has its value, its inclusion comes at the expense of a more rigorous art historical discussion of Lichtner's oeuvre. In the prologue, Montgomery admits that this is not an academic document and that she merely hopes to convey Lichtner's talent. Yet, a true acknowledgment of such talents deserves, at the very least, some analysis. Of greatest value would be a discussion of his work in comparison with other regional artists or an analysis of the ways in which his art either reflects or dismisses prevailing modernist and later post-modernist trends in the art world. Perhaps this is the stuff of a separate volume. However, by ignoring such an analysis, Montgomery unintentionally implies that Lichtner's oeuvre has little value within a larger history of American art, and she falls prey to a common and unfair assessment of the value of regional artists and their work.

For readers of this yearbook who may be most interested in Lichtner's German American heritage, the text provides little insight. Montgomery's treatment of Lichtner's formative years is brief, and she only makes passing mention of his family's identity as German immigrants. Lichtner's family ran a major coffee and tea import business in Milwaukee; yet no mention is made of the role and impact of German immigrant families, either culturally or economically, on the development of the Midwest.

As the first major monograph on Lichtner's work, Montgomery's choice to organize the text thematically rather than chronologically is perplexing. Likely due to this organizational tactic, she often repeats herself. For example, Montgomery frequently mentions Frank Lloyd Wright as one of Lichtner's greatest creative influences well before the architect's connection to the artist is fully spelled out. Moreover, the text lacks effective visual analysis of the impact of Wright's designs on Lichtner's art.

Interestingly, this text is an accompaniment to a separately published volume by Montgomery entitled *In the Moment: The Life and Art of Ruth Grotenrath* (not reviewed). This text addresses life of Lichtner's wife, also an artist. The choice to publish two volumes admirably insists that the two should be recognized as individuals in their own right. In the prologue to the volume on Lichtner, Montgomery notes that the two were truly creative partners and that their work is inseparable, despite obvious stylistic differences. However, the text only addresses their personal relationship and provides little comparison of their art.

For popular audiences and those already familiar with Lichtner's career,



this catalog would make an excellent addition to collections based on the strength of the imagery alone. Despite the text's shortfalls, I still found myself enamored with Lichtner's art. One cannot help but smile at an image of a placid bovine supporting the willowy frame of a pink-clad ballerina. Lichtner's work brought this reader great joy, and perhaps that is what is most important.

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**Peter Selz: Sketches of a Life in Art.**

By Paul J. Karlstrom with Ann Heath Karlstrom: Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 321 pp. \$36.95.

*Peter Selz: Sketches of a Life in Art* traces the career and ideological development of a remarkable and polarizing figure within the discipline of art history. Selz's unwavering social conscience, sometimes nonconformist lifestyle, and resolute methodological and aesthetic opinions all made him, for better or worse, a legend in the field. In this biography, friend and colleague Paul J. Karlstrom does not try to win over readers or falsely portray Selz. While the author's admiration is clear, he manages to faithfully relay the circumstances of Selz's life and provides insight into his curatorial and academic career.

In Karlstrom's account, Selz's journey is one of resilience and activism. Born in 1919 to German Jewish parents, Selz's childhood coincided with the Nazi rise to power. In his formative years, Selz developed both his love of art—he fondly recalls time spent with his Grandfather, a Munich based art-dealer—and his political activism as a member of a Jewish Zionist group called the *Werkleute*. As the Nazi threat loomed, Selz fled Germany in 1936, emigrating to the United States and seeking refuge with distant relatives. In his first few years in America, Selz worked in a family-owned brewery and endured anti-Semitic abuse from the mostly German workforce. As Selz later recalled, these experiences gave him a resolve often unseen in his later academic colleagues.

Drafted as an enemy alien, Selz served in the U.S. army from 1942-1946. In 1943, he also became a U.S. citizen. Following his discharge, Selz used GI Bill funding to enroll in the art history doctoral program at the University of Chicago. His dissertation focused on the art of German Expressionism, until then little discussed by American art historians. Methodologically, Selz also broke new ground by privileging the social and political context of artists. He

later published this research as *German Expressionist Painting* (1957), a work that cemented his career and that remains an invaluable resource for scholars.

After receiving his degree, Selz taught at Pomona College. His work for the university's art gallery gained him the attention of Alfred Barr, the Director of Collections at New York's Museum of Modern Art. Selz would go on to serve as the head of the painting and sculpture collections at MoMA from 1958-1965. From there, he chaired the newly founded University Art Museum at Berkeley. In 1972, Selz stepped down and taught in the art history department until his retirement in 1988. Over the course of his career, Selz greatly impacted the art and art historical landscape. His curatorial efforts helped popularize the work of a whole range of artists. Selz insisted on a history of twentieth century modernism that did not solely privilege abstraction and was an early champion of artists such as Alberto Giacometti and Jean Tinguely as well as lesser known art movements like California Funk.

Karlstrom's text relies upon details uncovered in countless interviews with not only Selz but also his friends, colleagues, and even his adversaries over the years. This approach provides a text more nuanced than a traditional memoir. While the text manages to convey Selz's convictions, the author also suggests the messiness of recollection and memory and evokes the often tangled opinions that shape our personal and professional careers. Karlstrom addresses all aspects of Selz's life, highlighting his brilliance while at the same time recognizing his faults. As such, Karlstrom is unafraid to address the scholar's problems with monogamy, his often strained relationship with academic colleagues, or even his lack of administrative skill.

Karlstrom's use of oral history is, on the whole, successful. However, the text might be better served by a more careful use of paraphrase and narrative. This is especially true of the last two chapters, which recount Selz's impact on colleagues and students as well as his continued involvement in the art world since his retirement. These chapters consist almost solely of excerpts from interviews with these acquaintances and are at times tedious and hard to read. While such opinions remain a vital component of this text, Karlstrom's text truly shines when he makes room for his own critical assessment. His chapter on Selz's years at MOMA is especially strong in this regard. Here, Karlstrom provides a nuanced analysis of the major exhibitions Selz organized during his tenure at the museum. This analysis is further complimented by a judicious history of the New York art community and its mixed reception of Selz's efforts. Karlstrom should also be praised for his reconstruction of the infighting and politics that led Selz to step down as chair of the museum at Berkeley, a history that until this point remained buried in archives or concealed by those involved.

In his rise to academic prominence, Selz's accomplishments were never



guaranteed. Karlstrom's text is an engaging read. The author shrewdly highlights his subject's brilliance and his ability to hold fast to his convictions despite the messiness of life, academia, and the art world.

Susquehanna University

Ashley Lynn Busby

**Schindler, Kings Road, and Southern California Modernism.**

By Robert Sweeney and Judith Sheine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. 113 pp. \$39.95.

The slim volume under review here offers a compelling analysis, both historical and architectural, of the extraordinary house built on Kings Road in Los Angeles by Austrian-born architect Rudolf Michael Schindler in 1922. This book discusses much of the same subject matter covered by Kathryn Smith in *Schindler House* (2001), but it also offers some interesting new perspectives.

All three authors agree that Schindler's house was highly innovative. Robert Sweeney and Judith Sheine maintain that "its radical appearance was—and remains—incomprehensible to many" (5) and call it "so startlingly original that when it was finished in 1922, no one besides Schindler really knew what to make of it" (75). Smith writes that it was "no less than the first modern house to be built in the world" (7) and, quoting Reyner Banham, claims that while "it is improper to suppose that anyone could design a house as if there had never been houses before, . . . the Schindler House comes disturbingly near to being a totally new beginning" (40). All three authors focus on two main aspects of the house—its construction with the slab-tilt technique and its embodiment of a revolutionary social vision—and they all discuss how Schindler's plans gave the garden and the building equal weight, thus making the former an extension of the latter. Finally, all three trace the difficult trajectory Schindler's house had to travel before it was recognized as the modern icon it is considered today: Henry-Russell Hitchcock left it out of his 1929 *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*; Hitchcock and Philip Johnson ignored it for their 1932 exhibition *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (even when that exhibition travelled to California); and Arthur Drexler refused to consider it for his 1952 update of the 1944 exhibition and catalog, *Built in the USA*.

At the same time, *Schindler, Kings Road, and Southern California Modernism* stands apart from the earlier *Schindler House* in at least three ways. In the first essay (of two) in the volume under review here, "The Kings Road

House,” Sweeney gives a much more detailed history of Schindler and the construction of his house. Sweeney describes the three architects Schindler learned from in Vienna—Carl König, Otto Wagner, and Adolf Loos—and contends that because of “his rejection of historical inheritance” Loos might be “interpreted as the catalyst for the Schindler we celebrate today” (8). Sweeney reproduces no less than seven architectural drawings associated with Schindler’s house—though unfortunately at a smaller scale than Smith’s two, which makes the latter much easier to read.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Sweeney’s assessment of the construction of Schindler House is his assertion that “[t]o an extraordinary degree, the house was a collaborative effort between Schindler and his wife, Pauline” (6). More specifically, Sweeney claims that “[b]eginning in the 1940s, activity at the house increasingly reflected Pauline Schindler’s interest in radical social ferment” and comments that many of the guests at the house were also listed in the *Index, Un-American Activities in California* (28). Sweeney points out that ultimately “the house was too radical even for [Pauline],” who added paint, carpets, and decorations on the walls to make it more inhabitable (27). Sweeney’s focus on Pauline Schindler is important because it clarifies that architecture is not just about engineering, but about the contexts in which buildings are designed and constructed.

These contexts are explored in a different way in Sheine’s essay in *Schindler, Kings Road, and Southern California Modernism*, “The Kings Road House Pre-Everybody.” In contrast to Smith, who mostly relies on Schindler’s letters, Sheine explains the house by drawing on a number of the architect’s published writings, specifically “Modern Architecture: A Program” (written 1912), “Reference Frames in Space” (written 1932), “Space Architecture” (1934), and “The Schindler Frame” (1947). (The title of Scheine’s essay is a reference to another Schindler publication, “Architect—Postwar—Post Everybody” from 1944.) Scheine finds international influences on Schindler from European and Japanese architecture as well as the American West, like adobe and mission buildings. In turn, Schindler’s house not only set a pattern for his own future career, but provided a precedent that was followed by Frank Lloyd Wright in his Usonian houses (even though Schindler had earlier worked for Wright), Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and even Frank Gehry. According to Sheine, Schindler would have probably described his Kings Road house as “space architecture,” which was juxtaposed to the contemporary International Style and meant that each building “was primarily focused on the design of interior space and its connection to outside spaces and views. . . . There was no residual space in Schindler site plans; houses were never objects sitting in a field, but, instead, completely integrated into their sites” (85). In the end, Sheine asserts that the Kings Road house “was Schindler’s most



personal work and, in many ways, his most satisfying” and that it “has proved to be timeless” (91). This assertion oddly contrasts with Sweeney’s meticulous analysis of the historical and social situation in which the house was designed and built, but presumably “timeless” here means that Schindler’s vision will be preserved and understood in the future as well as today.

In sum, this volume is notable for the historical background it provides on Schindler, for the importance it attributes to Pauline Schindler, and for the primary documents it draws on for its architectural analysis of Schindler’s house. In addition, the 45 photographs by Timothy Sakamoto are beautiful—and contrast nicely with the grainy black-and-white images of the house, its constructions, and its original furnishings. Thus, *Schindler, Kings Road, and Southern California Modernism* sheds interesting new light on a Southern California landmark.

California State University, Long Beach

Norbert Schürer

**Texas Furniture, Vol. I: The Cabinetmakers and Their Work 1840-1880, revised edition.**

By Lonny Taylor and David B. Warren. Revised by Don Carleton. Austin, Texas, University of Texas Press, 2012. 378 pp. \$60.00.

This text was originally published in 1975 as part of the Bayou Ben Collection championed by Miss Ima Hogg, daughter of former Texas governor James Hogg. Her impetus was to document and catalog existing early nineteenth-century Texas-made furniture. Lonny Taylor and David Warren spent a decade working to complete the book. They explored museums, and searched extant newspapers to look for not only the names of cabinet makers but to obtain photographs and illustrations of furniture crafted in Texas between about 1835 and 1880. The reprint is part of the Focus on American History Series supported by the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History and is a revised and expanded version of the original volume.

The catalog begins with a history of cabinetmaking in Texas. Based primarily on newspaper advertisements and census records, the authors gleaned information about cabinetmakers from East Texas to the Hill Country. Taylor and Warren stated that they believed that early Texas was isolated from the United States and that each region they documented was disconnected from other areas of Texas because of the terrain or differences in labor. The isolation created demand for furniture made in the state. Furthermore because transporting furniture within Texas was expensive and difficult, each area

needed craftsmen who could supply the basic needs of a home, chairs, beds and tables. In many of the areas, the need was filled by German craftsmen who were part of the larger German population that settled in Texas during the nineteenth century. However, in East Texas prior to the Civil War, the need was filled by skilled slaves.

The authors created several maps to plot the locations of cabinet makers and their shops. Using these maps, the authors detected six distinct districts that they considered to be focal points of furniture manufacturing. These districts were: Blackland Prairie, Piney Woods, Lower Brazos Valley, Austin, and Galveston. By studying these maps, they also observed that no cabinetmakers resided in far south Texas. They speculated that this area remained isolated from the other areas of Texas and possibly imported furniture from Mexico.

The majority of the book is an index of furniture divided into nine sections depicting various types of furniture. These were: beds, wardrobes, chests of drawers, chairs, sofas, tables, desks, cupboards and safes. Each page within the sections exemplified one item of furniture and at the top of the page was a descriptive name and date or approximate date of manufacture. Each page also included information about the type of wood used to manufacture the item as well as the dimensions of the item. The authors also included a detailed description of the piece of furniture, the current owners name and the name of the photographer. They also included a history of the item, which might be short, only indicating where it was made and the first owner, or it could be longer, tracing the history through multiple owners and describing its identification. Although some items were found in museums, many are still in private hands.

The final section of the book includes an inventory of all the cabinetmakers Taylor and Warren identified in the manuscript census for the years beginning in 1850 and ending in 1880 and an appendix that contains information included in schedule 5 of the 1850, 1860 and 1870 censuses. The list of cabinetmakers incorporates additional information they discovered in newspapers, interviews and various other sources. Some entries include only the date born and where they lived but other entries contained short biographies including information about apprenticeships and what organizations or churches the men joined.

The book is a delightful, well-organized work filled with pictures and information about the furniture crafted in early Texas. It would have been enhanced by the addition of a few more internal or graphic photographs. Nevertheless, anyone interested in immigrant craftsmanship, American crafts, or Southern furniture would find this book valuable.



## Miscellaneous

### **Beer, Brats, and Baseball: St. Louis Germans.**

By Jim Merkel. St. Louis, MO: Reedy Press, 2012. 210 pp. \$19.95.

"Beer, Brats, and Baseball" is an apt title. Even without the subtitle it evokes the spirit of St. Louis and its German heritage. The cover, with its artistic rendering of *Fraktur* print, a fanciful drawing of a serving girl seemingly torn from the menu of the *Münchener Hofbräuhaus*, and photos of people celebrating in *Dirnl* and *Trachten* as well as fascinating historical images, reinforces the message of the title. The story which Merkel tells is emphatically that of German St. Louis. It is a labor of love inspired by the city itself and reinforced by stories passed down in Merkel's family from the time of his great-great-grandfather, Louis Charles Merkel, a veteran of the abortive revolution of 1848 who fled Europe for the United States once the fight for freedom went sour.

The table of contents lists eight distinct sections, each consisting of six to thirteen articles of approximately three pages each. The sections are arranged thematically ("The Mayors," "Places," "Matters of Faith") rather than chronologically although three of the eight divisions make reference to a specific time period: before 1865, 1865–1945, 1946–present. As a whole the text is anecdotal in both the best and the worst senses of the word. On the positive side, each article has the liveliness and verve of a family story told and retold around a holiday dinnertable. Even those essays which deal with strictly historical topics are entertaining and engaging. On the other hand, each article stands basically in isolation. There is neither context for nor explanation of any one essay and its relationship to its fellows in the same section or to the volume as a whole.

Merkel's journalistic experience stands him in good stead. He has done his research, and the story he has to tell potentially reaches well beyond the tales told in his family of distinguished or remarkable ancestors. Yet the essays themselves read more like the lead article in the Sunday magazine of a local newspaper than the product of investigative reporting or scholarly research. There is fodder for intellectual reflection here. The articles on the "Concordia Turners," the "School Sisters of Notre Dame," and "Freethinkers" each spark the interest of this reader. Finally, however, *Beer, Brats, and Baseball: St. Louis Germans* is a well-told series of essays on elements of the German presence in St. Louis for the general reader.

**Friedrich der Große und George Washington: Zwei Wege der Aufklärung.**

By Jürgen Overhoff. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2011. 365 pp. €22.95.

Jürgen Overhoff has mastered a very enjoyable double biography of two individuals of the eighteenth century who gave shape to the political systems on both continents. Although Frederick the Great of Prussia and George Washington could probably not be more different in background and upbringing, Overhoff follows their lives along parallel lines. The book spans an entire century from 1701 to 1801. It begins in Prussia before Frederick's birth in 1712 and concludes in the United States two years after George Washington's death in 1799. In ten chapters that all bear allusive titles such as "Sunrise," "Fathers and Sons," or "Power and Right," the author traces both life stories and sets them into their respective cultural and political contexts. Furthermore, he weaves his threads in such a way as to create a wonderful history of Prussian-U.S. relations of that time. Overhoff's main perspective, however, focuses on the two different political philosophies embodied by the two heads of state. Although both were deeply rooted in the writings of major figures of the Enlightenment, Frederick and Washington followed two very different interpretations of these texts. Frederick believed that a monarchy was the only political system that could guarantee the well-being and advancement of its subjects, while Washington was convinced that people's involvement and self-organization within a democracy was the only way. Despite these differences, however, Overhoff also detects a number of parallels and shows that each followed the other with great interest.

Overhoff sets out with a brief description of the development of the two political systems, which were both based on Thomas Hobbes' political theories described in "De Cive" in 1642. The basis for both state principles was a consensus of all parties involved—between the rulers and the ruled—on the form of government. This could either be in the form of a monarchy in which the people accept a sovereign as head of state and trust him with the leadership of the country, or in the form of a democracy in which people elect their government and accept its leadership. Having thus set the political stage, Overhoff continues with brief but comprehensive histories of the kingdom of Prussia as well as the English colonies with respect to the history of civil participation and civil rights. Since the book sticks to a more or less strict time line Frederick's family background, childhood, and education are dealt with first. Born in 1712, twenty years prior to George Washington, Frederick suffered under his hard and loveless father who had little sympathy for the intellectual interests of his son. Frederick loved music and literature, spend days reading, was curious and open to all new ideas, which mainly reached him from France. An attempt to escape from the Prussian court was



severely punished by his father. Frederick had to watch the execution of his best friend Katte and was only redeemed after he agreed to an arranged marriage. Although he had to accept his fate, he now had time to turn to his music and reading again. At his own court in Rheinsberg, he also began his long correspondence and friendship with the French philosopher, Voltaire. Although Voltaire hoped to influence the prince with his state philosophy that included more civil participation, Frederick rejected Voltaire's attempts and instead developed his own ideas. They were partly based on Luther's and Calvin's teaching on men's predestination (*Prädestinationslehre*) in which everyone has to accept the position God has assigned to him or her. But he very much embraced the idea that all actions must be based on reason. Frederick did approve of an elected parliament in which he only saw the danger of disharmony and competition among party interests. Instead, he thought a state must be governed by an independent sovereign who has the duty to unite all interests of his subjects in his decisions. Thus, a king must be the first servant of his people. He watched the developments of the British colonies across the Atlantic, especially in Pennsylvania, with skepticism.

At the same time when Frederick had to accept the fate he was forced into, thousand miles away George Washington was born. Their life circumstances could not have been more different. As the fourth child of Augustine Washington, a wealthy Virginia farmer, George Washington grew up in the countryside. Loved by a large family that included six siblings, he roamed the woods around the house, hunted, and helped on the farm. The father already had a seat in the House of Burgesses; the two older brothers were going to school in England; thus the Washingtons were among the leading families in the state.

George Washington was eight years old when Frederick's father died on the 31st of May 1740 and he became King of Prussia at the age of 28. He began his reign with his politics of tolerance and granted freedom of press and religion. Furthermore, he supported sciences and arts, built the Berlin opera house, and provided for a development of the Berlin Academy of Sciences and Humanities. But he also illustrated his military hunger, built up the Prussian army and attacked neighboring states. Frederick's military successes, his unusual tactics, and extension of his territory soon put Prussian on the map as a leading European power.

Overhoff skillfully combines European military history with Washington's family history when he explains how the British-French war affected the family and the colonies in general. George's older brother Lawrence was sent to the Caribbean and returned home with military distinctions. In 1743 Augustine Washington died. His brother Lawrence became George's mentor. After the completion of his schooling in Virginia he worked as a land sur-



veyor and also traveled to the remoter areas of the colonies in this capacity. Although always very much interested in military actions, George Washington became active in 1758 when he was chosen as an agent to negotiate between the French army and the colonists. His military career in the British colonial army advanced quickly. However, when he aimed for an officer's commission it was not granted to him. Frustrated and hurt by this set-back he left the army and returned to farming. He married Martha Curtis in 1759 and secured a seat in the House of Burgesses.

Washington was impressed by Frederick's military successes. As a British ally the Prussian army had engaged the French troops in Europe, thus, giving the British troops in the colonies more room to act successfully and divert French attention. At the end of the Seven Years' War, Frederick had established himself as a unique military leader who was commonly known as Frederick the Great. However, Overhoff also shows that the consequences of the war also reached far over the Atlantic. To fill the depleted finances of the crown, Britain introduced a number of taxes in the colonies in 1767 that were fiercely rejected and laid the basis for the conflict to follow. In the chapter "Freedom and Bondage (1770-1785)" the author illustrates not only Prussia's contract with Russia and Austria to divide Poland but also narrates the growing colonial resentment, Washington's election as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army (289), and his increasing fame as military leader. Although Frederick did not aid the struggling colonies in their fight against his ally, Britain, Overhoff makes clear that Frederick and George very much valued each other's military competence. Knowledge of their activities were carried back and forth across the Atlantic by numerous correspondents and messengers, among them Lafayette and John Quincy Adams, the American ambassador in Berlin. Although Frederick did not believe in the lasting success of the independent colonies, he agreed to a Prussian-American Friendship and Trade Treaty in 1785 (311-12).

One year later, on the 16th of August 1786, Frederick died. Prussians did not mourn too deeply. Since the American Revolution they had regarded his politics as old-fashioned and outdated. Although he first admired him for his military skills, even Washington came to judge Frederick more harshly upon his death. The last chapter "Conclusion and Beginning (1785-1801)" deals mainly with the political reforms in the U.S. and Washington's leadership as first President of the United States of America, his departure from office in 1797, and the political debates that dominated the country until his death in 1799.

Overhoff has truly created a readable double-biography of two individuals who have shaped the political discourse of the eighteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic: Frederick the Great and his fifty year reign of Prussia on



the one hand, and the struggle for independence and the political formation of the United States on the other. He has shown nicely how the different principles and state philosophies that both men followed impacted their political decisions. The author pulls together the threads of each and puts them into a larger context. He highlights especially those developments that had particular impact either on Prussia or America. The book includes eight pages of pictures as well as an index and a cumulative bibliography. It is a well written book, in German, with lots of nice details of U.S. and Prussian history. Common themes of Prussian-US connections, such as the Hessian soldiers or Friedrich von Steuben, are briefly mentioned but not dwelled upon. The geography of the book focuses on Virginia, Philadelphia and Washington D.C. on the one side, and Berlin and Potsdam on the other. It is a very rewarding history of Prussian-U.S. relations as illustrated in the lives of two leading political figures, very well researched, and extremely well written.

Berlin, Germany

Katja Hartmann

**Der Freund in der Noth or The Friend in Need: An Annotated Translation of an Early Pennsylvania Folk-Healing Manual.**

*By Johann Georg Hohman. Introduction, Translation, and Annotation by Patrick J. Donmoyer. Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center, 2012. 152 pp. \$29.95.*

Subtitled "An Annotated Translation of an Early Pennsylvania Folk-Healing Manual," this first volume of a series sponsored by the Pennsylvania Cultural Center introduces the reader to a rare source of early Pennsylvania folk-healing literature. For the Germans who were early settlers in Pennsylvania, this book provided a means to control events for which there were no known means of control. The anatomical knowledge and the pharmacopeia were rudimentary, and illnesses were treated with "sympathetic medicine" as presented in this book. In this way, faith healers helped their patients. For example, a nosebleed will stop if three drops of blood are let fall in an eggshell and then thrown into the fire. The book became an essential part of many immigrants' lives.

Johann Georg Hohman was a prolific writer whose most popular and enduring work is *Der Lange Verborgene Freund* (*The Long Lost Friend*) published in 1819. According to Donmoyer it has not been out of print for two hundred years and in 1854 there was an English version printed that spread rapidly throughout the German culture and then into other parts of

the United States. Surprisingly, much of this book was taken directly from a book published in 1788 in Silesia, *Romanus-Büchlein, or The Little Book of the Gypsies.*"

The book *Der Freund in der Noth, oder: Geheime Sympathetische Wissenschaft, /The Friend in Need, or: Secret Sympathetic Knowledge* was published without an author's name and the false imprint of "1790 at Offenbach am Mayn, in Deutschland." This 24-page booklet includes a combination of the recommendations that appeared in "The Long Lost Friend" and was sold for 25 cents in Berks County, Pennsylvania. An advertisement in the *Reading Adler* on 9 February 1813 states, in closing: "this book, that it contains no lies, and should not be used with wicked intent.—Also it is with the 25 letters, that when they are in one's house, the house is free from thunder and fire" (14).

Johann Georg Hohman had a checkered career as an author. He was apparently without funds to pay for publishing his books and, although Donmoyer examined printers and sources, it was difficult to be certain when and what was published under the name of Hohman. In addition, it appears that a successful printing would inspire Hohman to prepare the same material in a new book, shifting emphasis and changing slightly, hoping to sell more books. It seems that *Der Freund in der Noth* is one of the earliest imprints dealing with sympathetic healing.

These beliefs hinged on faith in the power of saints and gods to heal and most of the petitions call on them. There is the belief in the structure of the body itself, that which calls on the zodiac for help. Primarily, folk healing is rooted in the religious beliefs of the people. When faced with problems outside normal daily living, many turned to religious healing and folk magic. The entries in the book depict, for example, supplication for protection from thieves, highway robbers, and dangerous weapons.

Donmoyer discusses the difficulties of translation of the text of *Der Freund in der Noth*, since the original was both rhymed and metered. It would be necessary to warp the meaning if an English version were prepared with these parameters. He described the language used by Hohman as idiosyncratic, characterized by loose grammatical constraints and improvised word order. He aided the reader by printing a page of Johann Ritter's 1813 typeface as used in the reproduction of the original manuscript. The original copy of Hohman's booklet is reproduced, complete with misspellings and grammatical errors, with the translation on the opposing page. Donmoyer has chosen to translate the text using a formal language that is found in religious literature. "This formality allows readers to be reminded that the text they are reading is not a mundane compilation of recipes, but a solemn, lyrical application of religious ritual used in the art of healing transformations" (44).



XI

**A Safeguard**

Your every gun and ye who wish to have conflict with me,  
I command you by the Living God,  
That I be protected and guarded from all weapons. (67)

XVI

**Apprehending some men**

In the body of Jesus Christ are 5 wounds;  
From the 5 wounds flow 5 drops:  
With the 5 drops I do halt all your weapons and arms.  
Weapons and arms, herein I do stop you.  
Amen. (71)

These short examples show the biblical language that Donmoyer has used in his translations, and show the type of petition or blessing that is requested. The early Pennsylvania settler depended on folklore, superstition, religion and magic to preserve him in the hostile environment.

Donmoyer continues with examples of other collections of "sympathetic medicine" that resemble the charms and blessings in Hohman's book. They are incomplete, and reproduced in a similar fashion to *The Friend in Need*. Appendix I contains selections from the German text of *Geheime Kunst-Stücke (Secret Magic Formulae)* and a comparison of the contents of this with *The Friend in Need* reveals a great similarity. There are other examples to show the similarity in their published works. The final pages contain the wondrous story of the magic used by a condemned man to extinguish a fire. By walking around the fire three times and reciting the magic words, the fire dies and the man is forgiven and released.

This is a book to be savored for the information it contains about the beliefs of the early Pennsylvania Germans.

*Cincinnati, Ohio*

*Clara H. Harsh*

**Orte für Amerika: Deutsch-Amerikanische Institute und Amerikahäuser in der Bundesrepublik seit den 1960er Jahren.**

*By Reinhild Kreis. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. 428 pp. €56.00.*

The print version of this 2009 doctoral dissertation at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich (Germany) was published as vol. 44 in the

renowned series *Transatlantische Historische Studien* by the German Historical Institute Washington, DC.

The *Amerikahäuser* and other cultural institutions in the late 1940s and 1950s were a specific aspect of this policy, which included media, information centers, trade schools, youth clubs and youth camps, film productions, school book production, and even aid programs by women's organizations in the United States.

The U.S. policy of reconstructing the political and cultural life in Germany was at the core of reeducation, democratization, and nation building. Through the Office of Military Government, United States (OMGUS), America claimed cultural and political leadership over post-war West Germany. It used all informational and cultural instruments and methods from its arsenals of propaganda, which euphemistically has been called Public Diplomacy by Nicholas Cull, as cited by Kreis (18).

When the cold war reached its peak in the early 1960s, leadership and partnership were the two core areas of German American relations. This is where Reinhild Kreis started her research on the twenty America Houses and other German-American Cultural Institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany, which around this time were still active.

Kreis uses Joseph S. Nye's concept of "Soft Power" for her analysis. Thus, the American Cultural Institutions are seen as elements of the post war U.S. policy for all of Western Europe (12). The detailed and meticulously documented book, which is based upon an abundance of rare archival documents, takes the *Amerikahäuser* and the German-American Institutions (in Germany) as a theatre of national German as well as of transnational German American and European American developments (13). They ultimately played a role during the hot phase of the Cold War, especially after the American Cultural Institutions in Germany became binational organizations in the early 1960s. In 1986, U.S. government funding for the remaining German-American Cultural Institutions ended, and so does the time span which is covered by Kreis's book.

Kreis describes the organizational and financial framework, the mission, and the activities of the German-American Cultural Institutions (DAIs, i.e., *Deutsch-Amerikanische Institute*). She analyses, how the understanding of Germany's post-World War II role within the framework of its national and European policies was shaped by its cultural dimensions: DAIs had libraries, organized an enormous program of lecture series, discussions, musical events, and movies, and they offered all kinds of information on the U.S. All this was focused around American, German, European and Trans-Atlantic relationships especially in the framework of the Cold War.

A detailed analysis of five centers in South Germany presents an in-depth



view into a set of data: Topics, target groups, political support, sponsoring, and administrative structures differed according to the dissimilar regions (metropolitan areas, rural regions, and Berlin as the center of the Cold War). Therefore, the DAIs offered diverse profiles. Five out of 23 (later reduced to 20) German cities had DAIs. Five of them are analyzed in detail: Frankfurt, Munich, Nuremberg, Regensburg, and Tübingen.

Berlin was excluded from the study, because no archival material was available or accessible to the author. This is understandable, but also regrettable, because the Berlin "Amerikahaus" had a special and leading role at the crossroads of West East relations. Hamburg and Bremen were also excluded from the study. Their leading roles as points of embarkation for millions of emigrants since the 1830s and their special trade relations with the U.S. might have provided an interesting comparison to the DAIs in southern Germany.

The study examines the manner in which DAIs worked with German organizations and institutions and their audiences. After the anti Vietnam War movement had gained momentum in Germany, the DAIs became the target of anti American activities, even of terrorist acts (338f.). When funding by American sources ended around 1986, DAIs had undergone substantial changes both of their administrative and financial structures and their mission and program activities. Increasingly, they became theaters, where the Cold War was acted out upon the stages of cultural, informational, and propagandistic activities. To foster western style and Trans-Atlantic democracy had been the main mission of the DAIs. They now turned into instruments of U.S. foreign policies to the extent that the United States Information Agency (USIA) was shaped and reshaped by Presidents Kennedy, Nixon, Carter, and Reagan. More and more, the former *Amerikahäuser* were transformed into binational American-German cultural centers in the early 1960s. They were increasingly supported and financed by German states, cities, communities, the German Federal Government, and sponsors (93ff.). The German side, however, never claimed any substantial influence on program activities or organizational structures of the DAIs. Kreis relates this attitude to the deep gratitude that German authorities and the population in the former American Zone felt for America. This was renewed and deepened, when in 1961 the Berlin Wall was built, and when the East German state showed its totalitarian face at the peak of the Cold War (59).

Starting in 1969, the German Government was run by the Social Liberal Coalition under Willy Brandt as Chancellor. Until that year, two thirds of the annual federal budget for international cultural affairs had been spent for the DAIs. When the new Ostpolitik was shaped, federal support of the DAIs was challenged (124ff.) and, during the following years, the DAIs became instru-



ments of the German Foreign Policies and cultural outreach programs (in Southern Germany especially to the U.S. Armed Forces there): names were changed, supporting associations (*Vereine*) were established. Nevertheless, the American influence on programming and administration as well as on all decisions about the leading personnel never ended completely.

In May, 1986, USIS had to reduce its annual budget for all USIS Germany activities by around one million U.S. dollars. Over the next few years, the DAIs were transformed into German cultural institutions. American funding to some extent remained for library services and some program activities. Financed by German public funds and sustained by private sponsors, the DAIs represented a pro-American attitude of those Germans, who remained involved in German American affairs and who were interested in maintaining and reinforcing Trans Atlantic relations with America (139). Kreis with an abundance of details analyzes how this was reflected by programming and other DAI activities.

Starting in the mid 1960s, the Vietnam War became the most complicated and controversial topic to be handled by the DAIs (195). The German public and the media in Germany were more and more skeptical about the Vietnam War and America's role in it. The visual media (Chapter 2.2.2 "Krieg der Bilder: Der Vietnamkrieg") played a major and decisive role, as became evident after the My Lai massacre (1968). As early as 1966, when demonstrations against the U. S. involvement in Vietnam turned into more aggressive activities both in America and in Germany, representatives of the U.S. administration in Germany called the attitude of some German media like *Der Spiegel* or *Stern* 'definitely hostile' (201). The DAIs tried to find a middle path between the apologetic attitudes of the U. S. information agencies and the increasing need to act as a forum of discussion with progressively dissenting views of its audiences and visitors. Still, the visual media department of the USIS ("Amerikadienst") used imaging in a way, which by the German media was regarded as propaganda and as manipulation of the reality of the war in Vietnam (218).

During and after the controversial presentation of the Vietnam question, the mission of the DAIs increasingly aimed at showing the United States as a reliable democratic power and partner of Germany and its democratic society and culture, with basically equal values, qualities, structures, and challenges (217). Beginning in the mid 1970s, though, this view was questioned in Germany following the anti-Vietnam protests in America, its Civil Rights Movement, racial unrest and riots, the youth movement since the mid 1960s, and more general issues such as the development of the metropolitan regions, drug problems, and the social question in general. Kreis analyzes an abundance of detailed information on how the (American) guidelines for the DAIs



tried to do their programming in accordance with the official foreign and cultural policies of the USIS administration.

Since the early protest movement against the U.S. role in the Vietnam War, the DAIs increasingly became centers of protest and criticism against America, its policies and even its culture. Kreis analyzes this within the framework of global changes and the situation in Germany (Chapter 3, "Die Amerikahäuser und deutsch-Amerikanische Institute als Symbolorte und als Elemente der lokalen Kulturlandschaft"). Demonstrations were often supported by leftist organizations and academics, and acts of violence by individuals and organizations targeted the DAIs during the 1970s and 1980s (342ff.). Although in the German public there was widespread criticism of U. S. involvement in Vietnam, the majority of Germans did not support violence against the DAIs. On the contrary, acts of solidarity with the DAIs and America sprang up, and damages from violence were often compensated by German authorities (369).

As the regular reports from USIS Germany between the late 1970s and the early 1980s show, the so-called "Successor Generation" in Germany was perceived as skeptical, anti-American, if not hostile to the U.S., to American culture, and the American way of life (244ff.). Kreis demonstrates how this shift was reflected by DAI programs and activities, when topics of mutual interest such as energy, ecology, health, education, town planning, culture (literature, movies, and exhibitions), and future trends of the post-industrial societies were increasingly offered, mostly by academic experts and much less by politicians and government representatives (256). Growing numbers of participants and visitors, many of them experts themselves, showed that this approach was successful (292ff.). The DAIs were gradually transformed into institutions and member organizations of the local and regional cultural landscapes (295ff.). As such, German local governments and Institutions of (Higher) Education were actively involved, established support associations and provided funding, when financial assistance from American and German federal agencies started to run out in the 1970s.

The book offers detailed and profound insights into the growth of democratic life in post World War II Germany and the nation-building fostered and supported by the DAIs. It documents in a uniquely detailed and informative way the period of Trans-Atlantic and American German partnership, which ended in the mid-eighties. The DAIs during this time span were changed from institutions for Re-education into those where Trans-Atlantic partnership was acted out. They were developed by partners, who basically shared the same values and goals in culture and society. Where the similarities ended, differences were discussed, and new ways to communicate and to cooperate were sought (381f.). Leadership and partnership were the poles around

which strategies and programs were formed. During the last years, before the American financial involvement for the DAIs in Germany ended (1986), most of them had become institutions where political and cultural relations between America and Germany were cultivated. Some were preserved, now supported by German private and public funding. With the Goethe Institute organization, however, Germany had established its own matching network of worldwide cultural institutions.

Bremen, Germany

Dirk Schröder

**Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective.**

By Myra Marx Ferree. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012. 320 pp. \$24.95.

*Varieties of Feminism* offers a comprehensive historical sweep of Germany from 1948 to the present that focuses on women's and gender issues and employs comparison with the US to sharpen its arguments. While systematically following a red thread of sex and gender analysis, this work by established and well respected scholar Myra Marx Ferree evidences command of particularly the West and unified German sociopolitical landscapes. *Varieties of Feminism* makes a 'mistressful' contribution, incorporating what are often treated as special issues into what are often understood as mainstream sociohistorical narratives. So comprehensive is its unpacking of complex narratives that this text could very well be used as a background reader for general courses on German culture or US feminism.

Comparatists like to ask what a particular contrast serves to illuminate and *Varieties of Feminism* offers an exemplary response. Through punctual comparison between German and US "objective" contexts, feminist theories, and women's practices, the study's self-proclaimed "relational realism" discloses how different "connections among concepts, persons, and institutions shaped by power in historically emergent interactions" yield different strategies and results (8). In this case, Archimedean leverage also makes the specificities more intelligible and works against the tendency to see US feminist movements as forerunners and prototypes. The examination also highlights connections across feminisms, thereby facilitating attention to the wide-ranging transnational energies that traverse nation-states. While *Varieties of Feminism* focuses on Germany, its trans-Atlantic comparison furthers deeper understanding of the US, a plus for its primary target audience.

Ferree's work underscores the differing statuses of liberalism as policy-



shaping ideal in the Germanies and the US. While doing so, it also trenchantly distinguishes "the tension in feminism between classical liberalism as political claim about self-determination and individuality and neoliberalism (or market-liberalism) as an ideology about the superiority of market-led decision-making" (16-17). While the study does not include the effects of the recent economic crises on European and global gendered issues, its parsing of this commonly unacknowledged disjunction between social and economic liberalism is critically salient for current debates.

Their fundamentally different attitudes towards individualism and community deeply influenced US and German feminisms. Inspired by the anti-racism movement that gained momentum in the 1960s, many in the US leveraged homegrown social liberal foundations to push for political and civil rights for women. In the Germanies, in contrast, women's movements were inspired by and linked to class politics. Moreover, because public policy was largely driven by what Ferree terms patriarchal state and party politics, it was difficult for feminists to directly influence governmental institutions until the emergence of the more pro-woman Greens in the 1980s. The text argues that for this reason, West German "women-moved-women" tended towards collective autonomy from the State. Indeed, unlike in many parts of the world, the West German term feminist classically meant women who endorse separation from men.

Generally precise in its terminology, *Varieties of Feminism* uses "feminist" consistently without indicating that women from the German Democratic Republic (GDR) objected to the term; this usage points to a tendency towards West Germany as object of analysis. The post-unification section describes the socially well-situated position of women in the GDR, with its family planning and child support, and educational and career opportunities. Yet the study seems to discount these structures because they were largely State rather than grassroots driven. It rightly argues that the Father embodied in both the west German church and party politics and in the GDR state shaped policy for women according to national agendas and values. Yet it does not adequately recognize how these GDR policies increased quality of life for women. Most saliently, in this largely brilliantly nuanced, well-supported and incisive examination, the focus on abortion debates as singular litmus test is misleading. GDR "opportunity structures" enabled women realistic choices in reproduction, divorce, employment, and combinations thereof, as well as gradually encouraging men to take on household responsibilities. *Varieties of Feminism* notes ways in which competition under peaceful coexistence influenced women; to fully integrate assessments of life in state socialism would also be to nuance what at times comes off as a monolithically oppressive, hermetically sealed East. Furthermore, while Judith Butler's

discursive work certainly inspired a gender bent in nominally unified Germany, Ferree's analysis also intriguingly suggests that the non-separatist reformism of East/ern women-moved-women may make them early gender studies propagators. Considerations such as these demonstrate the continued relevance of investigations in this vast field, queries that *Varieties of Feminism* both trenchantly answers and astutely reveals.

*Queen's University*

*Jennifer Ruth Hosek*

**Wisconsin German Land and Life.**

*Edited by Heike Bungert, Cora Lee Kluge, and Robert C. Ostergren. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2011. \$29.95.*

At first glance it might seem odd that Robert Ostergren, who cut his teeth on Swedish-American migration research, would co-edit a collection on German chain migration communities in Wisconsin. However, his collaboration in a German-Wisconsin enterprise was not as far afield as it appears. It turns out that Ostergren was unknowingly replicating a pioneering work of transatlantic tracing undertaken a generation earlier with the encouragement of the director of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Joseph Schafer, by Rhineland historian Joseph Scheben. His work, which appeared in 1939, went unheeded on both sides of the Atlantic; the present reviewer found the Scheben book in the University of Muenster library in 1975, its pages still uncut; Helmut Schmahl, a contributor to this volume, had the same experience at the University of Mainz as late as 1995. But since the 1970s a score or more transatlantic studies have replicated and largely confirmed Scheben's and Ostergren's migration studies; several of them are represented in this volume. The authors constitute an interdisciplinary group with scholars from the field of Germanistic as well as history and geography, the latter apparent from the quality of graphics and cartography.

Two early chapters examine the background of migration from the West-erwald and Kölner Bucht, for which Wisconsin was a leading destination, documenting the smallness and fragmentation of agricultural holdings in the Rhineland, and also investigating the circumstances of people who actually left. A third chapter deals with the European side in an entirely different manner, providing a detailed overview of archival resources in the German Rhineland that provide background information on individual emigrants, their families, and their landholdings, references equally valuable to academic researchers and genealogists.



Four of the later chapters feature chain migration communities with roots in various parts of the Rhineland and their settlement in different communities across Wisconsin which they came to dominate. Helmut Schmahl analyses the "Darmstadter Settlements" of Rhenish Hessians in Washington and Sheboygan counties. Beth Schlemper examines Wisconsin's "Holyland" east of Lake Winnebago, so called because of all the saints' names which Catholic immigrants from the Eifel bestowed upon its parishes and towns. Kevin Neuberger analyzes agricultural patterns of Westewalders in the Reeseville area of Dodge County. Suzanne Townley does the same for an area of Dane County with a heavy concentration of settlers from the Kölner Bucht and a smaller group from the Trier area. One unusual aspect of this collection is the linkage of the latter two chapters with earlier chapters from the German side by examining the economic situation of a number of individuals on opposite sides of the Atlantic before and after emigrating from the Westewald and the Kölner Bucht (174-78, 234-35). One contribution that a number of chapters make is to modify claims of German distinctiveness or a wholesale transplantation of agricultural patterns, something that Ostergren and the present reviewer also found in their earliest transatlantic studies. They also confirm our findings of favorable opportunities for obtaining landholdings, surpassing even that of the peasant elite in their homelands.

Although the bulk of the book deals with chain migration communities, offering prima facie evidence of the importance of private rather than public sources of information on destinations, one chapter attempts to assess the impact of the Wisconsin Commissioner of Emigration on ethnic settlement in the state. It overlooks the possibility that this Office was an effect rather than a cause of German immigration, which even in 1850 before the Commission's founding had given Wisconsin the nationwide lead in the proportion of German natives in its population—over 11 percent, a voter bloc worth cultivating.

Many of the chapters include graphics and tables in their presentations. Plat maps of land ownership provide striking evidence of how chain migration produced clusters united by common local and regional origins rather than merely a common language. The tables, however, often leave something to be desired. On the German side, currency and land measurements were left in their traditional forms (*Morgen*, *Ruthen*, *Fuß*, and no conversion table) rather than reduced to decimal equivalents, obscuring their implications and hindering any comparison across categories. On the American side, two studies use agricultural census data to compare cropping patterns and livestock holdings of various ethnic groups and Germans of various regional origins. However, with only 25 or fewer cases in some categories (and no controls for

year of arrival), it is difficult to say which of the contrasts that emerge result from anything besides mere chance.

All in all, though, these regional microhistories on both sides of the Atlantic nicely complement one another and provide a number of examples confirming the patterns that Ostergren documented in his original study, showing that Swedes in Minnesota have much in common with rural Wisconsin Germans.

*Texas A&M University*

*Walter D. Kamphoefner*

### **Longer Than a Man's Lifetime in Missouri.**

*By Gert Goebel. Translated by Adolf E. Schroeder and Elsa Louis Nagel. Edited by Adolf E. Schroeder and Walter Kamphoefner. Columbia, MO: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 2013. xxxii + 434 pages. \$30.00.*

Originally published in German as *Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri* in 1877, Gert Goebel's account of nineteenth-century life in Missouri offers a unique German-immigrant perspective on the early history of the state and the disruptive years before, during and after the Civil War. Arriving as a young immigrant from Germany on the Missouri frontier in 1834, Goebel quickly adapted to his new homeland. His narrative chronicles the history of both the early German immigrants to the Missouri River Valley which came to be called the "Missouri Rhineland" as well as the political life, economic conditions and social and cultural aspects of the state. Goebel treats topics from slavery to the cultivation of grapes from his unique viewpoint.

Goebel immigrated at age eighteen to the United States with his parents and two sisters in 1834 and settled on a farm in Franklin County, Missouri. The Goebel family was part of the immigrant association formed in Germany by Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch known as the Giessen Society. The society had hoped to establish an independent enclave of German culture in Arkansas, but ended up in St. Louis, where the society in essence disbanded with each family fending for itself. Many acquired farmland available in the counties along the Missouri River west of St. Louis. In 1842 Goebel married Caroline Becker. They had ten children, three of whom died in infancy. During his lifetime, Goebel served as public surveyor, chief clerk for the state register office, and state senator, dying in 1896.

Goebel himself translated his original into English in 1879 under the title "The Development of Missouri," but never published it. Several others, recognizing the significance of his narrative either translated parts of it into



English—William Bek in a series of articles entitled “The Followers of Duden” in the *Missouri Historical Review* in the early 1920s—or apparently the entire work—Martin Heinrichsmeyer in 1956 and Anna Hesse in 1958. None of these translations appear to have been published in book form. In December 2012 the Washington Historical Society (of Washington, Missouri) published locally “The Development of Missouri, a German Immigrant’s First-Hand Account of Life in the Missouri Backwoods” by Gert Goebel—based on the handwritten original 1879 translation by Goebel with some additions to the original German version.

It is not clear to what extent the current translation being reviewed was based on any of these other English versions. In the “Foreword” by Gary Kremer, we learn that this translation is based on one completed about 1971 by Elsa Nagel, professor emerita of German at the University of Missouri, at the request of the State Historical Society of Missouri. After Nagel began working on the translation in the late-1960s, Adolf Schroeder, a newly arrived colleague of Nagel at the University of Missouri, assisted her when she had questions about German phrases. Nagel’s translation was never published.

Finally, in 2010, Nagel’s translation was destined for publication after six years of careful editing and comparison with the original German text by Adolf Schroeder with the assistance of his wife Rebecca Schroeder as well as Lois Puchta and Anne Hesse of Hermann, Missouri. Walter Kamphoefner also served as co-editor for the publication project. Unfortunately, Adolf Schroeder died in March 2013 shortly before the publication of the translated Goebel narrative (see “In Memoriam” in this volume beginning on page 5).

The resulting treasure-trove of a volume is indeed impressive and well worth the over one hundred years of waiting for an English translation to be published. The descriptions and insights of Goebel concerning Missouri society in the nineteenth century are now easily accessible to the English-reading audience. The editors’ detailed introduction provides the historical context for the main text as part of the German immigrant experience in Missouri. In addition, extensive footnotes inserted by the editors offer the reader biographical and explanatory information on the numerous personages and events described in Goebel’s text. Whether dealing with the horrors of the Missouri River flood of 1844 or a plague of squirrels in 1839 in Franklin County, the reader is taken through history as a direct eyewitness.

**Von republikanischen Deutschen zu deutsch-amerikanischen Republikanern: Ein Beitrag zum Identitätswandel der deutschen Achtundvierziger in den Vereinigten Staaten 1850-1861.**

By Daniel Nagel. *Mannheimer Historische Forschungen*, vol. 33. St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2012. 626 pages. €58.00.

This book originated as a Mannheim University doctoral thesis of 2010. It undertakes to survey in detail the internal conversation among American refugees of the failed revolutions of 1848-49, hence the "Forty-Eighters." The analysis begins with the republican identity of the refugees, whether they saw themselves as exiles planning to return or as emigrants determined to play a role in the United States. Pride of place is given to the most consistently radical of them all, particularly Karl Heinzen and Wilhelm Weitling. Nagel spends a great deal of time laying out the dialectic of Forty-Eighter ideas in the newspapers and journals they dominated, culminating in their integration into the Republican Party despite the continuing presence there of elements they never accepted.

When an "exile" politics aimed at rapidly returning to Central Europe proved hopeless for the time being, Forty-Eighters tried to orient themselves to American conditions, always thinking of themselves as representing a large immigrant group that often did not recognize them as leaders. There had already been a massive German emigration for decades, including many with little interest in the high politics that the Forty-Eighters had made their own. After the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Law reminded even those in "free" areas of their complicity in the slavery that prevailed in half of the states. The vast areas of cheap Western lands under federal control invited settlement, but inevitably became subject to apparent distortion arising from concentration of these lands into the hands of speculators.

Wilhelm Weitling was the person who argued most consistently for the creation of communes of workers living in isolation from their context, making him the chief American spokesman for what the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels would brand "Utopian Socialism" apart from the many religiously-inspired utopias of the time. Contemporaries were distressed by the totalitarian tone of these little republican islands in an American sea. Karl Heinzen, in contrast, advocated a "German Socialism" that would transform the entire American society.

Heinzen's effort to assert "Teutsche Sozialismus" in an American setting did not have much hope for success, partly because the Germans themselves did not constitute a consistent bloc within American society. The "Green" Forty-Eighters typified the American Germans who had not had the radicalizing



experience at the barricades as "Grays," although this compounded Catholics, economic refugees and genuine political refugees from the movements of the 1830s (the "Dreissiger") into a single mass. Germans, like other immigrants, found their first political home in the United States within the Democratic Party, although a few preferred the more elitist Whig Party.

The turning point in the political positioning of the Forty-Eighters came during the presidency of Franklin Pierce, 1853-1857, when "platforms" were published by Forty-Eighters who doubted that the Democratic Party would continue to be an acceptable home in view of increased awareness of that party's alliance with the leadership of slave states. Stephen Douglas's support of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, as well as increased claims by slaveholders to special rights, led to a frantic search for an alternative. But before the emergence of an acceptable alternative, the Nativist movement surfaced in the form of temperance, Sunday laws and efforts by the Know Nothings (also known as the American Party) to reduce the citizenship status of immigrants by delaying their access to the vote and political office. There was a last recrudescence of the idea of a German state within the Union, which was found to be as unrealistic as ever. The formation of the Republican Party received support from Forty-Eighters, due to the apparent attractiveness of John Charles Frémont, despite the continued participation of nativist and temperance elements. The political center of power of the German element shifted definitively to the west of the Alleghenies, with the Northeast no longer in the lead.

The last phase of the process of the reorientation of the Forty-Eighters within the German population came in the presidential campaign of 1860, which would establish the paradigm that prevailed through the Civil War and beyond.

The most novel contribution of this lengthy and thorough study, built on English as well as German scholarly literature, is a serious treatment of the "conservative" German voice, epitomized in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*. Its articles present a continual critique of the Forty-Eighters' often self-absorbed orthodoxy. Although the concentration of all pre-1848 immigrants into a single cohort of "Grays" is hard to maintain, that is certainly how the Forty-Eighters chose to understand it.

One of the major strengths of this volume is that there are extensive citations of both German and English statements from the participants at the time. One has to be reminded how well Carl Schurz could write (and speak) in English to see why he remained a respected spokesman for the rest of his long life.

As a last service to the reader, the author provides short profiles of major persons exploited in the book, as well as of the newspapers that constitute the major source of his information. This book could be required reading for all students of German immigration in the nineteenth century.

*University of Missouri-St. Louis*

*Steven Rowan*



## **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 conducted online and/or by mail ballot following finalization of the nomination process 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:            May 9, 2013  
                              New Orleans, Louisiana

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](mailto:petig@stanford.edu)).





