

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 48

2013



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 Texturum* ("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 48

2013

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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 following the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* and be submitted electronically, without the author's name in the document so that it can be reviewed anonymously by members of the Editorial Board. All correspondence regarding 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 the co-editors ([MKGAC@iupui.edu](mailto:MKGAC@iupui.edu)). Inquiries regarding the SGAS website should be addressed to Matthew Lange ([langem@uww.edu](mailto:langem@uww.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).



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## From the Editor

This volume of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* begins with three essays on topics ranging from the relationship of Thomas Jefferson to Germany and German culture by Sandra Rebok to an instance of rape suffered by German women in Missouri during the Civil War by Robert Frizzell and, finally, to the biography of German exile writer Max Mohr by Hans Peter Baum. In addition to returning to the regular publication of shorter essays in this issue, we have added a new regular feature to the *Yearbook*. Following the extensive Book Review section edited by Susan Schürer who richly deserves our thanks, we are including a list of recent doctoral dissertations and master's theses which have German-American Studies as a focus. In some cases the net was perhaps cast too broadly, with some titles only appearing to touch tangentially on our field. But we believed it was better to err on the side of caution. This first list includes those dissertations and theses which were completed from 2000 through 2013. In the next *Yearbook*, we will include supplements from those years as well as a listing for the year 2014.

We have also chosen to feature three essays by scholars with the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC, to highlight the ongoing online research project on *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*. The essays by Uwe Spiekermann on German-American brewers, Benjamin Schwantes on the serial entrepreneurship of Jacob Schoellkopf, and Atiba Pertilla on German-American financiers will introduce our readers to the scope of this project. *Immigrant Entrepreneurship* contributes to multiple scholarly disciplines including business history, immigration history, economic history, and management studies by tracing the lives, careers, and business ventures of eminent German-American businesspeople of the last three centuries.

The 2013 volume of the *Yearbook* also presents a documentary feature translated from German by long-time Editorial Board member Leo Schelbert. The essay by Paul Hostettler, pastor emeritus of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Bern, Switzerland, traces the origins of Swiss *Täufer* "(Ana-)Baptists," particularly the Hostettler family members, who immigrated from Switzerland and eventually to the American Colonies. The title of the original German essay "Zwei schwarzenburgische Täuferlehrer, die Zwillinge Hostettler Jacob und Peter und die Täuferhöfe im schwarzenburgischen Winterkraut" gives a hint of the complexity of this attempt to unravel and document the family and immigration history that begins in Switzerland and ends in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

We are happy to report the addition of two members to our *Yearbook's* Editorial Board who will augment our expertise in German-American

linguistic studies. Michael T. Putnam of Pennsylvania State University and Hans C. Boas of the University of Texas-Austin have agreed to serve as reviewers for manuscripts dealing with topics in linguistics. We also want to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to all members of the Editorial Board (see page iii) for their willingness to review and critique manuscripts and ensure the high quality of the Society's "flagship" publication.

Please take some time to review the documents at the end of this volume that outline the organization and purposes of the Society, especially our Bylaws, with the recent amendment adopted in August 2014 which supplements and expands the more general definition of the Society's purposes (Article I, Section 3). 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 by contacting the respective committee chair.

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, you will find information on ordering back issues of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* as well as the Supplemental Issues published in 2003, 2006, 2010 and 2012. The *Yearbook* was published as a paperback until 2003. The older paperback issues are available for a minimal charge of \$5.00 per volume; the hardbound 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.

As always, the editor looks forward to seeing many of you at our next Annual Symposium to be held April 9-11, 2015, in the "Gateway City" of St. Louis, Missouri. Presenters are encouraged to submit their essays for consideration by the Editorial Board for possible publication in a forthcoming *Yearbook*. We now encourage electronic submission of our manuscript (see the editor's e-mail address above).

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



*Sandra Rebok*

### **Thomas Jefferson and Germany: His Travel Experience, Scientific and Philosophical Influences<sup>1</sup>**

Thomas Jefferson's European experience was primarily marked by his five year stay in France as American Minister from 1784-89, and scholarship on his intellectual relationship to Europe has also focused mostly on that country. Nevertheless, his travel experiences in other regions of the Old World, his contact and correspondence with people from these places as well as the influences obtained from these countries, deserve closer study. In view of the important role of Jefferson in the scholarship of the trans-Atlantic relationship as well as the history of ideas exchanged between the Old and the New World in the late 18th and early 19th century, this article seeks to shed light on an aspect of his European experience that has not yet been sufficiently taken into account—the role German culture, philosophy, technology and science played in his thinking and acting throughout his life.<sup>2</sup> It examines in-depth Jefferson's experience from his first contact with Hessian prisoners of war interned in Virginia during the American Revolution, through his observations regarding the German states taken during his travels there in April 1788, along with later impressions created by different groups of people he personally met or corresponded with following his return to the United States, such as immigrants, scholars, merchants or visitors to Monticello in later years. It furthermore analyzes the ways and the extent to which the consequences of German politics have had an impact on his ideas regarding the new society he envisioned to create in the United States as well as the possible influence of these foreign pedagogic ideas on the creation of the University of Virginia towards the end of his life.



## **First encounter with German culture during the Revolutionary War**

Jefferson's first contact to German culture, years before he went to Europe, was the wartime experience he had with Hessian prisoners of war as governor of Virginia. These were mercenary soldiers, most of them from the landgrave Hessen-Kassel, who fought on the British side and for whom already in the year 1776 Jefferson and Franklin had developed a plan to cause desertion among them.<sup>3</sup> After having been interned at several other places, in January 1779 around 4,000 men of the Convention Troops had been quartered in Charlottesville, Albemarle County. Jefferson quickly became acquainted with General Friedrich Adolf Riedesel as well as with the younger officers in his staff, particularly Jean Louis de Unger and Baron von Geismar, who commanded a brigade enlisted from his hometown, the district of Hanau in Hessen-Kassel. Jefferson developed a very cordial and hospitable relationship with these men, making them intimates of his own home and introducing them to his circles of friends. Especially Geismar had become a close friend of Thomas and Martha Jefferson; he rented a house in the vicinity of Monticello and they thus were able to regularly exchange visits and enjoy social gatherings with amateur theatricals or musical evenings.<sup>4</sup> We can assume that these officers had not expected to find a man as cultivated as Jefferson and with such a refined life style living near the American frontier. On the other hand, they served for him as an early introduction to German thinking and way of life—a world that was still rather unknown to him in those years. In this sense, they provided Jefferson with the opportunity to get in contact with European culture and ideas, and through them he also might have already caught a glimpse of those aspects of the Old World that he later would appreciate very much and bring to Virginia: Europe's architecture, art and wine culture.

The intellectual closeness between these men also led to a deeper understandings of and empathy for their respective personal situation. As a consequence, it was with Jefferson's help that in November 1780 Geismar was able to leave Virginia, claiming the necessity to return to his homeland as the only son of sick father with his patrimony in danger. The same year, Jefferson's encounter with the Prussian Major General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730-94) who served to the Continental Army and is credited for teaching Washington's army the essential military tactics and disciplines, was of a more complex nature. During the general's stay in Virginia, to a certain extent disagreement arose between Steuben, the state government and its governor Jefferson. The former was dissatisfied with Virginia's failure to comply with his requests at building a fort and supplying military provisions in a timely fashion and corresponded with Jefferson about

this topic. Nevertheless, as Paul Lockhart describes, the "heated exchange between Steuben and Jefferson, jarring as it was, had no lasting significance. Whatever his faults as a war leader, Jefferson was still a great man, and did not take Steuben's fulminations personally."<sup>5</sup> Also Friedrich Knapp manifests a rather positive view with respect to the development of the relationship between both personalities in spite of the political complication:

. . . no matter how often they varied in their respective plans and pretensions, they esteemed each other highly. Steuben did not hold the governor responsible for the delays and faults of the State; but found that the slow movements of the Legislature, and the want of enthusiasm in the people, produced them. Jefferson, on the other hand, did not look upon Steuben as an obstinate gambler, but as a general ever ready and anxious to promote the interests of the country.<sup>6</sup>

Hence, out of this period of time it was mainly the contact to Geismar that proved to have a lasting impact on Jefferson in the years to come.

### **Travels through Germany**

Years later, from 1785 onwards, while Jefferson was living in Paris, he started to correspond again with Geismar, and the baron suggested that he take the opportunity to make a visit to his hometown Hanau. The idea to meet with his friend, this time under completely different circumstances, and to get to know better the culture that Geismar had transmitted him during their common time in Virginia, might have been a considerable motivation to undertake a journey through different German regions. Other reasons for his visit to this country were his interest in viniculture and in politics—to observe the impact of different political systems on society, on the character and the living condition of its population. Finally, the painter John Trumball's trip down the Rhine in 1786 and the enthusiastic letters concerning this travels he had sent Jefferson, also contributed to increase his interest for this land and inspired him to acquire maps of the Rhine.<sup>7</sup>

It was in spring of 1788 when he was finally able to undertake this journey, and coming from Holland and crossing the Rhine at Essenberg, his itinerary took him from 2–16 April to Duisburg and Düsseldorf, Cologne, Bonn, Koblenz, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Hanau, Rüdesheim, Worms, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Schwetzingen, Speyer, Karlsruhe and Kehl, before returning to France via Strasbourg.

Through his personal annotations taken during his journey<sup>8</sup> we learn



more about his particular curiosities during this visit and the comments he made regarding the different regions he was able to see. Jefferson seemed to observe and comment on everything—the climate, prices, situation of the roads, political systems and their impact on society, differences between the states, architecture, landscape and everything related to the growing of wine grapes. We thus know that at Duisburg he saw a gallery of paintings, and that he was searching for a site where in 9 A.D. the German tribes under Arminius, such as the Cheruskans, Bructeri, Marsi and the Chatti, defeated the legions of Quinctilius Varus and arrested the expansions of the Roman Empire East of the Rhine.<sup>9</sup> At Coblenz he saw the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein and the palace just completed for the Elector of Trier, particularly noting its system of central heating. In Frankfurt and the surroundings he was able to satisfy his interest for German viniculture: While staying at the large and magnificent Red House in Frankfurt, Jefferson sampled some of the fine local wines from the cellars of his landlord, John Adam Dick. It was in this town where he finally met Baron Geismar and on 8 April they went together to Hanau, where Jefferson saw other Hessian officers he had known in Charlottesville during the Revolution. Accompanied by Geismar, he visited the vineyards in the villages of Johannisberg, Rüdesheim, and Hochheim—where he spent his 45th birthday with Geismar—compiling extensive notes on the grape varieties and the production of wine. He concluded that the wines of first quality were made between Rüdesheim and Hochheim and elaborated lists of no less than a dozen properties in each village that produced outstanding wine. According to his “Memorandum on wine,” between the three regions mentioned above, for some years past the Johannesberg had acquired the highest reputation and the best Moselle wine was made by Baron Breidbach Burrenheim on the mountain of Brauneberg.<sup>10</sup> The vines he flourished later in his garden at the Hôtel Langeac, and to Geismar he wrote that he looked forward to offering him “a glass of Hock or Rudesheim of my own making” should he ever revisit Monticello,<sup>11</sup> though there is no record that he succeeded in making wine from these German stocks.

Unfortunately, since he did not know German, only limited interaction with the population was possible, a fact that he regretted, thus in a letter to Cosway he mentioned that his inquiries became frustrated by the language barrier.<sup>12</sup> As a result, except for the time he spent with Geismar, the conversations he was able to have during his travels were mainly confined to innkeepers, wine merchants, or his valet in Frankfurt. Another place he visited was Wilhelmsbad, the pleasure ground near Hanau recently laid out in the English style for the landgrave of Hesse-Kassel. Having suffered from the bad roads between Bonn and Frankfurt, the Virginian more cheerfully paid the turnpike tolls on the more comfortable country roads to the South.<sup>13</sup>



To understand the differences he had observed, we have to keep in mind that in the late 18th century Germany was a collection of small electorates, principalities and free cities with customs barriers at every border, so the quality of the roads varied from good to bad depending on the political subdivision through which one travelled.

Regarding Jefferson's visit to Mannheim he mentioned the observatory and the palace of the Palatinate Elector, which then had a very large gallery as well as cabinets of antiquities and natural history and at Käfertal, today belonging to Mannheim, he saw wild boars and a rhubarb plantation. The itinerary took him next to Heidelberg, where Jefferson visited the famous castle, "the most magnificent ruin after those left to us by the antients [*sic*]"<sup>14</sup>, taking time to measure the Grosse Fass, the huge wine barrel which is still an attraction at the site. Afterwards he went to the gardens of Schwetzingen, and concerning the sights he was able to see in Karlsruhe, he mentioned only the palace and the gardens of the Margrave of Baden. Nevertheless, the structure of the city layout had inspired Jefferson: A map of Karlsruhe, then being developed according to a comprehensive plan by Friedrich Weinbrenner, was one of several plans Jefferson later sent to Pierre L'Enfant to aid in the creation of the city of Washington.<sup>15</sup>

### **Interest in German culture, politics, character and technology**

Besides the description of his travels and respective activities in each place, in his "Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," as well as some letters, Jefferson also provides us his reflections on and analysis of the circumstances he had found in the different regions visited. Within the category "Objects of attention for an American" he points to the importance to observe the politics of each country:

Examine their influence on the happiness of the people: take every possible occasion of entering into the hovels of the labourers, and especially at the moments of their repast, see what they eat, how they are clothed, whether they are obliged to labour too hard; whether the government or their landlord takes from them an unjust proportion of their labour; on what footing stands the property they call their own, their personal liberty &c.<sup>16</sup>

This was indeed an issue he analyzed in detail during his travels and on political matters Jefferson was clearly more outspoken in Germany than he had permitted himself to be the year before in France.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the differences he noticed between the Dutch and the Prussian territory for

instance he says:

The transition from ease and opulence to extreme poverty is remarkable [*sic*] on crossing the line between the Dutch and Prussian territory. The soil and climate are the same. The governments alone differ. With the poverty, the fear also of slaves is visible in the faces of the Prussian subjects. There is an improvement however in the physiognomy, especially could it be a little brightened up.<sup>18</sup>

Another interesting comment in the same context can be found in his travel narrative, where he offered the following explanation for the contrast found within different German states. According to Jefferson the roads were well cultivated until one enters the territory of Hesse; there the consequences of the different governments were immediately visible:

. . . notwithstanding the tendency which the neighborhood of such a commercial town as Francfort has to counteract the effects of tyranny in it's vicinities, and to animate them in spite of oppression. In Francfort all is life, bustle and motion. In Hanau the silence and quiet of the mansions of the dead. Nobody is seen moving in the streets; every door is shut; no sound of the saw, the hammer, or other utensil of industry. The drum and fife is all that is heard. The streets are cleaner than a German floor, because nobody passes them.<sup>19</sup>

Many years after these travels, in his autobiography, Jefferson reflects again on the fact that Germany was divided into many states, something that he considered to be a considerable disadvantage: "The Germanic body is a burlesque on government; and their practice on any point is a sufficient authority & proof that it is wrong."<sup>20</sup> In contrast to his political inspired observations, in a letter to his personal secretary William Short we can find a rather positive comment regarding the landscape as well as the nature of the people he had encountered during his visit: "I have seen much good country on the Rhine, and bad whenever I got a little off of it. But what I have met with the most wonderful in nature is a set of men absolutely incorruptible by money, by fair words or by foul: and that this should, of all others, be the class of postilions. This however is the real character of German postilions whom nothing on earth can induce to go out of a walk."<sup>21</sup>

In the same letter he argues that in a way Germany could be called their "second mother country," since it was the people from this nation who "form the greatest body of our people." Much of what he had observed reminded him of upper Maryland and Pennsylvania, and as he added, "I have been



continually amused by seeing the origins of whatever is not English among us.”

Finally, in his description we can also detect a particular interest for any useful tool or invention that could possibly improve the living conditions of his fellow countrymen. In fact, two of his most noted inventions, a folding ladder that he used at Monticello and a moldboard for plows to raise the soil after it had been cut, derived from observations and sketches he made on his journey through Germany.<sup>22</sup>

### **Germans as immigrants in the United States**

Another encounter with German culture after his return to the United States in 1789 was through the immigrants, and particularly the religious groups trying to settle in the new territories, that he had to deal with while he was in office. In general, probably inspired by his visit to this country and what he had seen there, Jefferson did manifest a particular interest in establishing German settlements in Virginia. Among several pieces of correspondence relating to German immigration are Jefferson's letters of 1792 in which he negotiated the procurement of settlers from the Palatinate for Virginia. In 1806, in his position as president, Jefferson received a petition from Johann Georg Rapp, immigrated to the United States in 1803 from Württemberg, a religious leader and founder of the *Harmony Society*<sup>23</sup> in which he referred his request for special terms in purchasing lands in Indiana for his followers.<sup>24</sup> Previously, in December 1804 Rapp and two other men had already purchased 4,500 acres of land in Butler County, Pennsylvania, and later acquired additional land to expand their landholdings in order to build here the town of Harmony for their small community. Due to several reasons—one of them being that the climate did not offer good conditions for the growth of grapes—in 1806 the Harmonists submitted a petition to the U.S. government for assistance in purchasing land in the Indiana Territory. In January 1806 this case was discussed in Washington, but while the Senate passed the petition, it was defeated in the House of Representatives and thus the Harmonists had to find other financial means to support their plans for future expansion. From various comments Jefferson made in this specific context, but also based on the ideas he had in general in mind for his agriculturally oriented new nation, we can see that—without sharing their religious belief—he seemed to appreciate successful settlements such as the one established by the Harmonists. They were economically autonomous and self-supporting, and this was something Jefferson much aspired to for the United States—to become independent from the supplies from foreign nations and create manufactures sufficient for their own consumption:



We have experienced what we did not [before] believe: that there exists both profligacy and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations; that to be independent for the comforts of life we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist . . . Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation?<sup>25</sup>

It is likely that he saw the Harmonists as useful to obtain that goal, and he was able to observe their rapid progress in wealth and prosperity: In spite of their initial difficulties, in 1814 the society sold their first town in Pennsylvania to Mennonites with a considerable profit and then the commune was able to move west to Indiana and establish their new town, called New Harmony.

In general, Jefferson manifested a positive attitude toward German settlers. He envisioned using their craftsmanship skills in the United States, a plan that has to be seen in connection with his experience and observation in his native country. In fact, while he was still in Germany he developed an idea that aimed to find a solution to one of the large moral dilemmas in his life—the institution of slavery. In a letter to Edward Bancroft written in 1788, Jefferson suggested that the organized import of German labor might potentially substitute African slaves:

I shall endeavor to import as many Germans as I have grown slaves. I will settle them and my slaves, on farms of 50 acres each, intermingled, and place all on the footing of the Metayers<sup>26</sup> . . . of Europe. Their children shall be brought up, as others are, in habits of property and foresight, and I have no doubt but that they will be good citizens. Some of their fathers will be so: others I suppose will need government.<sup>27</sup>

### **Jefferson as reference for German Americanists**

Although Jefferson professed to have bought all the important foreign publications on America, he owned only few works of the German historians and geographers who produced the best ones on America of the period. On their side, they were aware of him as an expert on North America and, as a consequence, he was contacted by several scholars who sought his advice. This shows that in the Old World Jefferson was not only perceived as a politician but as a distinguished scholar and expert on all topics related to America. It is quite likely that the German edition of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* that

had appeared in the *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* in the years 1788-89 had contributed to make him known in Germany as an expert on this part of the United States.<sup>28</sup>

Among the German authors of books on America that contacted Jefferson, the most outstanding of them was Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1741-1817).<sup>29</sup> Immersed in writing a multivolume study of the United States and impressed by Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in 1795 Ebeling wrote from Hamburg about his research on the general historic, geographical and topographical description of America<sup>30</sup> for which he tried to obtain Jefferson's assistance.<sup>31</sup> This magisterial work praised the United States as an example of republican liberty and dealt with ten states from New Hampshire to Virginia. For the last volume on Virginia Ebeling relied on Jefferson's publication, which he knew from the abridgement published by Prof. Sprengel in Halle.<sup>32</sup> Sometime after receiving that letter, Jefferson started to write his thoughts in response, elaborating an extended document with detailed information, although it is not evident that he ever actually sent them to the German historian.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, a copy of the Virginia volume—inscribed by Ebeling "To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson most respectfully offered by the Author" with the initials by which Jefferson marked his books—was once part of his library.

Another very distinguished German who established contact with Jefferson was the theologian and philologist Johann Severin Vater (1771-1826). In 1809 he sent him his work *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente*, which he had dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt, in order to obtain Jefferson's opinion. He also suggested considering to translate it into English, in case he thought that it deserved this attention.<sup>34</sup> As Vater expressed it, he had always felt high veneration, "for the wise ruler of a great people" and "more particularly for the philosopher, who instituted and still pursues profound inquiries into the history of the native American tribes and their languages."<sup>35</sup> Jefferson replied in a very respectful way, telling him that his research should indeed receive every aid and encouragement.<sup>36</sup> Previously he had forwarded the book to Benjamin Smith Barton, since "not understanding a word of German," as he said in his letter, "the *book* is lost on me"; nevertheless he expressed his strong interest in having it translated, though he would not be able to provide the means for it.<sup>37</sup>

A different aspect that reveals the recognition Jefferson's broad scholarly work had received in Germany is the fact that in 1812 he obtained the distinction of having been elected Member of the Academy of Sciences and Agronomic Society of Bavaria, just founded two years earlier. As Baron Karl von Moll, a mineralogist and public official states in his letter to the newly elected member, the Society normally accepted neither foreign members nor



correspondents; however in this case they decided to give homage "to men who devote themselves abroad, in a distinguished manner, to the theory or practice of the art of agriculture" and it would please the society "to see in its annals some illustrious names that are revered in the history of agriculture." Therefore electing him as a honorary member they sought to recognize publicly the important service Jefferson had rendered to the "most useful of the arts."<sup>38</sup>

Jefferson replied two years later, explaining that he had just received Moll's letter due to the interruption of correspondence during the war, and expressing much gratification for being named an honorary member of the society:

. . . sincerely devoted to this art, the basis of the subsistence, the comforts, and the happiness of man, & and sensible to the interest which all nations have in communicating freely to each other discoveries of new and useful processes and implements in it, I shall with zeal at all times meet the wishes of the society, & especially rejoice in every opportunity which their commands may present of being useful to them.<sup>39</sup>

Previously to that distinction, Jefferson had received similar honors in other European nations: In 1797 he was elected Member of the Board of Agriculture in London as well as Member of the Linnaean Society of Paris, and in 1809 he was honored as Member of the Dutch Institute of Sciences, of Literature and of Fine Arts.

### **German correspondents and visitors**

Though the group of Germans in Jefferson's international communication network was a rather small one, in comparison to his correspondence with France and England for instance, it nevertheless developed over many decades and touched upon very diverse topics: Beginning with his early contact with the Hessians officers Geismar, Riedesel or the Prussian general von Steuben, extending into the scholarly sector through his correspondence with experts on America such as Ebeling and Vater or those people who belonged to the growing group of German immigrants: recently immigrated persons as George Rapp, trying to settle down in their new lives and seeking Jefferson's support, but also already established entrepreneurs and merchants such as John Jacob Astor, for instance, focusing on extending their business into new fields. Furthermore, also among his correspondents were inventors like George Frederick Augustus Hauto, who sent Jefferson the description of



a Hydrostatic Engine, the Lutheran pastor Henry Muhlenberg or Marten Wanscher, a native German plasterer who worked at Monticello from 1801 until 1804.

Another visitor of much greater importance that Jefferson met in Washington was the Prussian traveler and scientist Alexander von Humboldt, who after his five year long expedition through the Spanish colonies in America (1799-1804) visited the United States in spring 1804. Being in possession of important geographical and statistical data regarding the newly acquired Louisiana territory, he had received an invitation from Jefferson's administration.<sup>40</sup> From this visit onwards, over the next 21 years Jefferson and Humboldt maintained a transatlantic epistolary communication that lasted until shortly before Jefferson's death, in which they discussed the events of their period of time and informed each other about their respective work. For Jefferson this was another means to maintain the contact to Europe in general and the scholarly world of Paris in particular, but it was also a way to disseminate and promote through Humboldt certain positive ideas about his young nation in the Old World. It was only in 1827 that Humboldt returned to his native Berlin after living for two decades in the French capital, so that the importance of Jefferson's connection to him is more defined by Humboldt's role as an internationally renowned scholar and less as a connector to German science in particular.

Over the years Jefferson also received some guests of this nationality in his residence at Monticello. As mentioned initially, among the first visitors to Monticello were the English and German officers of the Convention Army. The first announcement of Monticello's existence in Europe might have been in a letter of one of these Teutonic officers.<sup>41</sup> Many years later there was another German visitor to Monticello: Karl Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, who toured the United States in 1825-26, and made his crossing of the Blue Ridge Mountains some miles north of Charlottesville. In his publication<sup>42</sup> he reflected his travels and his personal impressions regarding Monticello as well as the newly established University of Virginia and also offered to the reader parts of Jefferson's *Notes* translated into Goeth's language.<sup>43</sup>

### **German literature in Jefferson's library**

It was through these persons, through their personal or epistolary communication, that Jefferson was in contact with German thoughts, science and philosophy. Nevertheless, the world of his books also offered an important access to this culture and its achievements in the broadest sense. Regarding Jefferson's ability to read or understand the language we can assume that also in later years they remained rather limited. In his *Notes of a Tour through Holland*

*and the Rhine Valley* he regretted that "there was not a person to be found in Duysberg who could understand either English, French, Italian or Latin. So I could make no enquiry." Also in his *Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe* he points to the difficulties he encountered during his travels in Germany to find someone to converse in the languages he spoke or to make the people understand what he wished to see. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Jefferson was trying to learn German: He had dictionaries, vocabularies, and grammars in a number of other languages in his library, among them also German ones. We also know that at some time during the Virginian's youth or young manhood, he came close to learning this language, since a small piece of cardboard with the German of some song stanzas survives. However, apparently he did not get very far with his attempts, thus several times later in his life, he stated simply and without regret that he was not in possession of these language skills.

In spite of these limitations a search through his library—the one sold by Jefferson to the Library of Congress in 1815, but also the library he had built up again afterwards—shows numerous entries for publication by German authors or German topics. Let's have a closer look on the different types of books present in his library and through them define Jefferson's interest for Germany. Not surprisingly, we can find several publications by or on important philosophers, on political philosophy as well as juristic questions, such as the works by Wolff, von Pufendorf, Schlegel or Kant.<sup>44</sup> There are also several contributions of renowned authors to the field of natural sciences like Blumenbach or Burkhard in their English translations,<sup>45</sup> and some books in his library focused on the field of chemistry or geography.<sup>46</sup> Jefferson was furthermore interested in descriptions of travels through the Holy Roman Empire, written by Germans but also authors of other nations,<sup>47</sup> or any type of historic or political treaties concerning this country,<sup>48</sup> including a book on the state of music.<sup>49</sup> Prussia and its history seems to have held a particular interest for him, as several publications on this subject reveal.<sup>50</sup> On the other side, there were also studies on other countries by German authors in his library, such as Kaempfer's work on Japan<sup>51</sup> or Ebeling's and Vater's work on America.<sup>52</sup> In spite of his lack of knowledge of this European language we do find a German grammar book in the list of publications owned by Jefferson<sup>53</sup> as well as some books on gardening, written in the same language.<sup>54</sup> Finally, in his later years, probably through the influence of George Ticknor, as we will see, he seemed to become interested in German literature as well, later owning a translation of Goethe's *Faust*.<sup>55</sup>



## Influence of German political philosophy

Let's now turn the focus on the German scholarly sources Jefferson worked with and referred to in his writings. In emphasizing the influence of English philosophers in his political thinking, scholars have usually overlooked German contributions. Among political philosophers Jefferson was familiar with are the works of the German jurist and historian Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94), whose writings on natural law were widely influential among Americans. In several occasions he cited his works *Introduction à l'histoire générale et politique de l'univers* (1721) or *Les devoirs de l'homme* (1707), making references to its content that show that he had intensively studied them in a way, or recommended its reading.<sup>56</sup> There are no existing records about when exactly Jefferson acquired the works of Pufendorf, but it is obvious that he was acquainted with the philosopher's main arguments before 1770, when in the case of Howard versus Netherland he argued that "under the law of nature all men are born free." This was Jefferson's first pronouncement of this statement and it can be traced back to Pufendorf, who held that all men were born free when he occupied the chair of "the law of nature and nations" at the University of Heidelberg, the first professorship of this sort in the world. His independent ideas thus were of great influence upon subsequent writers, both in the New and in the Old World.<sup>57</sup>

There is also a strong visible influence of the eminent philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754) on Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence.<sup>58</sup> Jefferson owned Wolff's "Institutiones Juris Naturae" before 1783 in the Latin edition of 1772. His conception of certain inalienable Rights, especially the right of freedom, can also be understood as inspired by Wolff. Out of the three Rights listed by John Locke (life, liberty, property), the Declaration of Independence added the pursuit of happiness in place of property; this appears among the objects for which, according to Wolff, the state had been constituted.<sup>59</sup> Wolff had more to offer than Locke in terms of argumentation for the separation from England and the establishment of a new form of society: he declares that the body of people as a whole was entitled to disobey and give resistance whenever its constitutional rights are infringed—an idea that gets manifest in the Declaration of Independence in the "right and duty of the people to throw off a government."<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, whereas the metaphysical foundation was lacking in Locke, Wolff included a spirit of Deism, which dictated his explanation of the origin of the law of nature. For him God himself was the author of the laws of nature and he obliged man to conform his actions to it, so that natural obligations had to be understood as divine, just as natural laws.<sup>61</sup> This seemed appealing to Jefferson and again saw its incorporation in the Declaration of Independence, in the wording



that the citizens were endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

### **German University model—an inspiration for the University of Virginia?**

While the influence of German political philosophers on the drafting of the Declaration of Independence can be traced through Jefferson's reading of these two scholars, it is more difficult to assess if and to what extent the university model of this country had been an inspiration as well for him in the creation of the University of Virginia. The 19th century German concept of higher education, with its emphasis on the unity of teaching and research and graduate education, was the model emulated by several of what were to become the most prestigious universities in other countries. This model has its origins in the philosophy of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexander von Humboldt's brother, and was based upon Friedrich Schleiermacher's liberal ideas. Freedom was an important concept, and the professorate system was based on competition: although professors served as state functionaries, they had the freedom to choose between several states, and their identity and prestige arose from the specialization of scientific disciplines. The German research based university system became a model to follow also in the United States, with a strong impact noticeable particularly from 1850 onward. The creation of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 is regarded as the beginning of American graduate education based on European university models. Nevertheless, the temporal coincidence between the creation of the university of Berlin, founded in 1810 inspired by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the creation of the University of Virginia just a few years later, with classes starting in the year 1819, raises the question whether an influence of the German research model can be detected there. In order to analyze a possible connection a closer look at the sources of Jefferson's ideas about education is required.<sup>62</sup> Already the bill of 1779 and his work *Notes on the State of Virginia* reflected radical ideas on education as an instrument of republican policy. How did Jefferson happen to get these ideas in America of the 1770s? Free elementary education had been introduced in Prussia as early as 1716 by Frederick William I and had been made thoroughgoing by a regulation of Frederick the Great in 1763. News of this might have reached Virginia and had influenced his ideas on universal free elementary education. Concerned throughout his whole life with education, as in the first years of the Revolution with education for everyone irrespective of family wealth or status, his plan was part of his revolutionary political thinking, where he saw Virginia as a model republic: He envisioned free elementary school for all future citizens, free advanced education for a selected group of poor children, university education at public expenses for a selected few who would be ready

to serve the state and a true university for those who could afford to pay.<sup>63</sup> From 1825–60 the University of Virginia was one of the few that endeavored with some success to be a university in a European sense; it set the tone for other universities to follow, “based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind” as Jefferson expressed it in two letters in 1820.<sup>64</sup>

In this context Jefferson’s extended correspondence with George Ticknor (1791–1871), the scholar and Harvard professor of modern languages and the first American Hispanist, is very revealing. Before Ticknor went to study at the university in Göttingen for two years together with Edward Everett,<sup>65</sup> he visited Jefferson at Monticello in 1815, and that same year his long letters to Jefferson were filled with information about and praise of German university education, scholarship and intellectual achievements, but also about its significance in the field of literature.<sup>66</sup>

While Americans were sufficiently familiar with the political organization of Germany, Ticknor argues, its literature “is a kind of terra in cognita to us.” He considers it “interesting literature,” since it “has all the freshness and faithfulness of poetry of the early ages,” pointing in this context to the works of Goethe, Klopstock, Lessing, Voss and Schiller.<sup>67</sup> He foresaw a brilliant future for German literature: “But no man can go far into the body of German literature . . . without feeling that there is an enthusiasm among them, which has brought them forward in forty years as far as other nations have been three centuries in advancing and which will carry them much farther.”<sup>68</sup>

Ticknor attributed the supposed superiority of that nation in the intellectual world to a spirit of liberality and philosophy in their learning, which made only slow progress in England. Not just the literature, also the sciences in Germany he found worth following, since in “mineralogy, botany and entomology . . . they lead the rest of Europe.” In this context he pointed to the mathematician Gauss who had “recently acquired extraordinary reputation by his astronomical calculations.”<sup>69</sup> In the same letter he continues arguing that a reason for the progress in this field he saw the liberty and a universal toleration in all matters of opinion: “No matter what a man thinks, he may teach it and print it, not only without molestation from the government but also without molestation from public opinion which is so often more oppressive than the arms of authority. I know not that anything like this exists in any other country.” Books appear every day that would be suppressed in other countries, whereas in Germany the same books might just get a severe review or answer. According to Ticknor, “everything in Germany seems to me to be measured by the genius or acuteness or learning it discovers without reference to previous opinions or future consequences to an astonishing and sometimes to an alarming degree.”<sup>70</sup> He sees a direct impact on the universities of the pedagogic model based on liberty: “If truth



is to be attained by freedom of inquiry, as I Doubt not it is, the German professors and literati are certainly in the high road, and we have the way quietly open before them.<sup>71</sup>

Also in the field of Classic studies Ticknor considered that within the last forty years Germany advanced farther than any other nation now leaves even England at least twenty years behind:

This has been chiefly affected by the constitution of their universities, where the professors are kept perpetually in a grinding state of excitement and emulation, and by the constitution of their literary society generally, which admits no man to its honors, who has not written a good book.<sup>72</sup>

Jefferson had requested Ticknor to buy him classical texts in English editions, but Ticknor, preferring German scholarship and editions, suggested that Jefferson buy them instead: "the longer I remain here, the more I learn to value the German modes of study and the enlarged and liberal spirit of German scholarship and, for the same reason I think the more you see German editions of the classicks, the more you will be disposed to admit them into your library."<sup>73</sup>

Jefferson followed the younger man's advice, and recommended German texts from then on, as several references in his letters to his correspondents prove. As he mentions in another letter to Jefferson, Ticknor found his stay in this part of Europe so inspiring and enriching, so "suited to his purposes" that he decided to prolong his studies and enjoy it a year longer.<sup>74</sup> Thus it was Ticknor who initiated the trail of American scholars to German universities, writing such inspiring letters to Jefferson about the University of Göttingen library, the quality of teaching and the ample atmosphere of academic freedom that Americans soon went to this country for higher education. At the same time in his correspondence with Ticknor, Jefferson tells him about his ideas regarding the creation of the University of Virginia. Thus it seems probable that the Virginian established a connection between these observations and his plans for his own university. Another result of Ticknor's appraisal of German literature, science and educational system was that Jefferson was now willing to hire a German language professor, instead of recruiting them exclusively among the Scottish academic world. In the same year Ticknor declined Jefferson's offer of the professorship of modern languages (French, Italian, Spanish, German) in Charlottesville, the young New Englander recommended the Göttingen-trained Georg Blaettermann, with whom he had met three times in London before his return to the U.S. In 1823, Blaettermann applied by letter to Jefferson for the appointment,



for which he had, in the interval, prepared himself by collecting, during a tour of France, Germany, and Holland, materials for a series of lectures to be delivered at the University. He obtained the position and arrived at the in Charlottesville in 1825, being one of only two German-trained professors appointed under Jefferson.<sup>75</sup>

By 1818, Jefferson had ample testimony from Ticknor of the value of the German language and education. This can also be seen in the "Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia" from 4 August 1818:

And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is too of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us.

A few years later, in 1825, there was a long list of books in German shipped from Hamburg to Jefferson intended for the University of Virginia, treating such diverse subjects as, for instance, grammar, history, education, philosophy, politics, literature, gardening, collected works of German writers, poems, but also travel narratives on other countries.<sup>76</sup> This leads to my hypothesis that there had likely been an influence of the Humboldtian pedagogic model also on the creation of the University of Virginia, given the many parallels in time and objectives, besides the close personal relationship of Jefferson with his brother. Other arguments in favor of an influence of the German university model was the focus on a combination of research and teaching at this university as well as the academic liberty provided, or the strong collaboration between professors and students, favored for instance by the building of the university with its pavilions for professors among the units for the students. Jefferson was probably also aware of the discussion around 1820 between George Bancroft, Edward Everett and George Ticknor evaluating possibilities to import the German school and university system to the United States, which included discussions with Wilhelm von Humboldt, who recommended sending American students to Germany instead of sending German professors to the U.S.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless, a review of documents related to Jefferson or Joseph Carrington Cabell, a member of the Virginia Senate, who years after his extended tour of Europe (1802–6) was recruited by Jefferson for the creation of the University of Virginia, including the board of visitors minutes, fails to uncover any direct indication of a connection. The only proof of a contact between Wilhelm von Humboldt and Cabell is a little note written by the Prussian to Cabell and Washington Irving, telling them that he had "the

honor of informing them that he will take the liberty of coming to get them this evening between 8 and 9 o'clock at their homes in order to accompany them to the home of the Imperial Minister where there will be an assembly."<sup>78</sup>

### **Final considerations**

As is evident from this overview of the different connections Jefferson had established and maintained with Germany in different eras, German culture, science, technology, politics and philosophy played a considerable role and served as an important fundament in the process creating a new nation in which he was deeply involved. His personal experience as well as his intellectual relationship with this nation and its citizens served as interesting contrast to the other European nations that Jefferson had become acquainted with during his life.

The encounter with this foreign culture had different layers; it provided him access to a broad range of insights. Over the years Jefferson became more and more knowledgeable about things German, and like a puzzle, these different pieces of the German world he had been able to encounter, provided him a broader picture and deeper understanding over the time. The new information he was able to gather built upon his previous experience or understanding, acquired through his personal contacts, his personal encounters, or his reading. The impact of his early German experience was still visible in his later years when he was always on the lookout for products or practices which would benefit America's inhabitants, such as wine cultivation, agricultural techniques, or music, literature, or their contribution to the different fields of science. Within this rather complex image of Germany he seemed to distinguish clearly what he liked or thought to be of advantage for the young nation he was helping to form, and those aspects that helped him to develop opposing strategies. Whereas its pedagogy, science, and technology provided him inspirations, German politics seemed to be rather an example about what to avoid in the United States. In these cultural encounters he seemed to have maintained clear view of his interests as well as his moral convictions.

Jefferson's network with correspondents of this part of Europe was of considerable importance in this process and had a significant impact on his thinking and actions. Though statistically only a small part of his epistolary contacts was related to Germany, it is nevertheless relevant due to the people he corresponded with at different moments of his life. The relevance of these networks is also shown by the fact that they were active in both directions and thus they contributed actively to his transatlantic exchange of knowledge and ideas. Last but not least, they also led to the fact that in the German-speaking



world, Jefferson was not only perceived as an enlightened statesman, but also as a distinguished scholar.

As we have seen, not only did his German contacts provide him with insights into the intellectual world of this country, he also seemed to be considerably influenced by the information he received from Americans regarding things German, especially the impressions and descriptions sent by George Ticknor regarding the progress in science, technology, and literature in that country.

In conclusion we can say that the 19th century was an extremely fruitful period for the advancement of science and technology, in which Germany had a leading position, until, towards the end of that century, American science started to enter the world stage in this broad field. News on the progress of German scientific developments, research results or pedagogic models also found their way to Virginia and contributed to the development of the scientific-academic relationship between these two nations. It is thus interesting to see the beginning of the process of the launching of modern American science with one of the key persons in American intellectual life during this period of time—Thomas Jefferson.

*The Huntington Library  
San Marino, California*

## Notes

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<sup>2</sup>Prior research on this topic was undertaken by Madison Brown, "Thomas Jefferson and things German: Preliminary findings," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History*, 37 (1978): 29–33.

<sup>3</sup>"Report of a Plan to Invite Foreign Officers in the British Service to Desert," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, ed. by Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008), <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-01-02-0212> [accessed 05 May 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 1 (1760–1776). See also: Lyman H. Butterfield, "Psychological Warfare in 1776: The Jefferson-Franklin Plan to Cause Hessian Desertions," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94, no. 3, Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (1950): 233–41.

<sup>4</sup>Peter Nicolaisen, "Thomas Jefferson and Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar: A Transatlantic Friendship," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 64 (2006): 1–27; George Green Shackelford, *Thomas Jefferson's travels in Europe, 1784–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 144–45; Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson, War and Peace, 1776 to*

1784 (New York: Coward-McCann, 1947), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 246–47.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army*. (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859), 351.

<sup>7</sup> In the Special Collection at University of Virginia there are three maps of Germany, presumably from the Hermann von Moll's *Atlas Minor* (1729) that supposedly belonged to Thomas Jefferson.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding Jefferson's travels in Europe see: Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe, 1784 to 1789* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1950); James McGrath Morris and Persephone Weene, eds., *Thomas Jefferson's European Travel Diaries* (Ithaca, NY: I. Stephanus Sons, 1987). Jefferson's personal account of these travels can be found in his writings "Notes of a tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 13 (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 8–35. See also the letters he had written during his visit to Germany as well as his "Hints to Americans travelling in Europe, 19 June 1788," Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0173>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 13: 264–76.

<sup>9</sup> The general consensus today holds that the battlefield site was at Kalkriese in Lower Saxony around 70 km from Detmold. See: Tony Clunn, *The Quest for the Lost Roman Legions: Discovering the Varus Battlefield* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2005); <http://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de/index/getlang/en>.

<sup>10</sup> See Jefferson's "Memorandum on Wine," written after 23 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-27-02-0701> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 27 (1 September–31 December 1793), 23. See also: John R Hailman, *Thomas Jefferson on wine* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Jefferson to Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar, 13 July 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-13-02-0259> [accessed 28 Aug 2014], Original source: Main Series, Volume 13 (March–7 October 1788).

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 24 April 1788. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-13-02-0027> [accessed 28 Aug 2014]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 13 (March–7 October 1788).

<sup>13</sup> Jefferson to William Short, 9 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 24 April, 1788, *ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> Jefferson to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, 10 April 1791, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-20-02-0001-0015> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 20 (1 April–4 August 1791).

<sup>16</sup> "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>17</sup> For more information see: Herbert Dittgen, "Despotismus und Armut. Thomas Jeffersons Rheinreise am Vorabend der Französischen Revolution," in *Thomas Jefferson: Historische Bedeutung und Politische Aktualität*, ed. Hartmut Wasser (Paderborn u. a.: Ferdinand Schöningh 1995), 238–54.

<sup>18</sup> "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Leicester Ford, *The Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1790*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

<sup>21</sup> Jefferson to William Short, 9 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.



<sup>22</sup> McGrath Morris and Weene, eds., *Jefferson's European Travel Diaries*, 26.

<sup>23</sup> The Harmony Society was a Christian theosophy and pietist society founded in Iptingen, Germany, in 1785. Due to religious persecution by the Lutheran Church and the government in Württemberg, the group decided to immigrate in the United States.

<sup>24</sup> To Jefferson from George Rapp, 7 January 1806, Early access document, *The American Founding Era*. See also Karl John Richard Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," *American-German Review*, 7, no. 1 (1940): 5–9.

<sup>25</sup> Jefferson to Benjamin Austin, 9 January 1816, Library of Congress, Washington.

<sup>26</sup> The term *métayage* refers to a type of land tenure whereby the cultivator uses land without owning it and pays rent in kind to the owner.

<sup>27</sup> Jefferson to Edward Bancroft, 26 January 1788, Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-14-02-0266>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 14, 492–94.

<sup>28</sup> *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, ed. Matthias C. Sprengel (Leipzig: Mayganische Buchhandlung, 1788) 8: 173–277 and (1789) 9: 3–130. See also: Homer Gilmer Richey, *Memorandum on the German edition of Jefferson's Notes on Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1952).

<sup>29</sup> Ebeling became a teacher at the Hamburg Commercial Academy in 1769 and its co-director in the following year, a post he held for more than two decades. It was during this time when Alexander von Humboldt studied at the same Academy and was introduced through Ebeling to studies related to America. For more information on Ebeling see: Gordon M. Stewart, "Christoph Daniel Ebeling: America's Friend in Eighteenth Century Germany," *Monatshefte*, 68, no. 2 (1976): 151–61.

<sup>30</sup> Christoph Daniel Ebeling, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die Vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika*, 7 vols (Hamburg: Bohn, 1793–1816).

<sup>31</sup> Christoph Daniel Ebeling to Jefferson, 30 July 1795, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-28-02-0331> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 28 (1 January 1794–29 February 1796).

<sup>32</sup> *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, *ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> "Notes on the Letter of Christoph Daniel Ebeling," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-28-02-0391> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 28 (1 January 1794–29 February 1796).

<sup>34</sup> Johann Severin Vater, *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente. Dem Herrn Kammerherrn Alexander von Humboldt gewidmet* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1810).

<sup>35</sup> Johann Severin Vater to Jefferson, 4 Nov. 1809, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-01-02-0510> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 1 (4 March 1809 to 15 November 1809).

<sup>36</sup> Jefferson to Johann Severin Vater, 11 May 1811, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-03-02-0492> [accessed 26 Apr 2013]. Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 3 (12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811).

<sup>37</sup> Jefferson to Benjamin Smith Barton 6 October 1810. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-03-02-0091> [accessed 26 Apr 2013]. Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 3 (12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811).

<sup>38</sup> Letter Karl von Moll to Jefferson, 22 July 1812. Original text in French, see translation provided in: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-05-02-0211-0001> [accessed 28 Aug 2014]. Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 5 (1 May 1812–10 March 1813).

<sup>39</sup> Jefferson to Karl von Moll, 31 July 1814, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-07-02-0375> [accessed 28 Aug 2014]



Retirement Series, Volume 7 (28 November 1813–30 September 1814).

<sup>40</sup> Several articles have been written about Humboldt's visit to the United States and his encounter with Jefferson, among them: Schöenwaldt, Peter, "Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika." In *Alexander von Humboldt: Werk und Weltgeltung*, edited by Heinrich Pfeiffer, 431–482. (München: R. Piper & Co, 1969); Schwarz, Ingo, "Alexander von Humboldt's visit to Washington and Philadelphia, His Friendship with Jefferson, and His Fascination with the United States." *Proceedings: Alexander von Humboldt's Natural History Legacy and Its Relevance for Today*, Northeastern Naturalist, Special Issue 1 (2001): 43–56. Recently the first book has been published on the importance of their transatlantic connections: Rebok, Sandra, *Jefferson and Humboldt: A Transatlantic Friendship of the Enlightenment*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014).

<sup>41</sup> To Jefferson from Jacob Rubsamen, 1 December 1780, Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-04-02-0207>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 4, 174. See also: Merrill D. Peterson, *Visitors to Monticello* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989) 8–9.

<sup>42</sup> Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*. Ed. by Heinrich Luden (Weimar: W. Hoffmann, 1828).

<sup>43</sup> Peterson, *Visitors to Monticello*, 104–8.

<sup>44</sup> Schlegel, Johan Frederik Wilhelm, *Neutral Rights*, 1801; Croke, Sir Alexander, *Remarks on Mr. Schlegel's work*, 1801; Wolff, Christian, *Institutions du Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, 1772; Karl Friedrich Necker, *The constitution and government of the Germanic body*, 1745. Villers, Charles François Dominique de, *Philosophie de Kant. Ou Principes fondamentaux de la Philosophie transcendente*, 1801; Gros, Johann Daniel, *Natural Principles of Rectitude, for the Conduct of Man in all states and situations of Life*, 1795; von Pufendorf, Samuel, *Introduction à l'histoire générale de l'univers*, 1732; von Pufendorf, Samuel, *Le Droit de la nature et des gens*, 1740, which he owned also in its English translation (*The Law of Nature and Nations*, 1749); von Pufendorf, Samuel, *De Officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem*, 1715.

<sup>45</sup> Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich, *A Short System of Comparative Anatomy*, 1807; Burkhard, Johann Gottlieb, *Elementary or Fundamental Principles of the Philosophy of Natural History*, 1804.

<sup>46</sup> Scheele, Karl Wilhelm, *Mémoires de chymie de M. C. W. Schéele*, 1785; Cramer, Johann Andreas, *Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals*, 1741 (English translation); Neumann, Caspar, *The Chemical Works of Caspar Neumann*, 1759; Buesching, Anton Friedrich, *New System of Geography*, 1762.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary*, 1760; Bishop Burnet's *travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, 1752; Joseph Marshall, *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark . . .*, 1773.

<sup>48</sup> Pfeffel, Chretien Frédéric, *Nouvel Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit public d'Allemagne*, 1777; Israel Mauduit, *Considerations on the present German war*, 1761.

<sup>49</sup> Charles Burney, *The present state of music in Germany*, 1773.

<sup>50</sup> *Correspondence secrète, concernant la Constitution de la Prusse*, 1788, Louis Philippe comte de Ségur, *History of the principal events of the reign of Frederic William II. king of Prussia*, 1801.

<sup>51</sup> Kaempfer, Engelbert, *The History of Japan*, 1727.

<sup>52</sup> Vater, Johann Severin, *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung*, 1810; Christoph Daniel Ebelings, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die Vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika*. vol. 7, 1816.

<sup>53</sup> Bachmair, John James, *Complete German Grammar*, 1772.

<sup>54</sup> Becker, Wilhelm Gottlieb, *Neue Garten und Landschafts-Gebäude*, 1798; Meinert, Friedrich, *Schöne Landbaukunst*, 1798.



<sup>55</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faustus: from the German of Goethe*, 1821.

<sup>56</sup> "A Course of Reading for Joseph C. Cabell. A course of English History—recommended by Mr. Jefferson. September 1800," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-32-02-0110> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 32 (1 June 1800–16 February 1801).

<sup>57</sup> Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson, the road to glory, 1743 to 1776* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1943) 215.

<sup>58</sup> Julius Goebel, "Christian Wolff and the Declaration of Independence," in *A Casebook on the Declaration of the Independence*, ed. by Robert Ginsberg (New York: Crowell Company, 1967) 136.

<sup>59</sup> Christian von Wolff, *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* (Halaē Magdeburgicae: Renger, 1750), § 972.

<sup>60</sup> Goebel, "Christian Wolff and the Declaration of Independence," 137.

<sup>61</sup> Wolff, *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* § 41.

<sup>62</sup> James Conant, *Thomas Jefferson and the development of American Public Education* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962), 17.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>64</sup> Jefferson to William Roscoe, 27 December 1820, Jefferson to Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy, 26 December 1820, manuscript division, Library of Congress.

<sup>65</sup> Everett is known for having been the first American who obtained his doctoral degree in philosophy at a German university.

<sup>66</sup> Long, Orie William, *Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor, a chapter in American scholarship* (Williamstown, MA: McClelland Press, 1933). Testimonials of other American travellers to Europe in this period of time can be found in: Long, Orie William, *Literary pioneers: early American explorers of European culture* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963).

<sup>67</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, Oct. 14, 1815, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series: Volume 9: 1 September 1815 to 30 April 1816, ed. by J. Jefferson Looney (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2012), 82–84.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>72</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 15 March 1816, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 9, 559–62.

<sup>73</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 23 April 1816, *ibid.*, 696–99.

<sup>74</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 15 March 1816, *ibid.*, 559–62.

<sup>75</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 27 May 1819. Unfortunately, Blaettermann was not only the first German professor being hired by the University of Virginia, but also the first to leave the university under pressure of extreme disapproval. For more information on his case see: Wayne Lee Stith, *On the origins of post-secondary German instruction in the United States: the Rezension of George W. Blaettermann, first professor of modern languages at the University of Virginia*. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2008.

<sup>76</sup> See Invoice: "Bill of Lading for Books shipped from Hamboro' for the University of Virginia, 24 Mar. 1825, 24 March 1825," Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5072>, ver. 2014-05-09)

<sup>77</sup> Long, *Literary pioneers*, 134.

<sup>78</sup> Baron Humboldt, March 1805 For Mr. Cabell, Place d'Espagne, m. 86 (original in French, Cabell Family Papers, MSS 2529, box 3, 1803 May–1806 May).





*Robert W. Frizzell*

## **An Instance of the Rape of German Women in Civil War Missouri**

Historians continue to debate the character of the American Civil War nearly a century and a half after its end. Mark Neely, in a Harvard University Press monograph entitled *The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction*, has challenged James McPherson's characterization of the war between North and South as a "total war." Neely contends the Civil War was "remarkable for its traditional restraint." In reviewing Neely's book, McPherson said in his own defense that while the war may not have been the "total war" that he called it a few decades ago, it was certainly a "hard war," filled with property destruction and civilian death.<sup>1</sup>

Both McPherson and Neely use events in Missouri as a central pillar to support their contrasting positions. Of Missouri, McPherson says, "That state had a civil war within the Civil War, a war of neighbor against neighbor and sometimes literally brother against brother, an armed conflict along the Kansas border, which went back to 1854 and never really stopped, of ugly, vicious, no-holds-barred bushwhacking that came close to total war."<sup>2</sup> Neely, in writing of Price's 1864 raid into Missouri, says "Neither side fought without restraint. Neither unleashed the full fury of unbridled wrath. Events remained under control."<sup>3</sup>

This paper is not going to resolve the dispute between two of America's most respected Civil War historians, but it does assert that the guerrilla warfare in western Missouri in 1864 was, in one respect, worse than historians have known up to now. Specifically, there are good reasons to believe that "Bloody Bill" Anderson's men gang-raped a significant number of German immigrant women along the Lafayette County border on October 10, 1864.

The *Encyclopedia Britannica* tells us that in warfare, guerrillas are an irregular military force fighting small-scale, limited actions, in concert with an overall political-military strategy, against conventional military forces. Guerrilla tactics involve constantly shifting attack operations, and include the use of sabotage and terrorism.<sup>4</sup>

Guerrillas often strike against the civilian supporters of their enemies. Civil War guerrilla activities in general have become a topic of central concern since the publication in 1989 of Michael Fellman's book *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War*.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, according to Mark Neely, "no book has had more influence on the modern writing of Civil War history."<sup>6</sup> According to Fellman, "... of all regions [Missouri] produced the most widespread, longest-lived, and most destructive guerrilla war in the Civil War. Missouri provides a horrendous example of the nature of guerrilla war in the American heartland."<sup>7</sup>

On the matter of rape, Fellman's research in letters and provost marshal records did not lead him far beyond the traditional view. He says, "Primary in the code of these guerrillas was the injunction against harming women and children. [In their own self image, g]uerrillas were the protectors not the despoilers of home and family, and honoring this code was a daily demonstration of their ideals." He posits that the rape of black women was frequent, and that guerrilla behavior toward white women was often brutal and sometimes included forms of symbolic rape. Nevertheless, he says, "there are only infrequent reports of [actual] rape of white women and all of those second hand."<sup>8</sup> While "... German-American men ... were strung up or shot with special glee," "... German women were spared rape and murder."<sup>9</sup> Fellman notes how proud guerrilla Sam Hildebrand was of his chivalry toward a German woman in the Ozarks during the course of hanging her husband.<sup>10</sup>

But research and analysis suggest that a notable exception to such generalizations about the treatment of women occurred in western Missouri just before Price's invading Confederate army reached the area during its great raid late in the war.

On the eve of the Civil War, a farming community of about 1,000 German immigrants and their American-born children lived in southeastern Lafayette County. The settlement had begun in 1838 and had more than doubled in the decade of the 1850s. Nearly everyone in the community opposed secession and only one of the 166 German households existing in the community in 1860 owned slaves. But the county as a whole counted 6,374 slaves that year, more than any other county in Missouri. A great many of these slaves were occupied in producing hemp. Lafayette County and the adjoining county of Saline produced two-fifths of Missouri's entire hemp



crop, and by 1860 Missouri had surpassed Kentucky as the greatest hemp producer in the nation. Although local Germans produced hemp without slaves, most western Missouri hemp came from Anglo slave-owners.<sup>11</sup>

In the spring of 1861, Nathaniel Lyon, federal commander of the St. Louis arsenal, as he tried to save Missouri for the Union against Governor Jackson's Missouri Militia *cum* Missouri State Guard, issued federal arms to two companies of Home Guards from the Lafayette County German settlement. These companies stood among the Federal troops both at Boonville in June and at Lexington in September. When federal forces at Lexington were forced to surrender, the local Germans were paroled and went home. Despite its Lexington victory, the secessionist army under General Sterling Price soon evacuated the counties along the Missouri River and retreated hundreds of miles to the south. But the Germans of Lafayette County remained a small Unionist community surrounded by neighbors whose sons, brothers, husbands, and fathers made up a large part of Price's Missouri Confederate Army in Arkansas.

Western Missouri, largely secessionist by this time but occupied by the federal army, broke out into vicious guerrilla warfare lasting from early 1862 to late 1864. The Lafayette County Germans became a frequent target of the rebellious guerrillas. The German community was located only about 30 miles from the epicenter of the Missouri guerrilla movement in the Sni Hills of southeastern Jackson County. "Bloody Bill" Anderson's first raid into the community occurred October 5, 1862. Eleven German men were seized at an infant christening. Three were shot fatally, three recovered from wounds, and five were released unharmed. On July 13, 1863, Anderson and company again rode into the community. Four young farmers, who had served on active duty in the Enrolled Militia of Missouri the previous fall, were seized and shot dead.<sup>12</sup>

The third attack was by far the worst. Two weeks after the notorious Centralia Massacre, about a hundred guerrillas led by George Todd and David Poole, and containing guerrillas from both Anderson's and Quantrill's bands, rode into the German community. This was on the morning of October 10, 1864, as Price's invading Confederate army entered Boonville, some forty miles to the east. This time the Germans tried to defend themselves. After a small and ineffective attempt to ambush the bushwhacker advanced guard, a group of some twenty-five German home guardsmen, mostly too old or too young for regular military service, battled the main body of the guerrillas. All but one or two of the Germans were killed after inflicting very light losses on the guerrillas. The latter killed the German wounded and smashed the skulls of their victims. Anderson's men had done the same two weeks earlier at Centralia, and there, had even gone so far as to mutilate the genitalia of

their victims.

The only report by an eyewitness of the attack on the Lafayette County Germans describes the scene after the battle as follows:

It was a terrible sight among the moaning and the dying, the popping of guns, the shrieking of the women folk, who were vainlessly fighting to keep the beasts from assaulting them. All women were criminally attacked, some had to serve five men. Some old women were 75 years old but were still attacked and to make Hell complete, a dozen houses were set on fire.<sup>13</sup>

How is one to evaluate such testimony? It comes from Louis A. Meyer, who was eleven years old that autumn and lived on his parents' farm perhaps a mile from the site of the confrontation. He was to live there his entire life until his death at the age of 73 in 1927. He was the author's great-grandfather. Decades ago, his late daughter told the author that her father had witnessed the events of that day while hiding in a shock of corn. Unfortunately, Meyer did not write his account until a few years before he died nearly sixty years after the massacre took place. How much credibility can we give even an eyewitness account that is written over half a century after the events it describes?

Perhaps it will help to know more about the witness. Meyer was born on his father's farm of Hanoverian immigrant parents. His perhaps 6 or 7 years of parochial school education was partly in English but mostly in German. Although at home he always spoke *Plattdeutsch*, the north German regional dialect, he read, wrote, and spoke both standard German and English. We know that he avidly read the Milwaukee newspaper *Germania* and that in later life, he wrote short articles in English for a Concordia, Missouri newspaper. When his rural German church held congregational meetings, he often acted as presiding officer. Although a farmer all his life, he owned a typewriter and a set of Shakespeare. In part at the request of the Missouri German historian William G. Bek, in the early 1920s, Meyer wrote the equivalent of perhaps six typed pages about the massacre. This he composed from his memory, from conversations with other community elders, and from local church burial records.

On most points, Meyer's account agrees fairly closely with what facts can be ascertained from other sources. But all historians who examine Missouri's guerrilla warfare note the "bushwhacker code" and the paucity of reports of any sort dealing with physical harm to white women. This calls into question Meyer's report of sexual assault. Therefore, when the author first examined this issue more than three decades ago, he discounted his ancestor's testimony about gang rape. He presumed that during those long, intervening decades



between the event and Meyer's written account, hyperbole had got the better of the elderly man, and that he was "remembering" something that did not really happen.<sup>14</sup>

In the last dozen years, this author's view has changed. Edward E. Leslie in his book on the guerrilla leader Quantrill notes that in Franklin County, some of Jo Shelby's Confederate cavalymen raped a German woman and tried to rape others a few days before the Lafayette County attack.<sup>15</sup> Some of Anderson's men, perhaps the same ones who participated in the attack on the Lafayette County Germans, are known to have gang-raped slave women just eleven days later and only 30 miles away in Glasgow, Missouri.<sup>16</sup> Fellman, himself, notes how guerrillas could lump together Germans and slaves. He quotes a letter from a Missouri guerrilla leader saying, "we cant stand the dutch and negros both."<sup>17</sup> This calls into question Fellman's own later assertion, made specifically concerning possible attacks on German women that "a common race, differing ethnicity notwithstanding, placed Germans at least tentatively within the recognized racial community, marginally inside rather than outside American culture."<sup>18</sup>

It is also important to note that this event happened in October 1864, only three weeks before the end of most western Missouri bushwhacking activity.<sup>19</sup> Restraints of behavior early in a war can break down over its course. Sometimes restraints can crumble just before the end.

Perhaps the key piece of evidence that lends credence to Meyer's claim is a letter from Bill Anderson that was published in the Lexington newspapers on July 7, 1864, just three months before the attack on the German community. This taunting and threatening letter was addressed to General Egbert Brown, the federal sub-district commander. Brown, as a military officer in a state under martial law, had arrested women in Lafayette County who were thought to be aiding the guerrillas. In the midst of a long paragraph addressing several other topics, Anderson wrote, "I will have to resort to abusing your ladies if you do not quit imprisoning ours."<sup>20</sup> It seems reasonable to accept the testimony of an eyewitness that this is exactly what happened 30 miles from Lexington on October 10. The Germans were known by everyone to be firm supporters of the Union. The fact that these women had obvious language and cultural differences with the bushwhackers would have made it easier for the guerrillas, in their own minds, to dehumanize them in order to facilitate sexual assault.

At the same time, it is clear that not every word of Meyer's account can be taken as literally true. Certainly not "all" the hundreds of German women in the settlement were attacked. What did Meyer mean by "all"—half a dozen women living closest to the massacre site or along the path the guerrillas followed—a dozen—two dozen? The question of how many leads to the

question of which ones, and this in turn leads to a question of just how much Meyer, the eleven-year-old boy, may have known and correctly understood in 1864 or later. Was Meyer's mother, then a 37-year-old farm wife living near the massacre site, one of those attacked? What of his future wife's mother and two grandmothers also living quite near the massacre site? Meyer's future wife, Marie Ehlers, was a two-year-old in 1864. Her mother, then 28, was to die before the daughter even reached puberty. The two grandmothers were 48 and 67. Would Meyer's wife have learned anything of the event as a child from her mother or in later years from her grandmothers? We know that Meyer's own mother could be unusually reticent about illicit behavior. Meyer and his younger siblings did not know that their oldest brother had a different biological father until Meyer's father's will was read after the old immigrant's death in 1901. Only then was Meyer's mother forced to reveal why her deceased husband had left no farmland to her oldest son. By that time, her children were between the ages of 36 and 52.

Despite the ambiguity, the caveats about what the witness might have known or have remembered, and despite the lack of less problematic testimony, it does seem likely that an appreciable number of German women were indeed sexually assaulted and by multiple men. It would appear that just before the end of most bushwhacking in western Missouri, guerrilla leader William C. Anderson carried out his treat to abuse, that is, to sexually attack, Union ladies in the area who were also German immigrants.

One instance of descent into gang rape near the end of the war does not change the whole character of the American Civil War or even of guerrilla warfare in Missouri. But it is likely enough to have happened and dreadful enough in its essence to be kept in mind by those who wish to consider the character of the guerrilla warfare in Missouri and the nature of the American Civil War itself.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> James M. McPherson, "Was It More Restrained Than You Think?" *New York Review of Books* (February 14, 2008), 42-44; Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 104.

<sup>2</sup> McPherson, "Restrained," 43.

<sup>3</sup> Neely, *Limits*, 59.

<sup>4</sup> *New Encyclopedia of Britannica Micropedia* (Chicago, Encyclopedia Britannica, 2003) 5: 544.



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<sup>5</sup> Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Neely, *Limits*, 41; Daniel E. Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2009) summarizes recent research of the topic of its title.

<sup>7</sup> Fellman, *Inside War*, v.

<sup>8</sup> Fellman, *Inside War*, 206–7.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Fellman, “At the Nihilist Edge: Reflections on Guerrilla Warfare during the American Civil War,” in *On the Road to Total War*, ed. Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler (Washington: German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, 1997), 531.

<sup>10</sup> Fellman, *Inside War*, 205–6.

<sup>11</sup> Robert W. Frizzell, *Independent Immigrants: A Settlement of Hanoverian Germans in Western Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 89–107.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Papers of Louis A. Meyer, in possession of the author.

<sup>14</sup> Robert W. Frizzell, “‘Killed by Rebels’: A Civil War Massacre and its Aftermath,” *Missouri Historical Review* 71,4 (July, 1977): 389.

<sup>15</sup> Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and His Confederate Raiders* (New York: Random House, 1996), 167–68.

<sup>16</sup> Castel, Albert and Thomas Goodrich *Bloody Bill Anderson: The Short, Savage Life of a Civil War Guerrilla* (Mechansburg, PA.: Stackpole Books, 1998), 121.

<sup>17</sup> Fellman, *Inside War*, 70.

<sup>18</sup> Fellman, “Nihilist Edge,” 531.

<sup>19</sup> Bushwhacking largely ended in western Missouri when Price’s army was defeated at the Battle of Westport and driven back to Arkansas and Texas. Bill Anderson was killed in Ray County and George Todd was shot while scouting for Price at Westport.

<sup>20</sup> *Official Records of the War of Rebellion*, series I, vol. 41, part II, 76–77.





*Hans-Peter Baum*

**Max Mohr (1891-1937), an Almost Forgotten  
Dramatist and Novelist of the 1920s,  
in Exile in Shanghai 1934-37**

Max Mohr, the subject of this essay,<sup>1</sup> was one of the rising stars of the German theater in the 1920s, but was almost completely forgotten soon after he went into exile and in the post-war years, as well. Only recently have there been signs of a renewed interest in him and his literary works. This essay will emphasize three aspects: first of all, with the help of some short biographical notes, it wants to make Max Mohr better known to students of German literature in America where only little, if any, notice has been taken of him. Secondly, it presents a short review of Mohr's literary oeuvre and his place in the German literature of the 1920s and early 1930s. Lastly, it is intended to throw some light on Shanghai as an important, but less well-known place of exile for German and Austrian Jews during the years of National Socialist rule in Central Europe.

The extent to which Max Mohr was forgotten can be seen from a short perusal of biographical handbooks as well as histories and encyclopedias of German literature. Vol. 17 of the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (containing the letter M) which appeared in 1994 does not mention him at all;<sup>2</sup> neither does the authoritative *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur*, 2nd edition, of 1987.<sup>3</sup> The same is true of two shorter encyclopedias of literature popular with students, i.e., Kröner's *Deutsche Schriftsteller der Gegenwart* and Rowohlt's *Autorenlexikon deutschsprachiger Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*.<sup>4</sup> The widely used *Metzler Lexikon Autoren* does not contain his name in its 4th edition of 2010.<sup>5</sup> This may be seen as atypical considering the very recent publication date of this reference work and the renewed interest in Mohr mentioned above. The *Deutsche Literatur-Lexikon*, 3rd edition, of 1986 has

a very short article of about 10 lines on Mohr;<sup>6</sup> *Killy Literatur-Lexikon*, 1st edition, of 1990 devotes one column (with, however, a factual error) to Mohr and the same *Lexikon* in its 2nd edition of 2010 has an article of 2 ½ columns on him;<sup>7</sup> the author is Barbara Pittner who also wrote her doctoral dissertation on Mohr.<sup>8</sup> It is probably due to her research as well as the endeavours of Carl-Ludwig Reichert, Stefan Weidle, Albrecht Joseph and Mohr's grandson Nicolas Humbert,<sup>9</sup> more recently the studies of Florian Steger, Thomas Cronen, and Ralf Beer<sup>10</sup> that some notice is taken of Max Mohr nowadays and that some of his plays have been staged again in the 1990s and in 2002. On the internet there is an excellent website for him presented by the city of Munich.<sup>11</sup> The Monacensia archive and library in Munich keeps his papers and supports research on him. A fairly recent biographical article in volume 3 of the *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg*, published in 2007,<sup>12</sup> hints at Mohr's biography: Würzburg was his birthplace.

Max Ludwig Mohr was born in Würzburg, capital of the Bavarian "Regierungsbezirk" (administrative region) of Unterfranken then as it is now, on October 17, 1891. He was the son of Leon and Johanna Mohr; Leon was the co-owner of a malt factory which his father had founded. Max's mother, fittingly for the wife of a malt producer, was the daughter of a hops merchant. Max was his parents' only son and youngest child. His eldest sister Irma died in childhood, his second sister Hedwig was married to Joseph Reuss, "Oberlandesgerichtsrat" (judge) in Augsburg.<sup>13</sup> This background shows that Mohr was the scion of a well-to-do and assimilated German Jewish family. His father Leon died in 1910; the family business had changed hands in 1900 already.<sup>14</sup> The Mohrs owned a large house in a good part of town right outside the former city walls. Max's mother went on living there until 1933, then moved to Munich where she died in 1941. She was listed as the owner of the old family home until 1939 and may have sold it under political pressure.<sup>15</sup>

Max Mohr received his primary and secondary education in Würzburg. We don't know whether he started his school life at the Jewish "Volksschule" (elementary school) which existed in Würzburg with its large Jewish community of about 2,500 around 1900, or at a public "Volksschule."<sup>16</sup> He then attended the "Königliche Neue Gymnasium," a modern language and natural science college which still exists, albeit under a new name. He did very well at school, in most academic subjects as well as in "Turnen" (gymnastics), as his term reports show. He was the only Jewish student in his class.<sup>17</sup> In 1909, one year before leaving school, a strong rebellious streak in his personality may have manifested itself for the first time: in the summer vacations, he took a mountain climbing trip in the Alps on his own, without his parents' knowledge. His father even felt compelled to run a newspaper search advertisement to find out what had happened to his son. After some



days, a stranger sent him a cable informing him that Max had signed his name into the visitors' book of a hostel in the Italian Alps.<sup>18</sup> A few weeks later, Max returned home safely. In the following autumn, i.e., in November 1910, after having passed his "Absolutorium" (school leaving examination) quite easily, he took up his studies at the medical school of the University of Würzburg. At the same time, he did the voluntary abbreviated one year army service as an "Einjährig-Freiwilliger" which was offered to people who had higher education than the "Volksschule"; it was actually even shorter than one year. He was stationed with the 2nd Bavarian field artillery regiment in Würzburg where, after three months of basic training, he could pursue his studies at the university and did not have to live in the barracks or wear a uniform.<sup>19</sup>

After this short stint in peacetime military life, he went to Munich in the summer of 1911 to continue his medical studies there.<sup>20</sup> He probably did so to get away from the humdrum small town life in Würzburg. However, it may not only have been the bright city lights of Munich which attracted him, but also the closeness to Southern lands. Between semesters of the years 1911 to 1913, he took three extended trips to the Middle East, i.e., to Iran, Syria, and North Africa.<sup>21</sup> For one semester, he studied at Beirut.<sup>22</sup> From letters and short autobiographical articles Mohr wrote for play-bills we know that he took a job as a circus rider in Egypt for some time, that he had a love affair with a Jewish girl in Damascus, and that he had a very dangerous encounter in the Balkans coming home from one of these Oriental travels. Robbers in Montenegro shot him through the hand which also put paid to an idea he had been playing with, i.e. of becoming a violin virtuoso.<sup>23</sup> Mohr's repeated independent journeys in faraway, exotic countries, with practically no money as he tells it and thus not at all as a pampered tourist, hint at a pronounced yearning for adventure and experiences outside of the established bourgeois norms.

The outbreak of World War I on August 1, 1914, changed his life as it did that of countless other Europeans. He was called up for service as a "supernumerary" medical corporal right away and sent to the Western front. He showed unusual courage by saving wounded soldiers under fire on several occasions. He himself was wounded four times and was highly decorated: he received the "Eiserne Kreuz" (Iron Cross) 1st and 2nd class as well as some Bavarian medals.<sup>24</sup> He was also promoted in rank to a "Feldhilfsarzt" (assistant field physician) before having finished his medical studies, but that was not unusual at that time.<sup>25</sup> Early in 1917, he had the chance to complete his medical education in fast-track courses and passed his final examinations with good grades.<sup>26</sup> He was now a licensed doctor who could practice medicine anywhere in Germany. In the summer of 1917, he was back at the front as a regular assistant physician and, at the end of September, was taken prisoner

by the British in the third battle of Ypres. The official army report on that incident explains that his position was overrun and that he had no chance to escape capture.<sup>27</sup> He was taken to a POW camp close to Southampton, where he narrowly escaped execution, was released at the end of September of 1918 in exchange for some British prisoners of war in Germany, and returned to Munich on October 4, 1918. He was officially dismissed from military service at the end of March 1919.<sup>28</sup> But only a few weeks later, he served as regimental medical officer with the 8th regiment of dragoons which had joined the "Freikorps" (free corps) suppressing the communist-inspired revolt of the "Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte" (workers' and soldiers' councils). This seems to indicate that politically he was quite conservative. He left his unit in the summer of 1919; his last military rank was that of an "Oberarzt der Reserve" which corresponds to the rank of a first lieutenant.<sup>29</sup>

In the winter of 1918–19, when Mohr had already started practising his profession as a physician he accomplished two other things: he published his doctoral dissertation on fever therapy in infantile gonorrhea and at the end of February 1919, he passed his doctoral examination "cum laude" (a middling grade).<sup>30</sup> He kept his practice until the end of April 1920. In 1921, he published a practical book on the best ways to treat rheumatism under the title *Die Rheumatiker-Fibel* (The rheumatic's primer). It must have sold well as four more editions appeared in the course of the 1920s. He co-authored it with a Dr. Singer, as the title says. An article on Mohr's website plausibly suggests this may have been a fiction and that Mohr may have produced that book all by himself. It was written in a popular tone and advertised some new-fangled electrical appliances useful in the treatment of rheumatism.<sup>31</sup>

On March 20, 1920, Mohr married Käthe Westphal, who was one year his junior, the daughter of a wealthy protestant merchant family of Hamburg. The wedding took place in Käthe's home town.<sup>32</sup> No mention is made on how they met, but we know that some members of her family had some reservations about this union because his plans for a career as a writer seemed vague. One month later, Mohr gave up his medical practice in Munich and the couple moved South to the Alps to a small farm at Rottach, on the Tegernsee.<sup>33</sup> It seems that Mohr had seen and taken a liking to that particular spot of land in 1914 already.<sup>34</sup> Their farm, called the Löblhof, was part of a large former manor of the Tegernsee monastery called the "Wolfsgrub" (wolf pit).<sup>35</sup> Most of the literature uses "Wolfsgrub" as the name of Mohr's farm, but in a printed greeting card the couple sent out to advise their friends about the change of address it is given correctly as Löblhof, Wolfsgrub, post Rottach on Tegernsee.<sup>36</sup> A detailed modern road map will show Wolfsgrub as the name of a "Weiler" (a hamlet), about one kilometer southeast of Rottach-Egern.<sup>37</sup> The Löblhof was bought for the young couple by Käthe's mother.<sup>38</sup>



The move to the shores of the Tegernsee was motivated by Mohr's love for the enjoyment of the quiet countryside which was shared by his wife and by the closeness of the mountains for mountaineering tours; on the other hand, it should not be understood as a flight from society as quite a few prominent authors lived close by and many other authors and theater people liked to spend their vacations there, thus offering Mohr a good chance of keeping contact with the literary and theater scene.<sup>39</sup> The Löblhof has stayed in Mohr's family; after his wife and daughter it is now owned and lived in by his grandson Nicolas Humbert.<sup>40</sup>

As early as 1914, Mohr had started on a literary career; his first published works are the *Sonette nach durchlesenen Nächten aus dem Unterstand* (Sonnets after nights spent reading in the shelter). Most of them were written 1914–17 under the working title *Sonette des Infanteristen* (Sonnets of the infantryman), but when Mohr published them in addition to several new ones somewhat later he chose the new title.<sup>41</sup> Except for seven other sonnets, *Die Sonette vom neuen Noah*, which appeared in 1932, and the poem *Mondvogel* ("moon bird") dedicated to D.H. Lawrence they were his only poetic productions and thus deserve some attention. Unlike many other youthful authors of the time Mohr never glorified the war and never denigrated the war enemies. Instead, he denounces the war as insane, irrational, and devoid of any heroism; his poetic images decry the cruelty, ugliness, and the loss of human individuality concomitant to it. Stylistically, these early sonnets belong to expressionism.<sup>42</sup> The *Sonette vom neuen Noah* (the number of seven was probably chosen for its biblical and mythical connotations) appeared more than 15 years later when Mohr was a well-known author; here, Mohr contrasts the rottenness of modern civilization which "enslaves" the whole globe, which is doomed and does not deserve to be saved with a coming new world of justice, brotherly love and no more alienation between humans, especially between men and women, where truly creative work under humane conditions will again be possible.<sup>43</sup>

Between 1915 and 1921, Mohr wrote seven dramas which remained unpublished and were never staged;<sup>44</sup> in 1920, he was able to bring out in print the novel *Frau Marias Gast* as well as the drama *Die Dadakratie*; it was never produced on stage, either. Mohr did not agree to the ideas of Dadaism; he thought that its anarchism, contempt of bourgeois values, and nonsensical texts tried to hide some very real confusion, lack of intellectual direction, and discipline.<sup>45</sup>

After Mohr and his wife had moved in at the Löblhof in the spring of 1920, Käthe ran the farm and Mohr began to write furiously for the stage which he wanted to conquer.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, Mohr who was not only courageous, as we have seen, but is also described as physically strong and fit,

often felt the need to conquer the mountains as well. In January 1922, soon after he had sent the manuscript of a new comedy to Munich, he went on a climbing tour, alone, on the Großvenediger glacier in Tyrol which rises up to 11,500 feet. On this tour, he got into a snowstorm and nearly froze to death. He was taken home with severe frostbite on his feet and legs and for several days after his return his life hung in the balance as Käthe's lively report on this incident describes.<sup>47</sup> He had to have several toes amputated; he probably did not operate on himself as has been asserted, but had the operation done at a hospital.<sup>48</sup> What helped immensely in improving his health was the exciting news that his comedy *Improvisationen im Juni* had been accepted and that the renowned Residenztheater in Munich was staging it.<sup>49</sup>

On the surface, the play tells the story of an American billionaire's son who is severely depressed and cannot see any meaning in life. After various treatments, applied in February, March, April, and May have failed to improve his condition, he is finally saved in June by the "Improvisator" (improviser) Zappe, Zappe's daughter Olga, and the animal keeper Tomkinov. There is, however, more to the drama than this somewhat improbable, simplistic storyline. It also takes up the old topic of generational conflict which is treated in a dual way: in the first place, there is the father-son conflict between the extremely materialistic billionaire who thinks money can solve any problem and his son who is desperately looking for something essential in life that cannot be bought for money. He does not rebel violently against his father (Mohr avoids patricide even though that was quite fashionable in the expressionist drama of the time) but instead shows his rejection of his father's views by retreating into mental depression. Olga reproaches him for this, as she sees it, feeble attitude and demands that he should take a more active role. Secondly, there is a father-daughter conflict between Olga and her father; she strongly disapproves of his utilitarianism and takes escape into her love for the romantically heroic Tomkinov, the only person in the play who can be considered completely self-determined. Self-determination was one of the things Mohr valued most highly and strove for in his own life as well as in the protagonists he put on the stage or described in his novels. In addition to the generational conflict there is the discrepancy between the old European way of life symbolized by the old princess Orloff who will commit suicide at the end of the play and the new materialistic American way; however, Mohr never trusted in materialism and technological progress as he did not believe that they would be able to solve the perennial problems of the human condition.<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, it seems significant that Mohr contrasts the Old World and the New one in this particular manner. The billionaire's secretary describes the old princess Orloff as the perfect embodiment of a European



civilization which is in irreversible decline. Her world is defined by values like love, loyalty, honour, and feudalism; money by itself is of no value to her. Her outmoded lifestyle will be replaced by the new, aggressive, energetic American world of money and profit.<sup>51</sup> This dichotomy lets us see that Mohr was very much a man of his time. For the first time in the 1920s, America had taken the lead in cultural as well as economic development; many German intellectuals and large parts of German society saw it as the model to be followed in cultural and social matters. America was seen as a land of pragmatism and matter-of-factness, of economic efficiency and technical progress as well as of a vastly superior standard of living; its democracy seemed to be fully in accordance with the political demands of the American people and it apparently had been able to develop a "mass culture" corresponding perfectly to popular needs and expectations. Admiration of the American way of life as it was understood in Germany led to the rejection of expressionism in favor of the "Neue Sachlichkeit" (new realism or functionalism) in the arts and architecture. Sporting events such as boxing matches, car and bicycle races, dance shows like those of the Tiller girls,<sup>52</sup> and American movies became popular with the cultural elites as well as a broader public. In the eyes of many, America embodied the future.<sup>53</sup> As mentioned above, Mohr had some reservations about the value of materialism and mere technical progress, but there can be no doubt that America was a very important cultural reference point for him, too. There will be several other instances to show how American ideas and literature influenced his thought.<sup>54</sup>

Because Mohr was still unable to walk he could not personally appear at the première of *Improvisationen* on March, 25, but sent Käthe instead. She exuberantly describes the première night which was a major success and made Mohr's name known all over Germany.<sup>55</sup> His play had a run of over 50 performances at the Residenztheater which at a repertory theater, especially one like the Residenztheater with its 60 annual productions in those years, meant a remarkable success.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, from 1922 to 1924 the play was staged by dozens of other theatres in the country. Unfortunately this happened at the height of the German post-war hyperinflation. Mohr became famous, but not wealthy from the *Improvisationen* as might have been expected with so many productions. In the end, he had hardly made any money at all.<sup>57</sup> As it was important for him to feel that he could provide for his family<sup>58</sup> the success of his drama at least let him see that under normal economic circumstances he would now be able to fulfil this role.

Six years later, *Improvisationen* was produced in the US as well; it would seem that the play's critical acclaim in Germany had made a favorable impression on the directors of the Civic Repertory Theater in New York City. However, the New World was completely baffled by Mohr's comedy and did

not appreciate it. It will be sufficient to quote passages from two reviews to let us see that this attempt at a cultural transfer was a failure. "Still it was a long and baffling night, last night among the deep thinkers of the seriously factious drama. Perhaps performance in the country of its birth brought out qualities which were not visible last night, though we doubt it," was Percy Hammond's reaction. "The ancient quarrel between the dollars and the dreamers is the main motive of the play, but a motive so distorted by a multitude of curious twists, wilful decorations, and pale mauve epigrams that we cannot tell where the author is trying to be serious and where he is simply kicking the words around for his own amusement," is what Robert Littel opined.<sup>59</sup>

The success of *Improvisationen* in Germany gave Mohr the impetus to follow it up with several new plays. However, his four next pieces, *Das Gelbe Zelt* (The yellow tent), *Der Arbeiter Esau* (The worker Esau), *Sirill am Wrack* (Sirill at the wreck), and *Die Karawane* which all appeared in 1923 and 1924 and, such was Mohr's reputation now, were immediately staged, were not very successful. None of them had a long run and there were hardly any parallel productions; Mohr had the bitter experience of seeing them rejected by many literary critics as mere copies of his successful first play.<sup>60</sup> That is why only cursory mention is made of them here. Common to all of them is Mohr's criticism of modern civilization which he sees as artificial, materialistic, degrading, and basically inhuman. There are more descriptions of conflict between the generations, there is a tendency to deal with people at the edge of society or people who have fled society. There is the expectation of a new world of truly human values which needs to be born from the ruins of the old world. These are some of the topics and aspects which were to recur in Mohr's oeuvre. Another common denominator is the striving for freedom and self-determination in many of his protagonists, especially the female ones, and their attempts at overcoming empty social conventions. Some of them could almost be seen as con men, out to take advantage of a world wanting to be deceived.<sup>61</sup>

In spite of only mixed success at the theater and some financial difficulties, the years 1922 to 1925 were an active and, it seems, happy time for the Mohrs. Mohr was in a very productive phase as an author, and he was often invited to supervise the stage production of his plays, as well. This gave him and his wife a chance to get away from country life. It is another constant in Mohr's life that, on the one hand, he strongly criticized big cities and modern civilization and yearned for nature and the loneliness of the mountains, but that, on the other hand, he needed a teeming metropolis like Berlin in the 1920s and early 1930s for new ideas.<sup>62</sup> Käthe gives us a pleasant description of how she and Mohr went to Berlin for several weeks to watch over a new production of *Improvisationen*. There they met two of the most famous German actors



of their day, Elisabeth Bergner and Heinrich George, who became their close friends; the two couples spent most of those days together, going to different rehearsals, going out to eat or simply for a walk. In later years, Heinrich George visited them several times at the Löblhof and collaborated with Mohr on plans for recitals, movies, and radio shows.<sup>63</sup>

In 1925, Mohr had another spectacular success with his serious drama *Ramper*.<sup>64</sup> It tells of a polar explorer who gets caught in the icy desert of Greenland after his airplane has crashed. 20 years later (by then the loneliness and harsh conditions have turned him into an animal, he has lost his memory and even his speech) whalers find him and take him to a simple hospital. But the doctors there cannot help him and he is dismissed as incurable. Circus artists buy him from the hospital and use him in a freak show. Then a noted psychiatrist who wants to acquire world fame with this case releases him from the circus and finally succeeds in turning him back into a normal human being. The psychiatrist's wife for some time is ready to take up living with Ramper even in his animal state because the fact that he only follows his instincts is attractive to her who is bored by the accoutrements of civilization. In the end, Ramper, motivated by love, renounces his wish to return to Greenland and the "natural" life and stays in the world of civilization.<sup>65</sup>

The reviews ranged from the most laudatory praise to devastatingly negative opinions. But, clearly, the praise prevailed as several German theaters staged it almost simultaneously. Paul Wegener, another famous actor of the time, played the title role at the "Deutsches Theater" in Berlin. That was not all, as two years later *Ramper* was made into a silent movie with some of the location shots actually filmed in Greenland and again with Wegener in the title role. It was first shown in October, 1927. Mohr and Wegener became close friends.<sup>66</sup> That the movie was to be produced by a German company had not been clear from the outset. The lively correspondence between Mohr and Wegener shows that originally Paramount Pictures had had an option to acquire the rights to it, but eventually let it drop.<sup>67</sup> Wegener advised Mohr against doing business with the Austrian producer-director Joe May because he thought that May was planning to turn Mohr's serious drama into a burlesque.<sup>68</sup> It is not quite clear whether May was pursuing the *Ramper* project for Paramount or for himself. Anyway, in 1928 an English version of the movie was produced, and, at about the same time, the drama came out as a radio play in Britain and in the USA.<sup>69</sup> The stage play was revived several times after WW II, e.g., at the Volksbühne in Berlin in 1997<sup>70</sup> and at the Theater Chambinzky in Würzburg in 2002.

We can assume that, this time, Mohr really made some money, too. "Money-maken" was an English phrase with a German ending which he used in letters and in conversation quite often, mostly in jest, but sometimes

in earnest,<sup>71</sup> as he felt responsible for earning the livelihood of the family. The repeated use of this phrase seems to show that Mohr had adopted some quite American ways of thinking as he could have talked of "Geld verdienen" instead. Incidentally, Mohr spoke English very well; English idioms and phrases crop up quite often in his letters.<sup>72</sup> That, of course, was very useful to him in his exile in Shanghai.

In 1926, the birth of his daughter Eva brought about a major change in Mohr's family life. On the one hand, Mohr seems to have been a good father to his only child, but, on the other hand, having a real family and living at the Löblhof in general made him feel unduly fenced in.<sup>73</sup> He began to spend more and more time in Berlin on his own, looking for inspiration, networking in theater and literary circles, and, once, having an affair with the actress Bertha von Arnim-Zichow.<sup>74</sup>

Mohr's next work may perhaps be seen as a harbinger of his complete break with drama and the theatre which came about in 1931<sup>75</sup>; it was a medium-sized novel, *Venus in den Fischen* (Venus in Pisces; the second noun in the title should, as I understand it, not be translated as "fishes" even though D.H. Lawrence did so<sup>76</sup>). It came out in 1927 in weekly instalments in the magazine "Die Dame."<sup>77</sup> It is a narrative about two young German medical doctors, a man and a woman, who have been fired from their assistant jobs and an older (supposedly 111 years old), but somehow ageless, black American astrologer who found a clinic. Again, it seems significant for Mohr's understanding of the modern world and America's role in it that the American takes most of the initiative in the founding of the clinic although he remains the social outsider, in the end. This is not so much due to the fact that he is an American, but rather that he is black, and this was still characteristic for social life in the 1920s. The new clinic to be founded is meant for people worn down or at least feeling to be, "burnt-out" as we would say today, by big city life. A mixture of medical treatment and astrology is meant to get them back on an even keel and, at the same time, to enrich the curious trio of entrepreneurs. Astrology was one of Mohr's hobbies; the topic of making money by fleecing the idle rich, as we have seen before, turns up quite often in Mohr's writings. As in his dramatic work Mohr describes and criticizes man's alienation from nature and from true humanity in modern urban society. Mohr saw his contemporary society defined by a heartless technology which was revered like a fetish and by the relentless and equally heartless pursuit of profit. One wonders what he would have said about life today.

*Venus in den Fischen* is also what is called a "Großstadtroman" in German literary history, a novel which gives a special place, almost as one of the protagonists, to the big city, Berlin, where it is set. Some passages are modeled on Theodor Fontane's *Frau Jenny Treibel*. By its style, the novel belongs to



functionalism which had, by then, replaced expressionism as the prevailing literary style. Many of Mohr's observations and descriptions such as the architect's new furnishings of a high-society dining-room or the various crazes that some of the protagonists pursue for a while and then quickly exchange for new ones are both hilarious and timeless. Another topic which pervades Mohr's novels even more than his plays is the role of the genders: in his view, women are the stronger and more independent sex, many of his men are insecure searchers for their proper role in the world.<sup>78</sup>

Mohr's view of his contemporary civilization as unhealthy may explain his penchant for protagonists from and for social settings at the edges of bourgeois society. However, he never just deplores the disappearance of older, nicer ways of social life in the romantic mould, instead he hopes for and sets out to seek a new and better world which is to follow the inevitable collapse of the current civilization of his day. Although Mohr was and remained quite conservative politically, his social criticism never took the shape of what is described as "Deutschtümelei" (Germanomania) or "Blut und Boden" (blood and soil) in German literature, i.e. an excessively nationalistic and romantic point of view in which only "good old" German ways would have any value and anything suspected of being foreign would be disdained. He never fell for this kind of thinking which was quite widespread in some of the German literature of his day; his criticism is more reminiscent of the beatniks of the 1950s and 1960s like Jack Kerouac and others. His thought is both romantic and magical, he proposes a new paganism and matriarchy as the way in which humanity will be moving.<sup>79</sup>

To digress a little at this point: Mohr was Jewish and never took the official steps to leave his religion; on the other hand, he proclaimed himself to be without any religious ties and he was not in the least interested in practising Judaism in a formal way.<sup>80</sup> As far as we know, he never went to the synagogue, and he may not even have informed his wife about his religious affiliation. But he was familiar with Jewish and Christian religious ideas and often made use of biblical language and images, both of the Old and New Testament.

Mohr's last dramas appeared between 1927 and 1931. In 1927, his new comedy, *Platingruben in Tulpin* (Platinum Mines in Tulpin) which again satirized the contemporary worship of the golden calf was staged; it met with middling success.<sup>81</sup> In 1930, he completed another comedy, *Die Welt der Enkel oder: Philemon und Baucis in der Valepp* (The Grandchildren's world: or Philemon and Baucis in Valepp [a fictitious mountain valley]) which he considered to be one of his best works.<sup>82</sup> His last drama to be staged (quite successfully) was a "Volksstück," a piece for the Tegernsee dialect theatre called *Kalteisergeist* which came out in 1931. This actually was a revised version of

the *Platingruben* in Bavarian dialect; here, for once in Mohr's works, the old world was seen as superior to any new one.<sup>83</sup>

Mohr's dramatic oeuvre was definitely less important than, say, that of his contemporary Bert Brecht. On the other hand, as his success with pieces like *Improvisationen* and *Ramper* shows he was one of the better known authors of the German stage in the 1920s. In style and by the content of his plays he could be compared to Carl Zuckmayer whose plays have withstood the test of time somewhat better; like him he did not want to revolutionize the theater, but wanted to express, in a form suited for his time, thoughts and feelings which determine the human condition. *Ramper* exhibits some close parallels to Eugene O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape* and some of Mohr's other plays resemble Pirandello's works; but, unlike Pirandello, he never blurs the distinction between the stage and the auditorium, and thus proves to be more conservative in the formal structure of his dramas.<sup>84</sup>

In 1927, Mohr made the acquaintance of D.H. Lawrence, who was to become a very close friend; at the same time, Mohr saw himself as Lawrence's disciple. At first, Lawrence did not think much of Mohr and remained critical of many of his works,<sup>85</sup> but it did not take long before his opinion took a decisive turn towards the better. Mohr saw in Lawrence a man who held very similar views on society, civilization, and the role of men and women in the world as he himself did; he also admired "Lorenzo's" (as he called him) literary accomplishments. In the summer of 1929, the Lawrences visited with the Mohrs at the Wolfgrub for several weeks. Mohr was not afraid of letting his three-year old daughter play with Lawrence even though Lawrence suffered from open tuberculosis. But Mohr was convinced that nothing bad could come to her from "Lorenzo." And he was right, Eva wasn't infected. Lawrence was inspired to his famous poem *Bavarian Gentians* at the Wolfgrub, Käthe had placed a vase with gentians close to his bed.<sup>86</sup> In the fall, Mohr accompanied the Lawrences when they went off to Southern France; he hoped that a new fruit cure that he believed in would help Lawrence. It didn't have the desired effect, however, and he left them in Bandol (between Marseille and Toulon). Lawrence wrote a letter to Käthe telling her how sad he was at Mohr's departure.<sup>87</sup> The two men had planned that Mohr should translate *Lady Chatterley's Lover* into German, but nothing came of it.<sup>88</sup> Mohr wrote a roman à clef about his friendship with Lawrence, *Die Freundschaft von Ladiz*, which appeared in German in 1931; an English translation came out one year later.<sup>89</sup> It starts with a scene of the two men having a fistfight, and it is quite ironic that after a second edition had appeared in 1932, a minor political scandal arose in 1934 about the fact that the publishing company (which, in 1931, had been bought by a strongly right-wing salesmen's union) had brought out this new edition of a Jewish author's work. The publishing



company went ahead with the publication and advertised it as a folksy tale about rugged mountain people; it could support this decision with the fact that the head of the "Reichsstelle zur Förderung des deutschen Schrifttums" (Reich office for the promotion of German literature) who didn't know or understand who the two friends in that novel really were, had come to the conclusion that the content of the book was in full accordance with the National Socialist view of friendship between men.<sup>90</sup>

Mohr was busy writing and publishing from 1929 to 1933, but he felt more and more strongly that he wasn't coming up to the standards he had set for himself and wasn't achieving anything new and noteworthy. He again saw that his financial situation wasn't satisfactory, that he was struggling to make ends meet. Also, his marriage seems to have been at a problematic stage.<sup>91</sup> So there are reasons to assume that he left Germany as early as he did not so much because he foresaw serious problems for the German Jews in general and Jewish writers in particular, but more because he felt hemmed in by his situation;<sup>92</sup> his yearning for far-away, romantic places may have made him decide to go to Shanghai as much as the practical considerations that his exams would be accepted there without question, that he didn't have to deposit a large amount of money, and didn't have to have an affidavit (as he would have had in the U.S.) to get in.<sup>93</sup> Moreover Käthe's brother Eduard who had lived in China for several years and had a leading position in the Westphal family's tea trading firm<sup>94</sup> was able to provide him with a very useful contact in the person of Dr. Werner Vogel who was established as a lawyer in Shanghai and was a correspondent of several German newspapers; he also worked for the local German Chamber of Commerce and was an influential member of the German community.<sup>95</sup> Mohr had decided with Käthe that he would give up literature altogether and would set up as a medical doctor again. After he had established himself firmly (he thought it would take two or three years) Käthe and Eva were to follow him.<sup>96</sup>

It should be remembered that the conditions of immigration remained unchanged and very lenient in Shanghai even after the pogroms of November 1938 when other countries were putting up new obstacles for Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria.<sup>97</sup> Shanghai has thus earned a special place in the history of the Jewish flight from Central Europe under National Socialism as an unexpected safe haven where most of the refugees survived. It should be remembered, however, that Mohr's life as an exile in Shanghai differed quite markedly from that of the Jewish refugees who arrived after 1938. He almost fully succeeded in becoming a normal, socially accepted member of the community of foreigners living in Shanghai. As he not only changed his country of residence, but also his professional life (away from literature and back to medicine) he evaded some of the typical disappointments of the



expatriate man of letters, such as being cut off from the medium of his own language or the absence of any kind of echo to his literary production.

After having taken the necessary preparations for his emigration Mohr left Käthe and Eva at the Löblhof and, having paid a visit to his mother in Munich and then to the families of his brothers-in-law in Hamburg, went on board the SS "Saarbrücken" at Hamburg on October 27, 1934.<sup>98</sup> He would never see any of them again. On December 18, 1934, Mohr arrived at Shanghai. Werner Vogel met him at the dock, took him in for the first few weeks, and introduced him to the local German community.<sup>99</sup> From Mohr's letters to his wife we can see that he started setting up a medical practice right away, but it took him several weeks to find suitable quarters. By the end of February 1935, he was settled in his own office-cum-apartment at 803, Bubbling Well Road (Yates Apartments).<sup>100</sup> Bubbling Well Road was the main thoroughfare and shopping street of the so-called International Settlement;<sup>101</sup> so it would seem that Mohr, doubtlessly with Vogel's help, had been able to secure a very good location for his office. His visiting card rather grandly claimed that he was a General Practitioner and Specialist in Nervous and Mental Diseases.<sup>102</sup> At Yates Apartments, he had an office room, a waiting room, a bedroom, and a bathroom. By the standards prevailing for the Jewish exiles from Germany and Austria who fled to Shanghai after the pogrom of 1938 this was a princely abode for a single person. In 1939 or 1940, even more so after the setting up of the "Ghetto" in 1943, two families might have been crowded into three rooms. Again we have to remember that Mohr came to Shanghai four to five years before the great wave of Jewish exiles and that his life in exile differed markedly from theirs.

Very quickly, Mohr met two other German-Jewish doctors who had recently arrived in Shanghai as refugees with whom he collaborated at public hospitals and with whom he spent a lot of time studying tropical diseases and generally getting his medical knowledge back up to acceptably high standards. We have to remember that he hadn't worked in his medical profession for several years. The way he describes this collaboration in a letter to his wife again shows that American literature was a natural point of reference in his thought. He talks about ". . . furchtbar viel mit Kollegen Fälle studieren und Mikroskopieren und Arrowsmithen [*sic*] . . ." (doing awfully many case studies with my colleagues, microscope work and "arrowsmithing"),<sup>103</sup> i.e., in describing his work he refers to Sinclair Lewis's novel *Arrowsmith* which had come out in 1925 (both in the U.S. and in Germany). *Arrowsmith* describes the career of a medical doctor in private practice and later in medical research.

The Shanghai that Mohr arrived at late in 1934 was a fast-growing city of about three and a half million inhabitants and the busiest port in East Asia, as it is today.<sup>104</sup> Following the treaty of Nanjing of 1842 which had opened



Shanghai up to international trade, several extraterritorial areas had been set up there, first the so-called French Concession, founded in 1849, then in 1863 the International Settlement where British influence prevailed. These extraterritorial areas were self-governing, Chinese law applied only to a limited extent, the Chinese government could not interfere in their administration or judiciary, and Chinese military forces did not have the right of entry. Foreigners who lived in these areas paid only customs duties on imports, but were otherwise practically tax-free, one of the main economic attractions of Shanghai and one of the reasons for its spectacular growth.<sup>105</sup> In the French Concession, the General Consul of France had the most important political position. In the International Settlement, the Shanghai Municipal Council was the decisive power; it was elected by the "meeting of ratepayers," i.e., the individuals who paid property tax. Fewer than 3 percent of the foreigners living in the Settlement did so, still they were the dominant social group; Chinese ratepayers, the large majority of those who paid property tax, first received the right of vote for the Council in 1926; in 1938, five Council seats were reserved for them.<sup>106</sup> The Council was in charge of taxation, public works, the police force and the fire brigade, the schools as well as public health and hospitals; it had some British troops at its disposal.<sup>107</sup> The Chinese city of Greater Shanghai which completely surrounded the extraterritorial areas was governed by a mayor who answered directly to the Chinese national government at Nanjing. Claims of the national government to full national sovereignty over all of Shanghai were thwarted by the Municipal Council which considered the area's extraterritorial status, and particularly the independent, nationally mixed courts of justice for legal disputes between members of all nationalities as too important an economic advantage to be given up.<sup>108</sup>

Although the city of Shanghai was thus politically divided its inhabitants were not so much segregated by nationality or ethnicity as by economic stratification. People lived in better or poorer parts of town according to their income and social status. Foreigners living in Shanghai were called "Shanghailanders," irrespective of their nationality, Chinese residents were known as "Shanghaiense."<sup>109</sup> Most of the "Shanghailanders" were well-to-do Westerners working in China were paid much more than natives who did the same or similar work and also more than they would have back home. There are good reasons to include Mohr (with considerable qualifications as far as his income is concerned, but quite unlike the Jewish refugees who arrived after 1938) among the "Shanghailanders."<sup>110</sup> The International Settlement, one of the most expensive parts of town, had almost one million inhabitants, about 36,500 of them foreigners, the French Concession had approximately 480,000 inhabitants, about 18,900 foreigners among them, the Chinese city



was home to more than 2 million people with about 11,600 foreigners living there.<sup>111</sup>

When Mohr arrived in 1934 the city's economy was doing quite well. This was especially true for the German community; it numbered almost exactly 2,000 and its business volume was fast expanding. Whereas Germany's share of Western imports to China had only been 5.2% in 1930, it had reached 17.25% in 1937 and had surpassed Britain's position; Germany trailed the US by only about half a percentage point.<sup>112</sup> Most of this trade, almost two thirds of the imports and about one third of the exports, passed through Shanghai.<sup>113</sup> There is no room here for a detailed discussion of the causes of this upswing. One reason probably was that the Germans had renounced their colonial privileges in China and were respected for that by the Chinese.<sup>114</sup> It is interesting to note that the German businessmen in China, most of all the "taipans" (literally "supreme leader"; the term was applied to the leading merchants of the long-established trading companies), did not see any need for an aggressive nationalism and at first were not eager to take up NS ideas, in fact, even resisted them for some time. That slowly changed as it was seen as helpful to be backed by a strong national government and Hitler was viewed as the politician who had prevented a Communist takeover in Germany.<sup>115</sup>

In 1935, Mohr complained in a letter that even Jews in Shanghai did not consult German-Jewish doctors but stuck to their "Aryan" ones, and that "Aryan" Germans avoided Jewish doctors as well, "da selbstverständlich auch hier ein starker Druck in dieser Beziehung ausgeübt wird" (as strong pressure was exerted on them in this respect here, too).<sup>116</sup> In 1934, there were 15 old-established German doctors working in Shanghai as well as 26 "non-Aryan" newcomers who had immigrated in 1933 and 1934.<sup>117</sup> It would seem that even 15 doctors were more than enough for a community of 2,000 people or maybe 3,000 if residents from other German-speaking countries are included. This alone might explain some of the problems facing the new immigrants. There can be no doubt that the NSDAP and the German consulate tried to suppress Jewish immigrants economically and socially, but it seems that in Mohr's time they were not very successful at that, at least not yet. Shanghai's cosmopolitanism precluded excesses of the racist NS ideology for quite a long time. To give but one example, the HJ ("Hitlerjugend," Hitler Youth) was very popular with adolescent German boys in Shanghai and the NSDAP exerted pressure on German parents to enrol their children with the HJ or BdM ("Bund deutscher Mädel," Union of German Girls); on the other hand, the children of Sino-German marriages as well as purely Chinese or Russian or Polish children were welcome to take part in their activities, if only as guests and not as regular members. That would have been impossible almost anywhere else.<sup>118</sup>



When the Japanese occupied the city in 1937 they took over the customs, post and telegraph administrations, but otherwise did not change the political structures. That only happened after Pearl Harbour when they occupied the extraterritorial areas as well. Only then were "enemy aliens," i.e., British subjects or American citizens, interned or expelled.<sup>119</sup> The Japanese occupiers did not exert any pressure on the Jewish exiles until 1943. Only then were they relocated, at the behest of German diplomats, into what became known as the Ghetto; the word "Ghetto" was never used officially, the Jewish district in the Hongkou area was named "restricted area."<sup>120</sup> Moving into that part of town which had been severely damaged by bombing in 1937 meant even worse housing conditions for the Jewish refugees; it meant a strict limitation of their freedom of movement, but luckily it did not mean extermination. The death rate among the Jewish exiles in Shanghai for the years 1939-45 has been calculated at 13 per thousand per year; in Germany it is 10.9, in the US 8.4 today.<sup>121</sup> One negative consequence of the Japanese occupation of Shanghai was that the city was cut off from its natural hinterland, which meant that it was getting more and more difficult for newly arrived refugees to find work. This very much concerned the approximately 15,500 German and Austrian Jews who fled to Shanghai between November 1938 and the beginning of 1941. In spite of the terrible housing conditions and the absence of a reliable income, the religious, cultural and social life of the exiled Jews flourished.<sup>122</sup> As we have seen, most of them survived although Shanghai was considered a poor man's place of exile where one only went if nothing better was available.<sup>123</sup> Some people who spent their teens in Shanghai later went on to become famous. One of them is Werner Michael Blumenthal, Secretary of the US Treasury under President Carter, and today Director of the Jewish Museum in Berlin.<sup>124</sup>

Mohr sent many letters home to Käthe and Eva and they present a very lively picture of his situation, his activities, and his plans.<sup>125</sup> It has already been mentioned, that he had hoped to establish himself within two or three years' time as a medical doctor and have them join him in Shanghai. Reading his letters one gets the impression that by the end of 1935 he was on the point of being financially able to have them come, but he never felt quite sure that he could afford that move. On the other hand, he had some prominent patients, such as the Austrian writer Vicki Baum, some Chinese government ministers, and the Persian consul, as well as a fairly large number of wealthy British businessmen, so after having had his office for about a year and a half he made enough money to be able to rent a car with chauffeur when going out to visit patients and to move in the city's society; this is evidenced by the fact that he felt compelled to buy a tuxedo even though he did not particularly like the type of social life which required formal dress.<sup>126</sup> As we

have seen, he had his office in one of the best parts of town, and, in 1937, may have had a love affair with Agnes Siemssen, who worked as a nurse and was the daughter of one of the wealthiest and most influential of the German "taipans" in Shanghai.<sup>127</sup> Of course, Mohr with his talent to see and depict the comical aspects of situations, described social life in Shanghai in a very ironic tone to his wife: "Aber der Arme, diese sozialen Pflichten, die die Company von ihm verlangt . . . 11-1 Cocktail, 1-3 Tiffin (steifes Hemd!), 5-6 Tee, 8-10 Dinner." (But the poor guy, these social duties which [polite] company expects of him . . . 11-1 [o'clock] cocktail [hour], 1-3 tiffin (starched shirt!), 5-6 tea, 8-10 dinner.)<sup>128</sup>

Mohr's correspondence also lets us see how easily and naturally references to American life and literature were inserted into his texts. It may be sufficient to quote three such instances from one long letter Mohr wrote home in January, 1936.<sup>129</sup> We have to assume, as well, that his wife was able to understand his allusions. First of all, he informs Käthe that he will join the YMCA to be able to use their library and, most of all, their swimming pool and sports facilities. He wrongly tells her that the Y is "ein riesiges amerikanisches Unternehmen über die ganze Welt" (a huge American company operating world-wide) when, in fact, it was founded in the UK. But Mohr naturally assumed that it must be American because it operated world-wide and had its center of gravity there. He goes on to tell her that joining the YMCA was "ein bisschen Babbitt" (a little bit Babbitt) and that taking exercise regularly there was "richtig Babbitt" (truly Babbitt) instead of using the German word "spießig" which probably was what he had in mind. Again, Mohr refers to a novel by Sinclair Lewis and its eponymous protagonist to express his idea instead of using an equally fitting German word. Finally, he lets Käthe know that he will send her a copy of the latest "Esquire"; Esquire magazine had started up in 1933 and Mohr had evidently been impressed of its literary qualities very soon. This was not the only time he sent a copy of Esquire home even though they sometimes were seized by the German censors.<sup>130</sup>

Up to the end of 1935, he showed himself relieved by his move away from literature and he pitied the people who were still caught up in it.<sup>131</sup> But then we hear that he and his wife will enjoy the time when he will be financially independent and can write freely, without any considerations of "money-making."<sup>132</sup> In 1936, he started to rewrite a manuscript he had taken with him to Shanghai, *Das Einhorn* (The Unicorn). He occasionally corresponded with Thomas Mann who appears to have been a good acquaintance (he had visited the Mohrs at the Löblhof once) and other literary figures.<sup>133</sup> Also, in 1935, he gave a public speech in English, "a language not my own," on D.H. Lawrence.<sup>134</sup>

At the same time he was mostly caught up in his "Arztere" [doctor's



work] and complained about having to write and send off his quarterly bills.<sup>135</sup> His situation was still unsettled when, in the summer of 1937, the Japanese bombed Shanghai. He describes how he, together with other doctors, nurses, and hospital personnel, put in long hours of work to help the wounded.<sup>136</sup> The war with Japan impaired his financial position as some of his wealthy patients left the city.<sup>137</sup> But in spite of that he took a trip to Japan in August of 1937, accompanied by the above-mentioned Agnes Siemssen; she had worked with him in the aftermath of the bombing of the city.

Soon after his return to Shanghai, on November 13, 1937, Max Mohr suddenly and unexpectedly died of a heart failure. It was probably caused by his heavy smoking and overindulgence in strong coffee, combined with overwork and lack of sleep, especially in the aftermath of the bombing in the summer of 1937, and the murderous climate of his place of exile.<sup>138</sup> He had just turned 46 and only two years before had written to Käthe that "das Leben ist lang, glaub' es mir" (life is long, believe me).<sup>139</sup> He was cremated and the urn with his ashes was taken back to Europe on a German ship together with his papers. When the urn was discovered in a ship's inspection it was not permitted to be taken into Germany (as it contained the ashes of a Jew). So the ship's captain dropped it into the North Sea off the German island of Helgoland, marked the exact spot on a chart and took the chart to Käthe.<sup>140</sup>

Max Mohr was definitely not a writer whose importance and literary influence could be regarded as being on the same level as that of contemporary figures like Bert Brecht, Thomas Mann, or Stefan George. On the other hand, he had a notable impact on the German literature of the 1920s and early 1930s, both as a dramatist and as a novelist. In many ways, he adapted himself to contemporary literary trends and styles, but he cannot be considered as a trendsetter. On the other hand, it would not do him justice to see him merely as a talented dilettante. He also does not quite fit into the category of the many German men of letters in exile who had to leave their homeland as victims of National Socialist persecution. As an exile, he made the conscious decision to return to his medical profession and to give up literature completely, and when, in spite of this resolution, he took up literature again and started to rewrite his last manuscript he continued working as a doctor. His exotic place of exile adds an unusual note to the life of a man who, as I hope to have been able to show, was an interesting personality and man of letters worth remembering today.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Enlarged and annotated version of a paper read at the 36th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies at Lawrence, KS, April 12th–14th, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, hg. von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 17 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> *Lexikon der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur*, begr. von Hermann Kunisch ..., ergänzt u. erw. v. Sibylle Cramer, 2. erw. u. aktualisierte Aufl. (München: Nymphenburger, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> Franz Lennartz, *Deutsche Schriftsteller der Gegenwart. Einzeldarstellungen zur Schönen Literatur in deutscher Sprache*, 11. erw. Aufl. (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1978); *Autorenlexikon deutschsprachiger Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, hg. von Manfred Brauneck, überarb. u. erw. Neuausgabe (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1995 =rororo Handbuch).

<sup>5</sup> *Metzler Lexikon Autoren. Deutschsprachige Dichter und Schriftsteller vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, hg. von Bernd Lutz und Benedikt Jeßing, 4. aktualisierte u. erw. Aufl. (Stuttgart/Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> *Deutsches Literatur Lexikon. Biographisch-bibliographisches Handbuch*, begr. von Wilhelm Kosch, 3. völlig neu bearb. Aufl., hg. von Heinz Rupp und Carl Ludwig Lang, Bd. 10 (Bern: Francke, 1986). The article on Mohr is on 1251, written by Ingrid Bigler.

<sup>7</sup> *Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke deutscher Sprache*, hg. von Walther Killy, Bd. 8 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1990) where the article on Mohr was written by Wolfgang Weismantel, and *Killy Literatur Lexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschsprachigen Kulturraums*, 2. vollst. überarb. Aufl., hg. von Wilhelm Kühlmann, Bd. 8 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2010), article on Mohr by Barbara Pittner.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Pittner, *Max Mohr und die literarische Moderne*, Diss. Phil. Bonn (Aachen: Shaker, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Carl-Ludwig Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß, als einen falschen. Würzburg-Wolfsgrub-Shanghai. Der Schriftsteller Max Mohr (1891 bis 1937)*, hg. von Landeshauptstadt München, Kulturreferat u. Monacensia Literaturarchiv u. Bibliothek, Dr. Elisabeth Tworek (München: A 1 Verlag, mon Akzente, 1997); Stefan Weidle, "Zum hundertsten Geburtstag Max Mohrs," in: Juni, Nr. 4/1991, Heft 1, 87–88; Albrecht Joseph, *Der letzte Vorhang* (Bonn: Weidle, 1997). Mohr's grandson Nicolas Humbert is the editor of Mohr's last novel, *Das Einhorn* (Bonn: Weidle, 1997) of which only an incomplete manuscript existed and he produced a radio show (*Shanghai-Wolfsgrub, via Sibiria. Briefeschreiben als Überlebensstrategie. Zum 60. Todestag des Schriftstellers Max Mohr*, Bayerischer Rundfunk 1997) and a documentary movie (*Wolfsgrub, Switzerland/Germany 1985–86*) on Mohr.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ralf Beer und Florian Steger, "Max Mohr (1891–1937)—ein Arzt auf der Suche nach Unabhängigkeit," in: *Sudhoffs Archiv*, Bd. 94, Heft 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010), 201–13. Thomas Cronen is working on a doctoral dissertation on Mohr. Very recently, Florian Steger published a complete and richly annotated edition of Max Mohr's correspondence. Florian Steger (Hg.): *Max Mohr (1891–1937). Korrespondenzen*, unter Mitarbeit von Ralf Beer und Thomas Cronen (Heidelberg 2013.)

<sup>11</sup> <http://max-mohr.com>; its author is Florian Steger, its editor Landeshauptstadt München, Kulturreferat.

<sup>12</sup> Gabriele Geibig-Wagner, "Max Mohr—ein wiederentdeckter Schriftsteller und Arzt," in: *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg, Bd. III/1: Vom Übergang an Bayern bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Ulrich Wagner (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2007), 997–1001.

<sup>13</sup> For Mohr's family background cf. Reiner Strätz, *Biographisches Handbuch Würzburger Juden 1900–1945*, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Würzburg, 4, I–II (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1989), 394.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, and Stadtarchiv Würzburg, Einwohnermeldebogen Max Mohr, as well as B.



Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> The address was Rottendorfer Strasse 1; it was a three-storied house. Mohr's mother can be found as residing at that address in the city registers from 1900 to 1933, see Stadtarchiv Würzburg, Würzburger Adressbücher (at that time: "Wohnungsbücher") of those years; she is listed as the owner of that house until 1939. For her death in Munich in 1941 cf. Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 9. Jewish house owners were put under pressure to sell their real estate after the november pogrom of 1938 in Würzburg as all over Germany.

<sup>16</sup> General information about the Jewish community at Würzburg around 1900 in Ursula Gehring-Münzel, "Die Würzburger Juden von 1803 bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs," in: *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg*, Bd. III/1, 499–528, here 504; the Jewish share of the total population of the city was about 3.5 % in 1900, sinking to 3 % in 1910. For the Jewish schools ibid., 516–18. As most of the documents of Würzburg's school administration were destroyed in 1945, we don't know which grade school Max Mohr attended.

<sup>17</sup> The school was renamed "Riemenschneider-Gymnasium" after WW II. Some of Mohr's school reports have been preserved in a private collection: Privatarhiv Karl-Heinz Pfaff (quoted in Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 201); the *Jahresbericht über das Königlich Neue Gymnasium zu Würzburg* for the school year 1909–10 shows that Mohr was the only Jewish student in his class. The *Jahresberichte* are extant at the school library.

<sup>18</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 15 contains photos of the advertisement and the cable; the originals are kept at the Monacensia Literaturarchiv und Bibliothek, Nachlass 113 (Max Mohr), doc. 6.

<sup>19</sup> For Mohr's school-leaving, first semester at the University of Würzburg, his military service and its conditions cf. Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 9, Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 201–3, and C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 203.

<sup>21</sup> See Mohr's autobiographical note quoted in Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Only mentioned in Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 9, based on Mohr's Personalbogen at the Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv.

<sup>23</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Lively descriptions of Mohr's valorous actions, quoted from his military file, in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 16–18; see also Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 203–4 who also rely on his file at the Kriegsarchiv.

<sup>25</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 203.

<sup>26</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 204; Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 10

<sup>27</sup> Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 204; C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 18; both rely on excerpts from Mohr's army file kept at the Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv.

<sup>28</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 204; that Mohr narrowly escaped execution in the POW camp is mentioned in an autobiographical note quoted by Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 6.

<sup>29</sup> For Mohr's engagement with the "Freikorps" cf. Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 204–5; description of some of the actions he took part in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 19–20.

<sup>30</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 204 for Mohr's doctoral dissertation (which has not been preserved) and the opening of his medical practice.

<sup>31</sup> The primer is mentioned in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 21, but more information on it can be found on Mohr's website <http://max-mohr.com> under "Medizinische Schriften." Florian Steger, the author of the website, sees no evidence for the existence of Dr. Singer.

<sup>32</sup> The marriage is mentioned by Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 11; Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 205; C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 26. The Westphal family was in the tea trade; the company still exists.

<sup>33</sup> Their move to Rottach-Egern is mentioned everywhere, as well; cf. ibid.

<sup>34</sup> This is only mentioned by Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 205, fn. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Detailed description of the Wolfgrub in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 26-27.

<sup>36</sup> Reprinted *ibid.*, 46.

<sup>37</sup> A map in 1:200000 scale is necessary to find the place; see e.g. *ADAC ReiseAtlas Deutschland Europa 2010/2011*, 207.

<sup>38</sup> See Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> See C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> See Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 27-28.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-34.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-39.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 173-74.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>46</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 26-27.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-31.

<sup>48</sup> In his recollections of Mohr's life Albrecht Joseph claimed that Mohr did the operation himself with some strong nail-clippers, cf. his article "Max Mohr," in: *JUNI. Magazin für Kultur und Politik*, 5. Jg., Nr. 4 (Mönchengladbach 1991), 90-94, but Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 11 assumes, probably closer to the truth, that Mohr had the operation done at a hospital where he could not stay for any length of time because he was short of money. This view is also supported by Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 206 who found out that Mohr visited a surgical clinic in Munich three times in the summer of 1922.

<sup>49</sup> See Käthe's report on that quoted by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 31.

<sup>50</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the drama see Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 44-48.

<sup>51</sup> A discussion of the Old World-New World dichotomy in *Improvisationen* in Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 51 f.

<sup>52</sup> The dance troupe of the Tiller girls was actually founded in England, but became better known to the German public after their successful appearances in New York and other U.S. cities.

<sup>53</sup> A helpful synopsis of cultural developments in Weimar Germany as well as the literature on these in Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 19-22.

<sup>54</sup> See below,

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 31-32.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>57</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 38 points out the effects of the inflation on Mohr's personal income. At the height of Germany's hyperinflation of 1923 one US-dollar was equivalent to 4.2 billion marks and the money was losing value by the hour so by the end of the day the value of wages set in the morning would be much reduced. See the Wikipedia article on German inflation [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche\\_Inflation](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Inflation). This meant that even when the theaters (which, under the circumstances, were in no hurry to pay their dues) paid out hundreds of millions of marks to Mohr for the production rights he had earned no more than a few US-cents.

<sup>58</sup> This is mentioned by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 31, who again quotes Käthe Mohr.

<sup>59</sup> The quote by Percy Hammond is taken from his review in the New York Herald Tribune of Feb. 29th, 1928. Percy Hammond (1873-1936), a well-known theater critic, was a member of the circle of New York theater critics; for him cf. *The Oxford Companion to American Theatre*. The second review was published in the New York Evening Post, Feb. 27th, 1928; no theater critic named Robert Littel or Little could not be found on the internet. See also Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 45, fn. 184.

<sup>60</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 39-43; see also Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*,



10.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, and Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 46–52.

<sup>62</sup> See Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 81, and C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 51.

<sup>63</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 12, or C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 51–54.

<sup>64</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 54–58.

<sup>65</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 53–57.

<sup>66</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 58–60.

<sup>67</sup> See Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 69 (letter by Wegener to Mohr, Mar 9, 1927).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 61 (letter by Wegener to Mohr, Jan. 6, 1926); for Joe May (1880–1954) see Alan Globe (ed.), *The International Film Index 1895–1990*, vol. 2, London 1991, 1335.

<sup>69</sup> Geibig-Wagner, *Max Mohr* (cf. note 10), 999. The English movie title was *Rampa*. The exact dates of the radio productions and the stations that produced them have not been identified.

<sup>70</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 53, fn. 207.

<sup>71</sup> E.g., in a letter to a theater director in Berlin on Dec. 26, 1929: “Ich arbeite jetzt *Die Welt der Enkel* völlig um. Ich muß es tun, obwohl Drama und Theater mich nicht mal mehr den kleinsten Futz interessieren. Muß es aber nochmal zwecks Money-maken.” (I am rewriting *Die Welt der Enkel* completely; I have to do so even though drama and the theater don’t interest me in the least anymore. Have to do so for the sake of “Money-maken”); quoted by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 62.

<sup>72</sup> Mohr’s correspondence with D.H. Lawrence was partially conducted in English and contains very few mistakes; the letters to his wife bristle with English idioms. A nearly complete edition of Mohr’s letters appeared in 2013; his grandson’s edition of the unfinished novel *Das Einhorn*, mit einem Nachwort von Nicolas Humbert (Bonn: Weidle-Verlag 1997) contains a large part of the correspondence in transcription.

<sup>73</sup> See his daughter’s memories as quoted by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 71.

<sup>74</sup> This is only known from a letter which Mohr sent to his wife on his voyage to Shanghai, Oct. 30, 1934, where he expresses regret about the affair which was over by then; see also Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 207.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. the letter quoted in fn. 71 which would suggest that this break had come about even earlier. On the other hand, Mohr brought out two more plays in 1930 and 1931 (cf. Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 173–74) so this year should be seen as the final turning away from drama.

<sup>76</sup> It would seem that the title is meant to allude to the zodiacal sign of pisces and to astrology which plays a large role in the novel and was one of Mohr’s hobbies as well. Lawrence wrote to Mohr in 1928 that he did not like *Venus in the Fishes* (quoted in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 87). In Mohr’s unpublished manuscripts there is an essay on the age of aquarius (C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 72) which speaks for his occupation with quite esoteric concepts of a coming world of peace and beauty.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 173.

<sup>78</sup> For a thorough discussion of this novel and the themes that are touched upon see Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 86–91.

<sup>79</sup> See C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 78–79.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 78; Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 62–65.

<sup>82</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 62, quotes a letter by Mohr to a theater director in which he praises the play as “meine beste Komödie” (my best comedy) and “die beste zeitgenössische Komödie, die ich mir denken kann” (the best contemporary comedy I can imagine). On the other hand, only one week later he wrote to the same director about the feeling of hangover he had in view of this comedy.

<sup>83</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 52, 53 and 62.

<sup>84</sup> For the comparisons to other authors cf. Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 65–74.

<sup>85</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 125–27, quotes from letters which Lawrence wrote to friends in England in the fall of 1927; in one of them he calls Mohr a “Schwätzer” [sic] (a babbler; Lawrence, of course, knew German quite well). Pittner quotes from Lawrence’s letters to Mohr where he severely criticizes the *Platingruben in Tulpin* as well as *Venus in den Fischen*. Pittner, p. 125, also quotes from an article on Mohr’s and Lawrence’s friendship by Frederic I. Owen in the *D.H. Lawrence Review* (1978), 137–48 where Owen concludes “that it was a friendship between a writer of genius (Lawrence), wholeheartedly committed to the battle for sanity and life, and a talented dilettante . . .”.

<sup>86</sup> The visit is described in detail in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 83–90.

<sup>87</sup> See *ibid.*, 90–92.

<sup>88</sup> Pittner, *Max Mohr*, 13 and 127.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 174; the title of the English translation was *Philip Glenn*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1932); Philip Glenn is D.H. Lawrence’s name in the novel.

<sup>90</sup> See C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 76–77.

<sup>91</sup> See *ibid.*, 83 where Reichert quotes Mohr’s daughter Eva. See also Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 10.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 94–95 (again quotes from Mohr’s daughter).

<sup>93</sup> An affidavit which the US Immigration authorities expected of refugees at that time was a sworn written statement by a resident US citizen that he would support the new immigrant financially if the immigrant was not able to do so himself.

<sup>94</sup> For Eduard see Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 210.

<sup>95</sup> Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 207, quote Mohr’s letter from Shanghai to his wife of Aug. 21, 1936, where he says “ohne ihn (Vogel) wäre ich gar nicht hierher gekommen” (without Vogel I wouldn’t have come here).

<sup>96</sup> See both C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 95, and Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 207; Beer/Steger quote from letters which Mohr sent to his wife from Shanghai.

<sup>97</sup> See Steve Hochstadt, “Flucht ins Ungewisse: Die jüdische Emigration nach Shanghai,” in: *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947: Jüdisches Leben in der Emigration*, hg. von Georg Armbrüster, Michael Kohlstruck, Sonja Mühlberger, (Teetz: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2000), 27–33.

<sup>98</sup> Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 207, are the only ones who mention the visits to his relatives before his departure. His parents-in-law had died in 1916 and 1931, respectively, so Mohr saw his brothers-in-law Eduard (see above, fn. 94) and Otto Heinrich who was a history professor at the University of Hamburg in 1934; see Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 210.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 208, for the circumstances of Mohr’s first weeks in Shanghai. It is not clear why they date his arrival there on Dec. 20 1934, when Mohr’s letter describing that is dated Dec. 18. See Mohr, *Das Einhorn*, 137.

<sup>100</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 208.

<sup>101</sup> Astrid Freyeisen, *Shanghai und die Politik des Dritten Reichs. Auswirkungen des Nationalsozialismus auf Auslandsdeutsche in einer Vielvölkerstadt*, doctoral dissertation (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), 43.

<sup>102</sup> It is reprinted in Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 209. They also report (208–9) that Mohr first worked at two hospitals in town and collaborated mainly with two colleagues from Germany who had already fled the country, like him. Mohr tried to impress prospective patients by claiming that he had been an assistant of the famous psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin (he had studied with him for one semester), that he had headed a sanatorium on the Tegernsee (which was not true), and that the famous D.H. Lawrence had been his patient (which was true). He gave public lectures on medical topics as well.

<sup>103</sup> Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 394 (Mohr to his wife on Mar 18, 1935).

<sup>104</sup> Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 21; by 1938, it had reached 3.8 million inhabitants.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 18–19.



<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>110</sup> Mohr lived in one of the best parts of town, moved in society without any problems, his medical business was doing quite well. Even if he probably did not earn as much as most other "Shanghaianders" he could afford a hire car and small luxuries. Finally, he was not only very good friends with, but even distantly related to, one of the wealthiest and most influential German "taipans," Fred Siemssen; Fred S.'s son Hermann was married to one of Käthe Mohr's sisters (see Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 210, 416, 438). Fred S.'s daughter Agnes may have been Max Mohr's lover in 1937 (ibid. and below 18 with fn. 127).

<sup>111</sup> Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 21.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 40–41.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 57–61.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 104.

<sup>117</sup> Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 391.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 134–35, 504.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 28–33. It should be remembered that British or American citizens were interned as enemy aliens only at the beginning of 1943; the picture drawn by J.G. Ballard in his famous novel *Empire of the Sun* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984) is a highly dramatized and fictional version of the actual events.

<sup>120</sup> David Kranzler, "The Miracle of Shanghai: An Overview," in: *Exil Shanghai*, 35–45, here 43.

<sup>121</sup> For the Jewish death rate in Shanghai 1939-1945 see ibid., 41; for today's death rate in the US or in Germany look under [http://www.ipicture.de/daten/demographie\\_deutschland](http://www.ipicture.de/daten/demographie_deutschland) and [http://www.ipicture.de/daten/demographie\\_USA](http://www.ipicture.de/daten/demographie_USA). The difference between the German and the American rates given there seems very questionable, however, considering the higher life expectancy in Germany.

<sup>122</sup> See Kranzler, "Miracle Shanghai", 37–39.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Michael Blumenthal's lively memories about the different countries of exile and their rankings in popular Jewish opinion of the time, in: Hochstadter, "Flucht ins Ungewisse," 29.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., fn. 6, and the Wikipedia article on him: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/W.\\_Michael\\_Blumenthal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/W._Michael_Blumenthal). He has announced that he will retire from the last-mentioned position in September 2014.

<sup>125</sup> Many of these letters have been reprinted in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, and in Nicolas Humbert's posthumous edition of his grandfather's last and unfinished novel *Das Einhorn*. Several have been quoted here from these editions.

<sup>126</sup> See Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 210. Beer/Steger rely for their information on Mohr's letters to Käthe, too. The acquisition of the tuxedo and three elegant shirts (which he commented "Muss sein" - is necessary) is mentioned in his letter of Sept. 22, 1935, *Das Einhorn*, 148.

<sup>127</sup> For that probable love affair see Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 211; for Fred Siemssen's, Agnes' father's, social and economic standing cf. Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 36–37. She and Mohr took a trip to Japan in the summer of 1937.

<sup>128</sup> Letter of July 13, 1936, quoted by Freyeisen, *Shanghai*, 53. Tiffin is pidgin English for a meal, specifically lunch.

<sup>129</sup> See Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*, 521–23 (letter written Jan. 12, 1936).

<sup>130</sup> There are several other mentions of copies of "Esquire" being sent home to Käthe in Steger, *Max Mohr. Korrespondenzen*.

<sup>131</sup> Letter to his wife of Oct. 9, 1935, reprinted in *Das Einhorn*, 149–50.

<sup>132</sup> C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 105–6, where Mohr tells his wife that the novel is his life-saver and remarks to her “Die armen, armen Menschen, die das [die Literatur] nicht haben” (the poor, poor people who do not have this [literature]).

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 106–7 (with reprints of two letters to Th. Mann).

<sup>134</sup> The speech was given on April 8, 1935; its beginning is quoted in C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 91.

<sup>135</sup> E.g., in the letter of Oct. 9, 1935 (see note 117).

<sup>136</sup> Letter of Sept. 10, 1937, reprinted in *Das Einhorn*, 175.

<sup>137</sup> Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 212.

<sup>138</sup> See both C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 110, and Beer/Steger, *Max Mohr*, 212.

<sup>139</sup> Quoted by C.-L. Reichert, *Lieber keinen Kompaß*, 91.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.



*Uwe Spiekermann*

## **Family Ties in Beer Business: August Krug, Joseph Schlitz and the Uihleins**

### **Introduction**

Brewing is surely the business most closely related to German-American immigrant entrepreneurs; and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was one of the most prominent and best known examples. This biographical case study, however, stresses that the success of immigrant entrepreneurs was not only related to a new type of (lager) beer and an intense knowledge transfer from the German to the United States. Entrepreneurial success was also a result of a specific form of social organization of immigrants: While the dominant trend in late 19th century U.S. business favored managerial enterprises and corporations, German-American immigrants still used the family as a resource for the business of newcomers. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was the result of the work of three different families, closely connected through regional origins, marriage, and kinship. When Georg August Krug opened a saloon and a small brewery in Milwaukee in 1848/49, he acted similarly to hundreds of other German immigrants. When his bookkeeper and later second husband of his wife Anna Maria, Joseph Schlitz, took over the brewery in 1858 and established it as one of the larger local and regional players until his accidental death in 1875, he formed and established a mid-sized firm, similar to dozens of others in the country. When finally Schlitz's nephews, six brothers of the Uihlein family, and their descendants had to stop beer production in 1919 due to the National Prohibition Act, they had created one of the leading breweries and beer brands in the U.S. and the world, competing with Anheuser-Busch and Pabst for market and technology

leadership. The family ties were strong enough to stay in business even during the prohibition and to re-establish the brand after 1933, when the Blaine Act repealed the nativist and "noble experiment" of prohibiting intoxicating beverages and the manufacture and supply of alcohol. The Schlitz Company, still a family business, was able to recapture its former market share and to out-compete its competitors in the early 1950s, when it again was for several years the world market leader in beer business.

### **Family Histories in Germany and in the U.S.**

At the beginning was the German revolution of 1848. Georg August Krug (1815-56) was born the son of Georg Anton Krug (1785-1860) and Anna Marie Ludwig (1784-1864), who owned the brewery "Zum Weißen Löwen," the predecessor of today's Faust brewery, in Miltenberg.<sup>1</sup> This was a small and contested town at the River Main, which belonged until 1803 to the Electoral of Mayence, became part of the grand duchy of Baden in 1806, was transferred to grand duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1810, and finally became part of the Kingdom of Bavaria in 1816. Georg August Krug worked in the family business but also became a member of a group of revolutionists among the doctor and farmer Jakob Nöthig, who later emigrated to the U.S. after he was accused of ringleadership (*Rädelsführerei*) and additional political offenses.<sup>2</sup> Krug and his father were among the petitioners in Miltenberg in March, 8, 1848, demanding liberal reforms.<sup>3</sup> On the following day Miltenberg was shaken by protests and turmoils, and Bavarian armed forces reestablished order. This was more than disappointing for Georg August Krug, who faced official prosecution, and he became part of a first wave of politically motivated emigration.<sup>4</sup> He arrived in the U.S. in May 1848, where he used only his second name and where he was naturalized on December 15, 1854.<sup>5</sup> In Milwaukee, at that time a preferred destination for the 48ers, he established, probably with his savings, a saloon and restaurant on 4th and Chestnut Streets.<sup>6</sup> Far from Bavaria, he still managed to receive additional support from his family. First, he rejoined with his fiancée Anna Maria Wiesmann Hartig from Miltenberg (October 9, 1819–January 20, 1887), who he married—likely in 1849.<sup>7</sup> She was the daughter of Michael Wiesmann and Christina Schlohr, both from Miltenberg. Her presence allowed an extension of business. While Anna Maria Krug took care for the restaurant, August Krug started a small brewing business at a close-by building at 420 Chestnut Street in 1849. Second, his father Georg Anton Krug came to the U.S. on October 25, 1850, accompanied by his grandson, 8-year-old August Uihlein.<sup>8</sup> Such visits were not without risk: The visitors travelled on the *Helena Sloman*, the first German steam ship on the transatlantic route. It encountered distress on



sea on November 28, 1850 and sunk. Nine people were killed in an accident, but the vast majority of the crew and the passengers, in total 175 persons, were rescued by the American ship *Devonshire*.<sup>9</sup> Georg Anton Krug lost a Bavarian beer pump, which went down with the wreckage but he rescued \$800 in gold. This capital was invested into the brewery of his son and additional labor force: Among the three employees was the new bookkeeper Joseph Schlitz. But he was not the only staff member with a bright business future. Chain migration opened chances for more than a living; and small immigrant businesses gave talents time to develop: Franz Falk (1823-82), a cooper from Krug's home town Miltenberg, immigrated to Milwaukee in October 1848 and later worked in Krug's brewery. He is a good example for a quite common desire to become his own master after a period of dependent work and capital accumulation. Falk first became a partner of Frederick Goes, modernized their Bavarian Brewery, and incorporated the firm in 1881 as the Franz Falk Brewing Company.<sup>10</sup>

August Krug became a respected and independent citizen. In 1850, his real estate property was valued \$1,600. His household consisted of five people, the couple, two workers from the brewery, both from Bavaria, and a young 18-year-old women, probably a servant.<sup>11</sup> Krug seemed to have a voice in the neighborhood of mainly German immigrants, otherwise his certificate of recommendation for G. Graessler's pressed fire-proof tiles, which he used in his house, wouldn't had made sense.<sup>12</sup> He could afford to visit Germany in 1855, where he met his family.

Krug, who already saw himself in competition to other German immigrant brewers, namely the Best family and Miltenberg born Valentin Blatz (1826-94), died in late 1856 in an accident, when he tumbled down a hatchway and passed away several days later.<sup>13</sup> The value of his real estate, eleven lots of land, was estimated worth \$20,050. There were a total of \$15,296.76 claims and demands against the estate, owed by 24 individuals. Among them were demands of \$276.50 by bookkeeper Joseph Schlitz.<sup>14</sup>

This should be a good chance to move forward to the name giver of the later Schlitz Company. But this would ignore the important role of Anna Maria Krug, who owned the Krug Brewery from 1856 to her marriage with Joseph Schlitz in 1858. The latter was not mentioned in the will, and there is no evidence that Krug "had left definite instructions for the continuing of the business under the active supervision of his valued friend and employee, Mr. Schlitz."<sup>15</sup> Offering Schlitz the management of the small brewery was more a pragmatic decision and a business venture than the result of a clear cut plan by 41-year-old August Krug. Schlitz knew the business, and he invested his savings to finance the small but steady expansion of the firm. The marriage of the 27-year-old Joseph Schlitz and the 39-year-old Anna Maria Krug must



be understood in similar terms: He received two third of Krug's estate<sup>16</sup> and could engage relatively freely with the brewery, while she not only maintained the business, she and her first husband had established but also kept it within family property. The childlessness of Anna Krug Schlitz was already a reason for young August Uihlein's emigration to the U.S.<sup>17</sup> In addition, this "son-in-law" or "widow-faithful-employee-relationship" mechanism was and is quite typical for ownership transfer in family businesses; and it was already practiced in Milwaukee's brewing business: When Johann Braun, the owner of the City Brewery died in 1851, Braun's widow Louisa married Valentin Blatz. The widow's capital and the new husband's business skills enabled continuous business operation.<sup>18</sup> Although women played an important role in small business in the middle of the 19th century, such social mechanisms guaranteed that active management of mid-sized or larger firms by women remained a rare exception.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Anna Maria Schlitz seemed to be independent: In 1863, she visited Germany without the escort of her husband.<sup>20</sup> Like other Milwaukee elite members, she also supported the Milwaukee Töchter Institut, founded by German immigrant social entrepreneur and early feminist Mathilde Franziska Anneke.

However, not being active in business did not mean to living without means: When Anna Maria Schlitz died in 1887, her estate was valued \$500,000.<sup>21</sup> Her property rights were to become important for strengthening the Uihlein dominance in the Schlitz Brewing Company. After the death of her second husband she lived a quite modest and reclusive life in the 1874 residence of the former couple at Milwaukee's 11th street, attended by only one servant, a young woman from Prussia.<sup>22</sup> Anna Maria Schlitz was buried in the Schlitz cenotaph at Forest Home Cemetery Milwaukee.

Joseph Schlitz (1831-75), the namesake of the brewing company and the beer brand, is an even more mythical figure than August Krug. While the first is often perceived as an unimportant stirrup holder, Joseph Schlitz is normally presented as a successful visionary whose tragic death on sea contributed to the idea of an American industrial titan who died before his mission was accomplished. It is difficult to argue against such narratives typical for the heroic perception of U.S. 19th century business history. Joseph Schlitz was indeed an important brewer and entrepreneur. But his name became famous because of the business development under his nephews, the Uihlein brothers.

Schlitz was born on May 31, 1831, in Mayence as the son of Louisa and Johann Schlitz, a cooper and wine trader.<sup>23</sup> He was trained as a bookkeeper but also learned the basics of brewing in his parents' milieu. With this he surely had good preparatory skills for a business career but it is highly doubtful that he received "an excellent mercantile education and decided financial ability."<sup>24</sup> Joseph Schlitz arrived on June 15, 1849, in New York after a journey from



Le Havre on the Charleston based 600-ton sailing vessel Noemie, built in 1847 to carry passengers and freight from the Le Havre to Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>25</sup> He named himself already a merchant and told the officials that he planned to stay in New York.

Instead, he went to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he was probably engaged in managing a brewery.<sup>26</sup> He moved to Milwaukee and joined the Krug brewery in 1850. Here, he managed to rename the brewery after himself in 1858 (Josef Schlitz, Chestnut Brewery), when he gained control of the business. Well-known and respected as a shrewd businessman, he was able to enlarge his company and his private fortune. This is even more remarkable, because he was, similar to the Krugs and most of the Uihleins, of Catholic faith. In 1860, with real estate valued \$25,000 and additional assets of \$50,000, Schlitz was already one of the richest men in Milwaukee.<sup>27</sup> At that time, his household includes his wife, two 26-years old servants from Austria, and four young male immigrants from Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden, working as barkeeper, bookkeeper, brewer and in a beer hall. This was not a modern household. Instead, Schlitz maintained the traditional German model of the *Ganze Haus* abroad, where master and carpenters were living together. However, the success story was not a linear one. The 1870 census valued Schlitz's real estate \$34,000, while his additional assets had declined to \$28,000.<sup>28</sup> The Schlitz mansion now accommodated no fewer than sixteen people, fifteen of them of German descent, with only one U.S. born servant. Nephew August Uihlein, at that time bookkeeper of the brewery, was still living under the roof of his uncle and master Joseph Schlitz.

The German immigrant lived a life without scandals, without stain. He tended to the Democratic Party but was never a party man. He was a Mason, a member of various lodges and associations, but such connections were more important for business than for individual enlightenment.<sup>29</sup> Schlitz was registered at the beginning of the Civil War, but he was never in active duty.

His growing wealth, together with his reputation as a trustworthy businessmen, was crucial for additional business positions both functional for his core business beer brewing and for investing his profits. Joseph Schlitz became a director of the Second Ward Bank, sharing this position with other brewers like Philip Best and Valentine Blatz, when the bank was reorganized in 1866.<sup>30</sup> It was nicknamed "the Brewers Bank." Although the company had only a capital of \$100,000 in 1873,<sup>31</sup> this was a prestigious position: During the first days after the loss of the Schiller, Schlitz was not perceived as a brewer but as "the President of a Banking Association in Milwaukee."<sup>32</sup> Other business endeavors were closely related to his German-American community. Schlitz was a director of the "Northwestern gegenseitige Kranken-Unterstützungs-Gesellschaft," a company initiated by some of the

most prominent German-American businessmen.<sup>33</sup> Such business endeavors were necessary as a civic answer to the severe lack of social insurance in 19th century America. Citizens had to take care for their own risks; and ethnic communities or business branches gave profitable answers to this. Schlitz was also secretary of the Brewer's Protective Insurance Company of the West, who had a paid capital stock of \$164,175 at the end of 1870.<sup>34</sup> As The Brewers' Fire Insurance Co. of America, it had a subscribed capital of \$700,000 in 1871.<sup>35</sup> Realizing the immense number of fires in general and in the brewing business in particular, this was self-help, necessary for growth and risk management.<sup>36</sup>

Schlitz died in one of the largest shipping disasters of the late 19th century. After an absence of 26 years, he was planning to visit his town of birth, Mayence.<sup>37</sup> The loss of the steam ship Schiller on May 7, 1875 caused 335 casualties, including several prominent Milwaukee residents and was "painfully interesting to thousands of Milwaukee people."<sup>38</sup> His body was never recovered, but a cenotaph was nonetheless erected at Milwaukee's Forest Home Cemetery. His wife offered a \$25,000 reward for the corpse, but it was never found. In 1880, rumors that the remains had been discovered caused a sensation but in the end, it was discovered to be a hoax.<sup>39</sup> Schlitz had taken care for such an event and had his life insured for \$50,000, a sum helpful for the further expansion of his brewery.<sup>40</sup> The Milwaukee Board of Trade passed resolutions out of respect in memory of Joseph Schlitz and German-immigrant merchant Hermann Zinkeisen, head of the commission house Zinkeisen, Bartlett & Co.<sup>41</sup> This respect remained.

At the time of his death, Joseph Schlitz was estimated being worth \$500,000.<sup>42</sup> His death changed the property structure of the Schlitz brewery, which was incorporated in 1874. 4,000 shares of brewery stock were outstanding: Anna Schlitz received 2,000, held in a trust by the executors. 700 shares were given to the Uihlein brothers, who already owned 750. The additional 550 shares were bequeathed to other parties, among them 250 to Clara Marcel Schmitt, Schlitz's niece.<sup>43</sup> Anna Maria Schlitz' passive role was taken for granted and responsibility for the brewery switched to Schlitz's nephews, the Uihlein brothers. Again, family members had to take command.

Joseph and Anna Maria Schlitz remained childless—and in accordance to the unwritten laws of family business, the proprietor encouraged several relatives, in this case his nephews, to join the brewing company and to be part of a profitable success story: In 1864, when Edward G. Uihlein followed his brothers August, Henry and Alfred to establish their own brewery in Chicago, the Schlitz Brewery had only 6 to 8 employees.<sup>44</sup> But in the early 1870s, Joseph Schlitz offered the brothers co-proprietor-ship of the quickly growing family business.<sup>45</sup> They accepted, and more than three decades later, in 1907, the combined wealth of the Uihlein family "was listed by a conservative



agency at \$100,000,000.”<sup>46</sup>

Who were the six brothers who contributed in joint but quite individual ways to this success story?<sup>47</sup> They were each born in the small town of Wertheim/Main, duchy of Baden, as sons of Joseph Benedict Uihlein (1803–74) and Katharina Josepha Krug (1820–67), who married in Miltenberg on April 20, 1841. This year also marked their move to Wertheim/Main. Joseph Benedict Uihlein was the sixth of thirteen children from a family earlier located in Trennfurt/Main, a small village located north of Miltenberg. They were respected burghers, working as tradesmen, merchants, and hoteliers. At the time of his marriage, Joseph Benedict Uihlein had already seen the “world.” He served in “fine” hotels in Lyon, Paris, and likely London, and owned a small shipping line on the Main River.<sup>48</sup> In 1841, he bought the hotel “Zur Krone” in Wertheim/Main for 13,500 Gulden. This was a renowned establishment at the estuary of the Tauber River and the Main River with a prestigious history stretching back to the seventeenth, possibly as early as the fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup>

Here Katharina Josepha Uihlein gave birth to nine children, seven of them sons: Georg Karl August “August” (1842–1911), Heinrich “Henry” (1844–1922), Eduard “Edward” G. (1845–1921), Karl “Charles” M. (1848–1915), Anna (1850–1932), Alfred (1852–1935), Gustav (1854–70), Laura (1857–1943), and Wilhelm “William” J. (1859–1932). Eight of them emigrated to the United States; only Anna Uihlein, later Anna Grohmann, remained in Germany. Laura Uihlein came to Milwaukee at the age of 16. She was married to the second generation German-American Charles Werdehoff, in 1878, who worked as bookkeeper and later as a travel agent for the Schlitz brewery.<sup>50</sup> He died in 1885, and Laura Werdehoff remained in Milwaukee until the turn of the century, when she returned to her home region together with her two daughters. She stayed there for nearly two decades, oscillated between Germany and the U.S. for more than a decade, and finally settled again in Milwaukee, where she died as the last of the nine children.<sup>51</sup> Gustav, in contrast, died briefly after his arrival in the U.S. on typhoid fever.<sup>52</sup>

The remaining six brothers were all involved with the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company—and were mostly recognized as a unit; or, as a Cincinnati brewer expressed it in the harmonious tone of the late Gilded Age: “I cannot recall a more ambitious family, talented, able, energetic, overcoming obstacles with comparative ease, which to most men would seem insurmountable, working together in perfect harmony.”<sup>53</sup> The standard narrative of the Schlitz brewery, however, only referenced to four brothers—August, Henry, Edward, and Alfred—partly because they represented the most important family branches and partly because these four brothers were engaged in the Schlitz brewery already in the early 1870s. Nineteenth century perception, however, was

different.<sup>54</sup> Business partners and the public saw a family business represented by brothers in different roles for a common commercial endeavor.

Due to space restrictions and to avoid repetition, it is not possible to go into the details of the individual biographies—although at least four of the brothers were “significant” immigrant entrepreneurs as defined by the Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project; but before we analyze their common business activities, we must at least briefly discuss the pronounced personalities and lives of those six Uihlein brothers who made the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company famous.

August Uihlein, the eldest and dominant of the brothers, was officially never more than secretary and treasurer of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company. He held this position from the incorporation of the company in 1874 until his death in 1911.<sup>55</sup> It is recorded that “his word was law.”<sup>56</sup> This resulted not only from the principle of seniority, important for all family businesses, but also because he owned the largest block of Schlitz stock and came to the new world in 1850, as the first of the brothers. Under the auspices of the Krug family, he first attended Milwaukee’s German-English Academy, better known as Engelmann’s School.<sup>57</sup> In 1855, he joined St. Louis Jesuit College (now St. Louis University) for two years. After an additional 60-day business training, he convinced his uncle Joseph Schlitz to hire him as a bookkeeper in 1858, and at the same time volunteered at Milwaukee’s Second Ward Savings Bank for one year. He did all of this to establish his own business. In 1860, he switched to St. Louis’s Uhrig Brewery to work as bookkeeper and clerk and became general manager of the company in 1862.<sup>58</sup>

The return to St. Louis was important both for August Uihlein’s career and the future of the Schlitz Company. The Joseph Uhrig Brewing Company, successor of the Camp Spring Brewery founded in 1839, was a pioneer in lager beer brewing. They were the first to introduce bock beer to Missouri and efficiently linked the brewing and the distribution of beer. Joseph and his brother Ignatz, who came from Laudenberg, a small village northwest of Miltenberg, were also pioneers in establishing beer garden.<sup>59</sup> Their parents worked in the Main River transport business and had kinsmanlike relations to the Krug und Uihlein families.<sup>60</sup> Personal relations from Germany were maintained in the new world and made business careers easier for newcomers. The Uihleins never forgot this: When John Uhrig’s wife Walpurga died in 1897 in Milwaukee, August, Henry, and Alfred Uihlein acted as pallbearers.<sup>61</sup> Although August Uihlein returned to Milwaukee in 1867 to work again as the Schlitz brewery’s bookkeeper, he still planned to start his own brewery in Chicago in the early 1870s.<sup>62</sup> Such instances were common until the incorporation of the Schlitz brewery in 1874, an important strategic decision by Joseph Schlitz with economic and social motivations.



August Uihlein settled in Milwaukee and, on April 20, 1872 married Emily Werdehoff (March 5, 1851-August 4, 1910), daughter of German immigrant Henerich "Henry" Werdehoff and Charlotte Jürgens. We already read about this family. The young couple had eight children: The twins Clara and Anna, born January 15, 1873, who both died in August 1873; and the surviving Ida (October 24, 1874-July 31, 1968); Joseph Edgar (December 23, 1875-January, 1968), who became an executive in the Schlitz company in 1906; Paula (August 13, 1877-May 16, 1968); Thekla (June 15, 1879-1947); Robert A. (January 26, 1883-May 13, 1959), later active in the Schlitz Company and the First Wisconsin Bank; and Erwin "Ike" (April 18, 1886-October 20, 1968), who became active in the Schlitz Company in 1933, after prohibition.<sup>63</sup> They were all educated first in Milwaukee's German-English Academy, which August Uihlein supported generously. He also financed extensive travel for his children, most notably Joseph's, Thekla's, and Paula's 31,000 mile-14-month tour of Europe, India, and Africa.<sup>64</sup>

After the turn of the century August Uihlein was acclaimed as Milwaukee's richest man, with private property of more than \$9,000,000.<sup>65</sup> For him, this was a confirmation of a life lived in a proper way. He became an Episcopalian, perhaps because of a desire to be accepted by old stock Yankees;<sup>66</sup> but when he died he was still perceived as a German-American, as a "splendid type of the sturdy, durable German stock which has contributed more than any other racial element to the upbuilding of the civic and industrial fabric in this community." However, he did not want to be judged by his national background but by his personality. He would have liked the following characterization: "Mr. Uihlein's word was sacred, and his promise (never lightly and carelessly given) the guaranty of fulfillment. Mr. Uihlein was a big, broad man, whose planning and doing were on the large scale. A modest man, withal, with the excellent simplicity of character, and the distaste for the show and gewgaws of publicity and display that attests in such men the genuineness of their good will and good works."<sup>67</sup> August Uihlein was active and restless. He taught his children to analyze business and life constantly and carefully. His son Erwin once remembered: "The old man was a tireless worker. . . . The old man was away from home every night. Wednesday night he went to the German theater, and the other nights he would be visiting business districts all over the city. He would talk to neighborhood merchants, druggists, repairmen and find just how their business was going. Every night he was out judging property, and he became one of the best real estate judges in the country."<sup>68</sup>

August Uihlein was interested in music, in history, in practical things. His passions were simple. His canaries were famous and feared, because they were giveaways for the many visitors to his home. An important public topic

was his excessive interest in fine trotters and thoroughbreds. Supported by his brothers Alfred and Henry, he purchased from the mid-1880s four huge breeding farms, in Truesdell, Menomonie Falls, Racine, and Fox Point. At the turn of the century, they owned close to 2,000 horses and were big players in the international market of first class horses.<sup>69</sup> August Uihlein paid more than \$25,000 for an individual horse, Alcazar, and \$9,000 for *The Harvester*, the most famous American thoroughbred before World War I—valued at least \$75,000 at that time.<sup>70</sup>

Apart from this, he was a family man, caring for his relatives: In 1907, he created a \$1,000,000 trust for his children.<sup>71</sup> The death of his wife in 1910 hit him hard.<sup>72</sup> He died “entirely unexpected” at Helgoland during one of his beloved journeys, accompanied by his son Erwin, daughter Paula, and niece Ella Uihlein of Chicago.<sup>73</sup> August Uihlein’s will from February 11, 1911, was written on a single sheet of paper and bequeathed all of his six surviving children. The estate was close to \$4,000,000.<sup>74</sup> The patriarch of the Schlitz Company had made gifts of over \$5,000,000 to his children before his death. They had to pay \$80,000 inheritance tax on his estate and \$160,000 tax on the gifts—a habit introduced by the state Wisconsin for the first time in this case.<sup>75</sup>

Alfred Uihlein was superintendent of the Joseph Schlitz Brewing from 1875 until 1916, when he succeeded his brother Henry as president of the company until 1926. He was educated in the Wertheim gymnasium and came to the U.S. in 1867. The 15-year-old-boy went to St. Louis to meet his brother August and to work in the brewery business with the Uhrig Brewery. After a short stint as a store clerk in Carrollton, Illinois, Alfred Uihlein went to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he and his brother Henry were working for the Charles Kunz Brewery. Joseph Schlitz and his brother August convinced him to go to Milwaukee, and, from then on, he was involved with Schlitz Brewery.<sup>76</sup>

Here he settled and married Anna Pilger (October 4, 1849-January 31, 1921) on October 26, 1875. She was a daughter of William and Catherine Pilger, an honored and representative family of Milwaukee. The couple had five children, Walther Oscar (September 10, 1876-July 22, 1896); Mathilde (May 6, 1878-July 19, 1944), who later married Albert C. Elser, vice-president of the Second Ward Savings Bank; William Benedict (January 18, 1880-July 28, 1953), a later chairman of the Schlitz company; Hermann Rudolph (June 12, 1883-85); and Herbert E. (May 1, 1890-1947).<sup>77</sup> In 1887, the couple built a mansion in 1639 North Fifth Avenue, a neighborhood, not far from the brewery, soon nicknamed “Uihlein hills,” because of its draw to several of the brothers.<sup>78</sup>

Alfred Uihlein was involved in education, namely as a Milwaukee school



commissioner from 1890 until 1893. He was active in many Milwaukee clubs and associations both American and German-American. He was praised with the standard words for an American entrepreneur: "Forceful and resourceful, ready at any time to meet any emergency and quick to recognize and improve opportunities, he has advanced step by step to a position of leadership in business circles here, . . ."<sup>79</sup> But more important was that he, in his function as a superintendent, led the company through a large and continuous process of technological and organizational changes, and that he was able to do this with a relatively small number of strikes and boycotts. He was known and respected for his constant presence in the company—even at the time of the prohibition, when he became president of the Schlitz Realty Co.<sup>80</sup> In contrast to the second Uihlein generation, having moved to Milwaukee's east side, he remained in the same neighborhood until his death. Alfred Uihlein's estate inventory "disclosed holdings valued at \$1,865,750.18."<sup>81</sup> This consisted of real estate holdings of \$425,200, municipal bonds of \$721,567.61 government bonds of \$272,896.45, \$2,824.49 prepaid insurance, \$44,470.14 life insurance, \$392,853.69 cash and miscellaneous items. He left the bulk of his estate to his sons and his daughter.<sup>82</sup>

While Alfred cared for the Schlitz Company's Milwaukee manufacturing center, his brother Edward was responsible for the firm's distribution and agency network, which was decisive for the regional and later national presence of Schlitz beer. Officially, he was vice-president of the company from 1874 until his retirement in 1915. As an immigrant entrepreneur, he is the most interesting of the six brothers, having left memoirs and hundreds of letters to friends in his birth-home.

Edward G. Uihlein grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium until the age of fourteen. His parents and nursemaid were occupied by responsibilities to the inn and hotel business, and floods affected the work regularly. Young Edward had a childhood without much supervision, which resulted in relatively bad school grades and having to repeat classes two times.<sup>83</sup> However, he received a typical education, covering singing and music (he was a violin player), drawing and sports, French, Latin, and Greek. Aged 14, Edward Uihlein went to Miltenberg for an apprenticeship at the retail and wholesale grocery of Joseph Knapp.<sup>84</sup> In 1864, the visit of the Uhrig Family offered a chance for a passage to the U.S. Accompanied to Cologne by his father and his sister Anna and then by the St. Louis brewer family, Edward sailed to New York and travelled via Buffalo and Chicago to Milwaukee, where he stayed at Uhrig's summer villa.<sup>85</sup> On his brother's August recommendation, Fred Vodde, a grocery trader in St. Louis, hired him. Although he had begun to learn English already in Germany, he learned the new language *de facto* at his service work. Edward managed to become



Voode's bookkeeper, and after eight months, he changed to the same position at the small St. Louis brewery Kontz & Hofmeister.<sup>86</sup> Edward was the first of the brothers to start his own business: Financially supported by his brothers August and Henry, he opened a grocery store in St. Louis in 1865.<sup>87</sup> A short while later, he sold the business to become a manufacturer and wholesale dealer of industrial oils and greases in St. Louis. Following his largest client, the Chicago based oil producer Chase, Hanford & Co., he opened a branch firm in Chicago in 1867.<sup>88</sup> When he travelled back to Germany in 1869, he was already a successful businessman, who convinced his brother Gustav to follow him to the U.S.<sup>89</sup> Although his business was expanding, profitable and not affected by the Great Fire of 1871, he accepted Joseph Schlitz's offer to head the newly founded Chicago agency of the brewery from 1872 and to support the business endeavors of his brothers.

Again, business consolidation was followed by founding a family: Edward Uihlein, who was naturalized on October 13, 1873,<sup>90</sup> married Augusta Manns (March 29, 1852-June 27, 1913) of St. Louis on January 29, 1875. They had six children: Olga (1875-1971), Clara (1876-1956), Edgar J. (1877-1956) (who visited Cornell University and became involved with the Schlitz company), Richard (1860-84), Ella (1886-1960) and Melita (1893-1919). All daughters received "a most careful education, especially in music and languages, of which latter are included English, German, French and Spanish."<sup>91</sup>

Edward Uihlein was a pronounced German-American, was interested in the Arts, and the improvement of his home-town Chicago. He served as a member of the West Park Board from 1894 until 1899 and was responsible for the orchid displays in Garfield Park, the centerpiece of Chicago's West Park system. His dismissal "according to American custom by the dictation of Politicians" hurt him deeply and he decided: Never "again will I have anything to do with any political position."<sup>92</sup> Edward Uihlein had two closely related passions: The first was horticulture, namely the collection and cultivation of orchids. He became vice-President of the Horticultural Society of Chicago in 1892—and later president—and was a regular guest at the local flower shows.<sup>93</sup> His home at 34 Ewing Place had a conservatory in 1894, and his collection of rare orchids—approximately some 5000 sorts in total—was internationally known.<sup>94</sup> After his dismissal from public service, he decided to build his own park at his Forest Glenn summer residence on Lake Geneva.<sup>95</sup> The 134 acres park was open to the public and free of admission. His second passion was travelling: He visited Borneo, Sumatra, Ceylon, the Philippines and the South and Central American states to collect tropical palms and orchids. Parallel, however, he (and this included mostly his wife, servants, and some relatives), visited large parts of the world, namely Europe,



the Russian Empire, the West Indies and the Caribbean and was proud of this Northern tours to Alaska and to Spitzbergen.<sup>96</sup> Similar to his brother August, he weakened his ties to his Catholic faith abroad and was a thirty-second degree Mason.<sup>97</sup> Edward G. Uihlein, who died on January 25, 1921, at his daughter Clara Trostel's home, left an estate of \$1,120,000, which was distributed among his three surviving daughters and his son Edgar J.<sup>98</sup>

Joseph Schlitz's official successor as president of the brewery was Henry Uihlein. Although born in Wertheim/Main, he grew up in Miltenberg. This followed a request by his grandmother Anna Marie Krug, when her husband travelled to the U.S. in 1850.<sup>99</sup> At his grandfather's brewery Henry was introduced into business. In July 1861, briefly after the begin of the U.S. Civil War, he arrived in New York<sup>100</sup> and started his career at the Uhrig Brewery in St. Louis, where he worked together with his brother August. He left Missouri in 1866 and went to the frontier town Leavenworth, founded only seventeen years before, to work at the Charles Kunz Brewing Company.<sup>101</sup> Nearby Fort Leavenworth, with its thousands of soldiers and westward settlers, was surely a good place for selling beer. He left the west in 1871 and moved "at the invitation of his uncle, Joseph Schlitz," to Milwaukee "to take charge of the practical end of the business of the Schlitz Company."<sup>102</sup> In 1874, he became superintendent, and after Joseph Schlitz's death he officially led the firm.

Henry was the first of the brothers who married. He met Helene K. Kreutzer (October 4, 1849-January 31, 1921), a German immigrant from Bonn (Rhineland, Kingdom of Prussia) in Leavenworth, where they married in 1870.<sup>103</sup> They had seven children: August Edward (1871-1938), who was trained in brewing in Germany and in New York and made career at the John Eichler Brewing Company in New York (later part of the Rheingold Brewery); Emma (1873-1939), Adele (1875-92); Laura (1877-1967), whose husband Charles E. Albright was one of most gifted sons-in-law, brought into the Uihlein family; George Edward (1880-1950), later one of the top executives of the Schlitz company; Meta (1884-1966), and Herman Alfred (1886-1942), later a Schlitz director.<sup>104</sup> The daughters were mostly married to respectable businessmen in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Henry Uihlein built his home, similar to his brothers, at Uihlein Hill in the late 1870s. Together with his family he lived in 437 W. Galena Street until his death in 1922. His home, surrounded by a large garden, was his castle, a world view corresponding to his perception as a "man of simple taste and a retiring disposition."<sup>105</sup> Only one servant was living in this home with a quite luxurious interior that "remained a monument to Old World craftsmanship, where intricate carving abounded, and all the windows were beveled or of stained glass."<sup>106</sup> Henry, and his brothers August and Alfred, represented the success of the Schlitz brewery, and were regularly listed as "millionaires" in the

growing number of such rankings from the early 1890s.<sup>107</sup>

As a president, he took care for the daily business and the administration of the brewing company. He was also in lead of several of the Uihlein family's larger construction projects, namely the Globe Hotel, the Schlitz Hotel, the Alhambra Theater, the Majestic Building, the Schlitz Palm Garden, and the Palace Theatre. Real estate business, in Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere in U.S., took a large part of his working time. Henry Uihlein was a Republican, was interested in public education, and a regular visitor of Milwaukee's theatres.

When he died at his home as a result of a heart attack, he had already distributed the bulk of his fortune to his children and other relatives.<sup>108</sup> In total \$3,953,772, these gifts included stock in the Continental Realty Co. (\$566,666), the Schlitz Brewing Co. (\$546,861), the Commonwealth Power Co. (\$419,545), the New Jersey Theater Company (\$75,000), and Liberty bonds (\$63,734).<sup>109</sup> The German-American brewers still possessed property worth \$1,586,578 at the time of his death, among additional Liberty bonds, worth \$336,008. Such an investment into the U.S. war effort was typical for most immigrant brewers, who were publicly denounced as Germany's fifth column from 1914/15.<sup>110</sup> Similar to the former case of August Uihlein, the State of Wisconsin demanded \$325,000 taxes to be paid for the gifts to his children. This claim was contested and the Supreme Court eventually reversed the law.<sup>111</sup>

August, Alfred, Edward and Henry were surely the brothers who dominated the development of the Jos. Schlitz Co. Nevertheless, their younger brothers Charles and William held important positions in brewery departments crucial for the company's expansion.

Charles, the fifth son, grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium. On the following years, there is contradictory information: A naturalization report, witnessed by his brothers, named September 1865 as the arrival date and March 16, 1889, as the date he received U.S. citizenship;<sup>112</sup> however, another record from Cook County, Illinois, and again witnessed by a Uihlein family member, gave March 13, 1874 as the date of naturalization.<sup>113</sup> In addition, an obituary mentioned that Charles Uihlein "came to America in 1871."<sup>114</sup> What we know, however, is that he married Emma Manns (February 28, 1858-August 19, 1946), born in Pennsylvania, a child of immigrants from Bavaria and a sister of Edward Uihlein's wife Augusta, on March 1, 1878 at Oak Park, Cook County, Illinois.<sup>115</sup> They had three children, all born in Milwaukee: Arthur (1879-1933); Anna (1880-1900), who died in a boiler explosion during her honeymoon<sup>116</sup>; and Oscar Lewis (1882-1942), a University of Wisconsin graduate, later president of the Uihlein Electric Co. for more than 30 years. They lived at 116 Galena Street



together with one servant of German descent—the census reports for 1880, 1890, and 1900 named three different women.

Charles Uihlein was specialized in the bottling business. He was involved for many years with the bottling firm Voechting, Shape & Co., established in 1877. In 1885, the firm was renamed as the Joseph Schlitz Bottling Works, and was incorporated by Christian Voechting, G.H. Sharpe and Charles Uihlein with \$300,000 capital stock.<sup>117</sup> August Uihlein became vice-president and Charles Uihlein superintendent.<sup>118</sup> Because of poor health, the latter retired from business in 1889.<sup>119</sup> Known as a quiet man, he was “living in seclusion a greater part of his life,” according to Max Griebisch, president of the German-English academy.<sup>120</sup> Like August, Henry, and Alfred, a member of the Turnverein Milwaukee, Charles Uihlein was interested in arts and was a member of the Knights of Pythias.<sup>121</sup> Although retired, he was still an integral member of the family. When a ‘Farmers’ cotillion was given at the Deutsche Club on February 4, 1899, Charles and his wife celebrated together with Henry, Alfred, August, William, and other members of the Uihlein family and the German community.<sup>122</sup> This, however, could have been dangerous. Similar to German-American brewer Frederick Pabst and Milwaukee mayor David S. Rose, a gang of robbers and kidnappers threatened him in 1900.<sup>123</sup> When he died in 1915, his personal property was valued to be \$100,000 and his real estate at \$25,000.<sup>124</sup> He was buried in an impressive tomb at Forest Home Cemetery, next to the Guido Pfister monument.

William Uihlein, the youngest brother, grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium. He emigrated to the U.S. on October, 17, 1882 and was naturalized on October 17, 1889.<sup>125</sup> He was trained as an expert in yeast cultures at the Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen, Denmark, founded in 1875 by brewer Jacob Christian Jacobsen. Here, he benefitted from the ground breaking research of Danish physiologist Emil Christian Hansen, who isolated yeast cells and developed methods to cultivate pure yeast. In Milwaukee, William Uihlein advanced as the second superintendent of the firm. Pure yeast (and artificial cooling) was crucial for the standardization of beer production in the late 19th century; but it is simply incorrect that the “late William J. Uihlein brought the original mother yeast cell to the brewery from Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1881,”<sup>126</sup> because he arrived in the U.S. later, and Hansen, not earlier than 1883, isolated *Saccharomyces carlsbergensis*, one of the two yeast cultures still dominant in today’s beer production.<sup>127</sup> Pedigree breeders for yeast, necessary for any industrial production, were not introduced before 1885.<sup>128</sup> William Uihlein was surely one of the earliest manufacturers who introduced pure yeast in the manufacturing of beer in the U.S.; but there is also no solid evidence for the later marketing statement: “In Schlitz beer pure yeast was first introduced in America.”<sup>129</sup>

William settled in Milwaukee and married Eliza Rather (August 20, 1865–March 3, 1965) of Fond du Lac in 1885.<sup>130</sup> They had three children, the twins Martha (1889–90) and Herta (1889–90), who died in infancy, and Ralph A. (1897–1982), who later became director of Family Services of Milwaukee. Due to poor health, William Uihlein retired in 1910; but from that time on, he was a regular traveler to Europe. His connections to Wertheim remained strong, and like his brother Edward, he became an honorary citizen of the town. William's passion was the collection of stamps. In August 1928, when he gave his collection, worth \$250,000, to the Milwaukee Public Museum, he had more than 46,000 stamps from all over the world—quite a large portion of the 56,874 varieties of stamps that had been issued worldwide at that time.<sup>131</sup> When he died in March 31, 1932, he left an estate of \$318,480.27, which went in its majority to the widow and his son.<sup>132</sup>

*Social Networks: Marriages and Kinships*

Family businesses, like the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company, were dynamic social institutions that were constantly reconfigured. Families, and therefore the effectiveness of family businesses, were affected by fertility, by infections, accidents, and diseases. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families not only used “son-in-law” or “widow-faithful-employee-relationship” mechanisms to improve the human capital of the company, but also recruited a growing number of relatives from Germany. Furthermore, the common ethic or regional background, together with shared interests of the brewing industry, also created a social network among different breweries. The brewers were competitors, but cooperation was dominant in the relations of the big German-American shippers.

As we have already seen, the Schlitz brewery was closely intertwined with the Blatz and the Falk families. All local brewers needed interim finance; dealt with risks of fire, crop failure, and mild winters; and were challenged by the early temperance movement. The Milwaukee brewers established local banks, insurance companies, and good relations to wholesale firms to deal with these fundamental business challenges. They cooperated on a local and regional level, for instance in the Milwaukee Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, to influence local and state politics. When the United States Brewers' Association was established in 1862 to ameliorate federal taxation, Milwaukeean brewers soon joined and supported this national interest group, created by German-American immigrant entrepreneurs.<sup>133</sup> A shared national background and language made cooperation easier: Until into the 20th century, German was more common than English. But it should not be forgotten that such associations were grounded on local cooperation, which



was supported and maintained through marriages and kinships between the leading families.

The Pabst and Schlitz companies are a good example for the social fabric of cooperation between immigrant entrepreneurs. Local prices were held at a profitable level by all leading companies—a broken heritage of the German guild system; but cooperation became stronger, when the English Beer Syndicate tried to enter the local market in September 1889.<sup>134</sup> Mergers and bail outs, for instance of the financially stricken Falk Brewery, were handled as local tasks, to protect the local beer market. In addition, Pabst and Schlitz established joint ventures to cheapen supplies and to increase the purchase power of the brewers. In 1891, Frederick Pabst and August Uihlein purchased 40,000 acres of land in Mississippi to manufacture kegs and barrels by the \$300,000 Delta Cooperage Company.<sup>135</sup> Based on a mutual agreement, the leading companies were even cooperating in contested fields, for instance in marketing. The use of the term “Milwaukee” caused many problems between Schlitz, Pabst, and Miller, but they fought together against a competitor from New York to restrict the use of the term “Milwaukee” for quality beer from their hometown only.<sup>136</sup> The decision in favor of the Milwaukee brewers was sent by Schlitz and Blatz to all brewers and bottlers of beer throughout the U.S., to demonstrate their determination to fight for their local rights.<sup>137</sup>

Such business cooperation was based not only on gentleman agreements of the leading representatives of the breweries but also on marriages. When in March 1896, Ida Uihlein, daughter of August Uihlein, married Frederick Pabst, Jr., son of Captain Frederick Pabst, the whole Milwaukee brewing community celebrated: “Gustav Reuss was best man and Otto Falk, William Emmender, Joseph Uihlein, Henry Wehr, Gustav Pabst and Emil Schandein the ushers.”<sup>138</sup> Presents valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars were exchanged to strengthen the mood of cooperation. The following year, Gustav, the eldest son of Captain Pabst, married Hulda Lemp, daughter of the William G. Lemp, president of St. Louis’s Lemp Brewery. Marriages led to ethnic family alliances, an immigrant model quite different to U.S. trusts, based predominately on the cash nexus.<sup>139</sup> Individual family dynasties remained strong: Endeavors to combine the Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, and Schlitz breweries fathered by the Rothschilds, failed in the early 1890s.<sup>140</sup> But although Henry Uihlein denied that Schlitz confined business to the North and East, while Anheuser-Busch to the South and West, the leading brewers tried to avoid larger price wars and were interested in a predictable purchase of their profitable beverage.

More typical than such unique conglomerates were small and mid-sized businesses based on kinship relations: Charles Manz (1850-1903), a nephew of Joseph Schlitz, was born in Amorbach, Bavaria and came to Milwaukee

in 1879. He worked in the Uihlein malthouse and bought, together with William Hartwig, the Bussinger Brewery in Watertown, Wisconsin. He sold out in 1902 and returned to Milwaukee in the same year.<sup>141</sup> The dynamism of U.S. capitalism and the cooperative capitalism of German immigrants were merged in successful business ventures on American soil.

### **Business Development**

Family businesses—and not anonymous corporations—were the most decisive institutions for the rise of modern industrial capitalism; and for the creation of modern world. Long before the emerging state and professional bureaucracies made business more or less calculable, families gave answers to the most severe problems of a period of transition:<sup>142</sup> They generally have a quite simple hierarchical structure, which allows risk-taking and flexibility. Family ties are less formalized, and cooperation is more likely: This allows the mobilization of capital and trustworthy business relations between the company decision-makers. The social dimension of the family creates trust. Together with various sanctions the principal-agent problem of modern companies is less pressing. Reputation is a crucial factor for the self-esteem of family. Their business will be relatively solid; product quality is more important; good relations to customers are more likely. Family businesses tend to aim for good relations with their employees who are often seen as a big family. Finally, families act as a socializing and education agent. Not only economic but also social and cultural capital can be transferred more easily.

American business historians, namely Alfred Chandler and his supporters, have argued that family enterprises lost ground during the late 19th century and were passed by entrepreneurial enterprises and finally displaced by modern managerial enterprises.<sup>143</sup> The ever growing need for capital, the growing complexity of business, and the need for more neutral decisions were given as core arguments for the declining relevance of family businesses since the second half of the 19th century. Chandler analyzed the rise of a particular American way of business organization; and unfortunately he was not interested in immigrant entrepreneurship (although he analyzed some companies founded and run by immigrant entrepreneurs).<sup>144</sup> As we have already seen family relations were even more important for this particular group because a family business allowed for maintaining a distinguished cultural identity. The brewing industry in general and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company in particular are good examples of how important family businesses were in the 19th and in the 20th century.

In the case of the Schlitz Brewery, Chandler's still essential question: "Why did business firms change their basic strategies when, and in the way, they



did"<sup>145</sup> must be answered not only on behalf of markets and technology but also in accordance to generational changes in the leadership of the company. The deaths of Krug and Schlitz, both dominant figures and proprietors of their businesses, made transitions easier and were—as a kind of creative destruction—helpful for the growth of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co.

### *Three Steps to Market Leadership*

Until the 1870s, brewing business in Milwaukee was characterized by small, family-owned breweries, most of them founded by German immigrants.<sup>146</sup> "By 1860, two hundred breweries operated in Wisconsin, with over 40 in Milwaukee alone."<sup>147</sup> Beer was either sold directly, in a saloon or restaurant, or was delivered within a small local radius via horse-drawn wagons. The alleged higher quality of "German" beer was surely not the reason for so many German immigrants entering into the beer business—high quality lager beer requires cooling and pure ingredients; and on a broad scale, this was not possible without innovations of technology and chemistry mainly in the 1870s and 1880s. The high percentage of Germans resulted first from the pre-modern legal structure of beer brewing in German towns: House ownership mostly included the right to brew beer for private consumption. Second, the entry barriers for brewing were relatively low.

1. August Krug fits well into this more general perspective: There was nothing special about his business. Milwaukee was founded in 1846 and remained a fast-growing settler town. Beer brewing was established by three Welsh brewers who produced English-style ale; but Milwaukee was to become a destination for German immigrants, and consequently people like Jacob Best (1842) and John Braun (1846) established their small breweries. Brewing was a way of making a living and was not yet an entrepreneurial pursuit. In 1850, Krug produced about 250 barrels (7875 gallons or 29,810 liters); or 21.5 gallons or 82 liters per day. His father's subvention of \$800 enabled larger production, but even five years later, the output was only 1,500 barrels; with an annual turn-over of around \$1,500.<sup>148</sup> The nice story that he built the city's first storage and cooling cellars at Third and Walnut Streets, the place where the later firm was erected, may be true, but at that time, he was still one among many other brewers and had neither a product nor a company distinguishable from others.<sup>149</sup> The brewing business produced enough profit for his, his wife's, and his employee's living but did not allow large investments necessary for reducing fixed costs and delivering to a local market. However, Krug benefitted from changes in the neighborhood. In 1852, a concert building was erected next to the establishment, where "for years concerts were given on Sundays with a glass of beer costing 5c while

the music lasted and 3c after it had finished.”<sup>150</sup> It is highly unlikely that he made his estate with the brewery alone, but without reliable sources, it is impossible to determine exactly. Krug’s achievements were to establish a brewery, to enlarge it with the help of his father’s capital, to improve the storage facilities, and to broaden the company’s human capital by attracting talented young men from Germany; but he never anticipated anything like the later Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company, the world’s market leader in the early 1900s.

2. Joseph Schlitz took over the management after Krug’s death in 1856. Although he invested his savings in the brewery, business did not change drastically. Krug’s storage and lagering capacities of 2,000 barrels, remained sufficient even in 1862, when sales aggregated 1,605 barrels.<sup>151</sup> Schlitz’s brewery benefitted from changes in demand during the Civil War and the rapid growth of Milwaukee’s population from 45,246 in 1860 to 71,440 in 1870: In 1865, 4,400 barrels of beer was sold, an amount enough to accumulate capital.<sup>152</sup> Schlitz’s new position as a director of the Second Ward Bank resulted from this and enabled larger investments, necessary to change a brewery work for a good living into an industrial business with large profits. This took years—production in 1867 reached 5,578 barrels of beer—although Schlitz managed steady growth and capital accumulation. From 1870 until 1871, Schlitz built a new brewery at the corner of 3rd and Walnut Streets resulting in mushrooming production numbers: The sales increased from 8,717 barrels in 1870 to 12,813 barrels 1871 over 49,623 barrels in 1873 to 70,491 barrels 1875.<sup>153</sup> Again, this was not big but rather mid-sized business: The new brewery building was 40 feet wide and 100 feet long.

The standard trivial explanation of this remarkable growth is that Schlitz donated “trainloads of beer”<sup>154</sup> to the survivors of the October 8, 1871, Chicago Fire and that this gesture enabled him to capture the Chicago beer market. This is nothing more than a marketing myth—although it is possible that the company sent hundreds of barrels of beer to Chicago for free.<sup>155</sup> The fact is that neither the Milwaukee nor the Chicago newspapers of 1871 and 1872 mentioned such a noble gesture. The production was still far too low to make a significant contribution to approximately 100,000 homeless people. Edward G. Uihlein, the Schlitz’s Chicago agent, did not mention any support by the Schlitz brewery in his memoirs. Instead, he focused correctly on the new business opportunities resulting from the loss of no less than nineteen breweries in Chicago.<sup>156</sup>

The main reason for the remarkable growth was the strategic decision to establish a shipping brewery with a large network of depots and agencies in the U.S. Mid-West and far beyond. Other Milwaukee brewers had already made similar decisions: In Chicago, a large potential market with nearly 300,000



inhabitants in 1870, Fred Miller had already established an agency in 1867, while Blatz and Jung & Borchert went to Illinois in 1870.<sup>157</sup> Chicago was not only a large beer market but even more importantly a railroad gateway; even before the Belt Railway Company of Chicago was established in 1882 to form the largest intermediate switching terminal in the U.S.<sup>158</sup> The establishment of a Chicago agency in January 1872, headed by Edward G. Uihlein, resulted from the fire and the resulting seller's market. But the low prices after the reconstruction of many of the destroyed Chicago breweries and the relatively small Milwaukee beer market enforced further market expansion: "we remained dependent on the establishment of further agencies all over the United States."<sup>159</sup>

Such expansion had to be financed: The incorporation of the Jos. Schlitz was therefore a logical consequence of the decision for a shipping brewery. Shortly before Christmas, the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$400,000, effective January 1, 1874. August, Henry, and Alfred became board members and directors: They paid their shares in cash and with promises to pay.<sup>160</sup> With this, Schlitz had secured experienced executives and co-proprietors for the expansion of the business and given his firm a more flexible capital structure. His will, in which he referred extensively to his wife, his brothers, and mainly his nephews, clarified that he understood his firm as a family business.<sup>161</sup> Schlitz, who in the same year moved into his new \$19,000 town residence, could not harvest what he had sowed. However, together with the Uihlein brothers, he had created a business structure for the future. Schlitz's achievements were the construction of a new large brewery, the establishment of a far-reaching distribution concept, and the formation of a group of high skilled executives from his own family who were able to manage the changes related to the corporation's rapid growth.

3. The Uihlein brothers managed to transform the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company from a leading firm in the beer business to *the* leading firm; at least for three years. This is measured by the simple quantitative indicator of beer production:<sup>162</sup> 78,000 barrels of beer in 1877 led to position ten in the U.S. ranking, while a quintuplicated output pushed the Schlitz Company into second position in 1884 (343,900 barrels).<sup>163</sup> Best/Pabst was still in the lead and was surpassed in the early 1890s by Anheuser-Busch. With a production of c. 650,000 barrels, Schlitz remained third and became number one from 1900 until 1902, at the latter date with an annual output of more than one million barrels.<sup>164</sup> Market leadership was advertised and celebrated as proof of the superior quality of Schlitz beer.<sup>165</sup>

From 1903, Anheuser-Busch again surpassed Schlitz, but the Cream city company remained second or third in the American (and that meant global) ranking until prohibition. Schlitz reached the pre-prohibition zenith

of production in 1907 with approximately 1,500,000 barrels, but afterwards, figures dropped to 1,400,000 barrels in 1913 and to 1,260,000 barrels in 1914. This was not only the consequence of the prohibition movement, which hit shippers often harder than local and regional brewers because the former lost their sales in dry states and counties: Beer consumption per head in the United States was higher in 1915 than in 1905. The paradox fact is that shipping breweries like Schlitz grew much faster than local and regional competitors only until the late 1890s. They were the pioneers of technical innovations and used modern transport and production technology from the beginning.<sup>166</sup> In the 1890s, however, they reached optimal production levels: After the enlargement of the brewing house in 1892, the Uihleins reached this stage: "It is a model establishment, equipped with every appliance that modern science can suggest. A new fire-proof brew-house has just been completed at a cost of \$300,000, which will increase the capacity of the establishment to 1,000,000 barrels per annum, and gives the company unsurpassed facilities for supplying the trade with a superior beverage."<sup>167</sup> Parallel, the local and regional competitors, like New York City's Georg(e) Ehret's Hell Gate Brewery, caught up and benefited from their lower distribution costs. The Uihlein brothers' achievement was therefore not primarily the quantitative output but the qualitative change of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company.

a) Companies like Schlitz grew because they managed to establish a combined production, distribution and marketing system.<sup>168</sup> The first two elements were changed already during the life time of Joseph Schlitz, the third started not earlier than in the late 1880s. In the Schlitz case, however, control over the firm was still an issue: Since Schlitz's death, the Uihlein brothers were *de facto* owners of the company, but *de jure* Anna Maria Schlitz was still relevant. This changed with her death in 1887. According to the terms of Joseph Schlitz's will, Mrs. Schlitz's will transferred to August (500 shares), Henry (400), Alfred (250), and Edward (250) the bulk of the remaining 2000 shares.<sup>169</sup> The \$500,000 will was a remarkable expression of a family business, because it addressed not less than thirty family members in the U.S. and in Germany.<sup>170</sup>

b) Much harder than gaining control over the firm was the establishment of a distribution network for the U.S. and even for beer export. An 1875 advertisement from Louisiana suggests that Schlitz was successful from the beginning.<sup>171</sup> But the network was expanded step by step—similar to the investment strategy for modernization and enlargement of the Milwaukee plant. Chicago was the starting point: From this depot, clients were delivered smaller quantities. As soon as it became clear that a new agency would pay, the Schlitz Company bought suitable plots of land near the railway stations, built an ice house and an office, and hired a local agent to serve



the customers. In this way, agencies were established in Springfield, Matton, Champaign, Streator, Ottawa, Pontiac, Peoria, La Salles, Galesburg, Aurora, Mendota, Sycamore, South Chicago, Kensington, Kankakee (all Illinois), La Porte, South Bend, Terre Haute (all Indiana), Grand Rapids, Michigan City and Battle Creek (all Michigan). It was the company's aim to become the local market leader in these locations.<sup>172</sup> Agents had to visit their real and potential clients regularly. Similar to Chicago, the Schlitz Company soon established depots and agencies in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Savannah, Memphis, Omaha, San Francisco and Baltimore. At the latter location, the Schlitz Company sold 5,000-6,000 barrels in 1878, delivered by train, bottled in the Baltimore depot, and distributed to saloons, retail stores and homes.<sup>173</sup> Chicago remained the most important agency: In 1879, approximately 35,000 barrels of beer of a total production of 139,154 barrels was sold here—more than a quarter and as much as in Milwaukee.<sup>174</sup> Such distribution networks were based on a growing number of refrigerator cars, which had become common since the mid-1870s, with Swift and Anheuser-Busch at the head of these changes.<sup>175</sup> In 1891, Schlitz operated with 300 cars of the joined venture Union Refrigerator Company; Pabst used 400, Blatz 50.<sup>176</sup> Horse-drawn delivery wagons for local delivery were mostly replaced by delivery trucks before prohibition.

In the beginning, these agencies were often shared with other firms: Marx & Jorgensen, the sole agents for Schlitz in Portland, Oregon, were also engaged for Stonewall Whisky, Julius Dressel's Sonoma wines, and bottled beer for the local Gambrinus Brewery, founded by the German immigrant entrepreneur Louis Feuer in 1875.<sup>177</sup> Many agencies were also linked with saloons that offered Schlitz Pilsner and "fine" meals.<sup>178</sup> The distribution network was based on decentralized storage facilities and ice houses that were first rented and later built up on own costs. Schlitz's Chicago ice house, erected from 1879 to 1880 and celebrated as "probably the largest single structure of the kind in the world,"<sup>179</sup> had eight storage cellars, 12x102 feet each. Natural ice was used but in accordance with the newest available technology at that time, the Brainard system and the Fisher patent. Later, ice houses were equipped with artificial ice machines. Depots and agencies allowed decentralizing production parts. Milwaukee-made beer was finished at the place of consumption. The investments in the distribution network soon surpassed the investments in the Milwaukee Brewery: \$75,000 was paid, for instance, for a new bottling plan in Philadelphia, which covered an area of 63x200 feet, included a refrigeration plant and a stable.<sup>180</sup> Such satellite stations were larger than Joseph Schlitz's new brewery from 1870/71. But Milwaukee remained the center of the network: Multisite brewing was not yet used by Schlitz before prohibition.<sup>181</sup>



While technical problems could be solved with capital and expertise from Milwaukee, a main problem remained—hiring reliable agents with a long-term commitment. Schlitz had to compete with other shipping breweries with similar strategies. At the turn of the century, “responsible wholesale dealers” were searched for in nationwide campaigns.<sup>182</sup> Another problem was to deliver to different regional markets beer products appealing to the local tastes. In South Carolina, for instance, Schlitz beer was first sold in 1898, but the sales remained under \$500 per year until 1901. When the company introduced “a better draught beer for domestic bottling,” the turnover rose from \$23,698 in 1904 to \$58,255 in 1906.<sup>183</sup> This highlights the relative weakness of Schlitz in the South where the network was patchy and light lager was not very popular.

While the network of depots and agencies became closer and reached, at least in the Mid-West and the North-East, full coverage, the tied-house system offered another distribution model. Pushed by rising license fees, for instance in Chicago in 1884, brewers began to buy individual saloons and to rent to innkeepers who had to tie themselves to the proprietor’s products. Schlitz started to buy such tied-houses from the late 1880s onward. In Chicago, Edward G. Uihlein transformed this into a system of market penetration. From 1897 to 1905, Schlitz built no less than fifty-seven tied-houses in Chicago at a cost of \$328,000.<sup>184</sup> Located primarily on attractive street corners, these larger and often well-equipped selling points offered more respectable establishments for alcohol consumption. Tied-houses were mostly used to secure a local market but they could also be used to conquer well-protected towns. A good example for this was Cleveland, controlled by the Cleveland-Sandusky Brewing Company, a merger of nine local brewing companies.<sup>185</sup> While normally strategic investments led to compromise, this was not the case in Cleveland. Schlitz invested no less than \$400,000 to buy saloons, but the local interests received additional options on many saloons.<sup>186</sup> The newcomer continued to buy locations to sell their brand exclusively, but when Schlitz finally entered the market, they did not cut the prices to outcompete the local syndicate.<sup>187</sup> Competition remained fierce—not on beer but on services, like the so-called “free lunch.”<sup>188</sup> Schlitz’s entrance into the Indianapolis beer market war quite different, as the company attempted to purchase up to 20 tied-houses and offered a barrel beer for only \$6, undercutting the local price of \$7-7.20. After some negotiations, a compromise was made and Schlitz established his beer in Indianapolis.<sup>189</sup>

c) The Uihlein brothers’ third main achievement was the integration of modern cooling and packaging technology into the brewing business. For lager beer, cooling was indispensable. The growth of production was accompanied by a parallel growth of ice houses: In 1878, a new 3,300-ton ice house was



built between Galena Street and the brewery.<sup>190</sup> Only two years later, a new "mammoth" ice house was integrated into the company's area, which "has attracted considerable attention in the trade, as it is probably the largest single structure of the kind in the world."<sup>191</sup> Growth limits were reached, but the introduction of artificial cooling opened opportunities for further expansion. In 1882, Schlitz ordered the second Linde ice machine sold in the United States. It was imported by the Duehren-born immigrant entrepreneur Fred W. Wolf (1837-1910) who purchased the right to manufacture Linde machines in the U.S.<sup>192</sup> The switch from natural to artificial ice (and cooling) took decades: The new machines were quite expensive and the company had invested large sums into the supply of natural ice. Yet in late 1881 the company asked for the right to erect a dam across the Milwaukee River to obtain good (and inexpensive) ice.<sup>193</sup> The Linde ice machine was run by a 150 horse power engine that could cool nearly 50,000 barrels of beer—this was not less than the central steam engine that steered the whole manufacturing business.<sup>194</sup> In 1892, Schlitz had two Linde and two De La Vergne machines in operation and natural cooling lost importance.<sup>195</sup> Although the Uihlein brothers bought from American manufacturers, they integrated German technology into their business—as did most of their competitors.

Bottling was another technology, which immensely improved from the 1870s. Bottled beer, however, was quite common even for smaller breweries, although for a long time, siphons remained standard for home delivery. Bottling was manual work and therefore quite expensive. After Schlitz's death, the Uihlein brothers financed and supported a bottling firm working exclusively for the brewery: Voechting, Shape & Co. was established in 1877 and located on the brewery's property. In the first year, they put out over 1,000,000 bottles of beer and reached more than 10,000,000 in 1885.<sup>196</sup> At that time bottled beer had become a Schlitz specialty, "specifically brewed to be used as bottled beer."<sup>197</sup> Additional space was necessary and was found on South Bay Street, where the new firm was located on an 11-acre plot between two railroad lines. Perhaps because of the growing importance of bottling for the national shippers, the Uihleins used vertical integration and established the already mentioned Jos. Schlitz Bottling Works in 1885. More than two-hundred people were working there and bottled a barrel of beer in four and a half minutes. This increased sales of bottled Export Pilsner, of which 36,000 were brewed in 1885. The depots often launched similar contract manufacturing for their bottling work,<sup>198</sup> but standardization of bottles, the use of new seals, and, foremost, the mechanization of bottling allowed an additional decentralization from the late 1880s.<sup>199</sup> The improvements in bottling became even more important, when labelling machines were used on a larger scale; but it was not until 1916 that the Schlitz Company installed



a set of ten Barry-Wehmiller rotary labelling machines with a total capacity of six hundred to one thousand bottles per minute.<sup>200</sup>

d) Another challenge, the Uihlein brothers faced was managing the huge supply of raw materials necessary for the mass production of beer. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was well-known for their light lager beer, a pilsner with 3.8% alcohol content: "It is grateful to the taste, assuages thirst, and possesses the stimulating property to a degree just sufficient to render it a thoroughly delightful and health-giving beverage."<sup>201</sup> "Beer," however, is a misleading term because the entrepreneurial task depends on the types of beer in production. "Schlitz Beer" was an umbrella term for quite different varieties: In 1891, the company offered the keg-beer brands Budweiser, Pilsener, Wiener, Erlanger, Culmbacher, and Schlitz-Bräu, as well as the bottled-beer brands Pilsener, Extra-Pale, Extra-Stout, and Schlitz Porter; seasonal beers also be mentioned.<sup>202</sup> Brewing entails combining large amounts of organic raw materials, controlling fermentation and standardizing the resulting product. Purchase of raw materials depended on the availability of standardized quality raw materials. Water, definitely not a homogenous ingredient, was taken from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee River and filtered. Hops and barley were purchased predominantly from the larger region: In 1885, two-thirds of barley came from Wisconsin and Minnesota, but the rest was shipped from Canada and California. Hops were bought from New York State and, again, the Pacific coast.<sup>203</sup> What made sense from a business point of view was tricky from a marketing perspective; especially after Anheuser-Busch promoted the superior quality of Bohemian hops, namely from the Saaz region, from the mid-1880s onwards. Schlitz joined this trend, advertising their Schlitz Bräu as "brewed exclusively from Canada Barley Malt and Finest Bohemian Hops."<sup>204</sup> But imports from Austria-Hungary remained relatively small and depended on the protectionist tariff policy of the time.<sup>205</sup> Schlitz continued to purchase New York State hops, but they were at least partially replaced by cheaper Idaho hops; while Bohemian raw materials dominated advertisement.<sup>206</sup> Parallel, the Schlitz Brewery bought a record amount of 2,000,000 lbs. of hops from E. Clemens Horst of San Francisco (1867-1940), an immigrant entrepreneur from Tuttlingen, Baden, and a leading figure in the U.S. hops market.<sup>207</sup>

These changes in raw material supply is representative of the entrepreneurial challenge the leading German-American brewers faced from the 1880s, when they introduced national brands of German style lager beers. Depending on U.S.-grown raw materials they had to use additional starches, mostly corn and rice, to dilute the high-nitrogen American barley and the less bitter American hops. In strict contrast to Bavarian purity laws, U.S. beer in general and Schlitz beer in particular was characterized by barley and hop



substitutes. At the turn of the century American brewers used approximately twenty pounds of malt surrogates per barrel, ten times more than their German pendants.<sup>208</sup> "The result was very pale, stable, easy drinking beer of unrivaled blandness;"<sup>209</sup> but not a "German" or "Bohemian" beer. The Uihlein brothers used advanced European technology to combine and recombine the natural raw materials, for instance Gallant-Henning malt drums or the Hellwig process for the preparation of wort.<sup>210</sup> They were in close contact with the leading Copenhagen Carlsberg laboratories, where August Uihlein's sons Robert and Erwin were educated in the biochemistry of brewing.<sup>211</sup> The use of modern science was crucial for the out-competing of "English" style ale beers by "German" style lagers in the U.S. during the last third of the 19th century. The Uihlein brothers mobilized and combined advanced technology and biochemical research and offered new standardized beer creations.<sup>212</sup>

e) It is therefore a myth that German-American brewers made "German" beer. They created American beer. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company manufactured new products, strictly distinguished from the beer offered in the inns of Miltenberg and Wertheim. However, the Uihlein brothers managed to promote and advertise their products as quality products similar to the high-quality beers from their fatherland. Their marketing established narratives on German beer and American adaption, which are still believed by many consumers—and academics.<sup>213</sup> Using German (and Bohemian) traditions to sell American beer was surely one of the Uihlein brothers' most important achievements.

During Joseph Schlitz' presidency his name was the most important element of marketing, because it should guarantee high quality. This image was supported by paid newspaper articles, who praised the product and that "the beer of Milwaukee is universally regarded as the best in the country by all lovers of the delightful beverage."<sup>214</sup> The growing number of agencies informed customers regularly on seasonal beer and the advantages of Schlitz beer: "Our present Lager Beer gives perfect satisfaction and no headache."<sup>215</sup> But branding was still in its infancy in the 1880s. Brand names and signs were not used by the company before the early 1890s. At that time, however, the Uihlein brothers developed a marketing strategy and a corporate identity that has survived to current marketing. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was not a pioneer of in this field—Anheuser-Schlitz and briefly later Pabst were the first movers—but from the mid-1890s, their message was present all over the United States. The Uihleins pushed an umbrella brand strategy based on the name "Schlitz" and the belted globe sign. "Schlitz" was used as an official trademark from May 1888. The belted globe sign, used to emphasize the world-wide reputation of Schlitz beer, was first used in 1890.<sup>216</sup> Reputation and quality, however, are concepts that need to be grounded in order to be



convincing. The Uihlein brothers used the immense success of Milwaukee shipping breweries as an expression of higher quality, rooted in the skills of German-American brewers, in the natural resources of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, and the social atmosphere of the "Munich of America."<sup>217</sup> In 1893, this was coined in the slogan "The beer that made Milwaukee famous," the marketing slogan of the company since 1896.<sup>218</sup> This was quite similar to "Val Blatz's famous Milwaukee Beer," the "famous Best's Milwaukee beer," or Pabst's "Famous Milwaukee Beer;"<sup>219</sup> all used before. The Schlitz Company linked their products already in the late 1870s, to the location of production, advertising "Schlitz Milwaukee beer," "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.'s Milwaukee Lager Beer," or "Schlitz Milwaukee Pilsen Lager."<sup>220</sup> But the combinations of the belted globe, the name trademark, and the slogan became a visual package that combined a brewery, their origin, and their claim of quality leadership. In sharp contrast to most other breweries, this also meant the absence of the Uihlein brothers in marketing. The combined new trademarks were used extensively since 1896.<sup>221</sup> Although local advertisements in saloons and in the public were by far the most common, and direct marketing remained important, the fundamental changes in printing technology and the media system were used by Schlitz to support the decentralized distribution system. Illustrated advertisements became standard. Cupids, elves, or cartoon figures were used to attract customers from the late 1890s: Their aim was to promote the ideal of a standardized product—"Schlitz Beer."

This new marketing strategy can't be discussed here in detail; but in the context of immigrant entrepreneurship it is important to stress that the Uihlein brothers were promoting their product as an American beer, highly acknowledged even in Germany and Bohemia—the countries of reference for beer drinkers at that time. When German chemist G. Bohlen pointed out in 1893 "that the analyzed Milwaukee Lager Beer is to be designated as excellent equal to the best Bohemian beers; and it is a source of pleasure to me to have proven that the German Brewers in the United States employ only the purest materials for brewing purposes, thereby giving a laudable token of German reliability and honesty,"<sup>222</sup> this quote was spread by advertisements. However, the immigrant entrepreneurs believed that they had created something surpassing the German and Bohemian standard: They presented Schlitz beer as "the beer of civilization," whose manifested destiny was to be acknowledged as *the* pure beer wherever "white men live."<sup>223</sup> The company emphasized the enormous efforts made to materialize modern technology and science, purity and cleanliness, hospitality and domesticity, virtuousness and wholesomeness in one product.<sup>224</sup>

The marketing of beer was done with vigor unknown in Germany. Newspapers and magazines were used extensively by Schlitz and other leading



shipping breweries. Outdoor advertisement, restricted in Germany after the turn of the century, was used by the Uihlein brothers quite extensively, for instance, when they paved the whole railway from New York to Chicago with huge advertisement structures every mile.<sup>225</sup> Tied-house saloons displayed the global belt and the Schlitz name in streets and in crowded areas. The Schlitz Company Chicago branch's outdoor sign was 320 feet long, 70 feet high, and covered 23,200 square feet.<sup>226</sup> The Uihlein brothers also used forms of advertisement related to their own passion in travelling: In 1896, the Schlitz brewery supported the German born Capt. Frietsch in constructing the 28 feet long ship *Schlitz Globe*. The journey began in Milwaukee, led to Chicago, New Orleans and Panama. It was planned to travel to San Francisco, Japan, and Australia and to return to Milwaukee in four years.<sup>227</sup> The "beer of civilization" was marching on.

The Uihlein brothers implemented a unique but not exceptional marketing strategy. Anheuser-Busch and Pabst used different but similar strategies. It was a common achievement of the leading German-American shipping breweries to cooperate and to act efficiently against common threats. Joseph Schlitz and the Uihlein brothers were all members of the United States Brewer's Association and held important positions.<sup>228</sup> August and Edward G. Uihlein were presidents and, together with their brothers, representatives of Milwaukee Brewer's Association and later the Chicago and Milwaukee Brewer's Association.

f) This continuing involvement and regular meetings with other brewers established the social fabric of cooperation and joint ventures. This was not only functional in the already mentioned fight against the English Syndicate in 1888/89 and in 1897.<sup>229</sup> It was also important in order to keep profit margins high. The local beer markets were contested but at the same time highly regulated. The brewers had informal agreements on their local and regional sales. Based on their marriages and kinships, they established a culture of mutual restraint: When in 1890 rumors circulated that Chicago brewers were invading the Milwaukee market, the reaction was clear: "Chicago brewers would not do such a thing."<sup>230</sup> But the leading brewers could also fight fiercely against newcomers. In 1890, the leading brewers had fixed the Chicago beer price at \$8 per barrels, allowing discounts not to exceed 25%.<sup>231</sup> During the so-called beer war in early 1892, the price fell to \$4, and the big brewers discussed \$2 prices to end the fight in their favor.<sup>232</sup> Family business acted similar to cartels: In New York, the price for retail dealers was \$7 per barrel, but Schlitz and Ehret reduced them significantly in 1893.<sup>233</sup> In Racine, Wisconsin, Schlitz, Pabst, Obermann and others reduced the price of a barrel to saloonkeepers from \$7 to \$3 to push out the product of the local brewer Ernst Klinkert.<sup>234</sup> The family networks and the friendships of the Uihlein

family were important for the immense profits before the introduction of the income tax in 1913 and of prohibition in 1918 resp. 1919.

g) Finally, it should not be forgotten, that the Uihlein brothers managed to pass their businesses to the next generation. Details were already given in the individual biographies: August's sons Joseph and Erwin led the company until 1961, succeeded by the latter's nephew Robert A. Family business, however, was not only limited to relatives but often extended to the "family" of the firm, namely to skilled staff members. Of course, this was propagated: "Those who worked for August . . . became members of the business family. Hundreds of them remained in the family until they died."<sup>235</sup> But the history of the Schlitz Company was also often linked to struggles with unions. It is not necessary to go into details, but Schlitz faced strikes and boycotts in 1887/88 and, more severely, in 1896 and 1898.<sup>236</sup> In 1904, all Schlitz laborers became members of the American Federation of Labor; and the company managed to deal with the demands of their employees in a comparably modest and cooperative way.<sup>237</sup> Brewing was surely unionized earlier than other branches. However, the quite early acceptance of "labor" by the Uihlein "capital" was probably not a mere concession but an expression of fairness and partnership by proprietors, whose ancestors had left their fatherland for political reasons.

### *The Social Dimension of Business: Saloons, Beer Gardens, and Beer Halls*

The development of the Schlitz family business cannot be reduced to the brewing business as the main product. Beer had a meaning, a social dimension. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families did not only sell and promote an alcoholic beverage, but they all linked its consumption with new gathering and communication locations and places they knew from their home country. Beer production was not made for profit only. It was a contribution of immigrants for a different American society, more relaxed and more open-minded. Terms like "sinnenfroh" or "bierselig" still lack American pendants. As Catholics and as beer drinkers, the Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families represented a different way of life; as immigrant entrepreneurs they established tied-house saloons, beer gardens, and beer halls as alternatives to mainstream America.

Saloons are even today discussed as places of sin and evil, of vice and bribe. There is some truth in this, and brewers who tried to own or at least dominate these outlets often tolerated such excesses because they were—on the short term—functional for business. German-American brewers, however, brought the different tradition of local inns to the U.S.—and Krug and the Uihleins even grew up in such institutions. In many parts of Germany, inns were the main meeting places of male workers and the middling sorts, where they



discussed pressing problems of their lives or simply gathered in friendship. The saloon chains, which German-American brewers financed and founded from the late 1880s, stood within this tradition: "They did not only did much to make old world class distinctions seem ridiculous, but afforded the average foreign born much information on the economic and civic life of his adopted country."<sup>238</sup> Saloons, however, were constantly in danger, even in the self-proclaimed U.S. beer capital of Milwaukee. The temperance movement used both financial and moral arguments: A first attempt to introduce higher and even prohibitive license fees failed in 1885, but fees of \$200 annually were still a heavy burden; namely in a town with such a large number of saloons as Milwaukee. The politics of blacklisting saloons linked to gambling, prostitution, and criminal activities put pressure on individual saloon-owners and undermined their reputation—at least in Milwaukee's middle-class circles. Another attempt to raise the license fees failed in 1905/06, and August's son Joseph, a Republican, was a prominent member of a broader coalition with residents and the socialists, who fought against the measure.<sup>239</sup> The Uihlein family used such campaigns to distinguish between their own respectable outlets and the large number of stall and dive saloons that—on the long term—undermined the business model of the company.

The tied house saloons were therefore not only functional for adding value to the Schlitz Company and to conquer or protect markets. They were also spaces of reform and an appeal to the growing prohibition movement for a more nuanced perspective. Let us have a look inside the Chicago tied houses: "The Schlitz barrooms were of mixed design. Some were plain, with the saloon and rear quarters for the proprietor and his family on the first floor and an upstairs divided into small flats. In others the second floor was devoted to halls and meeting rooms. The structure at Ninety-fourth and Ewing avenues, in the South Chicago mill district, was topped with two floors of small sleeping rooms for workers. . . . There was no apparent ethnic specialization, except that a large number did appear in German districts of the North Side."<sup>240</sup> These saloons were respectable and offered not only a place for a drink but also space for community life. Although dominated by individual classes, they materialized the pre-1848 vision of German liberalism: a world of burghers with individual rights, based on private property and education. Schlitz row, at Chicago's 115th street, demonstrated that the company saw itself as an integral part of the neighborhood: It was "a two-block string of saloons, stables, and apartments decorated with the distinctive globe trademark at the roof-line. Nearby the company built houses and more apartments for the use of branch managers and for rent to the general public."<sup>241</sup> Workers and clerks, working and consumption spaces were mixed in such neighborhoods: Schlitz's saloons had to be closed during prohibition but it was zoning that



destroyed such mixed structures from the late 1910s on.<sup>242</sup>

While Schlitz's tied houses were an attempt at improving an American institution, immigrant entrepreneurs also tried to establish their own institutions in the new world. Krug's and Schlitz's saloon and restaurant in Milwaukee's Chesnut Street was still in the tradition of German inns, but Schlitz Park was a new element in Milwaukee's social and commercial life. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company bought the former Quentin's Park in 1879 for \$17,000 to use the space, which they improved, for "Sunday and evening entertainments."<sup>243</sup> The Uihlein brothers won over the City of Milwaukee, also having opened the grounds as a public park. After \$150,000 in renovations, it covered an area of eight acres and was accessible by three street railways. A pagoda allowed views of all parts of Milwaukee, and a new 5,000-seat Park Theatre was used for concerts, performances, and balls. Schlitz Park Hotel contained a restaurant, dining rooms, and four bowling alleys. The park included a menagerie with domestic and wild animals and offered large walking grounds.<sup>244</sup> The park was renamed in 1880 and was opened for amusements and festivities in May 1880.<sup>245</sup>

Until the mid-1890s, Schlitz Park was the first complex for leisure activities, for sports, for entertainment—and for beer consumption. Skating attracted young people and families with children. The park became the home of the light opera and was a "center of musical Milwaukee." The visitors sat on benches; lodges for the privileged *nouveau riches* or old stock Yankees did not exist. Waiters carried "steins of cold amber lager, ham sandwiches on rye, or the very popular Swiss cheese and other German table delicacies."<sup>246</sup> The park was a pleasure space for individuals and families but it was also a gathering place for very different purposes. German revolutionist, American general, and German-American politician Carl Schurz held a meeting at Schlitz Park in 1884 attended by several thousand people.<sup>247</sup> During the great street railway strike in 1895, 5,000 supporters held a large picnic in the park and raised several thousand dollars for the strikers.<sup>248</sup> Schlitz Park was multifunctional, a commercial space, used for entertainment, for discussing controversial public problems, for educating and enticement. Although established by German-Americans, it was open for other ethnic groups and their needs: The 1904 gathering of 5,000 to 6,000 sons and daughters of the Milwaukee section of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was surely a contrast to German-American singers and turners.<sup>249</sup> Schlitz Park's history ended 1923 when it was demolished.

Schlitz Park stood between institutions like the early Milwaukeean beer gardens and large scale leisure resorts, like Pabst's Whitefish Bay resort, developed in the 1890s.<sup>250</sup> Such places offered alternatives to saloons, often still fortresses of masculinity and ethnic gathering, and home consumption



of bottled beer propagated and pushed by the marketing efforts of the Schlitz Company. The relative decline of Schlitz Park from the mid-1890s was accompanied by new efforts to promote the image of beer as a drink of *Gemütlichkeit*. While early attempts to implement beer halls as alternatives to beer gardens were pushed by local innkeeper and restaurateurs, the Schlitz Palm Garden, opened in July 3, 1896, and designed by German immigrant Charles Kirchhoff, was a well-financed effort to establish a place of recreation and fellowship for all seasons.<sup>251</sup> The new location in the center of Milwaukee was similar to well-known beer halls in Munich, Berlin, and Hamburg.<sup>252</sup> The main hall, 45 feet wide and 100 feet deep, was designed for 450 people, who indeed consumed seventeen barrels of beer per day on average, with peaks of 35 to 40 barrels.<sup>253</sup> Located next to the Schlitz Hotel on North Third Street, near Wisconsin Street, the interior, with its huge tropical palms, represented abundance and elegance—a strict contrast to the narrow world of the saloon. The Schlitz Palm Garden in Milwaukee became a model for additional franchises, advertised under the same name in several places in Wisconsin and Illinois.<sup>254</sup> It was a place for the public but also a popular institution for after-theater parties for the wealthy who preferred champagne to beer.

The beer hall offered not only beer and German-American cuisine but also German style music. Steins and the servant's in traditional German dress created the glimpse into a good old world atmosphere.<sup>255</sup> It was a gathering and show place for young and old, male and female, even children were present.<sup>256</sup> But the Palm Garden was more than a last staging of German-Americanism. It was a hybrid place, an American show of traditions and their reconfiguration. The lavish garden was a place of modernity and progress, with electrical illumination, modern home equipment, and the broad use of modern communication technology, e.g., for the transmission of concerts to other places in the Lake territories.<sup>257</sup> It triggered tourism and hosted guests from excursion boats.<sup>258</sup> Similar to establishments in Germany, the beer hall played an important role in local and regional politics. Politicians, like President-to-be Woodrow Wilson, held their introductory speeches there.<sup>259</sup> To attract guests, events were constantly designed, advertised, and performed. Although German music, namely popular "classic" tunes, was most common, popular "American" music was offered as well: In 1915, e.g., a German Symphonic Orchestra and rag bands, like the Plantation Syncopators of Memphis, Tennessee, were performing on a rotating schedule.<sup>260</sup> Immigrant entrepreneurs, like the Uihlein brothers, used the cultural heritage of their fatherland, isolated some attractive elements, and combined them with local, regional, and national traditions and market needs to create unique places of German diaspora. The German-American immigrants established their own dream worlds—as a flavor to the American experience.

At that time, however, the rigor of the prohibition movement had already affected the daily business, forbidding singing, dancing, and early cabaret performances.<sup>261</sup> The strategy of beer hall managers to position their institutions as a better alternative to saloons failed under the vigor of fundamentalist and nativist attacks on alcohol consumption.<sup>262</sup> The Palm Garden changed into a soft drink emporium in 1919 because of Volsteadism, and—in accordance with the Schlitz Hotel—finally closed in March 1921.<sup>263</sup> The lower floor was used for stores and the hall was converted into a motion picture theatre. After the repeal, plans to re-open the beer hall in Milwaukee failed,<sup>264</sup> but the brand of the Schlitz Palm Garden was still used in other places, like Bismarck, North Dakota: Refreshments, luncheons, grand parties, and “dance to peppy music”<sup>265</sup> were offered, however, beer halls were, neither there nor in other locations, really successful.<sup>266</sup>

### *Risk Management and the Diversification of Business*

As we have already seen in the first biographical chapter, brewery property was only a smaller part of individual estates. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families diversified their businesses and reinvested their capital. In a family business, this offered new chances for the next generation and also for those not talented or interested in the brewing business. Diversification opened additional profit opportunities and reduced the still important risks of business in general and the brewing business in particular. A detailed analysis of the three families’ business endeavors would surely go beyond the scope of this article; therefore some short hints must be sufficient.

One of the risks of brewing was accidents. Smaller ones happened regularly in Milwaukee and the agencies: When in 1874 a large cooling reservoir in an upper story of the brewery fell through the building, the damage was estimated at \$3,000—and no insurance covered such damage.<sup>267</sup> Even later fires were a permanent threat: In 1895, the brewery had only a “narrow escape from being burned.”<sup>268</sup> To reduce such risks, Joseph Schlitz became involved in the insurance business. The Uihleins followed this path and invested in new businesses, which covered not only the brewing business but also the general public. August Uihlein, for instance, was a director of Milwaukee Fire Insurance.<sup>269</sup>

There was no insurance against the prohibition movement: But already Joseph Schlitz, together with other brewers and members of the German-American community, formed the Wisconsin Association for the Protection of Personal Liberty to repeal the Graham Liquor Law of 1872, which introduced not only \$2000 bonds on liquor licenses but also unlimited responsibility by the alcohol business for any damages caused by intoxicated



consumers. Political pressure led to a partial replacement in 1874, but the question of individual liability for drunken patrons remained contested for years.<sup>270</sup> The Uihlein brothers were long convinced that the representatives of the prohibition movement were reasonable people and would accept Edward's statement: "Lager beer is now acknowledged by intelligent men and women as the greatest temperance agent in the world."<sup>271</sup> For a while, the Schlitz Company supported the movement financially to influence their course,<sup>272</sup> but such efforts were not successful and probably contradictory: When the brewery offered Carrie Nation (1846-1911), a violent activist driven by pretended calls from God, to work for them for an attractive salary "advocating the moderate use of absolutely pure Schlitz, the beer that made Milwaukee famous," she answered that she would advertise the business only "with the hatchet."<sup>273</sup> Schlitz continued to advertise beer as a health drink, but diversified long before the prohibition in the production of non-alcoholic beverages, for instance Schlitz Fizz in 1909.<sup>274</sup> Nevertheless, the Uihlein brothers were not able to develop a strategy against the prohibition movement; they supported and relied on unsuccessful campaigns of the United States Brewers' Association.<sup>275</sup> One of the failed business responses was the purchase of newspapers—in June 1917, Joseph E. Uihlein contributed \$50,000 for the purchase of the *Washington Times*<sup>276</sup>—or at least of some controlling interest.<sup>277</sup>

In contrast to such severe failures, the investment into the Second Ward Savings Bank of Milwaukee remained profitable. Schlitz's interests fell to August Uihlein. The latter took over the Best/Pabst shares in 1900 and was succeeded by his son Joseph.<sup>278</sup> In 1905, the bank had resources of \$9,611,681.97, which had grown by 1918 to \$23,770,741.01.<sup>279</sup> Financial investments were no safe haven: A good example was the success of Simon Dinkelspiel, an agent of the New York Life Insurance Company, who attracted leading Milwaukee business people from 1887 with very favorable investment options that turned out to be unsound. The Uihleins lost money but could at least save most of the investment.<sup>280</sup>

The most important diversification was the purchase of real estate property. This was functional for the core business because it included buildings and attractive plots in the leading towns of the United States. Many of them were never used for saloons or the distribution network and gained high profits. The brothers owned some 2,000 valuable business sites all over the country and were surely among the largest real estate proprietors of the U.S. No less than 500 of them were located in Milwaukee.<sup>281</sup> In their home town, they were the largest real estate holders, and their investments in the west side of 1900s Milwaukee were crucial for the growing dominance of Grand Avenue in business life.<sup>282</sup> Among the outstanding real estate projects

were the Majestic and the Alhambra Theatres, the Schlitz and Globe Hotels, and the Enterprise Building.<sup>283</sup> The real estate investments were the backbone of the family's wealth, enabling business during the time of the prohibition and allowing for a fresh and successful start after the repeal in 1933.

Diversification in other branches was often linked with the brewery's needs: Together with Frederick Pabst, August Uihlein was a proprietor of Delta Coopersage Company of Mississippi. Incorporated in 1891, the company owned 42,000 acres full of oak varieties, enough to supply all Milwaukee breweries with timber and barrels.<sup>284</sup> Henry Uihlein and his sons had a controlling interest in the Universal Motor Truck Company in Detroit, but the trucks were also used for the company's distribution network.<sup>285</sup> Unrelated with the brewery, Edward and August Uihlein had large interests in the \$2,000,000 Pecos Valley Beet Sugar Company in New Mexico.<sup>286</sup> The plant, a joint venture with Frederick Pabst and second generation Scandinavian immigrant entrepreneur James John Hagerman (1838-1909), should have a capacity of 200,000 tons.<sup>287</sup> The factory was running for three campaigns, closed in 1900, was destroyed by a fire in 1903, and was never rebuilt.<sup>288</sup>

In spite of such losses, the Uihlein brothers were able to diversify their profits in other profitable businesses. They were conservative investors and focused predominantly on real estate investments. With this, they benefitted from the rapid growth of U.S. cities and metropolis and generated profits, probably higher than those of the brewing business. This allowed the family to financially survive the prohibition era and to maintain the family business.

### **Immigrant Entrepreneurship**

Brewing was a contested business in the new world: Prohibition was a suspension of civil and property rights. The destruction of the fourth-largest U.S. industry cannot be reduced to an anti-ethnic sentiment, to anti-urban, anti-capitalist or simply protestant hysteria.<sup>289</sup> Although the members of the Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families were all American citizens, they were often denounced as "un-American," and were finally expropriated without compensation. These brewers, so claimed the hate speech of the red scare period, should have grown up "all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens."<sup>290</sup>

Such prejudices affected the families and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company from the beginning. For immigrant entrepreneurs, this was a delicate challenge: Living in a town with not less than 69% of German-American inhabitants in 1890, selling an over-average portion of their products to this group, and being shaped by German culture, traditions and technology, they



could simply not deny their German roots. But as a leading U.S. brewery, they had to appeal to the majority Yankees and other ethnic groups as well. Consequently, the company was engaged in quite diverse activities.

The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was a regular supporter of the local German-American community; in Milwaukee, Chicago, and other locations. When the Turner Hall needed money, the company gave money.<sup>291</sup> When the Sngerbund asked, Schlitz supported meetings and festivals. Also the Schtzenbund's activities were regularly sponsored by Schlitz—and their competitors.<sup>292</sup> From a business perspective, this was a service for their regular customers and it was also an investment into activities linked with beer-drinking.

For the company, however, this was not primarily support for the German-American constituency but an expression of their community responsibility. The brewery supported local firefighters or local baseball teams as well.<sup>293</sup> They cared for veterans of the union and prize shootings of the National Guard.<sup>294</sup> This was done in cooperation with other breweries, in these cases with Best and Anheuser-Busch. The Schlitz Brewing Company gave large sums to the Milwaukee Conservatory of Music and cared for this institution, when financial troubles “impeded the development of this art-school.”<sup>295</sup> German-American culture and communities formed the core of such engagement but they were not restricted to a specific ethnic group. The Chicago branch, for instance, contributed to the Chicago Deak-Verein, a Hungarian benevolent society<sup>296</sup> and supported flood-swept Galveston in 1900.<sup>297</sup> The company also invested in a better America: In the segregated south, Pabst and Schlitz cooperated in supporting Booker T. Washington's industrial colleges for African-Americans in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi.<sup>298</sup> The Schlitz Company invested in a prosperous country: They gave \$7000 for the Chicago World Fair, an event not possible without the funding of the leading firms of the region and the nation.<sup>299</sup>

The brewery presented itself as representative of America; and they were, for instance, using the nationalist emotions related to the U.S. war against Spain in 1898. After the destruction of the Spanish Pacific Fleet in Manila in May 1, 1898, the company sent 3600 bottles to the East: “As they happened to arrive the same day as the news of the victory over Cervera's fleet at Santiago, the beer was finished in celebrating the victory.”<sup>300</sup> Later that year, the company sent an additional 489,600 bottles of beer to Manila. Admiral George Dewey's thanks were broadly advertised.<sup>301</sup> Schlitz also referred to army soldiers in advertisements.<sup>302</sup> The company was positioning itself as an integral part of the American nation and its manifested destiny: But national sentiments were also used to promote beer as an American beverage. Typical for this was the request to christen the new battleship Wisconsin with a bottle



of Schlitz beer. In a letter to the Milwaukee Battleship Commission from October 24, 1899, the company argued: "Wisconsin is not a champagne-producing state; that use of imported champagne would scarcely seem American enough for such an occasion. Disregard of musty precedents and Old World customs is characteristic of this progressive nation. [Schlitz beer] is an honest American product."<sup>303</sup>

While the company had to address both their German-American core constituency and the broader U.S. environment, the individual family members had a more pronounced perspective; and I will focus only on August and Edward G. Uihlein to back this thesis.

They understood themselves as integral members of the German-American communities in Milwaukee and in Chicago. Their exposed positions as wealthy immigrant entrepreneurs enabled them to support other immigrants: August Uihlein was among the founding members of the Deutsche Gesellschaft in Milwaukee in 1880. Pushed by general criticism on the poor hygienic conditions of transatlantic steamers—in 1880, thirteen of the 1300 immigrants on board of the steamer Ohio died—this ethnic society lobbied for improved legislation, supported poor immigrants to Wisconsin and Minnesota, and paved the way for additional immigration from other countries.<sup>304</sup> August was a member of the leading German societies in Milwaukee—Deutscher Club, Turnverein, Deutscher Press Club—and was involved with the Calumet Club, the Millioki Club, and the Milwaukee Club, all of them playgrounds of German-Americans.<sup>305</sup> But what does this tell us about the bilingual immigrant entrepreneur, about his identity in his self-chosen and self-created new fatherland? He surely lived somewhere between two countries and quite different cultures. When Clauder's brass band serenaded at his sixtieth birthday, he asked them to play popular tunes "and also the old German songs."<sup>306</sup> For August Uihlein, such a combination was possible and he lived this merger of cultures. Typical was a luncheon, given the Uihlein brothers in October 1909 at the Schlitz Palm Garden in honor of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, the oldest chartered military organization in the U.S. Colonel Uihlein offered these old stock Yankees a luncheon "German from start to finish, and," notified by a representative of the Company "served as Germans only can serve."<sup>307</sup> This happened more than a century ago; and we cannot remove the legacy of two World Wars, of anti-German politics and of anti-American sentiments from our minds. German-American immigrant entrepreneur August Uihlein and many of his Yankee friends could. The culture of mutual respect, which characterized the interaction of the brothers and the Milwaukee brewers, was seen as a model for an immigrant nation like the United States as well.

August Uihlein died in 1911; and his perhaps *bierseliges* ideal of people



living together in mutual respect was not yet wounded by World War I, of anti-German politics and anti-American sentiments. It is not surprising that the identity of his brother Edward, who died in 1921 just after the war, was in some way different. He was even more strongly involved in the German-American community in Chicago. He was a member of the Germania, the Orpheus, and the German Press Club. Edward was an active member and longtime president of the Teutonia Männerchor.<sup>308</sup> He learned to play the violin in his youth, and in Chicago, he became a director of the German Opera House Company, a \$500,000 enterprise, which owned the Schiller Theater as well.<sup>309</sup> He backed most of the typically immigrant charitable institutions: Co-founder and president of the German Hospital, renamed Grant Hospital during World War I; member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft; generous supporter of the Old People's Home and the Orphan's Home; and a patron of the annual German-American Charity Ball.<sup>310</sup> Edward G. Uihlein was a lifetime member and supporter of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft of Illinois from its foundation in 1900 and active in the section "Gardening, arboriculture and floriculture."<sup>311</sup> Proud of his German ancestry, his gifts to the Art Institute of Chicago included a reduced copy of the Berlin monument of Frederick the Great.<sup>312</sup> He contributed, like German-American immigrant entrepreneur Julius Rosenwald, \$1000 for the Goethe Monument Association in 1914, which erected an Olympian figure to represent ancient literature, philosophy, and reason.<sup>313</sup> Official America listed Edward G. Uihlein among German agents and propagandists in 1919; and the reason for this was that he gave \$200 of the American Embargo Conference, a pressure neutrality group, co-financed by German money.<sup>314</sup>

Worth mentioned is growing involvement with his former fatherland since the beginning of the war.<sup>315</sup> Edward G. Uihlein supported the Ostpreußen-Hilfe, founded in 1915 to support towns and villages damaged by Russian troops during their occupation of Eastern Prussia in 1914/15 and became vice-president of its Illinois section.<sup>316</sup> His constant support of his home town Wertheim went unknown: Triggered by his regular lecture of the local newspaper, the Wertheimer Tageblatt, he gave, for instance, to the orphan's home, the commercial and the primary schools, the women's association, the May lottery, and the home of the blind.<sup>317</sup> Before the war, this was an expression of his thankfulness and his ongoing care for his home town and its institutions. During and after the war, his engagement was intensified, perhaps as an expression of bitterness over the defeat of his former fatherland and the denunciation of German culture and German-Americans. He became an honorary citizen of Wertheim before his death, and his engagement was continued by his brother William.

## Conclusions

What remains from the Krugs, the Schlitzes, the Uihleins who formed a once world market leading brewery no longer in existence? They each left their fatherland, founded families and new homes around Lake Michigan, cared for their relatives and their fellow citizens either of German or of other heritage. They were among the most successful entrepreneurs of German descent in their time. They earned immense fortunes and allowed themselves fanciful passions but did not cross the line into competitive capitalism or Yankeeism. They were conservative investors, interested in a huge network of real estate, depots, agencies, and saloons. Parallel, they invested in education and arts, in meeting and gathering places. Modest and plain, they were quite different from many *nouveau riches* of the Gilded Age. It seems that they simply wanted to be good and respected neighbors.

The Uihleins made Schlitz famous and led the brewery to the top of the business; but the difference between the name of the mover and owner family and the branded company was telling. There was always tension between their positions in business and in American society. The labor movement challenged their patriarchal business structure, while the prohibition movement questioned the honesty and morality of their core business. Most of the Uihleins were travelers, searching for something new, something they had perhaps lost. Most of them travelled back to Wertheim and Miltenberg, and they gave generous gifts to their relatives and to their birth-homes. This was more than a sentiment. The Uihlein brothers believed, as German-Americans, in the American dream; but for them this was not only to make a living or even a fortune. For them, it was the former motto "*E Pluribus Unum*"—"out of many, one."<sup>318</sup> The brothers believed in America as a land of opportunity and of mutual respect, with German-Americans as an integral and accepted part of one broader union. Several family members believed that this dream had become true. But those who survived World War I and who faced the denunciation of German-Americans and the expropriation of the brewing industry became skeptical. Far from home, they had lost their faith in their own American dream. This ambivalence was overcome by the second generation of the Uihlein family, whose identity was already dominated by mainstream America. William, however, the youngest of the six Uihlein brothers, made a telling gift to his town of birth, which expressed the ambivalence of the first generation: In the 1920s, he sponsored Wertheim's New Year's parade. Accompanied by up hundreds of school children, a giant pretzel was carried around the old town's market place. A small one once was the sign of his parent's Hotel "*Zur Krone*."<sup>319</sup> This was the "*Rosebud*" of the Uihlein family.



German Historical Institute  
Washington, DC

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The brewery is still manufacturing brewing an "Auswandererbier 1849," an IPA with 18% original wort and an alcohol content of 7.5%. The (marketing) story is that such a beer was given to August Krug by his father, when he emigrated to the U.S. (<http://bierdestages.de/brauerei-faustmiltenberg-auswandererbier-1849-nr-1311/> [2014/07/03])

<sup>2</sup> *Der Bayerischer Eilbote* 1848, 503.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Otto Keller, "Von Miltenberg nach Milwaukee: Biermagnaten vom Untermain in den USA des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Spessart* 106 (2012), October-Issue, 15-26, here 20.

<sup>4</sup> "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3UI, 3.

<sup>5</sup> NARA, Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service District 9, 1840-1950 (M1285); Microfilm Serial: M1285; Microfilm Roll: 105.

<sup>6</sup> Brenda Magee, *Brewing in Milwaukee* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2014), 93.

<sup>7</sup> For a broader perspective s. Suzanne M. Sinke, "Moved to Marry: Connecting Marriage and Cross-border Migration in the History of the United States," *L'Homme* 25 (2014), 11-29.

<sup>8</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten; vol. 373-7 I, VIII A 1 vol. 001; page 86, microfilm K-1701.

<sup>9</sup> "Loss of the Helena Sloman," *Commercial Advertiser* 1850, December 5, 3.

<sup>10</sup> In 1888, the Franz Falk Brewing Company merged with the Jung and Borchert Brewery and together they formed the Falk, Jung and Borchert Brewery Corporation in 1889. Ranked fourth in Milwaukee (behind Best, Schlitz, and Blatz), the company was hit by two devastating fires in 1889 and 1892. The owners, among them six members of the Falk family, sold their property in 1892 to the Pabst Brewing Company, the successor of the Philip Best Brewing Company. Herman Falk, one of the sons of Franz Falk, used his brewing capital for establishing the Falk Manufacturing Company, incorporated in Milwaukee in 1895. Starting with manufacturing of electric street railways and portable cast welding machines, the Falk Corporation became an important producer of industrial power transmission products and with more than one thousand employees in the early 2000s, when the company became part of Rexnord. For more details s. John Gurda, *The Making of a Good Name in Industry: A History of the Falk Corporation, 1892-1992* (Milwaukee: Falk Corporation, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> NARA, 1850 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M432\_1003; Page: 274B; Image: 218.

<sup>12</sup> *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1852, February 23, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Maureen Ogle, *Ambitious Brew: The Story of American Beer* (Orlando et al.: Harcourt, 2006), 35. *Schlitz Brewing Art* (s.l.: Paul Bialas, 2014), a book with wonderful photographs but full of mistakes on the history of the company and its proprietors, talks about Krug passing "away from a lengthy illness, believed to be tuberculosis" (page 13). There is no evidence for this.

<sup>14</sup> "The Last Will & Testament of August Krug," <http://slahs.org/schlitz/will3.htm> (notes by Mike Reilly, editor of the will). The will of Georg(e) August Krug was probated in January 1857, but the case was still unsettled in 1868, s. *Banner und Volksfreund. Vereinigte Tägliche* 1857, January 6, 2; "Milwaukee County Court," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1868, October 4, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Ellis Baker Usher, *Wisconsin: Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913*, vol. IV (Chicago and New York: Lewis, 1914), 951.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. the clauses in "The Last Will & Testament of August Krug," <http://slahs.org/schlitiz/will3.htm>.

<sup>17</sup> Edward G. Uihlein, *Erinnerungen aus meinen Jugendjahren & Lebenslauf* (1917), 2 (Ms.), Chicago History Museum. The English translation of the memoirs, available both at the Chicago History Museum and at [http://www.slahs.org/uihlein/chicago/edward\\_g\\_memoirs.htm](http://www.slahs.org/uihlein/chicago/edward_g_memoirs.htm) is often incorrect and cuts off important passages and details without any notice. For an academic use it is—unfortunately—worthless.

<sup>18</sup> Harry H. Anderson, "The Women Who Helped Make Milwaukee Breweries Famous," *Milwaukee History* 4 (1981), 66-78, here 71-2.

<sup>19</sup> Susan Ingalls Lewis, *Unexceptional Women: Female Proprietors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Albany*, New York, 1830-1885 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> NARA New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957; Year: 1863; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 234; Line 2; List Number: 1018.

<sup>21</sup> "Heirs Given a Brewery," *Milwaukee Journal* 1887, January 25, 4. The number of rich and super-rich female estate holders was quite large in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A good example is Mrs. Herman Oelrichs, spouse and heir of an American banker and coproprietor of the Norddeutsche Lloyd of German descent, who died, similar to Joseph Schlitz, on sea in 1906. Her San Francisco real estate property, including the Fairmont Hotel and the Lick House, was purchased for 2,600,000 to a Spreckels-Phelan-Magee company, the Real Property Investment Company, in 1906.

<sup>22</sup> NARA, 1880 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: 1436; Family History Film: 1255436; Page: 392B; Enumeration District: 101.

<sup>23</sup> The family remained in the wine business. His brother Charles Schlitz went to Milwaukee and imported and dealt with wine and liquors (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1866, November 12, 6). His nephew John Schlitz worked in the same company until he moved to Cleveland in 1882. In 1875, he faced a penalty of \$1000 fine and four months imprisoning for disobeying the revenue laws ("Judgment Day," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1875, Dec 2, 4; "Whisky," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1875, Jun 26, 4). Johann Schlitz exported wine from Laubenheim (brand: Laubenheimer Hackeldutt), where he owned vineyards, Mayence and Cochem to the U.S. (s. the ad in *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1895, November 19, 9). He used the global belt, a core element of the Brewing company's marketing, for his wine advertisement in Germany.

<sup>24</sup> "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>25</sup> NARA, New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957, Year: 1849; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 080; Line: 8; List Number: 731.

<sup>26</sup> "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31; "Milwaukee Beer," *Patriot [Harrisburg]* 1871, August 19, 1.

<sup>27</sup> Helmut Schmahl, *Verpflanzt, aber nicht entwurzelt: Die Auswanderung aus Hessen-Darmstadt (Provinz Rheinhessen) nach Wisconsin im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 251 and 252, footnote 1055; NARA, 1860 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M653\_1422; Page: 73; Image: 79; Family History Library Film: 805422.

<sup>28</sup> NARA, 1870 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M593\_1726; Page: 2908; Image: 254; Family History Library Film: 553225.

<sup>29</sup> *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Wisconsin Volume* (Chicago et al.: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1877),



382.

<sup>30</sup> "The Late Philip Best," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1869, July 21, 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Daily Milwaukee News* 1873, December 20, 2.

<sup>32</sup> "The Lost Steamer," *Commercial Advertiser* 1875, May 8, 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* 1868, June 27, 4.

<sup>34</sup> "Statement of the Condition . . .," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1871, February 8, 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Daily Milwaukee News* 1871, February 10, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Comp. Jonathan Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge et al.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

<sup>37</sup> "Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8.

<sup>38</sup> "In Milwaukee," *Milwaukee Daily News* 1875, May 9, 1. A detailed analysis of the disaster, which killed mainly people of German descent, is given by Keith Austin, "The Victorian Titanic: The loss of the S.S. *Schiller* in 1875" (Somerset: Halsgrove 2001).

<sup>39</sup> "A Strange Story," *The Times-Picayune* 1880, March 11, 4.

<sup>40</sup> "Insured," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1875, May 19, 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Waukesha County Democrat* 1875, May 29, 5.

<sup>42</sup> "A Strange Story," *Times-Picayune* 1880, March 12, 7.

<sup>43</sup> Anderson (1981), 74.

<sup>44</sup> Uihlein (1917), 36, 42.

<sup>45</sup> "Im Januar 1872 offerirte mir Herr Schlitz die Agentur für Chicago und Umgegend gegen eine Vergütung von \$1.25 per Bbl. Wenn auch der Verdienst augenblicklich lange nicht die Höhe erreichte die ich in meinem Geschäft erzielte so durfte ich doch die Zukunft nicht außer Acht lassen da wie Herr Schlitz andeutete er ohne Kinder sei und uns der Besitz seines Geschäfts in Aussicht stand." (Uihlein (1917), 45)

<sup>46</sup> "House Called Schlitz, that Uihlein Built," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, April 7, 16. As typical for most of these estimations, the exact number can't be taken for granted.

<sup>47</sup> For details of the family history indispensable—although penetrated with quite many factual errors and contradictions—Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1873-1881," <http://www.slabs.org/schlitz/history.htm> [2012/08/04]; Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1848-1873," <http://www.slabs.org/schlitz/history2.htm> [2014/03/02]; Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1881-1907," <http://www.slabs.org/schlitz/history3.htm> [04/08/2012]; Mike Reilly, "Uihlein Family History (The Milwaukee Brewing Family). Revised 1/17/00," [http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/family\\_history1.htm](http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/family_history1.htm) [2012/04/24]; Mary Lou Traffis, "Uihlein Family History. Revised January 10, 2000," ed. by Mike Reilly, [http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/uehlein/cleveland/family\\_history1.htm](http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/uehlein/cleveland/family_history1.htm) [2012/04/17]; Herwig John, "Die Gebrüder Uihlein (1842-1932)," in *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen: Beiträge und Bilddokumente*, ed. by Günther Hasler (Karlsruhe: Harschdruck, 1976), 90-92.

<sup>48</sup> "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3U1.

<sup>49</sup> Otto Langguth, "Das Gasthaus 'zur Krone' in Wertheim," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Alt-Wertheim* 1929, 69-79; Otto Langguth, "The Hotel 'Zur Krone' in Wertheim," translated by Ernst Voss, Chicago History Museum.

<sup>50</sup> *The Milwaukee Directory for 1883*, vol. XVI (Milwaukee: Alfred G. Wright, 1883), 679.

<sup>51</sup> "Last of the Early Uihleins Dies," *Milwaukee Journal* 1943, February 17, 19.

<sup>52</sup> The 16-year-old-boy, already named as beer brewer ("Bierbrauer"), left Hamburg together with his brother Eduard (already named a merchant ("Kaufmann")) on Jun 1, 187 (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten, 1850-1934, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 vol. 024; page

491, microfilm no. K\_1715).

<sup>53</sup> "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>54</sup> "Chicago gegen St. Louis," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1897, Jun 16, 5, mentioned five brothers in control of the Schlitz company.

<sup>55</sup> Russell Zimmermann, "A glimpse at a time when life had style," *Milwaukee Journal* 1984, May 27, 36-38, here 36.

<sup>56</sup> "House Called Schlitz, that Uihlein Built," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, April 7, 16.

<sup>57</sup> Peter Engelmann (1823-1874) was another 48er, who emigrated from Kreuznach (like brewer Eberhard Anheuser) to the U.S. in 1849. In 1851, he became principal of the newly founded German-English Academy in Milwaukee, which he headed until his death. On Engelmann and his model institution s. Bettina Goldberg, "The German-English Academy, the National German-American Teachers' Seminary, and the Public School System in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1851-1919," in *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, ed. by Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking and Jürgen Herbst (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177-92, here 180-85.

<sup>58</sup> On his youth s. "August Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 694-98.

<sup>59</sup> More on Joseph Uhrig and his brewery can be found in "Uhrig, Franz Joseph," in *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, ed. by William Hyde and Howard L. Conrad, vol. IV (New York et al.: Southern History Co., 1899), 2327-2328. Uhrig could afford to purchase a summer residence in Milwaukee in 1854, which allowed regular personal contacts. For details s. *History Designation Study Report: Villa Uhrig* (Written Fall, 1997) (Ms.).

<sup>60</sup> Uihlein (1917), 37, mentioned that the Uhrig and Uihlein families were „auf freundlichstem Fuss.“ But Keller (2012), 21 added, that Eva Barbara Ludwig, the younger sister of August Krug's mother Anna Marie, married in 1811 Johann Adam Uhrig, a younger brother of Ignatz and Joseph Uhrig.

<sup>61</sup> "The Uhrig Family's Romance," *Weekly Wisconsin* 1897, April 10, 6. Joseph Uhrig died in 1875 and left a fortune of more than \$500,000. For details on this and the tricky family history s. "Not their Son," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* 1881, June 29, 5.

<sup>62</sup> "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Evening-Issue, 1.

<sup>63</sup> "Georg Karl ,August' Eugene Uihlein and Anna Werdehoff," <http://www.slahs.org/uihlein/milwaukee/august.htm> [2014/06/23].

<sup>64</sup> "A Journey Around the World: Joseph Uihlein Describes his Wanderings upon the Continent and in Egypt, India and East Africa," *Milwaukee Journal* 1897, September 4, 9-10.

<sup>65</sup> "Sunday is Birthday of Milwaukee's Richest Man," *Milwaukee Journal* 1907, August 22, 3.

<sup>66</sup> John N. Ingham, *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders N-U* (Westport and London: Greenwood, 1983), 1483-8, here 1483.

<sup>67</sup> "August Uihlein," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, 5 (also for the quote before).

<sup>68</sup> "As Century Passes, Erwin Uihlein Talks of Beer, City and His Papa," *Milwaukee Journal* 1949, January 2, 33, 36, here 33.

<sup>69</sup> It has to be mentioned that the Uihleins were the Eastern pendant to California's leading breeder and second generation immigrant entrepreneur Adolph B. Spreckels and his Napa Valley farm. His trotter Hulda was a world champion in the 1890s.

<sup>70</sup> Comp. "August Uihlein and The Harvester to be inducted into Wisconsin Hall of Fame," Press release by the Wisconsin Harness Horse Association Marketing Department, January 3, 2012, <http://xwebapp.ustrotting.com/absoluten/templates> . . . ; "No Money can buy Champion Stallion," *Trenton Evening Times* 1911, October 1, 10. The trotter was sold after August Uihlein's death for a sum near \$50,000 ("Billings Pays \$50,000 for Harvester, Famous Horse," *Duluth News-Tribune* 1912, March 16, 10).



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<sup>71</sup> "Miss Uihlein Wills Estate to Relatives," *Milwaukee Journal* 1968, May 21, 13; "Uihlein Trust Not Taxable," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1945, October 16, 19.

<sup>72</sup> "Mrs. Uihlein Dies," *Milwaukee Journal* 1910, August 5, 9.

<sup>73</sup> "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Morning-Issue, 1.

<sup>74</sup> "Children Get All," *Milwaukee Journal* 1911, November 22, 3.

<sup>75</sup> "Inheritance Taxes Await Court Ruling," *Milwaukee Journal* 1912, December 27, 5.

<sup>76</sup> "Alfred E. Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 706.

<sup>77</sup> "Alfred Eugene Uihlein and Anna Pilger," [http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/milwaukee/alfred\\_e.htm](http://www.slabs.org/uihlein/milwaukee/alfred_e.htm) [2014/06/23].

<sup>78</sup> This and Henry Uihlein's mansion were demolished in 1970. For details s. "Alfred Uihlein House, Milwaukee Wisconsin," [http://www.historic-structures.com/wi/milwaukee/uihlein\\_house.php](http://www.historic-structures.com/wi/milwaukee/uihlein_house.php) [2014/06/23].

<sup>79</sup> "Alfred E. Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 706.

<sup>80</sup> "Alfred Uihlein Dies at His Home Here, Aged 82," *Milwaukee Journal* 1935, February 21, 17.

<sup>81</sup> "The Uihlein Estate," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1935, November 4, 4.

<sup>82</sup> "Alfred Uihlein Estate Listed," *Milwaukee Journal* 1935, November 4, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Uihlein (1917), 9.

<sup>84</sup> For details s. *ibid.*, 14-33.

<sup>85</sup> Edward Uihlein left Hamburg together with Joseph, Walburga and her daughter Josephine Uhrig on July 23, 1864. While Uihlein travelled second class the established brewer family used first class cabin (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten, 1850-1934, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 018, page 428, microfilm no. K\_1710).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-43.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>88</sup> "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-6, here 295, mentioned 1866, but Eduard [sic!] Uihlein was already listed as a taxpayer in the retail and liquor business in November 1865 (NARA, U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918; Tax Assessment Lists for Collection Districts in the State of Missouri, 1862-1865; Series: M776; Roll: 9; Description: District 1; Monthly Lists; Aug-Dec 1865; Record Group: 58).

<sup>89</sup> Otto Langguth: "Edward G. Uihlein . . . in seinen Beziehungen zur Vaterstadt und zum Deutschum," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Alt-Wertheim* 1920 (1921), 52-70, here 53.

<sup>90</sup> NARA, *Passport Applications, 1795-1905*; Collection Number: *ARC Identifier 566612 / MLR Number A1 508*; Series: *M1372*; Roll: 437.

<sup>91</sup> "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-96, here 296.

<sup>92</sup> Uihlein (1917), 76-77 (both quotes).

<sup>93</sup> "Horticultural Society of Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, October 9, 4; "Queen Flora Reigns," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, November 9, 12; "E.G. Uihlein," *The American Florist* 56 (1921), 99.

<sup>94</sup> "Get West Park Jobs," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, May 19, 9; "Horticulture in Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, July 29, 25; "E.G. Uihlein, Brewer, Dead," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1921, January 26, Evening-Issue, 1.

<sup>95</sup> Uihlein (1917), 77-84.

<sup>96</sup> "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago Its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-6, here 296. It has to be mentioned that such extensive travels were always related with establishing and expanding social and commercial networks. A good

example for this is his stay at the Hotel Del Coronado in February 1909 and the following journey to Hawaii ("Hotel Arrivals," *San Diego Union* 1909, February 19, 5; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1909, March 26, 7). Here the Uihleins could not only enjoy the hospitality of San Diego's leading German-American entrepreneur John D. Spreckels but could also talk to his brother Adolph B. Spreckels, who was a park commissioner of San Francisco for many years.

<sup>97</sup> A[lfred] T[hodore] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. III (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1886, 580).

<sup>98</sup> "Uihlein Estate \$1,120,000," *American Bottler* 41 (1921), March-issue, 78.

<sup>99</sup> Uihlein (1917), 2.

<sup>100</sup> NARA 1880 United States Federal Census, Year: 1880, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, roll 1437, family history film 1255437, page 324B, enumeration district 118. Henry Uihlein became a U.S. citizen on October 30, 1880.

<sup>101</sup> "Henry Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 52-55, here 52. The Kunz family, August, Joseph and Charles, were German immigrants, who run at least two breweries: the Weston Brewing Company, established by German immigrant John Gregorian in 1842, and taken over by August Kunz after Gregorian's death in 1857 (<http://westonirish.com/BREWERY.html>) [2014/07/30]; and the Charles Kunz Brewery, from c. 1867 renamed Charles Kunz Brewery, in Leavenworth, KA (<http://www.oldbreweries.com/breweries-by-state/leavenworth-ks-11-breweries/charles-kunz-brewery-ks-29b&/>) [2014/07/30]. During Henry Uihlein's stay, Leavenworth had not less than three other brewing companies, all of them founded by German-American immigrant entrepreneurs.

<sup>102</sup> "Henry Uihlein," (1922), 52.

<sup>103</sup> Ancestry.com. Germany, Select Births and Baptisms, 1558-1898 [database on-line], Provo, UE, USA.

<sup>104</sup> "Uihlein Family History. Revised January 10, 2000," ed. by Mike Reilly, [http://www.slabs.org/uihleins/uehleins/cleveland/family\\_history1.htm](http://www.slabs.org/uihleins/uehleins/cleveland/family_history1.htm) [2012/04/17].

<sup>105</sup> "Henry Uihlein, Deceased," *The Beverage Journal* 58 (1922), 91.

<sup>106</sup> Frank Bauer, "Time's run out on a posh old place," *Milwaukee Journal* 1985, August 25, 6; NARA 1880 United States Federal Census, Year: 1880, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, roll 1437, family history film 1255437, page 324B, enumeration district 118.

<sup>107</sup> "American Millionaires," *New York Herald Times* 1892, May 21, 13-14, here 14 (named as "Nihlein").

<sup>108</sup> "Henry Uihlein, Head of Milwaukee Brewery House, Succumbs to Heart Disease," *Grand Forks Herald* 1922, Apr 23, 11.

<sup>109</sup> "Uihlein Daughters Enjoined To Keep Property in Won Name," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1923, November 28, 3.

<sup>110</sup> Comp. Thomas Welskopp, "Prohibition in the United States: The German-American Experience, 1919-1933," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 53 (2013), 31-53, here 38; and, partially identical, Thomas Welskopp, *Amerikas große Ernüchterung: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Prohibition* (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2010), 47-49. For a broader perspective s. Jay Feldman, *Manufacturing Hysteria: A History of Scapegoating, Surveillance, and Secrecy in Modern America* (New York: Anchor Books: 2012).

<sup>111</sup> "Wisconsin Gift Tax Law is Overthrown," *Boston Herald* 1926, Nov 2, 30; "Wisconsin Courts Reversed," *Macon Telegraph* 1926, Nov 2, 6.

<sup>112</sup> NARA U.S. Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service district 9, 1840-1950 (M1285), microfilm serial M1285, microfilm roll 170.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.



- <sup>114</sup> *Western Brewer* 47 (1916), 212 (the text, however, offered at least two factual errors).
- <sup>115</sup> Ancestry.com, Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920 [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA; "Death Closes Cover on a Milwaukee Era," *Milwaukee Journal* 1946, August 20; 1940 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Roll T627\_4546, Page 6A, Enumeration District 72-146.
- <sup>116</sup> "Sad Ending to a Happy Wedding Trip," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1900, Dec 4, 7.
- <sup>117</sup> "Articles of Association," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1885, April 10, 8.
- <sup>118</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 185-86, here 185.
- <sup>119</sup> "Charles Uihlein is Dead," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1915, December 15, 1.
- <sup>120</sup> "Hold Funeral of Charles Uihlein," *Milwaukee Journal* 1915, December 20, 1.
- <sup>121</sup> Anke Ortlepp, "Auf denn, Ihr Schwern!" *Deutscheramerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 103, footnote 33; *Official Record of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin Knight of Pythias* 1914, 55.
- <sup>122</sup> *Inter Ocean* 1899, February 5, 18.
- <sup>123</sup> "Gets into the Game," *Hutchinson News* 1900, Dec 21, 1.
- <sup>124</sup> "Will of Charles Uihlein Bestows \$100,000 Estate," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1915, December 29.
- <sup>125</sup> NARA U.S. Passport applications, 1795-1925, Passport Applications, January 2, 1906-March 31, 1925, collection number: ARC identifier 583839 / MLR number A1 523; NARA series M1490, roll 76; NARA U.S. Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service district 9, 1840-1950 (M1285), microfilm serial M1285, microfilm roll 170.
- <sup>126</sup> "Valued Yeast, 50 Years Old, Ready to Work," *Nevada State Journal* 1932, Nov 19, 2.
- <sup>127</sup> An overview on the breweries, who used pure yeast from Copenhagen is given in Emil Chr[istian] Hansen, *Practical Studies in Fermentation being Contributions to the Life History of Micro-Organisms* (London and New York: E. & F.N. Spon, 1896), 234-38 (apart from Schlitz, fifteen other U.S. breweries were mentioned).
- <sup>128</sup> Mikuláš Teich, *Bier, Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft in Deutschland 1880-1914: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Industrialisierungsgeschichte* (Vienna et al.: Böhlau, 2000), 154.
- <sup>129</sup> *Washington Times* 1901, March 13, 1.
- <sup>130</sup> Her parents came to the U.S. from Germany in 1839 ("Mrs. William Uihlein Dies at 99," *Milwaukee Journal* 1965, March 4, 9).
- <sup>131</sup> Alex P. Dobish, "Big collection bears the stamp of Uihlein," *Milwaukee Journal* 1983, October 14, 38-39.
- <sup>132</sup> "Uihlein Estate Totals \$318,480," *Sheboygan Press* 1932, December 17, 3.
- <sup>133</sup> Amy Mittelman, *Brewing Battles: A History of American Beer* (New York: Algora, 2008), 28-31, *passim*.
- <sup>134</sup> "Combining Brewers," *St. Paul Daily Globe* 1889, September 16, 1.
- <sup>135</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1891, July 26, 6.
- <sup>136</sup> "Pabst Beer in New York," *Washington Sentinel* 1900, Aug 11, 3. The Hollender Company had started to sell a "Milwaukee Beer" in New York.
- <sup>137</sup> *Washington Sentinel* 1900, October 27, 3; *Washington Sentinel* 1901, March 23, 3.
- <sup>138</sup> "Pabst-Schlitz," *St. Paul Globe* 1896, March 26, 7.
- <sup>139</sup> "Chicago gegen St. Louis," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1897, June 16, 5.
- <sup>140</sup> "Combine in Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, November 28, 1.
- <sup>141</sup> *American Brewers' Review* 17 (1903), 109.
- <sup>142</sup> Comp. Christina Lubinski, *Familienunternehmen in Westdeutschland: Corporate Governance und Gesellschafterkultur seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2010), 11-14.
- <sup>143</sup> Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge and London: Belknap 1977).

<sup>144</sup> In 2011, family businesses employed 63% of the U.S. labor force and generated 57% of the Gross National Product (*Annual Family Business Survey: General Results & Conclusions. March 2011*, ed. by Family Enterprise USA (s.l., 2011), 1). The numbers of 2013 *Survey of Family Business*, ed. by CBIA (s.l., 2013), 2 were 60% res. 50%.

<sup>145</sup> Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "Integration and Diversification as Business Strategies—An Historical Analysis [1959]," *Business and Economic History*, 2nd ser. 19 (1990), 65-73.

<sup>146</sup> Kevin M. Cullen, "Rediscovering Milwaukee's historic breweries. Part I: Milwaukee's downtown breweries," *Brewery History* 140 (2011), 71-86.

<sup>147</sup> Magee (2014), 11.

<sup>148</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 124.

<sup>149</sup> To get an idea of the early production facilities s. Susan K. Appel, "Pre-Prohibition Breweries – A Midwestern View," *Journal of the Brewery History Society* 136 (2010), 2-21, esp. 9-10 (images of Jacob Best's Old Brewery and Adam Lemp's first brew house and lagering cellar).

<sup>150</sup> "Schlitz Started on Chestnut St. in 1849," *Milwaukee Journal* 1936, September 30.

<sup>151</sup> Usher (1914), 951.

<sup>152</sup> Schlitz's quite remarkable property consists mostly of plots of lands of the later place of the new brewery. There was, however, a lack of mobile investment capital.

<sup>153</sup> Jerry Apps, *Breweries of Wisconsin*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 102; *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin*, ed. by the Western Historical Co. 1881, 1463 "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>154</sup> Magee (2014), 93.

<sup>155</sup> It is quite likely that this standard narrative of nearly every contribution to the history of the Schlitz Company during the last decades results from a 1971 marketing campaign, when Schlitz introduced a commemorative Schlitz beer mug/stein depicting the Chicago Fire in 1871 and invented the tradition of generous support for the Chicagoans.

<sup>156</sup> Bob Skilnik, *Beer: A History of Brewing in Chicago* (Fort Lee: Barricade Books, 2006), 24.

<sup>157</sup> A[lfred] T[hodore] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. III (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1886, 580).

<sup>158</sup> Chicago's changing position is analyzed by William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1992), esp. 324-33.

<sup>159</sup> Uihlein (1917), 46: "Mit der Zeit kamen auch Chicagos Brauereien wieder in Betrieb und da in Folge dessen Preise recht gedrückt waren blieben wir auf Errichtung von Agenturen über die ganzen Ver. Staaten angewiesen."

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. Uihlein talked of "Zalungsversprechen (notes);" *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin*, ed. by the Western Historical Co. 1881, 1463. I haven't found any official announcement of the incorporation in early 1874.

<sup>161</sup> Jos[eph] Schlitz, "Last Will and Testament" (undated). This transcript of the will was given to the GHI's Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project by Nancy A. McCaslin, Cassopolis, Michigan. Astonishingly Schlitz gave his age as 44, but he died at the age of 43. He also named August Uihlein (and Henry Magdeburg, the executors) "friends" (ibid., page 5869).

<sup>162</sup> Numbers of employees are only available randomly: In 1878, the company employed nearly 125 people; and more than 500 in 1885 ("Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8; *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 127).

<sup>163</sup> *Janesville Daily Gazette* 1885, May 22, 1.

<sup>164</sup> Victor J. Tremblay and Carol Horton Tremblay, *The U.S. Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis* (Boston: MIT Press, 2005), 86. Schlitz announced already in 1891 that the



new production facilities had a capacity of one million barrels per year.

<sup>165</sup> *Fort Wayne News* 1902, Dec 20, 29.

<sup>166</sup> Martin Stack, "Local and Regional Breweries in America's Brewing Industry, 1865 to 1920," *Business History Review* 74 (2000), 435-63, esp. 450.

<sup>167</sup> *Milwaukee's Great Enterprises*, ed. by W[illiam] J[ohn] Anderson and Julius Bleyer (Milwaukee: Association for the Advancement of Milwaukee, 1892), 237.

<sup>168</sup> For a more detailed view s. Martin Stack, "Was Big Beautiful? The Rise of National Breweries in America's Pre-Prohibition Brewing Industry," *Journal of Macromarketing* 30 (2010), 50-60.

<sup>169</sup> Jos[eph] Schlitz, "Last Will and Testament" (undated), page 5873; "Heirs Given a Brewery," *Milwaukee Journal* 1887, January 25, 4.

<sup>170</sup> "A Widow's Will: The Schlitz Brewery Property Deeded to Many Heirs," *Daily Northwestern* 1887, January 26, 1.

<sup>171</sup> "Ziegler's Saloon," *The Times-Picayune* 1875, November 7, 8.

<sup>172</sup> Uihlein (1917), 48.

<sup>173</sup> "Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8.

<sup>174</sup> "Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1880, Jan 1, 5.

<sup>175</sup> For more information s. Mike Reilly, "Refrigerator Cars (Reefers) History," <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/reefers.htm> [2014/03/02]

<sup>176</sup> "Gould's Big Plan," *Kansas City Times* 1891, March 12, 11.

<sup>177</sup> *Morning Oregonian* 1878, July 22, 2; Garth Ziegenhagen, "Gambrinus Brewery named after Mythical German King Gambrinus, Inventor of Brewing and the Toast," *Bottles and Extras* 21 (2011), no. 6, 59-60, here 59.

<sup>178</sup> "The Popular Resort," *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* 1878, August 31, 3.

<sup>179</sup> "Among the Brewers," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1880, April 20, 4.

<sup>180</sup> *Western Brewer* 31 (1906), 524.

<sup>181</sup> It is wrong, that Schlitz built a satellite brewery in Cleveland, Ohio, "from the scratch" in 1908 (Bill Yenne, *Great American Beers: Twelve Brands that became Icons* (St. Paul: MBI, 2004), 153). This is not mentioned in Robert A. Musson, *Brewing in Cleveland* (Charleston et al.: Arcadia, 2005) and the local newspapers at that time.

<sup>182</sup> *Davenport Daily Leader* 1901, April 1, 4.

<sup>183</sup> "Beer Purchases Being Probed," *State* [Columbia, SC] 1908, January 31, 3.

<sup>184</sup> (Former) Schlitz Brewery-Tied House (now Mac's American Pub) 1801 W. Division Street: Final Landmark Recommendation adopted by the Commission on Chicago Landmarks, March 3, 2011, 21. Tied-Houses were the functional equivalent of sales shops for manufacturers. Schlitz's remaining saloons today among "the finest early examples of signage integrated with architecture in America" (Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphic along America's Commercial Corridors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP: 2012), 57)

<sup>185</sup> "Beer War in Cleveland," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1898, Dec 21, 4.

<sup>186</sup> "Sandusky Beer Appreciated," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, January 6, 1; "The Saloon Trust," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, February 1, 1.

<sup>187</sup> "Beer War Coming," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, February 18, 1; "Brewers at War," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, March 11, 1.

<sup>188</sup> *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, May 26, 4.

<sup>189</sup> "Ein Bier-Krieg," *Indiana-Tribüne* 1902, Dec 19, 5.

<sup>190</sup> *Daily Milwaukee News* 1878, December 29, 4.

<sup>191</sup> "Among the Brewers," *Milwaukee Journal of Commerce* 1880, April 21, 3.

<sup>192</sup> The Fred. W. Wolf Co., incorporated in 1887 in Chicago, built more than 1,200 Wolf-Linde machines before the death of the founder and president of the company ("Fred W. Wolf, Deceased," *Western Brewer* 30 (1912), 129; "Fred W. Wolf," *Cold Storage and Ice Trade Journal*

44 (1912), no. 3, 75).

<sup>193</sup> *Weekly Wisconsin* 1881, November 23, 4.

<sup>194</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 126.

<sup>195</sup> "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>196</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 185-186, here 185 (186 for the following).

<sup>197</sup> *Der Nordstern* 1884, Jun 4, 8: "eigens zur Verwendung als Flaschenbier gebraut."

<sup>198</sup> "Important to Families," *Galveston Daily News* 1882, August 21, 4.

<sup>199</sup> An overview is given by Tom Feters, "Packaging: A Historical Perspective," in *Handbook of Brewing*, 2nd ed., ed. by Fergus G. Priest and Graham G. Steward (Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 551-61.

<sup>200</sup> *Western Brewer* 49 (1917), 23. Alfred H. Wehmiller (1874-1927) was a second generation German immigrant entrepreneur from St. Louis, who joined the company founded in 1885 by his brother-in-law Thomas J. Barry in 1895. First engaged in malt transport machines, they became a leading producer of packaging machines. In 2013, Barry-Wehmiller employed 7000 people and had a turnover of \$1.5 billion.

<sup>201</sup> "The Boss Brewery," *Daily Illinois State Register* 1882, April 26, 3.

<sup>202</sup> *The Helena Independent* 1891, May 31, 7.

<sup>203</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 126. At that time William T. Coleman, the father of the town of San Rafael and notorious for his anti-labor and anti-Chinese politics, was the dominant business partner in the West.

<sup>204</sup> *Chicago Eagle* 1894, July 28, 11.

<sup>205</sup> For a taste of such struggles s. Uwe Spiekermann, "Dangerous Meat? German-American Quarrels over Pork and Beef, 1870-1900," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 46 (2010), 93-110.

<sup>206</sup> "Idaho Hops," *Idaho Statesman* 1901, January 31, 4; "We Go to Bohemia for Hops," *Harper's Weekly* 47 (1903), 1240.

<sup>207</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1904, March 11, 11.

<sup>208</sup> "Vergleichende Material-Verwendung," *Zeitschrift für das gesamte Brauwesen* 25 (1902), 141.

<sup>209</sup> "Beer," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/abcalc/beer> [2011/03/25].

<sup>210</sup> "The Albert Hellwig Process for Drawing Off Wort," *Western Brewer* 33 (1908), 441.

<sup>211</sup> *Western Brewer* 33 (1908), 224.

<sup>212</sup> A good example for the different cultures of innovation was the *de facto* absence of pure yeast in English beer brewing until the 1960s (Ray Anderson, "The Transformation of Brewing: An Overview of Three Centuries of Science and Practice," *Journal of the Brewery History Society* 121 (2005), 5-24, here 10-11). In addition, due to the lack of reliable sources, it is not possible to give details on the use of pasteurization of beer, in use from the early 1880s.

<sup>213</sup> For details s. Uwe Spiekermann, "Marketing Milwaukee: Schlitz and the Making of a National Beer Brand," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 53 (2013), 55-67.

<sup>214</sup> "Milwaukee Beer," *Patriot* [Harrisburg] 1871, August 19, 1.

<sup>215</sup> "To Our Patrons," *Quincy Whig* 1874, May 1, 4.

<sup>216</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1890, May 4, 31.

<sup>217</sup> Louthier S. Horne, "Beer has Milwaukee Smiling and Booming," *New York Times* 1933, April 2, XX2.

<sup>218</sup> It is difficult to judge fairly about the year of introduction. "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: Trademarks," <http://www.slabs.org/schlitz/trademarks.htm> [2011/01/26] is helpful but not always reliable. The first entry in the newspaper databases "Chronicling America" and



"newspapers.com" is in *The Labor World* 1896, April 11, 24. The use in journals started even later. In addition, this slogan was surely not a result of Schlitz's engagement after the Chicago Fire in 1871.

<sup>219</sup> *Los Angeles Daily Herald* 1887, March 21, 10; *Omaha Daily Bee* 1888, June 17, 13; *Roanoke Times* 1892, Jul 2, 4.

<sup>220</sup> *Oakland Tribune* 1880, February 24, 3, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1879, March 8, 1; *Philadelphia Times* 1877, April 27, 3.

<sup>221</sup> The Atlas-Bräu campaign in summer 1895 did not yet use the slogan, although it included the global belt (*Times-Picayune* 1895, July 16, 3).

<sup>222</sup> *Bay City Times* 1892, Jun 18, 6.

<sup>223</sup> *Nebraska State Journal* 1901, May 5, 17.

<sup>224</sup> Although the Schlitz Company stressed that their efforts doubled "the necessary costs" for brewing (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 1902, Dec 2, 2), it was claimed that Schlitz beer would cost no more than other beers (*Nevada State Journal* 1903, May 2, 2).

<sup>225</sup> Schmahl (2000), 252, footnote 1062.

<sup>226</sup> "Schlitz 'Believes in Signs,'" *Charles Austin Bates Criticisms* 2 (1897), 154-55.

<sup>227</sup> *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1896, August 13, 2.

<sup>228</sup> Joseph Schlitz, for instance, was a member of the resolution committee, a vice-president, a member of the committee of agitation and the committee of resolutions (*Documentary History of the United States Brewers' Association*, p. 1 (New York: U.S. Brewers' Association, 1896), 229, 296).

<sup>229</sup> "Will Fight the 'Combine,'" *New Castle Daily City News* 1889, Sep 16, 4; "Beer Revolt is on," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1897, October 15, 1 (in the latter case together with Yankee and Italian immigrant entrepreneurs).

<sup>230</sup> "Chicago Beer in Milwaukee," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1890, August 12, 3.

<sup>231</sup> "To Our Customers," *Inter Ocean* 1890, July 25, 8.

<sup>232</sup> "Heavy Cut in Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, May 1, 6.

<sup>233</sup> *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1894, August 5, 18.

<sup>234</sup> "The Beer War at Racine," *Daily Northwestern* 1896, Feb 14, 4.

<sup>235</sup> Gunnar Mickelsen, "Magic of Brewer's Art Led Frederick Miller to Menomonee Valley and Fame," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1932, January 24.

<sup>236</sup> Comp. "A Brewery Boycott," *Duluth Daily News* 1887 November 25, 1; "Opposed to the Union," *Daily Inter Ocean* 1888, January 25, 3; "Hodcarriers' Strike to Go On," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1896, August 8, 3; "Even 'Boodle' was Charged," *Altoona Tribune* 1896, December 16, 1; "Blow at Union Labor," *Logansport Reporter* 1898, June 2, 1; "Strike at Schlitz Brewery Deferred," *Inter Ocean* 1901, August 30, 7.

<sup>237</sup> "Schlitz Beer is Union Made," *Elkhart Truth* 1904, March 5, 5.

<sup>238</sup> Bruce (1922), 770.

<sup>239</sup> Elizabeth Jozwiak, "Bottoms Up: The Socialist Fight for the Workingman's Saloon," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 90 (2006/07), no. 2, 12-23, esp. 17-19.

<sup>240</sup> Perry Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Chicago: Illini, 1999), 41.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-43.

<sup>242</sup> For details s. Joseph P. Schwieterman and Dana M. Caspall, *The Politics of Place: A History of Zoning in Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), esp. chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>243</sup> "Beer Park," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1879, July 8, 6.

<sup>244</sup> *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 118. See also Larry Widen, *Entertainment in Early Milwaukee* (Charleston et al.: Arcadia, 2007), 30-31.

<sup>245</sup> Schlitz Park was for a long time Milwaukee's leading resort but it was not exceptional: Blatz Park or Pleasant Valley Resort on the Milwaukee River and Pabst Park on 3rd and

Burleigh Streets offered alternatives (Larry Widen, *Vintage Milwaukee Postcards* (Milwaukee: Apple Core, 2005), 30).

<sup>246</sup> "Schlitz Pavilion, Once City Bright Spot, to Be Wrecked," *Milwaukee Journal* 1923, May 31.

<sup>247</sup> Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluß des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Milwaukee: Deutsche Gesellschaft, 1902), 107.

<sup>248</sup> "Did not Run the Cars," *Chanute Daily Tribune* 1896, May 19, 1.

<sup>249</sup> *Kentucky Irish American* 1904, Aug 27, 3.

<sup>250</sup> Thomas H. Fehring, *Whitefish Bay* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2010).

<sup>251</sup> On the German beer gardens in Milwaukee s. *History of Milwaukee City and County*, ed. by William George Bruce, vol. 1 (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 768-69, 782-83. Another Schlitz Palm Garden opened in 1897 in Omaha, Nebraska ("Schlitz Co. Palm Garden," *Omaha World Herald* 1897, February 3, 2; *Nebraska State Journal* 1897, August 21, 2)

<sup>252</sup> Comp. Heinrich Wagner, "Schank- und Speise-Local, Kaffeehäuser und Restaurants," in *Handbuch der Architektur*, ed. by Josef Durm et al., part 4, half-vol. 4 (Darmstadt: J.Ph. Diehl, 1885), 3-94, here 32-39.

<sup>253</sup> "When Old-timers Get Together They Talk of Palm Garden Days," *Milwaukee Journal* 1937, July 14, 17, 19, here 17.

<sup>254</sup> "Palm Garden," *Daily Palladium* 1902, April 17, 8.

<sup>255</sup> "Famous Beer Garden to be Revived in Milwaukee," *Chester Times* 1933, March 31, 20.

<sup>256</sup> Of course, this world had still strict rules. Although advertised as a "First-Class Family Resort," the management of the Schlitz Palm Garden in Suburbanite, Ill., ruled: "Objectional and disorderly persons not allowed, and no ladies without escorts in the evening." (*Suburbanite Economist* 1908, March 13, 5)

<sup>257</sup> *Centralia Enterprise and Tribune* 1897, March 30, 9; "Long Distance Telephone," *Semi-Weekly Cedar Falls Gazette* 1898, February 11, 5.

<sup>258</sup> "Schlitz Garden Enters History," *Milwaukee Journal* 1921, March 6.

<sup>259</sup> "Wilson in Milwaukee," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 11 (1910/11), 149.

<sup>260</sup> *Racine Journal News* 1915, December 3, 6. In contrast to voices, who felt "suddenly transported into the German fatherland," (Charles Gordon, "Field Day of the Ancients," *National Magazine* 32 (1910), 486-88, here 487) when visiting the Palm Garden, this hybrid mixture was crucial for the institution's success.

<sup>261</sup> "Even Milwaukee's Lid is Clamped Down," *Fort Wayne News* 1915, July 29, 4.

<sup>262</sup> "Van Will Open a Palm Garden," *Sheboygan Daily Press* 1908, May 27, 1.

<sup>263</sup> "Palm Garden to Close its Doors," *Racine Journal News* 1921, March 4, 6.

<sup>264</sup> "Milwaukee Plans Return of Old Time Biergarten," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1933, March 16, 12; "How and Where the Taverns and Palm Gardens Will Operate is Problematical," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, March 24, 26.

<sup>265</sup> "Schlitz Palm Garden to Open Friday Night," *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, March 1, 4.

<sup>266</sup> Comp. *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, October 10, 3; *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, December 29, 3

<sup>267</sup> "Beer on the Rampage," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1874, November 14, 3.

<sup>268</sup> "Fire in Milwaukee," *Goshen Mid-Week News* 1895, June 12, 3.

<sup>269</sup> *The Insurance Year Book* 1901-1902 (New York: Spectator, 1901), 219.

<sup>270</sup> *Wisconsin Encyclopedia* 2008-2009, vol. 1 (Hamburg, MI: State History Publications, 2008), 156.

<sup>271</sup> "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>272</sup> The Schlitz Company paid \$500 in 1885. This caused some astonishment in the German-American community, especially because other breweries acted similarly (*Der Deutsche*



*Family Ties in Beer Business: August Krug, Joseph Schlitz and the Uihleins*

*Correspondent* 1885, Jul 15, 2).

<sup>273</sup> "A Milwaukee Brewery Makes Unusual Offer to Mrs. Carrie Nation," *Saginaw News* 1901, February 13, 6; "Mrs. Carrie Nation Accepts with an Axe," *Forth Worth Morning Register* 1901, February 16.

<sup>274</sup> *American Brewers' Review* 23 (1909), 108-9; the tenor of the advertisement was: "Malted barley is digested food. Hops are a tonic—also an aid to sleep. That's what you get in beer. That's why the doctor says 'drink beer' when one lacks vitality" (*Washington Evening Star* 1908, June 16, 8).

<sup>275</sup> Daniel Okrent's statement (in his book *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York et al.: Scribner: 2010), 63), that the "brewers' tactics had been self-defeating almost to the point of idiocy," cannot be restricted to their opposition to women's suffrage, he referred to.

<sup>276</sup> *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 658.

<sup>277</sup> The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co. held \$300 of the capital stock (of \$40,000) of the German language newspaper *Banner & Volksfreund* in 1880 ("A Sudden Death," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1880, May 12, 4).

<sup>278</sup> *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. I, ed. by William George Bruce (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 357.

<sup>279</sup> *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee*, compiled by W[illiam] J. Langson (Milwaukee: Evening Wisconsin Co., 1905), 42; *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the City Milwaukee*, compiled by H[arry] A. Plumb (Milwaukee: Radtke Bros. & Kortsch Co., 1918), 70.

<sup>280</sup> "Mr. Beers in Milwaukee," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1891, November 2, 3. On the international dimension on this white collar crime, s. "Sale of Shares by Alleged Misrepresentation," *Post Magazine and Insurance Report* 61 (1900), 180-86.

<sup>281</sup> "Brewing Company 'Selling Out,'" *Daily Register Gazette* 1923, June 20, 6.

<sup>282</sup> *American Brewers' Review* 23 (1909), 224.

<sup>283</sup> "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Morning-Issue, 1.

<sup>284</sup> *Inter Ocean* 1891, July 26, 13; "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

<sup>285</sup> *Plain Dealer* 1912, Nov 17, 5B.

<sup>286</sup> "Touring the Valley," *New Mexican* 1896, Dec 6, 4.

<sup>287</sup> *Salt Lake Herald* 1897, June 20, 7. It is very doubtful that the company has ever reached this output because irrigation and crop supply problems couldn't be solved.

<sup>288</sup> *United States of America, Petitioner, against The American Sugar Refining Company, et al., Defendants*, vol. I (New York: Hamilton Print, 1912), 128-31; *Willet & Gray's Weekly Statistical Sugar Trade Journal* 27 (1903), no. 20, May 21, 5.

<sup>289</sup> S. the nuanced analysis by Welskopp (2010), 33-50.

<sup>290</sup> *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda, and Bolshevik Propaganda*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 1.

<sup>291</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1880, Jan 25, 8.

<sup>292</sup> *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1895, May 21, 2.

<sup>293</sup> "Anent the Illinois Tournament," *Dixon Evening Telegraph* 1898, July 15, 4; *Algona Courier* 1898, December 30, 4.

<sup>294</sup> "Cottages for Veterans," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1888, December 14, 4; "Day for Prize Shooting Changed," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, September 22, 2.

<sup>295</sup> *Documentary History of the United States Brewers' Association*, p. 1 (New York: U.S. Brewers' Association, 1896), 91.

<sup>296</sup> *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1883, March 2, 8.

<sup>297</sup> "Death List may Reach 10,000," *Humeston New Era* 1900, Sep 19, 7.

- <sup>298</sup> "Brewers as Educators," *Washington Times* 1896, Feb 18, 8.
- <sup>299</sup> "Sure of Funds," *San Francisco Chronicle* 1893, August 7, 3.
- <sup>300</sup> *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 46. The event of reference was the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, when U.S. battleships destroyed the Spanish Navy's Caribbean Squadron.
- <sup>301</sup> *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 141; *ibid.*, 262
- <sup>302</sup> "Who Stole the Beer?" *Logansport Pharos-Tribune* 1899, January 10, 3.
- <sup>303</sup> "To Christen a Ship with Beer," *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 186. S. also "Novel Suggestion," *Daily Illinois State Journal* 1898, October 30, 3.
- <sup>304</sup> Hense-Jensen and Bruncken (1902), 110-11.
- <sup>305</sup> Ellis Baker Usher, *Wisconsin: Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913*, vol. IV (Chicago and New York: Lewis, 1914), 948.
- <sup>306</sup> "Jolly Crowd Helps Mr. Uihlein Celebrate his Sixtieth Birthday," *Milwaukee Journal* 1902, August 26, 6.
- <sup>307</sup> *The Two Hundred and Seventy-Second Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts* (Norwood, Mass.: J.S. Cushing, 1910), 12.
- <sup>308</sup> Edward G. Uihlein, in *A History of the City of Chicago Its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295.
- <sup>309</sup> *Chicago Securities 1898* (Chicago: Chicago Directory Co., 1898), 192.
- <sup>310</sup> "Will Give Charity Ball Yearly," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, December 22, 4.
- <sup>311</sup> *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 1 (1901), 59.
- <sup>312</sup> *The Art Institute of Chicago: Catalogue of Objects in the Museum*, p. i, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Art Institute, 1896), 53.
- <sup>313</sup> *To Goethe, Mastermind of the German People: Das Goethe-Denkmal in Chicago* (1914), ed. by Martin H. Schmidt (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2014), 62; Donald Krehl, *Monumental Chicago: A Street Guide to the Best of Chicago's Statues, Monuments, and Public Art* (Raleigh: Lulu, 2011), plate 49a.
- <sup>314</sup> *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 1508. His brother William, who contributed \$25, was also listed (*ibid.*, 1511).
- <sup>315</sup> Otto Langguth, "Die Brüder Uihlein oder die Sieben Wertheimer," *Mein Heimatland* 23 (1936), no. 3/4, 116-19, here 118.
- <sup>316</sup> *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikaner für das Jahr 1918* (Chicago: German Yearbook Publishing Company 1917), 153.
- <sup>317</sup> Langguth (1921), 57.
- <sup>318</sup> This motto was officially replaced in 1956 by "In God we trust."
- <sup>319</sup> "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3UI, 3.



*Benjamin Schwantes*

## **Keeping it in the Family: The Schoellkopfs and Serial Entrepreneurship across Generations**

### **Introduction**

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf immigrated to the United States in 1842 and through a combination of thoughtful, strategic decision-making and a fair dose of luck, built a family empire in and around Buffalo, New York, that he passed down to his son and grandsons. Trained in Württemberg as a tanner, he took major risks in the U.S. by venturing into commercial sectors in which he had no knowledge or experience. Yet, by working closely with native-born Americans who were experts in these fields and by sending his children back to Germany for further education, he found himself on the cutting edge of a number of fields including hydroelectric power generation and aniline dye production. His life offers an instructive case study in serial entrepreneurship and illustrates the transatlantic flows of financial and human capital that contributed to the Second Industrial Revolution in the United States during the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### **An Old-World Tanning Tradition**

Jakob Friedrich Schöllkopf was born into an old and established Württemberg tanner family in Kirchheim unter Teck on November 15, 1819. The Schöllkopf family originated from Göppingen, a town approximately twenty-five miles (forty kilometers) east of Stuttgart in what was then the Duchy of Württemberg. They worked as rope-makers in the community until the 1680s when Michael Schöllkopf resettled in nearby Kirchheim.<sup>2</sup> His grandson, Zacharias, was the first member of the family to become a tanner. Zacha-

rias also married a tanner's daughter and thus established the Schoellkopf tanning dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the tanning process involved many steps through which raw hides were processed into reddish brown leather. The flesh needed to be removed from the hides and then they had to be depilated to strip away all hair before they were placed together with acidic tanbark (ground tree bark, typically oak) in pits for several months or sometimes even up to two years. After cleaning and drying the tanned hides, they would be smoothed and dubbined with tallow or oil to condition the hides or colored. The tanning business required capital reserves because tanners often had to process the raw hides for at least a year before the leather would be ready for sale.<sup>4</sup>

Jakob Friedrich's father, Gottlieb Heinrich (1779-1860), married his first wife, the daughter of a knacker, in 1802.<sup>5</sup> However, she died young and he remarried Christina Margaretha Maier, a carpenter's daughter, in 1808. Like his first wife, Christina Margaretha brought a house as dowry into the marriage.<sup>6</sup> When Jakob Friedrich was born to Gottlieb Heinrich and Christiana Margaretha in 1819, the Schöllkopf family was strongly integrated into local economic and social networks. Although Jakob Friedrich eventually had fourteen siblings (four of whom died in infancy), the Schöllkopfs were wealthy and could afford to care for all the children.<sup>7</sup> Besides the two houses that Gottlieb Heinrich received through his wives' dowries, he owned a third along with additional land. When he died in 1860, Gottlieb Heinrich bequeathed assets in the value of 60,000 guilders to his heirs.<sup>8</sup> This sum highlights his business acumen, as he had invested his business profits widely and wisely during his lifetime.<sup>9</sup>

Jakob Friedrich's education began at Kirchheim primary school and he later began a five-year apprenticeship in his father's tanning business at the age of fourteen. At the end of his apprenticeship, he traveled west across the Rhine River to Strasbourg, France, in 1839 to work as an employee at a trading firm for two years. Although it is not known for which company he worked, Jakob Friedrich's stay in Strasbourg hints at his father's connections within the broader tanning and leather trading sector since Strasbourg was the center of the leather trade at the time.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it is possible that Jakob Friedrich obtained information about immigration to the United States in Strasbourg, as the city's location along the Rhine made it an important transit point for immigrants traveling north to ports along the North Sea. It is unclear why he decided to leave his homeland for the United States in 1841 at the age of twenty-two. Emigration from Württemberg to the United States was not very common in 1841 since it was not an unusually bad year in terms of harvest and grain prices. His decision may have been influenced by the fact



that his older brother, Karl Christian, assumed control over the family's tanning business and he would have been forced to work as a journeyman for his brother or seek employment with a master tanner in some other location.<sup>11</sup>

Jakob Friedrich likely chose to leave for the United States through the port of Le Havre, which was, in addition to Antwerp and Rotterdam, the most frequently used port for immigrants leaving the southwestern German lands for North America. The price for passage across the Atlantic was approximately 50 guilders, but the expense of the journey from Kirchheim to Le Havre would have doubled this cost.<sup>12</sup> After seven weeks at sea, Jakob Friedrich arrived in New York in January 1842. Here he stayed for two years, working in a tannery and learning English. After traveling around the midwestern U.S., he settled down in Buffalo, New York, in the spring of 1844. Given the relatively high costs of traveling westwards in the mid-1840s—between \$10 and \$15—and his lack of employment while traveling, it's likely that his father supported him financially during this period.<sup>13</sup>

Jakob Friedrich likely decided to settle in Buffalo for economic and social reasons. The Erie Canal connected the Midwest with the Atlantic seaboard and Buffalo, located at the terminus of the canal on the eastern shore of Lake Erie, was an important transshipment point between canal boats and lake steamers, and later the New York Central Railroad. By the middle of the 1840s, 30,000 people lived in the city.<sup>14</sup> Besides offering fair prospects for retail leather sales, Buffalo was a good location for operating a tanning business. Erie County was well-known for its sheep breeding, so hides were readily available, and tanbark could be obtained from hemlocks in the nearby Pennsylvania forests. Buffalo also had a flourishing German community. In 1855 almost thirty-nine percent of the city's inhabitants came from the German lands, and the community had numerous German-language social institutions including newspapers and societies.<sup>15</sup> Jakob Friedrich, for instance, was one of the early members of the *Liedertafel* singing society.<sup>16</sup> These numerous social institutions would have provided him with an ethnic support network and would have helped him settle into the community.

After establishing his first leather store, listed in the 1844 Buffalo city directory as "Schollkopf Jacob F., leather and finding store" on Mohawk Street near the city's busy waterfront, he bought a tannery on credit outside the city, as well as a sheepskin tannery in Buffalo two years later.<sup>17</sup> The store purchase was likely financed by an 800 guilder loan from his father.<sup>18</sup> Jacob Frederick's businesses prospered and he began to put plans in place for expansion. In 1848, he asked his cousin Friedrich Vogel to leave Württemberg and join him in the United States. Bankrolled by Jacob Frederick, Vogel settled in Milwaukee and opened a tannery in collaboration with another German, Guido Pfister. Vogel also established tanneries in Chicago and Fort Wayne,

Indiana, during the early 1850s. Jacob Frederick maintained a financial stake in these enterprises for a time, but sold his shares in the firms by 1856.<sup>19</sup> Prior to the sale of his interest in the Midwest tanneries, Schoellkopf purchased an additional tannery south of Buffalo in the town of North Evans, New York. Within a decade of his arrival in Buffalo, he had assembled a large leather production and retail distribution network in western New York that would continue to grow and prosper during the Civil War era.<sup>20</sup>

Much of Jacob Frederick's early business success was dependent on financial transfers from his family in Europe. He continued to receive support from his father in the form of loans, which helped to capitalize his business expansion in the decade between 1844 and 1854. In 1845 and again in 1846 Jacob Frederick received a loan of 1000 guilders at a very generous interest rate.<sup>21</sup> The tanning business required large capital investments and usually wouldn't turn a profit for quite a long time, so the money received from his father was absolutely essential in keeping the operation afloat.<sup>22</sup>

By 1847 Jacob Frederick was so well established in his new home that he wrote Christiane Sophie Dürr, a baker's daughter from Kirchheim with whom he had probably gotten engaged before he left for the United States, and asked her to immigrate and marry him. The couple wed on March 12, 1848, in Philadelphia.<sup>23</sup> On the occasion of the marriage, Jacob Frederick received 2,500 guilders as present from his father.<sup>24</sup> In December of 1848, Jacob Frederick and Christiane had their first child, Henry.<sup>25</sup> Over the next twelve years, they would have ten more children (three girls and seven boys), of which seven (including their eldest brother Henry) survived to adulthood.<sup>26</sup> Jacob Frederick's adult sons would join him in his many business ventures and ensure that the Schoellkopf name remained well known in upstate New York throughout the twentieth century.

### **Serial Entrepreneurship**

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf was a serial entrepreneur constantly on the lookout for new business opportunities. Throughout his career he leveraged his existing businesses for the financial or human capital necessary to start new ones. He used profits and capital from his tanning and leather retail businesses to enter the flour milling industry. Later, he acquired the struggling Niagara Falls hydraulic canal from its mortgage holders and completed the construction project. Profits from the sale of land and water rights along the canal were invested into other Schoellkopf enterprises, including the first electrical power generating facility at Niagara Falls. Lastly, he entered the dyestuffs industry when he constructed a plant to produce coal-tar dyes in Buffalo.<sup>27</sup> As Jacob Frederick's sons came of age and acquired sufficient educa-



tion and experience, he integrated them into his businesses, first as junior and later as full partners. After his death in 1899, his surviving sons continued to manage his numerous enterprises.

### *Milling*

After founding leather production and retail enterprises in Buffalo and supporting his extended family's business activities in the Midwest, Jacob Frederick decided to shift some of his capital into a new sector. In the mid-1850s, he took a calculated risk by entering a field in which he had no professional training or experience, flour milling. During the colonial era and early years of the Republic, flour milling had largely been conducted on a small scale in wheat-growing regions by mills serving local populations. These mills tended to be small and staffed by a handful of employees. By the late 1840s, however, a significant flour milling industry had developed in New York State. Rochester, which was located on the Genesee River near the southern shore of Lake Ontario, enjoyed a combination of natural and manmade resources that helped it to emerge as the nation's leading flour producer, the "Flour City," as it became known. Situated near wheat-growing farmland in the Genesee Valley, the city's location along the Genesee River provided it with abundant waterpower for flour mills. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, offered Rochester millers access to inexpensive freight shipping to New York City via canal boat. Unlike millers of an earlier era, Rochester millers produced flour on an industrial scale in large mills with numerous employees and distributed it across great distances to much of the northern Mid-Atlantic region. Other lesser centers of flour milling in New York included Ithaca, Niagara Falls, and the Erie Canal towns of Albany, Lockport, and Jacob Frederick's adopted hometown of Buffalo.<sup>28</sup>

It is unclear why Jacob Frederick decided to invest in the flour industry. His willingness to enter a new field in which he had no practical experience certainly reflected a risk-taking spirit more common among American entrepreneurs than European businessmen of the era. Perhaps he had witnessed the growth of the industry firsthand in the neighboring community of Black Rock during the 1840s and 1850s and had decided that milling would offer a greater return on his investment than leather tanning. In 1845, entrepreneurs Thomas Thornton and Thomas Chester had acquired the Globe Mill in Black Rock from its original proprietor, millwright Stephen W. Howell, and had operated the business profitably. They would later cooperate briefly with Jacob Frederick in his milling activities. In 1857, Schoellkopf purchased land in Black Rock and built the North Buffalo Flouring Mill. Black Rock offered a more advantageous site for a water-powered mill than Buffalo since it was

located along the Erie Canal, which served as a ready-made millrace to power nearby milling operations. Setting up and operating a water-powered flour mill required the services of an experienced millwright to construct the building and a miller to oversee daily operations. These were technical skills that the tanner from Kirchheim would not have possessed, though he may have acquired basic familiarity with small-scale milling during his youth in Württemberg (the earliest large-scale mills in the region, however, were located along the Rhine in Mannheim) or his years living in Buffalo. There is no evidence of who operated the mill during its first decade, but by 1867 Thomas Thornton and Thomas Chester were listed as proprietors. Schoellkopf may have maintained his investment in the milling facility, while allowing these skilled and experienced entrepreneurs to handle day-to-day operations for a cut of the profits.<sup>29</sup>

Schoellkopf's mill used a run of four mill stones to process wheat into flour. This produced flour of average quality that sold at lower prices than finer flour produced at mills with seven or nine stone runs. Despite the lesser quality of his flour, Jacob Frederick's mill was successful and by 1863 he was the third largest producer of flour in Buffalo after the proprietors of the Queen City and Frontier Mills. However, by the end of the Civil War his production totals relative to other regional flour milling concerns such as Thornton & Chester had declined and he had fallen to sixth place. Rather than preserve his capital and exit the milling business, Jacob Frederick decided to double-down on his investment. In 1870, he, Thomas Thornton, and Thomas Chester, acquired a stake in the Frontier Mill, which dramatically increased his flour production capacity. Five years later, Thornton and Chester decided to end their joint investment with Schoellkopf in the Frontier Mill and Jacob Frederick acquired the mortgage on the property outright. Shortly thereafter, he was approached by a young miller named George B. Mathews who offered to operate the mill in partnership with Schoellkopf. Mathews contributed \$3,000 to the partnership and Jacob Frederick agreed to finance the operation for three years in exchange for allowing his third oldest son, Arthur, to be an equal partner in the new enterprise.<sup>30</sup> Mathews insisted on being a named partner in the new business, Schoellkopf & Mathews, arguing that in addition to his capital and milling knowledge, he brought with him connections to wholesalers throughout the region that would give the new firm a leg up on the competition. Schoellkopf's new milling empire got off to a rough start. During the first year of operation, the firm lost approximately \$25,000.<sup>31</sup> The following year, earnings improved dramatically and the Schoellkopf & Mathews partnership made a profit of \$31,000.<sup>32</sup> The third year, the firm added a new mill in Buffalo and profits increased to \$91,000.<sup>33</sup> With the combined output of the three mills, Schoellkopf became the largest



flour producer in western New York.<sup>34</sup>

*Canal Operation and Power Generation*

Not content managing his small flour empire in Buffalo, Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf looked for further expansion opportunities. He eyed the community of Niagara Falls. The cataract at Niagara Falls demonstrated visibly the tremendous power potential offered by the Niagara River as it cascaded through the Niagara Gorge. Millers, however, had limited access to the water in the river. The steep walls of the gorge below the falls made the construction of mill races and mill buildings at the waterline impractical. Instead, in the 1850s entrepreneurs Walter Bryant and Caleb S. Woodhull began constructing a hydraulic canal that would draw off water above the falls and return it to the river approximately half a mile below the falls. They planned to sell lots at the end of the canal to millers and other interested parties who needed access to waterpower. The project had barely gotten off the ground when Bryant and Woodhull went bankrupt and the mortgage on the project was sold to another group of investors who made some progress with the project but could not afford to complete the canal. Credit and manpower shortages during the Civil War hindered further work on the canal and the project languished for the next fifteen years. Eventually one of the mortgage holders foreclosed on the Niagara Falls Canal Company in 1877.<sup>35</sup>

The misfortunes of the hydraulic canal's owners offered Jacob Frederick a chance to acquire a stake in the business and broaden his entrepreneurial focus from pure manufacturing to manufacturing and real estate development. When the mortgage went up for auction on May 1, 1877, he was present to bid on the deed. Schoellkopf had little patience for the bidding process, which began at \$5,000, and announced that he would take the property for \$67,000.<sup>36</sup> This provoked considerable consternation in the audience and the auction was adjourned for a lunch break. Once the auction resumed, only one other bidder remained to challenge Schoellkopf. The final purchase price was \$71,000, which Schoellkopf paid in cash to the canal's bankrupt owner.<sup>37</sup> The purchase seemed like a questionable investment, even for someone as successful as Jacob Frederick. The project had ruined all previous owners and twenty-three years after work had started on the canal it still had not been completed. Schoellkopf did not let these facts deter him from taking a major risk by investing in the canal and forming a partnership with one of the mortgage holders and two former owners. He renamed the project the Niagara Falls Canal Company, and began soliciting investors to purchase factory and mill lots and secure rights to the waterpower of the canal. Jacob Frederick and George Mathews offered an example to potential investors by

building a flour mill near the end of the canal where the water tumbled over the ravine and back into the Niagara River. A few years later, Schoellkopf and Mathews organized the Central Milling Company to operate the Niagara mill and constructed a second mill on the site. Mathews served as company president of the new business while continuing to serve as a partner in the original Schoellkopf & Mathews milling enterprise.<sup>38</sup>

A year after investing in the hydraulic canal project, Schoellkopf incorporated the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company under the laws of the state of New York. In 1879, Jacob Frederick bought out one of the other major investors in the canal and turned his shares in the project and the real property owned by the canal company over to the new corporation. He assumed the presidency of the company, while George Mathews served as a director. Schoellkopf's son, Arthur, was appointed as secretary and treasurer, while also serving as general manager. Arthur, in his early twenties with degrees from St. Joseph's College and Bryant and Stratton Business College, handled much of the day-to-day business of the new company. In addition to his degrees, he already had four years of experience working in his father's flour milling enterprise and applied his knowledge and skills to the new business of selling property and waterpower rights. He and his father were eventually able to persuade a number of businessmen to build factories along the waterway including two pulp and paper mills and the Oneida Community silverplating plant.<sup>39</sup>

All the mills located along the hydraulic canal used a gravity-fed system of water acting on wooden and later cast-iron wheels or turbines to power their machinery. Water was fed from the canal into sluiceways and then fell onto the wheels or turbines before exiting the mill via a tail race tunnel built into the side of the cliff. A consistent supply of water was critical to keep the mechanical power generating equipment running smoothly. More water in the canal also meant more potential power available to mills and other factories along the canal. By 1881 Jacob Frederick and Arthur had decided to deepen the eleven-foot-deep canal to fourteen feet in order to increase the flow of water through the project. Jacob Frederick was also intrigued by the idea of using the water from his canal to generate other forms of power, which he could then sell at a profit. Late in 1881, Jacob Frederick oversaw the installation of a water-powered dynamo that generated enough electrical current to light up lamps both nearby and over two miles away at Prospect Park on the edge of the falls. The success of the experiment convinced Jacob Frederick and Arthur to continue developing a hydroelectric power generation facility on a larger scale that could provide direct current to nearby factories for illumination. They repurposed one of the pulp mills built along the canal into a power plant by installing generators to produce electricity.<sup>40</sup> By constructing a



power plant at the base of the cliff, they obtained a one-hundred-twenty-foot head of water to power the turbines attached to the generators. They named the new facility Station Number One. They also organized a new company in partnership with electrical lighting pioneer Charles Brush, the Brush Electric Light and Power Company, to provide arc lights to customers and oversee electrical power generation and transmission in the community of Niagara Falls.<sup>41</sup>

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's interconnected enterprises at Niagara Falls prospered during the 1880s, but beginning in 1884 he and his firms were ensnared in a twelve-year legal battle over the companies' right to use and sell water from the Niagara River and the hydraulic canal's broader impact on the sublimity of the falls.<sup>42</sup> Business rivals brought these matters before the New York state government and argued that the Niagara River was a state waterway and businesses could only draw water from the river with state approval. A commission investigated the matter and sided with Schoellkopf's opponents, concluding that the canal and power plant should be closed. The matter remained in limbo for nearly a decade until Jacob Frederick raised the issue at a state constitutional convention, which met in 1894. The seventy-five-year-old's petition was rejected on the recommendation of New York's attorney general, Republican Theodore E. Hancock. Schoellkopf continued to press the matter until the New York Assembly passed a special act in May 1896 that confirmed the right of Schoellkopf's Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company to draw off and sell water from the Niagara River.<sup>43</sup>

Two years before he secured state sanction to continue operating the hydraulic canal, Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf began expanding the power generation capability of his facilities at Niagara Falls. He may have been confident that he would eventually prevail in his conflict over water rights, or he may have concluded that he would be compensated for the property if New York ultimately refused to allow him to draw water from the river. The first part of the new Power Station Two went online in November of 1896 and the whole project was completed in 1904, four years after his death, by Arthur Schoellkopf, who served as director of operations, and George Mathews, now president of the company. The second power station used a much more modern generating arrangement with a combination of vertical water drop and horizontal intakes from the river. Rather than upgrade the original generating station, the Schoellkopfs sold the facility to the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Electric Light and Power Company a few months before the newer power station was opened.<sup>44</sup>

Facing competition from investors such as J. P. Morgan and William Vanderbilt who were supporting the Niagara Falls Power Company's efforts

to build hydroelectric facilities at Niagara Falls to provide power to Buffalo and other parts of New York, George Mathews and Arthur Schoellkopf began work on a third power station once the second one was completed in 1904. The 3-A Station opened in 1914 and produced four times as much power as the second power station. Mathews and the Schoellkopf family eventually decided to seek an accommodation with one of their competitors, the Niagara Falls Power Company, and consolidate ownership of both firms as the Hydraulic Power Company of Niagara Falls with six members of the Schoellkopf family serving on the board of directors for the firm. Finally, in October of 1918, under pressure from the federal government due to wartime demands for power, the Schoellkopfs' merged their power generation companies with the Niagara Falls Power Company creating a new firm that retained the name of the later company. A decade later, another round of mergers brought about the Niagara Hudson Power Corporation, in which the family maintained a significant investment. Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's 1881 experiment in generating hydroelectric power for lighting had helped to bring about the development of a major power utility that produced and distributed electricity for much of New York State by the end of the 1920s.<sup>45</sup>

### *Chemical Production*

In 1879, at the same time that work had just gotten underway on the still-unproven hydraulic canal project in Niagara Falls, Jacob Frederick entered another fledgling market when he founded the Schoellkopf Aniline & Chemical Co. in Buffalo. Schoellkopf intended for the new company to produce synthetic coal-tar dyes, a product much in demand by American textile manufacturers at the time. German chemists and manufacturers had largely pioneered and facilitated the development of the aniline dyestuffs industry and held closely the scientific and engineering knowledge necessary to produce colorfast, high-quality dye products in industrial quantities. They also produced many of the chemical intermediaries that were necessary for making dyes, including toluene, caustic soda, sodium nitrate, methanol, and other chemicals. Jacob Frederick founded the firm, ostensibly, to give his sons Jacob Frederick Jr. and Charles P. Hugo, who were studying chemistry in Germany at the time (in Munich and at the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart<sup>46</sup> in the case of Jacob Frederick Jr. and at the Stuttgart Oberschule and then the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart in the case of C. P. Hugo) a source of employment in their area of expertise when they returned to the U.S. after their studies. Jacob Frederick recognized the firm's economic potential if it could produce dyes domestically that rivaled imported German dyes in quality since high tariffs on German dyestuffs at the time meant that



domestically produced dyes would be significantly less expensive than German equivalents.<sup>47</sup> He may also have seen establishing a business for Jacob Frederick Jr. and C. P. Hugo as a practical means for transferring German dye-stuff technologies, via his sons, to the American market.

Jacob Frederick Jr. began work at his father's new firm once he returned from Germany in 1880 and his brother assumed managerial responsibilities after he returned home five years later. The company's facilities along the Buffalo River near the Port of Buffalo expanded significantly under Jacob Frederick Jr.'s oversight and the company began producing a variety of dyestuffs using intermediaries imported from Germany. Unlike numerous other fledgling American dyestuffs manufacturers, the firm survived the Tariff of 1883 which slashed import duties on dyes from Germany. Whether this was due to continued financial support from the elder Jacob Frederick is not known. Jacob Frederick was not quite ready for his two sons to take over full managerial responsibility for the firm quite yet and let them focus on the scientific and technical challenges of dye manufacturing instead. He hired German chemist Frederick Koehler, who had worked for German aniline dry manufacturer BASF (Badische Anilin- & Soda-Fabrik) from 1874 to 1883, to consult with his sons on the production of aniline dyes, while he handled broader strategic business matters. Jacob Frederick arranged for the creation of a separate sales firm, Schoellkopf, Hartford and MacLagen Company, to market Schoellkopf Aniline products and served as the company's president. He later organized a separate sales firm with a family friend, William W. Hanna, and also served as president of the new Hanna-Schoellkopf Company. One must also keep in mind that Jacob Frederick was managing these firms at the same time that he was involved with his milling and hydroelectric power ventures. In the case of the latter two, though, he had significant assistance from George Mathews and Arthur Schoellkopf.<sup>48</sup>

### **Generational Succession in the Schoellkopf Enterprises**

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's deliberate efforts to integrate his sons into the management of his various enterprises once they reached their majority eased the succession process following his death in 1899 at the age of 79. Generational successions, especially ones following the death of a family patriarch, are often traumatic periods in the evolution of family firms and can lead to deep conflicts between family members over firm leadership and direction.<sup>49</sup> In each of the businesses he founded, sons and trusted business partners took over day-to-day management well before Jacob Frederick's death and continued to run the firms or serve as directors for decades thereafter, thereby safeguarding the family's financial interests. This was necessary

since Jacob Frederick was so busy founding new enterprises in the late 1870s and early 1880s that he simply did not have time to give each firm an equal level of personal attention. He may also have viewed his serial entrepreneurship as a means for ensuring that all his sons received a business for which they had training to operate and that which they could call their own, an opportunity he had not received as a youth since his elder brother took over the family's tanning enterprise.

Jacob Frederick's oldest son, Henry, passed away in 1880, nearly twenty years before his father, but between 1870 and 1880 he worked as a partner in Jacob Frederick's various tanning enterprises and also assisted the Vogel family with its tannery operations in the Midwest. Likewise, Louis, who passed away two years after his father, became a partner in the leather business, J. F. Schoellkopf & Sons, and also helped manage some of the other family enterprises in Niagara Falls including the Hydraulic Power & Manufacturing Company. Another Schoellkopf son, Alfred, also worked in the Jacob Frederick's tannery businesses and became a senior partner together with his brother-in-law, Hans Schmidt (the husband of youngest child Helen Schoellkopf), in J. F. Schoellkopf & Sons after his father's death. He died a few months after his older brother Louis.

Arthur Schoellkopf, one of Jacob Frederick's longer lived sons, continued to be involved with the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company until his death in 1913, just one year before the company's third power plant went online. Arthur also played an important role as a civic booster in Niagara Falls. He built the first public transit system in the town in the early 1880s using horse-drawn trollies and served as a president or officer for a number of other local concerns including the International Hotel Co. and the Niagara Falls Milling Co.

Jacob Frederick Jr. and C. P. Hugo continued to expand the family's chemical enterprise after 1899. They consolidated Schoellkopf Aniline, Schoellkopf, Hartford, and Maclagen Company, and Hanna-Schoellkopf and incorporated a new firm, Schoellkopf, Hartford and Hanna Company. Jacob Frederick Jr. assumed the presidency of the firm and C. P. Hugo became treasurer. Various other members of the Schoellkopf family's extended business network also became officers or directors at the firm. Schoellkopf, Hartford and Hanna remained profitable throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, despite fierce competition from German and domestic chemical manufacturers. The firm even developed a black dye that was superior to German dyes of the era and licensed the patent to German manufactures for a significant profit. Congress continued to maintain low import tariffs on German dyestuffs, however, which made competing with German firms on price alone very challenging. The firm also remained dependent on some



German intermediary chemicals in order to manufacture dyes, and like other domestic manufacturers of coal-tar dyes was vulnerable in the event that German supplies were disrupted due to embargos or war.<sup>50</sup> Jacob Frederick Jr. raised these matters in testimony before Congress in 1908, noting that the company's production of coal-tar products had increased 280 percent between 1900 and 1906, but that profits had declined below the levels earned in 1900. He pointed out the inconsistency of assessing high tariffs on imported intermediary chemicals while maintaining low tariffs on dyes. Schoellkopf also complained that German firms manipulated the U.S. chemical market by charging high prices on certain dyestuffs not produced in the U.S., and then undercutting domestic manufacturers by slashing prices on the dyestuffs once they began to be produced domestically. He encouraged Congress to raise tariffs on German products to a much higher rate (forty percent was one figure suggested) in order to protect fledgling, domestic aniline dye manufacturers and promote the development of an independent chemical industry that might one day be competitive against German firms. He raised the same concerns in 1913 before the House Ways and Means Committee but Congress once again elected to support domestic textile manufacturers in the South, who craved inexpensive, imported Germany dyes, over aniline chemical manufacturers in the Northeast.<sup>51</sup>

The outbreak of World War I in August 1914 disrupted German shipments of dyestuffs and intermediaries. Anticipating further disruptions as the war continued, Jacob Frederick Jr. and C. P. Hugo began to expand Schoellkopf Aniline to produce chemical intermediaries. Early efforts achieved limited success but the Schoellkopf brothers continued to work on the problem, establishing new companies to focus on the production of individual intermediaries such as benzidine and sulphuric acid. They even expanded into other types of dye including sulphur blacks and methylene blues. The disruption of German imports after 1914 led to a brief boom in the domestic dyestuffs industry and by 1917 competition had become cutthroat. The Schoellkopf brothers approached the leaders of six other firms and proposed a merger to lower costs and increase sales. The new, vertically-integrated firm, National Aniline and Chemical Company, prospered and Jacob Frederick Jr. served as president for its first year of operation and then continued as a board member along with his son, Jacob Frederick III, and his brother C. P. Hugo. Given the success of the Schoellkopf's Buffalo plant in producing aniline dyes, National Aniline concentrated all aniline dye production there. Jacob Frederick Jr., C. P. Hugo, and Jacob Frederick III resigned from the board of directors for National Aniline in 1920 in order to focus their attention on the family's profitable power generation business at Niagara Falls (Jacob Frederick Jr. had succeeded Mathews as head of the power firm in 1914). In 1921, a

second American chemical industry consolidation took place and National Aniline merged with four other firms to create the highly-integrated Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation. Allied Chemical competed with three other major chemical firms in the U.S.: Du Pont, American Cyanamid, and later the General Aniline Works, which was wholly owned by German industrial combine I. G. Farben despite efforts by the U.S. government to restrict German firms from reentering the U.S. market after World War I.<sup>52</sup>

Following the formation of the Niagara Falls Power Company in 1918, Jacob Frederick Jr. was elected chairman of the board for the corporation, a position that he held for eighteen years. Jacob Frederick III, Paul Arthur (the son of Arthur Schoellkopf), and other third-generation members of the family also continued to be involved as directors and stockholders of the company. In 1929, they organized the Niagara Share Corporation as a trust for all stock owned by family members. The firm continued to hold stock in the power utility until 1956. The family's decision to sell their stock severed their final link to an enterprise founded by their patriarch, Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf.

### **Immigrant Entrepreneurship**

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf cultivated and utilized ethnic and family support networks (often one and the same) throughout his life and these links provided him with a source of human and financial capital that helped him advance quickly in his entrepreneurial activities once he settled in Buffalo in 1844 and established his first businesses. His father's financial support from abroad during his life and at the time of his death was crucial to the process of building a foundation for the Schoellkopf family's eventual economic empire. When his father died in 1860, Jacob Frederick received an inheritance of 7,400 guilders, which he likely invested in his leather tanning or milling operations.<sup>53</sup> Family connections also enabled him to draw on trusted relatives for additional labor at a time when he wanted to expand his commercial activities. His cousin, Friedrich Vogel, helped him establish a business presence in the Midwest by opening new tanneries in the early 1850s. Later, as Schoellkopf's children began to come of age in the 1870s, he introduced them to his various business ventures and helped them build their own social networks. Jacob Frederick's oldest son, Henry, learned the leather trade working for his father and later worked with Friedrich Vogel's business partner, Guido Pfister, in Wisconsin. Soon thereafter, he married his second cousin Emily Vogel, the daughter of Friedrich, thus helping to concentrate ownership of their various business ventures within the broader family unit and cultivate further family support networks.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, his youngest child, Helen, married a German employee of his sheepskin tannery



in Buffalo, Hans Schmidt, an immigrant from Hannover. In his will, Jacob Frederick provided for her and his son Alfred, who was a co-owner in the business, by splitting ownership of the company (valued at \$400,000 at the time) between them and maintaining a family presence within the ownership structure of the firm.<sup>55</sup> Schoellkopf's other sons each received partnerships with their father in his various business ventures during their lifetime, which helped them immensely in their business careers.

Schoellkopf also proved willing to work with fellow entrepreneurs outside his immediate family and/or ethnic network if they had knowledge or skills he deemed important for his business activities. When he decided to enter the flour milling business, a field in which he had no practical experience, he partnered for a time with experienced millers Thomas Thornton and Thomas Chester since they were familiar with milling technology and also knew the commercial side of the business. In 1875, George B. Mathews proved to be a more than capable partner as Schoellkopf decided to expand his milling activities and buy the Frontier Mill from Thornton and Chester. Once Mathews demonstrated that he could make the mill profitable, he became a trusted ally of Schoellkopf and partnered with him in his milling and power generation activities at Niagara Falls. Mathews would serve as an officer or director in the family's milling and hydroelectric firms until the mid-1910s when he decided to retire and began to resign from leadership positions. When Schoellkopf purchased the hydraulic canal at Niagara Falls, he also retained the former owners for a time as partners in the new venture, seeking to draw on their institutional knowledge as he sought to complete the product and earn a profit from the heretofore ill-fated canal. When he established his aniline dye manufacturing operation in Buffalo, he employed Frederick Koehler, a chemical expert with years of practical experience with German firm BASF, to help his sons improve the firm's manufacturing operations. This transatlantic human capital transfer of insider technical knowledge about the German dyestuffs industry greatly benefitted the Schoellkopf's business and helped them develop product lines to compete against low-cost dyestuffs imported by German firms prior to the First World War.

Jacob Frederick cultivated social connections with his homeland of Württemberg throughout his lifetime and left a personal legacy that remains visible today. He kept his Württemberg nationality for almost twenty years after he immigrated to the United States, only becoming a U.S. citizen after his father died in 1860. Perhaps, this was out of a sense of obligation to his family and his homeland, or perhaps he had other motivations for becoming a U.S. citizen as his business activities in the U.S. became larger and more diversified. Jacob Frederick's relationships with his wife, Christiane Dürr, and his cousin, Friedrich Vogel, also illustrate how connected he was with the



social network in his hometown of Kirchheim. Despite a five-year absence from the community, he was able to prevail on Christiane to immigrate to the U.S. and marry him in 1847. A year later, he convinced his cousin to settle in Wisconsin and expand his leather tanning activities to the Midwest. Jacob Frederick made numerous trips back to Württemberg and later Germany between the 1850s and his death in 1899. Federal records show that he applied for passports at least three times (1853, 1865, and 1873) and his name appears half a dozen times between the 1860s and 1890s on passenger lists for ships traveling from Hamburg or Bremen to New York City. On at least one occasion in the early 1880s, he purchased a vast quantity of discounted U.S. government bonds while in Germany using his companies' property as collateral for loans. Somehow he had received information that the government would redeem the paper at face value and took advantage of the situation. He returned with a trunk of bonds and made a tidy profit off the trip. Schoellkopf also continued to support his hometown from abroad. He endowed the Schoellkopf-Vogel Foundation in 1891 to provide for poor men and women of Kirchheim, regardless of their religion. His wife and children contributed to the community as well and were responsible for various programs to aid orphans and provide hospital care for residents. The family even contributed to a chapel (*Schöllkopf-Kapelle*) for the city cemetery (*Alter Friedhof*). In return, the name Schoellkopf lives on throughout Kirchheim as a street name, a fountain near the local train station, and in the name of the Jakob-Friedrich-Schöllkopf-Schule, a business and vocational school for young people in the community.<sup>56</sup>

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's youth in Württemberg, his German ethnicity, and his immigrant identity certainly influenced his decision to settle among co-ethnics in Buffalo and engage in retail leather sales and later tanning. He drew on his family's history of tanning and his own experiences working in his father's business and in the Strasbourg leather trade as he established and expanded his leather production and retail businesses. His inability to secure a leading role in his father's business likely spurred his decision to immigrate to the U.S., but did not provoke a break from his family or his hometown. His father continued to support him financially for nearly twenty years and Schoellkopf used his family connections in Kirchheim to recruit Friedrich Vogel to join him in the U.S. and expand the scope of his leather manufacturing operations. His numerous trips back to the German lands during his lifetime and his continued contributions to the Kirchheim community attest to his desire to maintain family and ethnic connections. His decision to send his children back to Württemberg and later Germany for schooling suggests an interest in educating them about their heritage and exposing them to German culture but also providing them with the superior



education, particularly in organic chemistry and aniline dye manufacturing, that was available through German universities at the time. It was, in part, a strategic business decision on his part as well, since it provided a direct means for transatlantic informational and technical transfers.

On the other hand, Schoellkopf demonstrated a desire to transcend his German identity and craft training. He spent time learning English upon his arrival in New York and did not found a business catering specifically to co-ethnics. After a decade in tanning, he shifted to new business sectors in which he had no prior training or experience. To compensate for this, he readily joined with non-Germans who had specialized knowledge that he could utilize. Nothing in his later business practices could be characterized as overtly German, although his use of interlocking directorships to manage his family business empire was similar in some ways to management practices used by numerous German firms at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps it is fair to conclude that Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's immigrant identity influenced his life course and informed his decision-making, but in no way strictly defined him.

## **Conclusion**

Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's life illustrates the complexity of immigration narratives. Not all immigrants followed a particular model of resettlement or entrepreneurship. German immigrants did not necessarily cut ties with their homeland or hometown when they migrated to the United States in the nineteenth century. Schoellkopf's early career highlights the importance of continued transatlantic ethnic and family support networks. Two of his modern, American biographers characterized him (perhaps stereotypically) as a "self-made man," but the reality is that he most likely could not have built such a large leather tanning and retail network without significant financial support from his father during the first twenty years he was in the United States. Also, his ability to recruit family talent from Württemberg as his business began to grow meant that he had a source for trusted business partners who would also help to concentrate profits within the extended family network. This in no way diminishes Schoellkopf's individual abilities, he was an immensely talented entrepreneur, but his family and ethnic networks contributed directly to his success.

Schoellkopf engaged in a series of entrepreneurial occupations that did not have distinct concentrations of Germans working in them, nor was he confined to selling the goods he produced to German consumers. A broad, non-ethnic customer base existed for leather goods and flour in western New York and the Midwest. This meant that he was not confined to selling special-

ized products to ethnic enclaves but rather could utilize industrial modes of production to batch produce large quantities of similar or identical goods, effecting a major cost savings.<sup>58</sup> Once he moved into hydroelectric power and chemical production, he sold commodities that consumers interacted with only indirectly and did not have to worry about branding or marketing products to differentiated markets.<sup>59</sup> Schoellkopf's serial entrepreneurship was ambitious and he had a knack for shifting his capital into emerging industries with great profit potentials, electrical power generation and aniline dry production in particular. His use of family members and close friends to manage his growing business empire reduced transaction costs and ensured a greater level of managerial transparency for "King Jacob," as some referred to him.<sup>60</sup> It would be reductionist to argue that his entrepreneurial drive and desire to found multiple businesses derived entirely from the frustration he may have felt as a young journeyman tanner when his older brother inherited the family tanning business, but his desire to leave his children with entrepreneurial legacies in the New World that they could nurture and grow surely reflected a longing to provide them with something that he never obtained in the Old World, a sense of ownership. Jacob Frederick's entrepreneurial accomplishments, while significant and long-lasting, should be understood within this broader social and cultural context.<sup>61</sup>

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## Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Hartmut Keil, "Schöllkopf, Jakob Friedrich" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. 23, <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11481841X.html> (accessed August 8, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Manfred Waßner, *Jakob Friedrich Schöllkopf (1819-1899). Pionier zwischen Alter und Neuer Welt* (Kirchheim unter Teck: Förderverein der Jakob-Friedrich Schöllkopf-Schule e.V., 2006), 22.

<sup>4</sup> Waßner, 25 f.

<sup>5</sup> Knackers were individuals who rendered dead animals.

<sup>6</sup> Waßner, 23.

<sup>7</sup> The children, in order of birth, were Elisabeth Barbara (1804-64), Johann Gottlieb (1806-31), Christine Katharine (1809-75), Marie Katharine (1811-12); Katharina Barbara (1812-34), Jacob Friedrich (1813-14), Karl Christian (1815), Johann Christian (1816-70), Johanna (1818-65), Jacob Friedrich (1819-99), Johanna Karoline (1821-80), Christine Margarete (1823-51), Karoline Wilhelmine (1825-1905), Luise Pauline (1827-59), Karl



Friedrich (1829). Diane Glynn, *The Schoellkops, 1842-1994: A Family History* (Niagara Falls, NY: The Niagara Falls Memorial Medical Center Foundation, 1995), 2.

<sup>8</sup> In current value, this would be approximately \$723,000 in 2011 dollars. This value is based on an 1873 guilder (or gulden) conversion to British currency with a further conversion to U.S. dollars. Currency conversion obtained from H. John Rowbotham, *A New Guide to German and English Conversation* (London, Dulau & Co., 1873), 205. All British inflation calculations were conducted via Measuring Worth using the Purchasing Power Calculator, <http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> (accessed November 12, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Waßner, 24.

<sup>10</sup> This argument is presented in Waßner, 27f.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 29; Willi Paul Adams (ed.), *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten. Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände* (Berlin: John F. Kennedy Institut für Nordamerikastudien Freie Universität Berlin, 1980), 200.

<sup>12</sup> Waßner, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Raymond L. Cohn, *Mass Migration Under Sail. European Immigration to the Antebellum United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 181. Between \$282 and \$423 in 2011 dollars. All American inflation calculations were conducted via Measuring Worth using the Consumer Price Index, <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/> (accessed November 12, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Waßner, 33-35.

<sup>15</sup> David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism. Buffalo, New York, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 163f.

<sup>16</sup> Waßner, 44f.

<sup>17</sup> The listing shows that Jakob Friedrich had already anglicized his name by changing the German "k" in his first name to an American "c" and dropping the umlaut in Schöllkopf. He would later replace it with "oe." Horatio N. Walker, *Walker's Buffalo City Directory* (Buffalo: Lee & Thorp's Press, 1844), 193.

<sup>18</sup> Waßner, 37. Approximately \$9000 in 2011 dollars. This value is based on an 1849 guilder (or gulden) conversion to British currency with a further conversion to U.S. dollars. Currency conversion obtained from H. John Rowbotham, *A New Guide to German and English Conversation* (London: Dulau & Co., 1849), 202.

<sup>19</sup> Glynn, 3-4. Jacob Frederick's eldest son, Henry, married Vogel's daughter Emily in 1875, thus helping to concentrate ownership of the leather tanning businesses within the extended Schoellkopf family network. Prior to his early death in 1880, Henry partnered with Frederick Vogel and Guido Pfister and opened a tannery in northeast Wisconsin that eventually "became the largest in the world prior to World War I." Glynn, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Schoellkopf continued to be involved in the leather industry throughout his life, though primarily as an investor and less as an active manager. In 1877, the same year he purchased the hydraulic canal at Niagara Falls, he purchased a large leather manufacturer, Lymburner & Torrey, and established Schoellkopf & Company to oversee production. The firm's plant in Buffalo was one of the largest leather works in the world and the firm maintained offices throughout the United States and abroad. *A History of the City of Buffalo-Its Men and Institutions-Biographical Sketches of Leading Citizens* (Buffalo: The Buffalo Evening News, 1908), 116-17).

<sup>21</sup> Approximately \$11,500 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Brian Powers, "The Early Industrial Achievements of the Schoellkopf Family" (M.A. Thesis, Niagara University, 1979), 7-8

<sup>23</sup> Waßner, 40f.

<sup>24</sup> Approximately \$30,000 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>25</sup> The anglicized form of Heinrich. The fact that Jacob Frederick and Christiane gave their first child an anglicized name is a reflection of their rapid acculturation into English-

speaking, American society.

<sup>26</sup> The children, in order of birth, were Henry (1848-80), Emma (1850-51), Albert (1852-52), Herman (1853-54), Louis (1855-1901), Arthur (1856-1913), Jacob Frederick Jr. (1858-1942), Alfred (1860-1901), Hugo (1862-1928), Anna (1867-68), and Helen (1870-1962). Glynn, 2. Glynn erroneously lists Jacob Jr.'s death date as 1913 on this page, but his biographical details are listed correctly elsewhere in the book.

<sup>27</sup> Glynn, 4-9.

<sup>28</sup> Henry H. Baxter, "flour milling" in *The Encyclopedia of New York State*, Peter R. Eisenstadt and Laura-Eve Moss, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 575.

<sup>29</sup> J.N. Larned, *A History of Buffalo Delineating the Evolution of the City* (New York: The Progress of the Empire State Company, 1911), 266-267. Powers, 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> Approximately \$63,000 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>31</sup> Approximately \$529,000 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>32</sup> Approximately \$671,000 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>33</sup> Approximately \$2 million dollars in 2011 dollars.

<sup>34</sup> Powers, 13-15; Glynn, 4-5. Schoellkopf and Mathews also made technological improvements to the Frontier mill. They added new machinery to process the "middlings," the hard middle portion of the wheat kernels that was typically discarded during the milling process. They anticipated that this change would produce a nearly twenty-five-percent increase in the Frontier Mill's fine flour production capacity. Powers, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Powers, 29. See Powers, pp. 25-30 for a more detailed description of the canal's history.

<sup>36</sup> Approximately \$111,000 and \$1.5 million dollars respectively in 2011 dollars.

<sup>37</sup> Approximately \$1.6 million dollars in 2011 dollars.

<sup>38</sup> Powers, 29-30; Glynn, 6; Larned, 267-68.

<sup>39</sup> Powers, 34-36; Glynn, 6, 43.

<sup>40</sup> The first steam-powered dynamos, which produced electrical current using electromagnets, were developed in the 1850s and saw use powering arc lamps in Europe. Arc lamps produced light through electrical arcs between electrodes. The electrodes were burned by the arc and had to be adjusted constantly to maintain the proper gap between the electrodes. In the late 1870s, Charles F. Brush developed an arc lamp system with a regulating mechanism for automatically adjusting the gap between electrodes that proved popular in the U.S. At the same time, other inventors including Englishman Joseph Swan and American Thomas Edison were working on incandescent lighting systems that produced illumination that was less harsh than the light from arc lamps. Edison's system employed direct current power transmission, whereas the systems developed by rivals such as George Westinghouse used alternating current. William J. Hausman, Peter Hertner, and Mira Wilkins, *Global Electrification: Multinational Enterprise and International Finance in the History of Light and Power, 1878-2007* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 9-12. For more on electrification and the development of electrical lighting systems in the U.S., U.K., and Germany, see Thomas P. Hughes, *Networks of Power. Electrification in Western Society, 1880-1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

<sup>41</sup> Edward Dean Adams, *Niagara Power: History of the Niagara Falls Power Company, 1886-1918, Vol. 1: History and Power Projects* (Niagara Falls: Niagara Falls Power Co., 1927), 76-86. Powers, 39-40.

<sup>42</sup> Water rights were a source of tension and the subject of numerous lawsuits during the nineteenth century in the U.S. Water rights in the eastern U.S. were based on English common law, which entitled landowners with property situated along watercourses to make reasonable use of the water as long as it did not interfere with the rights of other riparian landowners. However, transporting water away from the watercourse, such as through an irrigation or power canal, was not permitted under common law. In the nineteenth century, various states governments and courts implemented differing legal frameworks governing how



landowners and industrialists could use or sell water for commercial purposes such as milling and/or manufacturing. See Naomi R. Lamoreaux, "The Mystery of Property Rights: A U.S. Perspective," *The Journal of Economic History* 71, no. 2 (June 2011): 275-306.

<sup>43</sup> Powers, 42-43. The quantity of water that Schoellkopf's company was allowed to draw from the river was limited to the size of the canal in 1896, one hundred feet of width by fourteen feet of depth. Elbert Hubbard, *Power, or, The Story of Niagara Falls* (East Aurora, NY: Roycrofters, 1914), 15. At the time, Jacob Frederick also negotiated new contracts with the businesses that drew waterpower from the hydraulic canal. Firms signed long-term contracts of more than 20 years, in one case guaranteeing water power supplies through 1967. Powers, 45.

<sup>44</sup> Powers, 43-44.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-53.

<sup>46</sup> Today the University of Stuttgart (*Universität Stuttgart*). At the time, it was well known for its chemical, mechanical, and civil engineering faculty. The *Hochschule* added an electrical engineering curriculum in 1883 and was the location where Werner von Siemens introduced the concept of "Elektrotechnik." "Timeline 1840-1876: Polytechnical School," *Universität Stuttgart*, <http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/impulse/zeit/liste.php?cid=3&lang=en> (accessed November 12, 2013) and "Timeline 1876-1890: Polytechnic," *Universität Stuttgart*, <http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/impulse/zeit/liste.php?cid=4&lang=en> (accessed November 12, 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Powers, 58-59.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-64; "National Aniline and Chemical Company Buffalo, New York," *ColorantsHistory.org*, <http://www.colorantshistory.org/NationalAniline.html> (accessed November 12, 2013).

<sup>49</sup> See Andrea Colli, *The History of Family Business, 1850-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 65-72.

<sup>50</sup> As Michael Powers notes, "In 1914, it was estimated that the Schoellkopf Company was producing approximately one hundred coal-tar dyes which represented about fifty percent of all the coal-tar dyes used in this country." Every product they made, however, used intermediaries imported from Germany. Powers, 70.

<sup>51</sup> *Tariff Hearings Before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, Volume 12, Sixtieth Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 59-65; Powers, 71-72, 78.

<sup>52</sup> Powers, 76, 78-80. Confiscation of German dye patents and brands during World War I, along with major wartime government funding, also played a role in the sudden and dramatic growth of the U.S. dyestuffs industry after the war. On the other hand, American chemical industry expert Robert J. Baptista argues that the confiscated German patents were not as beneficial to American manufacturers as some historians have argued since they were "masterpieces of obfuscation" that omitted information necessary to manufacture the products. After the war, American firms attempted to recruit German chemists in order to work with the confiscated patents, but the German government went to great lengths to prevent their emigration including refusing to issue passports and arresting chemists on the grounds of industrial espionage. See Robert J. Baptista, "The Faded Rainbow: The Rise and Fall of the Western Dye Industry 1856-2000," *Colorantshistory.org*, [http://www.colorantshistory.org/files/Faded\\_Rainbow\\_Article\\_April\\_21\\_2012.pdf](http://www.colorantshistory.org/files/Faded_Rainbow_Article_April_21_2012.pdf) (accessed November 12, 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Approximately \$86,500 in 2011 dollars.

<sup>54</sup> Powers, 9; Glynn, 14.

<sup>55</sup> Approximately \$11.2 million dollars in 2011 dollars.

<sup>56</sup> Glynn, 6-7. See *Ancestry.com* for more details on Jacob Frederick Schoellkopf's travel between the U.S. and Europe. For more information on the Schöllkopf Schule, see "Die Geschichte des kaufmännischen Berufsschulwesens in Kirchheim," Jakob-Friedrich-Schöllkopf-Schule, <http://www.jfs.de/schule/schule.htm> (accessed August 29, 2013).

<sup>57</sup> Caroline Fohlin, "The rise of interlocking directorates in imperial Germany," *Economic*

*History Review* 52, no. 2 (May 1999): 307-33 and Jeffrey Fear and Christopher Kobrak, "Banks on Board: German and American Corporate Governance, 1870-1914," *The Business History Review* 84, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 703-36 present contrasting views on the presence of interlocking directorates in German business at the end of the nineteenth century.

<sup>58</sup> See Walter Kamphoefner, "The German Component to American Industrialization," *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720-Present*, <http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=189>.

<sup>59</sup> For more on batch production, see Philip Scranton, *Endless Novelty: Specialty Production and American Industrialization, 1865-1925* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). For more on chemical production and consumer, see Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *Shaping the Industrial Century: The Remarkable Story of the Evolution of the Modern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

<sup>60</sup> Glynn, 9.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, iii.



*Atiba Pertilla*

## **German-American Banking Firms and American Development, 1860–1945: An Overview**

This paper offers a synthesis of research on the history of German-American banking firms, and particularly firms run by German-Jewish immigrants and their descendants, and their role in the financing of American investment from the Civil War through World War II. The history of American development in this period is in large part a history of the increasing importance of New York City's financial community—Wall Street—in the process by which governments, transportation companies, and entrepreneurs obtained the high amounts of capital they needed for large-scale projects ranging from the funds to fight the Civil War to the money to build the transcontinental railroads to the financing needs of mass retailers and heavy industry. A handful of small banking firms headquartered in the Wall Street neighborhood, employing no more than a few dozen to two hundred workers, yet helping to facilitate the investment of tens of millions of dollars, were central to this history. This overview focuses on four of these firms: J. & W. Seligman & Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Lehman Brothers; and Goldman Sachs.

While these important firms have been examined as a group in several noteworthy studies, the emphasis has generally been on their partners' religious affiliation as Jews, rather than on their immigrant background and their orientation towards Germany.<sup>1</sup> The German Historical Institute's project "Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present," with which I am affiliated, has endeavored to enrich future scholarship by incorporating the stories of immigrants and their descendants into American business history.<sup>2</sup> The "American dream" has long held that any ambitious, hardworking individual can achieve financial success and social acclaim by dint of hard work and ingenuity, even if he or she

is not a native-born American or is the child of immigrants. On the other hand, stories of the most prominent self-made businessmen have usually focused on individuals from an "American stock" background, as John D. Rockefeller described himself, or those whose immigrant background is barely recognized, such as Henry Ford (the son of an Irish immigrant).<sup>3</sup> The Immigrant Entrepreneurship project's focus on German emigrants and their children offers the opportunity to examine three centuries of American history in order to examine these long-cherished ideas about social and economic mobility in American culture, and to determine how the experiences of German-Americans fit into or challenge these stereotypes.

German-Jewish emigrants to New York City constitute a special case in the history of German migration. Many left Germany in the early nineteenth century to escape generations of anti-Semitic discrimination and persecution, while others left in pursuit of greater economic opportunity in the United States.<sup>4</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, the religious pluralism found among German emigrants meant that German-Americans tended to be less caught up in the process of "racial formation" that obsessed Americans of British Protestant ancestry attempting to define an identity distinct from both African-Americans and Irish Catholics.<sup>5</sup> German-Americans in New York City participated in mutual aid societies whose members included Christians of many denominations and Jews and were often based on regional origin rather than religious affiliation.<sup>6</sup> Many German-Jewish emigrants participated avidly in institutions that promoted and circulated German culture, including music and theater organizations, newspapers, and publishing houses.<sup>7</sup> The New York Philharmonic, for example, helped popularize the classical music of German composers, and banker Julius Hallgarten of the firm Hallgarten & Co. served as its president from 1879 to 1881.<sup>8</sup>

In the early 20th century, as the emigration of Jews from central and eastern Europe increased, German-American Jews in New York City took leadership of a wide panoply of social, charitable, and educational institutions intended to simultaneously bolster religious identity and promote Americanization. Wealthy German-American Jews gradually developed solidarity with newly-arrived Jews while attempting to prevent negative stereotypes of eastern European Jews from being applied to themselves, resisting the definition of "Jewishness" as a racial as opposed to a religious identity.<sup>9</sup> Their continued identification with a distinct German culture was one strategy for doing this. In the wake of World War I, however, widespread social antipathy towards Germany led many bankers to downplay their ties to German culture or to reorient themselves towards Jewish philanthropic endeavors, particularly with respect to refugees from eastern Europe. Yet many firms continued to have business relationships with Germany and wished to participate in



the rebuilding of its economy. Later, revulsion towards Germany after the Holocaust all but eliminated the desire of members of the four firms considered here to identify with their German heritage.<sup>10</sup> For all these reasons, then, the German element of the firms' history has been obscured.

The paper proceeds as follows: the first section considers the factors that caused German-Jewish banking firms to become seen as a distinctive category on Wall Street. The following sections describe the rise of the Seligman firm and its government bond business in the 1860s and 1870s, in the aftermath of the Civil War. This is followed by discussion of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and its work in the transportation sector in the 1870s and 1880s, as railroads became the most important target of investment. In 1893, the United States entered a long recession from which it did not emerge until 1898, and the fourth section discusses the involvement of German-Jewish bankers in cultural and social philanthropy up to this point.

The following section discusses the early 1900s and 1910s, when Goldman, Sachs, in partnership with Lehman Brothers, helped to launch retail and consumer goods companies on the stock market. The sixth section describes the impact of World War I on the German-American banking firms, and their efforts to restore links with Germany in the 1920s. The seventh section describes how Lehman Brothers, in the aftermath of the Great Depression, took on the opportunity to finance many of the industrial and service companies that played critical roles in the United States' mobilization for World War II. The conclusion revisits the effect of World War II and knowledge of the Holocaust on perceptions of the four banking firms considered here as examples of German-American enterprise.

In the United States, the history of investment and economic development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was very different from the path pursued by the two other major industrial economies, Germany and the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, companies largely financed themselves from their own earnings, rather than turning to bankers to supply them with capital. In Germany, large 'universal banks' that took in deposits from the general public were the critical actors.<sup>11</sup> In the United States, investment banks took on the role of intermediaries in the process of corporate finance, with expertise on the one hand in seeking out enterprises in need of capital and crafting financial instruments such as bonds and stocks that would appeal to investors, and on the other hand in assembling blocs of investors and persuading them to become interested in directly purchasing or helping to distribute particular securities. Investment banking firms usually conducted these activities with only a thin margin of capital.<sup>12</sup>

Several previous studies have observed that the investment banking firms which emerged in New York in the years after the Civil War can be broadly

divided into two groups, "Yankee" firms established by bankers with English or Scotch-Irish Protestant ancestry, often descended from families who immigrated in the colonial American era, and "German-Jewish" firms, those founded by bankers who emigrated from Germany in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The Yankee firms typically had stronger ties with London, which until World War I was the world's largest financial center. Much as the Yankee bankers benefited from sharing English as a common language with London bankers, the German-Jewish firms benefited from sharing a common language with bankers in a wealthy nation with ample funds for external investment. But the German-Jewish firms typically had strong ties to bankers not only in Germany but throughout continental Europe that collectively matched London's strength.<sup>14</sup>

The rise of German-Jewish banking firms on Wall Street was conspicuous in part because of the relative absence in the financial district of two parallel ethnic/religious groups: on the one hand, American Jews descended from 17th- and 18th-century emigrants, and on the other hand German-Christian merchants.<sup>15</sup> Descendants of colonial-era Jewish emigrants were a small community—there were probably no more than 3,000 Jews in New York in the 1830s, and on the eve of the Civil War barely a dozen were mentioned among the wealthiest residents of New York City. The wealthiest of the long-established Jewish families of New York tended to own prosperous manufacturing businesses and had little interest or incentive to shift into finance.<sup>16</sup>

As for the German-Christian community, a recent study by Lars Maischak has noted the strong antebellum network of "Hanseat" merchants in New York bound by strong financial ties to Bremen. These merchants' ties to southern slaveholders and the cotton trade, Maischak explains, led to discord over how much and whether to support the Union in the Civil War.<sup>17</sup> After the war, their trading partners in the South were weakened by the end of slavery and the merchants were slow to build new networks; meanwhile the unification of Germany disrupted existing trade and tariff arrangements that had benefited Bremen and other Hanse ports. Instead of pursuing investment banking, firms such as Knauth, Nachod & Kuhne and Oelrichs & Co. that were run by German-American Christians decided to concentrate on the shipping and foreign exchange businesses.<sup>18</sup>

The German-Jewish bankers were also notable because there were few bankers in New York from the Netherlands or France, the two other major foreign investor nations in the post-Civil War years who might have developed their own emigrant banking communities. But historian Mira Wilkins notes that French overseas investment was deliberately channeled by government policy towards French colonies. Dutch overseas investment was considerable



but generally mediated by banking firms in Amsterdam, and with no large Dutch migration to the United States in the nineteenth century there was little opportunity for a Dutch-American banking community to arise in New York.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it seems that German-Jewish bankers in New York used their knowledge of Continental languages to form relationships with bankers in Paris, Amsterdam, and elsewhere. The importance of French and German in the minds of Yankee financiers is suggested by banker Junius S. Morgan's decision to send his son, J. P. Morgan (Sr.), to study French in Switzerland and German at the University of Göttingen, believing he would need to know these languages to conduct business. The older Morgan intended to continue his son's training by arranging a clerkship for him in a banking firm in Hamburg or elsewhere on the continent, but then a position became available in New York, changing the trajectory of his career.<sup>20</sup>

## II

The most important German-Jewish firms were established by men who emigrated in the antebellum years—namely the 1830s–50s.<sup>21</sup> Many Jewish immigrants began business as itinerant peddlers; once successful, they might choose any number of cities to settle in permanently.<sup>22</sup> Peddling was a significant employment option for many Jewish immigrant men in the nineteenth century; in many Jewish communities established in the antebellum years anywhere from one-third to two-thirds of working men made a living by peddling. Most immigrant men only pursued peddling for only a few years, saving their profits in order to obtain sufficient capital to settle down in a small town or city and establish an independent business, typically a store.<sup>23</sup> In the long term, this produced a multi-city network of Jewish communities linked together by businessmen who typically had developed business relationships in multiple places thanks to peddling.

The biography of Joseph Seligman (1819–80), founder of J. & W. Seligman & Co., is one such example.<sup>24</sup> Seligman was the oldest of eleven children born to David and Fanny Seligman of the small village of Baiersdorf, Bavaria. David Seligman had a small, unprofitable weaving business, and his family's poverty coupled with the restrictions on Jewish economic mobility and social rights in Bavaria led Joseph to decide to immigrate to Pennsylvania in 1837, where he had relatives. Shortly after arriving, he began to work as an itinerant peddler, helping to distribute consumer goods throughout the rural countryside west of Philadelphia. The items Joseph Seligman carried would probably have included "quasi-luxuries" that could not be manufactured in the home such as eyeglasses, watches, needles, and mirrors, as well as bulkier items such as bolts of cloth and bedding.

Like other peddlers, Joseph Seligman settled down after only a short period of work, establishing a store by 1839 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, two years after he arrived in the United States, and then paying for two of his brothers, Jacob and Wolf, to join him. Over the following decade, the brothers expanded the scope of their operations and more family members immigrated to the United States to join them in the business, in the process Anglicizing their first names: Jacob, for example, became James; Wolf, William. The family business shifted from general merchandise to a specialization in wholesale and retail clothing. The Seligmans operated stores at various times in Alabama, New York, California and Missouri, opening and closing stores as opportunities for growth waxed and waned. In 1860, the firm (now known as J. Seligman & Brothers) opened a clothing factory, and the onset of the Civil War gave the firm an opportunity to be of service to the federal government by supplying uniforms for Union troops.<sup>25</sup>

The war also gave the Seligmans a strong stake in the war's outcome, as the cutoff of the supply of cheap Southern cotton required it to pay dearly for cotton while it had to accept temporary IOUs from the United States government for its bills during the first months of the war. In order to raise money to fight the war, the United States sold bonds to the American public using a variety of marketing strategies pioneered by the firm of Jay Cooke & Co.<sup>26</sup> Some members of the Seligman family, including Joseph Seligman's younger brother Henry and his brother-in-law Max Stettheimer, who oversaw an export business in Frankfurt, worked to market American bonds abroad. These efforts, it seems, were largely *ad hoc* attempts to indicate confidence that the Union would eventually prevail and to thwart Confederate efforts to raise money and secure diplomatic recognition, rather than providing crucial contributions to the Union war chest.<sup>27</sup> The primary contribution of the Seligmans to government finance would occur *after*, not during, the war.

Joseph Seligman, recognized as the head of the family's business ventures, decided to shift from the clothing business to finance and reorganized the family's far-flung business operations, taking as his model the network of banks established by the Rothschild brothers in various European cities at the turn of the 19th century. In 1864, the firm of J. & W. Seligman (for Joseph and William Seligman) was established in New York, with affiliated offices in Frankfurt, London, Paris, and San Francisco, each led by a Seligman brother or another close relative. Leopold and Isaac Seligman, for example, managed the London branch, Seligman Brothers; Henry and Abraham Seligman were in charge of operations in Frankfurt. In the war's aftermath, the Seligman firms began to participate in a variety of transactions, helping to ship gold from California to New York and Europe, offering temporary commercial credit for long-distance mercantile transactions and other financial services.<sup>28</sup>



The range of services the firm offered and the geographic distribution of the firms made it perhaps a uniquely useful enterprise.

While mercantile activity was profitable for the Seligman firms, the scale of business was not as large as government finance, which was considered the most prestigious category of business for an investment bank.<sup>29</sup> Several opportunities in this field emerged in the early 1870s. The price of American debt had dropped during the war when the Union's military position was at its worst, and the bonds had been bought up by European speculators from investors worried the United States would default on its debt. By 1869, close to half of total federal debt of \$2.2 billion was held overseas and probably constituted the largest share of foreign investment in the United States. One Treasury Secretary identified the flow of interest payments overseas as a troublesome "loss of wealth."<sup>30</sup>

In 1871, the Grant administration began issuing new blocs of debt at an interest rate lower than what the government had been able to obtain during the war, using the proceeds to buy up the war debt and lowering its debt service cost. Seligman Brothers in London helped to market the first issue.<sup>31</sup> But this bond issue and another one offered in 1873 failed to sell as well as expected, in part because the Grant administration refused to appoint a banker to manage the distribution of the bond issue and instead offered the bonds to all firms indiscriminately. This strategy reduced any single firm's incentive to market the bonds (as multiple firms simultaneously offering bonds for sale drove down the price any given firm could offer), and thus little money was ultimately raised.

The Seligman firm and many other prestigious banking firms, by contrast, wished the government to use the underwriting system to distribute its bonds. Under this system, a banker (or a small group of two or three bankers) was selected to underwrite the bond issue. In essence, the issuer, in this case the government, gave exclusive custody of the bonds to be issued to the underwriter in exchange for a set amount of money. Giving this control to a single firm or a small group of firms operating together made it possible for the managers to hold the bloc of securities until it believed the time was right to distribute them to investors. Syndicate managers cultivated friendly relationships with institutional investors and with brokerage firms in order to manage the distribution of securities to the investing public. For the most reputable and reliable securities, such as bonds, insurance companies were the preferred investors, since they usually made large purchases in order to secure a large and regular amount of interest income. When the security issue was considered riskier, such as common stock, the syndicate managers were likely to use a variety of tactics to manipulate securities prices in order to make them appealing to profit-seekers.<sup>32</sup>

In 1874, Treasury Secretary Benjamin Bristow decided to issue a new bloc of debt. Joseph Seligman sought to be appointed sole manager of the bond issue. Bristow countered by encouraging Seligman to put together a larger group of syndicate managers. Through his brother Isaac, based in London, Joseph Seligman reached out to N. M. Rothschild & Sons, the Rothschild firm in London, the most prestigious firm of the world's chief money market. After initial reluctance, Lionel Rothschild, the head of the firm, agreed to join the Seligman firm in marketing the bonds, with the Seligmans taking responsibility for sales in the United States and N. M. Rothschild & Sons managing sales in Europe. Bristow approved this plan, and the two firms were awarded a contract to market \$45 million in U.S. bonds. The prestige of the Seligman firm was firmly established by being able to claim partnership with the Rothschilds. Nonetheless, after a few months bond sales were slow and, in order to ensure the government would successfully issue further blocs of debt, Bristow again urged Seligman to expand his group of managers. J. S. Morgan & Co., the London firm established by Anglo-American banker Junius S. Morgan, joined in the talks. In January 1875, a new agreement was made for marketing \$25 million in bonds, with N. M. Rothschild & Sons taking a 55% share and J. S. Morgan & Co. and Seligman Brothers (of London) splitting the remainder.<sup>33</sup> This bond issue proved successful, and over the next five years the Seligman firms participated in various additional syndicates to market U.S. bonds overseas until by the end of the decade the American economy had grown to the extent that American investors became the primary customers for national debt and syndicates for foreign distribution were no longer necessary.<sup>34</sup>

The Seligman firm solidified its position by gaining appointment as fiscal agents for the U.S. Navy in London, with responsibility for its European purchases. On the one hand this position meant that the firm was responsible for purchasing. On the one hand, this meant that when the government deposited more money than it needed over a given timespan the firm benefited from being able to use government deposits as a cushion for its investment and speculation activities; on the other hand, this also meant that when government deposits ran short of disbursement requirements the Seligmans were obliged to cover the cost of regular salaries for government officials in Europe and other fixed expenses from their own pockets until they were reimbursed. With the benefits of the agency outweighing the risks, this appointment was considered a lucrative political benefit. Thus, the Seligmans, who had been loyal Republicans since the Civil War, retained the appointment until the election of Grover Cleveland, regained the position when Benjamin Harrison became president, lost it again when Cleveland began his second term in 1893, and then were reappointed agents under the



McKinley administration.<sup>35</sup>

Joseph Seligman also embarked on financing the railroad sector. Decisions on whether or not a given line was feasible or not depended on geographic and technological expertise Seligman freely acknowledged he lacked. Instead, he accepted uncritically the advice of ambitious railroad promoters. Many of the firm's early investments in would-be transcontinental railroads like the Atlantic & Pacific came to grief.<sup>36</sup> After Joseph Seligman's death, in 1880, leadership of the New York firm eventually passed to his son Isaac Newton Seligman. As railroads rather than government bonds became the preferred investment sector, the Seligman firm's centrality to American finance declined. Over the course of the 1880s the New York firm would shift toward a specialization in the financing of municipal bonds and utility companies, while its relationships with the affiliated family firms in London, Paris, and elsewhere gradually diminished. The federal government still turned to the Seligman firm for advice on its bond issues, particularly the massive issue of \$200 million in bonds issued on the eve of the Spanish-American War.<sup>37</sup> But J. & W. Seligman was supplanted as the most prominent German-Jewish banking firm in New York by another concern that was also founded by immigrants, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

### III

The early history of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. mirrors the beginnings of the Seligman firm, though on a smaller scale. Like the Seligman brothers, founder Abraham Kuhn initially worked as a peddler after he emigrated from Bavaria in 1839. Kuhn settled in Indiana and began managing a clothing store. Ten years after his arrival he encouraged a cousin in Hesse, Solomon Loeb, to emigrate and join his business. Loeb married Kuhn's sister Fanny (who later died in childbirth) and the business of the brothers-in-law prospered, eventually moving to Cincinnati. The firm further benefitted from the huge surge in business created by demand for uniforms for the Union Army during the Civil War. In 1867, Kuhn and Loeb decided (apparently at the prompting of Loeb's second wife, Betty Gallenberg Loeb) to move to New York and used their accumulated savings to begin a banking business.<sup>38</sup>

The firm initially focused on helping small mercantile businesses with their financial needs, but within a decade its business had expanded to joining in syndicates put together by larger firms, including J. & W. Seligman, to distribute federal bonds. Meanwhile, in 1873 Jacob Schiff (1847–1920), an emigrant from Frankfurt who had spent the previous decade working in various banking firms in Hamburg and New York, began working at Kuhn, Loeb. Just two years later he married Theresa Loeb, Solomon Loeb's daughter

by his first marriage, and shortly afterward became a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co.<sup>39</sup> Schiff soon began encouraging his father-in-law to pursue a more ambitious policy for the firm than simply offering basic financial services to local borrowers. He became eager to participate in the railroad business: there were an ample number of lines seeking millions of dollars in capital, and multiple foreign bankers eager to invest their funds for returns higher than what was available in Europe. By the 1880s "Yankees," as American railroad bonds became known, were among the most popular investments in London. American railroads offered a higher return than European railroads.<sup>40</sup> Bonds, which were secured by a mortgage, were far more popular among foreign investors than stock, since it was assumed that if the railroad defaulted on its interest payments at the very least bondholders would have ownership of the mortgaged property.<sup>41</sup>

Kuhn, Loeb became an "active marketer" of American railroad securities.<sup>42</sup> Jacob Schiff joined the board of the Erie Railroad in the early 1880s, in the aftermath of the series of financial scandals that inspired the muckraking essay "A Chapter of Erie" by Charles and Henry Adams.<sup>43</sup> Jacob Schiff's biographer, Cyrus Adler, hypothesized that Kuhn, Loeb found a niche by becoming the representative of railroads whose ownership was widely distributed in the United States. Railroads which were largely controlled by Yankee, gentile families turned to Yankee banking firms for their investment needs. But Kuhn, Loeb also established its reputation by proving that it could manage cash crises in order to preserve as much as possible the value of their clients' investment. In 1884, for example, the firm intervened when the Texas & St. Louis railroad defaulted on its mortgage, which had originally been issued under Kuhn, Loeb's auspices. It set aside existing bond and stock issues and replaced them with a new security structure meant to lower the railroad's fixed charges. An important component of the firm's service to investors was that it worked closely with attorneys in order to ensure that mortgage documents were written to cover all possible contingencies and to prevent corporate managers from being able to escape responsibility for their actions. This pattern of cooperation helped spur the growth of large corporate law firms capable of providing legal opinions and drafting contracts, often on short notice, that governed the distribution of millions in securities.<sup>44</sup>

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, railroad managers had autonomy to build their operations as they pleased, using the money freely supplied by foreign investors. The railroad's bankers were content to act as conduits for money so long as they were promised an exclusive relationship with the railroad. In 1884, for example, Kuhn, Loeb sponsored an issue of bonds by the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba railroad to expand its service into Montana. Jacob Schiff insisted, however, that he would only market the



bonds if the railroad promised him exclusive privilege to market future bond issues for the next five years.<sup>45</sup> So long as the railroad did not go bankrupt or become notorious for abysmally poor service, bankers generally allowed managers a free hand.<sup>46</sup> Many railroad managers sought to attain the largest possible share of freight, building thick webs of railroad lines to capture traffic and cutting rates as low as possible to persuade shippers to use them. Bankers looked on at this activity with dismay, fearing that these practices would drive the transportation system into insolvency. Among other responses, bankers sponsored the creation of "trunk line" associations that were intended to allot standard shares of traffic to the railroads within a given region and to equalize shipping rates.<sup>47</sup> These efforts were only tentative, however, and there was little power to enforce them legally. By the early 1890s the American railroad system had developed "patchworks" of tracks rather than efficient networks, and it was rife with "redundant service" and "inefficiencies" created by "disjointed" relationships between railroads.<sup>48</sup>

In 1893, the onset of an economic recession quickly snowballed into the worst depression the United States had yet experienced, and the existing condition and the railroad system quickly devolved into crisis. By 1894 almost 200 railroads representing more than 35,000 miles of track were in receivership. Kuhn, Loeb and other investment banks, in particular J. P. Morgan & Co., spent the following five years overseeing the creation and implementation of strategies to make the railroads' security structure—including the interest payments and dividend rates they were expected to maintain—sustainable.<sup>49</sup> In the aftermath of the depression, Schiff helped arrange a variety of financial transactions by which his railroad clients, particularly the Pennsylvania Railroad, purchased major ownership stakes in other railroads in the same region, creating what was described as a "community of interest." These "communities" were intended to ensure that the overbuilding and competition for traffic that had occurred in the years leading up to the depression did not recur by giving the major railroad systems a stake in each other's success. The president of the Pennsylvania Railroad praised Schiff for his "pride and interest in the sound financing of the Pennsylvania system and its allies."<sup>50</sup> The most prominent achievement of Kuhn, Loeb in railroad finance was its successful participation in the reorganization of the giant Union Pacific railroad, which under the leadership of E. H. Harriman became one of the most admired railroad systems in the United States.<sup>51</sup>

In the years following the depression, Wall Street bankers sponsored the "great merger movement" which saw the consolidation of thousands of small industrial companies into "trusts" with dominant pricing power in sectors such as the production of asphalt, paper, and other manufactured products.

Wall Street firms sponsored the issue of billions of dollars of securities issued by industrial companies, culminating in the creation of the U.S. Steel corporation in 1901, the first company to have a capitalization of more than \$1 billion.<sup>52</sup> The German houses mostly did not participate as managers in the process of forming and launching new corporations on the stock market. But J. P. Morgan & Co. and other "Yankee" banks did call on these firms to participate in subordinate roles in the syndicates that underwrote industrial securities. It may have been the case that owners of industrial companies located in the Midwest and Northeast with "native stock" backgrounds were unwilling to do business with banking houses owned by men perceived as "foreigners" because of their German background. The German-Jewish firms, in turn, were concerned about their own reputation and shied away from some business opportunities that might endanger it. J. & W. Seligman, for example, initially agreed to sponsor a stock issue by the American Steel & Wire Company, a barbed-wire manufacturer, but backed out because they decided the firm's would-be business partner, the flamboyant promoter John W. Gates, was untrustworthy.<sup>53</sup>

More generally, Jacob Schiff believed that he and his partners did not possess the expertise to evaluate industrial companies, a reasonable position in a period when accounting information was very opaque. The lone industrial merger that he apparently contemplated putting together was a consolidation of meatpacking firms built around the New York firm of Schwarzschild & Sulzberger. It's possible that this business proposal came to Kuhn, Loeb because of Schiff's social ties with Ferdinand Sulzberger, who served with him on the board of the Montefiore Hospital. In the face of potential government action against a "beef trust," however, Schiff decided to back away from the deal.<sup>54</sup>

Like the Seligman firm, Kuhn, Loeb expanded by taking on family members as partners, but usually this meant turning to men who became relatives by marriage rather than the sons and brothers of the original partners. Abraham Wolff, a cousin of Solomon Loeb, had been invited into the firm in 1875, and in 1896 his son-in-law, Otto Kahn, was also accepted as a member.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, in 1895, Frieda Schiff, Jacob Schiff and Theresa Loeb's daughter, married Felix Warburg, whose family owned the small but prestigious Hamburg banking firm M. M. Warburg & Co. The following year Nina Loeb, the much younger half-sister of Theresa Loeb Schiff, married Paul Warburg, Felix's brother. Felix Warburg became a partner of Kuhn, Loeb almost immediately after his marriage, while Paul Warburg and Nina Loeb Warburg moved back to Hamburg, where Paul Warburg was a partner in his family's bank. The two marriages drew M. M. Warburg & Co. into the orbit of Kuhn, Loeb, enhancing the Warburg firm's position in Germany thanks to its



ties to the prestigious American investment bank.<sup>56</sup> For example, when Kuhn, Loeb issued Japanese government bonds that were used to fund the Russo-Japanese War, M. M. Warburg & Co. served as its intermediary in Germany. In turn the Warburg firm used its access to Kuhn, Loeb in the United States to enhance its appeal as an agent for bond issues by Scandinavian and German governments.<sup>57</sup> Kuhn, Loeb helped distribute a \$90 million issue of German government bonds in 1900. Just as the Seligman firm had gained prestige by becoming a banking firm that the U.S. government turned to, Kuhn, Loeb was providing banking services for foreign governments and by the eve of World War I had firmly established itself in the first rank of Wall Street investment banks.

#### IV

By the 1890s, a small handful of investment banks had become established in lower Manhattan. The banks defined themselves as sophisticated institutions in part by creating offices notable for their tone of understated luxury. A visitor to the Seligman firm in 1892, for example, noted that its offices were "of no special architectural style, but, as the British say 'substantial.'"<sup>58</sup> Firms that were particularly successful built office buildings for themselves. Kuhn, Loeb's success in the Union Pacific reorganization, for example, was symbolized by its construction of a tall new office building at Pine and William Streets, which one magazine described as exemplifying its "spoils of war."<sup>59</sup> Banking firms only occupied a small portion of these buildings—usually on one of the lower floors, to symbolize their accessibility to their customers—and rented out space to other firms. The accounting firm Price, Waterhouse & Co., for example, agreed to rent a floor in the new Kuhn, Loeb building in hopes of garnering good will and future business.<sup>60</sup> Amongst themselves, the partners in Kuhn, Loeb spoke German, and this may also have been the practice at other firms. The clerical staff generally included a range of ethnicities; Goldman, Sachs, for example, had an Irish-American bookkeeper.<sup>61</sup>

The growing wealth of New York City's financiers and industrialists was reflected in the string of mansions erected along Fifth Avenue and townhouses built on the side streets of Manhattan's Murray Hill and Upper East Side, in the construction of weekend homes to the north, east, and west of New York, and the patronage of resort towns like Palm Beach, Florida in the winter and Bar Harbor, Maine in the summer. In their private lives, German-Jewish bankers and their families participated in the habits of conspicuous consumption like other wealthy financiers and industrialists. Many of the families built summer residences near each other on the Jersey shore, south of New York.<sup>62</sup> Most bankers traveled to Germany at least once a year to renew

business relationships, to see family members, and to visit resorts where German was the first language.

In addition to their consumption, many German-Jewish bankers pursued a variety of philanthropic projects. Some, most prominently Jacob Schiff, became renowned for their leadership of Jewish organizations. While philanthropy has been recognized as an important way in which some German-Jewish bankers established and reinforced their Jewish identity, it should be noted that philanthropy was also a way for German-Jewish bankers to reinforce their German identity.<sup>63</sup> Many bankers pursued philanthropic projects that had little or nothing to do with religious institutions or Jewish life more broadly. Some funded charitable, educational, and cultural projects in their home cities or regions. The Seligman family, for example, helped establish an orphanage in Baiersdorf. Some bankers made a significant fortune on Wall Street and then retired to Germany to devote themselves to philanthropy, such as Charles Hallgarten and James Loeb (son of Solomon Loeb), patron of the Loeb Classical Library.<sup>64</sup>

Other bankers focused on secular cultural philanthropy. Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb, for example, was an avid patron of the performing arts, and was largely indifferent to his partner Jacob Schiff's philanthropic endeavors in the Jewish community.<sup>65</sup> Wall Street banker James Speyer funded a professorship at the Berlin University. Jacob Schiff was not exclusively focused on Jewish philanthropy; he funded a program at Cornell that was originally intended to focus on German culture, but this changed after World War I to a more general focus on "civilization."<sup>66</sup>

Many bankers had ambivalent feelings about Germany, particularly those who felt that their emigration from their homeland had been forced by a combination of discriminatory government policies and hostile social attitudes. Herbert Lehman, the son of German emigrant Mayer Lehman, recalled that his father "had an admiration for German culture, but he didn't have any admiration for Germany or its people," and concentrated his philanthropic work on supporting organizations in New York City.<sup>67</sup> Yet the German-Jewish families embraced German culture in New York City. Many families that could afford private-school tuition, including the Lehmans, sent their children to Dr. Sachs's Collegiate Institute, a school run by Julius Sachs, brother of Samuel Sachs of Goldman, Sachs. The Sachs School was not only patronized by German-Jewish families but also by German-Christian families, including the children of politician Carl Schurz.<sup>68</sup>

The effect of anti-Semitism on the experiences of the German-Jewish banking firms is difficult to gauge. Many businesses initially sought out financial firms on the basis of family or social relationships and thus, as most of the railroads were controlled by "native stock" businessmen and their



families, this gave Anglo-American firms an advantage in acquiring clients.<sup>69</sup> But the cooperation between Anglo-American and German-Jewish firms was strong enough that Christian bankers willingly spoke out against anti-Semitism. In spring 1877, banker Joseph Seligman was turned away from a Saratoga hotel he had visited in earlier years with the explanation that it was no longer accepting Jewish guests. The proprietor, Henry Hilton, defended the discrimination as a pragmatic business decision because his Christian customers did not wish to share hotel accommodations with Jews who were supposedly rude and uncouth. Hilton added that even firms that did business with the Seligmans found them "distasteful." News of Hilton's action provoked a wave of denunciation in New York. Among other responses, Drexel, Morgan & Co., George F. Baker of the First National Bank, and the firm of Morton, Bliss & Co. sent a letter to the *New York Times* declaring that their relationships with the Seligman firm "have been and are of the most satisfactory character."<sup>70</sup>

In New York, a distinction developed between the city's social clubs uptown and its luncheon clubs downtown. In other cities, such as Los Angeles, where in the mid-nineteenth century Jewish men had been fully integrated into the business community, the years after 1890 saw the development of highly correlated social and business boundaries that led to the exclusion of Jewish men from important financial institutions.<sup>71</sup> In New York, by contrast, while social clubs founded by the city's Knickerbocker and Yankee elite excluded wealthy Jews, they generally had a taboo on discussing business.<sup>72</sup> Luncheon clubs in the financial district, like the Lawyers Club and the City Lunch Club, were open to all who could afford the fees and were common places for men of all backgrounds to gather and discuss business opportunities.<sup>73</sup>

In many cases, business relationships on Wall Street were not shaped by a single-minded consideration of profit but on an informal codes of ethics that bankers were expected to adhere to or else risk ostracism. Most important was the belief that it was improper for banking firms to aggressively seek out business. Instead, the reputation of a firm's partners was supposed to attract business to it, and it was the banker's prerogative in turn to decide whether he was willing to stake his reputation on backing a specific proposal. It was further believed that once a banking firm had established a satisfactory relationship with a business and was successfully fulfilling its financial requirements, it was unseemly for one banker to try to take business away from another banker by offering to provide the same services for a lower price or better terms.<sup>74</sup>

Thus, the momentum for acquiring new business apparently favored the "Anglo-American" firms, and it seems that the German-Jewish firms felt there was a tacit limit to how much business they were likely to receive. Jacob Schiff, for example, was carefully deferential to J. P. Morgan, Sr., insisting on several

occasions that he would not participate in a new business deal if Morgan preferred to manage the transaction himself. Once Schiff had acquired a client, however, he sought to ensure his firm would maintain control over its financial affairs and resented outside interference.<sup>75</sup> To some extent, then, more established firms seemed to view newcomers as potential rivals for a set amount of available business, and attempted to discourage them from interfering in the sphere of business they considered theirs. This may explain instances in which younger German-Jewish bankers found themselves warned off from attempting to compete with older, more established firms. James Speyer, for example, told Henry Goldman that he should not attempt to go into business as a railroad banker, declaring that "newcomers in that field were not wanted."<sup>76</sup> Henry Goldman was forced, instead, to find an entirely new field of business for himself and the firm his father had begun, Goldman, Sachs & Co.

## V

Mark Goldmann was born in 1821 in Trappstadt, Bavaria, immigrated to the United States in 1848 and settled at first in Philadelphia.<sup>77</sup> Like Joseph Seligman he became a peddler, but worked on the streets of Philadelphia rather than traveling the countryside. He married another immigrant, Bertha Goldmann, and the couple decided to shift into the clothing business. Bertha Goldman purchased a sewing machine with the help of a small loan and Marcus Goldmann sold the clothing she made. When he became a citizen in 1853 his name was anglicized as Marcus Goldman. The couple's business grew and expanded in scale and soon Goldman was manufacturing and selling inexpensive clothing on a broader scale.

Not long after the Civil War, the Goldmans moved to New York and, like Solomon Loeb, Marcus Goldman shifted from working as a clothing manufacturer to commercial finance. He opened an office as a "banker and broker" in 1869 and developed a specialty in the commercial paper market, a form of short-term financing manufacturers used to raise money for operating expenses. Essentially, banks agreed to lend money to firms for a fixed number of months with the firm's merchandise serving as the collateral. Goldman's role was to buy up "paper" from companies, usually in round amounts like \$5,000 or \$10,000, and then sell it to banks with money to lend. Goldman's responsibility ended here; when the term of the loan ended, the company repaid the loan, with interest, directly to whichever bank owned its paper. In offering a bank commercial paper, Goldman was implicitly guaranteeing that the borrowing firm would repay the loan. Goldman made a profit either by charging a commission that was a percentage of the face value of the paper



or by the differential between the price he charged to purchase paper and the price at which banks purchased it. This provided a useful service because it saved banks the search costs of finding reliable borrowers and enabled borrowing companies to concentrate on manufacturing and distribution rather than on seeking funds.

Marcus Goldman was the sole owner of the firm for thirteen years, until 1882. Within that timespan the scale of its business multiplied from \$5 million in 1869 to \$30 million in 1882. Like the other firms already discussed, when he decided to take on new partners he turned to family members, inviting his son-in-law Samuel Sachs to join him in 1882, when the firm name Goldman, Sachs was first adopted; in the following years another son-in-law, Ludwig Dreyfuss, and Goldman's son Henry were also admitted as partners. By 1900, Yankee firms were more likely to invite outsiders to become partners but still provided slots for relatives to join. German firms were apparently more likely to turn to relatives for partnerships, but in many cases the family relationships were tenuous—such as a cousin by marriage. Accepting relatives as partners helped ensure the firm's capital was retained within the family rather than potentially being paid out to outsiders when a partner died or retired.

As the United States entered a period of prosperity between 1896 and 1914, Goldman Sachs amassed more and more capital, thanks in part to the absence of income taxes at the time.<sup>78</sup> Seeking opportunities to put its capital to use, the firm considered becoming a railroad security issuer. As noted earlier, banker James Speyer warned Henry Goldman away from entering the field of railroad finance.<sup>79</sup> Goldman soon realized that there was a new sector seeking financing: manufacturers of consumer products and mass retailers, as opposed to the railroads and industrial companies that had dominated the securities markets up to that point. Just as the "Yankee" banking firms had long used social and cultural ties to gain business, Henry Goldman's social relationships—in his case his love of poker—brought him a business opportunity. One of his frequent poker buddies, Jacob Wertheim, was co-owner of the United Cigar Manufacturers, a consolidation of three cigar companies. Wertheim wished to establish a "ready and realizable value" for his stake in the company, something which hadn't been done before for a company selling consumer products like his own. Henry Goldman proposed that the owners of United Cigar agree to create a public company and place in Goldman, Sachs's hands the responsibility of marketing its shares.

The challenge Goldman faced was that, according to traditional ideas of corporate finance, companies' security structures were founded on a base of bonds and stock, with bonds representing the value of the corporation's assets and stock representing its earnings. In the case of United Cigar, however, the value of its assets was negligible relative to the value the owners wanted



to place on their company and, moreover, it was undesirable to saddle the company with the expense of an unnecessary mortgage. Goldman hit upon the idea that United Cigar could issue a combination of preferred and stock common stock in which the preferred stock represented the value of the company's intangible goodwill as well as its manufacturing assets while the common stock represented the company's potential profits.<sup>80</sup>

Because this idea was innovative, Goldman decided that he needed a partner who could supply him with cash to finance the purchase of shares from the original owners and with the financial security to hold on to the shares in case the idea took a long time to gain currency with the general public. Henry Goldman soon turned to Philip Lehman, the senior partner of Lehman Brothers. Goldman's nephew, Walter Sachs, later explained that Lehman Brothers was a useful partner because it was "well known and wealthy"; Philip Lehman was also a close neighbor of Henry Goldman's on the Jersey shore.<sup>81</sup> Goldman, Sachs and Lehman Brothers agreed to buy out the manufacturers who wanted to sell their stake in the new corporation for \$4.5 million dollars, with the proviso that they promised not to compete with United Cigar for at least five years.

In order to distribute shares of United Cigar stock, Goldman, Sachs turned to banking firms it had been dealing with over the past decade who also knew the tobacco market. One Amsterdam firm, for example, marketed tobacco from Sumatra, in the Dutch East Indies, to American sellers and thus already knew the companies that were merging into United Cigar.<sup>82</sup> In order to provide reassurance to the banking firms who were asked to distribute the company's securities, a member of Goldman, Sachs joined the board of United Cigar, "as an evidence of good faith" in the company's future. This practice was followed in the string of stock issues that followed. When Henry Goldman died, his place on the board was taken by Harry Sachs.<sup>83</sup>

Henry Goldman replicated the innovative financial concept of using common and preferred stock and eschewing bonds with Sears, Roebuck & Co. Social ties also helped bring Goldman, Sachs and retailers together. By 1900, the Sears, Roebuck Co. of Chicago had become the largest catalog retailer in the United States, and its president was Julius Rosenwald, a second-generation German-American whose parents had emigrated in the 1850s.<sup>84</sup> Rosenwald's cousin, Samuel Hammerslough, was married to Emelia Sachs, a sister of Samuel Sachs, and thanks to this relationship Sears, Roebuck turned to Goldman Sachs to sell its commercial paper in New York. When Sears, Roebuck sought money for expansion, Henry Goldman proposed instead that the firm consider becoming a public company.

Over the course of late 1906 Goldman, Sachs and Lehman Brothers collaborated to finance the purchase of shares from Sears' owners and then



to distribute them to the public. In this case, it took nine months for the two firms to finally sell off the shares. But as word spread that the stock was finding buyers, other retailers and consumer products companies made their way to Goldman, Sachs in order to receive guidance on how they might restructure themselves to become public companies.<sup>85</sup> Among the stock issues Goldman, Sachs sponsored with Lehman Brothers' assistance were the May and Stern Bros. department stores, the Brown Shoe Company, the Underwood Typewriter Company, and others.

Not only German-Jewish entrepreneurs but men from "native stock" backgrounds turned to Goldman Sachs for assistance. Perhaps the quintessential example was the public issue of stock in the F.W. Woolworth Co., the chain of "five-and-dime" stores, in late 1912. When the iconic Woolworth skyscraper was completed in New York the following year, in the spring of 1913, Frank Woolworth would refer to Henry Goldman and the building's architect, Cass Gilbert, as "the two men who have made this building possible."<sup>86</sup> A year later war would break out in Europe and the New York stock market would temporarily shut down. This brought an abrupt halt to the trend of consumer-oriented firms becoming publicly-traded companies; during the war it would be stocks linked to military production—nicknamed the "war babies"—that would be the main focus of investors' attention.<sup>87</sup>

## VI

During the period of American neutrality, German-Jewish bankers found themselves in an impossible situation: anything that they did that displeased Britain or its allies (including the Anglo-American banks, like J. P. Morgan & Co.) would be attributed to their being German foreigners; anything that they did that displeased Germany would be attributed to their being Jewish foreigners. German ambassador Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff observed that the German-Jewish banks were "in no easy position . . . they wish to stand well with all sides," yet on another occasion wrote a warning to Berlin that Germany could not "be left to the tender mercies of the German-Jewish bankers here."<sup>88</sup> The United Kingdom and the Allied countries were "far more successful" in raising money in the United States, selling \$10 billion in war bonds in the first year of the war while Germany and its allies raised just over \$5 billion.<sup>89</sup>

The war produced tensions within several of the firms that often depended on an individual partner's proximity to German heritage rather than along generational lines. Within Kuhn, Loeb for example, Jacob Schiff and Felix Warburg, who were both German-born and had moved permanently to the U.S. as adults, were strongly sympathetic to Germany, while Jacob Schiff's

U.S.-born son Mortimer leaned towards the allies. (Schiff was also an adamant foe of Britain's ally Russia because Nicholas II's regime violently persecuted Russian Jews.) Otto Kahn, who was also born in Germany but had not lived there since he was 21, was ambivalent. One internal crisis in the firm was provoked by a 1916 proposal from M. M. Warburg & Co. that Kuhn, Loeb help support a municipal bond issue to raise funds for German cities. Since the money would not be going directly to the German government for war materiel, it was argued that this was a purely civilian act rather than a form of support for Germany.

This was countered by the argument that money was fungible, and that money raised in the United States would free up money in Germany for the military. Kahn expressed his concern that sponsoring the loan would lead to Kuhn, Loeb's ostracism in both Britain and France for years to come. Nonetheless Jacob Schiff's opinion ruled and the firm made plans to go ahead with the loan, until the Federal Reserve Board intervened to express its opposition. Around the same time, however, Mortimer Schiff concluded a business deal which led to Kuhn, Loeb sponsoring a bond issue for the aid of Paris and several other French cities. Schiff continued to be somewhat ambivalent about supporting the Allies until Nicholas II was overthrown in spring 1917; from then on he felt free to criticize the German government while expressing his continuing respect and affection for the German people.<sup>90</sup> In an August 1917 letter, he expressed his disgust for "the attitude of Germany's ruling class, with the Emperor at the head of it" in the conduct of the war.<sup>91</sup>

While Otto Kahn was less supportive of Germany during the war than his partners, he was convinced that his home country's reputation had to be restored as quickly as possible to its prewar stature in the United States. Kahn pursued this in both cultural and financial arenas: in the summer of 1919, for example, "he began working to restore German opera at the Metropolitan," which had been banned during the war. In quiet ways, other bankers tried to pursue similar goals: in 1928, Felix and Paul Warburg and Henry Goldman were among the donors to establish a chair in German art and culture at Harvard University.<sup>92</sup> In the geopolitical context, Kahn believed "a stable Germany" could be "both a bulwark against Bolshevism and a probable agent for the industrial development of Russia."<sup>93</sup>

Meanwhile, J. P. Morgan & Co., led by J. P. Morgan, Jr. from 1913, sought to achieve sole dominance on Wall Street rather than the first-among-equals position the firm had enjoyed under J. P. Morgan, Sr. In particular, the firm sought to undermine Kuhn, Loeb and tried hard to make sure Otto Kahn, the firm's most ebullient partner, was frozen out of postwar influence. Firm members helped "spread rumors about Kahn secretly financing Germany during the war."<sup>94</sup> The Morgan firm disrupted the traditional



Wall Street principle that firms did not take clients from each other and aggressively pursued the Japanese government as a client; this bore fruit in 1923 when Japan turned to J. P. Morgan & Co. for a bond issue and dropped its relationship with Kuhn, Loeb that dated back to the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>95</sup> By 1924, Kahn was concluding that Kuhn, Loeb could not attain "a real equality with Morgans, they are too firmly entrenched, and several leaps ahead."<sup>96</sup>

The Morgan partners' free use of anti-Semitic epithets suggests that perhaps the firm used prejudicial views of Jews to justify their aggressive business strategy. J. P. Morgan, Jr., was a forthright anti-Semite, and it may well be that his partners picked up on his feelings and reinforced his rhetoric.<sup>97</sup> While J. P. Morgan, Sr., occasionally uttered anti-Semitic epithets, he had a consistently cordial relationship with Jacob Schiff and with other Jewish bankers. As president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the older Morgan also presided over the selection of the museum's first Jewish trustee at a time when Columbia University and many other cultural institutions in New York had none.<sup>98</sup> As Susie J. Pak documents, letters exchanged among the younger Morgan and his partners in the 1920s traded jokes and barbs about the German-Jewish bankers they dealt with and encountered, attributing business deals gone wrong, poor management decisions, and expensive misunderstandings to stereotypes of deceitfulness and clannishness.<sup>99</sup> It is impossible to capture but quite possible that similar ideas circulated among Morgan partners and other businessmen in the course of social conversations in clubs and homes when Jewish people were known not to be present.

Kuhn, Loeb became involved in a variety of German projects over the course of the 1920s—this time overseeing the move of funds from the United States to Germany rather than in the reverse direction as during the railroad era. Kahn described himself as "a booster for Germany." Among other work, Kuhn, Loeb sponsored bonds for the North-German Lloyd shipping company and formed new alliances with several German banks.<sup>100</sup> The wide variety of business opportunities that German-Jewish firms pursued in Germany and with German business partners after World War I illustrates the optimism that the war would come to be seen as merely an interruption in harmonious business relationships rather than a cataclysmic rupture.

These business opportunities were in new sectors of the economy, such as the retail sector and synthetic fabric sectors, indicating a search for new business opportunities rather than simply renewal of previous relationships. For example, in 1928, Speyer & Co. and Lehman Brothers cooperated with banking firms scattered throughout the major banking centers of Europe to issue securities for the Associated Rayon Corporation, an American corporation which was largely controlled by the Vereinigte Glanzstoff-

Fabriken (VGF), Germany's largest rayon producer.<sup>101</sup> After 1929, however, the collapse of the German economy put an end to these hopes. From then on, the primary activity of the German-Jewish firms in Germany was, first, attempting to salvage a pittance of their investments, and then later assisting with financial arrangements for Jewish entrepreneurs and members of the middle class attempting to preserve their assets while fleeing the Nazi regime.<sup>102</sup>

## VII

On the home front, the advent of peace brought opportunities for many firms to reexamine their practices and move into new areas of business. Lehman Brothers was one such firm. The firm's roots lay in the emigration of the three eponymous brothers—Mayer (1830–97), Henry, and Emanuel—from Rimpfing, Bavaria in the late 1840s.<sup>103</sup> Henry, the first to emigrate, settled in Alabama after a brief time peddling and opened a small mercantile store in Montgomery, Alabama. His brothers soon joined him and they began operating the store together, taking on the name Lehman Brothers. The business soon shifted from supplying everyday goods to the surrounding plantations to acting as a broker of raw cotton, which their customers frequently used as barter as cash was short. Rapidly increasing demand for cotton, and the central role of New York in the global cotton trade, led Emanuel Lehman to decide to emigrate there in 1858 in order to expand the scale of the family's business operations (Henry had died in 1855). For the two surviving Lehman brothers, the Civil War was only a temporary disruption, and their business in New York soon was thriving as it had before the war. In the postwar decades, Lehman Brothers focused on the further development of the cotton market, participating in the formation and administration of the New York Cotton Exchange, and on the development of a Southern transportation infrastructure (but as investors, not as bankers).

As noted earlier, Philip Lehman, a son of Emanuel Lehman, had partnered with Henry Goldman in sponsoring the public issue of stock in United Cigar Manufacturing and then several other companies. But the friendship between the two men, and thus their firms' relationship, was severely strained by the war: while Henry Goldman strongly supported Germany, Philip Lehman was a dedicated backer of the United States and its allies.<sup>104</sup> Herbert Lehman, a son of Mayer, spent World War I serving in a Navy procurement office, where he came in contact with a naval officer named John M. Hancock. When Lehman returned to work at Lehman Brothers after the war, he found that Jewel Tea, one of the firm's clients, a company that specialized in home delivery of tea, coffee, and other high value-to-bulk products, was on the verge



of financial collapse. Lehman had been impressed by Hancock's managerial skills and had promised to help him obtain an executive position after the war. Thus, in fall 1919, he arranged for Hancock to take over Jewel Tea's presidency. Within five years, the company had been restored to profitability, and in 1924 Hancock was invited to become the first non-family partner of Lehman Brothers. Hancock went on to serve on the boards of a variety of companies that relied on Lehman Brothers as their bankers.<sup>105</sup>

In the years 1906–25, Lehman Brothers underwrote almost 100 securities issues, and by 1925 it was launching a new securities issue every month as compared with the slower pace of the prewar years.<sup>106</sup> Just as Goldman, Sachs had found success in sponsoring stock issues by companies offering basic consumer goods—cigars, shirts, shoes, and so forth—Lehman Brothers found that it had opportunities to sponsor stock issues by companies that were on the cutting-edge of innovation, from Pan Am Airlines and the National Union Radio Corporation to more mundane products like the condensed soup company Campbell's. These deals required new kinds of stipulations for business deals. In an arrangement for taking the mayonnaise company Hellmann's public, for example, the contract with Lehman Brothers provided that the company's recipes would be placed "in a sealed envelope under irrevocable escrow" and deposited with the Bankers Trust Company.<sup>107</sup> One symbol of the changing fates of the Wall Street banking firms was Lehman Brothers' move, in 1928, to 1 William Street, an office building originally built for the Seligman firm in 1907. While the Seligman firm was still operating, its business was on a much smaller scale and barely any family members remained partners.<sup>108</sup>

The stock market crash of fall 1929, and the United States' gradual tumble into the Great Depression, wore down Lehman Brothers' accumulated profits. Lehman Brothers had sponsored share issues by a small handful of German department stores in the 1920s, but these were all taken over by the Nazi regime in the 1930s. The firm's attempt to reach out to the general public through quasi-mutual fund entities known as investment trusts collapsed, causing the firm to lose some \$8 million.<sup>109</sup>

## VIII

When the Nazi regime began to implement official harassment and persecution of German Jews in 1933, deep divisions appeared within the German-Jewish community in New York over how and whether to denounce the Nazi regime. While some observers urged a boycott of German goods, some observers argued Hitler's anti-Semitism was simply a temporary political device and others argued that intervention might make the position

of German Jews more difficult.<sup>110</sup> For many this concern was to some extent a question of whether or not to criticize their family's homeland, since German-Jewish Americans had not hesitated to denounce anti-Semitic policies in Russia and other countries.<sup>111</sup> One tragic example of this dilemma was Henry Goldman, who had moved to Germany after World War I in part because of disillusionment with the United States after it went to war with Germany. After personally experiencing the anti-Semitic upheaval of the early 1930s, he decided to return to the United States and died in New York in 1937.

As the extent to which the Nazi government intended to ostracize Jewish citizens from German society, and eventually to implement the Holocaust, became clear, the American Jewish philanthropic network moved into action to try to protect and save as many people as possible. Many of the organizations that had been founded and supported by Jacob Schiff and Felix Warburg mobilized relief for refugees fleeing Germany. In contrast to World War I, when Britain declared war on Germany in 1939 Kuhn, Loeb rapidly assisted the British government in its implementation of "economic warfare" by helping to liquidate shares in American railroads it had seized from German bank accounts in Britain.<sup>112</sup>

In contrast to the early 1900s, when "native stock" businessmen had tended to favor Anglo-American bankers, the increasing ethnic (if not racial) diversity among American corporate executives made "native stock" background recede in importance as a factor that inhibited German-Jewish banks from garnering corporate clients. Many industrial companies that had become Lehman Brothers clients in the 1930s adapted their production facilities to build war materiel or supplied crucial commodities. Lehman Brothers helped finance the oil-services company Halliburton and the drilling company Kerr-McGee, for example, both of which helped meet the military's demand for oil. Fairchild Aviation, another client, made aerial photography equipment used for battlefield surveillance.<sup>113</sup> Two of the firm's younger partners were killed while serving in the war.

The United States victory in World War II presaged the reconstruction of Europe and unparalleled American economic and political influence. Much like the German-born partners of a generation earlier, Siegmund Warburg, a Hamburg-born nephew of Paul and Felix Warburg who joined Kuhn, Loeb, wanted to finance the rebuilding of Germany. In the wake of the Holocaust, however, German-Jewish firms in both New York and London shied away from doing business with Germany, and Warburg's moves to help finance the European Coal and Steel Community and German companies like Daimler-Benz were disdained.<sup>114</sup> For the most part, the German-Jewish banks no longer identified themselves as having German origins and had sufficient business on their hands if they focused on the burgeoning American economy.



While many bankers and their families retained a personal interest in Jewish philanthropy, their ties to German culture all but evaporated.

That said, this essay might be seen as an attempt to answer the question "What was German about the German-Jewish banking firms?" Susie Pak points out that the timing of the anti-Semitic remarks found in the Morgan partners' correspondence in the 1920s is unusual because, in many ways, the German-Jewish bankers were becoming *less* distinct from Anglo-American bankers than they had been twenty or thirty years earlier; both groups indulged in expensive pastimes such as hunting and polo and transatlantic voyages on luxury ships. But she argues that this increasing similarity may be precisely what explains the Morgan partners' attempts to insist that Jewishness was an identifiable and undesirable quality. These prejudices then had real-world consequences in the creation of country clubs and social societies that explicitly excluded Jews, as well as admissions policies that limited the admission of Jewish students at Ivy League schools; the after-effect, Pak argues, was the creation of anti-Semitic views that acquired "ahistorical, predetermined, [and] normative" authority.<sup>115</sup>

Just such a view of German-Jewish bankers as having a "predetermined" distinctiveness has shaped attention to the history of the firms considered here. Most of these histories have been written without parallel consideration of the experiences of German-Christian bankers and of Jewish communities descended from pre-nineteenth-century immigrants. The anti-Semitic attitudes that bubbled to the surface in the 1920s remained just under the surface even into the 1970s on Wall Street, when banking firms continued to be defined as either "Christian" or "Jewish."<sup>116</sup> The prevalence of such viewpoints may explain why the studies of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s tended to focus on the partners' lives as Jews and given less consideration to their engagement with German culture, which was important to many of the bankers described here.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> These studies include Barry E. Supple, "A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Business History Review* 31 (Summer 1957): 143–78; Vincent P. Carosso, "A Financial Elite: New York's German-Jewish Investment Bankers," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 66 (Sep. 1976): 67–88; and Charles R. Geisst, *The Last Partnerships: Inside the Great Wall Street Money Dynasties* (New York, 2001), 41–80; see also Stephen Birmingham, *"Our Crowd": The Great Jewish Families of New York* (New York, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> German Historical Institute, *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, [www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org](http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org).

<sup>3</sup> The ancestors of John D. Rockefeller's paternal grandfather emigrated from Germany in the 1720s; his mother descended from a Scotch-Irish family, and his paternal grandmother from a Puritan English family. Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York, 1998), 3–8, esp. 3. Ford's mother, Mary Litogot Ford, is believed to have been of Belgian or French ancestry. Ford R. Bryan, *Friends, Families and Forays: Scenes from the Life and Times of Henry Ford* (Dearborn, MI, 2002), 83.

<sup>4</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 146–49.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), 39–52, esp. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845–80* (Urbana, 1990), 80.

<sup>7</sup> Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 131–32.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Edward Krehbiel, *The Philharmonic Society of New York: A Memorial* (New York, 1892), 170.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel E. Bender, *American Abyss: Savagery and Civilization in the Age of Industry* (Ithaca, NY, 2009), 67–68. See also Eric L. Goldstein, "Different Blood Flows in Our Veins: Race and Jewish Self-Definition in Late Nineteenth Century America," *American Jewish History* 85 (March 1997): 29–55.

<sup>10</sup> On Jewish attitudes towards Germany after World War II and the Holocaust, see Hasia R. Diner, *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962* (New York, 2009), 241–52, 263–65, and Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 363–75. Kuhn, Loeb was something of an exception, in part because postwar emigrants from Germany who joined the firm, in particular Siegmund Warburg, were eager to reestablish business ties in Germany. Ron Chernow, *The Warburgs: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of a Remarkable Jewish Family* (New York, 1993), 613–14.

<sup>11</sup> For specific discussion of the contrasts between the United States and Britain, see Alfred D. Chandler and Takashi Hikino, *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, MA 1990), 253–54, 291–94; on the contrasts between the United States and Germany, Chandler and Hikino, *Scale and Scope*, 144–45, 499, 506–13, 589, 597.

<sup>12</sup> For broad overviews, see Vincent P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 10–109, 193–321, 393–407; Jonathan Barron Baskin and Paul J. Miranti, *A History of Corporate Finance* (New York, 1997), 134–209.

<sup>13</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 176.

<sup>14</sup> Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 469–501, 510–513.

<sup>15</sup> Susie Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 223–24, gives a cogent explanation of the importance of considering both presence and absence in studying the history of financial networks.

<sup>16</sup> Howard B. Rock, *Haven of Liberty: New York Jews in the New World, 1654–1865*, ed. Deborah Dash Moore, 3 vols. (New York, 2012), 157.

<sup>17</sup> See Lars Maischak, *German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic* (New York, 2013), 230–40.

<sup>18</sup> See Maischak, *German Merchants*, 250–51, 258–61; Theodore Knauth, "A Banking Retrospect," unpublished memoir (1959), 55–57, available online: [http://www.huthsteiner.org/Knauth\\_Family.htm](http://www.huthsteiner.org/Knauth_Family.htm), accessed October 28, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 167–72.

<sup>20</sup> Vincent P. Carosso and Rose C. Carosso, *The Morgans: Private International Bankers, 1854–1913* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), 61–63.

<sup>21</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 146.



<sup>22</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 150.

<sup>23</sup> Hasia Diner, "German Jews and Peddling in America," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 3, ed. Giles R. Hoyt (German Historical Institute, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=191>, accessed October 28, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Biographical details on Joseph Seligman and the first generation of Seligmans in the United States are largely taken from Elliott Ashkenazi, "Joseph Seligman," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 2, ed. William J. Hausman (German Historical Institute, 2013), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=184>, accessed October 28, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> The involvement of Jewish-owned mercantile firms in supplying blankets and uniforms to the Union Army gave to accusations that deployed anti-Semitic stereotypes to allege that Jewish merchants were unfairly profiting by charging high prices for substandard goods. See Gary L. Bunker and John Appel, "'Shoddy,' Anti-Semitism and the Civil War," *American Jewish History* 82 (1994/1995): 43-71. It is interesting to note that J. P. Morgan, Sr., was also accused of profiteering from arms contracts during the Civil War, an episode known as the Hall carbine affair, and the episode continued to be used to criticize Morgan for decades afterward. See Carosso and Carosso, *The Morgans*, 92-93, 671n79.

<sup>26</sup> See Melinda Lawson, *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (Lawrence, KS, 2002), 40-64.

<sup>27</sup> In addition to Ashkenazi, "Joseph Seligman," see Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 74-76; Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 103-104; and Ralf Roth, "Financial Support of Frankfurt Bankers for American Civil War," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas Adam, 3 vols. (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2005): 1:61-62. The Seligman firm may also have served as a conduit for Americans to sell off in Europe bonds they had purchased when they were first issued.

<sup>28</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 177; Carosso, "A Financial Elite," 73-74; Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 97-100.

<sup>29</sup> Carosso and Carosso, *The Morgans*, 124-25.

<sup>30</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 109-10, 137.

<sup>31</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 111, 680n152.

<sup>32</sup> For discussion of the syndicate system, see Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, 52-68.

<sup>33</sup> Ashkenazi, "Joseph Seligman"; Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 136-39.

<sup>34</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 184-85.

<sup>35</sup> Ross L. Muir and Carl J. White, *Over the Long Term: The Story of J. & W. Seligman & Co* (New York, 1964), 83-89.

<sup>36</sup> Ashkenazi, "Joseph Seligman"; Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 106-14.

<sup>37</sup> Muir and White, *Over the Long Term*, 88-90, 95; Carosso and Carosso, *The Morgans*, 349.

<sup>38</sup> On the early history of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., see Carosso, "A Financial Elite," 76.

<sup>39</sup> For information on the life of Jacob Schiff, see Bernice Heilbrunn, "Jacob H. Schiff," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 3, ed. Giles R. Hoyt (German Historical Institute; last modified August 5, 2013), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=41>.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Kessner, *Capital City: New York City and the Men Behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900* (New York, 2003), 101-2.

<sup>41</sup> Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1928), 1:51.

<sup>42</sup> Dorothy R. Adler, *British Investment in American Railways, 1834-1898* (Charlottesville, VA, 1970), 153-59.

<sup>43</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment to 1914*, 205; Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 159-62.

<sup>44</sup> Robert Taylor Swaine, *The Cravath Firm and Its Predecessors* (New York, 1946), 1:375-

77; Robert W. Gordon, "Legal Thought and Legal Practice in the Age of American Enterprise," in *Professions and Professional Ideologies in America*, ed. Gerald L. Geison (Chapel Hill, 1983).

<sup>45</sup> Albrow Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York, 1976), 345–46.

<sup>46</sup> For a summary of business ethics in the period, see Saul Engelbourg, *Power and Morality: American Business Ethics, 1840–1914* (Westport, CT, 1980), 12–37.

<sup>47</sup> See John Kelly and William J. Hausman, "Albert Fink," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 2, ed. William J. Hausman (German Historical Institute, last modified March 19, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=21>.

<sup>48</sup> D. W. Meinig, *Transcontinental America, 1850–1915* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 245–65, esp. 260–61.

<sup>49</sup> David A. Skeel, *Debt's Dominion: A History of Bankruptcy Law in America* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), 53, 63–69.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, 1:74.

<sup>51</sup> Maury Klein, *The Life and Legend of E.H. Harriman* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), 106–47, 163–65.

<sup>52</sup> The most useful study of this period is Naomi R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895–1904* (New York, 1985). William G. Roy, *Socializing Capital: The Rise of the Large Industrial Corporation in America* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), 129–43, 221–58, Lawrence E. Mitchell, *The Speculation Economy: How Finance Triumphed over Industry* (San Francisco, 2007), 38–77, 90–128, and Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, 42–109 provide overviews of how Wall Street bankers, brokers, and attorneys participated in this process.

<sup>53</sup> Muir and White, *Over the Long Term*, 93–95.

<sup>54</sup> Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Re-Interpretation of American History, 1900–1916* (New York, 1963), 51–53.

<sup>55</sup> Theresa M. Collins, *Otto Kahn: Art, Money and Modern Time* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 49–50.

<sup>56</sup> This can be seen by comparing the scale of M. M. Warburg & Co.'s business before and after the two marriages. Between 1891 and 1895, the Warburg firm's business averaged between 18 and 29 million marks annually; between 1896 and 1900, the firm's business averaged between 34 million and 45 million marks, and after 1905 was never again below 80 million marks until World War I. Edward Rosenbaum, "M. M. Warburg & Co. Merchant Bankers of Hamburg: A Survey of the First 140 Years, 1798 to 1938," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 7 (1962): 121–49.

<sup>57</sup> Rosenbaum, "M. M. Warburg & Co.," 139–40.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Muir and White, *Over the Long Term*, 86.

<sup>59</sup> C.M. Keys, "Harriman, III: The Spinner of Golden Webs," *World's Work*, March, 1907, 8655.

<sup>60</sup> Price, Waterhouse & Co. (New York), to Price, Waterhouse & Co. (London), Oct. 31, 1902, folder "May Corresp., 1901–1911, 1 of 2," box 77, PriceWaterhouse Coopers Records (Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York).

<sup>61</sup> Walter E. Sachs, "Autobiography," 40, folder 22, box 35, Stephen Birmingham Papers (Godlieb Archival Center, Boston University Department of Special Collections, MA).

<sup>62</sup> Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 259–66.

<sup>63</sup> See, in particular, Naomi Wiener Cohen, *Jacob H. Schiff: A Study in American Jewish Leadership* (Hanover, NH, 1999).

<sup>64</sup> Supple, "A Business Elite," 159; Thomas Adam, "Frankfurt am Main Citizens in the United States," in *Germany and the Americas*, ed. Thomas Adam, 2:373–78, here 376.

<sup>65</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 47–48, 68–78, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, 2:294–95.

<sup>67</sup> Herbert H. Lehman, "Reminiscences of Herbert Henry Lehman," 1961, 12, Columbia University Oral History Project.



<sup>68</sup> Lehman, "Reminiscences," 32.

<sup>69</sup> Carosso and Carosso, *The Morgans*, 54–59, 77–81.

<sup>70</sup> "Judge Hilton's Position," *New York Times*, June 20, 1877; "Mr. Seligman's Friends," *New York Times*, June 21, 1877. See also Birmingham, "Our Crowd," 142–48.

<sup>71</sup> Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana, 1982), 650–51.

<sup>72</sup> For description of the social clubs of New York, see David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York, 1982), 72–76. The Harmonie Club (originally the Gesellschaft Harmonie) was the primary club of elite German Jewish men.

<sup>73</sup> Kendall Banning, "Deals Across the Table," *System*, Feb., 1909.

<sup>74</sup> Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, 100–1. For further discussion of reputation, see Rowena Olegario, *A Culture of Credit: Embedding Trust and Transparency in American Business* (Cambridge, MA, 2006).

<sup>75</sup> Carosso and Carosso, *The Morgans*, 387–88.

<sup>76</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 72–73. In a similar incident, stockbroker Eugene Meyer was told by banker Henry Morgenthau that he could only "get the crumbs" of available business; "you can't have any of the real pie yet; you're too young." Eugene Meyer, 94, Columbia University Oral History Project.

<sup>77</sup> General details on Marcus Goldman and the early history of Goldman, Sachs are largely taken from Sheri Caplan, "Marcus Goldman," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 2, ed. William J. Hausman (German Historical Institute, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=100>, accessed October 28, 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 46–47.

<sup>79</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 72–73.

<sup>80</sup> Charles D. Ellis, *The Partnership: The Making of Goldman Sachs* (New York, 2008), 9; Sachs, "Autobiography," 74–83. On the emergence of the idea of using stock to represent goodwill rather than tangible assets, see Mitchell, *The Speculation Economy*, 72–75.

<sup>81</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 75.

<sup>82</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 77–78.

<sup>83</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 85–86.

<sup>84</sup> For additional information on Rosenwald, see Stephanie Deutsch, "Julius Rosenwald," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 3, ed. Giles R. Hoyt (German Historical Institute, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=110>.

<sup>85</sup> Ellis, *The Partnership*, 9–11.

<sup>86</sup> Sachs, "Autobiography," 110–12.

<sup>87</sup> Steve Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator: A History of Wall Street in American Life* (New York, 2005), 347–50.

<sup>88</sup> Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States, 1914–1945* (Cambridge, Mass, 2004), 19, 664n262; Johann Heinrich Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America* (New York, 1920), 157–58, 186.

<sup>89</sup> Christopher Kobrak, *Banking on Global Markets: Deutsche Bank and the United States, 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008), 177–78.

<sup>90</sup> Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, 116–22.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted in Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff*, 2:203.

<sup>92</sup> "Kuno Francke Chair of German Art and Culture Is Established," *Harvard Crimson*, Oct. 8, 1929.

<sup>93</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 130.

<sup>94</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 130–31.

<sup>95</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 136–37.

<sup>96</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 140, quoting Kahn to Mortimer Schiff, July 16, 1924.

<sup>97</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 129. Compare with Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator*, 221–24, 228–

30.

<sup>98</sup> Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1989), 218–19.

<sup>99</sup> Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, 132–36.

<sup>100</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 198.

<sup>101</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment, 1914–1945*, 235–36.

<sup>102</sup> See Martin Münzel, “Expulsion—Plunder—Flight: Businessmen and Emigration from Nazi Germany,” in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 4, ed. Jeffrey Fear (German Historical Institute, last modified March 24, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=174>; Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment, 1914–1945*, 316.

<sup>103</sup> Information on the early history of Lehman Brothers is taken from Robert Archibald, “Mayer Lehman,” in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship*, vol. 2, ed. William J. Hausman (German Historical Institute, 2014), <http://immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=20>.

<sup>104</sup> Allan Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman and His Era* (New York, 1963), 65–66.

<sup>105</sup> Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman*, 63–64; “John M. Hancock, Financier, Dead,” *New York Times*, Sep. 26, 1956; Peter Chapman, *The Last of the Imperious Rich: Lehman Brothers, 1844–2008* (New York, 2010), 82.

<sup>106</sup> Lehman Brothers, *A Centennial: Lehman Brothers, 1850–1950* (New York, 1950), 32–33.

<sup>107</sup> “Agreement between the Stock Vendors and the Bankers,” July 27, 1925, Richard Hellmann, Inc. deal book, Lehman Brothers Records (Baker Library, Harvard University, Boston, MA).

<sup>108</sup> Chapman, *The Last of the Imperious Rich*, 79, 91–97.

<sup>109</sup> Chapman, *The Last of the Imperious Rich*, 103. Goldman Sachs was the most prominent advocate of investment trusts, and eventually lost some \$121 million. The fate of the investment trusts, however, is more closely linked to the history of popular engagement with investing and the rise of financialization than the account of government and industrial investment offered here. See Julia C. Ott, *When Wall Street Met Main Street: The Quest for an Investors’ Democracy* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), 168–90.

<sup>110</sup> Collins, *Otto Kahn*, 259; Chernow, *The Warburgs*, 369–73. For an overview, see Richard A. Hawkins, “‘Hitler’s Bitterest Foe’: Samuel Untermyer and the Boycott of Nazi Germany, 1933–1938,” *American Jewish History* 93 (March 2007): 21–50.

<sup>111</sup> On the reluctance of Untermyer, an ardent boycott backer, to attack Germany, see Hawkins, “‘Hitler’s Bitterest Foe,’” 23, 42.

<sup>112</sup> Wilkins, *History of Foreign Investment, 1914–1945*, 487, 489.

<sup>113</sup> Chapman, *The Last of the Imperious Rich*, 134.

<sup>114</sup> Chernow, *The Warburgs*, 615–16.

<sup>115</sup> Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, 130–59, esp. 136.

<sup>116</sup> Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990), 581.



*Paul Hostettler*

**Of Bernese *Täufer*: Aspects of Local Origins,  
Familial Growth, Migrations, and General  
Attitude as Reflected in Pre-1750 Archival Sources**

Translated by Leo Schelbert

**Preface**

The fact that during and beyond the Reformation Christian baptism was practiced with different understandings, also resulted in various labels for baptism-minded groups that are used still today. In the Anglo-Saxon language-tradition the terms "Anabaptist" and "Anabaptism" have become widespread designations. The terms, however, are quite misleading if one considers the situation in the small regions of the State of Bern, and they actually conceal the very meaning that the word attempts to convey. Among those rural people the issue was *not* how the external forms of baptism were to be shaped, thus the debate was not about immersion versus the mere pouring of water nor about a single or a repeated baptismal act. By 1580 at the latest, the ecclesiastical books of the Bernese region Schwarzenburg document that the children of its inhabitants were regularly brought to the official houses of worship for baptism although it did not happen without opposition. Those who opposed official infant baptism were rather concerned about the consequences baptism was to have for the faith and practice of individuals as well as of the religious community at large. Unfortunately the misunderstanding became widespread as if re-baptism had been the basic issue.

In the 18th century, the spelling *Widertäufer* "Anabaptist" (see title on page 169) seems to have been common and, Paul Hostettler claims, indicates

a primary meaning of *oppositional*, *starrköpfig*, *widerwärtig* “opposed,” not so much “again.” Their opposition, Hostettler claims, was just as much secular, that is, anti-Bernese elite which they considered to be exploitative, thus they were *wider*, “against,”—aspects of the state religion as well as the state’s economic and political system. Therefore this article uses throughout the term *Täufer* or *Täuferglauben* in conformity with the primary sources except in quotations from the Alsace that use the term “anabaptiste” which also was carried to Pennsylvania. It is important, however, to understand that in the view of Bernese authorities the label *Täufer* mainly implied being a rebel. Although these people also opposed conditions in the State Church, viewing them as being questionable, they did not leave the institution and they were not only opposing the State’s religious, but also secular authority which in their view was undermining ancient basic rights.

### **1. Sources and Abbreviations**

Unfortunately there are almost no entries about rents for most of the homesteads of the hamlet Nidegg that in the 17th century had been a kind of exclusive reserve for Bernese bankers. The entries have vanished, also those of Winterkaut/ Wahlern. This means that answers to pertinent questions become more difficult. In Wahlern ecclesiastical death registers began only in 1730, thus only lists of contracts provide information about the passing of a person. Since there are identical names for numerous persons, identification becomes difficult, often even impossible. Given the many people, it is understandable that the pastors of the extensive communes of Wahlern and Guggisberg made only the most rudimentary entries about ecclesiastical matters. It means that most useful data as to place and homestead are unfortunately not available. What is missing, may be derived partially only from records kept in the State Archives of Bern and Fribourg and in the ecclesiastical archives of Wahlern and Guggisberg.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Sources and Abbreviations Used:**

##### ***State Archive Bern [StABE]***

*Täufer* Manual; Departmental Books; Contract-, Rent-, and Tithe-Books of the District Schwarzenburg [B III etc., ÄSb X, Bez. Sb A No. XX]. Since about 1600 microfilms of the Church Books of the parishes Wahlern, Guggisberg, and Albligen [K Wa XX, K Gu XX, KAlb XX. The order of StABE: For example K 1 Wahlern is cited as K Wa1/page number].

##### ***State Archive Fryburg [StAFR]***

Vogtei Schwarzenburg [Sb] Note: Sb2–14 are available in boxes.



### Communal Registers

Those of Wahlern before 1750 are missing; the Organ Contribution List (Orgelspenden-Rodel) of 1759 is the earliest source that covers the whole area of the commune Wahlern and is arranged according to family and homestead. Before, there exists only the Land Register of 1702 with about 50 names and the corresponding homesteads.

Guggisberg, in contrast, has the Registers of Inhabitants of 1715, 1736, and 1777 that list families and their homesteads [EReg Gu 1715 etc., edited by P. Hostettler]

### Ecclesiastical Court Manuals [*Chorgrichts-Manuale*]

Those of Wahlern and Guggisberg provide more or less detailed information about individuals and their place of residence [ChGM Wa XX; CH Gu XX ]. Page numbers are given after a slash [.../xx]

## 2. The Waldensian-Shaped Täufer Centers Nidegg and Winterkraut

The medieval Waldensian evangelization in Guggisberg has remained largely unknown. The Roman Inquisition had violently destroyed it,<sup>2</sup> but it was revived at the turn of the 16th to the 17th century. The leading Waldensian named Glodo Bifrare had used an inventive method for his Waldensian Glodo-people from Savoy.<sup>3</sup> As a foreigner he took on over thirty godparentships, and one may assume that he also introduced his godchildren carefully to his Christian persuasion. Although to a somewhat less extent, Abraham Willet, noted as a French-speaking Täufer on the Furen near Wyden, also made similar efforts as did women such as Elsi Schüner, Elsi Werli, Anna Zand and Madle Jutzeler who as godparents served as a kind of parish helpers in the typical manner of a lay movement. Their activities led to the emergence of the Täufer centers Nidegg and Winterkraut.

Beyeler	Jacob & Peter	1599	Äsb C/564
Beyeler	Ulrich	1627	Äsb C/558
Binggeli	Jeremias, Täufer at Wyden	1584	K Wa 1/424
Binggeli	Peter, Täufer at Wyden	1598	Äsb D/15s
Binggeli	Rudolf, Täufer at Wyden	1581	Äsb F/265s
Binggeli (Pinckheli)	Hanns, Täufer at Wyden	1581/1602	Äsb F/265; D/1
Bucher	Uli	1545	A II 159: RM/295, 319
Buwman	—	1601	Äsb D/25
Gasser	Elsbeth	1590	K Wa 1/306
Gasser	Simeon, at Führen	1615	Äsb C/543, 548, 574
Horst	Jacob, Täufer at Ahorn	1589	Äsb D/7s; K Wa1/222
Hostettler-Beyeler	Uli & Anni, Anabaptists, Winterkraut	1646/1672	—
Jenni	Christen, Täufer, Dürrenboden	1612	Äsb D/35, 41, 43
Mannet	Claude, put to death	1615	Äsb C/543, 548, 574
Pfäuti	Dichtli & Barbara, Täuferin	1615/1623	Äsb C/574; D/59s
Reusser	Peter, at Furen, Winterkraut	1627	Äsb C/558

Rohrbach	Hieronymus	1590	Äsb C/542
Schärz	Jakob & Ullerich, <i>Täufer</i>	1614	Äsb D/51
Schmid	Jacob, from Rosenfeld, Tübingen	1609	B III 194, De Anabapt.
Stärnenbärger	Adam & Margret, <i>Täufer</i> Teacher	1612/1623	K Wa 2/51, 94
Rösslin	<i>Täufer</i> Teacher	1623	Äsb D/59s
Stoll	Bendicht, at Allmisried	1630	Äsb D/81–83, 95
Stoll	Hans	1630	Äsb D/95
Tausetbabi	–, <i>Täufer</i>	1634	Äsb C/543, No. 5
Thengeli	Lienhard	1590	Äsb C/542
Zand	Anna	1624	K Wa 2/126
Zand	Jacob	1607	A II 324; RM 13/52
Zand	Ruff	1615	Äsb C/574
Zbinden	Uli	1626	Äsb D/67

The small hamlet Nidegg opens up toward the midlands where the cold northeast wind blows often, while Winterkraut is protected from it. In a mild winter it may even happen that the pastures remains green. Nidegg has perhaps some half a dozen houses and is situated on an “Egg,” a highpoint passage, Winterkraut, however, lies on an open slope with some stately homesteads. Single farmsteads forming several hamlets are the norm.

One aspect is to be noted: Winterkraut is crossed by a small road that leads from the cheese dairy Nöthenhaus down the whole slope to the Schwarzwasser towards Wislisau. This so-called country road also marks the boundary between the communes of Guggisberg and Wahlern so that houses along the road may belong either to the one or the other.

A second aspect needs to be pointed out: In 17th century Nidegg as well as Winterkraut there were homesteads where several related families of the same name resided which preserved marked local continuity.<sup>4</sup> When after the Peace of Westphalia the large emigration began, people left in groups while generally someone of the family stayed back at the homestead. In case of need, the person who remained could give refuge to those who had emigrated and in a way also preserved the “Heimatrecht,” the right of residence for eventual returners.

A noteworthy third aspect is the great number of children in many families. Child mortality at that time was higher than today; if a first name of a child occurs twice in a given family, it meant mostly that the earlier child had died.

### 3. Anabaptist Homesteads and Their Inhabitants in the District Winterkraut

What follows is a kind of walkabout in order to get an overview of the *Täufer* homesteads and their inhabitants.



*Matten: The old Jacob Zand, 16 June 1600, Täufer at the Matten*<sup>5</sup>

Bailiff Kohler, the younger, sent an inquiry to his government in Bern how he ought to proceed. The old *Zand* at the Matten had taken in a young *Täufer*, without the permission of the authorities and without people knowing from where he had come. Also the single daughter-in-law was living at the homestead as if she were married for two years already to that young Anabaptist, or perhaps she had married him with the assistance of an *Täuferlehrer* instead of a pastor. One ought to find more about it.

*Matten: Hans Zand and Paul Zand, 1629, Widertäufer at the Matten*<sup>6</sup>

Under the rubric "Taking-in" (*Einnemmen*), the bailiff of Schwarzenburg had to make a notation already about "*Zandt Hanns and Paulj*," both because of a "trespass." The biography of *Hans Zand* clarifies that "trespass" referred to *Täufertum*. Those fined together with *Hans* and *Paul Zand* may therefore be viewed as probably having been a *Täufer*. *Hans Zand*, son of *Jacob Zand* was still listed in the military register of 1610 as a halberd carrier, possibly less than voluntarily in light of his "trespass," and had gone abroad, thereby leaving his wife behind at the Matten. That is how bailiff *Rihiner* describes the situation in 1629 when the wife *Hans* had left behind died and a complicated settlement of the estate had ensued. The heirs considered it as a woman's estate, yet the Council in Bern as *Täufer* property. The bailiff suspected that, since the inhabitants of the Matten who had been fully identified as *Täufer* in persuasion, the woman left behind had defrauded the government of some *Täufer* property<sup>7</sup> in the context of an earlier "division."

*Matten: Ulli/Dichtli Schärtz-Pauli, 1603–1611*<sup>8</sup>

Again such a hard-boiled stubborn *Täufer*! He was to be brought to the border and expelled. When the bailiff went afterwards to his wife and child in order to divide up the property, he met with the firm expectation of those left behind that he was entitled only to a child's portion.

*Matten, Christen Zbinden 1669/70*<sup>9</sup>

*Christen Zbinden* hid *Täufers* who were listed for apprehension and protected them from the police. It was a deed against a governmental order and punishable.

*Reitweg/Riedweg? Jeremias Binggeli, 3 May 1584, baptized the son Jeremias*<sup>10</sup>

*Hans Amman*, *Täufer* in the village of Schwarzenburg and *Paul Zand*, *Täufer* of the Matten and *Coni Hafen's* wife *Elsi* at the Gambach served as witnesses. The pastor entered in the baptismal register: "The father himself, a *Täufer*, has reported the baptism to me, otherwise this was done by *Coni*

*Binggeli* at Engiwil.<sup>11</sup>

*Reitweg/Riedweg? Christen Wyders Heirs, 1 August 1690*<sup>12</sup>

At the Reitweg the heirs of *Christen Wyder* shelter *Hans Stübi* from the Rüeggisberg who from there exerts an evil influence. The order is given to throw him out like one who doesn't have a residence permit (Landrecht).

*Aborn: Anna Buri, 5 July 1725*<sup>13</sup>

Although rightfully 90 crowns could have been demanded from the division of the property of *Anna Buri*, Täuferin the Gracious Lords of Bern showed leniency and were satisfied with half.

*Aborn: Anna Buri, April 1726*<sup>14</sup>

According to the bailiff *Knecht* the billing consisted in *Ulli Mischler* paying 45 crowns at Steygen to him in the name of *Christen Gasser* for his mother in addition to the sum of 4 pounds for the informer.<sup>15</sup>

*Dürrenboden: Christen Jänni, 4 March 1612*<sup>16</sup>

Report concerning the inheritance that was due the escaped Täufer *Christen Jänni*.<sup>17</sup> Bailiff *Kessler* heard from representative (Statthalter) *Venner* and other subjects that there was that *Christen Jänni* whose children had moved away and died and had left the father behind by himself. The (homestead) *Dürrenboden* was a nice house and place, but the *Jänni* in question was a very disobedient and rebellious Anabaptist who had sold the land already during the time of the late bailiff *Heiden*. But now he wanted it back. But that land had been truly confiscated and lost. The bailiff was unsure how to handle the issue.

*Dürrenboden: Simon Gasser 1615/1620*<sup>18</sup>

The Täufer *Simon Gasser* is fined twice heavily by the bailiff *Bartlome Knecht* who has been especially active in collecting Täufer money.

*Dürrenboden: Hans Gilgen, guardian of the late Hans Gilgen's children, 7 December 1738*<sup>19</sup>

The children of *Gilgen* are in French-speaking country and the bailiff *Hans Gilgen* looks after their schooling. But the younger son has died and the older daughter is supposed to have been murdered near Nyon.

*Wyden: Peter Pinggeli, Täufer, 11 May 1597*<sup>20</sup>

Schwarzenburg. A division of property is to be done between *Peter Pinggeli* on the one hand and his wife and children on the other because *Pinggeli* suffers



from leprosy and needs to go to the house for the sick (Siechenhaus). But he refuses to go. But now one threatens, should he remain disobedient and insist (on staying), he was to be sent out of the country without means. The same applied to his disobedient wife in case she will not turn away from the *Täufer* faith. Otherwise her property would be confiscated to the advantage of the Gracious Lords.

Wyden: Hans Binggeli, 22 January 1602<sup>21</sup>

The bailiff reports the death of the *Täufer Hanns Binggeli* and requests instructions on how to handle the assets. From the letter from Bern he had understood that he was to have the old *Binggeli* at the Wyden be captured and safely be sent over. But then *Binggeli* had fallen ill and died the past Sunday on 2 January. Thus he could not act according to the letter.

And since *Binggeli* had been able to work at his homestead before he had fallen ill, he had never, despite promising it twice, gone to hear the sermon like others. Also his late wife was so much a member of the sect that one could not know whether she had ever attended a sermon during the past twenty years. But that woman too had passed away. The couple had very much remained bound to their sectarian way of life and also seduced others to it. Therefore the children as well as their offspring in that family were very much taken by it so that neither warnings nor admonitions had any effect. Their property however was substantial, the children still young, 28 years or so, that they still might become reasonable. "But since I do not want to be amiss in my official duties and have to report such items, I will gladly accept your advice as to how I am further to proceed. Your gracious wisdom behooves me and I will implement it as much as it is possible for me. Herewith I recommend you to the protection and shield of the almighty God.

This day 22 January 1602, your Graces ever subservient, obedient and obliging servant *Jost Jarrodt*, bailiff at Schwarzenburg."

Furen

Abraham Willet, 1614–1620, at the "Fhuren," and his wife<sup>22</sup>

After 1614 the apparently well to do *Täufer Willet* had been penalized four times, once with 66 pounds, then even 166 pounds, with 20 crowns and, finally with 50 crowns. Surprisingly we find this *Täufer* named in 1610 in the military register as belonging to the halberds.<sup>23</sup>

His wife died in 1617 who in her last years also had been "strongly devoted and loyal" to the *Täufer* faith so that the bailiff was nearly forced to reach for her little homestead. On that occasion bailiff *Bartolome Knecht* lamented that in that bailiwick the Anabaptist sect was "growing daily and was even becoming dominant." All warnings and punishments were for naught.

Therefore he was asking for new directives on how to get at the *Täufer*.

*Furen*

*Abraham Willet 1615–1625, Simon Gasser, Gladj Manet*<sup>24</sup>; *Ruff Zand*; then those of *Lienhard Studiman* and of the *Täuferin Tüchtlj Pföitj*

Accounting of the Bernese bailiff *Bartlome Knecht*. His takings from *Abraham auf der Führen*, the *Täufer*, pocketed in two steps, amounted to 233 pounds 6 shilling and 8 pennies; of *Simon Gasser*, the *Täufer*, 233 pounds, 6 shilling, and 8 pennies; and those from *Gladj Manet*, the *Täufer*, 20 pounds.

[Accounting of the bailiff *Hans Friez* (in the Fribourg region), takings:] from *Lienhard Studiman*, the *Täufer*, 200 pounds; *Tüchtlj Pföitj*, the *Täufer*, 666 pounds, 13 shilling, 4 pennies; *Ruff Zand*, the *Täufer*, and his wife, 200 pounds.

*Furen*

*Abraham Willet 28 March 1617*<sup>25</sup>

The bailiff wanted to know how he should deal with *Abraham Willet's* wife's *Täufer* property and with other disobedient *Täufer*. Some days before the first wife of the honorable *Abraham Willet* of the parish Guggisberg had passed away. Bailiff *Bartlome Knächt* had found that for a time she had been devoted and dedicated to the *Täufer* faith, refusing to attend church and Christ's community. He did what was demanded and imposed the homestead with bans.

On that occasion he alerted the government in Bern that Anabaptism was increasing in his bailiwick day after day and gradually was becoming dominant.<sup>26</sup> Neither admonitions nor warnings had any effect. His sighs about the "*disobedient Täufer*" cannot be missed.

*Furen*

*Adam Stärnenberger, 1623, Täuferlehrer "at the Furen"*<sup>27</sup>

One has nearly to think of today's prosecution and apprehension of terrorists. A seducer and teacher of that sect" was especially coveted and his "belongings and small homestead together with his carpenter tools" were turned into money with special satisfaction. There wasn't much to get, however: a small homestead, a cow, and a little gold that "was besides the (punishable) books in the little tub." The family name *Stärnenberger* as well as the biblical first name *Adam* is quite rare in the Schwarzenburg region so that the 1623 arrested *Adam Stärnenberger* at that time a *Täuferlehrer* had his children nevertheless baptized in the church between 1609 and 1619.



*Furen*

*Peter Rüser, 1627, on the Furen*<sup>28</sup>

In 1610 he was listed in the military register as a spear carrier. The government's treasury took from his "Täufer property" some 1000 pounds.

*Furen*

*Abraham Willet, 1639*<sup>29</sup>

"As to the foreigner *Abraham Willet's* legacy, who has died without bodily heirs."

*Schwartzenburg.*

"By the way, not long ago a man named *Abraham Willet*, has passed away, but nobody knows from where he has come into the land at a young age, and was a servant, finally got married here and purchased and paid for residence rights, then when his wife died he married again three years ago and now has left that woman; and since he doesn't have bodily heirs nor other friends than the wife he has left behind but owns some items, worth about 400 crowns, which however according to her claim he is supposed to have left to her. May I ask that your Graces let me know how I am to deal with the matter."

*In the Schürgut, 25 January 1684*<sup>30</sup>

In the Christmas week *Anni* and *Margreth Zbinden* have this year and also the year before been singing nights in front of houses. They deny that they also have done it last year. They will be punished.

*In der Gummen and in Winterkrautboden*

*Zwalen, Zbinden and Hostettler, 20 January 1688*<sup>31</sup>

*Simon, Uli and Jaggi Zwalen, Jaggi Zbinden* in der Gummen and *Hans Hostettler* im Boden supposedly have been singing in front of houses during the night of New Year's eve. They are to be punished.

*Platten*

*Peter Stübi's wife on the Blatten, Babi Zisset of Blaken, Belp. February 1683*<sup>32</sup>

*Babi Zisset*, suspected of being a *Täuferin*, has been summoned for the third time, but has never appeared. The matter is left in the bailiff's hands.

*Platten*

*Christen Stübi, 5 October 1683*<sup>33</sup>

*Christen Stübi* auf der Blatten, takes no notice that he has been forbidden to keep an inn and he has promised repeatedly to desist, but continues with

alacrity to serve wine. Therefore he has steadily people from Rüeggisberg, usually on Sundays.<sup>34</sup> Reverend Predicant also complained and probably not without reason. Such gatherings could mask assemblies of religious nature; the inn perhaps served merely as a disguise.

*Platten*

*Babj Zisset, Peter Stübi's wife, 1711 on the Blatte*<sup>35</sup>

*Babj Zisset*, of Blaken near Belp, is suspected of the *Täufer* faith. She too has not responded to a threefold command to appear before the ecclesiastical court. The matter is left in the bailiff's hand.

*Platten*

*Peter Stübj, 1712 auf der Platten*<sup>36</sup>

Being held questioned, *Peter Stübi* admitted that he has not attended neither the catechetical hour nor the last supper for three years. He also did not respond to the requests to appear before the ecclesiastical court. As much as possible he would try however to attend religious services in the future. He acknowledges that his wife *Babj Zisset* was a *Täuferin* that he had sheltered and shielded her ["ghuset und ghofet"]. Meanwhile she has been apprehended and handed over with a report to the *Täufer* court in Bern.

*Platten*

*Peter Binggeli at Wyden, homestead owner ("possess. ghute"), 1715*<sup>37</sup>

Also *Binggeli Christen*, the old "saltmatter," lives at the Platten who has left (the *Täufer* faith). His wife: *Elsi Henni*, being there, with children *Peter, Elsi, Babi, Christen, Gredi, Stineli*.

*Platten*

*Babj Stübj-Zisset, at the Platten, 1722*<sup>38</sup>

Again *Babj Zisset* creates a stir because "she behaves maliciously and improperly in her Anabaptism." The *Täufer* court thus claimed that under the circumstances it had no choice but to send out *Heinrich Wüthrich*, an *Täufer* hunter, to bring this crazy person with the bailiff's assistance to the *Täufer* court. Her husband *Peter Stübi* should also be brought in. As was to be expected, that *Täufer* woman is "stubborn." The court kindly asks Fribourg's (!) bailiff *Friedrich Nikolaus Werro* to banish *Babj Zisset* under the usual conditions. But she was to return in April 1723 because she was with child. Her husband *Peter Stübi* had no means, therefore the commune Guggisberg was threatened to be held liable for such a relapse.



*Platten*

*Babj Stübi-Zisset, at the Blatten, 1724*<sup>39</sup>

Hans Widmer, a Täufer hunter, has again met Babj Zisset in her house at the Blatten. But her recent maternity was apparent. Fribourg's bailiff Werro is being asked to make sure that her husband Peter Stübj bring her in due time to the Täufer court. If it was not done, the government would have means and ways to enforce its demand.

In February 1724 Peter Stübi went to the court by himself and excused his wife because of her bodily state and asked that he could keep her in the house and in the country "with the usual guarantees." Pastor Fridenrich was asked to check at the Blatten whether the woman was indeed in such bad health. The report might have been in the negative. In any case, Babj Zisset enters the region one and a half month later at the end of March 1724. The Täufer court became angry and punished not so much her being a Täufer but her stubborn rebelliousness. Because she is according to her husband unable to walk, Fribourg's bailiff is ordered to make the necessary arrangements "to have Babj Zisset be transported on the beggar's cart from commune to commune all the way to the border" from where she should be banished to stay abroad under the usual threats. In November 1725 on the entreaties of her husband even the Täufer court had to admit that Babj Zisset's health was bad enough so that for the time being she could stay in the country until the coming May. But already in January Pastor Fridenrich was ordered to make sure that Babj Zisset was not arranging for Täufer gatherings but leading a secluded life. In May and June 1726 she was allowed, Bendicht Binggeli of Schürried near Winterkraut vouching for her, to stay in the country for good.

*Winterkraut*

*Peter Stübi, 17 March 1694*<sup>40</sup>

Fribourg. Peter Stübj, as owner of the homestead Winterkraut, was often visited by the police officer and therefore had constantly to pay "Brügsommerfees" as an entry in the Teutsch-Missiven-Buch (T.M.B.) attests.

*Täufer behind Schwarzenburg, 29 March 1695*<sup>41</sup>

Notice to the Gracious Lords of the Täufer court: The Täufer of the Schwarzenburgerland have asked today asked for a date on which they will be allowed to emigrate until coming May. Because of many misgivings the government has rejected the request. Not in the least because the property-register was in desolate neglect and in bitter need of thorough revision which has been immediately undertaken.

Winterkraut

*Bendicht Stöckli, 9 December 1697*<sup>42</sup>

When in 1697 the *Täufer Bendicht Stöckli* and the *Täuferin Anna Glaus* of Wahlern baptized their son *Hans*,<sup>43</sup> *Pastor Zehender* noted, "that I did not want to baptize that child because it was procreated as a child of *Täufer* in the upper parish." When *Benz Stöckli* and *Anni Glaus* baptized their daughter *Elsi*,<sup>44</sup> they were already under the pastoral care of the succeeding pastor *Fridenrich*. He used to be in unhesitating contact with the Anabaptists and noted in the baptismal entry without ado "*Täufer*" for *Stöckli* and "*Täuferin*" for *Glaus*.<sup>45</sup> In 1711 "*Bendicht Stöckli* of Wintergrut/Walern" appears in the register of Ambassador *Ludwig Runkel* concerning the monies<sup>46</sup> that were due to the deported *Täufer*. At the time of that official expulsion son *Hans* was 14 years of age and daughter *Elsi* 5 years.

Again the name *Jeremias Binggeli* has appeared as a hundred years before, as if history was repeating itself. It is again a sign how strongly the *Täufer* faith had become a firm tradition in many families of the Schwarzenburger region.

Winterkraut

A very special family lived at the second lowest homestead of the large slope that reaches from the high up situated "Nötenhaus" field all the way down to the run of the Schwarzwasser where the Linden brook joins that river. A steeply sloping forest rim hides the view of Winterkraut from Wislisau. After that a wanderer sees the broad and sunny crest of the land. There the Anabaptists *Uli* and *Anna Hostettler-Beyeler* were living in the mid-17th century with their nine children, born between 1648 and 1672:

Anni	1648	Christen	1665
Hans	1651	Jacob	1669 (February 2)
Ulrich	1654	Peter	1669 (February 2)
Barbli	1656	Michel	1672 [my forebear]
Elsi	1662		

Although, as the dates show, *Jacob* and *Peter* were twins, they have different godparents. Those for *Jacob* were *Hans Binggeli*, *Jacob Beyeler* and *Madlena Zand*; those of *Peter* the godparents *Hannes Burri*, *Christen Stöckli* and *Elsbeth Zand*. Later the Bernese government was to call them *Täuferlehrer*!

#### 4. Two *Täuferlehrer* of Schwarzenburg, the Twins *Jacob* and *Peter Hostettler*

*Täuferlehrer Peter Hostettler, Lease in Eschery near Ste Marie-aux-Mines*

According to the data of the Council of Bern *Peter Hostettler* had moved



with his whole family from Bern to the Alsace where he rented a house in Eschery. According to the lease that I found in the State Archive of Colmar the house was situated right at the Lièpvre. The lease was duly notarized on 23 April 1707 for four years. *Peter Hostettler* is noted there as "Täufere" and the house labeled as a *masure*, that is, as a dilapidated cottage. A small meadow attached to it was to yield half a cartload of hay. The rent was a symbolic 22 ecus for the house and meadow each. As a tenant *Peter Hostettler* was to make the place habitable, to make all repairs without charge, pay full attention to proper maintenance and to leave half of the manure pile behind. The two Bernese *Daniel Pil* (*Beyeler? Binggeli?*) and *Paul Paira* signed as witnesses. *Peter Hostettler* signed with "ÿch petter hosteller."<sup>47</sup>

*Also the Täuferlehrer Jacob Hostettler signed a rental agreement in 1707*

In the notarial documents of the State Archive of Colmar one finds his rental agreement under the rubric 4 E Ste Marie Alsace. As "anabaptiste de religion" he too was staying in Eschery where had the opportunity of renting the estate of the late couple *Jean* and *Ottile Anthenat-Meyer* for six years on 7 January 1707. Thus he had come ahead of his brother and found an advantageous piece of property to rent although it needed repairs. The actual rent of 45 Livres- Tournois was however due not before 1713 and to be paid in silver, but the agreement was valid from 23 April 1707 on, the day of St. George. An immediate prepayment to the amount of 195 pounds was however agreed upon. In the first years it was to be his decision as to the necessary and major repairs, but without remuneration, yet the wood he needed was supposed to be provided. The agreement clearly shows the renter's occupation as that of a carpenter. The property in Eschery, Petite Lièpvre consisted of a house the surroundings of which were to be taken care of, also a probably quite extensive meadow for making hay, a garden for cabbage and herbs, a substantial orchard,<sup>48</sup> and a building for carts and tools. Finally the renter also was responsible for the tribute and fees due to the overlords. Again it was the Bernese *Paul Paira* who signed as a witness as well as the twin brother *Peter* and also marked with *Jacob hosttler*.

*Winterkraut*

*Peter Hostettler of Guggisberg and Ulrich Mischler, 1710<sup>49</sup>*

The Täufer *Peter Hostettler* of Winterkraut<sup>50</sup> as well as his brother-in-law and associate ("Gehilfe") *Ulli Mischler* (of Steinbrünnen?) had slipped again into Bernese territory.<sup>51</sup> The two men intended to visit their dying father and father-in-law. But by the intervention of the bailiff of Bipp, they were apprehended and against the payment of costs and the reading of the usual oath were threatened with being punished for perjury should they return

and were deported to the country's frontier. Thus they were forced to return without reaching their destination. The Bernese Council Manual of 1710 had noted further that *Ulrich Mischler* had been abroad for many years where he had become a *Täufer*.<sup>52</sup>

*Were Peter Hostettler and Ulrich Mischler related? 1710*

The Bernese Council Manual claims that *Peter Hostettler* had been *Uli Mischler's* brother-in-law, therefore the husband of his sister. If one assumes that *Uli Mischler's* family was the couple *Hans* and *Elsbeth Mischler-Hostettler* who had married in 1658 in Wählern and had the daughters *Anna*, born 1664, *Elisabeth* 1666, and *Barbara* 1669 as well as the sons *Hans*, *Peter*, and *Uli*, it appears that the *Peter Hostettler's* "associate" had indeed been *Uli Mischler* born in 1672.

In turn, it is also possible that the father who was ill was a *Hostettler* instead of a *Mischler*. In that case *Ulrich Mischler* would have married a sister of the *Täuferlehrer* twin, either *Anni* born 1648, *Barbli* 1656, or *Elsi* 1662. But the age difference between *Ulrich Mischler* and his wife would have been significant, and therefore the assumption of their marriage is probably not correct.

*An edict of the French King was supposed to banish Täufer from the Alsace*

Diverse researchers have assumed rashly that the expulsion had been an iron sweep so that one had to assume that after 1712 no *Täufer* had resided in the country. I investigated that assumption and found documents that prove that it was not the case. My own ancestral family has remained all the years from 1712 to 1719 in the region of Markirch, probably under the protection of Prince *Christian of Birkenfeld*. Letters of the royal official *Batteman* in regard to the expulsion of the Anabaptists hint in my view at corruption. *Batteman* had simply usurped for his wife one of the homesteads a *Hostettler* had restored in the vicinity of Markirch. During the years 1715 to 1719 *Peter Hostettler*, the carpenter, had restored the dilapidated Grange Johé that stood on the very top of the Col des Baganelles. Apparently such renovation work had been his main occupation and basis of income.

*Jacob's rental agreement valid until January 1713*

There are no hints that *Jacob Hostettler* had to leave the rented house prematurely. The supposed royal authorization that *Batteman* had put forward in order to get a rural residence for his wife had dissolved into nothing. What in the world should the urban lady have done in the midst of the holes and earth mounds of the silver mines? How could she have taken walks on the stony paths of Lièpvrette dressed in rich fabric and light shoes? Although



some families did move away, no significant change can be ascertained in Eschery. In the fall of 1712 until the summer of 1713 the *Hostettlers* had been busy with their notarial partition-agreement at Sur Citté that made it possible for one part of the family to move on, for the other to stay behind.

Renewed return home of *Peter Hostettler* and his captivity

An inquiry relating to the region of Markirch has shown that there was a large surplus of young men who were looking for *Täufer* women willing to marry. One may conclude that the second simultaneous journey back to the Schwarzenburg region of the twin brother *Täuferlehrer Jacob* might also have served that purpose. Luckily the captivity of both *Täuferlehrer* in Bern has remained a mere episode. Despite all admonitions, threats and possible punishments, in 1719 *Peter Hostettler* had slipped back into the homeland. But also this time he was unable to remain unrecognized. He was captured by an *Ulli Linder* and imprisoned in Bern.

Brought before the Council he justified himself and even pointed out that he tried only to be helpful. Had not the Council debated right then about shipping some 130 genuine *Täufer* women to the West Indies.<sup>53</sup> He was making the effort of encouraging *Täufer* women willing to marry to move to the Alsace where there were many Bernese young men waiting. It seems that he had been able to convince the Council and was left unmolested.

*Also the Täuferlehrer Jacob Hostettler was captured in Bern, 10 February 1720*<sup>54</sup>

A few weeks after his twin brother *Peter* also *Jacob* was imprisoned on his return to the homeland. He too was called to account because he too had promised not to return home. With the notation in the Council Manual one might perhaps find a still hidden document that reads: "Notabene, the documents are in the hands of the Gracious Lord *T. Tscharnet*"

*... and brought before the Council, 6 March 1720*<sup>55</sup>

"Notation to the *Täufer* Board. As to its deposition and requested directive how the Anabaptist teacher *Jacob Hofstetter* here held captive should be dealt with who is a native of Winterkrauth and has lived at Maria-Kirch and has claimed to have come back to this land to entice *Täufer* women to emigrate: the Gracious Lords and superior councilors and burghers have decided: That he should be left free to go with his assurance and a handshake-vow after he has paid for expenses. Our Gracious Lords herewith inform you bindingly about the action you are to take."

What is fully certain is this: The *Täuferlehrer* and twin *Jacob Hostettler* cannot have emigrated in 1712 to Pennsylvania because he was still living in the Alsace in 1713. The same holds of course for his twin *Peter* as well as for

that *Jacob Ammann* who lived and worked with *Jacob Hostettler* way at the end of the Lièpvrette valley.

## 5. From Michael Ammann to Jacob Ammen

Around 1575 already the families *Amman*, *Hostettler* und *Zimmerman* of the Schwarzenburgerland are found to have been variously related. Unfortunately the old parish books have perished. Around 1600 there are numerous *Christen*, *Hans*, *Jacob*, *Michel*, *Paul* and *Uli*. The split into two branches with a different spelling of the family name, that is *Amman* and *Ammen*, occurred around 1610, that is right at the time of *Glodo Bifrare's* evangelization with his twenty men who all have the first name *Glodo*. It is probably not wrong to suspect that the conservative, traditionalistic, and rather toward the Catholic Church oriented branch kept the spelling *Amman* while the "awakened" branch used *Ammen*. The distinction was even officially recognized in that pastors, too, applied it.

It was *Uli Amman*, born 15 March 1583 in Wahlern, who brought the family name from there to the Simmental by marrying *Trina Platter* on 29 June 1610. Their children were all born and baptized in Erlenbach in the Simmental: *Elsi*, 1613,<sup>56</sup> *Michel*, 1615, and *Jacob*, 1617. It is noteworthy that the two sons *Michel* and *Jacob* were adopting the spelling *Ammen*, but not daughter *Elsi*. Her brother *Michel* is probably the person who died at age 70 in the Alsatian Baldenheim. He had married *Anna Rupp* in 1638, and they had the daughter *Madeleine*, born in 1638, who in 1664 married *Anthoni Wolff* in Hilterfingen near Thun. Both moved later to Eschery. Also *Elsi's* brother *Jacob*, born 1644 in Erlenbach, married in 1668 *Barbara Wyss* in Hilterfingen. Further siblings of were *Cathrina Ammen*, 1647, and her brother *Uli Ammen*, 1662, both born in Erlenbach.

Thus there were among the progeny of *Michel Amman*, married in Wahlern about 1575, some five (!) *Jacob Amman* or *Ammen*:

*Jacob Ammen*, born 1610 in Oberwil in the Simmental, married to *Apolonia Kislig*<sup>57</sup> 10 children

*Jacob Ammen*, born 1611, married to *Catrin Hostettler* in 1636 in Wahlern

*Jacob Amman/Ammen*, born 1617 in Erlenbach in the Simmental

*Jacob Ammen*, born 1644 in Erlenbach in the Simmental, in 1668 married to *Barbara Wyss* in Hilterfingen

*Jacob Ammen*, born 1649 in Wahlern.

Yet to none of these five *Jacob Amman/Ammen* may a move to the Alsace be



attributed nor the establishment of a new faith community. There simply are no clues.

## **6. The Triad Ammen-Hostettler-Zimmerman in a 1701 Document**

On 9 May 1701 *Jacob Amme*, *Hans Zimmerman* and *Jacob Hosteler* (*Hostettler*), submitted a petition<sup>58</sup> to their prince *Christian of Birkenfeld*, residing in *Rappoltsweyl*, given here verbatim:

Your Highness and Count, Most Gracious Prince and Lord! We of the so-called new Anabaptist commune in Ste Maria and Eckthal may not fail to present ourselves submissively to your Princely Highness in that recently someone has passed away in our midst and has left several children with some means whereupon Mr. Notary at the said Maria-Kirch had the audacity not only to inventory and partition the estate, but also immediately to appoint custodians for the children.

Since your Most Princely Highness has promised us our freedom, rights, and justice in return for a deposit of a certain amount of protection-money, the above procedere is directly counter to our beneficial order.

Thus we submit to your Most Princely Highness our most submissive, humble, and obedient request that you would be so kind to take our necessary petition into consideration and to take us as before into Your powerful protection and to order the above mentioned notary that he would henceforth spare us from such unauthorized request and that he was to leave us uninjured in our graciously granted freedom and order. If unexpectedly otherwise, however, given the state of affairs we would likely need to take up our staff again.

To deserve this most gracious and not unfair ordinance by most submissive obedience, may the Highest grant health and felicitous governing to your Most Princely Highness for years to come. We remain so willingly subject to your Most Princely Highness.

Dated Rappoltsweyl 9 May 1701

In deepest reverence most submissive and obedient the protection[-  
enjoying] associates

j. AMME

Hanss Zimmerman  
Jacob Hosteler.

These three men certainly knew each other, and it is just as certain that they were not Alsatians. They hailed from the region of Schwarzenburg and their families had been intertwined for more than a hundred years.<sup>59</sup> They were living, most likely since 1696, in the silver mines municipality of Eschery near Markirch, today's Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines. *Peter Zimmerman*, the reason for the petition, who had been living almost at the end of the small Lièpvrette valley, had been killed while cutting wood. *Hans Zimmerman* was living even farther out of the way and managed a dairy. *Jacob Hostettler*, too, had been an immediate neighbor of the deceased and was living with one of the several *Jacob Amman* in the farthest away homestead. All three opposed the action of the official of the Prince in order to prevent that money belonging to the *Zimmerman*'s children was not to be taken away.

The signature of the *Jacob Ammen* with the distinctive capital letters has occupied many researchers, and I too ask myself what the active arch-Anabaptist may have been wanted to do and been doing in that far off place. But I can also well imagine that *Jacob Ammen* identified as Amish might have intended by his presence and signature to convey the needed importance to the petition to the princely court in Rappoltsweil.

Indeed the tone of the message gives the impression of deference in its wording, but in its demand it is quite presumptuous. What was to be a petition amounts to an ultimatum. The prince is asked to please keep his promise of protecting the Bernese. He probably also knew that the pastor of Markirch was chosen and salaried by the Bernese government and on occasion had to report about Bernese persons. The petition even included a threat: Should the prince not be pliable, it would be reason for the Bernese to move on.

The action of the Prince's official had disturbed the Bernese in an especially sensitive way. Had they not abandoned their homestead and homeland because they had been harassed in every possible way? It had led bailiff *Kämmerling* of Fribourg, bailiff of Wahlern, to observe: "When I began my service I had to promise the inhabitants under oath that I would protect them as to their ancient customs and habits, therefore I humbly ask your Graces to allow the region its hitherto followed customs and habits and graciously not to disturb them further and not to aggravate them with this costly demand, especially since one meets everywhere here more than enough bystanders."<sup>60</sup>

The *Jaqui Amen/Aman/Amy* in the remote and poor Petite Lièpvre valley, however, seems in no way to fit the "Amish" *Jacob Ammen*! Comparing signatures on hundreds of notarial documents showed me that the Bernese



had been solidly schooled in reading and writing, the latter perhaps a bit simplified in that no capitals were used. The impressively bulky j.AMME breaks this rule probably to signify who was in charge.

The question remains to be addressed what was meant by the “so-called new *Täufer* commune.” One is immediately tempted to think of the split between the Amish and the Reist-people. But that is uncalled for. In all the documents there are hints about such a division neither in the Departmental Archive of Colmar nor in the State Archive of Bern. The “new” *Täufer* are thus labeled as opposed to the “old” relating to groups from the perspective of Bern while in the Alsace they are simply called “anabaptistes.” Three traits are at play,—the date of immigration, language, and the payment of protection money. The older immigrants from Bernese regions had become “bourgeois” and French-speaking. The younger ones who immigrated around 1695 still spoke German and also were mostly younger in age. They voluntarily accepted the authority of the prince and paid for it, but acknowledged his sovereignty only as far as needed for their protection. They had rejected all Bernese guardianships and such impositions as inheritance inventories or schooling regulations and opposed them as well if coming from the Alsatian political order. They viewed themselves as if they were “reichsfrei,” outside of the Empire. In that sense they were the “new” Anabaptists in Rappoltsweil. It is they who had initiated the home journey of the two Anabaptist teachers *Peter* and *Jacob Hostettler* in 1719 in order to look for women willing to marry.

## 7. Jacob Hostettler as guardian of the “Amish” Jacob Ammen?

25 July 1711<sup>61</sup>

Before the Tabellion and undersigned administrative officer, residing in Ste Marie/Alsace were present the honorable *Niklaus Humbert* and *Dominik Battot*, bourgeois, living in the vicinity of and at Dorbey. These have freely acknowledged and stated to owe, legitimately and jointly one for the other, the honorable *Jacob Aman*, a Anabaptist living in Petite Lièpvre, close by and belonging to the said Ste Marie, present, accepting for him and his heirs and in agreement with the said *Humbert*, to know, 150 florins in the currency of the Upper Alsace, that is 250 livres tournois, and the said *Battot* the sum of 50 florins, that is 83 livres tournois, 6 sols, 8 dinars tournois; and to have received this in dinars in cash for the corresponding sums.

The actual account balance is acknowledged by the Tabellion and witnesses mentioned below.

At any rate, the said creditors have declared their satisfaction,

being promised the return of the two sums that together come to two hundred florins in the currency of the Upper Alsace, given by the said *Aman* and his heirs for two years with interest according to the interest rate of the king, the whole in good money in the currency of the Province of Alsace and according to customary and best conditions.

Also the interest of the said debtors, represented by the honorable *Adam Maire*, bourgeois, and of the commune . . . who affirms his voluntarily negotiated borrower note as caution money for the two debtors and even to be main payor according to the choice of the said creditor and to vouch for it with all his possessions. Passed at the said place Ste Marie on 25 July 1711 in the presence of the honorable *Paul Peira*, bourgeois, resident of Eschery, and *Niclaus Blanc*, resident of Aumongotte near, and belonging to, Ste Marie. The witnesses have signed with the said *Battot*, debtor, *Adam Maire*, security, and the Tabellion mentioned below, and said *Nicolas Humbert*, one of the said debtors, who made his signs since he doesn't know how to write . . . Signed: *Dominique Batot*, *Humbert* (by mark), *Adam Maire*, *Paul Paira*, *Nigi Blanck*, **JA**  
(creditor), **Jacob Hostettler**.

**Note of 14 January 1713** <sup>62</sup>

Today 14 January 1713 appeared before the undersigned tabellion: *Jacquy Hochstetter* who, acting for and in the name of *Jacquy Aman*, declared that he has been paid and satisfied concerning . . . the obligation . . . etc.

[Signed:] *ÿacob hostettler*

[Marked:] *Fischer*, notary.

Some comments:

1. The date January 1713 is beyond the deadline set by the king for the expulsion. But nothing happened. *Jacob Hostettler* as well as the two *Jacob Aman* are still in the land and make no preparations for leaving, except that *Jacqui Aman*, due to age, may be planning to move in with his relative *Fahrni* in Vill .
2. The financial matters of *Jacquy Aman* have already been taken care of in 1712 as the above note attests.
3. This *Jacquy Aman* is the same who is mentioned in the foregoing documents. It is the small farmer and Anabaptist *Aman*, who according to documents was



living way back in the Lièpvrette valley und in no way could have been the imperious and traveling founder of the Amish.

4. His relationship to the signatory *Jacob Hostettler* consists in this: Both were living in Lièpvrette, even in the same household. They were most likely related. *Jacqy Hostettler* now acts "for and in the name of *Jacqui Aman*." That means that *Hostettler* plays the role of custodian in that *Aman* seems to have been old and frail. If one takes the trouble to sort through a set of notarial remarks and other documents it becomes clear that here a household is being dissolved. *Jacqy Aman* had sold his small homestead to *Samuel Cottel* already on 25 October 1712. In January 1713 the final payment was made.<sup>63</sup>

Behind the abbreviation "jA" however hides the Amish *Jacob Ammen*. It is astonishing! In the above given document he is one of the signing witnesses. But the abbreviation is anonymous to such a degree that the notary *Fischer* on his own chooses to add "creditor." This means that the transactions were actually a matter of the Amish *Jacob Ammen*, perhaps also because the small farmer *Jacqy Aman* may have been a close relative. Among the five *Jacob Ammen* listed above among the offspring of *Michel Amman*, who had married about 1575 in Wahlern, the small farmer *Jacob Ammen* who was dissolving his household may have been the one who was born in 1649 in Wahlern.<sup>64</sup>

If one tries to establish the kinship of the two *Jacob Ammen* mentioned in the document given above, the following hypothesis presents itself:

a. The small farmer *Jacob Ammen* was born on 5 November 1643 in Wahlern, and had the godparents *Hans Rohrbach*, *Heinrich Wachter*, and *Anni Binggeli*.<sup>65</sup>

b. The Amish *Jacqy Ammen*, recently discovered in Amsoldingen (!) and until now not considered by researchers, was born in 1643 or 1644. On 9 March 1669 he married *Madle Schneiter* and they had six children. While he had been entered for his five older children always as *Jacob*, he is suddenly listed at the baptism of his sixth child as *Jaggi Amman(!)*.<sup>66</sup>

## 8. Emigrants named Jacob Hostettler

As far as we know, there were four *Jacob Hostettler* who emigrated.

(1) *Jacob Hostettler* who arrived in America in 1712 and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania<sup>67</sup> together with *Michael Bachman*,<sup>68</sup> *Heinrich Zimmerman*, *Emanuel Zimmerman*, *Gabriel Zimmerman*, *Johannes Schenk* and others.<sup>69</sup>

(2) (*Hans*) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701 of Winterbach in the region of Zweibrücken, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736(?).<sup>70</sup>

(3) *Jacob Hostettler*, at disembarkation age 32, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736, thus born 1704; with his wife *Eva Trautman*, married in Zweibrücken in 1731, accompanied by *Maria Catharina Hostettler*, *Maria Eva Hostettler*, and a sick child *Michael*.

(4) *Jacob Hostettler*, arriving in Philadelphia on 9 November 1738 on the boat "Charming Nancy."

### **The Four Emigrants Identified**

#### **(1) Jacob Hostettler on the boat "Charming Nancy," arriving in Philadelphia in 1712**

There are valid reasons, in my view, to identify the emigrant of 1712 as the *Jacob Hostettler* who had been baptized on 14 June 1685 in the Bernese *Täufer* center Oberdiessbach. His first name is entered as *Jaggi*,<sup>71</sup> his wife's name in the American form as *Anna*.<sup>72</sup> His parents were *Hans* and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller*. Pennsylvania sources state that he perished in 1761 during the American Indian attack on the encroaching settlers. Although one claims to know nothing about him or his background, the ecclesiastical records of Oberdiessbach contain details about four families named *Hostettler* who lived there in the second half of the 17th century with origins in Schwarzenburg. They were part of the *Täufer* emigration movement from Schwarzenburg via Blumenstein and Oberdiessbach to the regions of Markirch, the Palatinate, and Zweibrücken, finally to Pennsylvania. They are:

*Hans* and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller*, with son *Jaggi*, born 1685.

*Jacob* and *Cathri Hostettler-Gisler*, living in Oberdiessbach from 1656 to 1696, then emigrated northward with their son *Jacob*, born 2 August 1690 [K Obd 6/166]. *Jacob's* parents were *Uli* and *Eva Hostettler-Stucki* who were living in the *Täufer* center Buchholterberg.

The emigration route of the family *Hans* and *Cathrin Hostettler-Müller* may be reconstructed on the basis of the baptism entries for the children: Winterkraut/Wahlern—Blumenstein Oberdiessbach—Oberauerbach (today a part of the city of Zweibrücken). From there people left in large groups for Pennsylvania.

Two of their children, that is *Anna*, born 1687, and *Jacob*, born 1690, deserve attention. On their mother's, the *Gisler's* side, the family is enmeshed



with the families *Stucki*, *Bürcki*, *Bieri*, *Eicher*, *Rüsser*, and especially with *Lärjen* and *Stüddler/ Steudler*. Some researchers even assume that *Verena Stüddler* of Oberdiessbach was probably the wife of the Amish *Jacob Ammen*. I identify *Anna*, born 1687, with *Aneli Hostetterin*,<sup>73</sup> the wife of the author of the last will of *Jacob Hostetter* dated 16 January 1756.<sup>74</sup> Of her younger brother *Jacob*, born 1690, the Anabaptist *Hans Roht* was one of the godparents.<sup>75</sup> *Jacob*, however, could not have been the husband and immigrant of 1712 because of blood relationship, but it would have been possible as to age. These and other families of Oberdiessbach were to such a degree enmeshed with each other and in the emigration network that no further proof is needed to consider *Jaggi Hostettler*, born 1685, the 1712 immigrant to Pennsylvania, whose godparents were *Niggli Marti*, *Christen Hostettler* and *Anni Bachmann*.

*Jacob* and *Anna Hostettler-Hostettler* had the children *Hans*, *Jacob*, and *Abraham*. At the time of emigration in 1712, the father was 27 years of age, thus his children may have married between the years 1735 and 1745. It needs to be stressed, however, that in the strong emigration wave there are no hints that would point to the existence of separate Amish communities in Bernese regions.

## **(2) Jacob Hostettler<sup>76</sup> who arrived on the boat "Harle" in 1736 in Pennsylvania<sup>77</sup>**

This person is the only one who until now has been more closely identified. The landing lists 1A, 1B, and 1C seem to indicate this and apparently clearly name three people:

*Jacob Hochstettler*, age 32, thus born in 1704

*Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin*, age 42, born 1694

*Maria Eva Hochstettlerin*, age 28, born 1708.

But the family situation is less straightforward as it first appears because both women may significantly carry their single or their married name. Immediately some complications emerge if one compares the entries of the Muddy Creek church book with those in the church books of Rheinland-Pfalz in that two people with the same last name are given are possibly belonging to a different family, although they must have been closely related and in similar circumstances, but had different children.<sup>78</sup>

Suddenly things look less clear once one recognizes that married women may be identified by their original family name. As the entry in the Harley ship lists indicates, three different people named *Hostettler* are involved. The name of the family *Trautman* is not mentioned nor its children. Thus one needs to clarify whether the two women had been married.

As to *Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin*, age 42, the pastor called her "a

servant here at Lambsborn," and she had been godmother for *Catharina Elisabeth Hostettler* on 25 January 1735 (instead for child No. 2 in the Muddy Creek Congregation). That however connected her with the family *Trautman*. Indeed the church book of Lambsborn noted that her husband was *Michael Trautman*, and that they had brought their daughter *Catharina Elisabetha Trautman* to be baptized.<sup>79</sup> She is further found in the family circle of the brothers *Hans* and *Christen Hostettler*, the latter having lived for many years in Sur Citté and been registered in Clairgoutte between 1723 and 1727. In 1736 she is finally a passenger on the ship *Harle*.

But what about *Maria Eva Hochstettlerin*, born 1708, who at age 28 was a passenger on the boat *Harle*? Her maiden name would have had to be *Trautmann*, had she married *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701 or 1704, on 16 January 1731 in Lambsborn or Zweibrücken. At least the notation "*née Trautman*" would have to be given in the entry. Since that is not the case, *Maria Eva Hochstettlerin* must have been single at age 28. That means that the couple *Jacob* and *Eva Hostettler-Trautmann* had not been at all on the boat in 1736. Actually the "motley" group of children might hint at the fact that part of the family had died from illness at sea or had perished in a storm. Also the emigration of the aging couple *Trautmann-Hayntz* on the boat *Phoenix* in 1749 might be interpreted that way.

As to the third passenger *Hostettler*, one needs to determine which one of the five possible *Hostettlers* he might have been.

(2a) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 1701, of Winterbach,<sup>80</sup> arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

A major portion of the Bernese extended family *Hostettler* was then living widely dispersed in the Palatinate: in Ober- and Unterauerbach, today Zweibrücken; in Lambsborn, Langwieden and Landstuhl; in Hornbach, Höheinöd, and Rieschweiler; in Bischwiller, Brumath, Daubensand, Weitbruch, and Geudertheim, Markirch, and Eschery; in Gauangelloch, Niederschlettenbach, Baldenheim, and Bergzabern. It seems however that *Christian*, the father of *Hanss Jacob*, born 1701, was the only *Hostettler* in Winterbach. Only this is attested however, that his baptism supposedly occurred 25 July 1701 in Winterbach, a rural and somewhat far off place.

This *Jacob Hostettler* is in the American understanding identified as the person who was living in Gogalico,<sup>81</sup> today's Cocalico in Lancaster County and together with *Georg Trautmann* had signed a petition, recorded in the parish book of Muddy Creek and Cocalico.<sup>82</sup> They supported the plan that a united Reformed-Lutheran schoolhouse be built.

Because the title register of Cocalico has the entry that the plot C-73-



254 belonged to *Jacob Hostettler*, dated 15 June 1738, but the boat Charming Nancy had not arrived in Philadelphia until December of that year, such a land purchase for *Jacob Hostettler* (3) is impossible. Therefore it is assumed that it was the 1736 arrival with the same name who must have been settled in Cocalico. There are however no data where he had been during the two years before. Yet the assumption is supported by the simultaneous ocean crossing of the couple *Georg* and *Susanna Trautmann-Hayntz*, the husband being a close relative of *Jacob* and *Maria Eva Hostettler-Trautmann*, here identified as *Jacob Hostettler* (2). But against it are the denominational data. While the baptism of *Jacob Hostettler* (2) had undoubtedly occurred in the Reformed Church, one is astonished to find him being a member of the parish Muddy Creek.<sup>83</sup> At the same time he is considered of having been the primal forebear of all Amish *Hostettler* in America.

In summary: This *Jacob Hostettler* had been baptized in the Reformed Church of Bern, but was later entered in the parish book of the Muddy Creek congregation.<sup>84</sup> That however is not an Amish, but a Pietist community that is close in orientation to the Bohemian-Moravian persuasion. Also the lists of the respective children do not correspond. Relevant data for the Harlepassenger are simply missing. Neither his age nor his religious affiliation are quite fitting.

(2b) *Jacob Samuel Hostettler*, born 17 July 1701, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat Harle

He was born in the Bernese Romainmôtier, today in Canton Vaud, but it is known that his father *Christen* was living in the *Täufer* center Winterkraut and that his French-speaking mother *Isabel Roche/Roux/Roth* had moved there for a time with the children.<sup>85</sup> After that data about her whereabouts are missing, and the family might have had only limited connections with the *Hostettler* clan. What is important, however, is that *Jacob Samuel Hostettler's* father *Christen* was a brother of the *Täufer* teacher-twins.

(2c) *Jacob Hostettler*, born about 1704, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat Harle<sup>86</sup>

The circumstances were somewhat different in the upper Alsatian Brumath. Its small town atmosphere, services, and church life were petit-bourgeois and shaped by trade and crafts but in close contact with rural people. Between 1680 and 1740 some 25 *Hostettler* were fully integrated in Brumath. They managed the inn "Zum Goldenen Löwen" and a *Hostettler* was a politician, burgess, and judge. The age given for this *Johann Jacob Höchstetter*, born 30 March 1704 in Brumath, fits perfectly.<sup>87</sup> If one compares the data with those of the Muddy Creek parish, however, significant discrepancies emerge.<sup>88</sup>

What becomes clear, however, is that part of the *Hostettler* clan has already withdrawn somewhat from rural life. And despite corresponding ages, it doesn't seem to be certain that the proper person has been found.

(2d) *Johann Jacob Hoffstetter*, born 13 January 1706, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

The circumstances in the Alsatian Scholten near Daubensand were different. The rural parish consisted largely of Calvinist Swiss immigrants and was in close contact with the mainly Reformed parish of Nonnenweier in the Baden district.<sup>89</sup> There the people from the Bernese Schwarzenburg region were as farmers in quite modest circumstances. The parents *Heinrich* and *Agnes Hoffstetter-Kohler* were reported as Reformed. It seems that *Johann Jacob* did not have any siblings. His godparents were *Johann Borhauer* of Boffzheim; *Sebastian Baur* and *Susanna Rothen-Apfel*, the last two being Swiss.

It is known about *Johann Jacob* that once he had disturbed a Reformed communion service in Eschery that was some 24 miles distant.<sup>90</sup> Perhaps he had been opposed to it and his rebellious behavior may have been religiously motivated. But after that nothing more is known about him.

In sum, it is a possibility that he was on the ocean crossing and arrived in Philadelphia on the boat *Harle*, then joined Amish circles. He was definitely related to the *Hoffstetter* in Auerbach, but it seems impossible to keep the two *Heinrich Hostettler* apart.

(2e) *Jacob Hostettler*, born 19 February, arriving in Philadelphia 1 September 1736 on the boat *Harle*

In the parish book of Guggisberg *Jacob Hostettler* is entered in 1715 as *Jaggi Hostettler*, in 1736 as the husband of *Babi Wänger* and having five children. Because he was living in 1736 in the Stössen in the commune of Rüschegg, he was not on the boat *Harle*, thus may not be considered.

**(3) *Jacob Hostettler*, arriving in Philadelphia 9 November 1738 on the boat *Charming Nancy*<sup>91</sup>**

It is usually assumed that this *Jacob Hostettler* had arrived in Philadelphia from Markirch in the Alsace, but there are no data to confirm it. Yet there would be sufficient other *Jacob Hostettler* who could have emigrated. One was born in 1710, his mother an *Elisabeth Hostettler-Ulrich* from Guggisberg. He would have belonged to a clan, members of which had been under the so-called "Carolingians" who in 1735 emigrated to Pennsylvania.

But here too the matter remains difficult because neither age nor occupation can be established. He seems to have moved after the "Carolingians" and was probably of the same age as the pastor's son *Abraham Mäuslin, Jr.* of



Blumenstein, born in 1692. About the further life of *Jacob Hostettler* (3) as little is known as about the "Carolinian" Reformed church member of Schwarzenburg.

A population register published in 1999 gives data about two families *Hostettler* in Clairegoutte near Montbéliard.<sup>92</sup> The information closes a gap in the *Hostettler* family history and is an example of the emigration of Anabaptists. As parents are given *Christen* and *Elisabeth*<sup>93</sup> *Hochstettler-Ulrich*, age 50 and 30, farmers of the Seigneurie, of Anabaptist religion. Their children were *Hans*, age 20; *Elisabeth*, 15; *Jacob*, 13; *Anne*, 10; *Marie*, 4; and *Peter*, 2.

Also *Christen Hochstettler's* brother *Hans*, a widower was living in Clairegoutte, a family of some six persons. The two brothers in the environs of Markirch are easily identified who had been living for some years on Sur Citté<sup>94</sup> above Fertrupt and had concluded a partition agreement in 1714.

Of interest in this context is above all *Jacob*, born in 1710 and 28 years of age when he emigrated to Pennsylvania. His parents were known as Anabaptists while no religious affiliation has been indicated for him.

Also his father *Christen Hostettler* must be identified. In my general register covering the years 1620 to 1750 there are 27 *Christen Hostettler*. But between the years 1673 and 1675 there is but one *Christen Hostettler* born 1674 in Blumenstein to where his parents had emigrated from Schwarzenburg. The further places they went to were Oberdiessbach, Sur Citté above Fertrupt, Clairegoutte, and Oberauerbach. From there their son *Jacob* was to emigrate to Pennsylvania in 1738.

To sum up: The connection with Blumenstein and thereby to *Abraham Mäuslin* may have been maintained. *Christen Hostettler*, the father, knew the lordly world of the Patrician family *von Wattenwil* in the castle of Oberdiessbach, and the brothers *Christen* and *Hans Hostettler* the hard life of farmers at the homestead Sur Citté as well as during the four years on the Seigneurie Clairegoutte. And finally a home for the aged father *Christian Hostettler* had been found in Oberauerbach. The one son *Jacob Hostettler* may have experienced all this and carried a whole Bernese world to Pennsylvania where he arrived in 1738 on the boat Charming Nancy. His uncle *Jacob Hostettler*, born in 1685 in Oberdiessbach had gone before, and a *Christian*, a *Ulrich* and a *Nicolaus Hostettler* was to follow on the boat Phoenix in 1749. Thus the journey from Winterkraut/Wahlern to Pennsylvania had involved three generations.

## 9. Emigration also Meant an Expansion of Denominational Frontiers: A Summary:

1. Most of the *Täufer* mentioned in this study were not expelled, but chose to

emigrate as part of a general migratory movement.

2. An Anabaptism that was but secretly pursued and clandestine in practice was nowhere to be discovered. The mere fact that much data about *Täufer* could be gathered from the church books shows that from the end of the 17th to the mid-18th century the Anabaptist persuasion gradually could be embraced within state- and princely churches. In contrast to the widespread view of Anabaptism, a whole family clan of *Hostettler* could move from the *Täufer* center of Winterkraut to the princely cities of Bischwiler and Brumath where they lived as farmers and inn keepers, did public service, and were involved with the princely court for many years.

3. Based on documentary evidence relating to several families *Hostettler*, it has been possible to trace a complete emigration route from the *Täufer* center Winterkraut of the Schwarzenburg region via the Bernese Blumenstein and Oberdiessbach to Markirch in the Alsace and Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, then to the use of the so-called Palatine transports finally to Pennsylvania.

4. The 1693 "new *Täufer* sect" that Bern's government mentioned in 1693 was not the controversy between the followers of *Hans Reist* and those of *Jacob Amman*, but the religio-political opposition movement of the rural people and Anabaptists of Winterkraut in Schwarzenburg that had evolved from the Brüggsommer-strife. Anabaptists continued that opposition in their migration to the region of Markirch as the 1701 petition to the Prince of Birkenfeld documents.<sup>95</sup>

5. In the regions of Zweibrücken in the Palatinate several *Hostettler* families show a certain readiness to transcend denominational lines and to adjust to the various religious groups. It is also reflected in the cooperation of that *Jacob Hochstatler* together with his brother-in-law *Georg Trautmann* in the proposed common school between Reformed and Lutherans of the Cocalico parish.<sup>96</sup> No *Jacob Hostettler*, however, nor the numerous documents show traces of Amish views and traditions, but rather reflected the Waldensian ecumenical openness toward other committed believers.

6. The twins *Jacob* and *Peter Hostettler* of Winterkraut did not call themselves "Anabaptist teachers" but had been so labeled by the Bernese government. The same holds for *J.A.* who was called "Erztäufer," that is, "radical *Täufer*." The twins' efforts may reflect the Waldensian lay apostolate. For *Hans Binggeli* this meant bringing young people from the Schwarzenburg region for religious instruction to the Alsace. For *Jacob Hostettler* living in Eschery



it involved concern for the young unmarried men and their need for future spouses and led him to return twice to his original home region. When later in Pennsylvania he refers to the synod of Bern so that his openness to the Reformed persuasion is clearly attested.

7. It was not accidental that *Jacob Hostettler* of Winterkraut was living in Lièpvre/ Eschery near or perhaps in the same household as *Jacqui Aman*. It resulted from being related, although the exact connection cannot be established. The custodian role of *Jacob Hostettler* also needs to be noted.

8. The discreet presence of *Jacqui/Jaggi Aman* in Petite Lièpvre who is called respectfully "patriarch" has nothing to do with the activity of that forceful *Jacob Amme* who is mentioned off and on in the accounts of the Reist-Amish split. Because the clan *Ammann/Ammen* is not present in America, a direct link of its Amish communities to *Jacob Amman* in Petite Lièpvre cannot be established. But a connection between them and with Quakers, Hutterers, and "Swiss Brethren," as suggested by William R. McGrath, might be worth exploring.<sup>97</sup>

9. Thirty years of exploring primary sources have shown me that there were numerous Täufer in the Schwarzenburg region who became related and close-knit. The evangelization of the *Glodo* people from the Piemont in Guggisberg that I discovered, highlighted the developments and the revival of the Waldensian persuasion. Yet the government in Bern and its religious officials carefully avoided the label "Waldensians," using "Täufers" instead, and both processes occurred between 1580 and about 1639. The core region of events was the hilly area of Winterkraut from Wislisau at the Schwarzwasser river all the way to Guggisberg. The religious influence reached to the frontiers of Fribourg and to the Upper Aargau region, also including the Schwarzenburger land, Niedersimmental, Aaretal, Gürbetal, and Emmental. The Brüggsommer conflict of Winterkraut was a hardly noticed late peasant war, fought without arms but nevertheless with tenacity. It culminated in the 1695 petition to the Bernese government to be allowed to emigrate. Only this context makes the 1701 *Ammen-Hostettler-Zimmerman* petition understandable.

*Bern, Switzerland*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> It may be considered unexpected and surprising that the church books of the Bernese region refer to Täufer and to *Täufer* families. This derives from the fact that most and including

the expelled Täufer had their children baptized. Religiously their resistance was related to the forced attendance of divine services and the celebration of the Last Supper as imposed by the Ancien Regime. Politically these rural people were also opposed to the aristocratic Lords in Bern whom they viewed in many ways as oppressors, on whom however rural people were nevertheless financially quite dependent.

<sup>2</sup> See Paul Hostettler, "Täuferium im Grenzgebiet zwischen deutscher und welscher Schweiz und seine waldensischen Wurzeln," State Archive Bern 2008. ["Anabaptism in the Frontier Region between German- and French-speaking Switzerland and Its Waldensian Roots."]

<sup>3</sup> K Wa 1/104.

<sup>4</sup> Within quotations family names are given in their original form, in the text further forms are considered or their standard form is being used.

<sup>5</sup> StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/23.

<sup>6</sup> StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/23.

<sup>7</sup> A previous "division" seems to refer to sentencing and expulsion.

<sup>8</sup> ÄSb D/51; K Gu 1/112.127.143. Children: Anna, Cathrin, Elsbeth and Margreth. Presumably also his brother was at the same homestead: Jacob Schärtz with his wife Ursula. Children: Hans, Anna and Johannes Heinrich. K Wa 2/39. In 1713 a David Schärz was witness in Sainte-Marie aux Mines when the Schwarzenburg Hostettler of Sur Citté signed the contract of dividing their property. (Colmar State Archive: Fonds juridique non communicable).

<sup>9</sup> StAFR Vogtei Sb 2.45.

<sup>10</sup> K Wa 1/424.

<sup>11</sup> In 1584 the anonymous *Apologie der Täufer* appeared. In that year the latest, Bernese *Täufers* submitted to the ecclesiastical form of baptism without thereby approving it. Noteworthy are the *Täufer* baptismal witnesses, especially Hans Ammann. Later there will be Jacob, Hans, Uli, and Jeremias Amman/Ammen beside many others. The division of the families into Amman and Ammen occurred in 1610 in Guggisberg.

<sup>12</sup> ChGM Gu2/178 No. 6.

<sup>13</sup> StABE B III 190: TM/384.

<sup>14</sup> StABE B III 198/2.

<sup>15</sup> The payout for an informer followed after the capture.

<sup>16</sup> StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/35.41.43.49.

<sup>17</sup> He fled the country at the threat of being apprehended.

<sup>18</sup> ÄSb D/53.

<sup>19</sup> Gilgen, a Schwarzenburg name, has been rendered Giljen or even Jillien due to its peculiar pronunciation. In the emigration to Pennsylvania the name was changed to Yelin. — Gilgen's children were without their parents in French-speaking country (Welschland).

<sup>20</sup> A II 304: RM 433/243.

<sup>21</sup> A II 324: RM 13/52.

<sup>22</sup> ÄSb C/543 No. 4 and 5; 548.

<sup>23</sup> StAFR Sb14.4.

<sup>24</sup> StABE A V 1186: ÄSb C/574.

<sup>25</sup> StABE A V 1187: ÄSb D/53.

<sup>26</sup> From a different perspective Glado Bifrare's Waldensian evangelization had been successful among his people.

<sup>27</sup> ÄSb D/59. According to the Manual of Contracts A 320/ Years 1635–1640 Adam Stärnenberger, *Täuferlehrer* "uff den Furen" is a "verlasser," that is, he left without the obligatory notice of departure. Years before he had his children still baptized: Barblj, 1609 (KWA 2/23), with godparent Barblj Gilgen-Risen, living at Brügglen where 150 years later the so-called Brüggler sect was to emerge. Also the rarely mentioned family Werli was present.—Elsbeth, 1612 (KWA 2/51) with the significant godparents Ulj Nidegger (StAFR Sb.1.21-23), Anna



Wienbach (!) and Margret Zand.—Peter, 1619 (KWa 2/94) with the godparents Hans Zwalen, Peter Binggeli and Margret Zbinden. The assumption of an intensifying radicalization seems supported by the observation that in 1628 his sister Barblj was given the custody of the children she had with Peter Nydegger, possibly because of their *Täufer* marriage years before (ÄSb C/355).

<sup>28</sup> ÄSb C/558; StAFR Sb 14.4, there also his place of residence.

<sup>29</sup> Ä Sb D/399.

<sup>30</sup> ChGM Gu 2/39, No. 6.

<sup>31</sup> ChGM Gu 2/138, No. 4.

<sup>32</sup> ChGM Gu 2/10 ss.

<sup>33</sup> ChGM Gu 2/26, No. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Was the drinking of wine masking *Täufer* gatherings devoted to commemorating the last supper?

<sup>35</sup> ChGM Gu 3/2, No. 11.

<sup>36</sup> ChGM Gu 3/16 No. 1.

<sup>37</sup> EReg Gu 1715.

<sup>38</sup> StABE B III 190: TM/76.

<sup>39</sup> StABE B III 190/265; 402, 405s. — Pardon: StABE B III 190/442 and B III 191/37.

<sup>40</sup> StABE A II 551: RM 239/457.

<sup>41</sup> StABE A II 557: RM245/86.

<sup>42</sup> K Wa 2/499.

<sup>43</sup> K Wa 2/499. Godparents: Jeremias Binggeli, the *Täufer*, Ulli Glaus and Benedicta Hostettler.

<sup>44</sup> K Wa 2/588. Godparents: Christen Binggeli, Anni Gilgen, Hans Zbinden.

<sup>45</sup> K Wa 2/588. Baptism on 16 March 1706: Child Elsi; godparents Christen Pinggeli, Anni Gilgen, Hans Zbinden.

<sup>46</sup> Register of the Ambassador of the Netherlands and intermediary between Bern and the Netherlands in Amsterdam. Reference provided by Hanspeter Jecker, Bienenberg, letter of 21 July 1998.

<sup>47</sup> ADHR Colmar; 4 E Ste Marie Alsace 83, Notariatsakten.—ADRH 4 E 83, p. 90; baille à loyer, Petite Lièpvre; ADRH 4 E 83 H8/39f.

<sup>48</sup> Hostet, orchard.

<sup>49</sup> StABE A II 631: RM 45/82.

<sup>50</sup> Part of the commune Guggisberg.

<sup>51</sup> KWa 2/597: Marriage 14 January; children between 1660 to 1671. It is noteworthy that the godmother of Ulrich Mischler was an *Apollonia Zand*. In Wahlern the various Apollonias were enmeshed with the Ammann-clan. In my research in the Alsace, however, I never came across the family name Mischler.

<sup>52</sup> A II 631: 45/82.

<sup>53</sup> 15 August 1719. A V 1471 Responsa prudentum No. 2/324–331.

<sup>54</sup> A II 669: RM 83/134.

<sup>55</sup> A II 669: RM 83/341s, 6 March 1720.

<sup>56</sup> With the notation relating to the father: “the tailor.”

<sup>57</sup> K Oberwil in the Simmental, 1/315.

<sup>58</sup> Departements-Archiv Colmar. Ste Marie, 19 J 169: “Extradition de Munich.”

<sup>59</sup> Just two random examples: In 1580 Abraham Zimmerman was the godfather of Michel Amman (K Wahlern 1/93); in November 1635 Jacob Ammen married Catrin Hostettler in Wahlern (K Wa 1/348).

<sup>60</sup> 9 August 1692, A V 1196: Ämterbuch Schwarzenburg G/333. As one of the few, Kämmerling was aware of the old rights of the Schwarzenburgerland's “Landleute.” They were organized into a corporation led by elected officials that was parallel to the corporation of the

"Dorfburger," the official village residents of the free town of Schwarzenburg.

<sup>61</sup> 4 E Ste Marie 83/1 L 28/11.

<sup>62</sup> ADHR Colmar Ste Marie 83/1 liasse 28/11 marginal.—"Ce jour d'huy quatorz Janvier 1713 est comparu pardevant le Tabellion soussigné: *Jacqy Hochstetter*, lequel agissant pour et au nom de *Jacqy Aman*, a déclaré estre payé et satisfait de . . . obligation . . . etc.

[signé] *Jacob hostettler*.

[marque]: *Fischer*, notaire."

<sup>63</sup> ADHR Colmar, 4 E Notarial Acts 83/1.—"Cottel, jeune homme non marié, usant néanmoins de ses droits come majeur d'âge, résident audit Petite Lièvre . . ." [Cottel, a young unmarried man, using however his rights as an adult, living in Petite Lièvre.] — The sale included the house, its surroundings, a spice garden, orchard and garden plot ("meix").

<sup>64</sup> He had two older brothers: Hans, born in 1642 and Uli in 1640, and the two sisters Anni and Barbli. His parents Jacob and Catrin Ammen-Hostettler had married in November 1636.

<sup>65</sup> K Oberwil 1/315. — Son of Jacob and Appolonia Ammen-Kissling, married 9 December 1633 in Oberwil in the Simmental; after the birth of their first child they moved in October 1634 to Wahlern where they had all their nine children to be born baptized: Jacob, David, Uli, Anna, Ulrich, Elsbeth, Ulli, Peter, and Michel [K Wa 2/207–292]. Some time later a Hans Hostettler married Barbara Kisslig. Their children born between 1663 and 1679 were Anna, Hans, Barbara, Christen, and Christina.

<sup>66</sup> Marriage of Jacob and Madle Amman-Schneiter on 9 March 1669 in Amsoldingen [K Ams 1/16]. Children: Peter, born 11 January 1670; Hans August, 4 1672 [K Ams 1/72]; Anna, 19 November 1674 [K Ams 1/86]; Christen 25 March 1677 [K Ams 1/11]; Jacob, 23 March 1679 [K Ams 1/123]; and Madle, 4 January 1691 [K Ams 1/189]. Godparents came mostly from *Täufer* families such as Ösch, Wenger, Hirsig, and In der Mühli.

<sup>67</sup> I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1776* (1876; expanded edition: Leipzig: Verlag Degener, 1931).

<sup>68</sup> Michael Bachman was godfather for Anni Hostettler, baptized 2 February 1662 in Oberdiessbach. Her parents Ulrich and Eva Hostettler-Stucki were living on the *Täufer* Buchholterberg.

<sup>69</sup> Emanuel Zimmerman, the dyer and tanner (1738, Kontrakten Wahlern A 88/259). With Jacob Hostettler also Emanuel Zimmerman, Johann Schenk and others went to Pennsylvania.

<sup>70</sup> Literally "Jacob Hostedler" but "Michael Hochstädter."—Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania Pioneers*, (1934): 155–60. He lists "Jacob Hochstettler," age 32, in the captain's list A, together with Maria Catharina Hochstettlerin, age 42, Maria Eva Hochstettlerin, age 28, but "Jacob Hofstetler" with a notation on list C. It seems noteworthy that no Michael or another name appears on the list for that ship. Note of Carolyn Wenger.

<sup>71</sup> K Oberdiessbach 7, p. 12, with godparents Niggli Marti, Christen Hostettler (married Lärjen), probably the child's uncle, and Anni Bachmann.—The last will with the name Jacob Hostetter Hill, dated 1761, written in 1756, is attributed to him. Named are the wife Anna ("Aneli Hostetterin") and the sons Hanss, Jacob, and Abraham. See Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster Courthouse, y-2-283.

<sup>72</sup> See last will.

<sup>73</sup> Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Lancaster Courthouse, y-2-283.

<sup>74</sup> Hans and Anna (Müller) Roht, K Oberdiessbach 5, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> This Jacob is also classified in Gingerich and Kreider's Amish genealogy as the ancestor of all Amish Hostettlers in America. See Hugh F. Gingerich and Rachel W. Kreider, *Amish and Amish Mennonite Genealogies* (Pequea, Pennsylvania: Pequea Publishers, 1986), 122.

<sup>76</sup> The Jacob Hochstetler Family Association of Elkhart, Indiana, now agrees that (3) Jacob



Hostetler and not (2) Jacob Hostetler is the Amish immigrant. See Daniel E. Hochstetler, "Unsolved Mysteries' Concerning Jacob Hochstetler," *Hochstetler-Hostetler-Hochstedler Family Newsletter* 15 (March 2001): 4-6, 8.

<sup>77</sup> "Church book of the Little Congregation of Jesus Christ of the Muddy Creek," in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

<sup>78</sup> Kirchenbuch Lambsborn, 18 January 1707.

<sup>79</sup> Rupp, *A Collection*. Note of Carolyn Wenger.—According to Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Menonite Publishing House, 1931), 41, this Jacob Hostetler had been ordained when still in Switzerland before age 30 and is claimed to have served as a Mennonite Bishop In Pennsylvania, but without a source reference. He is officially first mentioned on 18 February 1717 when he purchased 350 acres at the north bank of the Conestoga river in today's Engleide in Lancaster County. He possibly purchased further 150 acres 5 June 1734 according to "Patent a-6-339, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania." On 30 July 1741 he purchased 475 acres in Manor Township of Lancaster County, Patent A-9-338.—About his descendants see H. Glenn Hostetter, *Hostetter Family: Descendants of Jacob and Anna Hostetter of Engleide, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. H. Glenn Hostetter, 1983.

<sup>80</sup> Warrant C-73-254, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The transaction was not certified until 1765, and in May 1829 the patent was sold to John Leshar, Jr.—Note of Carolyn Wenger.

<sup>81</sup> "Kirchenbuch der Congregation auf dem Moden Crück [Muddy Creek] und Cocalico woher ich gerufen worden. Ich habe akzeptiert am Gründonnerstag 1743, auf deren ständiges Ersuchen einzugehen und so mit vier Ältesten und über vierzig Gemeindemitgliedern zuammen die Einführung einer Volksschule zu unterzeichnen. Damit soll ihnen eine Grunds Schulung gewährt werden, welche die Prinzipien unseres Glaubens achtet, und die Sakramente in der Art und Weise so zu verwalten hat, wie es unsere Reformatoren im Berner Synodus vo 1532 niedergelegt haben." For the data about the Muddy Creek congregation and Cocalico, I am obliged to my research colleague Dwight Huffstetler in Barnesville, Georgia.

<sup>82</sup> Archive of Muddy Creek Parish, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Register of the Inhabitants Guggisberg 1715, Winterkraut.

<sup>85</sup> Spelled Jacob Hostedler but Michael Hochstädter according to Rupp, *A Collection*, 100, 102.

<sup>86</sup> This Jacob Ammann is viewed by American research as a Mennonite "minister and bishop." His ten children were: Johann Georg; Anna Catharina, died in Philadelphia; Johann, born 1734; Michael, August 1737; Heinrich, 1739; Marcus, 1740; Eva, 1741; Sophia, 1742; Barbara, 1744; Jacob, 1746.

<sup>87</sup> In my unpublished study of 2002 titled "Twice Eva Trautmann" the issues are described in detail. Actually related couples with the same names may be identified who most likely moved to Pennsylvania.

<sup>88</sup> ADBR Strassbourg, microfilm Obenheim 5 Mi 338.

<sup>89</sup> The twin Täufer teachers Jacob and Peter Hostetler were living in Eschery that lies a few miles from Ste Marie aux Mines at the entrance of the Vosges mountain range.

<sup>90</sup> Rupp, *A Collection*, has Jacob Hochstetler.

<sup>91</sup> Years 1723 and 1727; AHS - E303.

<sup>92</sup> Elisabeth Hostetler-Ulrich was Christen's second wife; his first was Elisabetha Wild (1697-1719).

<sup>93</sup> Robert Baecher, "Dénombrement de la population de Montbéliard," *Souvenance Anabaptiste* 18 (1999), based on the years 1723 and 1727, AHS-E 303.

<sup>94</sup> "Sur Cité" still exists with a facade of wooden shingles not unlike the homes to be found still today in the Schwarzenburgerland.

<sup>95</sup> "Petition in the name of the Anabaptist community of Markirch and Eschery," ADHR Colmar 19 J 169.

<sup>96</sup> "We, being members of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Bern and Heidelberg together have resolved and decided to build a common Evangelical-Christian schoolhouse on the land of Tobias Beckels to where children of all religions may be sent and there be taught. Nobody may claim any right and power over said land and house except the signed members who have obligated themselves ... But it shall remain forever a common schoolhouse and not be used for any other purpose than: to be made into such a Christian and peaceful God-oriented institution in which the dear youth are not only instructed in the reading of Holy Writ, but will also be guided to the love of their crucified savior Jesus Christ . . ." See also above footnote 80.

<sup>97</sup> *The Mystery of Jacob Amman*. Carrollton, Ohio: Amish Mennonite Publications, 1989.



## Book Reviews

*Edited by Susan Schürer*

### Jewish American Culture

#### **The American Jewish Story Through Cinema.**

*By Eric A. Goldman. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013. 246 pp. \$25.00.*

Within the last twenty years, interest in Jewish film history has reached new heights. Books on Judaic practices in film, character portrayals of American Jews in film, the relationship of Jews and the entertainment industry, and the success and misfortunes of Jewish actors have received much attention from scholars and film enthusiasts alike. Among those publications are Lester D. Friedman's *The Jewish Image in American Film* (2000), David Desser and Friedman's *American Jewish Filmmakers* (2003), Elliot B. Gertel's *Over the Top Judaism: Precedents and Trends in the Depictions of Jewish Beliefs and Observances in Film and Television* (2003), Omar Bartov's *The "Jew" in Cinema: From the Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust* (2005), Henry Bial's *Acting Jewish: Negotiating Ethnicity on the American Stage and Screen* (2005), Daniel Bernardi's *Hollywood's Chosen People* (2012) just to mention a few.

Eric A. Goldman's publication on Jewishness in America as told through the cinematic lens is a fine addition to the field. From the start, Goldman argues that the medium of film is "a powerful vehicle for the study of twentieth-century life and our times," and in the words of D. W. Griffith "is capable of conveying a given image in many ways enormously more effectively than any mode of expression in the world . . ." (xi). While Goldman analyzes six mainstream Jewish films in chronological order, he has no intention of providing the reader with a theoretical framework on film per se. Instead, his focus is on "cinema as text that requires deciphering" (xiii). Goldman sees film as part of

a cultural and historical narrative, a *Haggadah* of sorts of what has transpired for Jews in America. Similarly as the Jewish liberation from Egyptian oppression is retold at Passover so are the narratives of six Jewish films in Goldman's book (ix).

In chronological order, Goldman traces six mainstream movies from the early years of cinema to Liev Schreiber's 2005 film *Everything is Illuminated*. He begins his filmic journey in the early twenties in the chapter "*The Jazz Singer*: Out of the Jewish Ghetto." There he uncovers silent movies and the first talkie as a path of Jewish assimilation, which is halted when Hitler rises to power. Skipping the "dearth" of the 1930s, the author examines anti-Semitism in films of the forties, such as in *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), based on Laura Z. Hobson's novel and produced by Elia Kazan and *Crossfire* (1947) directed by Edward Dmytryk. As his journey continues in the fifties, Goldman introduces *The Young Lions* (1958) as a filmic example of Jewish acceptance in America. In this context, Goldman defines the fifties as a decade of sensibility in the portrayal of Jewish characters. However, according to Goldman it is the sixties and the continuing decades, where a shift from the Jewish outsider to the insider takes place.

Goldman's focus on fiction may very well be the reason for his decision not to include a chapter on Holocaust documentaries and mini-series of the seventies, Holocaust mega-movies, including *Schindler's List* and Woody Allen films. They are only briefly discussed in the introductory chapter. As an alternative, Goldman concentrates on the feminist movement of the late sixties, seventies and eighties with films such as *The Way we Were* (1973) and *Prince of Tides* (1991) to illustrate the evolution of the Jewish American woman. In chapter six, his attention is directed towards films of the nineties that highlight Jewish assimilation in America and the assertion of Jewish power. Goldman's last chapter, subtitled "A New Direction in Film – Searching for a Usable Past," traces the complicated genesis of Jonathan Safran Foer's biography, his short story "A Very Rigid Search," his novel *Everything is Illuminated* and Liev Schreiber's 2005 film version of the latter. This chapter beautifully navigates the biographical, literary, and filmic paths of Jewish identity in the twenty-first century. The protagonist's global search becomes a cathartic celebration of Jewish diversity but as an American.

Adding to a vibrant narrative, Goldman incorporates unique features such as transcribed interviews with "creative [film] participants" to the book (xii). For example, in chapter four entitled "Guaranteeing Acceptance," the author includes a heated conversation between Irwin Shaw and Marlon Brando, the lead actor in the film *Young Lions* that took place during the filming in Paris. On the film set, Shaw and Brando who plays Christian Diestl, a young Nazi, argue about changes that Brando has made to Shaw's original



character. Brando's initial changes to a more sympathetic Diestl lead Goldman to further explore the actor's relationship to Jews, Revisionist Zionism, the symbolism of language, and the final film adaptation that turns Diestl's character into "an innocent casualty of war" (123). In the end, Goldman's short but concise descriptions of Shaw's, Brando's, Dmytryk's, and Anhalt's opposing views of the central characters provide a highly nuanced picture into the evil nature of man and the acceptance of Jews in American society in the late 1950s.

Finally, the pedagogical merits of this book cannot be over-emphasized. Goldman's film selections, primary sources, and pedagogical tools may very well provide the impetus to stir students' interest in the American Jewish experience. If all fails, Goldman and his team have added six mini-videos with short introductions and post-screening segments into the actual film screenings to the book.

There is no doubt, that Goldman's reader-friendly book offers thoughtful insights and unique teaching strategies into Jewish history in the United States. While Goldman highlights the exceptional path of Jewish culture in America, he never ceases to draw parallels to other American cultural narratives. In this book the Jewish *Haggadah* becomes synonymous with Americans' struggle for identity, assimilation, and belonging.

*University of Southern Indiana*

*Silvia Rode*

**In the Shadow of Hitler: Alabama's Jews, the Second World War, and the Holocaust.**

*By Dan J. Puckett Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press 2014. 326pp. \$44.95.*

This well-written and scrupulously researched account chronicles the response of Alabama's Jews to the rise of Hitler, World War II, and the Holocaust, and analyzes the impact of the Holocaust on Jewish life. Dan Puckett begins by dismantling the view that the experiences of southern Jews, who numbered some 214,000, simply mirrored those of their counterparts in New York, who numbered over two million. Although Alabama housed a population of only 12,000 Jews, Puckett believes that Jews in Alabama and other parts of the south "have been, and continue to be, shaped by the region's history and culture, creating a distinctive southern Jewish identity" (5). Part of this southern Jewish identity meant "accepting, or at least abiding by, the Jim Crow system" (6). Because they were white, southern Jews adopted the "same or similar attitudes on race as white Gentiles." Furthermore, "like

the southern white gentile majority, Alabama's Jews also failed to recognize the similarities between the persecution of Jews in Germany prior to the war and the situation of African Americans in the Jim Crow South" (7). At the same time, however, southern Gentiles did not regard Jews as their equals. As Puckett puts it, "Their inescapable 'otherness' created a fine, if sometimes illusory, distinction between the Jewish minority and the white Gentile majority . . . that certainly limited Jews' social opportunities" (9). But while southern attitudes towards Jews mirrored those of the Nazis in many respects, the "treatment of Jews in the United States could hardly be considered similar to the treatment of Jews in Nazi Germany" (10).

Puckett's narrative shows how Alabama's Jews addressed the crises affecting their brethren in Europe after Hitler's assumption of power. They worked with national refugee organizations to resettle Jews who had fled from Nazi persecution, and publicized the tragedy of persecution in the press. Alabama Jews also served in the army. For those Jews who were recent refugees from Germany, joining the army was a special vocation. One observed that he "went from being a 'Hitler victim to American soldier in the cause of freedom,' and had 'a very personal stake' in the war as his 'father and mother died in . . . Hitler's concentration camps'" (161). Another observed, "I hope I'll have a chance to send some of the Nazi louses to Valhalla" (161). Ironically, as Jews worked to help victims of Hitler's anti-Semitic wrath abroad, during the war they also witnessed "anti-Semitism and racism that increased throughout the state, and indeed the nation, during the war" (17). But, generally speaking, this anti-Semitism abated at the end of the war, thanks in part to returning veterans, "who played a large role in combatting anti-Semitism" (205). It is also possible that the revelation of Hitler's atrocities at war's end made "Christian Americans . . . more cautious in expressing negative reactions to Jews" (205).

But while Alabama's Jews were united against Hitler, they were not united for the possible creation of Palestine. This rift was only healed with the revelation of the Holocaust—clearly a Jewish homeland was needed in the wake of Europe's attempt to exterminate its Jewish population. As Puckett observes, "With the revelation of the Holocaust . . . Alabama's Jews began to coalesce, creating the decisive turning point when Alabama's Jewish community began to conceive of themselves as part of a much larger Judaic culture" (224).

The final pages of the book are devoted to the debate over Jewish silence about the Holocaust in the years after the war. Many scholars believe that the Holocaust "remained on the fringes of American and American Jewish consciousness until the late 1960s or early 1970s . . . due to conscious choices American Jews made not to talk about the Holocaust" (226). As Puckett notes, "while American Jews had internally and informally discussed the



death of 'the Six Million' in the years after World War II, this discourse did not make the Holocaust a central part of the American Jewish experience or identity" (227). The turning point came with the Eichmann trial, which linked the word "Holocaust" inextricably with the slaughter of Jewry during the war.

The idea of Jewish silence or "deliberate forgetting" was seriously challenged by Hasia Diner's recent book, *We Remember with Reverence and Love*, which insists that Jews were anything but silent in the years after the war. Indeed, Jews "told and retold details of the catastrophe in multiple forms" (229). Puckett acknowledges Diner's work as "groundbreaking" and "revisionist," but cautions that since many of her conclusions are drawn from records of national organizations and records from the Northeast and Midwest, they may not be applicable to the response of southern Jews to the Holocaust. He notes that the topic of southern Jewish silence about the Holocaust prior to the 1960s has not been adequately researched. But several passages in the book appear to support Diner's conclusions. For example, many of Alabama's Jewish veterans were profoundly affected by the war; their experiences "affected not only their outlook towards Judaism, but also their participation in Jewish life in the postwar years" (17). Many also "assumed leadership roles in their respective communities in the following years" (223). More tellingly, he notes that "given the profound changes within Alabama's Jewish community wrought by Nazism, the war and the Holocaust . . . it is difficult to believe that they remained silent" (230). One might hope that the issue of "southern silence" or probable lack thereof—might be the subject of a follow-up work to this fine monograph. Given the richness of this account about the small Jewish population of Alabama of 12,000, Puckett and other scholars of the American south will hopefully turn their attention to the approximately 200,000 other Jews living in the south.

Florida Atlantic University

Patricia Kollander

### Anabaptists and Other Religious Groups

#### **Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War.**

By Duane C.S. Stoltzfus. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. 268 pp. \$29.95.

When the Hutterites, German-speaking Anabaptists who embrace a communal, pacifist lifestyle, emigrated from Russia in the nineteenth centu-

ry, the U.S. government had promised them exemption from military service and guaranteed them religious freedom. In 1918, four Hutterites from South Dakota (brothers David, Michael, and Joseph Hofer, and relative Joseph Wipf), were drafted to fight in World War I. Upon arriving at Army training camp, they refused to follow orders and were subsequently court-martialed. Sentenced to twenty years' hard labor, they served time in Alcatraz and Fort Leavenworth. Two of the Hutterites died in prison, and two were later discharged and released.

Duane Stoltzfus, Professor and Chair of the Department of Communication at Goshen College, presents a well-written and moving case study of the Hutterites' imprisonment, as well as a more extensive examination of violations of American religious and political dissenters' civil rights during the Great War. Stoltzfus foregrounds his story by describing contemporary attitudes toward German Americans in general and, specifically, religious minorities like the German-speaking Anabaptist Hutterites, against whom Americans harbored suspicions because of their isolated, communal lifestyle, their successful farming, and their pacifism. The latter particularly enraged a secular America enflamed by "hyperpatriotism" that tolerated, and even supported, the violation of conscientious objectors' human and civil rights by authorities who sought to use them as examples to deter other dissenters (viii).

The Wilson administration made some provision for conscientious objectors, establishing a Board of Inquiry that determined the sincerity of their objections on religious grounds. Sincere conscientious objectors were assigned noncombatant duties, usually farm furloughs. Unfortunately, the Hutterites had been court-martialed before they could be interviewed by the Board, which then simply validated their sentence. Because they persisted in their disobedience in the Alcatraz Disciplinary Barracks, the Hutterites underwent solitary confinement, suffering both physical torture and denial of nutrition. For the communal Hutterites, the imposition of solitary confinement certainly also amounted to psychological torture (135). By the time the men were transferred to Leavenworth, after the Armistice, their condition had so deteriorated that three were hospitalized with serious illnesses, and two of the Hofers died of influenza shortly after their arrival. The surviving Hofer brother was released to accompany the corpses home; Wipf was finally released in April 1919.

Stoltzfus provides a nuanced discussion of the Hutterites' religious and cultural motivations, explaining their behavior using the "Anabaptist religious mantle" (18). The combined effect of religious teachings, martyrs' stories extending into modern times, belief in the inevitability of persecution for one's faith, and an outlook according to which the world is starkly divided between God and Satan, strengthened the men's resolve as they refused to follow



military orders and persisted in the face of imprisonment, torture, malnourishment, illness, and finally death (18). The author locates U.S. authorities' justification for their actions in their idealistic desire to win the "war to end all wars," a project that demanded a common sacrifice and denied the validity of individual religious beliefs, especially those outside the mainstream (219). Additionally, Wilson saw the draft as serving the "crusade for Americanization," creating both a homogenous middle class and a tightly knit nation out of diverse groups (57). That the authorities' actions both flew in the face of promises made to the Hutterites when they were recruited as Americans and violated constitutional rights to freedom of religion and from cruel and unusual punishment demonstrates the extent to which guarantees from victims' own government can be casualties of war.

Stoltzfus has consulted a wealth of sources, including letters from the imprisoned Hutterites, interviews, government documents, and scholarly books and articles. To expand the limited information available on the Hofers' and Wipf's incarceration, especially in Alcatraz, the author has incorporated sources on other conscientious objectors, particularly Mennonites and socialists. While this provides important contextual information about the conditions of the Hutterites' imprisonment, Stoltzfus' story often digresses beyond the bounds of his subtitle and becomes the story not only of the Hofers and Wipf, but of non-Hutterite conscientious objectors as well.

The centennial of World War I invites us to re-examine that war and its effects, and Stoltzfus makes a valuable contribution to a reassessment. His final chapter discusses domestic "casualties" of the Great War: civil and human rights, constitutional guarantees of freedom, and the United States' (self-)image as a land that shuns torture. Engaging with history in works like this one reminds us of the richness of our immigrant history, the fragility of the rights that immigrants come to this country to enjoy, and the obligation to defend those rights, even under exigent circumstances. As Stoltzfus points out, "the United States [can] only be as free as the Hutterites, the Mennonites, the Amish, . . . and the socialists among us" (227).

*The University of South Dakota*

*Carol A. Leibiger*

**Records of the Moravians among the Cherokees, Volume 5: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 3: Farewell to Sister Gambold. Volume 5. 1817-1821.**

*Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. Tablequah, OK: Cherokee Heritage Press, 2014. 648 pp. \$50.00.*

The series, *Records of the Moravians among the Cherokee*, consists of translations of letters, diaries, and reports that tell the story of the Springplace mission, located in present day northwestern Georgia, designed to educate Cherokee children, and supported by the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina. In this fifth volume, *Farewell to Sister Gambold*, the editors announce that they plan to complete two more sets of volumes. The next four volumes will document the removal of the Cherokee and their experience on the Trail of Tears. Then "if health and funding hold out," an additional set of volumes will cover the time up to the Civil War. Editors Crews and Starbuck responded to requests for greater annotation of the volumes by expanding the index into a more detailed and helpful glossary. The real objective of this effort to translate these Cherokee and Moravian records remains "giving others ample material for several Ph.D. projects" (xx).

The central issue in this volume is that Cherokee lands continue to be desired for white settlement. The Cherokee Nation divides over the Treaty of September 1816, with some members planning to remove across the Mississippi River along the Arkansas and White Rivers, and the remainder planning to appeal the Treaty to Washington for redress. Those Cherokees wanting to stay either live in towns, or on their own plantations operated with Negro slaves, a divide that represents the shift toward white farming practices on the land and the continuation of older patterns in the towns.

In the 1817 Reports to the 1818 Synod, Abraham Steiner discusses the changes seen in the lifestyles of the Cherokees. The towns mostly housed poor people especially in the locales where work was accomplished communally. These communities were enclosed by fences with the houses or cabins scattered about. While every family had a field, all work was done together working from one side of town to the other planting corn, hoeing, and harvesting. In every town there stood a townhouse where the men "gather and spend whole days together. While they smoke pipes there and cultivate idleness, they let their wives work, and often they form a dissolute ruffraff" (2183).

Steiner saw the Cherokees living on the land as living like white people. Living on the land yielded good dwelling houses framed by cultivated fields worked by Negro slaves that grew a diversity of crops and livestock. Cotton was cultivated, spun, dyed with indigo, and woven into textiles by the Negroes, who were "treated rather mildly," and allowed to grow tobacco for their own use and to sell. To Steiner's way of thinking, "this part of the Cherokees



is more or less well off; for they have money and know the value of it and are more civilized than others" (2184).

White men marrying into the Cherokees became agents of change within the Nation. Leading the effort to relocate beyond the Mississippi River were some white men raised in the Cherokee nation since their youth. Their offspring, in the words of Abraham Steiner, "produced a new species, that of the half-breeds, which now constitutes a sizable part of the Nation," although all were considered as belonging completely to the Nation. This first mixed ancestry generation focused on improving livestock herds, but because town life made herding problematic, they began to relocate at some distance from town. Some whites and half-Indians acquired Negro slaves and they set up plantations at their dispersed dwellings with the Negroes working the fields and tending the cattle. Those living at separate plantations became wealthy and bought more slaves. Pure Cherokees followed this example and set up their own plantations (2425–26). Other changes indicating assimilation included (1) forbidding future Polygamous marriages, (2) English becoming the standard language already used (by 1819) in the Council of the Cherokee transactions, (3) the Cherokees preferring to have their children learn English, and in Steiner's view (4) these Cherokees wanting "to become English" (2456).

Village life was more communal but less profitable than solitary plantations and in the Treaty of 1817 Cherokees wishing to remain were to be granted land reserves of 640 acres. The Cherokee women issued an address appealing to the chiefs and warriors to hold out with the Federal Government in the support of their common rights (2251). The Federal Government appears to have backed down in the passage of the Treaty of 1819, although Federal Cherokee Policy would clearly lead the tribe toward education, English, and assimilation in terms of pursuing agriculture and the domestic arts. Meanwhile, the State of Georgia remained unsatisfied and issued complaints to the Federal Government that their claims to Cherokee lands had not been fulfilled (2635). The Cherokees, on their ancestral lands, would be safe for only a little while longer.

**Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels.**

By Valerie Weaver-Zercher. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. 315 pp. \$50.00.

As Valerie Weaver-Zercher notes in the preface to *Thrill of the Chaste: The Allure of Amish Romance Novels*, writing an Amish romance novel would probably have been more lucrative than writing about them. Certainly, as a Mennonite woman living in "Amish Country," descended from Amish roots, and raised reading Christian fiction, Weaver-Zercher would have been well-positioned to turn out a good fictional Amish story. We are very fortunate that she chose instead to explore "inspirational Amish romance novels" (xvi) and, more importantly, to write about their popularity and what they mean to both writers and readers. *Thrill of the Chaste* is a well-written, well-researched, and very readable study of this fast growing fictional subgenre, and Weaver-Zercher sheds much light on the importance of these texts for understanding contemporary American culture.

Throughout this book Weaver-Zercher blends first person narrative with theoretical analysis, a style critic Scott Slovic calls "narrative scholarship" (xiii). This approach, Weaver-Zercher argues, allows her to explore in an integrated way the text, subject, producer and consumer, and cultural contexts of these works, and she enriches both the narration and the analysis by letting informants—writer, publishers, agents, and, perhaps most importantly, readers—speak for themselves. Chapter one, "Slap a Bonnet on the Cover," lays the groundwork by charting the rise of publication and sales of Amish romance fiction and then suggests that both the origin and phenomenal success of this subgenre are linked to two features of contemporary American life, "hypersexuality," the pervasiveness of sex and sexual discourse in everyday life, and "hypermodernity," the rapid pace of technological and social change. The Amish, she suggests, are presented as the antithesis: chaste and resistant to modernity.

Finding meaning "in the interaction between the text and the reader and the culture in which both were created" (23), Weaver-Zercher asks how Amish romance novels function for their readers, who are largely evangelical Christian women. As she points out in chapter two, "The DNA of Amish Romance Novels," these works did not appear out of nowhere, and she cites such precursors as Helen Reimensnyder Martin's 1905 novel *Sabina: A Story of the Amish*, and Clara Bernice Miller's 1966 novel, *Katie* (1966). Yet, she notes, only with Beverly Lewis' 1997 novel *The Shunning*, did the mix of pastoralism, romance, and evangelism become commercially successful. Linking the subsequent success of Amish romance fiction to several factors, including the shooting of Amish schoolgirls at Nickel Mines school and the recession of



2008-9, Weaver-Zercher also points out that the Amish of these later works were no longer the ignorant, rule-bound, and unsaved people of earlier novels but had become, instead, folks whose chaste religious lifestyle offered much to be admired.

And just as the Amish of these more recent works have changed, so too have the authors' goals and the assumptions they make about their readers. Whereas Martin's early twentieth century novel privileged the modern world and derided the Amish as backwards, and Miller's was an attempt to convert her Amish relatives, the Amish fiction of Lewis and other contemporary writers addresses, in particular, an evangelical discourse community. In chapter three, "An Evangelical and an Amishman Walk into a Barn," Weaver-Zercher explores characteristics key to understanding the role Amish romance fiction plays for the evangelical reader: the centrality of family and holiness, a focus on faith and the atonement offered by Christ, and the desire to be separate from the (fast-paced, hypermodern) world. This last, Weaver-Zercher argues, leads evangelical readers to identify with the Amish in these narratives. Nevertheless, she also notes that the "Amishness" of these works pays scant attention to the discourse of the Amish themselves, with its history of persecution, yieldedness, and nonresistance. Interestingly, Weaver-Zercher points out, the discourse of another Anabaptist group, the Mennonites, which is often presented in these works as "less authoritarian and more warmhearted in spiritual expression" (65), seems equally vague, but appears to function within this genre as "an ideal fusion of evangelical and Amish: appropriately converted to Christ, sufficiently plain" (66).

In the following four chapters, Weaver-Zercher views the production and consumption of Amish fiction through four metaphoric lenses. Chapter four, "Taking the Amish to Market," considers Amish fiction as a commodity that is both a response to and the product of the hypermodern marketplace. Produced and marketed at surprising speed, these books about simple Amish life appeal to readers seeking respite from a frenetic world. At the same time, Weaver-Zercher notes, Amish fiction also blurs the lines between producers and consumers, for authors engage their readers on websites that offer commentary, conversation, friendship, and advertising. In chapter five, "Is Amishness next to Godliness," Weaver-Zercher explores Amish novels as religious icons that invite readers to make personal connections between the texts and their own lives. These works thus become a means through which readers connect with each other and their faith. Further, she asserts, like Orthodox Christian icons, the texts "inspire reader-viewers to greater devotion to God and instruct them in the faith" (112). In short, the dilemmas faced by the fictional Amish protagonists offer readers a means through which they can maintain and develop a particular evangelical Christian identity. In chapter

six, "An Amish Country Getaway," Weaver-Zercher explores Amish fiction as a literary escape from the frenzied modern world. Yet while describing these works as "textual carriages that transport readers away for their actual worlds to imagined ones" (132), she argues that they are not escapist literature, for readers are changed by time spent in the fictive Amish world and are, perhaps, better able, after considering the dilemmas of fictional Amish life, to deal with the dilemmas of their own lives. Finally, in chapter seven, "Virgin mothers," Weaver-Zercher suggests that these novels serve a "curators of chaste womanhood" (157), reinforcing traditional evangelical notions about gender and affirming the importance of family and the value of a woman's character. Yet, while presenting "Motherhood" as a high calling, these novels also emphasize the need for women to be fulfilled emotionally. Weaver-Zercher makes it clear that these works can't simply be dismissed as "anti-feminist," for, in fact, they present a world in which the heroine (and the reader) are able to resist patriarchal structures.

In chapter eight, "Amish Reading Amish," Weaver-Zercher explores the responses of Amish readers to this fiction that purports to be about them and their lives. She notes that, while the novels are popular in Amish communities, particularly among younger female readers, many Amish dismiss them or even find them harmful. Most interesting is Weaver-Zercher's discussion of Linda Byler, an Amish woman writing Amish fiction. As Weaver-Zercher notes, Byler's novels often violate the conventions of Amish romance literature. For Weaver-Zercher, the contrast between Byler's works and those by non-Amish writers raises important questions about authenticity, accuracy, and readers' expectations. These she explores in more depth in chapter nine, "Something Borrowed, Something True," beginning with a discussion of the accuracy of Amish fiction, and then examining the extent to which it is factually appropriate. Most importantly, Weaver-Zercher questions the extent to which this fiction appropriates Amish culture and, in the process, both exoticizes the Amish and domesticates them by "whittling them down to a charming size" (223).

But does Amish fiction have staying power? This is the question the Weaver-Zercher ends with, in "Happily Ever After." There are numerous possibilities for future Amish novels, such as backlash or exposé Amish fiction, in which the Amish are exposed as a cult; Amishesque fiction that focuses on one or another ethnoreligious community, and even Amish fiction with broader appeal. Moreover, there are also new media, including digital publishing and memoirs. These, Weaver-Zercher suggests, mean that Amish-themed publishing will continue to grow. She hints at consequences, for Amish readers as well as non-Amish ones, for rarely, she notes, has so much fiction "about one culture been produced by members of another" (245).



Thoughtful and thought-provoking, *Thrill of the Chaste* offers important insights into cultural appropriation, evangelical outreach, and the interaction between text, reader, culture, production, marketing, and consumption. A major contribution to literary analysis, this book will fascinate all who have wondered about the Amish and why so many people want to read about them.

SUNY Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

**Unter Zions Panier: Mormonism and its Interaction with Germany and its People, 1840-1990.**

By Kurt Widmer. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. *Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv*. Vol. 21. 404 pp. €64.00.

"The Mormons of Utah have done an excellent job of controlling their history and the way in which this history is presented," (18) says Kurt Widmer regarding the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany. Unlike authors from an American Mormon background, this recent Ph.D. graduate of Berlin's Humboldt University approaches 150 years of Mormon history in Germany from a secular, scholarly, and exclusively German viewpoint. While religiously motivated Latter-day Saint writers correctly contend that hard-working German immigrants constituted the third-largest linguistic group to arrive in Brigham Young's American frontier theocracy, Widmer uses other benchmarks to conclude that the Mormon effort to establish a foothold in Germany was "less than successful" (14) and "never met the original expectation" (367).

Widmer documents critical Mormon failures in Germany by citing two benchmark comparisons: the relative success of other Anglo-American sects that dispatched missionaries of German extraction back to their home country to establish congregations, and the Mormons' own paltry proselytizing success in Germany in comparison with their more successful conversion efforts in the British Isles and Scandinavia. In support of the first contention, he says the number of German Baptists increased from 29,000 to 54,000 between 1890 and 1910. During the same period, more than 100,000 Germans joined non-conforming confessions. By comparison, membership in German Latter-day Saint congregations never numbered more than two thousand until the first decade of the twentieth century, although some 4,500 German-speaking Mormons had immigrated to Utah by 1905. Decades earlier, the Latter-day Saints enjoyed much greater success in convincing Britons and

Scandinavians (mostly Danish), to convert to a strange American religion and abandon their homelands. By 1854, only twenty-four years after Joseph Smith founded the Latter-day Saints in western New York, there were 29,441 Mormons in England—most of whom eventually emigrated. During the same year, there were 2,028 Danish Mormons compared to 56 adherents in Germany.

The overriding reason for the Mormons' lack of appeal in Germany, from the early missionary efforts in 1840 until reunification in 1990, was the parent church's insistence on American ecclesiastical control—which never allowed the development of a uniquely German variation of Mormonism. Widmer contends that the two most successful periods of Mormon growth in Germany, in terms of conversions and financial support collected from members, occurred during the two world wars of the twentieth century—when American missionaries relinquished control and evacuated the country, allowing native German members to lead the congregations. Otherwise, Mormonism represented an exotic, foreign religion to which most Germans could not relate. "What Mormons offered," Widmer contends, "was a radical alternative society, which in the end did not aid their cause" (360). The author says Germans "were fully aware of what the Mormons taught and believed . . . and there were no misconceptions of what Mormonism was. It was simply a case of the people not wanting to buy what the Mormons were selling" (254).

Why were the Mormons less successful in making German converts? Mormon authors often attribute difficulties to a particularly virulent intensity of German government persecution, but Widmer sees the Mormons' difficulties as being rooted in two alternate realities. The first was conflict, because of their practice of polygamy, with the government of the United States. "Generally speaking," the author states, "the Mormons' reputation preceded their entrance into Germany" (48). German authorities believed that a foreign sect that could not get along with its own government could not be expected to obey the law as guests in a foreign country. Secondly, the Mormons' own behavior in Germany, especially in the nineteenth century, validated these fears. When a Mormon missionary was expelled from a German state, rather than leave the country, he would exchange places with another missionary recently barred from another part of Germany and then engage in the same objectionable behavior. Although the Mormons never practiced polygamy in Germany, authorities substantiated that many young American missionaries married German girls in polygamous relationships after their emigration. Furthermore, Mormon missionaries were "less than honest" (362) with German officials. During periods in which Mormons were banned from various German states, missionaries would enter the country "claiming to be stu-



dents, English teachers, or tradesmen in various occupations" (52).

Although Widmer devotes most of his work to the Mormons' difficulties in Germany during the nineteenth century, his commentary regarding the National Socialist, post-World War II, and contemporary periods offers valuable insight that often conflicts with histories written by Mormon scholars. Under the Nazi threat of banning, Mormons finally decided to obey the law and were treated like other ordinary Germans. Widmer also argues with Mormon scholars who contend that the government of the German Democratic Republic favored the Latter-day Saints because it wished to court favor with the United States government. GDR officials did indeed show the Mormons favorable treatment, such as allowing a temple to be constructed in Freiberg, Saxony in the 1980s. However, the East Germany government's real intention was to cause a rift among the established churches in the GDR, which they hoped to eliminate en route to a totally atheist state.

Finally, Widmer describes how post-Second World War membership growth, to a level in excess of 38,000, was stunted by the withdrawal of American military forces after the end of the Cold War. As a result, several Mormon "stakes" (dioceses) consolidated—indicating that modern German Mormonism was rooted more in the presence of Americans than in the desire of Germans to adopt this North American faith. Furthermore, the author notes, Mormons in Germany today have an "activity rate" of only thirty percent, which means that there are only eleven thousand participating adherents—which portends no better prospects for Mormonism's future in Germany, and the rest of secularized Europe, than the faith enjoyed during its checkered past.

College Station, Texas

David Conley Nelson

### **Why Cows Need Names, and More Secrets of Amish Farms.**

*By Randy James. Kent, Ohio: Black Squirrel Books, 2013. 234 pp. \$28.95.*

On the surface this is a description of agriculture as practiced in the Amish settlement in Geauga County of northeastern Ohio. For more than thirty years James, professor *emeritus* at the Ohio State University College of Food, Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, served as the agricultural agent for Geauga County. The Amish there constitute the fourth largest of the some 300 Amish communities scattered across the United States and Canada. The narrative focuses on his efforts to advise a young Amish man, Eli Gingerich, who wishes to start a family dairy farm with 20 cows, a large

farm by Amish standards. It begins simply with the two men sitting at a kitchen table listing the probable needs and costs of such an enterprise, and leads us in 21 brief chapters through the practices, problems and patience of building a small farm. This book is interesting, well written and enjoyable reading crafted by a knowledgeable and respectful observer. The Afterword is eye-opening and reveals much of the author's expertise and his attitudes on government policy for commercial agriculture.

James acknowledges his status as a "Yankee," a non-Amish guest of the Geauga settlement. (Other Amish communities refer to outsiders as "English.") After a brief recap of Amish history in Europe, James says little about the German component of their modern life. Nevertheless, he records and respects the traditional rules of the local churches which determine the levels of technology and agricultural practices of their members. Even within the settlement these vary from church to church; so some Amish farmers may use gasoline generators to help power their barns while others may not. As his narrative introduces us to other farmers he is careful to point out these differences. They define and frame the way these farmers must contend with other significant influences on their lives: weather, market conditions, animal and plant health and state and local requirements. We "Yankees" may question this religious constraint, but the Amish farmers do not: it is their cherished heritage.

As our understanding and appreciation of the Amish grow, James also reveals his frustration at dealing with a world that disparages the family farm. Modern agricultural practice favors large dairy farms, where hugely expensive equipment, costly fertilizer and chemicals as well as invasive government regulations encourage mass production of dairy products. His colleagues tell him to deal with these enterprises, despite the fact that small farms are the fastest growing sector of agriculture. Yet when the price of milk dips thirty per cent in one year, these big businesses slaughter cattle and ask for subsidies, while the Amish tighten their belts, diversify and come through the crisis by milking three times a day instead of two.

The Afterword (227-34) sums up the differences between Amish practices and those of current commercial dairying. It presents cow #3076, day and night crammed inhumanely with hundreds of other cows on the concrete floor of a commercial dairy shed, no stalls or place to lie down, walking in the slime of manure and so lame she can barely stand. An ear tag identifies her to her to the company's computer. When the computerized results of her milking indicate she is no longer profitable, she will be packed in a truck and sent for slaughter along with the dairy's other defective and aged animals to be used for hamburger. Amish cows live in pastures and clean barns with own-



ers who respect and care for them. And, of course, Amish cows have names.

Indiana University East

Eleanor L. Turk

### Other Social and Political Groups

#### **Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800.**

By H. Glenn Penny. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013. 363 pp. \$45.00.

Anyone familiar with German culture is likely acquainted with the widespread German fascination with Native Americans. Karl May is one of the best-selling German authors of all time and his character, the Apache chief Winnetou, is a household name. "Indianer Klubs," "tipi" encampments, and long lines in front of movie theaters playing films that portray highly romanticized tales of the American West give ample testimony to the deeply-felt passion with which many Germans live out their dreams of life among the aboriginal peoples of North America. The subtitle of Penny's monograph conjures up all these well-known facts, but the title itself is perplexing. The three words are peculiar, a very strange turn of phrase. It takes a while—at least for this reviewer—but then it hits you. "Kindred by Choice" is a variant translation of the title of Goethe's novel *Wahlverwandtschaften*, more usually rendered as "Elective Affinities."

Although the title betrays Penny's agenda only obliquely, the strong psychological links between individuals in Goethe's tale are as compelling as the forces that bind the components of a chemical element, and these links provide the central metaphor for the volume. Penny looks back to the early nineteenth century to identify patterns of thought about freedom, spirituality, nature, and national identity that persist from Herder and Humboldt to Rudolf Cronau and Thomas Mann. Trained as an historian, Penny masterfully brings literary, philosophical, and sociological insights to bear on some thorny questions in German political and cultural history, particularly the Nazi era. His sources are both broad and deep. He cites periodicals as diverse as the *Belleviller Zeitung* (Belleville, IL) and the *Kölner Zeitung*, consults material in American, German, German American, and Native American archives, and makes his case in clear, straightforward prose.

The discussion is divided into four parts: a relatively lengthy twenty-five-page introduction; two sections of a little more than one-hundred pages each that detail first the nineteenth-century background of the German love affair

with the American Indian, then the manner in which that obsession played itself out in twentieth-century politics; and finally a short conclusion of less than ten pages. The structure alone reveals something of the nature of the argument. Although Penny engages provocative topics like German ideas on race, national character, and masculinity, he is finally making a very modest case for the degree to which "persistent dispositions" (xiii) within a given culture can drive "consistent, repetitive actions" (xiii) which, in turn, influence the flow of history in subtle ways often overshadowed by the larger narratives that nations tell about themselves or that politicians and statesmen weave to explain present or past actions.

Despite what might be deemed unpretentious and unassuming goals, Penny tells a very compelling story. He provides new insights about German culture and thought on both sides of the Atlantic, from Hitler's view of the American Indian to a lengthy analysis of Rudolf Cronau's work on the Sioux and the "Wilden Westen" generally. Although it's difficult to imagine that German immigrants to the American heartland were thinking about Goethe and Karl May or influenced by romanticized visions of the Germanic warriors of the *Nibelungenlied* reborn on the American prairie as they settled, Penny slowly and painstakingly builds a strong case for the degree to which German affinities for the American Indian moved the course of history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in subtle and hitherto unarticulated ways which extend well beyond the fact that millions of German emigrants packed a copy of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* or one of Karl May's Winnetou novels in the trunk for the voyage to America.

*Loyola University Maryland*

*Randall P. Donaldson*

**Aufbruch in die Utopie—Auf den Spuren einer deutschen Republik in den USA/ Utopia—Revisiting a German State in America.**

*Edited by Traveling Summer Republic and City Archives of Giessen. Bremen: Edition Falkenberg, 2013. 350 pp. \$27.50.*

This is a brave and ambitious book that tells the story (written and translated fully in both German and English in a manner accessible to the common reader) of a likewise brave and ambitious group of German immigrants. The Giessen Emigration Society, initially several hundred strong, was founded in 1833 by a group of political dissenters in order to escape the oppression and inequality inherent in the governmental system employed by the autocratic and disunited German Confederation at that time. Its ultimate goal was to



create a new German state in America founded on Democratic principles. *Utopia—Revisiting a German State in America* is the companion volume to the currently running traveling exhibit of the same name. While it chronicles the eventual failure of the Giessen Emigration Society, this excellent book is itself nothing short of a grand success.

One major strength is the way the authors (a group including professional historians and others of varied backgrounds) uncover the interrelationship between the key characters of the Giessen Society with historical events and the future legacies of their emigration effort. Vital background information provides context that makes the circumstances in which the emigration took place come alive. The book traces the development of Democratic thought and the corresponding government crackdown, and shows the direct effects of these events on Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius, the cofounders of the Giessen emigration effort. The factors influencing their decision to flee to America to create a new, perfected German state based on Democratic ideals are traced through the years leading up to their departure, from Gottfried Duden's glowing report of the Midwest, published only four years earlier, to the collapse of the Hessian economy, to the increased persecution against reform-minded intellectuals in the wake of the Carlsbad Decrees that followed the assassination of August von Kotzebue.

Although it is made clear from the beginning that the conflicting goals of the Society made its success unlikely, namely, that it wanted to create a new German state that would somehow remain unaffected by the culture of the host country, while at the same time seeking full integration into that country. On the other hand, its failure is not treated as an inescapable eventuality. Rather, a number of reasons for the breakup of the Society are explored individually and then woven together, with particular emphasis on an unforeseen string of financial and logistical disasters that destroyed the trust and morale necessary for the group's cohesion upon reaching the United States. While the group's initial goal to create a utopian German state ultimately came to naught, a large portion of the Giessen Society remained in America, leaving a legacy in the areas where they settled, particularly in the state of Missouri. The political and religious beliefs of the Giessen immigrants impacted their new country in the crucial years before, during, and shortly after the Civil War. One of the most personal and poignant portions of the book can be found in Walter Kamphoefner's recollections of coming of age in an area where the long term influence of the Giessen descendants lived on in a chapter entitled "Growing Up in the Footsteps of the Giesseners."

The greatest strength of *Utopia* is its use of imagery to arrest the reader's attention. Photographs, paintings, letters, maps, and images of other primary source materials are incorporated superbly throughout the book. Aside from

providing useful background information, these blend perfectly with the chosen color scheme. The end result is that the whole volume is not only much more interesting to read but also very appealing to the eye.

Despite these strengths, there are also a few weaknesses in the book. The text is at times hard to follow for readers using a single language. The German and English texts do not always closely align with each other, and the organizational scheme for text placement seems at times a bit haphazard. For example, sometimes the text for each language is in different colors, and sometimes the same color is used. Sometimes the languages appear side by side, and sometimes they appear on opposite pages. Also, at times the chapter title pages are solely in one language or the other, while the corresponding text from the other language is in plain text on the back of the page, missing the visual punch provided by the graphics paired with the title page. In addition, some of the special insert sections have long stretches of text written solely in one language or the other, leading to confusion as to when the other picks up again. For instance, because of a special insert, the mid-sentence break in text on page thirty-one is not continued until page thirty-seven. Perhaps it would be easier to follow if leading phrases were included, such as "Continued on page. . . ."

However, in the end the drawbacks are minor, and are far outweighed by the book's many strengths. *Utopia* is highly recommended to those interested in immigration, Germany history, or American history, or to anyone just wanting to enjoy a handsome, well-written book.

*University of Missouri*

*Todd Barnett*

## **Academic Life**

### **Traditions and Transitions: Curricula for German Studies.**

*Edited by John L. Plews and Barbara Schmenk. German WCG Studies Series. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013. 406pp. \$34.39.*

The volume under review unites papers from Canadian and international experts who participated in the 2010 conference *Traditions and Transitions: Curricula for German Studies* at the University of Waterloo, ON. It aims to "start a dialogue between critical curriculum studies and German as a foreign language and to turn our intellectual consideration and activity to a reconceptualization and consequent opening up of our curriculum" (7). In doing so, the collection exams critically statements and guidelines by the American



Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), the Common European Frame of Reference (CEFR), and the Modern Language Association (MLA). It questions the traditional divide between language and literature classes and even the status of literature as the core of *Auslands-Germanistik*.

The approaches of the chapters differ widely: some are taking theoretical texts and concepts as point of departure (ex. Kramsch, Plews, Cattell) others examine course materials (Schmenk, Even, Schulze) or report on the implementation of curricular changes (Ryshina-Pankova, Dueck and Jaeger). There are also examples for the integration of study abroad courses (Fordham Misfeldt), transformation of extracurricular into curricular activities (Andersen and O'Rourke Magee), and chapters on technology in the curriculum (Schulze, Levine).

All papers are united by the motivation to change the status quo of the German curriculum in the institutions of higher education outside of the German-speaking countries. In doing so, even long-established holy grails such as the ACTFL postulate of 90+ percent of target language use, authenticity of materials, and the communicative approach are being scrutinized. Dietmar Rösler, for example, revisits the origins of these principles going back to the Communicative Turn and finds that these, too, have become somewhat rusty, especially when they become a façade. In discussing *Alltagsorientierung*, Rösler questions quite rightly "wessen Alltag für wen wann relevant ist" (96). Does a north-American Germanistik student, so Rösler, have to practice the body parts in the context of a potential doctor's visit, or would a discussion of aesthetics in the visual arts not be more *alltagsorientiert* (96ff)? His proposed solution are differentiated learning paths (*Lernpfade*) that prepare students for their future German speaking environments (German scholar, tourist, . . .).

Mareike Müller approaches the "native-speaker model" of pronunciation also critically and suggests that "the ultimate goal should be to integrate pronunciation systematically into all segments of the GFL (German as a Foreign Language) curriculum . . ." (120). Susanne Even similarly questions the need for single language texts and argues that "[b]ilingual texts can clear a path to comprehension, especially for intermediate students whose linguistic competence is not always great enough to process longer texts in the L2 . . ." (154).

New approaches to teaching literature, for many the core of *Germanistik*, is the topic of a number of chapters. Morgan Koerner argues "that creative writing exercises in general and parody specifically are effective ways to demonstrate and promote the playful and imaginative aspects of literary texts and thereby turn student resistance to literature into active appreciation of literature" (188). While Kim Fordham Misfeldt uses literary readings in a study abroad context and breaks down the students' affective anti-literature filters through drama pedagogy, Marianna Ryshina-Pankova develops "a genre-

based curricular progression for the development of advanced [GFA] literacy abilities" (16). After establishing her impressive theoretical framework, she exemplifies it with a curricular sequence on the German unification. Unfortunately, the blurry reproductions of her graphs do not allow for reading of the smaller labels.

We can find curricular reform from a traditional *Germanistik* to a cultural studies program with an emphasis on intercultural learning documented in Cheryl Dueck and Stephan Jaeger's chapter. The authors assess the heritage demographics and motivation of their students and provide an exemplary syllabus of a course on German Representations of War. Unfortunately, the course does not offer a single female perspective such as Käthe Kollwitz's visual works after World War I or Anonyma's "A Woman in Berlin" after World War II. Curricular reform could have gone a bit farther in this respect.

In the two chapters on technology, Glenn S. Levine advocates that "digital participatory cultures" should be thoroughly integrated "into language curricula, rather than remain perpetual ancillaries" (311). Gillian Martin's detailed analysis of a blended course between German students of English and Irish students of German will help instructors of online and blended courses assess their student/student and student/teacher interaction in classes when the framework seems to be right but the course still seems to "not work."

The pressure from many university administrations of German programs to put accounting over pedagogy and to get "heads in the room" has led to the creation of courses that are more vocational in character. Business German classes can be found at most large programs, but also in middle and even small-sized programs, they are not unheard of. Deirdre Byrnes presents the example of a legal course in Ireland that aims not only to fulfill the administrative mandate but to equip the students with necessary skills to compete in the European job market.

An additional task that many programs have undertaken to justify their existence to administrations is the recruitment of future college students through outreach activities in high schools. Elisabeth A. Andersen and Ruth O'Rourke Magee's chapter shows how the creation of "student ambassadors" in Great Britain has developed from an extracurricular into a curricular activity and has become a worthwhile part of the language learning experience for the students.

The nineteen chapters of the volume cover a wide array of approaches to and suggestions for curricular change of German programs outside of the German-speaking countries. While they seem, at times, disconnected, even contradictory, the authors as a group represent the variation of possible answers to the curricular challenges our programs face. Professors seeking to reform their programs will find interesting ideas from the theoretical frame-



work to the concrete course syllabi. I wholeheartedly recommend this book.

University of Mary Washington

Marcel P. Rotter

**The Transatlantic World of Higher Education: Americans at German Universities, 1776-1914.**

By Anja Werner. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. 348 pp. \$120.00.

Historians of Atlantic migrations usually follow the movement of Europeans to the American continent. Anja Werner, however, takes a different approach in *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education*, the fourth volume in the *European Studies in American History* series. She studies the nineteenth-century migrations of Americans enrolled in German universities, their lives as students in a foreign country, their establishment of academic networks, and the perceptions of America and Germany they bring back to the United States. Werner argues that although Americans studying abroad learned to appreciate German traits and educational concepts, the experience of living as Americans in Germany also encouraged them to take a new look at American traditions and practices, inspired them to envision an improved America and to reform its educational system, and in the process turned them into more patriotic individuals.

The author begins by evaluating the political, social, and education reform contexts in both the United States and German states that contributed to Americans studying at German universities during five distinguishable periods between 1776 and 1914. Werner's extensive statistical and biographical analysis of students attending universities in Göttingen, Heidelberg, Halle, and Leipzig reveals not just differences in subjects studied, ages, and future usage of education, but also uncovers increasingly diverse student bodies of various genders, regional origins, ethnicities, races, sexual orientations, and physical abilities. Chapters on academic networks evaluate relationships between German professors and their American disciples, the attraction of particularly innovative subjects and instructors, the reasons why students often attended two or more universities, the interactions between alumni that would last for years after their return to their home country, and their impact on educational reform efforts in the United States.

Of particular interest are Werner's examinations of daily life. Biographical essays and expressions by students enliven this part of the study and demonstrate that Americans did not necessarily immerse themselves in German culture but instead relied on fellow Americans in existing or newly established

American colonies for comfort, intellectual exchange, and entertainment. The formation of the American Church and several student groups created opportunity for companionship and the ability to be American in a foreign country, offered access to practical information such as university regulations or assistance with housing, and served as foundations for lifelong professional connections. American students living in Germany likewise began to envision a better America as the perspective of distance made them more aware of problems at home. For example, African American students developed more self confidence in a less discriminatory Germany and returned with a determination to create opportunities and equality in the United States. Female students could also envision and experience bright futures in academic careers.

Analysis of American perceptions of German culture and academic life revealed to Werner that American students viewed and interpreted their surroundings primarily for the purpose of discovering what would benefit them academically and what would help advance the United States. Language proficiency, for example, was necessary to understand lectures, but although students often had difficulties with local dialects, they chose universities based on subjects offered and selected professors who practiced clear pronunciations. Americans attended German universities because the academic and scientific prestige associated with these educational institutions made graduates highly desirable candidates for employment in private business and academia in the United States. Idealistic students, who intended to reform the American educational system and expand American research facilities, returned with not just knowledge but books, devices for usage in existing or newly established university laboratories, and ideas for new scientific journals. Consequently, American universities used the German model to develop uniquely American doctoral programs and to transition American higher education into an internationally recognized system that was not the same yet inspired by the German academic system.

Werner effectively utilizes a wide range of primary documents, including university records, previously untapped student lists, travel journals, and correspondences by students, professors, and diplomats. The thematic approach offers good flow and the clear focus succeeds in accomplishing the primary goal for this monograph, the broadening of the existing historiography of Americans studying abroad and their impact on American higher education. *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education* should be a must read for advanced historiography students but will also be of interest to any historian of transatlantic ethnic studies or the American education system.



**Transatlantische Germanistik: Kontakt, Transfer, Dialogik.**

By Paul Michael Lützeler. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013. 307 pp. \$56.00.

Ausgehend von seinen persönlichen Erfahrungen als deutscher Germanist in den USA, als Institutsleiter und Kulturdiplomate beschreibt Paul Michael Lützeler den Wandel der Situation der Germanistik und ihrer Lehre in den USA, in Deutschland und weltweit. Zudem geht er auf das Leseverhalten an den Universitäten auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks ein und berichtet von seinen Forschungsprojekten an der Universität von St. Louis. Besonders anschaulich zeigt Lützeler aber, wie der transatlantische germanistische Diskurs in Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedensten Organisationen, wie der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, der American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) oder der Zeitschrift *Gegenwartsliteratur*, gefördert werden kann.

Nicht nur dem jungen weltoffenen Germanisten bietet sich hier die Chance, von Lützeler's Rückblicken zu profitieren, zu staunen wie wissenschaftliche Kontakte zustande kommen können oder zu lernen wie fruchtbare Transfers und Dialoge dauerhaft aufrechterhalten werden können. Denn die Transatlantische Germanistik ist auch eine Einladung zum Gespräch über vermeintliche nationale oder disziplinäre Grenzen hinweg. Der Horizont der wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit dürfe nicht an den traditionellen Grenzen wie zwischen Germanistik und Sozialwissenschaft enden. Internationale Germanisten, Historiker, Theologen, ja alle neuen Kulturwissenschaften stehen vor den Herausforderungen unserer multikulturellen Gegenwart und diesen könne man nur im gemeinsamen, anerkennenden Dialog begegnen. Die Antwort auf das Wie findet der aufgeschlossene Leser bei Lützeler nicht nur zwischen den Zeilen.

Universität Regensburg

Milena Scheidler

**War, Post-War and Military**

**Berlin on the Brink: The Blockade, the Airlift and the Early Cold War.**

Daniel F. Harrington. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2012. 414 pp. \$40.00.

While no historical moment, in all of its *sui generis* splendor is boring, some moments nevertheless capture the popular and scholarly imagination far more than do others. Thus Luther's stand against the Catholic Church, Napoleon meeting his Waterloo, and the falling of the Berlin Wall attract at-

tention far more than the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the slow grind of the British naval blockade of Europe, or Günter Schabowski's declaration of "ab sofort" before his inattentive, drowsy press corps. The Cold War in general and the Berlin Airlift are two such moments that animate the public and researchers in equal measure. Contributing to the continuing fascination with the role of Berlin in the Cold War is Daniel Harrington's *Berlin on the Brink*, a study of the very earliest origins of the blockade and the subsequent airlift that rescued the city.

Addressing a topic as well known and as broadly understood by so many as the blockade of Berlin requires the researcher to ask carefully considered questions and to present nuanced, thoughtful conclusions. Most importantly, the historian must reward the reader with a new understanding of the subject. Daniel Harrington's contribution succeeds on both regards. He investigates two sets of interrelated questions about the Berlin Blockade and the western Allies' celebrated response to it. The first set of questions was left seemingly unasked even by contemporaries, and regards the origins of the western sectors of Berlin and of Allied access to them. The second set of Harrington's questions explores the development of the western Allies' policy of airlifting supplies to the beleaguered city, a *Deus ex machina* if there ever was one.

Harrington locates the Berlin Blockade in the gray area inadvertently created when the wartime Grand Alliance began planning for the post Hitler world. Following a British plan, Germany became separated into zones of occupation, with each victorious power and France also occupying a sector of Berlin. Apparently left unspecified (and indeed unasked) by the wartime planners was the question of American and British (and later French) access to their occupation zones in the German capital. Faulting the British and Americans for not clarifying future access routes to their zones in Berlin, as Harrington does, begs a foresight wartime planners simply could not have possessed. While western and Soviet relations may never have been seamless, there was simply no way to anticipate in 1943, 1944 or 1945 the rapid breakdown in cooperation among the erstwhile Allies in 1946 and beyond. Nevertheless, as Harrington rightly points out, access routes sit at the heart of the Soviets' blockade of Berlin and its resolution.

Harrington's real contribution to Cold War studies and the Berlin Blockade can be found in his excellent chapters on the airlift itself. Whereas Harrington is too impatient with wartime planners for their failure to clarify Allied access corridors to Berlin, his understanding of the inability to comprehend the Soviet blockade as a historical moment with a beginning and, crucially, an end, is both profound and key to his thesis about the airlift. Not sure what they were up against or how long it would last, everyone from commanders on the ground to the statesmen above groped for a policy solution



to the Soviet blockade. Of the options available, (eventual withdrawal from the city, giving in to Soviet demands to scale back western currency initiatives in their zones, and breaking the blockade by armored column), the first two were tantamount to surrendering to the Soviets and the third realistically might have provoked a war. None were palatable.

In the beginning of the crisis with acceptable options limited, President Truman decided to face the crisis in Berlin as it unfolded day by day; in effect not to decide. Truman's wait and see attitude was only made possible by the existence of about a month's worth of food and fuel for the Berliners. In the end, as Harrington stresses, no decision on Berlin and the Soviet blockade was ever reached, but the city continued to be resupplied, and resupplied in an ever-expanding, Herculean effort that eventually outlasted the Soviet blockade. Far from the result of a formal decision, what we think of as the Berlin Airlift was the by-product of an attempt to play for time in order to find a real solution—that was never found.

Harrington moves deftly back and forth from the world of high politics to the street level of events. He confesses that his is a diplomatic history, but in this he sells himself short. Certainly plenty of focus is placed on high politics and diplomatic discussion, however, these are themselves limited by the author's near universal use of English language sources. A diplomatic history using Russian archives, or even French and German would deliver new insight. The book's most interesting and most important chapters bring to light the actions of the hundreds of pilots, mechanics, and operators who made the flights possible day in and day out for so many months, and especially the development of the logistics involved in the airlift. *Berlin on the Brink* is an important contribution to Cold War history.

East Carolina University

Chad Ross

**Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp.**  
*Edited by Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012. 500 pp. C\$42.95.*

This past summer, when North Americans traveling to France were able to immerse themselves simultaneously in the 70th anniversary celebrations of D-Day and the Centennial of the outbreak of World War I, some might have been struck by the difference in commemorative focus in the United States and Canada. While in the United States, D-Day and the "Greatest Generation" of World War II are habitually referenced in popular culture, in Canada,

as historian Jonathan Vance points out, "the dead of the First World War have dominated Canada's collective memory of war in the twentieth century."

This surprising insight might be one of the reasons why an American reader will want to pick up *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*. The collection of original essays, written to honor the more than half a century of contributions to historical scholarship and teaching of one of Canada's foremost military historians, asks familiar questions but provides new answers. What exactly was Canada's role in, and experience of the war that, for Canadians, lasted from 1939 to 1945? In what ways did the legacy of World War I cast a long shadow over tactical thinking? What were the new factors in military decision-making, for example through the emergence of operational sciences? What accounts for successes and failures in specific battles? While many of the essays take a traditional military history approach and come to new insights through a careful reinterpretation of the sources, other sections also deal with the social and political history of the home front and the cultural impact of the war and its aftermath. For the general reader, these might be the most illuminating.

The section on the home front does not, as some might expect, provide research on the internment of Japanese, German and Italian Canadians and the establishment of POW camps on Canadian soil, but explores instead the role of aboriginal Canadians and their own civil rights struggle. Another fascinating chapter by Cynthia Comacchio explores the complex generational experiences of Canada's youth while Mark Bourrie writes on the close relationship between media and the government during wartime, and attempts to show that self-censorship was an effective way to balance national security and the public's right to know. Other chapters in this book also pick up on the synergy between civil society and the war effort, and especially on the contribution of scientific research to the conduct of war.

The core of the book is provided by two sections detailing the conduct of the war "on the ground." The first campaign, chronologically first but often downplayed in histories of the war, was the Mediterranean theater. The contributors to this section agree that Canadian soldiers fighting in these enormously difficult and dangerous battles provided a vital yet underappreciated contribution to defeating Nazi Germany. For the American reader, the chapter on the Devil's Brigade, a Canadian-American commando unit that had been trained for mountain battles in Montana, makes this point in stark terms. The sacrifices of this international special service force made the capture of Rome possible, yet at the expense of one third of its men. Other chapters in a section on the Northwest European theater of war provide insight into the continuing influence of the British Army on Canadian tactics and leadership and re-evaluate the reasons for Allied success in Normandy from a



Canadian perspective: Rather than representing superiority in numbers and material, several authors conclude, Canadians fought skillfully against a less than impressive German adversary. The 12th SS Panzer division, in particular, has obtained infamy in Canadian history not for their superior fighting skills but for their brutality when executing fifty prisoners in an act of frustration and revenge.

Overall, this volume provides much that is new and interesting about Canada's war effort, embracing different historical approaches but emphasizing the importance of evidence-based historical interpretation. Terry Copp has taught his students well, and this book is a fitting *Festschrift* honoring his distinguished career.

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*Angelika Sauer*

**A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution.**

*By Daniel Krebs. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 376 pp. \$34.95.*

The title of Daniel Krebs's book promises information on "Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution". Neatly divided into three parts with an epilogue and an appendix, the book more than fulfills this promise. Part I, entitled "German Soldiers in British Service," provides a detailed historical overview of subsidy treaties, recruitment patterns, and the social background of the German auxiliaries in British service. As such it constitutes a complementary tome to Don Hagist's recent "British Soldiers, American War." In the process it (hopefully) destroys once and for all the chimera of the Hessian, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Braunschweig, Waldeck and Anhalt-Zerbst "mercenary" who had sold himself to the highest bidder. Like most soldiers in the Age of Absolutism, these men too "were not generally oppressed subjects of princely tyranny" but members of the lower classes, many of whom had joined the armies years prior to their deployment to America (45).

Part II discusses in great detail the historical context of what it meant, or means, to be a prisoner of war and the differences between capture and surrender. The comparative analysis of the surrender conditions and ceremonies at Saratoga and Yorktown sheds a much-needed and rare light not only on the importance of rituals but on their long-term importance and continuity in the collective memories of participants.

These two parts covering about one-third of the book lay the foundation for the encounter with the "The First Prisoners of War in Revolutionary Hands," the opening chapter in Part III. This, the longest section of Krebs's book, tries to answer the pivotal question that contemporaries, without much success, had already asked themselves: what was to be done with the prisoners? The nascent United States lacked the facilities and funds to house and feed large numbers of prisoners; and, for a variety of reasons, the British Crown showed little interest in exchanging prisoners or paying for their upkeep. In the eyes of the British, Hessian prisoners still served a function in the war, namely, to subdue the Americans by increasing the financial burden of housing and feeding them.

American (and British) policy, therefore, almost unavoidably was determined by the number of prisoners held and the relative successes in battle. As the war dragged on, prisoners became tools in the hands of British politicians who saw them as a drag on the American economy; Americans came to see them as free labor for the communities that had been forced to accept them or as fresh soldiers for the Continental and French Armies. Releasing prisoners to work, which by the end of the war forcibly turned some of them into redemptioners, benefitted prisoners and the local economy as well. The section detailing the difficult relationship between the Hessian prisoners and the Moravian community in Hebron constitutes one of the most enlightening chapters of this very readable book.

Krebs scoured a primary sources in Europe on these men. He supports his findings with a multitude of figures and statistics—many of these educated guesses—explaining losses due to death and desertion, and how many returned to Europe. He illustrates his findings with brief individual biographies. The chapter "Release and Return" is in many ways unique as Krebs follows the now released prisoners back to Germany, to their waiting parents and relatives who were either overjoyed to see them. Many, of course, were saddened to learn that their son or brother had been killed or had decided to stay behind in the New World.

Mistakes are few and far between (for example, the Prince-Bishoprics of Bamberg and Würzburg are two separate legal entities that happened to be ruled by Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim from 1755 to 1779) and detract in no way from the value of the book. If there is one question that could be raised it is why the thousands of pension claims filled out by American veterans of the War of Independence were not used to illustrate the relationship between captors and prisoners especially during the crucial first days and weeks after capture. From them we learn how Johann Conrad Döhla looks at the American militia guarding him on the way to the northward in November 1781, but read next to nothing from the American side, the "Generous



and Merciful Enemy.” The 17-year-old Robert Snead of the Hanover County Militia deposed in his pension application (R9891) that on the march “nothing material occurred except that the whole of the Hanover militia deserted at Fredericksburg, except a dozen, so that there was no officer to draw provisions” for prisoners and militia alike. And Thomas Powers of Loudon County (Application W9235) in 1832 “recollect[ed] the Sabbath the prisoners were in the neighborhood (3 November 1781) from the fact also, that one of the women in the neighborhood who had had several bastard children went up to see the prisoners, also, and one of them a Dutchman asked her if he might get on behind her & she said yes & done so. And the officers said he might go & discharged him (at least this was the general understanding). I know that they were married and lived in the neighborhood until I left that Country . . .] And I have heard that Dutchman sing many a song and never shall forget him when & where he got his wife.”

Such criticism aside, Krebs’s highly readable and thoroughly researched book provides a wealth of new and important information on a frequently neglected aspect of the American War of Independence and is well worth the time spent reading it.

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*Robert A. Selig*

**Going for Broke: Japanese American Soldiers in the War Against Nazi Germany.** By James M. McCaffrey. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 408 pp. \$34.95.

*Going for Broke* has little to do with Nazi Germany or Germans. Rather, the book is a detailed examination of the formation, training, and wartime battle participation, activities, and experiences of the Nisei (second generation Americans of Japanese ancestry) in the highly decorated 100th/442nd Infantry Regiment during World War II. Nazi Germany and the Germans provide the backdrop to an account that places the Japanese American soldiers in the ironic context of having to prove their loyalty as Americans due to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Given the book’s purpose as well as current U.S. concerns with immigration, citizenship, loyalty, and security, the book best serves as a call to research and to provide fresh views of German American and other groups’ loyalties, activities, and actions during U.S. wars, particularly World Wars I and II.

Largely writing a military history, McCaffrey incorporates the words of Carl K. Morita and others to personalize their experiences as they trained

and prepared to go to war in Europe. McCaffrey also details the thoughts and decisions of U.S. military leaders in pulling together Japanese Americans from disparate backgrounds and experiences into a single segregated regiment. There were Nisei who were already in the U.S. Army, those who joined or were drafted from Hawaii (where they were a majority population), those who lived away from the west coast (like Carl Morita who was from Colorado), and those who volunteered from the Japanese American internment camps (whose experiences were those of minorities). Here, McCaffrey misses an opportunity to examine how their collective wartime experiences may have forged a camaraderie that overcame their uniquely different prewar cultural, ethnic, and racial experiences. Moreover, due to the overwhelming details regarding the different companies, their battles, and the strategies involved, maps would have been helpful.

The book is also hampered by some occasional observations that need further explanation. For instance, McCaffrey discusses German prisoners from the North African campaign who were taken to Camp Shelby, Mississippi (where members of the 442nd were trained) and then sent to Alabama to work on peanut farms. Members of the 442nd guarded them, often unloading their rifles, reflecting for the most part, that the Germans and Nisei got along. However, McCaffrey concludes, "Although some of the prisoners were extremely dedicated Nazis, most of them got along fairly well with their Japanese American guards" (96). No previous explanation was given about the political views of the German prisoners, leaving one to wonder how "extremely dedicated Nazis" felt about the Japanese Americans or their plight. In another instance, McCaffrey states that that by the time the Japanese American soldiers from the 100th Battalion had landed in North Africa, "over four hundred of them had proven themselves worthy of promotion. When the time came to award the additional stripes, however, the regiment's officers seemed to go out of their way to give the majority of them to men from the islands" (101). Because he has not provided the numbers of men drawn from the disparate backgrounds, one wonders if this was due to the Nisei from Hawaii being in the majority and not a conscious decision by the officers.

Given McCaffrey's attention to detail, he might have also taken the opportunity to go further. In the book, the liberation of Bruyeres, France, was part of a larger campaign. Not noted is that both the people of Bruyeres and surviving members of the 442nd forged a special bond that led to naming one street Rue du 442eme Regiment Americain d'Infanterie. (See, for example, <http://articles.latimes.com/2005/sep/04/travel/tr-spano4>.) Another missed opportunity involves Young Kim, a Korean American intelligence officer who served with the 442nd. McCaffrey does not explain why he served with the 442nd. Was this due to Koreans in the U.S. having an uncertain status



because, at that time, Korea was considered part of Japan and, therefore, this was the only way that Kim could serve? Did he volunteer, or was he drafted?

Despite its flaws, this book raises substantive issues that German American scholars might wish to tackle anew. The scholarship examining the loyalties and behaviors of German Americans during war is dated. Given recent discussions regarding the loyalty of contemporary Americans and potential soldiers, a serious examination of the thoughts, loyalties, and concerns of German American soldiers would be fruitful. Because German Americans did not fight in segregated units or specially marked groups (as some did during the U.S. Civil War), such an undertaking might be difficult. However, such a study would contribute to the growing literature comparing the treatment of white ethnic groups and visible racial minorities in the context of U.S. history as a whole.

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**Nazis on the Run: How Hitler's Henchmen Fled Justice.**

*By Gerald Steinacher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 382 pages. \$19.95.*

Though historians have paid a great deal of attention to wartime activities of Holocaust perpetrators, very little work has been done on perpetrators who evaded prosecution by escaping overseas after the war. Gerald Steinacher's work fills this void superbly. He begins by explaining the dearth of literature on this important subject. Much of this had to do with a shift in emphasis away from the prosecution of war criminals to the war against communism after World War II; this shift served to protect war criminals from prosecution. The end of the Cold War led to the opening of international archives and to the re-opening of cases that had laid dormant for decades. Steinacher has mined most of these sources to uncover a fascinating, if somewhat disheartening account that sheds significant light on the experiences of the escapees as well as their abettors.

Steinacher points the finger of blame squarely at the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which not only failed to speak out against the Holocaust during the war, but also actually helped refugees escape. In the years after the war, the ICRC issued over one hundred thousand travel documents; many recipients of these documents were known war criminals. The ICRC claimed that only a few so-called "bad apples" had escaped, and insisted that it was the Vatican and Allied authorities who were more responsible for ferreting out war criminals (xxi).

But the truth of the matter, as Steinacher points out, was that the Vatican was more interested in fighting a resurgent post-war communist movement than capturing war criminals and bringing them to justice. Indeed, before the end of the war, Pope Pius XII wanted Croatian priests who were suspected involvement in genocide of Serbs and Jews identified and ordered to “face up to their responsibilities” but the communist takeover of Yugoslavia under Tito changed all of that. As Steinacher puts it, for Pius XII, this was no longer the time to deal with fascism, but to take energetic action against communism” (130). Steinacher’s research also shows that “some priests on occasion went so far as to offer ‘re-baptism’ to non-Catholic Germans who sought the clergy’s assistance in their flight from likely retribution” (xxiii). He believes that many church leaders were misguided concerning the culpability of many of the men that they assisted; “they believed that responsibility for the crimes only [rested] with a handful of leaders . . . all others, including SS men, were not responsible, and were, perhaps, victims, too” (296).

At the same time, members of U.S. intelligence services, seeking experts on the Soviet Union at the dawn of the Cold War, also “smuggled former SS men . . . out of Soviet-occupied areas” to safe havens abroad (xxiv). The Americans also recruited Werner von Braun, who became director of the NASA Marshall Space Flight Center, and successfully kept under wraps von Braun’s past directorship of the V-2 rocket program, which was supported by the work of slave laborers, thousands of whom perished due to harsh factory conditions (278).

Thanks to shoddy ferreting practices, or outright willingness not to prosecute Nazis for reasons of political expediency, anywhere between 180 to 800 high-level Nazis escaped, along with Nazi collaborators from all over Europe. Contrary to popular belief, most escapees did not end up in Argentina. Rather, Steinacher shows that the United States, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union also recruited fugitives. Argentina also sought out German scientists and to modernize the country, particularly its army (211).

Steinacher also reveals the extent to which local populations aided and abetted war criminals. Josef Mengele lived undisturbed and incognito as a farmhand in Bavaria until 1948, when his escape from Europe was engineered by Tyrolean smugglers and the mayor of a tiny village near the Brenner Pass (26). Worse still, the mayor bragged about his “heroic deed” for years until a 1985 exposé about Mengele’s escape that highlighted the mayor’s role ultimately persuaded him to backpedal on his involvement in the affair (26).

More than anything, this fascinating account brings to light just how quickly postwar priorities shifted from destruction of Nazism and de-Nazification—to using war criminals as unlikely allies either in order to preserve the Church and or to strengthen capitalism’s war against communism. As



Steinacher puts it, "Simon Wiesenthal's demand for justice for the victims and judgment for the perpetrators . . . didn't fit the *zeitgeist* of the Cold War" (271). But although western democracies protected war criminals during the Cold War, Steinacher holds that its collapse has precipitated a trend in the opposite direction. As Steinacher explains, in Europe after 1989 "a new generation born after the war . . . began to question its secrets" (274). This questioning has led to a more careful re-examination of the past, which in turn has not only led to capture and prosecution of remaining accused war criminals, but also to a "new globalized morality—the discovery of historical injustice" (288). The optimistic conclusion of this important work is that while the Cold War world was willing to mask the crimes of perpetrators, today's world is far more willing to openly examine "its moral responsibility for historical crimes" (289). If this hopeful trend continues, learning the lessons of the past may guide us to a better future.

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Patricia Kollander

### **Social Democracy After the Cold War.**

*Bryan Evans and Ingo Schmidt, eds. Edmonton, AB: Athabasca Press, 2012. 332 pp. \$29.95.*

The decline and demise of the social democratic left wing parties in advanced industrial democracies since the 1990s is the focus of this volume edited by two professors at Canadian universities. Divided into nine chapters, most of which are country case studies, the volume seeks to understand why many of the social democratic parties in industrial societies have seemed to have lost their ideology, their policy coherence, their share of votes, or both since the 1990s.

Two of the most prominent case studies are in Germanic-speaking states, Germany and Sweden, which have had two of the most prominent social democratic party movements in the 20th century, the SPD in Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands) and the SAP in Sweden (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti). The former is the oldest party in Germany, and in the post-war period held the Chancellorship 1969–82, and again 1998–2005, and was at the time of publication in a "grand coalition" with the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU), as it was in 2005–9. Yet the party has seen its share of votes decline since its peak in the early 1970s at 45% of the vote, and in the 2013 election (not covered in this volume) it declined to only about 25%. Author Ingo Schmidt would hardly be surprised;

his chapter does an excellent job of describing the long decline of the SPD. The cause of that decline is two-fold: disenchantment of working-class voters with the neoliberal policies pursued by the Schröder government which curtailed much of the welfare and labor policies previously championed by the SPD, and the draw of the Left party (Die Linke), which represents both eastern Germans and leftist western Germans formerly part of the SPD.

The decline of the SAP in Sweden is described by Kjell Östberg. What had been previously the model of social democracy in Europe has also seen much of its influence wane in the twenty-first century. The author describes the dramatic decline in the organizational aspects of the SAP since the 1990s: the women's organization, youth organization, links with labor federations have all been diminished; and though the SAP remains the largest single party in Sweden, its share of the vote has declined from over 50% in 1968 to 30% in the 2010 election, which the author covers in a post-script. Here, too, the policies of both Liberal- and SAP-led coalitions in the 1990s increasingly favored the interests of corporations, privatization, EU membership, and fiscal prudence at the expense of welfare programs, equality, and the interests of working-class Swedes.

Other chapters examine the problems of social democratic parties in the English-speaking world. Many analysts credit (or blame) Tony Blair's "New Labour" policies for the electoral success of that party in the UK at the expense of a firm ideological and policy mooring. The Australian Labor Party has similarly had electoral success at the expense of a coherent social democratic platform. Canada receives two chapters, one on the national-level politics and another on a relatively small Quebecois socialist party.

The volume as a whole makes for sad reading for anyone looking for a revival of social democracy as an ideologically coherent and electorally successful movement in advanced industrial democracies. Schmidt's introductory chapter places this general failure of social democratic parties to continue to pursue their original agendas squarely at the feet of the economy: "... contrary to the suggestion of social democratic discourse, neither globalization nor demographic change is key to social democratic success or failure; rather, the key factor is economic growth" (16).

The volume is the work of political analysis and advocacy, but the questions it asks begs for more empirical political science answers. Only one table graces the pages of this volume and it would seem to deserve a more statistical analysis: has the decline of social democratic parties been, as Schmidt contends, the result of working-class voters deserting those parties and either voting for other parties or not voting at all, or the result of economic changes in advanced industrial democracies that have promoted trade union membership, what Schmidt calls the "globalization thesis" (16). This is an empirical



question yet there is no statistical analysis to explore the issue in different countries. Furthermore, the selection of country case studies misses one obvious exception to the theory of socialist decline: France.

Stepping back from the social democratic perspective of the book, moreover, one must point out that all political parties have exhibited cycles of expansion and decline. Liberal and conservative parties in Europe are likely to see their vote share eaten away by the rise of Euroskeptical parties.

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Steven F. Jackson

**Visualizing Atrocity: Arendt, Evil, and the Optics of Thoughtlessness.**

By Valerie Hartouni. New York: New York University Press, 2012. 199 pp, \$23.00.

*Visualizing Atrocity* addresses a series of issues that revolve around Hannah Arendt's 1961 essays on the Eichmann Trial (published in 1963 in book form under the title *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*). Hartouni examines the *Report* from several perspectives. First, it discusses the heated debate that followed the publication of Arendt's essays. Second, it copes with Arendt's theses regarding the question of evil and thoughtlessness as exemplified in the case of Adolf Eichmann. Third, Hartouni reflects on questions of visual representation and truth in contemporary public discourse, and presents Arendt's thought as a useful tool for critically inquiring into common "ways of seeing" and the relationship between images and the production of knowledge and truth, especially as regards genocide and violence.

The first chapter seeks to contextualize the debate around Arendt's essays. According to Hartouni, the objections raised against Arendt centered on her controversial presenting of Eichmann as a rather shallow bureaucrat who did not fit into the idea of Nazi monstrosity, thus shattering conventional perceptions of the Third Reich. Hartouni suggests that Arendt's thesis on Eichmann's "inability to think" as the explanation of his conduct shifted the focus from Nazi racial anti-Semitism and was, therefore, rejected by contemporaries in Israel and the U.S. Other objections concerned Arendt's remarks regarding the allegedly political and pedagogical use of the trial by Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion and chief prosecutor Gideon Hausner, and her remarks on the "Jewish Councils" (*Judenräte*) and their part in the implementation of the "Final Solution." While emphasizing the political sensitivity of Arendt's thesis as well as gender aspects in the rhetoric of the criti-

cisms, Hartouni overlooks important contextual frameworks. For instance, Arendt wrote extensively on Zionism and Jewish politics during and after the war. Her interventions made her a controversial figure in the Jewish world long before the trial. Arendt's sarcasm and acerbic style (culminating in her calling German rabbi Leo Baeck "The Jewish Führer," words which were then omitted from the 1963 book) likewise fueled extensive criticism.

Reading the overview of the debate, one may have the impression that the criticisms against Arendt were by and large psychologically and politically motivated. According to this version, Arendt's thesis on Eichmann, her accusations against the Israeli government, and her (rather brief) remarks on the *Judenräte* build up a set of allegedly uncomfortable truths that faced a wall of rejection. Yet the debate also dealt with serious historical and moral questions that were brought up by Arendt during the trial and afterwards. While her theses on the nature of totalitarianism have become an essential part of any discussion on Nazism, Arendt's historical evaluation of the *Judenrat* did not stand up to historical evidence. As various historical studies have shown, most of the *Judenräte* were at a position of complete powerlessness against the Nazi authorities. What is more, virtually no member of the Jewish Councils knew—or could know—the extent of the German genocidal plan. The gravity and complexity of these matters do not receive adequate attention in Hartouni's description of Arendt's theses and the ensuing debate.

The second chapter addresses several key questions as regards the emergence and implementation of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, and draws chiefly on Götz Aly and Susanne Heim's work on economic and demographic factors that fuelled the Nazi genocide. Against the trajectory that places anti-Semitism at the heart of the Holocaust, Aly and Heim's work serves Hartouni as a vehicle for affirming and developing Arendt's focus on the bureaucratic, technocratic, and more 'rational' aspects of the Nazi genocide policies. In her overview of the historiography on the "political economy of the Final Solution" (Aly) and its critiques, Hartouni lays emphasis on the systems that "organize, administer, and sustain the lifeworld," and which is of "absolute centrality to Auschwitz" (63.) This is also where Arendt's critique is of relevance to contemporary discourse, since these systems of knowledge, classification, and administration are, as Hartouni emphasizes, part and parcel of modern societies in general. Indeed, it is a well-known and well-studied fact that the "Final Solution" drew on a highly advanced, technological, and bureaucratic apparatus. This element is crucial for understanding how the Holocaust took place, but explains little of why Jews were perceived by the German regime as the main threat to Nazi existence, or why they had to be killed. Hannah Arendt herself laid out a profound analysis of anti-Semitism in her study of



Nazism and totalitarianism. Hartouni, however, singles out the mechanical apparatus as the main perspective that is instructive for today's readers. The question of anti-Judaism and racism is marginalized, as if it could not be integrated into narratives that depict the modern nature of Nazi genocide and totalitarianism.

The third chapter interprets Arendt's thesis on Eichmann and the intricate nature of his involvement in the genocide. Hartouni addresses a prevalent (and, according to her, mistaken) understanding of Arendt's thesis regarding Eichmann's thoughtlessness—his potentially destructive inability to think from the standpoint of another person. According to this misinterpretation, at the basis of Eichmann's thoughtlessness lies a fundamental absence of empathy, a missing moral capacity to see the presence and suffering of the other. Hartouni suggests that Arendt does not analyze Eichmann's "evil" in moral terms, but in political ones; Eichmann's thoughtlessness presents thus a case of lack of solidarity, not merely lack of moral empathy. The importance of this shift of focus in Hartouni's discussion concerns the fact that narratives that depict Eichmann as a heartless, monstrous officer often slip into a moralistic critique of his deeds, whereas a politically minded evaluation of his conduct makes Eichmann more illustrative of structural elements of modern society and its dangers.

The fourth chapter examines the Nuremberg Trials and the prosecutors' extensive use of film footage and images. This, Hartouni argues, had a major influence on how the trial was to be remembered and captured in popular memory. The effort that the prosecutors put in "visualizing" the criminality of the Nazi regime was instrumental not only for the appearance of justice-making during the Nuremberg Trials (and later in the Eichmann trial), but also conveyed ideas of moral rupture and criminal pathology that were attributed to Nazism. These photos and footage, consisting of Nazi propaganda as well as of images taken by the Allies during and after the liberation of the camps, remained a major element in the popular imagery associated with genocide. It served the political and pedagogic goals in the context of the immediate postwar, but it has also shaped part of the shocking and dramatic representations of genocide in the longer run. This point is further developed in the final chapter, drawing again on Arendt's study of evil. As Hartouni argues, the visual rhetoric that accompanies contemporary debates on genocide and mass violence, however important for raising political awareness, also has the potential of limiting the realm of inquiry into the mechanism of genocide and its underpinnings.

**Yankee Dutchmen under Fire: Civil War Letters from the 82nd Illinois Infantry.**

*Translated and edited by Joseph R. Reinhart. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2013. 262 pp. \$45.00.*

The 82nd Illinois Infantry Regiment of the Union Army was a volunteer unit consisting largely of native Germans and organized in Chicago in 1862 by veterans of the Revolution of 1848. Reinhart presents the history of the regiment through soldiers' letters to German language newspapers, as well as to individuals. Most of the private letters, 21 of the 29 in the volume, were written by Lt. Rudolph Müller to Lt. Col. Friedrich Hecker, who had organized the regiment and served as its commander until he resigned in 1864, likely due to his disappointment in not being promoted to lead a brigade. Reinhart's volume is all the more welcome because until recent years much of what is known of the primarily German regiments of the Union Army has been told by outside observers rather than the regiment's own members. Reinhart maintains balance and accuracy by filling in gaps in the historical framework and meticulously noting errors of fact in the letters, whether products of false reporting or inaccurate estimates of troop strength or body counts. His efforts to reach a true and fluent translation of the letters are enhanced by his noting of illegible words in handwritten copies.

As one of the thirty or so primarily German ethnic regiments in the Union Army, the 82nd had one of the two Jewish companies in the federal army and also a Swedish company, whose officers and enlisted men were ethnic Scandinavians and operated in a Swedish language environment. Unlike, say, the Pennsylvania German regiments in the war, the 82nd Illinois had a leadership composed primarily of native German 48ers and Turners, and their free-thinking orientation and anti-slavery views are clearly seen in the letters Reinhart presents. The initial training and organization of the 82nd takes place in Camp Butler, Illinois. We follow the regiment's progress from there to Northern Virginia, through the battles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, then through the long months in East Tennessee and northern Georgia which opened the gateway to Atlanta, and then through Sherman's march to the sea, followed by weeks of slogging northward through the Carolinas for the final engagements with Johnston's army as Lee's forces wind their way toward surrender at Appomattox.

While the 82nd Illinois fought in many of the key battles of the long war, their experience, as indicated in the letters, was by no means typical. In the description of the initial days in camp, we learn through letters to the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* of the German soldiers' pride in their training, marching ability and battle readiness, compared to what in their view is the less orga-



nized and professional performance of their Anglo-American counterparts. The letters also give evidence of antagonism to a German regiment within the Union Army's hierarchy. The foreign nature of a line unit composed of and led by native Germans that did not conduct military affairs in English created a gap difficult to bridge. That the "Dutchmen" were blamed for running at the Union disaster at Chancellorsville is not surprising, as the regiment made an easy scapegoat. In this instance, they probably did the best that could be expected considering how their numbers in the Union line were simply overwhelmed by a far superior force. Here, as elsewhere, Reinhart enlists the more objective judgment of modern historians to question the contemporary accounts of German cowardice. The charges of cowardice in the regiment's orderly retreat on the first day of the battle of Gettysburg are more easily refuted by their steadfast defense of the Union line later in the battle. Above all, the letters often speak for themselves, as the soaring pride of the first months in Camp Butler is tempered by the reality of war. Here, an account of action from an unsigned letter dated May 11, 1863: "The time for standing had now passed; all those who could flee did so. Our wounded and dying fell to the ground left and right. The bullets, canisters, and shells rained without stop; they flew around our ears with a dreadful hiss, seeking victims" (72).

As in any review of the events of the Civil War, the filter through which we receive our information is a very important element. In this case, Lt. Müller, a native of Soest in the Rhineland, proves to be a problematic narrator. Since he authored 21 of the 29 private letters which make up more than half of the total correspondence in the text, his is the most dominant voice in the collection. Müller's highly subjective interpretation of events, inevitably colored by his prejudices and predilections, rapidly begins to try his readers' patience. His carping criticism to Hecker concerning all elements of command, both within and above his own regiment, explain his request to Hecker not to publish the letters. He seems to hope that Hecker will return to command the regiment and set things right, as he clearly can't abide the leadership of Edward Salomon, the Jewish officer who succeeds Hecker as battalion commander. His gratuitous anti-Semitic comments and negative judgment of Salomon's performance are especially troubling considering his own admission that Salomon's courage and conduct on the battlefield is above reproach.

Meanwhile, the letters depict the nature of a long war when units form in initial enthusiasm, then break up as enlistment contracts come to an end, while officers are given command for political reasons rather than battlefield experience and are quick to take long furloughs to recover from war weariness as well as grievous wounds, or in the case of division commander Carl Schurz, to campaign for Lincoln's re-election. An especially noteworthy contribution to our knowledge are letters describing the final months of the war. One of

the best letters gives a fascinating description of the German community in Savannah, a largely pro-Union group of merchants and professionals who even boasted a local Turner society that felt very welcoming to the many Illinois Turners in the 82nd. Later, in commentary on the scorched earth policy of the Union Army in their march through the Carolinas, Mller's easy acceptance of its effects on the native population is contrasted with the views expressed in the letter of another young soldier to his wife: "On the march we have live[d] pretty much off of the country; there is not enough in the country to support the women and the children. This is a wicked, damnable, accursed war; if you could see and hear the poor women and innocent children crying and begging that they leave them a little meal or something to eat; yet the last morsel would be taken and they left to suffer" (177).

In the conclusion, Reinhart hints at the often unasked question: considering the problematic nature of ethnic regiments, would it have been better to integrate those units into the Anglo-American units of the Union Army? Would such action have enhanced not only assimilation, but also unity of command and singleness of purpose? One can't help but compare the hard road of the 82nd Illinois with the more ready ascent of a German American like George Armstrong Custer, the fifth great-grandson of Palatine immigrants to Pennsylvania, a West Point graduate who three days before Gettysburg was promoted to the rank of brigadier general at the age of 23.

Reinhart's edition, which includes copious notes and a valuable bibliographical essay, is most competently done and helps fill a gap in both Civil War scholarship and the study of immigration and Americanization in the nineteenth century. It is highly recommended for academic and public libraries, especially those with strong Civil War collections.

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*Geoffrey C. Orth*

### **Biographies, Diaries, and Letters**

**The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter: With a full Account of His Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia.**

*By Henry Harbaugh. A Metalmark Book. Reprint of 1857 Edition. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. 375 pp. \$32.95.*



**Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716–1790): Eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts.**

*By Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich. Universität Zürich, Dissertation. Zürich: ADAG, 1981. 343 pp. \$33.60.*

Henry Harbaugh's biography and Marti-Pritzker Ehrlich's biographical study deal with Michael Schlatter who is remembered as the Pennsylvania Swiss who gave the German Evangelical Reformed Church of Pennsylvania and neighboring colonies its organizational structure. He was born on July 14, 1716—in the city of St. Gallen, pursued a career in the ministry, first being educated in his home city, then moving to Holland where he had relatives; he briefly attended a Dutch, then also a German university. In 1744 Schlatter accepted a position as an assistant pastor in Wigoltingen, Ct. Thurgau, and from mid-August 1745 to early January 1746 the post of evening preacher at Linzebühl, a suburb of St. Gallen. He left for Holland where the South Holland Coetus of the Reformed Church appointed him as *visitor ecclesiae* with the task of organizing the Pennsylvanian Reformed parishes according to the accustomed hierarchical pattern. After some nine years of labor that included two visits to Europe in 1751–52 and in 1753–54, Schlatter accepted the position of superintendent of the so-called Charity Schools established by Pennsylvania's British elite to teach and anglicize the Pennsylvania German youth. In 1757 he took the position of military chaplain in the British forces and joined the campaigns against the French Fort Duquesne at the entrance to the Ohio Valley and against the fortress Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, Canada. In 1777 he went secretly to New York to join Howe's forces, but resigned his commission in September and was imprisoned for some months. He then retired to his farm in Chestnut Hill some ten miles west from Philadelphia where he died on October 31, 1790.

Both of these works about Michael Schlatter's life are solidly grounded in primary sources. The reprint of Harbaugh's book is especially welcome because it offers a valuable set of primary sources in full that fill some 160 of the book's 375 pages while many shorter quotations are interspersed in the text. Full texts include an "Introduction by the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam" (95–117), "The Journal of the Reverend Michael Schlatter" (118–97), "The Religious Destitutions in Pennsylvania and Neighboring Provinces" (198–208), "An Earnest Plea for Relief" (208–19), and "An Appeal on Behalf of the Indians" (219–24). Also the public attack of Christopher Sauer (1695–1758), the first German-language printer in Philadelphia, on the Charity Schools scheme is given in full (293–95).

Pritzker-Ehrlich's study too is based on a large set of archival sources that

she consulted in the City Archives of St. Gallen, the Public Record Office of Zurich, the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in The Hague, the Central Archives of the Lancaster Theological Seminary, the City Archives and Register of Wills of Philadelphia, and the Germantown Historical Society. Among the printed primary sources she used are the editions of William J. Hinke, James Good, and Hugh Hastings. (Her primary and secondary sources are detailed in her summary article "Michael Schlatter: A Man in Between." *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter* 19.2 [June 1983]: 20–25.)

The two works offer contrasting images of Michael Schlatter. Harbaugh's approach is hagiographic. Some comments may indicate his stance: "Young Schlatter's early powers of mind and heart were nurtured and unfolded, not only in the bosom of a christian family, but also in the society of a circle of intelligent and pious relatives" (29). During his years in Holland "intelligence concerning the religious destitutions among Germans in America was constantly received" and this "sighing of the prisoners" . . . inclined the heart of young Schlatter toward a foreign field" (33). He "could always command the highest testimonials" (365), was "friendly and easy-going", of "a very catholic spirit" (366) although wholly dedicated to the Reformed persuasion. Harbaugh had not "discovered a single instance in which he betrayed bigotry," being "constituted, in taste and talent, for a public man" and endowed with "a very inquisitive mind" (367). Although not a gifted preacher, "he was solid and instructive" and, while only "medium in intellectual abilities" he was "extraordinary . . . in energy, industry, and perseverance" (372).

Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich acknowledges Michael Schlatter's achievements. He gave the German Evangelical Reformed Church of Pennsylvania a durable organizational structure, provided an important link between the Pennsylvania congregations and the Dutch Reformed Church, organized some 18 parishes by traveling some 8000 miles on horseback, and gave some 635 sermons. On his first trip to Europe in 1751–52 he gained several clergyman for service in Pennsylvania, received some 800 Bibles for distribution, and amassed significant sums of money from private and public sources.

From Pritzker-Ehrlich's perspective, however, there were also significant failures unknown to, or suppressed, by Harbaugh and later scholars such as James Good, William J. Hinke, Sidney Ahlstorm, and Charles H. Glatfelder who based their work more or less on Harbaugh's biography (see *SAHS Newsletter* above, 5). His parents complained that as a young man he was quickly depleting his inheritance. His clerical career in Europe was cut short by his having a child with Anna Bürkli-Beyel, the married daughter of Dean Beyel, a mother of seven children. This misfortune, not missionary zeal was the reason for his flight from St. Gallen to Holland in order to avoid prosecution by the



ecclesiastical court. He had supposedly suggested in vain to Anna Bürkli that she claim under oath of having been raped by soldiers passing through. When the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities discovered the truth in 1754, Schlatter was dismissed, although in good standing, from their service despite his plea, and they pledged to bury the issue for good.

Also Schlatter's service as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation was according to Pritzker-Ehrlich's study not unclouded. He was viewed as being elitist and catering to the English Philadelphia elite. Church elders accused him of being arrogant, claiming ownership of church property for the clergy, demanding a permanent appointment to the Philadelphia parish, being constantly dissatisfied with his salary, neglectful of the poor and the sick, and inept in teaching the young—complaints that the Dutch authorities had earlier dismissed out of hand as mere expressions of subordination. Also Schlatter's career as school superintendent ended in failure. He was seen as a tool of the British elite, and his widespread depiction of the Pennsylvania Germans as "miserable, deserted, leader-less and crying for help" was taken as slander. It is not clear what led him to abandon his appointment as military chaplain. When General Howe landed in New York, Schlatter secretly left Philadelphia to join the British troops, but before the battle of Brandywine Creek on September 11, 1777, he refused further service, possibly because two of his sons had joined the insurgency. Although authors did not view him as an American patriot fighting for independence, he at least had ceased active support of the British by his own decision and therefore could be viewed as somewhat redeemed.

In a review of Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People*, Vol. I (1980) Pritzker-Ehrlich concluded: Michael Schlatter "did not fail because 'many of those with whom he had to work were contentious people, jealous to do as they pleased in religious affairs' but because he had lacked the integrity necessary to serve as an exemplary pioneer of the church" (see *SAHS Newsletter*, above, 19). F. Ernst Stoeffler, in turn, in reviewing Pritzker-Ehrlich's study expresses the hope that "a future biographer may succeed in correcting the present correction," yet not without "taking into account the painstaking spade work" (*Church History* 32,4 (1987): 510).

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**Arrived At Last: An Immigrant Narrative.**

By Gert Niers. Bloomington, IN.: Author House, 2014. 274 pp. \$24.48.

After the publication of *In Abwesenheit: Lyrik und Prosa* in 2009, Gert Niers has published an autobiography, *Arrived at Last: An Immigrant Narrative* in 2014. Both books depict the struggle to make a home in America as a German immigrant of the post-WWII generation. For many generations of German immigrants, coming to America had generally been motivated by the search for a better life, but the struggle of this particular generation to integrate into American life has been unique, and Niers has to be commended for taking on the task of coming to terms with this process in his autobiography. During his lifetime, the *Heimat* that he left for America, transformed from the worst to the best of times. Niers was born and lived in the worst of times in 1943 in Dresden, a situation that represented a complex issue of place and time in duress for him. His own memories and the stories told to him became the narrative of his early life, which began with the bombing of Dresden, a horror that he observed from a distance in 1945 as well as the Russian invasion. The ruins that marked most of the cities of Germany at that time also became his first memories as the family moved to Oberhausen in the Ruhr district. How Niers lived through this time of unsettlement as a member of the working class in Germany and ended up in an academic career in America, is the story told in this autobiography. It is a unique story of a generation of German immigrants since they came to America to settle down to lives with new possibilities, but who also never quite severed the relationship to their homeland. Many landed in academic careers teaching German Studies and others worked as *Facharbeiter* in American industry and business. Some became disenchanted with America and went back to Germany. And then there are those who established a commuting relationship between the two countries.

The writing of this particular story as autobiography may very well be a breakthrough for this generation of Germans for whom the coming-to-America is often experienced as a kind of self-imposed exile and a struggle for self-knowledge laced with uncertainty. We get a hint of this in the "Introduction" and other passages, when Niers offers an apology for his lack of writing experience and personal investment in the task at hand. Of course, consciously or unconsciously, this is a well-worn rhetorical device in literary circles that can also suggest irony and complexity, and supersedes a too facile explication about *Dichtung* or *Wahrheit* in this autobiography. What the reader senses is the uncertainty of a history that yearns for certainty of identity in the New World. It is the kind of autobiographical reflection that Marguerite Yourcenar speaks of in her reconstruction of the memoirs of the



Roman emperor Hadrian: "When I consider my life, I am appalled to find it a shapeless mass...My life has contours less firm . . . tricks of perspective in the memory . . ." And this uncertainty, born in the circumstances of Germany's history has structural and stylistic consequences.

Unlike the poetic reflections of a more emotional, inner struggle in his book *Abwesenheit*, Niers' autobiography, *Arrived at Last*, is written in English and offers a thoroughly researched, more objective attitude towards the process of growing up in Germany and the ensuing assimilation into America. One may notice that the author obtains a different ontological posture and a new linguistic authenticity in order to define his commitment to the New World of America. In general, cultural separation and new re-orientations occur on very personal levels as a phenomenon of language, since the use and the level of competence in the foreign language determines the success or failure of assimilation into the "alien" cultural space. There is a linguistic logic at work here, be it conscious or unconscious.

Niers structures his story in three parts: Europe, the Old World; Living in the New World; and German-American Literature. Except for the last part, which features a section of helpful notes, the first two parts have several chapters that explore the author's contacts and interaction with a great number of people throughout his life in Germany and America. There are reflections and extensive accounts about situations, travels, work, anecdotes, flashbacks, diary entries and relationships, which make up past and present experiences on both continents, America and Europe, during war and peace. There are remarkable details of the lives of others which, however, do not distract from the main drift of the story, the emergence of a self that is the object and subject of this autobiography. These detailed accounts consist mainly of interpretations, characterizations and judgments on a wide selection of topics such as comparisons of the German and American educational systems and cultural mores, which may tempt the reader to agree or disagree. And there is a tone of sincerity and clarity of conviction that is refreshing and engaging. For example, there is a particularly touching episode, presented stylistically in the form of diary entries written during the death of the author's parents. Of course, this is a common experience of children who live far away from their aging parents, but it is particularly painful and emotional for immigrants, because it tends to become a potentially traumatic part of the separation from the homeland.

A collection of articles about the lives of German-Americans who represent German-American Literature and culture in America make up the final part of the book, and although it may seem like an anticlimactic appendix that might distract from the task of an autobiography, it is an important part of Niers' network of support. It was the world that Niers worked in for

a while, and offers an interesting look at the history of German-American relationships and how exiled writers and others have contributed to the intellectual exchange between Germany and America. It is also a tribute to German-Americans who came here in the twentieth century and found their home, particularly in the New York area. This part is a serious enrichment of a literary history of German-Americans, and one might hope that students of German literature and culture would be interested in reading these reflections as a look at a perspective on American Germanistik.

One is tempted to regard the becoming of an American, as Niers depicts his life in the New World, as positive in spite of his stated reservations about the flaws of the American way of life. His final word on his commitment to America is the chapter of "My New Family" at the end of the second part of his book. He calls his insights that have emerged over some time his commitment to life in America, and he is now ready to answer the question that is often asked of immigrants: "Are you happy in America?" Without hesitation he answers in the affirmative with the explanation that happiness is basically an emotional journey that is dynamic and constantly changing in the possibility of a good life in America. But he makes sure to distance himself from a stereotypical American dream, the dream of immense wealth and success. However, what seems reality and possibility for him does not seem to be the America that is under critical attack today. The good life is more and more out of reach for many Americans, and the poet Adrienne Rich even says that America "has suffered from the destabilizing national fantasy . . . implicit in our history," characterized by an extraordinary "cruelty, greed, and willful obliteration on which the land of the free was founded." But contrary to this mood, Niers maintains the hope for his family for "a fulfilling life without stress and abuse in a world that is not doomed due to war, environmental disaster, and exploitation."

When we think about autobiography, we cannot help considering the process of judging a human life that is at the core of this quest. C. G. Jung, in his autobiography, states that there is fallibility in all of human judgment when it comes to depicting a human life. Yet, it seems to his credit, that Niers has presented a text that offers a journey to self-knowledge without self-deception and self-delusion. As a member of his special generation, he survived in both worlds, Germany and America, and that is, in itself, an accomplishment. Autobiography, after all, is foremost a story, and this one is worth reading.

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*Manfred Keune*



**The Baron in the Grand Canyon: Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein in the West.**

By Steven Rowan. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2012. 208 pp. \$45.00.

Steven Rowan's *Baron in the Grand Canyon* is the first thorough biography of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein (1824-85), a German-American mapmaker, artist, western explorer, and inventor, who settled in St. Louis in the 1840s. Through extensive archival research both in the U.S. and in Germany and the discovery of new sources, Rowan is able to shed light on many of the mysteries surrounding the life and work of one of the most important cartographers of the American West.

In the first two chapters of the biography, Rowan traces the ancestry of the Egloffstein family back to the imperial nobility of Franconia, where Friedrich Wilhelm was born on May 18, 1824, at the family castle as the fifth son of Baron Wilhelm von Egloffstein, a Bavarian forestry official, and his second wife, Karoline. Friedrich served in the *Jägerbataillon* of the Prussian army, where he presumably was trained as a surveyor, mapmaker, and sketcher. In 1846 he sailed from Bremen to Baltimore with the goal of going to Texas, but he ended up in New Orleans, where he supported himself by drawing and painting posters of buildings for sale. During the 1848 Revolution in Germany, Egloffstein was in St. Louis, where he worked as surveyor and mapmaker in addition to painting signs of the facades and floor plans of buildings that were for sale. He returned to Germany briefly in the middle of that year to marry Irmgard von Kiesenwetter, but returned immediately to St. Louis, where he and his family were reported on the 1850 census. Although he was to spend the next 30 years in America before retiring to a home near Dresden, he never became an U.S. citizen.

The major focus of the biography is on the five years from 1853 to 1858, when Egloffstein was involved in the exploration of the American West. Chapters Three and Four cover Egloffstein's work as surveyor and cartographer, which led to his participation in John Charles Frémont's last expedition across the Rocky Mountains in 1853-54 to find a railroad link from St. Louis to San Francisco along the thirty-eighth parallel. He and Solomon Carvalho, the daguerreotypist of the expedition, left Frémont at Parowan, Utah, and travelled together to Salt Lake City. Here Egloffstein signed on as topographer with Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith to continue Gunnison's expedition to California after the latter's death. From his drawings and sketches on this mission Egloffstein produced fifteen of his best panoramic view engravings, which were published in the *Pacific Railway Reports*.

Chapter Five begins with Egloffstein's move with his family in Septem-

ber 1854 to Washington, DC, where he had taken a position in the Topographical Office to prepare maps and engravings for publication in the *Pacific Railroad Reports*. Egloffstein introduced a number of innovations that revolutionized traditional mapmaking. To the skeleton maps that he had made out in the field he would later add gradations of shading or hachures to show elevations, and to demonstrate these relative elevations with greater precision he eventually moved from a perpendicular view to a three-dimensional side view. In a letter of 1855 to his friend Dr. Engelmann in St. Louis, Egloffstein explained the innovative technique that he had developed to view the physical world, namely the topographical painting, in which "a map becomes a painting and the painting can be used as a map" (79). It was not until 1861 that he succeeded in creating such a map by making a heliographic etching on a steel plate from a photograph of a plaster model and then adding an imaginary landscape.

Chapter Six chronicles Captain Joseph Christmas Ives's expedition up the Colorado River in 1857-58 with Egloffstein serving as topographical engineer and as one of the two artists. Most of the woodcut views of Ives' expedition were the work of the second artist, the German Balduin Möllhausen, who came highly recommended by Alexander von Humboldt. On the return trip to Fort Defiance, Ives selected Egloffstein and Möllhausen to be part of his overland party that would revisit the "Big Cañon" and Hopi villages. Egloffstein's two large maps in Ives's *Report*, published in 1861, are considered masterpieces of topography as art. The last chapter recounts Egloffstein's service in the Civil War as the colonel of a unit made up entirely of Germans in the 103rd New York State Infantry, his move to New York City, where he established his Heliographic Engraving and Printing Company, and his return to Germany with his family in 1878 to spend the last seven years of his life.

Rowan's fascinating and well-written account of the life of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egloffstein not only fills in many of the gaps in the life of this major cartographer of the American West and of the 19th century, but his narrative often reads like a Wild West adventure story. The author has assembled an outstanding collection of over seventy images to accompany this biography, including photographs of Egloffstein, some of his contemporaries, the ancestral castle in Bavaria as well as reproductions of many of his topographical maps, engravings, and panoramas.

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**The Constructed Mennonite: History, Memory and the Second World War.**

By Hans Werner. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 2013. 205 pp. C\$27.95

For nearly a decade, Canadian historian, Hans Werner, has tackled issues of Soviet German diaspora narratives and transnationalism. His most recent work, *The Constructed Mennonite*, falls into this vein of examination, a riveting family saga both personal and sweeping in scope and which has more or less consumed his life as a child of immigrants. His own family's odyssey of hope and loss spanned half the globe during key moments of the twentieth century.

Werner is a first generation born Canadian whose Russian Mennonite parents sought new beginnings in the west in the Second World War's aftermath, first in postwar occupied Germany and then as sponsored immigrants to Manitoba, Canada. In particular, his father "John" Werner's (1917-2003) reminiscences and stories planted future seeds of inquiry in him during his formative years. Years later Werner undertook a thorough historical investigation of his family's complex narrative, in the process touching upon issues of transnationalism and the problems of historical memory in relation to oral history transmission. This study opens doors to new avenues of research into the broader ethnic German diaspora from the former Russian and Soviet empires.

The timing of Werner's reconstruction of his family history could not have been more fortuitous. He admits that "Until the 1990s, it seemed that the inaccessibility of the Soviet Union and its records and the seeming impossibility of connecting with family that remained there meant that any further Werner history would never be recovered. . . . The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the emigration of ethnic Germans in its wake raised new possibilities for the competing narratives to emerge" (49). He discerns a clear international dimension to the Mennonites' story, incorporating different family members' and family friends' experiences in Russia, Germany and Canada, with sometimes tenuous threads of personal continuities tying parts of the memory puzzle together.

Werner maintains that there are definite limits to, but also compelling uses for, oral histories and personal recollections. In recent years, academic scholarship has indeed witnessed a "democratization" of historical understanding via oral history approaches (recall scholar Orlando Figes); and oral histories defy simple categorization. On this matter of memory, he also distinguishes Mennonite, Soviet and gender perspectives in this story. Different personal accounts indeed require a multi-layered approach in historical

methodology and sources, as the intersection of individuals, groups, places, and events possesses a global reach and local impact. Accordingly, he often attempts to back up or cross-reference his father's and other relatives' and friends' memories with available primary sources and documents from the periods in question.

As was the case with the Werner family in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, new political and geographical circumstances arose with the rise of the Soviet Communist and Nazi regimes. The changing fortunes of war and peace thus forged new personal identities, not least of all for ethnic Germans, including traditional Mennonites, in Soviet Russia. Werner notes that the social context of memory must always be taken into account for a more balanced rendering of such historical reconstructions. For example, he emphasizes how individuals' given names could change often, depending under which regime or national banner people would suddenly find themselves. Shifting loyalties and, therefore, shifting identities came with the territory in this era of dramatic political and social metamorphoses. Werner's own father underwent several personal transformations in a matter of just several years. During his early Mennonite years, his father was called "Hans," shifting to "Ivan" as part of the larger Russo-Soviet society, then claiming "Johann" while fighting for wartime Germany, and finally settling down as "John" in postwar Canada.

In addition, Werner observes that moral dilemmas and tensions are discernable in those who recall or delete certain memories, especially the more compromising episodes of everyday life. The storyteller often fashions a narrative that depends on the audience's identity; that is, social and cultural context matters in relating personal stories to others. For instance, Werner's father and mother each had been married to other people before the war, something that Werner only realized years afterwards. Moreover, religious fidelity among Mennonites eroded among younger generations who came of age after Soviet power was firmly established in the 1920s and 1930s. Werner's father often related a version of his wartime experiences. During the Second World War, "Ivan" or "Johann" had little choice but to serve at different times in the Soviet and Nazi German armed forces, something which his fellow pacifist Mennonites in Canada tended to frown upon, at least more so than their brethren in Europe who had to adjust to the new, harsh realities of 1930s and 1940s war-torn Europe.

Indeed, a crucial, underlying theme of the book is that personal and political sensitivities color memories. To illustrate, Werner's parents shared different recollections of similar episodes during Stalinism, the Second World War, and the postwar period. They also later began to recall the past from the perspective of immigrants in Canada during the Cold War, becoming staunch anti-communists and expressing a degree of moral ambivalence



about wartime Nazi Germany, part of which had become West Germany now also standing opposed to the Soviet Bloc. For Werner, people under such conditions are selective in how much or what they relate to particular audiences, whether family, friends or outsiders, thereby distinguishing private versus public memories.

While Werner's parents had come to view their former Soviet homeland more negatively in light of their own relocation to wartime Nazi Germany and eventually to Cold War Canada, those Mennonites who stayed behind in the USSR also started to regard Germany as their "historical homeland." Meanwhile, relocated Mennonites in postwar West Germany began to perceive their own fortunes in the "ancestral homeland" as different from those either in the Soviet Union or Canada. New loyalties and attachments thus emerged from different fates suffered by Mennonite communities dispersed across two continents.

According to Werner, those who relate the Soviet German "diasporic narrative" have generally viewed the years before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 as "good," while the series of events after 1917 typically are considered "bad." Nostalgia and sorrow have cast a long shadow over such recollections. As a result of these experiences, many Mennonites and other ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union during the interwar and war periods began to imagine Germany as their ancient birthright, an idealized notion that most only realized after receiving legal permission to emigrate at the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. A few were fortunate enough to reconstruct their identities after making their way westward during or after the Second World War, whether to West Germany as ethnic settlers from abroad or as "Displaced Persons" in the Western Hemisphere. This profound sense of "personal loss" or making simultaneous emotional attachments to more than one homeland or place remains significant in Werner's careful analysis of the Soviet German "diasporic narrative," or the "diasporic imagination."

Other interesting, sometimes overlooked, themes deserve mention in this study as well. For instance, Werner briefly discusses Mennonite passive resistance during early Soviet power, including organized last-ditch efforts for groups to emigrate out of the USSR in the period of 1929-1930. Werner's father's family proved unable to make the final cut to leave the country at that time, however. In addition, women, including Mennonites, sometimes felt compelled to get involved in grass-roots protests against early Soviet collectivization efforts, notably as part of the "Women's Revolt" of March 1930 that erupted through parts of the countryside, not to mention popular opposition to communist anti-religious education policies. These efforts by both Mennonite men and women dispel a simple victim narrative, or always clear gender roles, for that matter, suggesting a wide spectrum of possible responses and

adaptations to changing sets of conditions under and outside of Soviet rule.

Regarding gender and constructed memories, Werner also distinguishes an interesting general dichotomy within the Soviet German "diasporic narrative." Citing Tina (Werner) Hinz's memoir, he makes a strong case that "[women] cannot depart too far from 'accepted stereotypes which affirm the man of action and the suffering or redemptive female'" (59). In other words, men of action often do what it takes to survive and even succeed, while women of abiding faith stand as long-suffering souls, tested by God's will, an enduring spiritual or moral example to others.

There is much to praise in Werner's study. *The Constructed Mennonite* makes for an engaging, smooth reading, but also comes across as a thoughtful and balanced work with scholarly and personal touches in writing style and academic approach. It also shows the great potential of expanding upon sometimes narrow family and genealogical data to make them more relevant to others as part of a broader historical narrative. Werner again makes an important contribution to the growing field of German diaspora studies and transnational topics in general.

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### **Eugene Braunwald and the Rise of Modern Medicine.**

*By Thomas H. Lee. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013. 383 pp. \$35.00.*

Eugene Braunwald is a distinguished Austrian American physician whose career in medical research, patient care, teaching, and administration has spanned over sixty years. His contributions to the fields of medicine and medical education are remarkable and significant, though largely unknown to a lay person outside of the medical sphere. Thomas H. Lee's biography of Braunwald, *Eugene Braunwald and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (2013), interweaves Braunwald's own story with that of both the development of medicine within the United States and the general historical backdrop of the times.

Eugene Braunwald was born on August 15, 1929 in Vienna, Austria to Wilhelm and Klara Braunwald. Both were Jewish, and Wilhelm owned a successful textile business. While Eugene Braunwald's childhood was initially idyllic, after the 1938 annexation of Austria, Wilhelm's business was given to an SS officer and Wilhelm was briefly arrested. Following his release, the family left for London and then moved on to New York City, arriving there on November 24, 1939. The family settled in Brooklyn and Braunwald entered school, where he excelled, gaining acceptance into the prestigious Brooklyn



Technical High School. He graduated from high school at 16 and entered New York University. Braunwald's pristine grades allowed him to be admitted to the New York University School of Medicine in 1948 despite admissions policies limiting the number of Jewish students.

Braunwald's ultimate goal was to become an internist who could take care of any sick patient, but his time working in a cardiac catheterization laboratory convinced him that he wanted to be a clinical heart specialist. This decision took place during a time when the focus in medical research was shifting to integrating science into the practice of medicine, a focus that would come to define Braunwald's career. After graduation, Braunwald completed two fellowships in cardiology before securing a coveted position in 1955 at the National Institutes of Health, where he could fulfill his military obligation while learning to become a physician-researcher. There Braunwald cultivated his ability to combine knowledge from varying avenues of research in order to further his own investigations. During this time, the concept of the "Triple Threat" physician, who is an excellent clinician, researcher, and teacher, was beginning to emerge, and Braunwald would become an exemplary one. After being named the chief of cardiology at the National Heart Institute, Braunwald and his colleagues would make significant and lasting contributions over the next decade in four areas: valvular heart disease, hypertrophic cardiopathy, heart failure, and myocardial infarction.

Braunwald left the NIH in 1967 to become the chair of the new Department of Medicine at the University of California-San Diego. More research funding was being awarded to medical schools by then, and Braunwald wanted to create a program in which his students would also become Triple Threats who were comfortable both at the laboratory bench and the patient bedside. His research there on the efficacy of beta blockers during myocardial infarction would become his most widely quoted paper. When it became apparent that UCSD would not be building its promised hospital, Braunwald left in 1972 to become Peter Bent Brigham Hospital's physician-in-chief. Braunwald would remain at Brigham for the next 24 years, and he reshaped academic medical education there into a premier program. He added one of the first primary care residencies as well as a residency for students primarily interested in research. Braunwald's ability to integrate the interests and abilities of groups of individuals and to anticipate the future course of academic medicine allowed the hospital's programs to survive and thrive during an era when many hospitals were being closed.

Throughout his time as an administrator, Braunwald maintained his involvement in research. In his groundbreaking work on mitigating the effects of heart attacks, he deftly navigated the transition to large-scale, multi-site investigations by organizing research groups of prominent cardiologists. This

work produced enduring changes to patient care, and Braunwald was also involved in setting national standards for researcher-industry relationships that are still in place. Braunwald gained notoriety as a textbook editor and author as well. Here again, he has been able to adjust to the times, developing online companions for the more extensive textbook versions of the works to which he contributed. He continues to be an active author and researcher.

Lee does a convincing job of explaining Braunwald's crucial role in cardiological research and academic medicine. The work is well-researched and the writing style engaging. Lee adroitly elucidates the general historical background as well as that of academic medicine in a manner that enriches the reader's understanding of Braunwald's life and career. While the extended excursions into specific people or situations can sometimes feel extraneous, they are interesting side notes to the primary subject. The work does not focus on Braunwald's experience as an immigrant after the opening two chapters, but this is nonetheless a compelling read for anyone interested in the history of medicine and medical education in the United States.

*Doane College*

*Kristen M. Hetrick*

### **The Last of the Blacksmiths.**

*By Claire Gebben. Seattle, Washington: Coffeetown Press, 2014. 335pp. \$16.99.*

Many of us have an ancestor with an interesting story. Some also set about to write that story for publication, and most fail to realize that the story is not enough: a full context is what produces verisimilitude and brings the characters to life—in fact or fiction. Claire Gebben has mastered both the story and the context in this work. While acknowledging in her introductory "Dear Reader" note [n.p.] that her work is based on fact, supported by letters and other documents, she states "it is one hundred percent historical fiction." She freely used her considerable skills as an author and researcher to write of the experiences of Michael Harm, her blacksmith ancestor. He is so clearly a product of his times and society that the novel has the ring of historical authenticity.

In 1848 Michael Harm was seven years old, the second son of a farmer in Freinsheim, the Bavarian Palatinate. He witnessed the revolutions of that year and the disappointments that led so many to emigrate to "freedom" in the United States. Their letters home were shared in the small farm village. Michael hoped that his father would take them to America, but the farmer refused to leave his land. As a boy Michael wanted to become a blacksmith,



a goal which his father rejected. By the time he was 16 his choices led him to leave Freinsheim to accept the invitation of his uncle in Cleveland, Ohio. Uncle John crafted wagons and carriages, and there Michael would learn the trade.

Without ever mentioning them, Gebben clearly portrays the "push/pull" and "chain migration" factors so prominent in nineteenth century German emigration. Michael was not a glorified "48er." He made the journey in 1857 to escape farming and seek his future as a blacksmith. The author vividly describes the horrors of the Atlantic crossing, the shock of arrival in a new society, and Michael's frustrations at being subjugated to his uncle's bad temper and tyrannical control. The characters are full personalities with lively conversations. As Michael adjusts to his new life, the author effectively portrays his work and social environments. He stayed within the strong German immigrant community, enjoying the evenings at the tavern, joining the singing society, debating the politics of the Civil War, and wedding the daughter of his German landlord. A skilled and proud artisan, he was able to start and sustain a business building carriages. He was even able to return to Freinsheim in his later years to visit the family and places he had so missed in the interim. At the end he seems still more German than American, contrasting himself with his English speaking children and their modern ideas.

The story carries Michael through to his death in 1910. He was not an exceptional man, though his obituary suggests that he was well liked and respected. Yet there is much to learn about the immigrant experiences in this well-crafted novel. And prospective family authors should take heed of the "Author's Note" (329-34) which discusses the extensive research and travel needed to bring this story to life.

This is a thoroughly enjoyable piece of historical fiction. It includes the Harm/Handrich Family Tree and two maps of contemporaneous Cleveland. The publishers have given it a sturdy binding with the blacksmith himself on the cover. Kudos to Claire Gebben for making genealogy and fiction work so well together!

*Indiana University East*

*Eleanor L. Turk*

**Millionäre & Mäzene: Ferdinand Thun und Heinrich Janssen aus Barmen—Gustav Oberländer aus Düren.**

*By Horst Heidermann and Klaus Vollmer. Wuppertal: Edition Köndgen, 2014. 166 pp. €18.95.*

In *Millionäre & Mäzene* (Millionaires and Patrons), Horst Heidermann and Klaus Vollmer present (in German with a short English summary) the connected biographies of three men who emigrated from Germany in the late nineteenth century and established large and successful businesses and charities in the US. The first half of the book traces the three biographies separately and then tells the story of their common businesses; the second half describes their charities in the US and Germany in great detail and lists their many accomplishments.

Ferdinand Thun (1866-1949) and Heinrich Janssen (1866-1948), both from Barmen (now part of Wuppertal) near Düsseldorf, arrived on the American continent in 1886 and 1888 respectively; Gustav Oberländer (1867-1936), who hailed from Düren (near Cologne), first came in 1888 as well and returned again in 1890 after completing his military service in Germany. Thun was an accountant, Janssen an engine fitter, and Oberländer a merchant. Together, the three built a business empire in Wyomissing near Reading, Pennsylvania, where they produced braiding and knitting machines and founded Berkshire Knitting Mills, “the world’s largest knitting facility for ladies [*sic*] stockings” (158). As late as the 1950s, the company was “one of the four largest producers of seamless stockings in the US” (73—my translation). As Heidermann and Vollmer present it, Thun, Janssen, and Oberländer subsequently used their immense wealth to support their community as well as charities in the US and in Germany, particularly charities promoting exchange between the two countries.

Perhaps the most intriguing part of this group biography is how the three individuals negotiated the treacherous waters of US-German relations in and after the First and Second World Wars. During World War I, Wyomissing Industries were searched for contraband even though all three owners were US citizens, and agents went through their private residences. In response, Heidermann and Vollmer write, the three “emphasized their US citizenship and their absolute loyalty to their new home country, but at the same time confidently stressed their German heritage” (44—my translation). Ten years after the war, they established the Carl Schurz Foundation and the Oberländer Trust, which “supported the teaching of German; created visitor and scholar exchange programs; founded a library of donated books and artwork; and fostered an exchange of experience and training in education, forestry, health care, and municipal administration” (159). The Carl Schurz Founda-



tion ran into trouble in the 1930s because there was a similar organization in Germany, the Vereinigung Carl Schurz, that had been taken over by Nazis.

Thun, Janssen and Oberländer's (as long as he was alive) responses to the Nazis were complicated. On the one hand, they did not mind being fettered by Nazi functionaries on visits to Germany, and occasionally they made thoughtless statements: Responding to a strike at the factories in 1934, Janssen—who had recently had a half-hour conversation with Hitler—asserted, "Germany has no strikes nor prospects of any strike today. When radicals try to start trouble of that sort, there the government gets after them right away and they are taken care of" (63). On the other hand, it appears that once the extent of Nazi atrocities started to become known in the late 1930s, all three objected to Hitler's policies. More practically, they supported refugees (including at one point Albert Einstein) and sent CARE packages to Germany after the war.

The problem with this story is that the authors of *Millionäre & Mäzene* seem a bit too eager to explain and excuse everything the three did and said, rather than letting the facts speak, and the readers decide, for themselves. This is true for Thun, Janssen and Oberländer's treatment of the labor force in their factories as well, where the book implies that the workers were happy with their bosses' brand of paternalistic capitalism—even though there were repeated strikes, some even violent, and a long drawn-out disagreement between labor and management that the National Labor Relations Board decided in the workers' favor.

This willingness to take their subjects' side is compounded by the fact that the authors' identity and agenda remains somewhat unclear: As far as I could tell, neither the book itself nor the publisher's web site ([www.edition-koendgen.de](http://www.edition-koendgen.de)) offer any clues as to who the authors are. Klaus Vollmer seems to be connected somehow to the city of Wuppertal (he is pictured on p.149 with Thun's grandson on a visit to Germany)—perhaps as a member of the board of the Barmen neighborhood association—and, if I identified him correctly, Horst Heidermann is a Wuppertal native who worked for the Social Democratic Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung until his retirement in 1989 and is now a free-lance writer. This matters because the book often reads like hagiography or celebration (especially of the charitable organizations) rather than critical biography.

In the same vein, there is very little critical framework to *Millionäre & Mäzene*. In other words, while the story is quite interesting, it is not quite clear what larger question it answers or to what historical narrative it contributes, i.e., why this story is important and worth the reader's attention. Obviously, there is a larger story about German emigrants to the US, but the authors only allude to that context, without sufficiently sketching details

or critical questions. There is no historiography (for instance, the relation between the present book and the 2006 volume *Wyomissing. An American Dream: Enterprise Shaping Community*, whose author George Edmonds provides a foreword here, is never explained), no context for how other industrialists with German heritage behaved during this time, no examination of how the impact of the industries and charities described here compares to other, similar organizations, and no explanation even of how the group biography is organized.

Perhaps I am being too critical here, and all the authors are striving for is local recognition for their subjects (the publisher specializes in books about Wuppertal)—they even admit at the outset that finishing the book will require “Durchhaltevermögen” (15—stamina). Still, that unfortunately means that the significance of the biographies here, while certainly of interest to local historians, sadly remains unclear.

*The University of California, Long Beach*

*Norbert Schürer*

### **Truth, Grace, and Security.**

*By Bruno Corduan. Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2012. 212 pp. \$21.60.*

Bruno Corduan's autobiography *Vom Tagelöhnersohn zum Diplomaten: Mein Leben unter der Führung Gottes* was translated by his son Wolfgang and given the not very descriptive title *Truth, Grace and Security*. The book is divided into two very different sections: the first 70 pages are autobiographical while the remaining 138 pages are a “Presentation of Basic Concepts Derived from the Bible” and reflect the Christian belief of the author.

We follow Bruno Corduan who was born in 1926 in Pomerania and who submitted his life to the will of God after the early death of his mother, through his growing up during the Hitler years and his mandatory membership in the “Jungvolk,” the Nazi youth organization, while adhering to his religious beliefs. In 1943 after eight years of school, he trained to become a public servant only to be drafted into military service. He was assigned to the German navy. After the war he made his way from the Customs Department of the Port of Hamburg to a training class for civil servants in Bonn in 1953, to the German Federal Ministry of Finance, and eventually to the Department of Defense for a special assignment in Washington, D.C. After eight years the family returned to Germany where he, now with diplomatic status, was stationed with an international NATO task force in Munich. In addition to his work in international contracts, he and his family became members of



the Baptist church where he took responsibilities in various congregations as elder and pastor.

Since all three sons are living in the United States, Mr. Corduan and his wife Ursula retired to the Pilgerheim Weltersbach community in Northrhine-Westphalia. He continues with his active participation in the Baptist church even in his advanced age.

Mr. Corduan's experiences during the Hitler years, his perilous service in the German navy, his international assignments would be of much interest to a wider circle of readers, although I found the constant emphasis on his being the most dedicated and capable, the repeated references to God's guidance somewhat tiresome. The second part of the book would appeal to a special audience.

*Covington, Louisiana*

*Brigitta L. Malm*

**The Unwritten Diary of Israel Unger.**

*By Carolyn Gammon and Israel Unger. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013. 240 pp. \$18.74.*

Israel Unger's book joins the increasing number of exile memoirs by childhood Holocaust survivors who emigrated after the war. Like many other such works, his reflects on many years' experiences following a difficult childhood. The seemingly oxymoronic title of this work in WLU Press's "Life Writing" series alludes obliquely to Anne Frank's diary, which Israel Unger discovered in his early teens. At the time, he was struck by both the similarities and the differences between the Dutch girl's story and his own: like the Franks, his family had gone into hiding, but in considerably more primitive circumstances, cramped into a crawl space carved out of a flour mill's attic. But unlike the Franks, all eight of those hiding with Unger survived, even though several people in the small Galician city of Tarnow knew about them. Israel Unger, however, who was only seven years old when the war ended, had no written record of his experiences and later remembered few details of everyday life at this time. This memoir is thus not a diary but rather a chronological reconstruction of his life, extending to his immigration to Canada and successful career as a Professor of Chemistry and later as Dean of Sciences at the University of New Brunswick. In writing this memoir Unger was assisted by Carolyn Gammon, a native of Fredericton who, during a fifteen-year residence in Berlin, had become closely involved in Holocaust awareness. Gammon helped with the research and took many of the book's photos.

Because, like many other childhood survivors of wartime trauma, Unger never discusses with his parents their time in hiding, between early 1944 and the end of the war, and himself cannot provide many details, his account of this period takes up only 27 of the book's over 200 pages. Equal space covers the difficult years between the end of the war and emigration to the New World, as the two Unger children are separated from their parents in a French orphanage, placed with childless relatives in the UK, then reunited with their parents in Paris; finally, in 1951 the family can sail for Canada, the quota on Poles having closed the preferred destination of the US to them.

Thus the Holocaust memoir takes second place to the narrative of immigration, which shows many themes common to other immigration stories: settling among others with similar background, working hard to become established and eventually prosper, navigating the new language and culture to achieve assimilation, and, in Unger's case, facing recurrent instances of anti-Semitism. The writer candidly discusses the problematic relationship with his brother and the tension between himself as a young non-religious Jewish Canadian and his orthodox parents. He spends considerable time describing his hard-won education and successful academic career in Canada, and repeatedly emphasizes his affection and appreciation for the adopted country with its rich opportunities, especially for education. He also expresses devotion to Israel, as the country that gives him a sense of roots.

The pages on Unger's satisfying academic career at the University of New Brunswick and his happy family life provide insight into the life of European Jewish exiles in Canada and more broadly into Canadian academic life, where his own history as an outsider helped define his profile. Unger recounts brushing up on his childhood French in order to promote collegiality at professional gatherings involving faculty from francophone universities. At the height of Québécois separatism, he negotiated for the Quebec Faculty Association to be integrated into the Canadian Association of University Teachers and annoyed the federal government with concessions to the Quebec group. The space given to his academic career, which he claims to have "very much enjoyed . . . [even though] it was not what I thought it would be," places Unger's book within the genre of "academic memoir" although it focuses more on biographical facts than on questions of intellectual development. The book's final section sets it apart from many other memoirs in detailing the extensive research undertaken by Unger and Gammon, greatly facilitated by the internet, to reconstruct the circumstances of his Holocaust childhood: the hiding place, the Polish citizens who helped the nine Jews, others who knew about their refuge but did not denounce them, and even the fates of the five others who hid with the Unger family. Correspondence and personal encounters with various helpful and unhelpful Polish authorities enliven this



account. A high point is Unger's meeting with the mill owner's son, who had known about the hidden Jews, and the discovery of and visits with two women from the group, sisters living in Israel. Another strength of the book is its rich photographic documentation, again largely the result of careful research. Thus one sees photographs and documents of several generations of the Unger family, images from Unger's life in Canada, and pictures from his and Gammon's research.

Gammon and Unger have produced a readable, unpretentious, straightforward book that will be of interest to those studying immigration and exile, Holocaust memoir, and Canadian university life. Closing the account, the reader is inclined to agree with Unger's assertion that "every survivor story . . . is unique and extraordinary" and to concur with his own self-assessment: "I have had a very good life."

*Franklin & Marshall College*

*Cecile Zorach*

**Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman.**

*By Jeremy Adelman. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. 740 pp. \$39.95.*

**The Essential Hirschman.**

*By Albert O. Hirschman. Edited with an introduction by Jeremy Adelman. Afterward by Emma Rothschild & Amartya Sen. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013. 384pp. \$29.95.*

The developmental economist Albert O. Hirschman was one of the lesser-known of Hitler's many intellectual and cultural gifts to the United States. He was born in Berlin in 1915, the son of a successful surgeon. Both of Albert's parents, although ethnically Jewish, were so assimilated into German society that Albert and his sisters were baptized as Lutherans. He earned his *Abitur* from Berlin's *Französisches Gymnasium* where French was the language of instruction, but students learned to read both Latin and Greek. In 1931, Albert and his sister Ursula became active in the *Sozialistische Arbeiterjugend*, the youth organization of the Social Democratic Party.

On the last day of March 1933, Albert's father died of cancer. On April 2nd, the young Jewish man, suddenly unable to return to the study of law at the University of Berlin, and in some danger due to his SAJ activities, fled to Paris. Albert was a brilliant student with a remarkable facility for languages. Having had a French tutor as a child, he spoke the language (and only that

language) without a German accent and thus had no difficulty with two years at the *École des Hautes études Commerciales de Paris*. In 1935-36, on a scholarship at the London School of Economics, he familiarized himself with English and the furor over the unorthodox theories of John Maynard Keynes. When the Spanish Civil War broke out in July 1936, Hirschman immediately left for Barcelona, with other German and Italian exiles as anti-fascist volunteers. Three months later, after receiving a combat wound he would never discuss, and becoming greatly disillusioned with Communist tactics in Spain, he fled to Trieste to join his sister and her husband, an anti-fascist Italian. He studied more economics at the local university and published his first paper in his newest language—Italian. With Mussolini's growing persecution of Jews, Albert returned to Paris and joined the French army. When the Germans invaded and France fell in June 1940, Hirschman escaped to Marseilles where soon, with his linguistic skills, charm, and know-how, he became the trusted deputy of Varian Fry in the latter's efforts to rescue important Jewish cultural figures and send them to New York. He proved "to be a font of devious ingenuity and seasoned wisdom" (177).

As Hirschman came under suspicion in Marseilles, he obtained a two-year fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation for study at Berkeley. In California, he met and married a Russian Jewish woman who had grown up in Paris. The marriage resulted in two children, and despite many family relocations, lasted more than 70 years until Sarah Hirschman's death a few months before her husband's in 2012. At Berkeley, Albert wrote his first book—a soon forgotten study of pre-war international trade and political power. He joined the American Army in 1943. Assigned to the OSS, he was used as a translator but not in the sophisticated data analysis work he desired.

After the war, Hirschman found work in Washington with the Federal Reserve as an analyst of the economies of France and Italy. When the Marshall Plan came into being, Hirschman, on loan from the Federal Reserve, provided background economic analysis to American officials. Late in 1951, he was caught in the McCarthy fiasco due to his activities as an adolescent for the German Social Democrats. After difficult interrogation, in 1952 he and his family left Washington to work on World Bank development projects for the nation of Columbia in South America. Albert soon developed fluency in Spanish and later, as a Latin American expert, picked up some Portuguese. The Hirschmans returned in 1956 where Albert spent two years as a research professor at Yale. There, the Hirschmans switched their household language from French to English in part to benefit their adolescent daughters and in part to facilitate Albert's lecturing in English. Albert went on to Columbia University in New York City and to Harvard; but he never liked teaching and was an undistinguished teacher. At last he found a home at the Institute for



Advanced Study at Princeton which has no teaching requirement. He knew and interacted with other exiles, but never became a part of an exile community in the United States. From time to time, he returned to Latin America to evaluate projects for the World Bank.

Jeremy Adelman in this quite detailed biography tries to convey the flavor of Hirschman as an intellectual without seeking to explain in detail his actual economic arguments. Albert's "skill with words always eclipsed his dexterity with numbers" (4) which put him increasingly out of sync with the progression of the discipline of economics during his lifetime. Instead of developing equations, Hirschman read and re-read the classics from Homer to Kafka. He especially loved Machiavelli and Montaigne. He questioned grand economic theories and in particular that of the necessity for "balanced growth" in the economic development of the third world. In place of grand theory, Hirschman specialized in "petit ideas" and observations on the ground that often seem to lead to peripheral conclusions.

The book of Hirschman's articles as selected by Adelman is an attempt to let the economist speak for himself. The articles were originally published between 1968 and 1994. Perhaps readers steeped in the controversies within developmental economics of the 1950s and 1960s will grasp the importance of Hirschman's views in their original context. For laymen such as myself, many of the essays and especially "Rival Views of Market Society" are of some interest but do not seem of astounding import.

Adelman's lengthy life of Hirschman is intrinsically interesting to anyone concerned with the twentieth century in Europe and the Americas. But as biographers often do, Adelman seems to oversell his subject when he calls Hirschman "one of the twentieth century's most remarkable intellectuals" (3), assuming that this means something more than the man's uncanny ability to get out of one jam after another and to retain an amazing degree of optimism about the future of economic development. The volume of articles is probably best left to readers with a desire to study the history of developmental economics.

*University of Arkansas—Fort Smith*

*Robert W. Frizzell*

**Zwischen Deutschland und Amerika: Mein Lebensweg.**

*By Dieter Sevin. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012. 200 pp. € 19.80.*

Contented authors, who are satisfied with their lives, write the best and most objective autobiographies and histories. Dieter Sevin falls into this cat-

egory. In spite of suffering a terminal ailment, he is proud of his life and at ease; and he managed, during long suffering and treatment, to write his "Lebensweg."

Truth resides in comparison and Sevin, in compliance with the title, does a superb job detailing his life between Germany and the United States. Born in 1938 and growing up during the turbulent war and post-war years, he emigrates from Hildesheim to America in 1958. Relatives in Kansas facilitate the process and seem to have signed the affidavit of support. But their help wanes quickly, forcing Dieter to become self-supporting. He works on a farm, which he characterizes as a low point in his life and "eine Schinderei unter schweren Bedingungen." Practicing German frugality enables him to save 1800 dollars within eight months, almost 15,000 in 2014 dollars! Now he can follow the call of a friend to go to California, a trip which he enthusiastically entitles "California, here I come!"

After acquiring the absolute American necessity of having transportation and after holding down various jobs, Dieter enrolls in Foothill College in 1959. Being self-supporting and working part-time while studying diligently is another low point, in fact, the most intense and strenuous part of his life. It is compensated by the "promised land" of climate, citrus, and people. Here he meets the family of his future wife. Transferring to San Jose State College, he studies German history, marries his wife Ingrid and, with help from the in-laws, has a wonderful wedding trip.

While recollecting his life, Sevin, intersperses, in italicized form, the burden and treatment of pancreatic cancer. He does so without self-pity but with philosophical reflections. His humane quality, mixed with a disarming innocence and sincerity, deeply touches the reader.

Eventually, he earns a Ph.D. in German literature from Seattle's University of Washington, obtained with the recognized support of his wife, who herself was finishing an M.A. degree. Thereafter, he embarks upon his impressive university teaching, research and publishing career. His foci are DDR literature and exile literature. At Vanderbilt University he teaches, writes and publishes, creates an exchange program with Regensburg, becomes a father twice, and invests successfully in real estate. Global travels follow, more interaction with German academic circles and more intense activities of being the "Vermittler zwischen den Kulturen," i.e. the informer/mediator between German and American cultures. In time, his achievements are rewarded with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz* in 2007.

The last quarter of his autobiography is devoted to recollections of friends, family members and U.S. Presidents. He adulates Kennedy, views Nixon positively and even more so Reagan. Near the end of his "Lebensweg,"



he returns to "the Bible of his youth" and embraces, understandably so, an endearing belief in God.

*Indian Hills Community College*

*Siegfried H. Sutterlin*

## Linguistics

### **Speaking Amish: A Beginner's Introduction to Pennsylvania German for Ages 10 to 100.**

*By Lillian Stoltzfus. NP: Eckschank Publishing, 2013. 127 pages + CD. \$19.95.*

### **Introduction to Pennsylvania Dutch.**

*By Elizabeth Wengerd. Edited by C. Richard Beam. 15th Printing. Millersville, PA: C. Richard Beam, 2014. 59 pages.*

For those interested in a basic introduction to the variety of German commonly known as Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania German, two books with a step-by-step approach to learning the basic vocabulary and grammar of the language have recently been published and are readily available. For those familiar with some of the controversies among the various schools of writing Pennsylvania German in published form, both of these texts utilize the orthographic system known as "Buffington-Barba-Beam" which is based on the spelling system of Modern Standard German and has been refined in *The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (ed. C. Richard Beam et al., 11 vols. [Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 2004-7]).

Wengerd's guide, now in its fifteenth printing by C. Richard Beam of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies in Millersville, Pennsylvania, is based on a series of lessons compiled in the Old Order Amish community near Aylmer, Ontario, where Elizabeth Wengerd, an experienced teacher, produced lessons primarily to teach those entering the Pennsylvania Dutch culture from the outside. In reproducing Wengerd's lessons, Beam has substituted some dialect expressions from his native Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, variety of Pennsylvania Dutch, especially where the usage in Ontario had adopted English vocabulary. In eight chapters, Wengerd introduces nouns (gender and plural forms), verbs (present tense), household vocabulary, terms for persons and parts of the body, clothing, food items, farmyard vocabulary and finally, adverbs. Chapters four and eight also include reviews of material presented in previous chapters.

One weakness in this otherwise basic and straightforward introduction by Wengerd is the confusing treatment of the past tense of verbs. The student is presented with the structure "Der Mark hot die Geil gfiedert" (Mark fed the horses) on page 13 with the comment "The past participle is GFIEDERT and is used with the helpin [*sic*] verb HAWWE." With no additional information one must assume that the student is well versed in English grammar rules and would automatically understand how a past tense in Pennsylvania German parallels the English present perfect tense. But that is quite an assumption—especially if this text is also appropriate for "self-instruction" (60). The reader finally finds some limited information on forming the past tense on page 38 as well as on page 42. There is also no mention of the use of *sei* "to be" as a helping verb for the past tense of certain verbs. The reader is, however, expected to read and understand such practice sentences as "Es Becky is der Weg nunner gange mit em Buggy" (Becky went down the street with the buggy, 40), which require the helping verb "to be" with the appropriate past participle.

On the other hand, Stoltzfus limits her entire twenty-five lesson text to present-tense usage. But since she does not include a single statement about or in the past tense, the reader/student cannot be confused—perhaps only disappointed by being limited to the present time. Stoltzfus specifically states that the variety presented in her introduction is that spoken in Lancaster County, where she still has relatives among the Amish. She does admit to including vocabulary that her grandmother might have used that have become obsolete in a few instances. She intends her book to be descriptive rather than prescriptive.

Stoltzfus's colorfully illustrated short lessons focus on the usage of only one verb per lesson—in the present tense—with appropriate nouns and adjectives. Lesson 25 actually introduces a second verb at the very end, *schwetze* "to speak," with the last sample sentence being *Ich schwetze en Bissel Pennsylvania Deit[s]ch* "I speak a little Pennsylvania German" (110). Each lesson has a simple dialog followed by tips for pronunciation and grammar as well as a short section entitled "Culture Tip" with insights into the everyday life of the Amish, such as how insulting it is to be called lazy (84). Following the main set of lessons is a section containing a pronunciation guide, verb charts for the 26 verbs introduced and answers to exercises. More importantly, the book includes a CD with all of the material in the text so that learners may even download the material onto an MP3 player and listen to it while doing chores or on the road (7). Aside from a few blemishes including typographical errors such as "helpin" (13) and "*Deitch*" (110) above and instructing the student to



conjugate the verb “bin” instead of “sei” (11), *Speaking Amish* is a very engaging textbook for the beginner learning Pennsylvania German.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

## The Arts: Fine, Decorative, and Criticism

### Edgar G. Ulmer: A Filmmaker at the Margins.

By Noah Isenberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. 384pp. \$34.95.

Noah Isenberg's thoughtful biography of Edgar G. Ulmer (1904–72) manages the difficult balancing act of positioning this “filmmaker at the margins” closer to the center of migration studies without sacrificing his outsider appeal. As Isenberg shows, Ulmer's unique career trajectory complicates the typical rags-to-riches story of émigré filmmakers in Hollywood, and his filmic output repeatedly defies the categories of style, genre, market, and national cinema.

Given the outlandish claims Ulmer made about his own career, the aim of Isenberg's biography is “to sort through the persisting myths and balance them with a more judicious, more precise understanding of the filmmaker as he came into his own” (23). Through insightful close readings of Ulmer's films and attentive treatment of biographical sources, Isenberg sorts fact from fiction, and perhaps even more significantly, considers the reasons for Ulmer's exaggeration or distortion of some accounts. For example, Isenberg suggests that Ulmer often gave his birthdate as 1900 rather than 1904 “presumably as a means of lending greater credence to his assertions of having worked on various films when he would have barely been a teenager” (3–4). Similarly, after tracing Ulmer's birthplace not to Vienna but to the Moravian town of Olmütz, Isenberg suggests that the up-and-coming director claimed the Habsburg capital as his birthplace as a means of distancing himself from his provinciality and associating himself with cosmopolitanism and high culture (14).

Like his fellow Viennese émigré filmmakers, Erich von Stroheim, Otto Preminger, Fritz Lang, and Billy Wilder, Ulmer was skilled at re-fashioning his past in the creation of his public persona, often in an attempt to secure new employment (15). As Ulmer began to seek work in the early 1920s, he cultivated a cosmopolitan image of himself as a new Hollywood émigré with lingering ties to Europe, shuttling between Hollywood and Berlin to assist

on small-scale westerns for Universal Studios and co-directing the uniquely independent *Menschen am Sonntag* (People on Sunday, 1929) (21). Insightfully, Isenberg reads the next film Ulmer made, an educational US-Canadian co-production about syphilis called *Damaged Lives* (1933), as an allegory for social ostracism and the experience of exile, which would become recurring motifs in Ulmer's oeuvre (52). Still, Isenberg is careful not to reduce the condition of exile to one of despair. Eventually Ulmer's cosmopolitan image helped him secure a brief contract with Universal Studios, though he would ultimately be blackballed by studio head Carl Laemmle Sr., ostensibly for taking too many creative liberties in the use of classical music for *The Black Cat* (1934), though more likely for having an affair with screenwriter Shirley Kassler, the wife of Laemmle's beloved nephew, the woman Ulmer would soon marry and go on to collaborate with on many pictures (75–77).

Of particular interest to scholars of migration studies should be the fourth chapter, "Songs of Exile," covering the even lesser-known films Ulmer directed in the late 1930s that earned him the title "the director of minorities" (85). These included *Natalka Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava, 1937), a Ukrainian-language operetta master-minded by dancer Vasyl Avramenko that exceeded all expectations and led to another collaboration on *Zaporozhets za Dunayem* (Cossacks in Exile, 1939); the Yiddish films *Grine Felder* (Green Fields, 1937), *Yankel der Schmid* (The Singing Blacksmith, 1938), *Fishke der Krumer* (The Light Ahead, 1939), and *Amerikaner Shadkhn* (American Matchmaker, 1940); *Moon Over Harlem* (1939), one of the first all-black features with a white director; and a series of health shorts on *Diagnostic Procedures in Tuberculosis* (1938) targeted at African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. Many of these films found Ulmer serving as a "professional outsider" in collaboration with a "cultural insider" (95). Pursuing ethnic subjects, "in a roundabout way, helped him to become more deeply assimilated into the fabric of America" (119).

The remainder of Isenberg's book is dedicated to analysis of Ulmer's low-budget productions for the Producers Releasing Corporation (PRC), a smaller studio on "Poverty Row"; his best-known film noirs, *Detour* (1945), *Ruthless* (1948), and *Murder Is My Beat* (1955); and the eclectic work produced at the end of his career. Throughout these analyses, Isenberg deepens our appreciation of Ulmer's work without overstating the case for their aesthetic value. With characteristic wit, Isenberg sums up the change in Ulmer's career: "If the first years of his career often forced him to the margins, both formally and financially, these final years were filled with a kind of marginal cinema *in extremis*, an unusually colorful string of ragtag productions—some of them surprisingly lovely, others eminently forgettable—that are long neither on coherence nor on consistency" (205).



Though relatively marginal, Ulmer has long been idolized in some avant-garde circles as an anti-establishment figure who chose to make low-budget films for the greater creative freedom they would allow him, an image that can be traced back to his mid-1950s reception in the *Cahiers du Cinéma*. However, Isenberg's biography reveals that Ulmer also desired commercial success, and sensibly points out that the aims of independent filmmaking and commercial success are not necessary mutually exclusive (xiii). For Isenberg, many of Ulmer's films "are not merely *transnational* but are also *transitional*, made en route to the next project—or, in some cases, with the hope of reaching that next project, aiming for the next level or quite often merely to earn a much-needed paycheck—and completed, by and large, on the fly" (53; emphasis added). Ultimately, Ulmer's transnational and transitional career should serve not only as inspiration for a new generation of DIY filmmakers (274) but also as an impetus for further studies of self-fashioning and self-invention among émigré filmmakers.

University of California, Berkeley

Erik Born

**Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast.**

By Patrick McGilligan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. 560 pp. \$24.95.

Patrick McGilligan's problematic biography of Fritz Lang (1890–1976) presents a sweeping narrative of the apparently sinful director's redemption through film art. For McGilligan, the extent of Fritz Lang's genius as a filmmaker is beyond question—evident not only in such Weimar films as *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* (1922), *Die Nibelungen* (1924), *Metropolis* (1927), and *M* (1931), but also in his less-appreciated Hollywood productions, including *Fury* (1936), *You Only Live Once* (1937), *Man Hunt* (1941), *The Woman in the Window* (1944), *Scarlet Street* (1945), and *The Big Heat* (1953). However, McGilligan ultimately leaves the Roman Catholic director on his deathbed, reflects on his life of reprehensible behavior, and wonders: "Wouldn't such work, lasting long beyond his mortal time, redeem Fritz Lang" (476)?

McGilligan's book, originally published by St. Martin's Griffin Press in 1997, is presented as a corrective to Lotte Eisner's 1976 treatment of the director. If Eisner's portrait of Lang erred on the side of hagiography, then McGilligan's verges on demonography—the "nature of the beast" in the book's subtitle referring not only to the director's essential characteristics, but particularly to his deplorable behavior and his seemingly inhuman nature.

The contrast between the two approaches is evident in their reaction to one key line from Lang's autobiographical statement, originally a justification for breaking off his autobiography before writing an additional chapter on his father and grandmother: "A chapter like this would delve deep down into one's private life. And I have always insisted that my private life has nothing to do with me or with my films. If my films do not add up to an image of myself, then I do not deserve the book you are writing about me" (Eisner, *Fritz Lang*, 15). In McGilligan's book, the statement is distilled to the epigraph, "My private life has nothing to do with my films," and later used to make it seem as though Lang was involved in a conspiracy to cover-up his past (6). In the remainder of McGilligan's biography, this author of award-winning biographies of Clint Eastwood and Alfred Hitchcock gleefully takes up the task of exposing every possible aspect of Lang's personal biography, from his alleged mistreatment of coworkers to his complex religiosity, political affiliations, and sexual preferences.

In McGilligan's psychological portrait of Lang, the duality of the director's personality comes across in terms of the contrast between the cultivated persona of a sophisticated, though tyrannical, Prussian authority figure, always seen sporting a monocle, and his more beastly private demeanor. Putting Lang's reputation through the ring, McGilligan does not hesitate to pass judgment on Lang's megalomania, careerism, and perhaps above all, sadomasochism. The litany of the biographer's accusations includes Lang's reckless endangerment of actors in pursuit of a perfect shot (119, 128, 137, 166, 231); his demanding work ethic that spilled over into deliberate ignorance of unions and labor regulations (96, 197, 221, 233); his numerous love affairs (92, 140, 236, 270, 284, 355, 392, 444) and "perverse" sexual behavior (140, 237, 456, 474); his "dubious racial humor" (227); his flirtation with Nazism (157, 171, 287); his lack of sincerity both as an "activist-celebrity" (257) and in recanting his affiliation with Communism (396); his blind eye to his brother's pleas for financial help (455); his failure to acknowledge his stepmother's death in a concentration camp (261); his opportunistic religiosity (475), alternately suppressing his Jewish heritage (288), showing an "interest in restitution" (329), exploiting his staff's Jewishness (350); and his attempt to remedy a number of these rumors through publicity statements (5, 254, 287, 345, 402).

Ultimately, such disparagement may have been necessary for McGilligan's narrative of Lang's redemption through his art. Yet many of the accusations rest on questionable evidence, as McGilligan does indicate *en passant* in the narrative or more forcefully in the endnotes. In one note, for example, McGilligan emphasizes that "there is no proof positive of the death, marriage to Fritz Lang, or even existence of the director's first wife" (516), even though



McGilligan tenuously equates a woman named "L." in Lang's World War I journal (41) with a woman named "Lisa Rosenthal" in the archives of Vienna's Rathaus (56). The admission of this woman's possible non-existence gets lost in McGilligan's dramatic account of her death (76–78), and his insinuation that Lang may have even murdered her, an accusation based, in part, on a catalogue of murders and suicides in Lang's films (79–80). As McGilligan admits, "Lisa Rosenthal's death was reconstructed from numerous second-hand and even third-hand sources" and at least one film historian suspects that "it was all a clever fiction Lang had managed to concoct to dramatize his otherwise humdrum life" (516).

Unfortunately, these sensational aspects of the narrative detract from McGilligan's original research (505–6), including his comparative analysis of a 1914 letter that helps fill in Lang's pre-War activities; his examination of Thea von Harbou's Allied interrogation records; and his discovery of Lang's American home movies; not to mention the numerous interviews McGilligan conducted while preparing the biography. Further analysis of such documents might help create a more balanced portrait of so complex a figure as Fritz Lang, and careful use of the biographical details that McGilligan presents will hopefully generate more productive readings of Lang's films.

*University of California, Berkeley*

*Erik Born*

### **Karl Bodmer's America Revisited: Landscape Views Across Time.**

*By W. Raymond Wood and Robert M. Lindholm, eds., Introduction and Annotations. Vol. 9 in the Charles Russell Center on Art and Photography for the American West. Norman Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 240 pp. \$45.00.*

Johann Carl Bodmer (11 February 1809–30 October 1893) printmaker, etcher, lithographer, zinc engraver, draftsman, painter, illustrator and hunter known as Karl Bodmer in literature and paintings, was a Swiss and French citizen, his name listed as Johann Karl Bodmer and Jean-Charles Bodmer respectively. Distinguished in Germany for his watercolors, drawings and aquatints of cities and landscapes of the Rhine, Mosel, and Lahn rivers, Karl Bodmer became a member of the Barbizon School, a French landscape painting group from the mid-nineteenth century, creating oil paintings with animal motifs as well as wood engravings, drawings, and book illustrations.

Best appreciated in the United States as a painter who captured the American West of the nineteenth century with accurate depictions of its in-

habitants, he accompanied German explorer Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied from 1832 through 1834 on his Ohio-Missouri River expedition. Hired as an artist by Maximilian with the specific intent of traveling through the American West, Bodmer recorded images of the cities, rivers, towns and people they saw along the way, including images of Native Americans around the Missouri River. Much of Bodmer's work was chronicled in Prince Maximilian's book entitled *Maximilian Prince of Wied's Travels in the Interior of North America*. In service to Maximilian for a pictorial documentary of his travels in North America, Bodmer sought to approximate reality, his vision often transcending his view—his landscapes appreciated today more for their aesthetic than their documentary value alone. The book *Revisited* takes us on this journey using two methods to describe the same object: water colors from the nineteenth alongside photographs from the twenty-first century.

After their landfall in Boston from the sailing vessel *Janus* in 1832, Maximilian and Bodmer, just thirty years after Lewis and Clark had returned from the West, steam boated to the westernmost point in Montana and back to New York acquiring a remarkable register of Indians and fur trade on the upper Missouri river, a wealth of detail about contemporary culture, society, and natural history from the eastern United States, praised by naturalists and scholars then and now. Although Bodmer and Maximilian did see the works of two previous artists, George Catlin (1796-1872) and Peter Rindisbacher (1806-34), they made no reference to them in their own creations. The Bodmer-Maximilian route departed from New York to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville wintering at New Harmony, during which months Bodmer on his own behalf made an excursion to New Orleans. In 1833 Bodmer and Maximilian headed for the Mississippi, then the Missouri to Sioux City, Bismarck, and on to the Yellowstone River to Fort McKenzie near Great Falls, Montana. On the return down the Missouri, they stopped at Fort Union on the Montana border and spent the winter at Fort Clark upstream from Bismarck. Setting forth on April 18, 1834, they reached Portsmouth Ohio whence they proceeded by canal to Cleveland and over the Erie from Buffalo to Albany and thence New York City. Boarding the *Havre* a few days later they dropped anchor at Le Havre, France on August 8, 1834.

Maximilian's German text was published in 1839-1841 in two volumes and translated into French while an English version was whittled down to one volume, which was reprinted in 1906 by Reuben Gold Thwaites for his 32 volume set, *Early Western Travels*. The entire Bodmer collection was not available until the Joselyn Art Museum in Omaha acquired the sketches and joined with the University of Oklahoma Press to offer three volumes in the 1960s, *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Neuwied, 1832-1834*. Subsequently the University of Nebraska Press with the Joselyn Art Museum



produced its extraordinary volume, *Karl Bodmer's America*. In addition, the Baltimore Museum of Art preserved artwork from the American period left at Bodmer's estate and more recently Nebraska and Joslyn produced Brandon K. Ruud, *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints*, an encyclopedic summary of the artist. Dead in Paris at the age of eighty-four Bodmer had gone blind, deaf, and penniless, as recorded in the best of his biographies, by William J. Orr and included in the Joselyn publication, *Karl Bodmer's America*.

Beautifully executed with high historical acumen the Bodmer sketches vs. current photographs appear with a left page-right page comparable in color, a great success to the viewer and the serious researcher alike. The photographers even found animals, boats and objects from our century to replicate the originals (e.g., Buffalo, 147), which Bodmer included in his sketches. It was of course not possible to inject into modern photographic scenes an Indian camp flush with horse caravans and stockade forts, e.g., Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone in North Dakota or the Mandan Village near Bismarck (148). Likewise the photographers could not readily duplicate a Buffalo skull on "body" rocks but seem to have located the tumbled-down stones on a hilltop at Fort Union Historic Site. By the same token, the White Castles on the Missouri in Montana, which reminded Bodmer of the Rhine, are as prominent today as then except for the water level raised by the Army Corps of Engineers. Same goes for Bodmer's "Chinese Wall" on the Missouri in Montana, ditto for the Seven Sisters, Chapel Rock, and Citadel Rock. Niagara Falls is beautiful with any method of depiction, the last site included in the volume. Excellent endnotes, bibliography and index. Recommended for media centers across America and homes nationwide.

St. Olaf College

LaVern J. Rippley

**Weill's Musical Theater: Stages of Reform.**

By Stephen Hinton. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2012. 560 pp. \$49.95.

Kurt Weill has a secure place among composers in the twentieth century, his position being enhanced by the publication of this book by Stephen Hinton, an authority on the life and work of Weill. The composer was born on March 2, 1900, in Dessau, Germany, the son of a cantor, and showed musical ability at an early age. He studied under Ferruccio Busoni, the "advocate of all ideas that aimed seriously at creating something new" (40). Weill left Germany abruptly after Hitler's accession to power in 1933. He spent about two

years in Paris, leaving for London in 1935, and later immigrating to United States with Lotte Lenya, his wife and favorite vocalist.

It was during his years studying under Busoni that he formed his ideas, opinions and methods of composing. He felt that the work as a whole was his idea and his responsibility, and "... he emphasized the importance of the 'sonic image' (the Klangbild) of his music, something conceived as a part of the compositional process, not merely part of an 'arrangement'" (61). But it was in Bertolt Brecht that Weill found a librettist who listened to his ideas, and the story he was attempting to tell with his music and opera became a reality. *Die Dreigroschenoper*, based on "*The Beggar's Opera*" by John Gay, was one of first operas staged in Berlin. According to Hinton the success of the "Three Penny Opera" convinced Kurt Weill that a "play with music" was a viable medium. Immediately, Weill and Brecht began work on "Happy End," a story of good versus evil, using the Salvation Army and a gangster bar as the background. "Happy End" opened in Berlin in 1929 and ran for about a month.

*Der Lindberghflug*, first performed on December 5, 1929, at a concert given by the Berlin Staatskapelle, was first assigned to Weill and Hindemith, but Weill credited himself with it. The text is by Bertolt Brecht. *Mahagonny: Ein Songspiel nach Texten von Bert Brecht* appeared as a "Songspiel" in Baden-Baden on July 17, 1927. The full-length opera followed three years later. Weill's collaboration with Brecht continued for several years, but there appears to be no contact after Weill went to America. He had many Broadway successes, including *Knickerbocker Holiday*, *Lady in the Dark*, *One Touch of Venus* and *Down in the Valley*, a folk opera. Those who wrote the book and provided the lyrics for his music were well-known writers such as Moss Hart, Maxwell Anderson, S. J. Perelman and many others.

Hinton discusses each of the musical plays by Weill, including information about the collaborator, location of the production, and its success. There is also an in depth study of the music which will appeal to musicians as they read and study this presentation of Weill. Hinton includes several bars of music from a number of works as he is discussing Weill's music, sometimes in relation to other works and others to display the sociological implications in the words enhanced by the music. Hinton has provided the reading public with an in depth study of a man and his music that will inform many succeeding generations.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Clara H. Harsh



## Miscellaneous

### **Amerikanismus: Kulturelle Abgrenzung von Europa und US-Nationalismus im frühen 20. Jahrhundert.**

By Adelheid von Saldern. Vol. 49 of *Transatlantische Historische Studien*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 428 pp. €44.00.

In the last decades, a considerable number of studies have examined phenomena related to the perception of America and her influence on other cultures, using concepts like *Americanization* and *Anti-Americanism*. Adelheid von Saldern's study focuses on *Amerikanismus* ("Amerikanismus"), understood as the process of identifying and reinforcing cultural traits that are typical for America, in order to define America as a nation (14). However, the term *Amerikanismus* is repeatedly used interchangeably with the term *Americanization*. Saldern's premise is that the process of defining America as a nation can only be understood when analyzing how Americans see themselves as different from or similar to Europe (41). The focus of Saldern's study is on American perceptions of Western Europe but it briefly addresses perceptions of Eastern Europe and China.

Saldern examines *Amerikanismus* in discourses of a specific time and specific protagonists: quality magazines like *Harper's*, *The Nation*, or *Atlantic Monthly* in the 1920s. The time constitutes a transitional phase after World War I in which discourses on American national identity intensify (389-90). The individual concepts to describe America or Europe that Saldern identifies are probably not new to readers familiar with this field of study but the strength of the book lies in its deep and comprehensive analysis, its focus on connecting different arguments, and its emphasis on the interconnectedness of American and European viewpoints.

The book is divided in three parts, with the first part introducing the examined magazines and then analyzing how liberal authors perceived European images of America. Saldern describes the magazines as translating European positions and pursuing the establishment of a transatlantic elite (119). The second part turns toward conservative voices that emphasize contrasts to Europe, the particular strengths of America, and also perceived divisions within the United States regarding race and gender. Saldern shows how even the latter became connected with perceptions of Europe. The third part analyzes definitions of what is typical for America in space and time, morals and religion, art, and international politics. The section illustrates how complex and interconnected the discourses are, for example, defining a specifically American concept of space touches the frontier experience, the colonial past, modernization, and the tension between regionalism and nationalism.

Saldern documents in great detail various arguments related to familiar themes, some of them representing specifically American concepts (e.g., western civilization, frontier, exceptionalism, manifest destiny), others also relating to Europe (e.g., criticism of various aspects of modernization). Saldern's main analytical framework is *intersectionality*, i.e., the interconnectedness of categories like race, gender, and class. This framework produces some of the study's most interesting findings, especially when concepts change or clash. The study shows how class conflicts were reinterpreted as ethnic conflicts (181), how the concept of *whiteness* changed, how immigrants were moved up or down in the racial hierarchy (chapters 3 and 4, for Germans 130–32), and how religion become a factor of the immigrant hierarchy. Furthermore, the study describes some cases where perceived differences between groups dominate over commonalities, e.g., race differences block gender solidarity, or class solidarity does not extend to women or non-whites (chapter 4). One concept can also make another obsolete, such as newly established race hierarchies undermining the perception of Europe as one entity (159).

The analysis of the discourse on American art is especially interesting because it highlights some of the contradictions inherent in Americanism. Saldern shows how American artists and art experts faced two dilemmas. First, they admired European art but also wanted to set themselves apart from it. Second, they recognized African American art, especially music, as uniquely American, but this appreciation clashed with racial prejudices. Saldern dedicates only parts of a chapter on the perception of African Americans in the discourses on American identity and mentions only briefly that Native Americans were mostly ignored. An additional segment on the role of non-Europeans in the discourses would enhance the study.

In summary, Saldern provides a very detailed impression of the complexity and diversity of magazine discourses on American identity. At times, the amount of detail presented and the interconnectedness of arguments makes it difficult to connect back to the topic of individual chapters, but this is partially owed to the complexity of the subject matter. Overall, the book delivers a clear and comprehensive overview of the discourses about American identity and transatlantic relations in a crucial time for America's development into a world power. Saldern makes a good case that the self-understanding of Americans in the early twentieth century was inseparable from America's perception of Europe.

*Lebanon Valley College*

*Jörg Meindl*



**Jacobs's Choice: Return to Northkill, Book 1.**

*By Ervin R. Stutzman. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2014. 303 pp. \$29.99.*

Although this is a novel, it is one based on known fact. Jacob Hochstetler, an Amish emigrant from Switzerland, moved with his wife and family to the Northkill Creek settlement in Berks County, Pennsylvania, the first Amish community in America, founded in 1740 on the frontier with Indian lands. This area lies just east of Lancaster and Lebanon counties, identified as the "Pennsylvania Dutch" region today. In 1757, during the French and Indian War, Jacob and his family were attacked by a pro-French Indian war party. They burned his farm, killing and scalping his wife and two youngest children but taking him and his other two sons' prisoner. The event became known as the Hochstetler Massacre and is the subject of this novel, the first in a projected trilogy. Ervin Stutzman is one of the roughly 15,500 known descendants who trace their family to Jacob's oldest daughter, Barbara Stutzman. She was not taken in the raid, and eventually married and had a family of her own. Through subsequent years the family has maintained its genealogy and written the story of Jacob's capture, return, and later life. The Jacob Hochstetler Family Association, founded in 1988, holds the family records and publishes a quarterly newsletter. There was thus ample material upon which to build this narrative.

The novel, mainly a series of vignettes, is written in three parts. In the first we learn that the family immigrated to Pennsylvania because it offered religious freedom and that they devoutly believed that God would see them through the perils of frontier life. Jacob refused to move to a safer location for that reason and, as a resolute pacifist, would not fight the warriors, even as he watched some of his family die. The second part describes Jacob's hardships as a prisoner as well as his anguish that his sons might lose their Amish beliefs and practices in captivity. His escape and dangerous trek home are the bridge to the third part. It presents his return to his burnt out homestead and the difficulties of recovering from this ordeal. The author's poetic license allows us to peek into his thoughts as he seeks to find a new wife. The writing is straightforward, focusing more on action than character development.

This work stands at an intersection of fact and fiction. The abundance of resources for this novel poses something of a dilemma for both the author and the reader. Adherence to the history and genealogy appear to constrict the author's creativity, and the writing is sometimes wooden. Yet, because Stutzman does not identify his sources, it is impossible for the reader to determine whether he is using family lore or his own imagination in bringing these historical figures to life. For example, the names of Jacob's wife and children killed by the Indians are unknown, so he provides them. It is unclear whether

the many conversations among family members are based on diaries, letters and journals or whether they are pure fiction. Nonetheless, they serve to fill out the characters and to provide details of frontier life. They also stress the strength of the family's religious beliefs and pacifism.

The "Massacre" story is told from Jacob's perspective in this novel. The author promises to explore the Native American perspective in the next volumes. As it stands, this work should serve well as a supplemental reading to instruction about the colonial frontier and about the origins of the Amish community in America. In addition to the paperback version, reviewed here, there is a hardcover edition expanded with maps and illustrations, and electronic versions in two formats. The publisher also provides a free study guide on its website.

*Indiana University East*

*Eleanor L. Turk*

**Medical Caregiving and Identity in Pennsylvania's Anthracite Region, 1880-2000.**

*By Karol K. Weaver. State College: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011. 187 pp. \$56.90.*

Immigrants from Italy, Germany, England, Ireland and Wales populated the anthracite coal region of northeastern Pennsylvania during the period of Weaver's innovative and carefully researched study. New immigrants customarily settled in areas where they found people from the same area and who spoke the same language. They had the same food preferences, religion and life style. All worked in the mines and had the same physical and economic disadvantages.

Economically, the miners were poorly paid and had frequent days when there was no work. In addition, the work itself was physically very hard and debilitating. Inhaling the coal dust day after day caused severe lung problems that ultimately resulted in disability and death. The miners had a spirit of collegiality where they looked after each other, and watched out for the problems that occurred in the mine.

Actual health care was another problem. There was a "Company Doctor" who was paid by the mine owners to care for the miners, and would include the wives and families for a fee. The mine owners operated a hospital that treated the miners at no cost, but required payment for wives and children.



Since wages were low and money was tight, the women and children rarely used the company services. All members of the community tried to avoid going to the hospital, for they felt that the odds of leaving a hospital alive were against them. The women avoided hospitalization both because of the distrust of the facility and the cost that they could not afford. Both men and women used non-traditional methods of medical care, consulting non-traditional caregivers such as herbalists, midwives, passers, and powwowers. The first choice was self-medicating with homemade remedies or with store-bought patent remedies.

Adding to the suspicion of treatment by a licensed physician was the language barrier. Although the miners and their families made an attempt to learn English, they were segregated in their ethnic communities, and opportunities for learning the new language were few. In addition the doctors were from a different part of the country, usually young, and viewed with suspicion by the miners and their families. Frequently they made use of the German healers and powwowers, since these German practices reminded them of the religious traditions in their old countries; also it was without cost. The women of the community used their skills and mothering techniques to care for each other. These were people they trusted.

Men designed their own methods of dealing with the problems associated with working in the mines. The escalating lung problems and rheumatism from working in the mines were common to all. They treated them with alcohol, tobacco and patent medicine, since self-sufficiency was the hallmark of a strong man. It took years for the "Black Lung Disease" to be recognized as a result of their work in the mine as the lung function decreased and asthma developed. Priests, families, and public health workers tried to lessen their use of alcohol and tobacco, but without avail. Their use and patent medicines were the way they made it through another day in the mines.

This is a careful study of the life in the anthracite mining communities of Pennsylvania. It is a sympathetic picture of the lives of the miners and their families, showing in detail how they used mutual support to cope in a strange environment and a physically destructive workplace. Karol K. Weaver used multiple primary sources to depict the lives of the immigrant miners and their families, showing their slow transition to modern, or biomedicine, and understanding the basis for their lung disease.

*Cincinnati, Ohio*

*Clara Harsh*

**Elisabeth.**

By Peter P. Klassen. Asunción, Paraguay: Editora Litocolor (published by the Verein für Geschichte und Kultur der Mennoniten in Paraguay), 2009. 382 pp. \$22.00.

*Elisabeth*, by Peter P. Klassen, tells the story of a young girl's journey from early puberty to adulthood. Born in the Ukraine, she and her Mennonite family experience the horrors of Stalinism, then emigrate via Germany to Paraguay to settle in a small village in the Chaco. Here they live through the Bolivian war and World War II, events that polarize the village and the family. Klassen chooses to narrate the story, primarily of Elisabeth's life in South America, through isolated entries in a diary, as in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and intersperses it with short narrative commentary by a first person commentator, probably the recipient of the diary, Luise, to add historical or moral background.

Whether one reads this novel or one of Klassen's other works, *Die schwarzen Reiter* or *Frauenschicksale*, one must immediately wonder to what extent the fictional characters are drawn from reality and, conversely, how much of the historical characters is drawn from the writer's imagination? *Elisabeth* is unabashedly designated a novel, "keine der hier gestellten Personen hat es wirklich gegeben...auch das Dorf ist fingiert." However, Klassen uses the story to explore many of the literary, philosophical, religious and cultural notions that have informed Western civilization.

One notices immediately that the story reflects Aristotelian principles of tragic narrative. The novel is informed by what one scholar has called Aristotle's quantitative sections of a tragic narrative structure. *Elisabeth* divides very neatly into the Aristotelian sequence of incidents common to most ancient Greek tragedies: prologue and parodos: 11–16; episode one: *Königen der Nacht*; choral-like statement: 151–55; episode two: *Maranatha*; choral-like statement: 228–31; episode three: *Sturmvogel*; choral-like statement: 315–20; epilogue: *Denk es, O Seele*; exodos: 376–79. This structure is surely meant to echo the tragic form and to increase the dramatic impact of the story inherent in this arrangement.

The plot revolves around three pivotal amorous attachments (with Heinrich, Peter and a German soldier, Erwin) that all leave Elisabeth unsatisfied, disillusioned and emotionally isolated. This recognition of her emotional plight results from a reversal of her life style brought about by the end of World War II, the death of her mother, and the search for the cleansing of her soul through the traditional Mennonite rituals of confession, judgment, and restoration to the congregation. As with most tragic heroines, she discovers that, as the aphorism goes, one can't go back. Though driven throughout



much of the story by idealistic notions of noble and moral intent, she ultimately finds herself in a situation where she is damned to a terrible isolation, cut off from her own family, friends, and acquaintances if she keeps her wartime life a secret. In embracing the age old Mennonite village tradition to find restoration in the church and social community of her childhood and youth, she experiences another isolation that leaves her unsatisfied and leads to her early death.

True to Aristotelian theory, the story abounds with irony. Elisabeth is seen as too pure for her first love because he is not a believer (49, 54), she herself is rejected in favour of another girl by the second, and, finally, far from her village home in the Chaco, she consummates a relationship with a married German soldier that ignores Mennonite teachings about pacifism and, of course, the sacredness of the marriage bond. There is further irony in the zealous support found for Hitler and the German nation among the Mennonites of the Chaco (46, 51, 249, 329, 339, 365), and that inspires our central character to embrace her task of helping the Germans as a grand and noble undertaking, only to have her idealism crumble when some of the terrible truths of the Hitler agenda are revealed after the defeat of Germany (353-359).

Foreshadowing emerges in the letter written to her friend Luise at the very beginning of the book that bequeaths to her Elisabeth's journal. The letter speaks of Elisabeth's deep sense of isolation and of the journal as a window into her soul. This *Einsamkeit* is recognized immediately by Luise for what it really is, *Todesahnung*. Thus from the very beginning to the end of the novel the reader is confronted with the shadow of death in Elisabeth's search for meaning and fulfilment. This preoccupation with death reaches its climax after she returns to her childhood home and visits her childhood friend. Liese is by now a somewhat grizzled, disappointed young woman who speaks obsessively about her own death and then says to Elisabeth, ". . . du kommst auch noch so weit, dass du dich vor dem Tod nicht mehr fürchten wirst" (336). Indeed, after having undergone the ritual cleansing of confession and forgiveness in front of her village congregation, she is soon humming songs such as ". . . ich möchte Heim . . ." (361). Within two years she is dead. But the novel is far more than a mechanistic construct of Aristotelian principles.

Klassen has set the story in a historical, cultural and natural landscape (55) that reflects much of Mennonite experience of the twentieth century. The power of the elder, church board or congregation in a Mennonite and the traumatic impact of such discipline on Elisabeth, or her impressionable young friends no matter how lovingly and empathetically exercised; and the sense of hopelessness that sometimes overwhelms the inhabitants of Fernheim in the face of one natural disaster after another.

Even the contradictory feelings of fascination and fear engendered by the appearance of soldiers of the Paraguayan-Bolivian war in the village are reflected in the juxtaposed reactions of Elisabeth's brothers. Jasch is fascinated by the military events and sees them as a means of adventure and critically questions Mennonite teachings. David, conversely, holds the Mennonite pacifist position that any support for or participation in any military activity must be rejected.

By the use of regular font for Elisabeth's journal entries and *italic font* for the words of the commentator Klassen indicates the careful thought he has given to the style and language he employs. Klassen has an inordinate ability to find just the right German word, where an English translation requires many. For instance (138,139), elder brother Abe contrasts Heinrich's (Elisabeth's first love's) travel experience as that of a *Schiffbrüchiger, Einzelgänger* to his own in that *die Zugkraft, die mich wieder zurückzieht ist bei mir starker als die Kraft die mich wegschleudert*. To translate this into English literally leaves one either frustrated or laughing at the inadequacy of the result. *Shipbreaker, singlewalker, pullpower, flung away* are simply inadequate to convey the nuances in the German. One must resort to many English words for each German word: *one who would jump overboard or start a mutiny, one who would walk in isolation* (but one must also add the nuance of *the courageous forerunner, the one who has gone where no man has dared to go before*). Klassen's proficient use of just the right word, as when Elisabeth finds herself *abgemauert, in der stillen Ablagerung* (14), gives an indescribable and rewarding richness to the text.

Some of this rich language is found in the words of the commentator, the chorus-like observer. Moreover, imagery and poetry are frequently introduced in Elisabeth's journal entries to expand the scope and emotional appeal of the work. Many of the poems are from leading German poets and writers like Schiller, Goethe, Mörike, Hesse, Löns and Ricarda Huch (259). The use of the diary as a narrative allows us to see her personal appreciation for a literary world that far surpasses what she had been exposed to in her childhood village. Her response to a love poem by Huch (260) reflects the respect that Klassen engenders for poetic work and simultaneously demonstrates his ability to create similes and metaphors. A reference to Hesse's *Steppenwolfe* evokes one of the most devastating and startling images of the work when Elisabeth and the German soldier, Erwin, recognize themselves working on the plains of Patagonia (351). Elisabeth's own journal entries display a significant growth in the expression of her thoughts as she passes through some fourteen or fifteen tumultuous years on the path to adulthood. For instance, the images of *Wasser, Strom* and *Wellen* become more frequent and intense toward the end of the diary, as the commentator notes. Such language reflects



the experience of life and the growth in awareness that comes with time. In the end, this very recognition of a life unfulfilled because of forces beyond her control leads to her early death.

This isolation of the protagonist, Elisabeth, as in Greek tragedy, places her in a tragic dilemma that demands a choice. Either way, suffering and/or death are sure to follow. But Elisabeth's dilemma is more than an Aristotelian paradox. Klassen has placed her in a situation that raises questions of an existential nature. Though a full discussion of this matter is beyond the scope of this review it is important to note that Klassen begins another of his books, *Die schwarzen Reiter*, with a quotation from Jean-Paul Sartre. Given that Sartre wrote a French version of Sophocles' *Antigone* with a very distinct Existentialist emphasis, it would not be surprising if that play provided Klassen with something of an artistic prototype. In the prologue of this novel, supposedly the last words of Elisabeth, she raises the existential question of whether she is what her public persona seems to be, or is she the secret person revealed in the words of her diary. "Die andere Seite ist mir genau so eigen und vielleicht bin ich das was diese Seite zeigt, wirklich." (13) The last word, *wirklich*, emphasizes her search for self-authenticity. Elisabeth's alienation, both from her village and *Gemeinde*, who see only her public persona and create her struggle as an autonomous being responsible for herself.

In another instance early in her working career, while attending a celebration of Hitler's birthday in Asunción, Jasch exhorts Elisabeth "Tu nichts gegen deine Erkenntnis . . . Sei das was du sein kannst und sein willst." (247) Jasch has recognized what drives her and encourages her in her freedom to be her real self. Even near the end of the story as she recounts Jasch's departure from home and contrasts it with her own actions, she confirms her life long quest for freedom to establish her own authenticity and the regret that she has never quite found it.

Virtually every page of this novel teems with provocative themes that arise out of a specific context but are of universal concern; themes such non-resistance/ pacifism (134-36, 365, 366), individual isolation (14, 138), death as the great equalizer (131), the search for fulfilment and/or redemption (359, 372), disillusionment as ideals and hopes come crashing to an end (358) and many more. Little is superfluous; almost all is in some way significant to previous or later action and thought.

Perhaps the most significant question for the reader is the fate of Elisabeth herself. Near the end of her journal entries, she confronts the reality of the life she has lived, something that we must all ponder in one way or another at some point. Not surprisingly given her upbringing, she decides to follow the traditional Mennonite teaching of public confession and to ask for forgiveness for her sins of the flesh. And how she does confess! Six times she

retells her story; to her friend, her father, her brother, her church elder, her Church board, and finally her church congregation. And all with one question in her mind! "Fände ich so die völlige Befreiung?" In the course of this process she quotes Hesse's famous poem that betrays her mind-set and emphasizes the great irony of living in a village surrounded by supposedly kind, well-meaning people but still being utterly alone.

Seltsam im Nebel zu wandern!  
Einsam ist jeder Busch und Stein,  
Kein Baum sieht den anderen.  
Jeder ist allein. (370)

After the public confession as the congregation extends the hand of forgiveness, does she finally find closure? Once again her words create a sense of doubt. She describes the end of the process (374) as, "Es war alles sehr herzlich." The ladies of the congregation hug and kiss her. But then her next comment belies this. "Verloren und wiedergefunden, so heißt es, so wird es gesehen, obwohl ich dem Glauben nie näher gestanden bin als in dieser schweren, öden Zeit." Klassen in these responses is surely pointing out the difficulty for any person or group to analyse accurately what proceeds within another person's soul. Shortly thereafter, while listening to Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, Elisabeth hears the music as ". . . ein Sehnsuchtsschrei, eine einzige Sehnsucht in der Nacht" (375). Her life remains unfulfilled. Her last journal entry reads, "Das Feuer brennt nicht mehr, es ist verglüht . . ." (376).

According to the commentator, Elisabeth dies two years later. Once again Klassen gives us pause to think. Does this process of public confession really work? Can one remain in personal isolation and find fulfilment? Can one ever really escape from past decisions and actions? To what extent is the community responsible for the outcomes of individual lives? This is a very powerful novel written by a very insightful author. There is a risk in reading this book. Virtually every page teems with ideas or observations, written in curt, direct and impeccable German, that leave the reader thrilled, emotionally moved, and intellectually challenged. For the reader, particularly of Mennonite background, confronting what one has been taught or held dear for much of one's life will require sober second thoughts. Conversely for one who has simply taken the path of least resistance throughout life, or for one unfamiliar with the Mennonite background, reading this story will not provide a comfortable pew.

*Surrey, British Columbia*

*Peter Rahn*



**German(ic) Toponyms in the American Midwest: A Study of Place, Identity and Heritage.**

*By Stephan Fuchs. Erlangen: Selbstverlag der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 2013. 186 pages. €29.00.*

In his recently published doctoral dissertation, Stephan Fuchs explores the socio-cultural and spatial-statistical significance of toponyms—place names. He traces the paths of German-speaking immigrants in the American Midwest who inscribed their cultural heritage in the place names of their newly established settlements and thus made visible a pattern of German identity on American soil. While focusing on case studies of two such communities, New Ulm in Minnesota and Eudora in Kansas, Fuchs presents a broad overview of German patterns of settlement as well as spatial and cultural significance in all the states north of Kentucky, from Ohio to the Great Plains. Richly illustrated with 34 maps, numerous photographs, tables and charts—some in full color—this study is a valuable addition to the personal library of any serious scholar in the field of German-American Studies.

Fuchs finds that Germanic place names represent a valuable indicator of historic ethnic settlement as well as modern-day ancestral patterns which together with census data offer a broader view of sociocultural phenomena. His focus is on twelve Midwestern states—an eastern group including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and a western group with Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North and South Dakota. For these states he compiled an extensive database of the historic and current place names for settlements known to have a Germanic origin. Using the mapping imagery of Kernel Density Estimation, Fuchs finds a very profound German cartographic imprint in three adjacent areas of high density in western Illinois and eastern Missouri surrounding the metropolitan St. Louis region. Additional relatively high concentrations of German place names can be found in southern Indiana, east-central Iowa and northeastern Nebraska. Fuchs believes his Kernel Density maps also attest the influential cultural standing of German-related (immigrants not directly from Germany) in Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas—as we might expect given the large numbers of Germans from Russia who settled there in the late-nineteenth century. Fuchs also discusses the challenges to his method to the loss of German place names in this region due to political pressure during the era of the First World War which triggered a wave of place name changes. Such widespread switches in toponyms in themselves provide insights into significant socio-demographic or sociopolitical developments.

Using two case studies—one in New Ulm, Minnesota, and the other in Eudora, Kansas—Fuchs assesses the population's place-based and ethnic

identification as well as local patterns of heritage construction. He claims that the process of naming these two towns provides unique access to the towns' past and present and especially to the local expressions and performances of ethnic identity and heritage. Both towns were founded by Germans from Chicago—New Ulm in 1854 by the Chicago *Landverein* being named for the home in Germany of several of the early settlers; Eudora in 1857 by the *Neuer Ansiedlungsverein* of Chicago and named after the daughter of the Shawnee Indian chief who sold the Germans the land for their new town. The simple example of the choosing the name of the new community demonstrates the broad continuum of possibilities that underlie the naming process. While New Ulm suggests the geographical and ethnic origin of the settlement, it masks at the same time the regional heterogeneity of its pioneer settlers. Eudora proclaims the Native American connection and even real estate dealings behind the town's name but obscures the role of the German settlement society and the ethnicity of its early settlers. Over the years New Ulm has managed to maintain and develop its identity as a German community. Eudora on the other hand, while acknowledgments of its German origin occur, is largely a farming community—and to some degree a bedroom community of Kansas City—with no particular ethnic connection to Germany. As one resident remarked to Fuchs: "When you hear Eudora, you don't think German" (129).

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

**Gentlemen Bootleggers: The True Story of Templeton Rye, Prohibition, and a Small Town in Cahoots.**

*By Bryce T. Bauer. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014. v, 282 pp. \$33.95.*

This book's significance lies in its unconventional portrayal of a German American community. Bryce Bauer has written a delightful narrative in a practical, efficient and nuanced manner. He describes in magnificent detail how the inhabitants of one German American small town in Iowa responded to the changing world of 1920–40. He has marshaled impressive documentation from various types of proof to recreate the lifestyle people who lived Templeton, and the surrounding Eden Township and Carroll County.

Besides a useful bi-county map which shows the general area of activities in the German American Carroll County, with the nearby "American" Audubon County, Bauer has created an excellent bibliography and a useful index. In addition, he mentions the four books which provided "significant domain knowledge not fully reflected here" (239), placing the book into a



context of previous research. He also explains that contextual information by interviewed residents are enumerated in the Acknowledgement (237–38). On this very solid structure, Bauer erects an astonishing narrative in proving his interpretations of post-1917 German-American life. His Source Notes appear in abbreviated form, but by using key words in the text, they quickly become a very manageable way to check his sources (239–61). He also explains that some quoted conversation has been left out, while some has been created from paraphrase, but is carefully documented in the source notes. The result is an enjoyable reading experience, with reassuring documentation.

Moreover, the storyline is enhanced by Bauer's style. He manages to write a solid narration with carefully selected playful comments, which enliven the text and allow the reader to place himself in the "Roaring Twenties" on Iowa farmland. In an early chapter, his description of growing anti-German sentiment in southwestern Iowa is carefully crafted. Anti-immigrant fears were carefully played upon in early propaganda: the German Kaiser was demonized, Germans were reduced to the Huns, uncultured tribes attacking the Roman Empire (with a typical poster, 26), and Iowa-born and future President Herbert Hoover approved of Food Department posters using the Hun image to convince Americans that they needed to conserve food. The major incident of anti-German hysteria in this area was the near-lynching in nearby

Audubon County of the richest farmer, Fred Konnigkeit, and attempted attacks on the Rev. Ernest Starck of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Bauer carefully follows the connections with the appearance of the newly reconstituted Ku Klux Klan a few years later in Audubon county, which was primarily anti-German, anti-Catholic, and anti-Carroll County. Unexpectedly, Bauer found an indigenously formed anti-Klan group called the Knights of the Flaming Circle in rural Iowa which vigorously attacked the Klan (an extremely rare photo of the Cherokee Klavern, some 80 miles away is reproduced, 95).

These developments ran into the powerfully entrenched folkways of Carroll County. The original settlers brought their traditional foodways including beer, "one of many customs associated with people who attached with a hyphen the old identity to the new American one" (10). Templeton supported the traditional music of the "little German band" which consisted of 6–8 musicians roving from saloon to saloon while playing German folk songs, and getting free glasses of beer (217). With the emerging economic woes of the farm economy in the early 1920s, Templeton's Main Street business owners were complicit in breaking Prohibition laws (76). This was strongly supported by the local Catholic priest (who later became a Monsignor in 1929), Fr. F. H. Huesmann, who had migrated from Oldenburg, and would

readily hide barrels of "hooch" in the rectory upon occasion! (148–51). Within the town, township and county it quickly became accepted that "illicit booze was now vital to their local economy" (90). Bauer explains the geographical connections which quickly were created for distribution. In Iowa, Templeton rye, with its distinctively high quality flavor was well known in other towns and cities: Humboldt (72), Cherokee (75), Davenport (113), Burlington (222–23), Esterville (205) and Des Moines. There were occasionally brief encounters with Capone's bootleggers, but Bauer leaves out all apocryphal tales as unsubstantiated. The only real connection is the 1931 tax evasion case against Capone in Chicago, which was similar to a case against Templeton's top bootlegger in Ft. Dodge, Iowa (170–73).

Bauer also traces the beginning of the end in the early 1930s, shortly before Prohibition was lifted. A front page feature story in the Sunday, state-wide edition of the *Des Moines Register* (20 December 1931), contained a photograph of the "little brown jug" symbol, in every piece of Christmas decorations along Templeton's Main Street (195–97). It received national attention and created an immediate media frenzy in a backlash against Templeton, Iowa as a bastion of bootlegging. Bauer depicts how within two years, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had publicly declared his opposition to Prohibition in a speech in St. Louis, and shortly after his election in 1933, alcoholic beverages became legal once again in most areas of the country. The glory days were over for Templeton.

The retelling of this community story, suggests the continuity of ethnic roots after 1917. One of Bauer's strongest elements is the creation of biosketches which explain the individual's initial German American background, and by identifying the region or town in Germany of immigrant origin. With a marvelous writing style, Bauer brings alive five interesting active participants: William Saul, the locally successfully bootlegger lawyer (221); Mayor Otis P. Margenthaler (193–4); Millard Lowman (221–22); Joe Irlbeck, one of the biggest local bootleggers (228–30, 234); and the arc of life in tracing Kenneth Sonderleiter's career, another of the biggest bootleggers (226–28). These individuals, and thousands more created a generation of "whisky cooks"; not all were German-Americans but in the rural areas of Iowa and the Midwest, the ethnic background proved to be the result of German settlement.

*Scott Community College/Eastern Iowa Colleges*

*William Roba*



**Humboldt and Jefferson: A Transatlantic Friendship of the Enlightenment.**

By Sandra Rebok. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014. 220 pp. \$23.95.

This important book focuses upon the friendship of Alexander von Humboldt and Thomas Jefferson. As a synthesis of the last generation of German American scholarship, this fascinating work is a major source for researchers and readers interested in the significant influence of Humboldt upon early American thought. Sandra Rebok is very successful in placing the two friends into the international setting of the late Enlightenment. As an *intellektuell Leiter* on a world stage, Humboldt helped to define the assumptions of a newly emerging American elite in the early nineteenth century. As the spiritual heir of the Roman polymath, Pliny the Elder, Humboldt created his major work, *Cosmos*, which "articulated a grand theory of natural history [extending] . . . through the unification of all creation on earth as well as in the universe, . . ." (107).

In a number of places in her book, Rebok makes a major connection between his holistic scientific concept, and his iconic paintings of landscapes. Science and art complemented each other. She explains that for Humboldt, it represented the "integration of careful observation with the aesthetic response to nature (73)." As she explains, his influence remains with the classic illustrations of two mountain cross-sections: "the Tiede, the highest mountain in Spain, situated on Tenerife [in the Canary Islands] and the other the Chimborazo in Ecuador, where he showed the distinct 'zones of habitation' . . . (110). After his death, a younger generation of American painters, such as Frederick Church showed his abiding influence. This famous member of the Hudson River Valley School of painting, produced "Chimbarago" (1864) from Humboldt's vision.

She carefully delineates with precision the accomplishments of Humboldt as "the greatest public intellectual of the nineteenth century." (13) According to Rebok, among his major discoveries were being the first to scientifically describe the importance of the ocean current, described in greater detail over 60,000 new and catalogued plant life, and developed ethno-geographical notes about the Volga German settlements in Russia. He was recognized in America by honorary memberships in the American Philosophical Society, American Antiquarian Society, and nine other American scientific and scholarly societies.

Thomas Jefferson became part of Humboldt's international network of correspondents, having written six letters to Humboldt, and receiving eight in return (53–54). Rebok's attention to detail appears in her analysis of those

letters. They referred to each other in the third person with Humboldt using "magistrate" several times, while Jefferson had a preference for using the term "the baron." He was a member of the emerging American elite, which was based initially in joining the American Philosophical Society in 1780. By 1804 when the "Baron" visited the United States, President Jefferson had joined "all the men of science and learning," according to his secretary, William Burwell (26). He had gained his early European reputation for writing the first draft of the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), and his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–85). Their careers had a mirror-like similarity with both having transatlantic sojourns of about five years in the "other's" world and during Humboldt's six weeks in America they had many conversations in Philadelphia, ratifying their intellectual relationship by later exchanging signed copies of their major works (69.)

Rebok carefully describes how Humboldt introduced Jefferson to a European audience of intellectuals as a writer, not President of the United States. (62). She shows how Humboldt manipulated public opinion from his concern for ensuring future visits, much as he had done with Carlos IV of Spain (p. 35). Jefferson followed many of his colleagues by inventing labor-saving devices, especially his polygraph which made copies of all letters which he wrote from 1806–26, insuring a massive trove of correspondence for generations of historians. She mentions his life-long interests in meteorology, astronomy and botany (113–16). Of particular interest to German American scholars, and readers in general, is the way Rebok deconstructs Humboldt's handling of Jefferson's life of slave ownership. Humboldt's opposition to slavery made a profound impact upon German-American thought. What remains puzzling was Humboldt's portrayal of Jefferson as an opponent of the institution of slavery, while owning slaves! She reinforces the importance of this topic by clearly explaining that he "owned one of the largest populations of slaves in Virginia. (43)." She continues by showing how Humboldt chose to finesse this paramount issue, as a way of continuing the possibility of future invitations to America. One of the underlying aspects is that he never visited Monticello, where he would have observed the more than 80 slaves (including Sally Hemings, his alleged mistress) running Jefferson's farming and nail production operations. The strength of this book is its continual balance in not going far afield from the topic at hand. Her narrative remains on point by not going unnecessarily into related topics in depth, which have not been conclusively proven, or are not at the core of her narrative.

There are only a few quibbles concerning this very attractive and useful book, with excellent source citations, and an adequate index. Some readers turning to this book and topic for the first time, might wish for a few more maps to show his travels, especially during his six weeks travel in the eastern



portion of the United States. One early question which is not directly touched on concerns how well Humboldt spoke English. In addition, we learn about the views of his American hosts, but did any of Jefferson's friends speak German? Finally, there are only a few minor computer editing "passes": it would appear that "literary" should be "literature" (69).

Sandra Rebok has written a carefully researched and stylistically balanced narrative of this important relationship. She provides nuanced conclusions throughout, while offering important benchmarks in an orderly fashion. She is careful in relating the specific historical reality to the general issues of interest. Humboldt's influence was before the age of Darwin, and the later emergence of academic disciplines over-shadowed his operating assumption that all science is unified. He has also been overlooked in being a champion of the method of comparison and contrast in evaluating major regions such as Cuba and New Spain. He was certainly one of the first advocates of thinking globally. This book should be found on the growing shelf of German-American "classics."

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William Roba

**Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250-1914.**  
*Edited by Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. 262 pp. \$90.00.*

This is a wide-ranging and fascinating if somewhat exploratory collection of articles. Half of the twelve chapters deal with the interactions of Africans and Germans across the last millennium; the personal interactions between Americans and Germans that are analyzed involve African-Americans who traveled to Germany or its African colonies. It appears that encounters between black Americans and German-American immigrants were excluded from this anthology, perhaps because they have been sufficiently analyzed elsewhere, among others by co-editor Honeck. The only Germans treated in the volume who spent any length of time in America were sojourning Hessian mercenaries who brought some black recruits and slaves home with them when they returned. Many of the interactions analyzed here were purely intellectual, involving German *Gelehrten* such as Friedrich Tiedemann (1781-1861), or Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) and Karl Andree (1808-75), who published upon the intellectual capacities of Africans and African-Americans--Tiedemann positively, Ratzel and Andree negatively--without any significant personal exposure to the United States. Several chapters do contain hints of

what kind of cultural baggage with respect to race immigrants took with them to America. James W.C Pennington, whose 1849 honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg was the first granted to an African-American in any European country (154-68), attracted occasional attention in the immigrant press. "Scientific" racists such as Ratzel and Andree felt the need to correct the "pseudophilanthropy" (172) of liberal racial idealists on both sides of the Atlantic and point out that "Nature has organized humanity hierarchically, not democratically" (175).

The book's cover is graced by a reproduced 1890 portrait, "Preußisches Liebesglück," of a historical Afro-German military musician, Gustav Sabec el Cher, embraced by a blue-eyed young woman. On the face of it a friendly portrayal, as the introduction indicates. But at least to this reviewer, it seems that the artist must have exaggerated the color contrast. Sabec el Cher, whose mother was German, appears much darker there than he does in a photograph from the same era (2), while the woman seems almost translucently white. Without knowing more about the artist, it is impossible to say what conscious or subconscious factors were at work. But in any case, the book's cover adds yet another enigma of German-African relations to those explored in its various chapters.

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*Walter D. Kamphoefner*



## Theses and Dissertations in German-American Studies 2000-2013

Our readers will note that the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* has not featured an "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana" since our 2006 issue. We do not hope to match the coverage provided by Giles and Dolores Hoyt for our members with that bibliographic resource. However, a year ago the SGAS Executive Committee decided that a list of dissertations and theses in German-American Studies should be included in the *Yearbook*. With the generous assistance of Marianne Reed and Alvin Mauler of the University of Kansas Libraries, we have used the ProQuest database to glean doctoral dissertations and master's theses in German-American Studies beginning in 2000 and continuing through the year 2013.

The dissertations and theses in this compilation are listed alphabetically by author's last name for each year. This is a first attempt and we may have missed a number of items. Please contact the editor, should you have additional items that should be included in a future list. In the subsequent issue of the *Yearbook* we will include any additional items through 2013 as well as all new dissertations and theses for the calendar year 2014.

### 2000

Friedrich, Alexandra Margareta. "Awakenings: The Impact of the Vietnam War on West German-American Relations in the 1960s." Temple University, 2000.

Gross, Steven. "The Role of Abstract Lexical Structure in First Language Attrition: Germans in America." University of South Carolina, 2000.

Kriebel, David William. "Belief, Power, and Identity in Pennsylvania Dutch Brauche, or Powwowing." University of Pennsylvania, 2000.

Lewis, Daniel Clayton. "Emanuel Leutze's Art of the Civil War Era: Romantic History and the Crisis of Union." The University of Iowa, 2000.

Randall, Tresa M. "Mediating Cultural Identities: The Choreography of Han-ya Holm, 1936–1939." MA thesis, The University of New Mexico, 2000.

Toksoz, Meltem. "The Cukurova: From Nomadic Life to Commercial Agriculture, 1800–1908." State University of New York at Binghamton, 2000.

## **2001**

Batchelder, Leslie Webster. "Kulturdaemmerung: The Influence of African American Culture on Post-Wall German Identities." University of California, Davis, 2001.

Bender, Daniel E. "From Sweatshop to Model Shop: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and Languages of Labor and Organizing, 1880–1934." New York University, 2001.

Falk, Cynthia Gayle. "Constructing Identity with Belongings and Buildings: Pennsylvania Germans in the New Nation." University of Delaware, 2001.

Faust, Kimberly. "Attitudes Toward Mental Health and Seeking Psychological Help Among Pennsylvania German College Students." Kutztown University of Pennsylvania, 2001.

Keiser, Steven Hartman. "Language Change Across Speech Islands: The Emergence of a Midwestern Dialect of Pennsylvania German." The Ohio State University, 2001.

Keller, Christian Boyd. "Germans in Civil War-Era Pennsylvania: Ethnic Identity and the Problem of Americanization." The Pennsylvania State University, 2001.



Smith, Merrie Melanie. "Jean Berger: His Life and Musical Compositions for Solo Voice. A Performance Project." University of Maryland College Park, 2001.

Wesley, Cindy Karen. "The Pietist Theology and Ethnic Mission of the General Conference of German Baptists in North America, 1851–1920." McGill University (Canada), 2001.

## **2002**

Benndorf, Beate. "Language Maintenance and Symbolic Language in German-American Vereine." State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002.

Brown-Fleming, Suzanne. "The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience: Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany, 1946–1959." University of Maryland, College Park, 2002.

## **2003**

Erben, Patrick Michael. "Writing and Reading a 'New English World': Literacy, Multilingualism, and the Formation of Community in Early America." Emory University. 2003.

Fennell, Christopher Connor. "Consuming Mosaics: Mass-Produced Goods and Contours of Choice in the Upper Potomac Region." University of Virginia, 2003.

Henry, Miranda Gail. "Between Two Cultures: Fr. Hermann Joseph Untraut (1854–1941) and His Pioneering Efforts in the Liturgical Movement in Wisconsin." University of Virginia, 2003.

John, Barbara Bastendorf. "Educating Pennsylvania Germans: Franklin College in the Early Republic." The Pennsylvania State University, 2003.

Pfleger, Birte Britta. "Between Subject and Citizen: German-Speakers in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania." University of California, 2003.

Strickland, Jeffery G. "Ethnicity and Race in the Urban South: German Immigrants and African-Americans in Charleston, South Carolina During Reconstruction." The Florida State University, 2003.

**2004**

Elton, Martha Gage. "Bertram Hartman (1882–1960), an early modernist from Kansas." University of Kansas, 2004.

Schlegel, Jennifer Rachael. "Pennsylvania German Overhearers: Living with Language Maintenance and Language Loss." University of California, Los Angeles, 2004.

**2005**

DeWitt, Petra. "Searching for the Roots of Harassment and the Meaning of Loyalty: A Study of the German-American Experience in Missouri During World War I." University of Missouri-Columbia, 2005.

Hadamer, Armin Werner. "Mimetischer Zauber: Die Englischsprachige Rezeption Deutscher Lieder in den Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, 1830–1880." University of Maryland, College Park, 2005.

Hastak, Astrid. "'I Was Never One of Those Fraeuleins': The Impact of Cultural Image on German War Brides in America." Purdue University, 2005.

Lippert, Werner D. "Richard Nixon's Detente and Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik: The Politics and Economic Diplomacy of Engaging the East." Vanderbilt University, 2005.

Schreibersdorf, Lisa. "Hyphens on the Home Front: Imagining American Culture Through the German-American Hyphen, 1911–1919." The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005.

**2006**

Maischak, Lars. "A Cosmopolitan Community: Hanseatic Merchants in the German-American Atlantic of the Nineteenth Century." The Johns Hopkins University, 2006.

Miller, Kenneth Jeffrey. "'Dangerous Guests': Enemy Captives and American National Identity in Revolutionary Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1760–1783." University of California, Davis, 2006.



Swartzburg, Mark Ellis. "The Call for America: German-American Relations and the European Crisis, 1921–1924/1925." The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006.

**2007**

Bruner, David E. "Symbols For the Living: Synthesis, Invention, and Resistance in 19th to 20th Century Mortuary Practices From Montgomery and Harris County, Texas." State University of New York at Binghamton, 2007.

Lehmann, Dirk. "German in Every Particular? From Historic Settlement to Theme Towns: Examples of 'Little Germanies' in America." The Pennsylvania State University, 2007.

Lohne, Raymond A. "Founded at the Bier of Lincoln: A History of the Germania Club of Chicago, 1865–1986." University of Illinois at Chicago, 2007.

Lucht, Felecia A. "Language Variation in a German-American Community: A Diachronic Study of the Spectrum of Language Use in Lebanon, Wisconsin." The University of Wisconsin – Madison, 2007.

Ruschau, Adam Richard. "'Fighting Mit Sigel' or 'Running Mit Howard': Attitudes Towards German-Americans in the Civil War." Miami University, 2007.

Seeger, Gordon Scott. "Socio-Economic Influence on Low German in North-Central Kansas: From Immigrant Language Lost to Heritage Language Revived." The University of Kansas, 2007.

Schmitz, John Eric. "Enemies Among Us: The Relocation, Internment, and Repatriation of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans During the Second World War." The American University, 2007.

Stroik, Adrienne Lisbeth. "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893: The Production of Fair Performers and Fairgoers." University of California, Riverside, 2007.

**2008**

- Efford, Alison Clark. "New Citizens: German Immigrants, African Americans, and the Reconstruction of Citizenship, 1865-1877." The Ohio State University, 2008.
- Fulwider, Chad. "The Kaiser's Most Loyal Subjects? The German View of America and German-Americans During World War I." Emory University, 2008.
- Lammers, Matthew T. "Shaping a True German Identity: Narratives in Hermann, Missouri, 1837-1857." University of Missouri-Columbia, 2008.
- Miller, Eoghan P. "St. Louis's German Brewing Industry: Its Rise and Fall." University of Missouri-Columbia, 2008.
- Pausch, Barbara Renate. "The German Language and Culture in Colorado—From the Nineteenth Century to the New Millennium." MA thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2008.
- Randall, Tresa M. "Hanya Holm in America, 1931-1936: Dance, Culture and Community." Temple University, 2008.
- Thompson, Maris Rachel. "'They Used German When They Didn't Want Us to Understand': Narratives of Immigration, Ethnicity and Language Loss in Southwestern Illinois." University of California, Berkeley, 2008.
- Toye, Sigrid. "Childhood Memories From Behind the Barbed Wire: The Legacy of German American Internment During World War II." Pacifica Graduate Institute, 2008.
- Yadush, Chantel Lynn. "Current Trends of Dialect Preservation Through Musical Performance in the Pennsylvania German Community of Southeastern Pennsylvania." University of Maryland, College Park, 2008.

**2009**

- Anderson, Kristen Layne. "German Americans, African Americans, and the Construction of Racial Identity in Nineteenth-Century St. Louis, 1848-1872." The University of Iowa, 2009.



- Bechtel, Gabriele. "Toward a Rhetoric of Participation: Monologue and Dialogue in the Context of an Intercultural Online Board." Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 2009.
- Clarke, Chelsea L. "Jacob Engelbrecht: An Example of German-American Identity in Nineteenth Century Maryland." University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2009.
- Grimminger, Daniel Jay. "Pennsylvania Dutch Tune and Chorale Books in the Early Republic: Music as a Medium of Cultural Assimilation." University of Pittsburgh, 2009.
- Hering, Katharina. "'We Are All Makers of History': People and Publics in the Practice of Pennsylvania-German Family History, 1891-1966." George Mason University, 2009.
- Knarr, Mary L. "Faith, Frauen, and the Formation of an Ethnic Identity: German Lutheran Women in South and Central Texas, 1831-1890." Texas Christian University, 2009.
- Laney, Monique. "Transnational Migration and National Memory: How German Rocket Engineers Became Americans in Huntsville, Alabama." University of Kansas, 2009.
- Latossek, Volkmar. "Storytelling in Preaching: The Response of a German Parish to an American New Homiletic Style of Preaching." Princeton Theological Seminary, 2009.
- Meindl, Jörg. "Language Use in an Old Order Amish Community in Kansas." University of Kansas, 2009.
- Rathmann, Frances E. "German Americans: Immigration, Relations and Assimilation." The University of Texas at San Antonio, 2009.
- Roesch, Karen A. "Texas Alsatian: Henri Castro's Legacy." The University of Texas-Austin, 2009.

**2010**

- Barber, Marian Jean. "How the Irish, Germans, and Czechs Became Anglo: Race and Identity in the Texas-Mexico Borderlands." The University of Texas at Austin, 2010.
- Kopp, Eliot A. "Fritz Kuhn, 'The American Fuehrer' and the Rise and Fall of the German-American Bund." Florida Atlantic University, 2010.
- Kupsky, Gregory J. "'The True Spirit of the German People': German-Americans and National Socialism, 1919–1955." The Ohio State University, 2010.
- Martin, Troy. "Magi of the North: The Thought of Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788) in Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy (1888–1973)." California State University, Dominguez Hills, 2010.
- Stelzel, Philipp. "Rethinking Modern German History: Critical Social History as a Transatlantic Enterprise, 1945–1989." The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010.
- Terjesen, Lori Ann M. "Collecting the Bruecke: Their Prints in Three American Museums a Case Study." Case Western Reserve University, 2010.
- Weber, Alina Dana. "'Indians' on German Stages: The History and Meaning of Karl May Festivals." Indiana University, 2010.

**2011**

- Kamm, Jessica Elizabeth. "German Film, World Travel: Berlin, Hollywood, Bombay." University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011.
- Khramova, Maria. "The Volga German Dialect of Milberger, Kansas." University of Kansas, 2011.
- Noll, Peter M. "A Spatial Approach to Culture, Agriculture and Political Economy in the Late Nineteenth-Century Corn-Belt." Iowa State University, 2011.



Smith, Ian Carter. "Foodways, Families, and Festivities: Ethnobiology and Cultural Conservation in a Rural Missouri Community." University of Arkansas, 2013.

Tess, Christa Marie. "Preservation, Maintenance, and Promotion of Cultural Purity in a Homogeneous German City: New Ulm, Minnesota." Regent University, 2011.

White, Thomas Lee, Jr. "Languages for America': Dialects, Race, and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century American Literature." The University of Oklahoma, 2011.

## **2012**

Barnett, Joshua Rush. "The Brandstetter Tunebook: Shape-Note Dissemination and the Germans of Western Maryland." MA thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2012.

Eder, Jacob Sebastian. "Holocaust Angst: The Federal Republic of Germany and Holocaust Memory in the United States, 1977–98." University of Pennsylvania, 2012.

Foster, Joseph G. "Homesickness and the Location of Home: Germans, Heimweh, and the American Civil War." MA thesis, Utah State University, 2012.

Garver, Lydia N. "The German American Consumer: Ethnicity, Opportunity, and Community in Colonial America." Indiana University, 2012.

Gurgel, Stephen. "The War to End All Germans: Wisconsin Synod Lutherans and the First World War." The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012.

Range, Regina Christiane. "Positioning Gina Kaus: A Transnational Career from Vienna Novelist and Playwright to Hollywood Scriptwriter." The University of Iowa, 2012.

Starnes, Rebekah Ann. "Transnational Transports: Identity, Community, and Place in German-American Narratives from 1750s–1850s." The Ohio State University, 2012.

Stefaniuk, Thomas. "Diaspora Destiny: Joseph Jessing and Competing Narratives of Nation, 1860–1899." The Ohio State University, 2012.

**2013**

Alt-Haaker, Russell Andrew. "Coloring Catastrophe: De/Coding Color in Representations of the Holocaust." Washington University in St. Louis, 2013.

Brookins, Julia Akinyi. "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835–1890." The University of Chicago, 2013.

Carroll, William John. "Beer Wars: The Fight for Independent Brewing in Progressive Era Baltimore." MA thesis, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 2013.

Hustad, Bradley J. "Problems in Historiography: The Americanization of German Ethnics." MS thesis, Minnesota State University, Mankato, 2013.

Kirsch, Lani Marie. "For Conscience's Sake: The 1839 Emigration of the Saxon Lutherans." University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2013.

Rosenzweig, Laura. "Hollywood's Spies: Jewish Infiltration of Nazi and Pro-Nazi Groups in Los Angeles, 1933–1941." University of California, Santa Cruz, 2013.



## **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.
3. The Society for German-American Studies is organized exclusively for education, scientific, and literary purposes under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future tax code. The Society advances the scholarly study of German ideas interacting with American beliefs. Since 1976, the Society has sponsored forums to focus on interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the causes of German ethnic influence upon America. The eight million German-speaking immigrants coming to America since 1683, have influenced American thought, and this offers a basis for understanding many of the consequences of World War II, and contemporary issues in America. The Society uses a cost effective method to provide services in bringing together American, German and Canadian scholarship. Our members consist of graduate students, teachers, researchers and seniors. The Society serves these members in five unique ways: a reduced student

rate allows graduate students to use the latest research in German-American topics; members receive a newsletter and yearbook as part of their membership fee; annual conferences are held in America, which allow members to receive an international perspective on scholarly interpretations; a competitive research fund awards grants to scholars to complete their studies; a publication fund aids in the dissemination of scholarly research among a larger public.

## **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 of the Society shall run from July 1 to June 30.
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:           August 25, 2014  
                          Davenport, Iowa

Albert Spengler  
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).







