YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 57

2022

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

with the support of

The University of Kansas Libraries

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 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.* Beginning with the year 2023 publication of the *Yearbook* and *Newsletter* will be digital. The *Yearbook* will be available at *journals.ku.edu/ygas* and the *Newsletter* on the website of the Society *sgas.org*.

YEARBOOK OF 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 Chicago 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*). Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Marc Pierce (*mpierc@austin.utexas.edu*). The *Newsletter* appears three times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to the editor Caroline Huey (*chuey@louisiana.edu*). New inquiries regarding the SGAS website should be addressed to Kathleen Condray (*condray@uark.edu*).

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FROM THE EDITOR

The publication of volume 57 (2022) of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* is the first digital-only edition of the Society's signature journal for scholarship in our multidisciplinary field. Beginning with this volume, our journal and future supplemental volumes will be published only in a digital format and housed with *Journals@KU*, an initiative of the University of Kansas Libraries supporting the open access publishing of scholarly journals designed to increase the reach and impact of the research, as well as providing long-term stewardship of the material after publication.

In addition to hosting all future publications of the Society, *Journals @ KU* maintains an archive of all earlier volumes published by SGAS on its website. Scholars and interested persons worldwide may view all of our publications by simply clicking on *https://journals.ku.edu/ygas* and selecting the volume and essay desired. At present every issue of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* since we commenced publication of the *Yearbook* with volume 16 (1981) as well as the five supplemental issues already published are available online. This archive now also includes the earliest publications of the Society: *German-American Studies (https://journals.ku.edu/gas)* and the *Journal of German-American Studies https://journals.ku.edu/jgas* .

The editor is extremely grateful for the generous work performed by members of the *Yearbook's* Editorial Board who continue to offer their critiques of new and revised essays. Their valued comments, suggested revisions and recommendations form the basis for the publication decision for each essay we have published since the inception of our journal and underpin our efforts to maintain the high quality of this publication. The editor cannot thank them enough.

The editor's special thanks again go to Marc Pierce of the University of Texas-Austin, who as our Book Review Editor continues to produce an excellent set of reviews of the latest book publications in German-American Studies. Eric Bader (KU Libraries Digital Publishing Services) deserves our heartfelt gratitude for his much-valued technical expertise in formatting our

journal for publication. Eric is an incredible asset regarding the technical aspects of our publication. For all who work together as a team in the publication of the Society's scholarly journal, the editor is most grateful.

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. The current SGAS Bylaws are followed by a section entitled "Society for German-American Studies: Miscellaneous Items." Here you will find information on the Society's support for scholarly research and publication: The *Albert Bernhardt Faust Fund* for the support of research projects of our members and the *Karl J. R. Arndt Fund* for publication subsidies for book-length publications by our members. Members may avail themselves of the opportunities for scholarly support from SGAS by contacting the respective committee chair listed on the Society's website or the president of the Society.

Note that symposium grants providing up to $1,500 are now available for graduate students and recent PhDs. to present a paper at the Annual Symposium and then submit the essay for consideration by the *Yearbook*. The SGAS Student Membership Fund also provides new student members with a one-year free membership and is supported by our life members (who are listed at the end of this volume following a description of the fund).

The final item in the *Yearbook* is a description of the SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award followed by a list of the recipients of this award. On the Society's website (*sgas.org*) you will also 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 for making a financial contribution to the Society.

The editor looks forward to seeing many of our members at our next Annual Symposium scheduled to be held at the end of April 2025 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Presenters as well as all members are encouraged to submit their essays for consideration by the Editorial Board for possible publication in a forthcoming *Yearbook*. We request electronic submission of your manuscript (*wkeel@ku.edu*). Please follow the guidelines in the *The Chicago Manual of Style* (17th edition) for all technical matters of your essay including citations, notes and bibliography (*https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html*). Please contact Marc Pierce at the University of Texas for submitting book reviews (*mpierce@austin.utexas.edu*).

Journals@KU
The University of Kansas Lawrence, Kansas
August 2024

Victoria Jesswein

German Language Use at Pennsylvanian Lutheran Seminaries

The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg (LTSG) was founded in 1826 by Samuel Simon Schmucker, making it the oldest Lutheran Seminary in North America. Sitting atop a hill called Seminary Ridge, the seminary found itself in the middle of the Civil War when in July 1863 the opposing armies descended upon Gettysburg, and the campus was used as a key defensive point. The original seminary building was used as a lookout, and later as a field hospital for both Union and Confederate soldiers.

Schmucker was a controversial figure within the Lutheran Church because of his radical theological positions, in particular his views on the Augsburg Confession. He was also a noted abolitionist. For 38 years he served as chairman of the faculty and professor of didactic theology. However, his pietist and puritan leanings caused controversies within the Church, giving rise to a conflict between Schmucker's "American Lutheranism" and the traditional theology of his colleagues. His opponents favored doctrinally based theology rooted in the Augsburg Confession, a summary of Christian faith following the Reformation that serves as the basis for Lutheranism.

Still in the midst of the Civil War, Charles Porterfield Krauth, formerly a professor at Gettysburg, founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia (LTSP) in 1864. The new seminary sought to preserve a particular Lutheran identity and focus on instruction in German. At the time of its founding, the leaders of the new seminary—several of whom were trained by S.S. Schmucker at Gettysburg—took a leading role in promoting a specific type of confessionally-oriented Lutheranism. Debates about the authority and textual integrity of the Lutheran Confession, paired with societal issues rising

from the continued settlement of the United States and later the Civil War, prompted church-dividing theological and political disputes. Because of the geographical proximity of LTSG and LTSP, there were continual attempts from the 1920s-1990s to merge the two institutions, and the two seminaries even shared a president in the 1960s. Finally in July 2017, the merger was completed, and the new institution was named United Lutheran Seminary (ULS). The seminary is one of seven theological seminaries associated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the largest Lutheran denomination in the US.

This paper examines the use of German language in classes and administration at the two seminaries, and the extent to which language and culture influenced theological leanings at Gettysburg and led to the founding of the rival seminary at Philadelphia.

German Lutheranism in Nineteenth Century America

German immigrants began to pour into Pennsylvania and surrounding colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A large proportion of these immigrants were Lutherans, though Reformed, Moravians, Mennonites, and Amish also settled the area. Unlike the Palatine Germans, who came over in large groups guided by pastors, this new wave of immigrants came independently or in small groups but congregated into ethnic German settlements once they got to America.[1] The settlers formed churches and elected men to be pastors, but there was a lack of regular pastoral and institutional church leadership in Pennsylvania. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the so-called father of Lutheranism in America, suggested the answer to this disorganization was to have churches organize themselves into synods. However, amongst the colonial Germans there were "significant differences within their communities about Lutheran worship, theology, organization, and the practice of ministry… Many territories had their own distinct Lutheran worship book, liturgy, and patterns of worship life."[2]

What united the settlers most was the importance of their heritage. Opposing American assimilation, many German-speaking ministers and editors of German-language periodicals had vested interests in the preservation of German and attempted to unite the Pennsylvania Germans under the banner of German language and culture.[3] In an 1813 essay, J.H.C. Helmuth, a mentor of S.S. Schmucker and leading Lutheran minister in Philadelphia, imagines:

> What would Philadelphia be in forty years if the Germans there were to remain German, and retain their language and customs? It would not be forty years until Philadelphia would be a German city. . . What would be the result throughout Pennsylvania and Northern Maryland

> in forty or fifty years? An entirely German State, where, as formerly in Germantown, the beautiful German language would be used in the legislative halls and the courts of justice.[4]

To those who held this point of view, the preservation of the German language was more important than retaining their Lutheran beliefs: "They urged Reformed and Lutherans to stand together against all attempts to introduce the English."[5] Indeed, "the German language was regarded as being of greater import than faithful adherence to the Lutheran Confessions" and "a refuge against the inroads of Rationalism and the English language was sought in a union with the German Reformed and the German Moravians." [6] Some believed that an English speaking church was necessarily an Episcopal or puritan one, that "[t]he English language is too poor to furnish an adequate translation of the German prayers and hymns and books of devotion,"[7] and that Germanness and Lutheranness were inseparable.

Founded in 1748, the Pennsylvania Ministerium was the first organized Lutheran church body in the US. It was not shy about its German origins, officially calling itself the "German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of North America." In an 1805 resolution the group announced "that the present Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States must remain a German speaking Ministerium, and that no regulation can be adopted which would necessitate the use of another language besides the German in its synodical meetings and other business."[8] Similar synods sprang up across the mid-Atlantic states with varying degrees of adhesion to the German language and the Augsburg Confession.

The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States of North America (henceforth General Synod), formed in 1820, was the first national Lutheran body composed of smaller regional synods, including initially the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Synod, and the Maryland-Virginia Synod. The General Synod attempted to be a framework for uniting all church bodies in the Lutheran tradition, but still the language problem hindered the unification of Lutherans in America: "one great obstacle in the formation of the General Synod was the unyielding adherence of the early Lutherans to the German language, while the synods and congregations composing the General Synod were predominantly English."[9]

The multiplication of Lutheran synods accelerated after 1820. Dozens of new synods were formed between 1820 and 1855, partially over graphical expansion, and partially due to "differences over confessional and theological positions, language and worship, ethnicity, memberships in the General Synod, and positions regarding social issues, including the abolition of slavery."[10] The regional synods' membership in the General Synod was constantly in flux from

its founding through the end of the nineteenth century. The Pennsylvania Ministerium severed ties in 1823, only to rejoin in 1853. Within the General Synod the process of anglicizing proceeded with greater rapidity, and it was feeling increasing influence from other denominations. The establishment of a seminary was foremost on the agenda of the newly formed Synod. Gettysburg was chosen as the location because it was the "most centrally located for the synods then in the General Synod" with "fair prospects for growth," and the Synod elected S.S. Schmucker as the first professor.[11] LTSG was founded with a distinctly Lutheran pledge: "In this seminary shall be taught, in the German and English Languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession." [12]

S.S. Schmucker

Simon Samuel Schmucker was born in 1799, the son of a German immigrant pastor. He attended the University of Pennsylvania at age 16, and then Princeton Seminary, being ordained as a pastor in 1820. He had been strongly in support of the General Synod and was well- respected by his colleagues despite his young age.

Finding that those entering the Seminary were ill-prepared for theological study, Schmucker created a preparatory school to solve the problem. First established in the *Gymnasium* tradition, as the school grew, Schmucker proposed that it reestablish itself as a college "for the education of youth in the learned languages, the arts, sciences, and useful literature."[13] Pennsylvania College[14] was founded officially on July 4, 1832 and was closely tied to the Seminary in its early days.

Schmucker was a radical man. He was a pietist and severe moralist, objecting to recreations like checkers and cards, doubting the propriety of the theatre and opera, and refraining totally from alcohol and tobacco.[15] In addition, "[h] e was a puritanical observer of what he called the Sabbath."[16] At the same time, however, Schmucker was vocal about his liberal theological and political views.

He was so recognized for his anti-slavery views that he was warned to leave Gettysburg before the battle, when confederate troops approached Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. His house on the LTSG campus was ransacked, and books thrown around the field. A confederate soldier found his bible in the dirt and inscribed inside: "J. G. Bearden of the rebel army...this is the Holy Bible I pick up out of the...and has [sic] placed on the case again."[17] The bible had Schmucker's marginalia and underlining of passages referring to slavery.

In addition to pietism and revivalism, Schmucker was interested in a new American Lutheranism that would fit into the greater culture of American Protestantism. His puritan leanings caused conflict with the more conservative

Lutherans, who considered his views to be anti-Lutheran and anti-German. Schmucker combined conversionist Pietist sensibilities with a broader evangelical agenda. In his opinion, Lutheranism was not restricted to German sensibilities or the adherence to every word of the Augsburg Confession; rather, Lutherans had a duty to serve the new nation by promoting the tenets of Lutheranism and general Reformation principles such as biblicism (*sola scriptura*) and spiritual self-determination, which in turn would lead to a spread of Christianity and increased national moralism. [18] Schmucker was keen to impose changes that he believed would benefit both Lutherans and other Protestants in the United States. He believed that the characteristics of American Protestantism could be combined with those of the European tradition, so that the German American Lutheran church could promote its ideals within the broader culture of the American church.

German in Gettysburg

The first Lutheran Church in Gettysburg, St. James Lutheran Church, was German speaking. This congregation was a union church, where the Lutherans and the German Reformed congregation shared one building. A second church, Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church, was founded in 1836 to accommodate the Lutheran residents of Gettysburg who preferred to have their worship services conducted entirely in English. Many of the early pastors and worshippers at Christ Lutheran were faculty members and students at the local seminary and the college, including S.S. Schmucker, and it quickly became known as the "College Church."[19]

After severing ties with the General Synod in 1823, the Pennsylvania Ministerium discussed the desirability of establishing its own seminary or officially co-operating in one of those already established. As early as 1842 it had endorsed the seminary at Columbus, Ohio, which provided more German classes and more distinctive Lutheran confessionalism than Gettysburg, and there was talk about beginning a new seminary, which was abandoned in 1846.[20] In 1853 the Ministerium reunited with the General Synod. Although there was "fear of the doctrinal position of the Gettysburg professor of theology," the conservative factions of the General Synod were gaining strength, and a number of changes seemed to suggest a reunion with LTSG.[21] First, the Ministerium elected five men as directors of the seminary.[22] The *Evangelical Review*, a magazine with confessional-based Lutheran views, was established; Charles Philip Krauth, a confessional conservative, was elected to be a full professor; and Dr. Henry Baugher, also a staunch conservative, was elected to the presidency of Pennsylvania College. There was still doubt that proper attention was not being given to the German language, which the

administration assuaged by "emphasizing constantly the German instruction in the institution, and by pointing to the large proportion of its graduates who preached German."[23] It was proposed that "[i]f the Pennsylvania Ministerium could have a man of its own, that is, a man of pronounced conservative views, to teach theology at Gettysburg in the German language, it was thought that a change in the atmosphere of that institution would be assured."[24] It was thought that a professorship sponsored by the Ministerium and filled by a conservative in whom they had confidence could reunite the Ministerium with the General Synod and the Gettysburg Seminary.

In 1855, Dr. Charles Frederick Schaeffer of the Ministerium was nominated to the "German Theological Professorship."[25] The main goal of the professorship was "to train up young men for the office of ministry that they might become German Lutheran preachers."[26] Schaeffer (a brother-in-law of S.S. Schmucker) was tasked with teaching German language at the College and Theology (in German) at the Seminary,[27] with the goal, as he saw it, to prepare "orthodox Lutheran preachers" who were "enabled freely to use the German language."[28] Initially, seminary students attended the lectures in their vernacular, with English students attending all English lectures and Germans attending the German lectures. However, Schaeffer was only one of the professors, and the only one teaching in German, and his small number of lectures did not cover all aspects of theology and preaching required by the Seminary. After his 1856 report to the Synod that he could not adequately perform his duties at both the College and the Seminary, the Ministerium wanted Schaeffer to be relieved of his duties at the College to teach full time at the Seminary.[29] Instead, the Seminary board resolved that each student attend all lectures, regardless of language, and that language difficulties could be made up with a textbook in the correct language.[30] As a result of this policy, many students who could speak only German withdrew from the Seminary.[31]

Schmucker's Definite Synodical Platform

Around the same time that language became an issue at the Seminary, Schmucker's writings and teachings were provoking the theological community. Schmucker's interests had moved beyond narrow definitions of traditional Lutheran faith and practice. He supported revivalism and sought to strengthen the Lutheran and greater Protestant Church by increasing its unity. He favored the development of interdenominational organizations, such as the Sunday School movement and the Evangelical Alliance, to spread Christianity in the United States and to improve national morality.

In 1855, he proposed his *Definite Synodical Platform*. The Platform proposed revisions to the Augsburg Confession to make it more acceptable to

American sensibilities, namely Calvinist and American Evangelical theology, a development that was termed "American Lutheranism." The Platform specifically sought to eliminate references to baptismal regeneration and the real presence of Christ in Holy Communion.[32] For orthodox Lutherans, this was the final straw.

Due to the tensions and his old age, Schmucker resigned as president and professor at the Seminary in 1864. Charles Porterfield Krauth, the son of Charles Philip Krauth, was an alumnus of the Seminary and editor of *The Lutheran*, a conservative Lutheran periodical. When Schmucker resigned, Krauth was considered as the new president, but the board of directors, still populated mostly by liberal pastors from the General Synod, did not want a conservative professor as President.

A Rival Seminary is Founded

Seeing the failure to elect Krauth to the presidency at Gettysburg as a defeat, conservative factions of the General Synod, namely the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, decided to form their own seminary. The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia was founded in 1864 with Charles Porterfield Krauth as president. Eventually, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew yet again from the General Synod as a direct reaction against the Americanized Lutheranism of Schmucker and LTSG, and was joined by 13 other church bodies in 1867 to form the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America (henceforth General Council).

The General Council oversaw the Philadelphia seminary, where the aim was to focus on instruction in German and return to confessionally-based orthodox Lutheran teachings. In a speech at the opening of the new seminary, Beale M. Schmucker [33] wrote that the goal of the new seminary is "to provide for the wants of the German portion of our Church, especially in the East."[34] At its beginning, "[t]he Seminary undertook to provide two parallel courses in theology, one in each language."[35]

With one seminary under the direction of the General Synod and the other under the direction of the General Council, one theologically conservative and one liberal, and one rural and one urban, "Gettysburg and Philadelphia were rivals and antagonists."[36]

Conclusion and Wider Social Implications

Shortly after his election as President of LTSP, Charles Porterfield Krauth explained why the new seminary was necessary: "It is needed for the sake of pure doctrine. There is no theological seminary in the United States in which are

fully taught, in the English language, the doctrines of the Reformation."[37] He suggested that the language problem was what caused the theological problems. Krauth was also worried that what the English-speaking students were taught differed from what German-speaking students were taught, even at the same institution: "[i]t is most unnatural and dangerous that in the same communion, and under the same roof [that is, at Gettysburg], one set of students should be taught to regard as Romish abominations and dangerous errors what others are taught to consider as the very truth of God." LTSP then, sought not only to be a seminary where German preachers could be educated, but also to be the first American Lutheran seminary to teach Lutheran orthodoxy in English.

S.S. Schmucker, and LTSG by extension, however, was less concerned with preserving Lutheranism than with evangelism, spreading Christian morals, and unifying the Church in the United States. He was not anti-German. He frequently defended himself on the matter, writing that he grew up speaking the language, and that no one had more respect for German history, literature, and Lutheranism's European ties than he did.[38] He did not seek to eradicate German in the seminary and the churches its graduates served, but rather focused on promoting his ideals to a greater community, necessitating interaction with other ethnic groups and Christian denominations, and in turn using more English.

Schmucker and other American Lutherans pushed for assimilation to help to fit the Lutheran tradition more neatly within the extant culture of the American Protestant Church and political framework, but opponents of americanized Lutheranism hoped to secure and maintain the German culture and influence on Pennsylvanian society and politics. In the mid-nineteenth century, some of the Germans still believed that their language might be made the language of the country, or at least the state of Pennsylvania, and they were unwilling to give up an important aspect of their culture: "it was natural that the Germans should be reluctant to give up the language to which they had been accustomed from infancy, and which they sincerely thought would be perpetuated in this land of their adoption."[39] However, others argued that the adherence to the German language was detrimental to the strength of the Church. Martin Luther Stoever, editor of the *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, writes that the reluctance to switch to English "was a mistaken policy…[that] resulted in serious injury to the Church, and almost caused its total ruin."[40] Henry Eyster Jacobs, associated with both LSTP and LTSG, writes: "I had been surprised how little knowledge even intelligent pastors had of Lutheran doctrine, and how restricted were their sources of information. There was really no accessible handbook in the English language."[41] There was a desire for the languages to work "in sisterly harmony," but that was prevented by doctrinal differences.[42]

Eventually German instruction ceased at Philadelphia as well, as more and more churches were calling for English-speaking pastors. As German began

to be replaced by English and more theological works by English-speaking American Lutherans appeared, the theological differences between the factions began to even out. With the formation of the United Lutheran Church in America in 1918, which combined three major synods with German heritage, the General Council and General Synod were once again merged.[43] This placed LTSG and LTSP under the same denomination, paving the way for increased communication and cooperation about Lutheran and ecumenical issues. In 2017, the year of the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the Reformation, the two seminaries merged to create United Lutheran Seminary, one seminary with two campuses.

United Lutheran Seminary
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Mark Granquist, *Lutherans in America*. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015): 67.

[2] Ibid, 54.

[3] Frank Tommler, Joseph McVeigh, eds. *America and the German, Volume 1: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History--Immigration, Language, Ethnicity*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 2016): 50.

[4] Henry Eyster Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).

[5] Ibid, 330.

[6] Frederick Bente, *American Lutheranism*. (St. Louis, MO: Concordia, 1919): 100.

[7] Jacobs, 330.

[8] Evangelical Lutheran Church, *Documentary history of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States: proceedings of the annual conventions from 1748 to 1821, compiled and translated from records in the archives and from the written protocols.*(Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1898).

[9] Peter Anstadt, *Life and Times of Rev. S.S. Schmucker*. (York, PA: P. Anstadt and Sons, 1896): 143.

[10] Granquist, 149.

[11] Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of the Gettysburg Seminary*. (Philadelphia, PA: The United Lutheran Publishing House, 1926): 96.

[12] Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, *Constitution of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States: located at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania together with the States of the General Synod on which it is Founded.* (Philadelphia: William Brown, 1826): 3.

[13] Gettysburg College, *Gettysburg College Charter,* 2015. Retrieved from https://www.gettysburg.edu/offices/president/board-of-trustees/charter-bylaws on July 18, 2023.

[14] The College changed its name to Gettysburg College in 1921, which it remains today.

[15] Anstadt, 43-44.

[16] Ibid, 45.

[17] Schmucker Bible, n.d., Schmucker, Samuel Simon Collection. Seminary Archives, A.R. Wentz Memorial Library, United Lutheran Seminary.

[18] Stephen M. Nolt, "The Quest for American Kinship: Liberty, Ethnicity, and Ecumenism among Pennsylvania German Lutherans, 1817-1842, *Journal of American Ethnic History,* 19, no 2. (Winter 2000): 73.

[19] Henry E. Horn, ed., *Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs: Notes on a Life of a Churchman*, vol. 1. (Huntingdon, PA: Church Management Service, 1938): 9.

[20] Wentz, 172.

[21] Ibid, 172.

[22] Ibid, 173.

[23] Ibid, 172

[24] Ibid, 172.

[25] German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States, *Minutes of the 108th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States*. (Sumnytown: Enos Benner, 1855): 24.

[26] German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States, *Minutes of the 109th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States*. (Sumnytown: Enos Benner, 1856): 25.

[27] Schaeffer's official title was Professor of the German Language and Literature in Pennsylvania College and Professor of Theology in the Seminary at Gettysburg.

[28] Ministerium, *109th*, 25.

[29] Dale A. Johnson. Lutheran Dissension and Schism at Gettysburg Seminary, 1864, *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 33, no. 1 (January, 1966): 14.

[30] German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States, *Minutes of the 112th Annual Session of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States*. (Lancaster: John Baer's Sons, 1859): 24.

[31] G.F. Krotel, "The Beginnings of the Seminary." Lutheran Church Review, XVII (1898): 296.

[32] Samuel Simon Schmucker. *Definite platform, doctrinal and disciplinarian, for Evangelical Lutheran district synods, construed in accordance with the principles of the General Synod.* (Philadelphia, PA: Miller & Burlock, 1855).

[33] Interestingly Beale Schmucker is the son of Samuel Simon, but he held more conservative views than did his father.

[34] Beale M. Schmucker, "Address delivered at the installation of the Professors to the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, October 4th, 1864." *Evangelical Quarterly Review*, 16, no. 63 (1865): 426-434.

[35] Ibid, 243.

[36] Theodore Tappert, *History of the Philadelphia Seminary*. (Philadelphia, PA: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1964.)

[37] Charles Porterfield Krauth, *Lutheran and Missionary*, III (1864): 166.

[38] Schmucker, Collection, Folder 3760.0002

[39] Martin Luther Stoever, "The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America" in *The Evangelical Quarterly Review*, 20 (1869): 120.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Henry E. Horn, ed., *Memoirs of Henry Eyster Jacobs: Notes on a Life of a Churchman*, vol. 1 (Huntingdon, PA: Church Management Service, 1938): 110.

[42] Krauth, 166.

[43] The ULCA initially combined the General Synod, General Council, and the United Synod of the South. More synods joined later.

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Michael Kaelin

Emigrant Letter Writers as Immigrant Regulation Agents: A Reconsideration of Epistolary Practices among 19th-Century German and Irish Americans

Migration scholars have long identified transatlantic correspondence as a vital resource for understanding the mass movement of people in the nineteenth century.[1] Emigrant letters offer myriad potential uses, including offering insight into shifting national and cultural identities, the politics of deference, and individual psychological adjustments.[2] Undoubtedly immigrant letters served these functions and more for many who considered going to the United States or who kept in touch with those back home, and they are multifaceted resources for scholars today. But they have perhaps most commonly been used to reveal how immigrants maintained connections with their former communities, and how they organized the subsequent emigration of family and friends. "Emigrant letters served not only to tie together families separated by the Atlantic and as important documents of social history," assert the editors of one collection of German emigrants' correspondence, but "they were also the decisive factor in triggering emigration, whether for economic or other reasons."[3] Charlotte Erickson similarly contends that "In the first place letters were written to arrange the migration of other members of the family who wanted to come to America."[4] Another scholar argues that "Letters allowed for the transmission of important practical information, especially concerning possibilities for employment in the United States. Letters were thus an important stimulus for emigration to the United States."[5] Appearing as a truism that immigrants' correspondence fostered migration, most analysis has turned on the question of how older immigrants facilitated further movement.

This article flips that perspective. Acknowledging that the historical record is replete with examples of settled immigrants encouraging many would-be newcomers, it also identifies some of the ways in which immigrant correspondents discouraged others. Nineteenth century immigrants in the United States had a vested interest in ensuring that only the "worthy" followed in their wake; after all, in the absence of a robust social safety network, they would likely be the ones depended on for support if "unworthy" neighbors moved in. In the absence, too, of a large federal immigration bureaucracy, there were few means by which to block the entry or secure the deportation of those who exhibited problematic behavior.[6] Established immigrants' attempts to protect their new communities from the "unworthy" – usually defined by a perceived unwillingness or inability to labor, deviation from gender or sexual norms, intemperance, or indulgence in other vices – thus began with telling some people not to come to the United States. In this regard, transatlantic correspondence functioned as a form of "pre-entry" or "remote" immigration control.[7] In the hands of settled immigrants who wanted to bar undesirable newcomers, their pens became informal regulatory instruments. As varied letter writers undertook their task, they both reinscribed the traits of "desirable" immigrants and asserted the authority of long-time immigrants to sift between those who should be allowed to come to the United States and those who should not. The stakes of their letters were high; as scholars readily recognize, direct communication from known friends and relatives was perhaps the most important factor in an individual's decision to migrate, with guidebooks, agents, boosters, and planned immigration schemes of comparatively marginal importance.[8]

Established immigrants' epistolary strategies were varied, and in many instances perhaps not even conscious. After all, telling a friend or relative that they were not cut out to emigrate because of a personal failing would be bound to cause some level of social discomfort for both parties. Consequently, most strategies for telling would-be immigrants not to move were implicit. This article begins by exploring several broad types of strategies that aimed to ensure only the "right" types of people came to the United States. It then examines how letters continued to function as part of a broader attempt to enforce proper behavior among newcomers after arrival. Believing that migrant letters are lenses through which modern scholars can see "the average immigrant as an active individual,"[9] it also agrees with David A. Gerber's contention that "immigrant letters are not principally about documenting the world, but instead about reconfiguring a personal relationship rendered vulnerable by long-distance, long-term separation."[10] It emphasizes, however, that in reconfiguring a long-distance relationship it was frequently neither necessary nor desirable to bring about physical reunification. The article

concludes by suggesting some ways to contextualize immigrant letter-writing in the broad context of community and nation building.

While overwhelmingly drawn from German-language letters in the *Deutsche Auswandererbriefesammlung* of the University of Erfurt's Gotha Research Library, this article also incorporates some limited material generated by Irish immigrants in the United States, as well as letters available in published volumes.[11] It does so first, to illustrate that literate German Americans' strategies were not significantly different than those of correspondents from other groups, and second, to suggest that German and Irish immigrants (the two largest immigrant groups in the nineteenth century United States), were able to exert a similar influence on subsequent developments in American immigration policy. It should be noted, too, that this study is subject to all the pitfalls of representality and interpretation common to all those that rely on immigrant letters.[12] It makes no effort at a quantitative analysis of the letters consulted. That is foremost because the author's broader impressionistic conclusions of the *Auswandererbriefesammlung* materials agree with the findings in the able studies by Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner and by Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse.[13] Then, too, as Cian McMahon explains of his similar (and with regards to the Irish experience, largely overlapping) source base, letters are "so remarkably variegated in their length, tone, and focus that they do not lend themselves to numerical scrutiny and comparison. If every document was of a similar length, it might be possible… but it would be futile to try to compare and contrast them in a systematic, quantitative way."[14] Instead, this article suggests an alternative approach to reading immigrant letters specifically and to interpreting settled immigrants' roles as gatekeepers generally.

Epistolary Gatekeeping

Immigrants regularly lobbied for specific friends and relatives to come to the United States. Most frequently this was because they viewed certain people as having economic skills, political leanings, or other traits that suited them for immigration. Expressions like those of Robert McCoy's were common, who wrote back to Ulster in 1848 that "If Porter Strain was here he would make more money in one year than ever he handled of his owne there is not one blue dyer in my knowing. If he comes I will give him a free house and help to set him up."[15] Shortly thereafter, a German New Yorker said that "it would be best if Johann came in the upcoming new year and didn't squander away his time in lousy old Germany."[16] Thinking of his brother and making plans for the future from a Union Army camp, Albert Krause "would have liked it if Aurelius came to me. In a year I hope that I'll have

a permanent position, well enough that I could find him a job."[17] Noting work opportunities for women, another German American believed that "if Pauline and Julie were here, they could make their fortune" as domestics, while "painters are well compensated here and if Julius came over he could make enough money in a summer that Mother and Wilhelmm could come afterwards."[18]

These are familiar tropes in the history and historiography of migration. Yet the picture becomes more complicated when one considers that not all would-be immigrants were extended explicit invitations to come to the United States; if only specific people were told to come, then by implication not everyone else should. Immigrants frequently hedged against encouraging others because they did not want to be blamed if things did not work out for the newcomer. In Charlotte Erickson's analysis, "The phrase 'I will not encourage anyone to come' was a *leit-motif* of the private letter, even when migrants declared themselves to be satisfied with their own decisions."[19] Similarly, among German immigrants "A straight answer to the question whether those at home should follow was quite rare – and with good reason… Immigrants may well have been overjoyed when their relatives came to join them, but new arrivals were also a great burden until they found jobs and places to live. And the last thing one needed was to be reproached for having painted too rosy a picture of life in the United States."[20]

Skirting the question was eminently reasonable for those who found themselves in precarious straits in the United States, or whose prolonged separation from kith and kin left them unsure of aspiring emigrants' skills, habits, and predilections. But the utility of this strategy to delicately imply that certain people should not come to the United States after all becomes clear when one realizes that German and Irish correspondents frequently said that they did not think it wise to encourage people to emigrate while naming other individuals as promising candidates, oftentimes in the same letter.[21] Wilhelm Stille might have given his family whiplash when he wrote that "I'm not in the position to tell any of my relatives to come here except Rudolph, he'd do all right," and proceeded to suggest that "it's best if Heinrich doesn't come here and tries to get married here."[22] Answering an acquaintance's request for advice on emigrating, another German American wrote that "It's very difficult to find the right answer to such a question, and without doubt for that reason it's unpleasant to try to share a correct opinion, you understand?" But while dodging the question with regards to one person, he also felt that "It would be nice for me to see Peter Schipper from Grashaus here. I well believe that America would suit him."[23] These instances, while not as common as blanket disavowals of giving any encouragement to aspiring immigrants, show that evasion was not always a neutral strategy.

In other cases, letter writers offered up their own or others' experiences as object lessons to illustrate the dangers of an "unworthy" immigrant coming to the United States. These were not always consciously drafted to dissuade subsequent emigrants, but they functioned to that end. An agonized Julius Stern related that as soon as he landed in New York, "I went to the Synagogue to thank the Almighty for my fortunate arrival. I believed that I would find a few among my coreligionists whom I could ask for advice. But I found a temple full of heartless people. Not one wanted to know anything about me, much less do something for me." Dejected, he proceeded to Albany, and then to Philadelphia, "But in vain were my efforts, in vain my letters of recommendation… I was received with the pronouncement 'you must see how you can help yourself.'" Eventually becoming a country peddler, Stern warned his relations back in Germany that "here one must do anything if he has no capital and doesn't want to die of starvation."[24] Julius's saga at least impacted Menko Stern's future, who after hearing the tale decided "my admittedly not fully conceived plan to go to America is foundering on account of the possibility to not carry out the journey as well as to advance myself."[25]

In Julius Stern's telling, he was blameless for his struggles. But other correspondents highlighted the real or perceived shortcomings of mutual acquaintances to admonish potential newcomers to proper behavior. From New York, R.D. Reinhold reported that "Innkeeper Kühl is still unemployed and it will be to his great astonishment that he long remains so, because old grayheads with whiskey faces aren't in demand here."[26] In a similar vein, another German New Yorker wrote home that "Old Kalsdorf from Rußdorf is doing quite badly, can't find work and can't be tolerated by his son or even worse by his daughter-in-law, and in general for such old people America isn't a country where they can feel comfortable if they have to earn their bread through work."[27] Another reported back with sympathy of a neighbor who "seems to be persecuted by fate," and would have been better off staying in East Frisia. In the writer's analysis, some of his struggles stemmed from his inability or unwillingness to exert himself. This "must evince the truth of the English saying," given in both languages, "<u>help yourself</u>, *helf <u>Dir</u> selbst*."[28] Taken together, these salutary struggles warned those in Europe of the dangers of going where one did not fit.

To that end, immigrant writers were also quick to clarify who *would* be suitable. The ubiquitous exhortation that one must be willing to work, and work hard, pervades the historical record to the extent that only a few examples need be cited here. One Milwaukee resident wrote that "America is a good country, it blossoms under the blessings of God, but it also has its thorns and thistles. For a man who works here, it is much better than over

there; one can earn his daily bread far better than in Germany," suggesting that rolling up one's sleeves was the way to avoid getting scratched.[29] Yet another emphasized to a prospective immigrant that "Should you resolve to come to America, should you perhaps decide that you want to establish a new existence in America, then do it only with the intention to want to work diligently, because without work one has nothing in America – even less than in Germany."[30] In a trend common among those who came from poorer backgrounds, a final German immigrant suggested "the only people who are really happy are those who were used to hard work in Germany and with toil and great pains could hardly even earn their daily bread, when people like that come here, even if they don't have any money, they can manage, they rent a room and the husband goes to work, earns his dollar a day and so he can live well and happily with a wife and children," linking the willingness to work with the desire and ability to maintain a nuclear family unit as head of household.[31]

Indeed, the vulnerability of prevailing family and gender roles were never far from German immigrants' minds when they wrote home. While often cautioning against the strains migration could place on traditional structures, immigrants tended to emphasize the importance of using migration as an opportunity to strengthen family units.[32] A German woman in Illinois accordingly wrote "Dear Brother, you can't do anything better for your children than to come to America, because they can be educated here. You don't have the opportunity in Germany, and I am of the opinion that applies not just for you, but for the welfare of your children."[33] Conversely, an abusive husband drew specific criticism after "he beat his wife for every little thing, and that's not done here, here a wife must be treated like a wife and not like a scrub rag like I saw in Germany so often that a man can do what he wants to with his wife. He who likes to beat his wife had better stay in Germany, it doesn't work here, or soon he'll not have a wife anymore, that's what happened to Carl Wihl."[34] Whether letter writers dreaded or embraced these transformations, they explicitly acknowledged that family structures could not simply be transplanted to the United States. This information could not help but factor into prospective immigrants' calculations.

On rare occasions, settled immigrants out-and-out told specific people not to come to the United States. That few examples survive should not be surprising. These were hardly the types of documents many recipients would have cherished, and Irish families in particular had a habit of not preserving (and oftentimes actively destroying) letters from abroad.[35] It also seems likely that relatively few were created in the first place, as the surviving examples usually carry with them a palpable awkwardness. Still, many experienced immigrants decided that they must be cruel if only to be kind. Louis Vagades

dispensed fraternal advice, explaining "America isn't Europe. The customs and mores are different… you haven't seen the world, Moritz – you're unacquainted with its pitfalls… you'll find it different in reality and you'll feel betrayed."[36] Another felt badly upon hearing that a hometown friend felt he had been treated "hard" in an earlier letter, but emphasized "I can't say anything contrary to the truth… but he doesn't fit this country, and won't go along with what I consider right and proper."[37] Anna Maria Klinger was the eldest sister of a large German family, and the first to emigrate to New York. While she sought to coordinate the departure of some of her other siblings, she also confided "dear parents, you wrote to me that Daniel has a desire to go to America and no money and that is frankly a mistake," especially given that, without a useful trade and caught between romantic interests, he could neither fulfill his role as a breadwinner nor establish a socially acceptable household.[38] Protracted discussions over whether to emigrate could cause simmering tension. Frustrated with his brother's vacillating, one Irishman eventually laid out his position unambiguously, declaring "I state once and for all not to do it for you would not get here until you would be homesick and everything would displease you so you would go home more fool than you left a poorer man I say again as brother never come to this country while you are undecided whether it would suit you better than Ireland for nobody prospers here that thinks he could do better at home."[39]

In the final analysis, it is difficult to determine exactly how effective letters were in persuading only the "right" types of immigrants to try their luck in the United States. The collections quoted above provide examples of many individuals whom German and Irish Americans attempted to recruit who decided to stay. Conversely, Daniel Klinger, whose sister emphatically told him over the course of several years that she would not aid his emigration and that he did not fit American conditions would eventually make his way over, joining other siblings whom Anna Maria had financed.[40] And dishonest American correspondents could further complicate the ways in which immigrant letters functioned as a regulatory tool to ensure fit immigrants would come over. Irish leader Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who originally settled in New York before eventually becoming a Canadian government official, fretted about the problem of misleading missives inducing naïve and unprepared emigration, complaining about "the erroneous impressions existing in Ireland alike as to Republican and British America," and that "it must be owned the main source is a want of downright candor on the part of the Irish on this side, in communications with their friends 'at home.'"[41] There was surely some truth to this. Later in life, Forty-Eighter and New York State Commissioner of Emigration Friedrich Kapp recalled of his childhood in the Prussian Rhineland that

> There came the first letters from the emigrants, which of course sounded so pleasant and propitious. 'Over the water is a free land, there one can do whatever he wants, and if he has to work hard, too, at least he knows for whom and why!' Or the poor neighbor boy who was already there for a few years sent his mother fifty Thalers and wrote her that he's now a made man… The countryman who does well over there writes such letters. But those who are doing badly also write… Indeed, the worse things are for the letter writer over there, the nicer his description of his supposed fortune and success will be… But true or untrue, the happy news grips the whole village.[42]

At the very least, however, McGee's and Kapp's complaints underscore the power that messages from the United States could have over the decisions of those who might one day consider emigrating. But (with the notable exception of the Famine years) there does not seem to be widespread evidence that Irish or Germans embarked on their journeys rashly as a result of news from the United States. Indeed, as Kapp also experienced firsthand, an Atlantic crossing was something "requiring more than ordinary courage. A person crossing the Atlantic, regularly made his last will and provided for his family. A passenger who safely returned was the wonder of his town; and when he came back from America, his neighbors called him the 'American.'"[43] And as Kamphoefner et al. note, while some writers certainly did embellish their successes and gloss over their failures, their responsibility for any people who emigrated at their urging "constrained letter-writers from yielding to the temptation of exaggerating their own success. Another deterrent was the fact that emigrants who did well were expected to send home money and presents. And a third can be seen in the brisk traffic back and forth between Germany and the United States: bluffs could be called all too easily."[44] As a scholar of British immigrants framed it, if a newcomer arrived to discover that his correspondent had exaggerated their success,

> the game would have been up, and he would have been revealed to be no better at managing his life in North American than he was in England. It was a situation that lent itself to truth-telling, whatever the precise variety of truth-telling, if only because one might have to bear the embarrassment of being caught in a lie. Most immigrants probably understood how vulnerable exaggerated claims and rank falsehoods were to some sort of detection.[45]

Taken altogether, then, established immigrants' self-interest militated against luring over friends and relatives with promises of instant success and

happiness. Self-interest also induced them to avoid inviting over erstwhile co-nationals who might eventually pose economic or social dangers to their new communities. That is not to say that correspondents who directly or indirectly dissuaded certain would-be migrants were callous, cruel, or neglectful of their kinship obligations. The stakes involved for all parties, the personal histories of the individuals, and a legitimate belief that certain people would be happier or healthier back in Europe all played into German and Irish Americans' decisions. But intent aside, this phenomenon illustrates that immigrant correspondents impacted the composition of subsequent migration streams negatively as well as positively – that is, in deciding who would not come, in addition to who would.

Long-Distance Social Control

Ongoing transatlantic correspondence could function to constrain behavior within the United States as well as migration to it. David A. Gerber has suggested that "gossip transmitted through the international mails now allowed those in European villages far across the ocean to continue to attempt to exert a degree of moral control on those who had emigrated."[46] This is certainly true, but this exchange of "social intelligence" to influence migrants in the United States worked both ways, investing particular authority in the words and actions of "respectable" settled immigrants who sought to regulate their friends and family among their wider circle. Their power to transmit a personally favorable version of social conflicts enhanced their standing among would-be migrants in Europe and strengthened their power vis-à-vis those they wanted to monitor in North America.

In *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History*, Daniel Kanstroom labels the United States government's continued monitoring of immigrant behavior after individuals' legal admission "post-entry social control."[47] Conceptualized as perpetual outsiders, particularly when members of a racial, sexual, or other minority, even long-established, documented migrants are vulnerable to deportation or diminution of rights within the United States. This state of affairs may seem at first blush to have little to do with the lived experience of nineteenth-century European immigrants, who despite facing ethnic prejudice were classified as white for the purposes of naturalization and legally disadvantaged relative to native-born citizens only in rare circumstances.[48] Furthermore, the incapacity of the federal government to create and maintain a large-scale bureaucracy to monitor and deport the foreign-born effectively neutralized the threat of legal removal after arrival, small-scale state-led deportation efforts in places like Massachusetts and New York notwithstanding.[49] Yet Irish and German immigrants did feel the

pressure of post-entry social control, albeit in different forms. Rather than an impersonal, legislated, and bureaucratized system, they faced one that was intimate, ad hoc, and drew its legitimacy from longstanding personal relationships. As a practical matter, the consequences of this system – which relied on transatlantic correspondence as one of its main tools – could be just as impactful as if so-called deviant immigrants felt the weight of the government against them.

This dynamic is clearest in well-documented, long-running conflicts. By the outbreak of the Civil War, Brunswick-born Emile Dupré was a well-connected man. After initially coming to New York and working as an agent for the Hamburg America Packet Line, he transitioned into a role for the Vanderbilt Line. Apparently at ease in both the Anglophone and Germanophone worlds, he believed he had both the resources and the familiarity with American culture to help his younger brother, Alexander, succeed. Alexander had been guilty of youthful indiscretions back in Germany, but Emile believed that "when he's gotten knowledgeable in his trade, particularly as a draughtsman, he'll make his way. The opportunities for that type of business are nowhere better than in New York and I'm quite sure that through my broadened social circle and local knowledge Alex will be able to immediately secure a position."[50] Their parents agreed, and in early 1861 Alexander began working as a draughtsman in New York on a probationary basis. "I'm right glad to see the boy here," Emile reported, "and I believe that he'll soon be able to get along well."[51]

Unfortunately, relations quickly soured. Alexander seemed unwilling to work and butted heads with Emile's wife, despite the older brother's attempts at mediation. "He causes me unending worry and costs me a lot of money," Emile complained, "however I hope to improve his behavior through reasonable conversation and if need be send him out to Philadelphia or some other place, so that he can be self-reliant."[52] To that end, Emile used his connections to secure Alexander a spot as a Naval Department draughtsman, contingent on him completing a competency exam. Shortly thereafter came the good news: Alexander reported that he had passed with flying colors. Unfortunately, though, he said that the navy did not have a position for him at the moment, and requested a loan to tide him over while he looked for temporary work in the war industries sprouting up around Philadelphia. Emile determined to do him one better, and secured an audience with the Secretary of the Navy to expedite Alexander's placement. "I explained Alex's story of the exam to the secretary," Emile related to their mother, "and he said he would gladly lend me a hand. He sent to the archive for the report of the Examinations Commission to read it himself, but didn't find Alex's name mentioned. In order to appease me he wrote to New York and received the answer that Alex utterly failed the exam."[53]

A mortified Emile tracked down Alexander and upbraided him, but was persuaded by a business associate to give the younger Dupré one last chance to earn his keep by working at their company. Unfortunately, Alexander mistreated Emile's other employees, and feted the officers of a German American regiment with champagne at the elder brother's expense. Hearing shortly afterwards that Alexander was ill, Emile dispatched a doctor, who concluded that Alexander suffered from nothing worse than a severe hangover. This was the final straw. "I pressingly beg you to recall him," Emile wrote their mother, his letter attempting to involve her in a transnational disciplinary resolution. "I have already paid over $100 for him and had much unpleasantness in return, but will gladly pay for his travel," because through his conduct the younger migrant "had unfortunately not conducted himself towards me as a brother and repaid all my kindness in the most outrageous manner." To Emile's mind, it was Alexander, not he, who had frayed the bonds of kinship. Threatening a clean break, Emile explained that "I felt myself compelled to present him with two alternatives, either to return to Europe at my expense or to no longer reckon on my support."[54] Faced with what amounted to the threat of private deportation, Alexander enlisted in a Union artillery battery, and died of disease shortly thereafter.

In Alexander's final days, Emile did come to his brother's aid again, paying for a private doctor to spare Alexander the sufferings of a military hospital. But as the elder brother's wife summarized the situation, his death was the unfortunate penalty for not heeding established immigrants' rules. With perhaps of hint of callousness, she wrote her own letter to the boys' mother, musing "If only he minded his brother and gone home, his life might have been saved… Emile was kind to him, tended to all his wants, in sickness and in health, but Alex did not thank him for his kindness but it was Emile's duty as a brother to protect him."[55] In response, Emile's mother absolved her older son of any wrongdoing, confirming her faith that he had acted appropriately, and perhaps rewriting history to close the breach that had opened between her children. "Alexander was a wild boy," she acknowledged, "he also created much worry for you both, but still his letters always expressed thankfulness and love for you."[56] It is impossible to know how widely the details of Alexander's story circulated among former acquaintances in Germany, or if, had he lived longer, he would have eventually reformed as Emile wished. But to the extent that this episode reveals anything about the process of nineteenth century migration and immigrant correspondence, it illustrates that the processes of both crafting the image of a "good" immigrant and attempting to police transgressors were potentially transatlantic endeavors.

Not all immigrants who had problems with family members exhibited such patience, nor do any regrets about their disagreements survive in the archives. Like Emile Dupré, Joseph Ignatz Scheuermann was also excited for his

younger brother to come to the United States. Like Dupré, too, Scheuermann grew frustrated when his sibling failed to abide by community rules, refusing to work and overindulging in alcohol. Brother Valtin successfully made it out to the family farm near Cincinnati, and "In the first year of his residence he was with me, but he was always malcontented, and at that frequently about me… I released him from my employment. Dear ones," Joseph explained to the remainder of their family in Germany, "I can't praise him, and as his brother I also don't want to disparage him." However, after Valtin's inability to adjust to expectations in the United States became apparent, the younger brother decided "he would prefer to go back to Germany, if I were to send him money." The elder Scheuermann was stretched for resources and could not do so, and instead held that "if he wanted to be obedient… and diligent, he would have a reliable position with me, and treated like a child in the house. There is time for him to apply himself to work and to learn proper behavior."[57] Instead, for more than a decade Valtin continued to associate with what Joseph considered bad company. In an effort to extricate him from that situation, Joseph supported a journey of Valtin's to New York, but he "came back from there in a few months with empty pockets and sought to take up quarters with me again." An exasperated Joseph refused and told him to make his way with his old associates in Cincinnati. In his final description to their family of the conflict, Joseph ended "Since then he's there today and gone tomorrow. I see him frequently in the city but I pay him no heed anymore."[58]

Valtin Scheuermann was not deported in any strict sense, and if Joseph's account is to be believed, at least at one point would have welcomed such a step. But his and Alexander Dupré's eventual forced estrangement from their families functionally accomplished many of the same ends. This reality remains true for migrants across time and space who have been cut out from often-tenuous community bonds in a new place. Ostracism does not necessarily bring with it the potential challenges of statelessness, prolonged incarceration, or inability to recross borders at a future date, but it does carry with it psychic and practical repercussions, and underscores the danger of deviating from mainstream community rules.

Surveillance within the Irish and German American communities functioned both locally and, through the use of letters, transnationally. That should not be surprising amid the mass movement of the era; as Irish Quaker Jacob Harvey noted of New York, "There are almost weekly arrivals from England & Ireland – which renders the distance between the two countries, nearly ideal – & a person often meets with friends and acquaintances, whom he knew at home."[59] From an individual immigrant's perspective, that could be either a blessing or a curse. Harvey went some way to protecting a friend's

reputation when he noted that "Joe [Beale] is not a desponding fellow in adversity – altho' he was almost naked, & with scarcely a cent in his pocket when he landed, yet soon after he found me out, he says 'I have no idea of starving in this City, I am able to work, & I have determined if nothing else turns up, to by a woodsaw & go about to the Friends here… & request that they will give me the preference of sawing their wood – this is all I ask, & with it, I shall not fear obtaining a livelihood." In contrast, in the same letter he passed on the gossip that "Mary Russell did not conduct herself altogether correctly while in this city – she was too fond of the drop – & not clear of other improprieties. I have not heard where she is at present, for certain, but am inclined to think it is somewhere near Pitsburg Pennsyl'a."[60] As this pairing makes clear, outward, avowed conformity to accepted community norms could be more important than other markers of success or respectability. Because Joe Beale was willing to work and, crucially, made himself seen among his neighbors as committed to Irish Quakers' conception of honest industry, he remained within the fold. Conversely, Mary Russell stood accused of violating the standards of appropriate alcohol consumption and womanly behavior. But because she had left New York, she found herself in a positive feedback loop of social isolation: perhaps departing for Pittsburgh because she felt marginalized, she also no longer had the opportunity to demonstrate that she was willing to adhere to the community's sense of proper comportment. With word spreading of her alleged misbehavior, she was not only ostracized from her adopted home in New York, but her original one in Ireland.

Immigrant Letters and Immigration Regulation

In the correspondence cited in this paper, immigrants undertook a twofold task. In suggesting who would succeed in the United States, they defined what a "good" immigrant looked like. They did so with remarkable consistency across class, confessional, and regional boundaries, at least in the surviving record. This was primarily on the basis of willingness to labor, adherence to gender and sexual norms, and freedom from addiction or vice. Though there was significant overlap in these preferences among German, Irish, and Anglo-American communities, there was not unanimity among them, as local and national conflicts over temperance, religious education, and local charitable policies make clear.[61] In contesting the definition of a "worthy" immigrant, German Americans would subsequently help set the ideological rules for future generations of German and non-German immigrants.

Secondly, the widespread immigrant investment in regulating migration flows through their correspondence should cue in scholars to other ways in

which they could enact formal and informal regulatory policy. Over the past decade and a half, scholars have examined immigrants' roles in policy formation largely as responses to state initiatives. Especially since the 2004 publication of Mae Ngai's *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, projects on American immigration have devoted significant attention to the development of the federal government's immigration control apparatus and migrants' efforts to subvert it.[62] The understandable emphasis on the struggle between immigrants and federal authority has unfortunately made it more difficult to note and analyze immigrants' ability to make state action work *for* them, however. A growing body of work on the New York Commissioners of Emigration, the body entrusted with administering the immigration system in the United States' primary port of entry from 1847 to 1891, offers a route to understanding this dynamic.[63] Consisting of the mayors of New York City and Brooklyn, the presidents of the German Society of New York and Irish Emigrant Aid Society, and six at-large members appointed by the governor (of whom more than half would be foreign-born over the course of the Commission's existence), the Commissioners of Emigration represented a historically unique instance of immigrant actors being given legal authority to create and administer immigration policy. The widespread attempts of immigrant letter writers to shape migration streams according to their preferences and to monitor newcomers after arrival should suggest that their efforts are of a regulatory piece with this formal institution.

German-born Commissioner Friedrich Kapp would eventually write that the Commissioners of Emigration's system acted as "a filter in which the stream of immigration is purified; what is good passes beyond; what is evil, for the most part, remains behind." The "evil" portion consisted of "the idle, the sickly, the destitute, the worthless, who would become a burden instead of a help to our people" without state regulation barring entry to the "unworthy," or state aid administered by largely foreign-born functionaries to those considered "worthy" but temporarily destitute or disabled.[64] Its success relied on the ideological and practical buy-in of countless German and Irish Americans, who through their letters home also sought to establish filters on the Elbe and the Mersey.

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[1] For the use of migrant letters over time, see Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber, and Suzanne M. Sinke, eds., *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Springer, 2006), 1-27; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The Uses of Immigrant Letters," *GHI Bulletin* 41 (Fall 2007): 137-140; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Immigrant Epistolary and Epistemology: On the Motivators and Mentality of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28 no. 3 (Spring 2009), 34-54; and Marcelo J.

Borges and Sonia Cancian, "Reconsidering the Migrant Letter: from the Experience of Migrants to the Language of Migrants," *History of the Family* 21 no. 3 (2016): 281-290.

[2] See David A. Gerber, "'Yankeys Now?': Joseph and Rebecca Hartley's Circuitous Path to American Identity—A Case Study in the Use of Immigrant Letters as Social Documentation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28 no. 3 (Spring 2009): 7-9.

[3] Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., and Susan Carter Vogel, trans., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 29.

[4] Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: London School of Economics, 1971), 5.

[5] Daiva Markelis, "'Every Person Like a Letter': The Importance of Correspondence in Lithuanian Immigrant Life," in Elliott et al, eds., *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants*. (New York: Springer, 2006), 112.

[6] Organized state-level deportation did exist in Massachusetts and New York in this period, but the numbers were trivial relative to annual arrivals. See appendices B-E, Hidetaka Hirota, *Expelling the Poor: Atlantic Seaboard States and the Nineteenth-Century Origins of American Immigration Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 215-220. These figures are also inflated because they do not distinguish between individuals sent to other US states and modern-day Canada at state expense for the purposes of family reunification, or because of temporary financial distress while still in their ports of arrival.

[7] On the concept of remote immigration control, see Aristide Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 99-117.

[8] Kamphoefner, "Immigrant Epistolary and Epistemology," 37-43.

[9] Samuel L. Baily and Franco Ramella, eds. and John Lenaghan, trans. *One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence Across the Atlantic, 1901-1922* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 2.

[10] David A. Gerber, "Epistolary Masquerades: Acts of Deceiving and Withholding in Immigrant Letters," in Elliott et al, eds., *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Springer, 2006), 143.

[11] The author consulted approximately three thousand letters at several institutions, primarily in the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, and the National Library of Ireland. Letters were selected for their chronological situation as part of a larger project exploring German and Irish migration to the United States between 1815 and 1892. For that same reason, they exhibit a bias towards immigrants who either settled in or passed through New York City and those who settled in northern states.

[12] See Elliott et al, 2-4, and particularly Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner, "How Representative are Emigrant Letters? An Exploration of the German Case," in Elliott et al, eds., *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (New York: Springer, 2006), 29-55.

[13] Helbich and Kamphoefner, "How Representative are Emigrant Letters?"; Félix Krawatzek and Gwendolyn Sasse "Integration and Identities: The Effects of Time, Migrant Networks, and Political Crises on Germans in the United States," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60 no. 4 (2018):1029–1065.

[14] Cian T. McMahon, *The Coffin Ship: Life and Death at Sea during the Great Irish Famine* (New York: New York University Press, 2021), 248.

[15] Robert McCoy to nephew, October 10, 1848, McCoy Family Papers, D1444/19b, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, United Kingdom.

[16] R.D. Reinhold to parents, November 10, 1850, Deutsche Auswandererbriefe Sammlung Braucht/Reinhold (hereafter DABS), Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany

[17] Albert Krause to his mother, August 19, 1863, DABS Krause/Krause, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[18] Friedrich Rogosch to his brother, July 16, 1865, DABS Gauss/Rogosch, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[19] Erickson, 5.

[20] Kamphoefner et. al., 28.

21 Walter Kamphoefner dubs this phenomenon "differentiated migration advice" in a brief discussion of this tactic in Kamphoefner, "Immigrant Epistolary and Epistemology," 43-45.

[22] Stille quoted in Kamphoefner et al, 68.

[23] J.F. Schipper to father, October 17, 1865, DABS Arndt/Schipper, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[24] Julius Stern to parents, October 30, 1834, DABS American Jewish Archives/Stern, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[25] Menko Stern to Julius Stern, March 24, 1836, DABS American Jewish Archives/Stern, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[26] R.D. Reinhold to his uncle, January 20, 1844, DABS Braucht/Reinhold, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[27] Otto Quellmalz to parents and siblings, January 12, 1873, DABS Fuhrmann/Quellmalz, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[28] J.F. Schipper to father, October 17, 1865, DABS Arndt/Schipper, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[29] Johann (Carl) Wilhelm Pritzlaff to mother and siblings, April 23, 1842, DABS Clemens/Pritzlaff, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Germany.

[30] John Dieden to Johann Jung, May 20, 1855, DABS Kamphoefner/Dieden, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[31] Wilhelm Stille quoted in Kamphoefner et al, 85.

[32] See particularly the defensiveness among many German Americans regarding gendered labor patterns. Jon Gjerde, "Prescriptions and Perceptions of Labor and Family among Ethnic Groups in the Nineteenth-Century American Middle West," in Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner, eds., *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2004), 117-137.

[33] Susanna Heidrik to brother, November 9, 1856, DABS Vedder/Niggemann, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[34] Christian Lenz quoted in Kamphoefner et al, 139.

[35] This practice, combined with lower levels of literacy relative to Protestant Irish and Germans of all backgrounds, accounts for the relative paucity of surviving Irish correspondence. Donald Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden, and the Great European Migration, 1815-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 239.

[36] Louis Vagedes to Moritz Vagedes, April 2, 1834, DABS Steinheim/Vagedes, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[37] Hamburg STA/Benecke, Alfred Benecke to Minna Benecke [?], June 29, 1845, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[38] Anna Maria Klinger to family, mid-1850, DABS Klinger/Schano, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany. Portions of this collection are also reproduced in Kamphoefner et al, *News from the Land of Freedom*. I diverge from translator Susan Carter Vogel's rendering of this line as "Dear parents, you wrote me that Daniel wants to come to America and doesn't have any money, and that is certainly a problem. Now I want to give you my opinion. I've often thought about what could be done…" (pg 538). The original text is "Liebe Eltern ihr habt mir geschrieben daß der Daniel lust hat nach Amerika u. kein Geld das ist freilich ein

fehler nun will ich euch meine Ansicht schreiben ich hab schon oft daran gedacht was zu machen wäre."

[39] William Porter to Robert L. Porter, March 25, 1872, Browne and Porter Papers D1152/3/24, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast, United Kingdom.

[40] See the letters in the range of 1850-1854, DABS Klinger/Schano, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[41] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *The Irish Position in British and Republican North America: A Letter to the Editors of the Irish Press Irrespective of Party* (Montreal: M. Longmore & Co. Printing House, 1866), 5.

[42] Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse*, bd. 1 (Berlin: J. Springer, 1876), 165.

[43] Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York: The Nation Press, 1870), 20.

[44] Kamphoefner et al., 29.

[45] Gerber, "Epistolary Masquerades," 148.

[46] Gerber, "Epistolary Masquerades", 150.

[47] Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 91-121.

[48] The most obvious legal disabilities that foreign-born citizens faced came from Know-Nothing era legislation, particularly laws such as Massachusetts's Two Years Amendment that prohibited naturalized citizens from voting until two years after they had gained citizenship, as well as the temperance movement and scattered state and local prohibitions on religious and foreign language instruction in public schools.

[49] On state-level deportation, see Hidetaka Hirota, *Expelling the Poor*, and context added in footnote 6 of this article.

[50] Emile Dupré to his mother, August 10, 1860, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[51] Emile Dupré to his mother, February 1, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[52] Emile Dupré to his mother, June 8, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[53] Emile Dupré to his mother, August 18, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[54] Emile Dupré to his mother, October 5, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[55] Lottie Dupré to mother-in-law, October 6, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[56] Fritze Dupré to Emile and Lottie Dupré, October, 1861, DABS Leiß/Dupré, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[57] Joseph Ignatz Scheuermann to parents and siblings, December 10, 1878, DABS Adams/Scheuermann, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[58] Joseph Ignatz Scheuermann to Franz Joseph Scheuermann, December 6, 1891, DABS Adams/Scheuermann, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Gotha, Germany.

[59] Jacob Harvey to father, March 9, 1819, Jacob Harvey Papers, Box 1 folder 7, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[60] Jacob Harvey to father, March 10, 1817, Jacob Harvey Papers, Box 1 folder 7, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[61] A discussion of these conflicts lies beyond the scope of this article, but is the subject of the author's forthcoming dissertation.

[62] Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[63] Hirota, *Expelling the Poor*; Brendan O'Malley, "Protecting the Stranger: The Origins of US Immigration Regulation in Nineteenth-Century New York" PhD diss., (City University of New York, 2015); Katherine Carper, "The Migration Business, 1824-1876," PhD diss., (Boston College, 2020); as well as the author's forthcoming dissertation.

[64] Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York: The Nation Press, 1870) 157-158. The exact nativity of the Commission's low-level functionaries is impossible to determine, as the Commission's records were destroyed by fire in 1897, but existing evidence suggests that it was significant.

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Sosúa heute / Sosúa Today: A Post-Place Community Connected by a Shared History

1. Introduction

Sosúa is a small city at the Dominican Republic's Northern coast, which was founded in the early 1940s to support a group of Jewish refugees escaping persecution by the national socialists during the German Third Reich. The history and socioeconomic development of this settlement has been well documented,[1] but only few studies have considered the sociolinguistic character and the current development of this group.[2] While few members of the community still reside in Sosúa permanently, it seems that the shared history, upbringing, and similar migration experiences have formed a community that is multi- / trilingual, interconnected, and identifies with Sosúa and its linguistic heritage.

This essay serves two major purposes: first, to provide more insights into the language use in Sosúa from its establishment until the present day based on oral history interviews, and second, to show that the concept of "post-place community"[3] may be fruitfully integrated into sociolinguistic approaches since the group defies traditional notions of *"Sprachinsel"* because most group members no longer (permanently) reside in Sosúa. In sociology, it is argued that people nowadays typically do not find a sense of community in their place of residence (e.g. town or neighborhood) but instead develop communities based on shared interests, beliefs or experiences that are no longer tied to a particular place. We believe that adopting this theory into

sociolinguistics is worthwhile and provide a description of the unique make-up of this group, while simultaneously arguing for a broader approach for defining communities in the wake of post-vernacular and post-place groups and identity construction.

2. Summary of Sosúa's history and development

The city of Sosúa, located at the north coast of the Dominican Republic, has a special history which is often overlooked by the average tourist that frequents its popular hotels, bars, and restaurants. It was originally founded as an agricultural commune for Jewish refugees escaping Europe during the Third Reich and saved more than 750 lives.[4] During the conference of Evian in 1938, delegates from more than 32 countries met to discuss the fate of Jewish people and other minorities under the prosecution of the Nazi regime. Despite the horrendous situation, the results of the conference were disappointing, as only one country offered to open its borders for large-scale immigration efforts. This country was the Dominican Republic, represented by its controversial dictator, Raphael Trujillo. Trujillo himself had ordered the murder of 20,000 Haitians, and his offer to accept up to 100,000 Jewish refugees has been argued to be an attempt of polishing his image internationally, while also being at least partially motivated by the idea of "whitening" the Dominican population. Nonetheless, or due to a lack of other options, the plan was set in motion and a committee led by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (or JDC) began to prepare for an agricultural commune to be founded in Sosúa. Land was acquired for this project, and applicants were "recruited" often from labor camps in the German Third Reich. Because of the strict requirements (preferably young, unmarried, physically fit people with knowledge in the agricultural sector), the number of approved visas was rather low. At the same time, the beginning of the war made travel across the ocean increasingly difficult and dangerous for those who had received a visa to settle in the Dominican Republic. Out of the first 2,000 approved applicants, only 54 eventually arrived in Sosúa in 1941.[5]

In the first years, the agricultural aspirations to grow crops were unsuccessful and only a switch to dairy farming and the production of cheese and butter brought economic success. The community slowly grew with more settlers arriving from Europe and Shanghai, and new institutions were founded by the settlers with funds from the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA). Among these were a synagogue, a school, a theater, and a hospital, so that the community was self-sufficient and even started employing locals in certain sectors. However, when the United States opened its borders to immigrants again after the end of the war, many families took the opportunity to leave the Dominican Republic. Some families

kept vacation homes or businesses and regularly returned to Sosúa. In the following decades, Sosúa grew in size and became a popular tourist town with a lively red-light district and party scene. The German-Jewish heritage of the town is still represented with the synagogue and museum as well as some street signs, but most community members have moved to the United States or other countries (Argentina, Israel, Germany). Nonetheless, there seems to be a sense of community and identification with the shared history and heritage by community members, which will be shown in more detail in the next sections.

3. Beyond the *Sprachinsel* – theoretical considerations

Given the special history of Sosúa and the complex linguistic situation, a first challenge is to find a suitable theoretical framework with which the group and its current language use can be described and analyzed: While it is a group of mainly German-speaking origin, the linguistic situation has been more complex since the beginning, with other Eastern European languages being spoken in the group, albeit to a lesser extent. From an identificatory perspective, the context of persecution, escape and Jewish diaspora in the Americas plays a major role, even if religious practices never played a central role in the group.[6] Lastly, the question of whether there is a single group to be studied at all arises.

In the following, we approach these problems from a starting point of language island studies and the Verticalization Model of language shift, before proposing the concept of "post-place community" as a means of encompassing non-local groups of speakers like Sosúa.

3.1. Language islands and Verticalization

The concept of *Sprachinsel*[7] has traditionally been often used to describe German-speaking groups which migrated from German-speaking regions and established settlements that are linguistically and culturally distinct from the new surrounding majority society. In the original sense, *Sprachinselforschung* focuses on "internally structured settlements of a linguistic minority on a limited geographical area in the midst of a linguistically different majority."[8] Rosenberg differentiates the 'old language islands' which were founded in the Middle Ages in Eastern, Central and Southern Europe from the 'new language islands' which were established in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Logically, the groups that can be found in North and South America, Australia, and Asia according to this definition all fall under the 'new' category. Strictly speaking, the settlement in Sosúa would already fall outside of these categories because it was founded in 1940, but we will assume for now that

settlements established in the 20th century may potentially still develop as language islands. In order to understand what defines a language island, we will consider Mattheier's "Sprachinsel-Lebenslaufmodell" ('model of a language island life').[9] Based on the descriptive developments of numerous language islands in the United States, he proposed that language islands typically develop in four phases and may decline due to social-cultural change in two phases (see Table 1).

Table 1. Model of a language island life (modified from Mattheier 2003, p. 28)

Initial situation (*Ausgangskonstellation*)	Sociohistorical developments that cause (mass) migration
	Phase of migration
Foundationphase of a language island (*Konstituierungsphase*)	Settlement as a group (sometimes group identity only develops due to settlement)
Consolidationphase (*Konsolidierungsphase*)	Linguistic processes of mixing, leveling or koineization; sociolinguistic finalization of group consolidation (integration of late migrants); development or adaptation of group-identity to new surrounding
	If no group identity is developed, assimilation may be expected sooner
Phase of stability (*Stabilitätsphase*)	No or minimal language loss / change
	In this phase, language spread may be possible
Between the phase of stability and the phase of assimilation, socio-cultural changes in the language island or its surrounding are expected	
Turning point (*Umschlagpunkt*)	
Phase of assimilation (*Assimilationsphase*)	Often as a belated three-generation assimilation process
	Decay of language island (~~*Sprachinselverfall*~~) (→ Language shift or language change)
Language island death (~~*Sprachinseltod*~~) (→ completion of language shift)	Late phases of a language island as 'culture islands' or tourist attraction (→ postvernacular or post-place stage possible)

Some of the terminology in this model has been under criticism in recent years (especially the terms *Sprachinselverfall* 'decay of the language island' and *Sprachinseltod* 'language island death').[10] For one, 'decay of language island' assumes a qualitative decline of the language or community, but is rather broad in scope. We will use the terms 'language shift' to refer to the change from one community language to another, and 'language change' to refer to structural changes within the linguistic system of the minority language, to avoid the negative connotation of 'decay'.[11] Similarly, many recent approaches shy away from the term 'language island death', as the term implies a finality and complete disappearance of the group, which is typically not the case. Instead, studies have shown that passive linguistic knowledge often extends beyond the last active speaker generation[12] and that identification with the heritage and cultural traditions remain vital components of postvernacular communities.[13] Therefore, instead of using *Sprachinseltod*, we will refer to this (potential) phase as 'completion of language shift.' We also believe that the community may continue to exist even after the minority language is no longer passed on to younger generations. In those cases, the community may exist as a locally bound postvernacular community, in which community members still identify with their heritage, or the community may spread out and no longer exist as a local entity but rather as a loose, (globally) scattered network of individuals and families who identify as part of the group on the basis of shared experiences or a shared history.

Another point of criticism of *Sprachinseln* is their supposed isolation: While in the beginning some minority groups may in part have been geographically delimited and relatively isolated, these characteristics hardly apply to newer communities or the remainders of older groups. Therefore, modern minority language groups can hardly be defined as *islands*.[14] In fact, even very remote language islands are always in some form of contact to the surrounding societies, for example via the presence of national institutions and services. The role of these institutions is also one of the main factors for language shift that has recently been in the focus of studies and has led to the development of the Verticalization Model of language shift. Based on Warren's theoretic model of community,[15] this concept explains language shift as the outcome of switching from locally (i.e., "horizontally") organized institutions to regional, statewide or nationally ("vertically") organized ones: "[H]orizontally structured communities will typically maintain a minority language, while verticalization will lead to shift to the majority language."[16] In the case of Sosúa, the question of interest would thus be whether there have been horizontally organized institutions in the early years of the settlement and if a shift to vertical ones can be retraced. This question will be addressed in section 5.

3.2 "Post-place" but not gone: Global networks of identification

Despite the criticism that minority language groups do no longer exist as isolated, geographically secluded settlements, there have been few attempts from within the field of linguistics to describe groups that are no longer bound to one location but exist rather as a loose network of individuals and families who identify with a shared heritage.[17] In an approach from the studies of community development, Bradshaw defines this kind of network as a "post-place community" arguing that urban living spaces provide few incentives to identify with a location or with the other people living in the same geographic area.[18] Rather, many people nowadays tend to search for a sense of community by identifying with people who share their values, interests, or heritage. This practice is especially easy due to the advent of modern technology, connecting networks of people all over the globe. Thus, post-place communities are "virtual and global, fluid and transformative, largely electronic with occasional face to face" and community members typically have weak ties and are affiliated to multiple different networks.[19]

As we have seen, while the community of Sosúa developed out of a settlement that could be considered similar to a *Sprachinsel*, there are factors which make the categorization difficult, if not impossible: Firstly, the often assumed (and in fact never complete) isolation of the settling group is clearly not given. The settlers in Sosúa had been in contact with the Dominican society since their arrival, despite settling in a relatively remote area. Secondly, the time for the development of a *Sprachinsel*society was not given since the migration towards the U.S. started shortly after WWII. Thirdly, *Sprachinsel*societies were mostly self-sustaining agricultural settlements and although the Jewish settlers in Sosúa worked towards learning these traits and becoming more or less self-sufficient, their personal backgrounds were mostly non-agricultural ones, making the transition into the new lifestyle very difficult. This, in turn, made the option of migrating to the U.S. and work in other trades even more appealing.

At the same time, it is evident that the German-Jewish community of Sosúa has not merely disappeared or reached the completion of language shift, since German is still partly being spoken. Moreover, as Schröer & Rocker[20] have shown, there continues to be a community from Sosúa with many former residents now owning vacation homes in Sosúa, returning regularly for family festivities and maintaining contact with the larger group through social media. In order to account for the community in its current form, we want to propose the adaption of the concept of post-place communities.[21] This theory is based on the differentiation between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* by Tönnies,[22] but adding the fact that community does not have to be linked to place:

> A key feature of the solidarity-based community as opposed to the place-based community is that community becomes a concept that is variable rather than either-or. If we define community on the basis of physical boundaries, then a resident is either in or out. If we define community in terms of social ties characteristic of solidarity, then it can scale from low to high. The question is not if you are in a community but how much community you have.[23]

This approach allows for us to suppose the existence of a community, even if the members reside in different parts of the world. We are thus going to assume that there is a post-place community of Sosúa, consisting of members in the Dominican Republic, parts of the US, and other countries in Latin America.

4. Data

The data presented here stem from two different sources. Firstly, we will make use of oral history interviews which were conducted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington in the early 1990s. In these interviews, informants narrate their experiences during the Third Reich, their escape from Europe, their arrival and stay in Sosúa, and their life after leaving the Dominican Republic. We made use of four English oral history interviews mentioning Sosúa, which are publicly available in video format and in some cases feature transcriptions or notes with event markers and time stamps. Where no official transcript is available, we transcribed excerpts of the interviews for this article (simplified transcript).

The second data set was collected in an initial study in 2019.[24] Three informants were interviewed in German, Spanish, and English about their memories and experiences growing up in Sosúa as "second-generation" settlers. Besides the sociolinguistic interviews, participants were asked to narrate the picture book story 'Frog, where are you?'.[25] The following analysis is based on both sets of interview data.

5. Sociolinguistic development of Sosúa

5.1 Early years: German as a lingua franca

For most language islands, migration is caused by *push* or *pull* factors, meaning that certain sociopolitical or economic reasons may *push* people to leave their homes, whereas reports from previous migrants, prospects of a

more prosperous life or more freedom may *pull* immigrants towards a certain area.[26] Importantly, the migration we see in language islands is typically voluntary and often served the pursuit of economic betterment or religious freedom. For Sosúa, the circumstances which caused migration could not be further removed. As the national socialist party increased the persecution and murder of Jewish people and other minorities across Europe, chances of escape became slim and options were scarce. In fact, some refugees were able to escape labor camps because they received visa for the Dominican Republic, sometimes without knowing what they had signed up for:

> *Later on, when I had said yes, and .. and .. we were already .. uh informed which route we would take and – then, I got myself a map and said 'Where is the Dominican Republic? I've never heard in my life of it.' And I had no idea what we will do there. It was the tro- a tropical island, somewhere, in the Caribbean, but – that was all I knew about it. But we didn't care. To get out of Europe, have the possibility, was great*.[27]

As exemplified in this example, Jewish refugees did not *choose* to settle down in the Dominican Republic, rather it was their only option of escaping. In addition, it seems that the selection process (see section 2) and administrative hurdles hindered the rescue of more people. Those who were selected and able to escape often endured a long and difficult journey, traveling via Spain, Portugal, and Ellis Island (USA) to the Dominican Republic. Since the selection process was led by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee* (known as JDC or Joint) in many different countries, refugees originated from across Europe. As one second generation settler recalls:

> *Die Stiefmutter sprach Deutsch, aber österreichisches Deutsch. Und ein bisschen Jiddisch dabei.* [...] *Wir hatten Leute aus Polen, aus Russland, aus Luxemburg, glaube ich, aus der Tschechoslowakei, aus Österreich und Deutschland, aber unsere Hauptsprache war Deutsch.*[28]

In contrast to many other *Sprachinseln,* whose community members have often been described as forming group identity based on shared local origin[29] such as "Hessen, Schwaben or Plattdeutsche",[30] the group in Sosúa obviously lacked such geographical or dialectal commonalities but shared their religion, European background, and similar sociopolitical experiences. Thus, it is possible that their group identity was influenced by shared experiences, attitudes, and, to some extent, necessity, as they were trying to navigate their new environment. Despite the different places of origin, German was the *lingua franca* in the early years of the settlement. Since many facilities were

run by settlers for settlers, not everyone had a need to learn Spanish. For the first generation, it seems that men learned more Spanish because they often worked in the agricultural sections and interacted more with the locals than women did, who tended to work as homemakers, in the communal kitchen, or in the hospital. One nurse, who worked at the newly established hospital in Sosúa, recalls:

> Interviewer: *I don't suppose you spoke Spanish before you went to the Dominican Republic, uh right?*
> Mrs. Bauer: *No. And I did not learn as much at that time as . . . uh my husband. I didn't have time. I worked twelve to fourteen hours every single day* [...].[31]

Another individual, who migrated to Sosúa from Shanghai in 1947 as a child, said:

> *Meine Mutter hat nie eine andere Sprache gelernt. In der Familie haben wir Deutsch gesprochen. Wenn sie hat hier gelebt, sie hat sich nie angepasst richtig.* [...] *zu der Zeit hier in Sosúa haben alle Leute Deutsch gesprochen*.[32]

The Dominican-born children of the settlers can be described as German heritage speakers, since they acquired the language at home and with other community members but also learned Spanish early on from local children:

> *Nun die Kinder, die meisten Kinder, waren hier geboren.* [...] *Die sprachen Deutsch zu Hause, aber auf der Straße haben die immer Spanisch gelernt.* [...] *Es waren ein paar Dominikaner, aber die Schule war ein, war eine deutsche Schule, aber man hat Spanisch gesprochen*.[33]

Since the second generation grew up in close contact with the local Dominican children, they learned Spanish early on. It is possible that the different German dialects did not form a koiné or show signs of leveling because the second generation showed high levels of bilingualism and strongly identified with their Spanish-speaking peers. In some cases, this led to conflicts with parents, as the Dominican-born children identified with their homeland and sometimes even rejected speaking German in public. A feeling of belonging and being a part of the local community is also expressed by one of the first-generation settlers, who contrasts her experiences with the hatred and mistrust she had experienced in Germany during the Nazi regime:

> *But now, as an adult, I came to understand why I'm so attached to this. And that's simply because that was the first time in my life that I felt, experienced any kind of freedom. Any kind of equality with being able to walk in the street without being afraid. And with people looking me straight in the eye and smiling, rather than looking at me with hate and looking away.*[34]

With regard to Mattheier's language island model, we can establish that the foundation and consolidation phase (see section 3.1), which may lead to the development of a distinct local variety, were rather short-lived in the case of Sosúa. Although German was used as a *lingua franca* among the first-generation settlers, there seems to have been no dialect levelling or koineization, as current informants refer to 'the Austrians' or 'the Germans', hinting at the transfer of local dialects to children. In fact, the second-generation of settlers already grew up bilingually and often developed a German-Dominican identity. This bond is probably a strong common ground for the prevailing identification with Sosúa. If there ever was a phase of stability, it was between the late 1940s and 1960s, when families who did not want to stay had moved on, and those who wanted to stay had more agency in the local dairy factory or other businesses.[35] This would also have been the time when Dominican-born community members entered adolescence and early adulthood.

Similar developments have also been described for German or German Bohemian minority groups in Romania, where initially isolated language islands dispersed over the years, but a sense of community was upheld based on a shared group identity:

> Diese in den Jahrzehnten nach der Einwanderung entstandene, identitätsbasierte Zusammengehörigkeit konnte und kann zum Teil bis heute gewisse räumliche Distanzen überwinden und eine zumindest rudimentäre Sprachgemeinschaft erhalten.[36]

In the case of Sosúa, we believe that identity-based belonging is a major component of community building, especially as the shared and dominant languages seem to be shifting from German to Spanish and English, which will be explored in more detail in the next section.

5.2 The USA as a point of attraction: Becoming trilingual

Although the settlement was developing well economically, many individuals and families decided to leave Sosúa and the Dominican Republic altogether in 1946, mostly heading to the USA.[37] Since the location and

purpose of the settlement was decided by the Dominican government and the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA),[38] individuals arriving in Sosúa had little say about the location or purpose of the settlement. Thus, the strenuous work conditions in the agricultural section as well as the tropical climate did not appeal to everybody. When the USA lifted the immigration ban for German citizens after the end of the war, many individuals and families left Sosúa, often because they assumed better economic conditions and educational opportunities but also to be reunited with family members who had settled in the USA prior to the war. One interviewee talks about being very happy to leave Sosúa for New York City with her sister:

> *My sister and I came in March of 1946 and our parents stayed behind in Sosúa in the Dominican Republic. I remember that when our visas arrived, I jumped about this high.* [...] *I was so happy*.[39]

Although many settlers expressed relieve to receive the opportunity to go to the United States, this decision came with some obstacles for some individuals, especially in terms of learning another language, as this example shows:

> *And I stayed there until nineteen forty-six. 'Til I got papers to come to United States. so . . . eventually, I boarded a train – uh a plane, and I flew to Miami. And I had to learn another language. This time, I had to learn English. That time, nobody understood Spanish in Miami.*[40]

While the younger generation seemed to be able to pick up English quickly (all interviews by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum are in English), some of the older family members never learned English, despite spending the rest of their lives in the USA. One interviewee recalls of her father, who worked as a lawyer and helped fellow German-Jewish immigrants to receive restitutions from the German government:

> *He had a very difficult time adjusting to American life, at first and he never learned English. [...] And he was-- that way, he never needed to speak English because all of his customers were German*.[41]

However, many of the Dominican-born individuals also developed intense ties to the USA, often receiving an education or spending many years of their lives away from the Dominican Republic. Thus, one second-generation settler recalls being sent to New York to live with his sister at the age of 14 in order to receive a better education, while the parents remained in Sosúa. After high school, he joined the US Navy and got a degree as a mechanic. But after

spending most of his adolescent and young adult years in the US, he returned to the Dominican Republic in 1975 and permanently settled down in Sosúa in 1990.[42] Similarly, another interviewee said that he went to Pittsburgh in 1959 to study engineering at Carnegie Mellon University, and ended up staying in the USA for a total of 17 years before returning to Sosúa.[43] Both speakers mention their positive attitudes towards the USA but emphasize that they felt more at home in the Dominican Republic. This feeling of connectedness is expressed by the regular celebrations of anniversaries of the settlements, which date back as early as 1950, when the 10th anniversary of the settlement was celebrated.[44] Many of the later anniversaries attracted former residents to return to Sosúa, for example in 1980 for the 40th anniversary, which was celebrated with a religious service in the synagogue.[45] For the 50th anniversary, a brochure with photos and a summary of the celebrations was published afterwards.[46] In recent years, the celebrations have often been attended by political and religious leaders from Israel, Germany, and the USA, as well as former and current residents of Sosúa.[47] These recurring organized events have strengthened the pride and identification of the (former) residents with the global Sosúa community.

6. Discussion and outlook

As detailed above, the Sosúa settlement had a relatively short lifespan compared to other, more traditional language islands. Although German was used as the *lingua franca* between first-generation settlers, the Dominican-born children grew up bilingually and received their basic education in Spanish. Even though other institutions maintained the immigrant languages (Hebrew in the synagogue, mostly German in the hospital), introducing Spanish as the school language may have accelerated the language shift within the second generation. Since many individuals and families left the country in 1946 for the USA, the community adopted a third language, English. As the community in Sosúa became global and trilingual as individuals migrated to the USA and other countries, many felt intense ties to their old home and maintained personal connections to other former settlers, thus forming a community based on shared history and identity, rather than a shared residential area. Therefore, defining communities like Sosúa as "Sprachinseln" may not be an adequate description of many minority language groups in the 21st century. As such, we have shown that it is worthwhile to adopt Bradshaw's concept of "post-place community" which no longer defines communities by a shared geographic location but rather by networks of people sharing a particular identity or set of values.[48]

While the settlement in Sosúa was initially a geographically secluded

community with a shared sociopolitical and religious background, many individuals and families eventually left and migrated to different locations, such as the USA. As a result, the group in Sosúa may no longer be bound to one specific location, but rather exists as a loose global network of individuals and families who are virtually connected but still identify with their shared heritage.

With the advent of modern technology, such as the internet and social media, it has become easier for individuals in and from Sosúa to connect with others who share their heritage, regardless of their physical location. This has allowed for the formation of a "post-place community" where individuals can maintain their sense of identity and connection with others who share their cultural background, even if they are dispersed across different geographic areas. We believe it may be time to reevaluate our understanding of language communities in light of current global sociological and technical developments and hope to have provided a helpful first attempt at describing one such community.

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Notes

[1] Cf. Dillmann und Heim 2009; Kaplan 2010; Wells 2009.

[2] But cf. Schröer & Rocker 2021 and Wolf-Farré & Rocker 2024.

[3] Bradshaw 2008, p. 5.

[4] Wells 2009, p. 285.

[5] Ross 1994, p. 250.

[6] Dillmann und Heim 2009, pp. 109–110.

[7] Cf. Mattheier 1994.

[8] English translation by Rosenberg 2005 p. 221, based on a German citation from Hutterer 1982, p. 178.

[9] Mattheier 2003, p. 28.

[10] Cabo & Rothman 2012, Putnam & Sánchez 2013, Kupisch & Rothman 2018.

[11] A further discussion of Mattheier's (2003) model and the terminology around "language shift" can be found in Wildfeuer (2017a, p. 199–210).

[12] Sherkina-Lieber et al. 2011.

[13] Brown & Hietpas 2019; Kleih 2022; Reershemius 2009.

[14] Wildfeuer 2017b; Franz 2021.

[15] Warren 1978.

[16] Salmons 2005, p. 134.

[17] As an exception, cf. a third-party funded project by Alfred Wildfeuer (University of Augsburg) and Sebastian Franz (University of Heidelberg) exploring multilingual networks and cross-local identity constructions for Banater Germans in Romania and the United States (more information available at <https://www.uni-augsburg.de/de/fakultaet/philhist/professuren/germanistik/variationslinguistik/forschung/bkm_forschungsprojekt/>).

[18] Bradshaw 2008.

[19] Bradshaw 2008, p. 8, Table 1.

[20] Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 93.

[21] Bradshaw 2008.

[22] I.e., Community and Society, cf. Tönnies und Harris 2001.

[23] Bradshaw 2008, p. 13.

[24] Schröer & Rocker 2021.

[25] Mayer 1969.

[26] Lee 1966.

[27] RG-50.166.0002, 1992. Oral history interview with Felix Bauer; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn505514; 24:25–24:57).

[28] Speaker 2, female, born 1953 in Sosúa. Interviewed in November 2019 in Sosúa, for more information see Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 88. English translation: "The stepmother spoke German, but Austrian German. And a bit of Yiddish as well. [...] We had people from Poland, from Russia, from Luxemburg I believe, from Czechoslovakia, from Austria and Germany but our main language was German."

[29] E.g., Bousquette & Ehresmann 2010, Frizzel 1992, Langer 2008, Litty et al. 2015, Keel 2006.

[30] Langer 2008, p. 190; Franz 2021.

[31] RG Number: RG-50.166.0003. 1992. Oral history interview with Martha Bauer; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507341; 28:21–28:36).

[32] Speaker 1, male, born 1941 in Shanghai, settled in Sosúa with his family in 1947. Interviewed in November 2019 in Sosúa; for more information see Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 87–88. English translation: "My mother never learned a different language. We spoke German in our family. When she lived here, she never really assimilated. At the time, everybody spoke German here. My dad learned Chinese when he was in China and English because he worked with the English army there and when he came here, he learned Spanish. Not very well but he was able to converse in every language."

[33] Speaker 1. Interviewed in November 2019 in Sosúa; for more information see Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 90. English translation: "Well the children, most of the children were born here. They spoke German at home but they learned Spanish on the street. There were a few Dominicans, the school was a German school but we spoke Spanish." (Clarification: the school was founded by the community and the school teacher was one of the settlers, who had learned Spanish prior to migrating to Sosúa. Although he spoke German, the school was run in Spanish and the local Dominican children were invited to attend as well).

[34] RG Number: RG-50.477.0031. 1992. Oral history interview with Lore Gilbert; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507702; Part 7, 00:38:32–00:39:11).

[35] Dillmann & Heim 2009, p. 157–165.

[36] Wildfeuer 2017b, p. 375; English translation: "This identity-based unity, which emerged in the decades after immigration, could and can still partially overcome certain spatial distances and maintain at least a rudimentary language community."

[37] Dillmann & Heim 2009, p. 148–149.

[38] DORSA was a subcommittee organized by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (known as JDC or Joint), which is based in New York.

[39] RG Number: RG-50.477.0031. 1992. Oral history interview with Lore Gilbert; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507702; Part 4, 00:15:19–00:15:36).

[40] RG Number: RG-50.462.0410. 1981. Oral history interview with Alex Mathes; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn566033: Part 3, 00:41:45–00:42:25).

[41] RG Number: RG-50.477.0031. 1992. Oral history interview with Lore Gilbert; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507702 ; Part 4, 00:12:54–00:14:38).

[42] Speaker 3, male, born 1942 in Sosúa. Interviewed in November 2019 in Sosúa; for more information see Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 88.

[43] Speaker 1, male, born 1941 in Shanghai, settled in Sosúa with his family in 1947. Interviewed in November 2019 in Sosúa; for more information see Schröer & Rocker 2021, p. 87–88.

[44] Sosúa Virtual Museum 2011. (Available at: http://www.sosuamuseum.org/events/sosua-anniversary-celebrations/10-anniversary-of-sosua-2/)

[45] Sosúa Virtual Museum 2011. (Available at: http://www.sosuamuseum.org/events/sosua-anniversary-celebrations/40-aniversario-periodico-2-1/)

[46] RG Number: RG-50.477.0031. 1992. Oral history interview with Lore Gilbert; The Jeff and Toby Herr Oral History Archive. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. (Available at: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507702; Part 7, 00:41:13–00:41:23)

[47] Dominican Today 2011, Sosúa Villas 2008–2022.

[48] Bradshaw 2008, p. 5.

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From the West End to Hollywood: The Story of John Oxenford, Critic, Translator, and Playwright

In mid-January 1873, John Oxenford, dramatic critic of the London *Times*, received an invitation from the author Alfred Bates Richards to see a production of Richards' play, *Cromwell*. The invitation had been extended at the request of George Rignold, the drama's principal actor, whose interpretation of Cromwell was masterful and who naturally desired that his performance be evaluated by so experienced and respected a writer as Oxenford. Hearing of Rignold's anxiety and wishing to comply with Richards' proposal, Oxenford, although suffering from acute bronchial catarrh and plagued by a hacking cough, left his sick bed to attend the presentation. Clement Scott relates the story further:

> …John Oxenford repaired to the Queen's Theatre, distressing cough and all, to do a good turn to the author and actor. George Rignold was, of course, in a highly nervous state of mind, for he had been told that Oxenford was in front. Alas! Presently the irritating bark began. It grew louder and louder. Rignold became visibly impatient and disconcerted. He was acting splendidly, but unhappily his scenes were all being ruined by that incessant coughing. At last he could stand it no longer; so he came forward and said:
>
> "Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to interrupt the performance, but I really cannot go on acting unless the old gentleman in the

> private box can suppress his distressing, but evidently depressing cough."
>
> At once poor John Oxenford rose from his seat and left the theatre…. When the curtain fell, someone rushed up to Rignold and exclaimed, "Do you know what you have done, George?" "No! Done! What?"
>
> "You have sent away John Oxenford, of *The Times*, who came out of a sick bed to help you at your own special request! George Rignold collapsed.[1]

The significance which Rignold attached to Oxenford's opinion is indicative of the prestige which the excessively kind reviewer enjoyed among his contemporaries, but Oxenford as a critic so erred on the side of leniency that his reviews, although witty and well-written, were rarely valued for their critical acumen. In his article on Oxenford for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Robin Humphrey Lagge notes that as a critic Oxenford was "amiable to a weakness"[2] and acquiescent to a fault, an opinion which accurately reflects the general consensus that Oxenford's writings on plays did not, as criticism, strike deep.[3] Edmund Yates (1831–1894), British novelist, dramatist, and journalist and an intimate friend of Oxenford's in the early 1850s, evaluates Oxenford's popular appeal in a like manner in his memoir, [4] although the history of the *Times* seems to indicate that the kindliness of Oxenford's reviews was officially enjoined.[5] Nonetheless, as the doyen of London dramatic critics in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Oxenford, who by 1873 had reviewed theatrical productions for the prestigious *Times* for over twenty years, was familiar to and respected by actor, playwright, and reader alike. He was, in addition, renowned as a writer of literally hundreds of plays and librettos,[6] which appeared on London stages for more than forty years. But although chiefly, if not exclusively, known to the general public as a dramatist and dramatic critic, John Oxenford was also a very able and accomplished scholar. Friends such as Yates lamented that "no man so thoroughly equipped with vast stores of erudition ever passed through a long life known only as the lightest literary sharpshooter."[7] Oxenford won relatively little acclaim during his lifetime for his translations of Goethe, Molière, and Calderón, and many of his contributions to various literary periodicals went almost unnoticed.[8] His not inconsiderable fame rested almost entirely upon his wide range of dramatic productions, including burlettas, ballets, burlesques, cantatas, comedies, comediettas, dramas, entertainments, extravaganzas, farces, melodramas, operas, operettas, operatic farces, serenatas, and tragedies,[9] and his eminently readable critiques.

Today Oxenford's plays have been largely forgotten and his dramatic

criticisms are gainsaid the name. Ironically, it is as a translator of German literature that Oxenford is remembered in the single post-1900 scholarly article written about him.[10] Still more ironically, in this one article, entitled "John Oxenford as Translator,"[11] Emma Gertrude Jaeck subjects Oxenford—the kindliest of critics[12]—to a harsh critical examination. Her rather disorganized article contains no statement of purpose, yet the intent to portray Oxenford as a plagiarist seems clear. Although she provides a brief biographical sketch of Oxenford and an incomplete list of his translations and adaptations from the French, Spanish, Italian, and German, her primary interest seems to lie in discrediting Oxenford's abilities as a translator. She shies away from accusing Oxenford directly but strongly implies that Oxenford had plagiarized variously from Parke Goodwin, John Henry Hopkins, Jr., Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, and Margaret Fuller in rendering Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* und Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe* into English. Jaeck quotes Parke Godwin's indignant charge of literary theft in appropriating his translation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* plus three periodical reviews which accuse Oxenford, in incontrovertible language, of blatant appropriation of Godwin's translation. She then states: "It is not my intention to make any accusations against John Oxenford. I shall simply cite corresponding extracts, taken at random, from each of the twenty books, and let the reader draw his own conclusions." The corresponding extracts are almost identical, showing only slight verbal alterations; the conclusions which the reader is meant to draw are obvious.

Jaeck follows a similar procedure in comparing Margaret Fuller's translation of Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* with those of Oxenford. However, she does not even consider Oxenford's translations of Soret and the sections of Eckermann not rendered into English by Mrs. Fuller. Nor does she ever state the percentage of original to adopted translations. She implies that she had discovered many more instances of direct borrowing on the part of Oxenford for his translation of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* than the six pages she reproduces in her article but provides no approximation of the actual extent of Oxenford's borrowing. In a book such as *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which exceeds five hundred pages in Oxenford's 1848 translation, even twenty-five or fifty pages of direct borrowing would not be significant enough to discount the value of Oxenford's original work.

One can of course agree with Jaeck that, when a model such as Godwin's or Fuller's translation existed, Oxenford did, in fact, adopt the sections which he likely considered virtually unimprovable. Yet such a statement says nothing of the skill with which Oxenford rendered his original translations or of the appropriateness of his decision to retain certain passages which had already been more than adequately translated into English. However, Jaeck

misconstrues much of the information she presents, while at the same time failing to include other facts requisite to a fair evaluation. After noting that Oxenford translated only Books I–XIII of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* for the Bohn's Standard Library edition while the remaining books (XIV–XX) were translated by the Rev. A.J.W. Morrision (216), Jaeck proceeds to compare random extracts of Books I–XX to illustrate Oxenford's appropriation of Godwin's translation (221–226). By inference, then, Jaeck accuses Oxenford of plagiarism on the basis of a translation which she herself has falsely ascribed to him.

Jaeck's inclusion of John S. Dwight in the list of translators whose renderings of *Dichtung and Wahrheit* Oxenford purportedly stole is also patently false, since Dwight translated (under Godwin's editorship) Books XVI–XX while Oxenford did not translate beyond Book XIII. Her inclusion of Charles A. Dana, as the American translator of Books X–XV, is also highly dubious, as Oxenford claimed to have only Books I–X of the Godwin edition before him as he worked, and the similarities between the Dana and Oxenford translations of Books X–XIII, even in Jaeck's two extracts, are not striking and are no greater than would be expected in two independent translations of the same passages. Even if Jaeck's arguments were so convincing as to discredit Oxenford's contributions to the translations of Goethe's autobiography and Eckermann's discussions with Goethe, her article could hardly be considered a representative or, still less, a complete study of Oxenford's many activities related to German and German literature.

Oxenford's versatility is indeed impressive and his productivity almost staggering. Born August 12, 1812, in Camberwell, Oxenford lived alone with his father in a house on Bedford Row for the majority of his years. It was here that the largely self-educated[13] writer indulged his passion for books,[14] and one can assume that it was in the tranquility of this domestic environment that he conceived and executed his numerous literary works, but to overemphasize this one aspect of Oxenford's life would give a false impression of the man, who was neither retiring nor otherworldly. During his years with *The Times*, Oxenford, witty and universally admired for his conversational powers, was the companion and good friend of other critics such as Clement Scott, B.L. Blanchard, and Edmund Yates, all members in good standing of "British Bohemia." Yates writes:

> British Bohemia … has been most admirably described by Thackeray in *Philip*: "A pleasant land, not fenced with drab stucco like Belgravia or Tyburnia: not guarded by a large standing army of footmen: not echoing with noble chariots, not replete with chintz drawing-rooms and neat tea-tables; a land over which hangs an endless fog, occasioned

> by too much tobacco: a land of chambers, billiard-rooms, and oyster-suppers: a land of song: a land where soda-water flows freely in the morning; a land of tin dish-covers from taverns and foaming porter: a land of lotos-eating (with lots of cayenne pepper), of pulls on the river, of delicious reading of novels, magazines, and saunterings in many studios: a land where all men call each other by their Christian names; where most are poor, where almost all are young, and where if a few oldsters enter, it is because they have preserved more tenderly and carefully than others their youthful spirits…."[15]

One assumes that Oxenford, described by Yates as being "full of the delightful humour, and [having] the animal spirits of a boy" at the age of forty-three, was one of these oldsters.[16]

Oxenford's completed translations in book form number over fifteen; his dramatic productions in England total slightly more than one hundred;[17] his translations of or adaptations from and critical articles about foreign literature which appear in British periodicals exceed sixty separate items. Such an enumeration does not even account for the copious reviews which have never been collected but which appeared in *The Times* during the period from 1850–1875. By the time of Oxenford's death in 1877, his assiduous labors had given rise to well over two hundred various contributions to the body of scholarly, critical, and imaginative material dealing with English as well as other European literatures. A closer perusal of these contributions reveals that a considerable portion concerns itself with German language and literature. It is on these specifically German-related works that the current discussion will focus. Such an approach necessitates the exclusion of all of Oxenford's theatrical criticisms and many of his dramas which played exclusively on the English stage, but one review warrants a brief mention as it reveals much of Oxenford's style. On 22 October 1866, Oxenford reviewed Bayle Bernard's version of Goethe's *Faust* in *The Times*.[18] The review is instructive in that it is written with Oxenford's characteristic concern for the background of a work and with the intent of broadening his readers' knowledge of German literature. Oxenford quotes from G.H. Lewes' account of the genesis of *Faust* and compares that and other English versions of *Faust* with the German original, pointing out similarities and differences; he also points out in which ways Goethe's treatment of the Faust legend was innovative. There are, of course, other reviews by Oxenford of German dramas which appeared on the London stage, but the primary concern here will be a consideration of Oxenford's translations from the German which were published in book form, the articles related to German literature which were printed under his name in British magazines, and those of his original plays which appeared in

any format in Germany.

Oxenford's translations from the German which were published as separate editions number at least eight.[19] The topical range of these volumes reflect the catholicity of Oxenford's taste. In order of their appearance in print, the six include: *Tales from the German* (1844); a collection of novellas translated together with C.A. Feiling;[20] *The Autobiography of Goethe* (1848); *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret* (1850); Friedrich Jacobs' *Hellas: or, The Home, History, Literature, and Art of the Greeks* (1855); Kuno Fischer's *Francis Bacon of Verulam* (1857); and the *Complete Edition of the Songs of Beethoven* (1878).

The first collection of Oxenford's translations in book form, *Tales from the German*, contains ten translations by Oxenford and seven by Feiling.[21] Oxenford's contributions include versions of: Goethe's "The New Paris;" E.T.A. Hoffmann's "The Elementary Spirit," "The Jesuits' Church in G…," and "The Sandmann;" Immermann's "The Wonders in the Spessart;" Heinrich von Kleist's "Michael Kohlhaas" and "St. Cecilia, or the Power of Music;" Musaeus' "Libussa;" Jean Paul's "The Moon;" and Schiller's "The Criminal from Lost Honour." Five of these translations were reprinted the same year in America in a shortened version of the collection.[22] Both the English and American editions received favorable reviews.[23] The *Athenaeum* praised the volume for "introducing [the reader] at once into the spirit of the literary mind of …Germany"[24] and was especially appreciative that the works of celebrated German authors were presented to the English public in such excellent translations.

Perhaps the best of the translations is Oxenford's version of "Der Verbrecher aus verlorener Ehe."[25] This translation is an especially accurate and careful one. Individual words are faithfully rendered,[26] and the word order of the original sentences is closely followed. Moreover, Oxenford gives his audience a truly readable version of Schiller's story, written in clear, fluent English, unmarred by confusing or unnecessarily convoluted sentences. His translation of the novella is markedly better than that of Richard Holcroft, which had been published in 1829 under the title of "The Dishonoured Irreclaimable." Holcroft's version, inaccurate in parts and much freer than Oxenford's,[27] often fails to give the English reader an adequate idea of Schiller's style.

Not as outstanding as the translation from Schiller, but nonetheless successful in their own right, are Oxenford's versions of Musaeus' "Libussa," Hoffmann's "Der Sandmann," and a selection from Immermann's *Münchhausen*. Although blemished by occasional infidelities to the original text,[28] Oxenford's "Libussa" is, in its clarity, infinitely preferable to the obfuscating Thomas Carlyle translation of 1841, which takes noticeable liberties with Musaeus' words.[29] "The Sandman," "an example of the comic

and terrible in union,"[30] is illustrative of Oxenford's ability to convey the tone and mood of the work he is translating. An accurate and well-reading translation, although not of course as smooth and polished as a more recent one,[31] Oxenford's version of "The Sandman" seems to have been the first translation of this tale to have been presented to the English public.[32] In his rendering of this story, as in that of the extract from *Münchhausen* entitled "The Wonders in the Spessart,[33] Oxenford is careful to supply his English readers with additional information which enhances their understanding of the text. A reference to Schiller's Franz Moor in "The Sandman" is, for instance, noted and explained, and the whole of "The Wonders in the Spessart" is prefaced by introductory remarks as to Immermann's probably satiric intent.[34]

Of the five novellas included in the American edition of *Tales from the German*, perhaps the one of greatest interest to the student of German-English literary relations is Oxenford's rendering of Heinrich von Kleist's "Michael Kohlhaas." Its inclusion marks what is probably the first appearance in England or America of any of Kleist's works in English translation.[35] Although its use of "thee" and "thou" seems antiquated to modern readers, Oxenford's version retains the tone and mood of the original. On the whole this careful[36] translation gives an English-speaking audience a good idea of the narrative style which Kleist sought to attain in reporting the story as if it were taken from an old chronicle.

Commendable, too, is Oxenford's decision to translate the first thirteen books of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* for Bohn's Standard Library. Prior to the publication of Oxenford's version of Goethe's autobiography in 1848, there had appeared in England only an anonymous 1823 translation and a reprint of Parke Godwin's 1846 American edition. The first was "a poor copy of a wretched French version"[37] and so far removed from the original as to give English readers a false impression of the work and of Goethe, while the second, although more than adequate, was by no means a definitive translation.[38] Oxenford, who based part of his version on the first ten books of the translation edited by Godwin, freely admitted that the American edition contained "many successful renderings" and that those he had "engrafted without hesitation."[39] A selective borrower, however, he took over without alteration only those portions which he felt himself essentially unable to improve. In most cases Oxenford did make certain minor changes, and although the Godwin and Oxenford versions of Books I–X frequently differ only slightly, it is usually the Oxenford translation which is closer to the German original.[40] Moreover, Oxenford's rendering of Books XI–XIII, which he translated without a copy of the American work before him, is clear and faithful and of higher quality than the London reprint of Part 3 of Godwin's edition. The price of the Godwin version was, furthermore, prohibitive for many Englishmen. Oxenford's translation, undertaken to be

published as volume I of Goethe's work for Bohn's Standard Library, had the added advantage of appearing "in so cheap and convenient a form" as to be placed "within the reach of every one."[41]

The Oxenford translation, printed as *The Auto-biography of Goethe. Truth and Poetry: From My Own Life*, was both a critical and a popular success. Typical of the critical comments which the book received are those of the reviewer for the *Spectator*, who, pronouncing the translation to be generally excellent, states that it "is executed with skill and fidelity: Only a few passages occur in which Mr. Oxenford appears to have missed the exact meaning, and the misconception in those are not of a nature to affect the tone or tendency of the work as a whole."[42] Warmly received from the time of its initial appearance, the book was reprinted without alteration in 1871, 1872, 1874, and 1888. In 1891 a revised edition appeared. Parts of the translation were also issued separately in England: Books I–V in 1888 as *Goethe's Boyhood*, and Books I–IX in 1904 as *The Early Life of Goethe*. Oxenford's translation was, moreover, reprinted in America in 1882 and 1902 and was, in fact, in print in the United States as *The Autobiography of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe* as late as 1969[43], published by the Horizon Press (New York, 1969).

Oxenford's translation of Goethe's discussions with Johann Peter Eckermann and Frédéric Jacob Soret was no less of a popular success. *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, first published in 1850, was reissued for Bohn's Standard Library as volume VI of *Goethe's Works* in new editions in 1874 and 1875 and in revised editions in 1883 and 1892. In 1901 an abridged edition of the work, entitled *Conversations with Eckermann*, appeared simultaneously in Washington and London. Selections from Oxenford's translation of the Eckermann conversations, entitled *Goethe on the Theater*, were published in 1919 by the Dramatic Museum of Columbia University. And in 1935 a slightly altered edition of the Eckermann translation, entitled *Conversations with Goethe* and reprinted from a 1930 abridgment, was published, as was its predecessor, in both London and New York.

Oxenford's *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret* was not, however, an unqualified critical success. Judgments of the merits of this translation range from the approving "as exact and faithful as it is elegant" of the *Spectator* reviewer[44] to the "mistranslations are not infrequent—bad translation abounds" of the critic for the *Literary Gazette*.[45] The reviewer for the *Athenaeum*, in a well-balanced critique, commends the book to his readers' perusal with some reservation:

> Mr. Oxenford's version is rather a literal than a substantial copy of the text. It may be called accurate enough, so far as a close rendering of word for word will give unfrequently the virtual force of the

> expressions, for want of proper equivalents; while the language, as English, is rendered somewhat awkward and foreign-looking by too close a repetition of the cast of the original sentences.[46]

The review also points out that although Oxenford had appended a few notes to the text where explanation seemed indispensable and had, in addition, supplied an index, the annotation is not, in fact, sufficient. The allusions to person and things not expressly described in the text are many, and, as these were not suitably explained by Oxenford, the writer feels that the task of introducing the book to a foreign audience had not been completed.[47]
Whatever their individual opinions of the quality of Oxenford's translation, reviewers are unanimous in their praise of his arrangement of the various conversations. The opinion expressed in the *Dublin University Magazine* is typical:

> Eckermann's journal is much more conveniently arranged in this [Oxenford's] English translation than in the original. In the original, two volumes were first published, and the curiosity of the public excited by these led to the publication of a third. The order of time is thus broken in the original. The translator has remedied this—inserting whatever is introduced in the third volume according to its chronological order.[48]

The different reviewers also evince unanimity in the praise they extend to Oxenford for making the complete[49] set of Goethe's conversations accessible at last to the English-reading public. Sarah Margaret Fuller's excellent translation of the Eckermann conversations had, of course, been published in Boston in 1839, but her version is marked by "frequent omissions which render it almost an abridgement."[50] Oxenford was the first to render into English all of the Eckermann conversations and the first to attempt a translation of the Soret conversations.[51]

Oxenford also introduced works of certain German scholars to the English-reading public. In 1855 he published a translation of Friedrich Jacobs' *Hellas: or, The Home, History, Literature, and Art of the Greeks* and in 1857 a version of Kuno Fischer's *Francis Bacon of Verulam: Realistic Philosophy and its Age*. The first is comprised of the manuscripts for a series of lectures delivered by Jacobs in 1808 and 1809 to Prince Ludwig of Bavaria,[52] and the second is a summary of the doctrines contained in Bacon's treatises, *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and *De Novum Organum*. Both Jacobs' and Fischer's books are praised by Oxenford for their clarity, brevity, and comprehensiveness. He clearly feels that each is a significant work which deserves to be brought to the

attention of the average English reader.[53] In aiming his translations toward the general English public, Oxenford judiciously appended notes and references to the translations where the conciseness of the respective German author seems to assume too much knowledge on the part of the reader.[54] He also tried to make his translations readable, but in the case of the work on Francis Bacon he apparently carried his reworking so far as to alter the exact course of the original argument.[55] His version of Friedrich Jacobs' *Hellas* is, however, a translation of unusually high quality—a very accurate, faithful, and polished rendering of the original.[56]

The quality of the translations contained in the *Complete Edition of Beethoven's Songs* is much more difficult to judge. Oxenford states in his preface that he has "endeavoured to make [his] translations as literal as possible, consistently [sic] with their adaptation to music,"[57] and one must realize before attempting to criticize the many instances of loose translation and paraphrasing that these English versions are meant to be sung rather than read.[58] The volume contains English translations of seventy-six songs[59] as well as the original German texts and the music which Beethoven wrote for them. The range of poets represented is commented on by Oxenford: "Beethoven's high admiration of Göthe is fully shown by the number of pieces taken from the works of the great poet. Bürger was evidently a favourite; so also was Matthison, whose celebrity was considerable in his day. It is noteworthy that nothing is taken from Schiller or from any of the poets of the Romantic School"[60] The lyrics of these and other German poets such as Claudius, Tiedge, Gellert, and Weisse[61] probably reached a large audience of English music-lovers in Oxenford's translations. In many instances such a volume might well have provided its purchaser with a gratuitous introduction to the poetry of German, for there were no doubt many who would not otherwise have shown interest in a German lyric.

Books were not, of course, the only medium employed by Oxenford in his efforts to familiarize English readers with the works of Germany's major and minor writers. Between the years 1842 and 1855, he contributed to British periodicals at least sixty articles pertaining to Germany or German literature. Thirty-one of these articles appeared in *Ainworth's Magazine*, a popular miscellany of fiction,[62] and twenty-one in Colburn's highly respected literary periodical, the *New Monthly Magazine*.[63] Almost all of the sixty articles fall into one of three general categories: translations of German poetry; translations of German prose selections; or adaptations from German sources.

Translations of German poetry constitute the majority of Oxenford's contributions to periodical literature. Over a period of not quite fifteen years he prepared for publication thirty-six articles, containing a total of seventy German poets in English translation. Heine, Freiligrath, Grün, Lenau,

Rückert, Adelbert von Chamisso, and Friedrich von Sallet are the German poets most frequently represented in those articles.[64] Their poems are presented to English readers in generally good translations which retain the mood, rhyme scheme, and sense of the original. It appears, in fact, that Oxenford's translations introduced the work of Lenau, Sallet, and Moritz Hartmann to English readers for the first time.[65] In addition, Oxenford's 1842 translations of Grün and Freiligrath, although not the first, were certainly among the very earliest translations of these poets to have been published in England.

But Oxenford did not merely translate. His English versions of German poetry are usually introduced by short paragraphs containing background information about the poet being translated and critical comments about the work to follow.[66] As valuable as these brief commentaries are the many interesting and informative footnotes which often accompany a text. The notes elucidate certain lines or words (often by placing them in historical or cultural perspective), comment perceptively upon the poet's style, and, not infrequently, reproduce samples of the original German. Of great importance, too, are Oxenford's numerous comparisons and references to German poets and writers other than the author under discussion. His genuinely enthusiastic remarks no doubt served to stimulate interest in the field of German literature among his readers.

The critical commentaries preceding Oxenford's prose translations from the German probably had much the same effect. They concern themselves primarily with Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, as at least[67] four of Oxenford's eleven prose translations are comprised of selections from *Die unsichtbare Loge*.[68] The commentaries, which introduce translations both accurate and fluent, characteristically name the source from which the selection or selections are being taken and remark upon Jean Paul's consummate skill as a satirist. One such commentary, written by Oxenford in 1845, notes the "new interest awakening for the words of Richter"[69] and appraises the value of the various types of Jean Paul selections available to English readers:

> There is nothing novel in the notion of making selections from this author; but they have generally been more on the principle of giving aphorisms and isolated thoughts and similes, than on that of taking tolerably long episodes, descriptions, and reflections, which will here be adopted. Thus, a middle course will be pursued, between the translation of entire works—many of which, as wholes, would prove tiresome and unsatisfactory to the English reader—and the mere collections of short brilliant passages, which, while they show the wit and profundity of the man, tell nothing of his capabilities as a humorist, on which, however, much of his reputation depends.[70]

Oxenford obviously feels that his translations, although certainly not remarkable for their novelty, are nonetheless valuable additions to the body of works by Richter accessible to readers of English.

The term "novelty" is indeed applicable, however, to the adaptations from the German which Oxenford contributed to British magazines. These adaptations, eleven in number, are retellings, from Oxenford's own perspective and in his own words, of legends and stories which he had read in the original German. The degree of creativity and invention evinced by Oxenford in adapting the legends varies from article to article.[71] One article, the "Legends of Breslau,"[72] is straight-forward, dry, and unimaginative. The indigenous legends are presented to the reader very matter-of-factly, with little or no humorous commentary given by the narrator. The majority of the articles, however, including the "Legends of Salzburg"[73] and the "Legends of Gastein,"[74] are witty, tongue-in-cheek renditions of the traditional stories, aimed, at least in part, at twitting contemporary Londoners. Oxenford makes, for instance, a pointed reference in the "Legends of Salzburg" to a monk residing in that area in the sixteenth century, who "…seems to have been one of those monopolisers of conversation, whom we often find at dinner-tables, and who are jealous when a speech is directed otherwise than to themselves alone,"[75] and in the "Legends of Gastein," he notes the ironic similarities between a fifteenth-century Austrian named Weitmoser and nineteenth-century Englishmen:

> We are proud to reflect the instances of piety like that recorded of Weitmoser are not uncommon in our own country. The numerous operatives, who, provided they may have a jollification at Greenwich on Easter Monday, do not mind pawning their clothes for a whole week, seem to imitate as nearly as possible the act which gained the approbation of the good Bishop of Salzburg.[76]

Oxenford's ingenious updating of most of the legends, coupled with his clever phrasing and sly wit, greatly enhances the appeal of these adaptations. The majority of the English-reading public no doubt found them highly entertaining and palatable samplings of German culture.

A less esoteric and more profound aspect of German culture is treated in "Iconoclasm in German Philosophy,"[77] an article which Oxenford contributed to the *Westminster Review* for April, 1853. This article is unique among Oxenford's German-related periodical publications in that it is a lengthy essay, both descriptive and critical, about the body of works of a German writer rather than a translation selected from one of those works. Written at a time when Schopenhauer was little known and even less understood in

England, the essay generated a considerable amount of interest for the man and his philosophy.[78]

Even more significant than the article's effect in England, however, is the impact it had in Germany. In an article for the *Fortnightly Review*, Francis Hueffer speaks of the extent to which Schopenhauer had been neglected in his native Germany until the publication of *Pareraga and Paralipomana* in 1851 brought a certain amount of recognition. Yet he adds:

> …the attention thus created would most likely soon have subsided again had it not been for a foreign voice suddenly and loudly raised in testimony of the neglected philosopher's merits. Such voices are listened to with particular eagerness in Germany. I am alluding to a paper … published in the *Westminster Review* of April, 1853. … It may be called without exaggeration the foundation of Schopenhauer's fame, both in his own and other countries. For now suddenly the prophet was acknowledged by his people. The journals began to teem with his praise, enemies entered the arena, and were met by champions no less enthusiastic; and before long the Sage of Frankfort [*sic*] became one of the sights of that ancient and renowned city.[79]

Perhaps no one was more appreciative of this belated acclaim than Schopenhauer himself. Certainly no one had more assiduously, yet covertly,[80] sought such recognition. Schopenhauer appears to have been not only very pleased with Oxenford's article[81] but also extremely impressed with the Englishman's abilities as a translator. Four years later, Schopenhauer wrote the following in a letter to a Dr. Asher, who was preparing to translate some of the philosopher's work into English: "Als Muster und Vorbild dazu würde ich Ihnen die wenigen Seiten empfehlen, welche Oxenford, in *Westminster Review*, April 1853, so übersetzt hat, daß ich quite amazed war: nicht bloß den Sinn, sondern den Stil, meine Manieren und Gesten, zum Erstaunen: wie im Spiegel!"[82] It was he who, having been told of Oxenford's essay, wrote triumphantly to a friend: "Meine Philosophie hat soeben den Fuß in England gesetzt…"[83] and who, having subsequently read the article in English, wrote to this same friend, Ernst Otto Lindner, assistant editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*: "Die ersten 6 Seiten verdienten ganz übersetzt zu werden, ja selbst das Ganze."[84] Lindner, a warm admirer and eager advocate of the aged luminary, took the hint at once. Within three weeks Oxenford's article, translated into German by Lindner's English-born wife, appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* under the title "Deutsche Philosophie im Auslande."[85] It was in this German version that Oxenford's writing had such an overwhelming effect upon Schopenhauer's countrymen.[86]

"Iconoclasm in German Philosophy" was not, however, the only one of Oxenford's literary efforts to find acceptance in Germany. Three of his dramas, *A Day well Spent*, *My Fellow Clerk*, and *A Quiet Day* were published there in 1838 as numbers in a series entitled *The Modern English Comic Theater*, which was intended to aid in "the study of English conversation in its present state."[87] Each went through at least three editions, and two were still in print as late as Oxenford's death in 1877. One of the three, *A Day well Spent*, was also translated into German,[88] as were the dramas *Twice Killed*[89] and *Two Orphans*.[90] The first-mentioned, *A Day well Spent*, is remarkable for more than simply having appeared in Germany in both German and English editions. This one-act farce inspired the Austrian dramatist Johann Nestroy to write his famous *Einen Jux will er sich machen* in 1842.[91] Donald Habermann succinctly notes the points at which Nestroy's play and that of his predecessor differ:

> *A Day well Spent* is a one-act play in nine scenes that has no merit whatever. The dialogue is pompous, the characters are lifeless, and the humor is without imagination. Its single virtue is that its plot with no essential changes was used by Nestroy for his play. *Einen Jux*, on the other hand, is a full four-act play that abounds with comic vitality. Nestroy has followed Oxenford's plotting, but has embellished it with social comment, songs, expanded dialogue, and one additional character.[92]

Nestroy's play, in turn, was transformed by the American playwright Thornton Wilder into a four-act farce entitled *The Merchant of Yonkers*.[93] This play, which opened in New York on December 28, 1938, was not successful, primarily because its German director, Max Reinhardt, failed to understand its special American qualities and also because the central role of Dolly Levi, which does not appear in either Oxenford's or Nestroy's play, was pathetically miscast.[94] *The Merchant of Yonkers* did find success, however, sixteen years later in a rewritten version entitled *The Matchmaker*,[95] which was itself transformed in 1964 into the musical comedy *Hello, Dolly*. Finally, in 1981 Tom Stoppard's 1981 play "On the Razzle" took its inspiration from Nestroy as well. All three works have played to highly receptive audiences over many years, on the stage and on the screen, but it's likely that few members of those audiences ever suspected Wilder's or Stoppard's indebtedness to a German source, and no doubt fewer still were cognizant of the fact that Nestroy's play can be traced to John Oxenford.[96]

Such has always been the fate of John Oxenford. His accomplishments in the field of Anglo-German literary relations have been for the most part

unrecognized, overlooked, or ignored. The present discussion has sought to remedy this neglect and has, accordingly, presented an evaluation, both quantitative and qualitative, of Oxenford's activities relating to Germany and German literature. The scope and depth of these activities mark Oxenford as a man of considerable talent and of some perception. Sparked by a keen interest in Germany and its literature, Oxenford made significant and often innovative contributions to the English public's increasing awareness of German literature and culture. His many translations rendered the original German accurately and presented the texts in a comprehensible, well-formulated English style. Moreover, some of his own original works, themselves translated into German, gained acceptance in and exerted influence on the land of his literary inspiration. John Oxenford's achievements are truly noteworthy, and the consequences of his endeavors are undeniable; his near anonymity in scholarly circles is regrettable.

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Notes

[1] Clement Scott, *The Drama of Yesterday and To-Day*, vol. II (London and New York, 1899), 474–475.

[2] "Oxenford, John," *Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *DNB*], eds. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, vol. XV (London, [1921]), 13.

[3] See also, for example, Frederich Wedmore, "Obituary: Mr. John Oxenford"); *The Academy*, XI (January–June, 1877), 194–195, and *The History of "The Times,"* vol. II ("The Tradition Established, 1841–1884"), London, 1939), 441–443.

[4] Edmund Yates (1831–1894), British novelist, dramatist, and journalist, became an intimate friend of Oxenford's in the early 1850s. His characterization of Oxenford, given on pages 307–311 on volume I of *Recollections and Experiences*, is recommended as faithful and accurate by the writers of *The History of "The Times,"* vol. I, 441; they take exception, however, to his assumption (*Recollections*, vol. I, 308–310) that the kindliness of Oxenford's reviews was officially enjoined (*History*, vol. I, 441–443).

[5] See *Times* (London), February 23, 1877, 5, col. F. Edmund Yates evaluates Oxenford's popular appeal in a like manner in *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences*, vol. I (London, 1884), 308.

[6] Klaus Stierstorfer, who provides likely the most complete and accurate published list of Oxenford's plays in *John Oxenford (1812–1877) As Farceur and Critic of Comedy* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 263–270, counts 105 works with two additional possibilities. Stierstorfer does not list libretti, which are often more difficult to attribute in large part because Oxenford wrote primarily for musical adaptations of popular works translated from other languages, in which case the original author might be credited rather than Oxenford. In addition, our research has identified two dramatic works by Oxenford not included in Stierstorfer's list: *Midshipman Easy*, performed at the Surrey Theater, 26 September 1836, and *Elopement Extraordinary*, performed at Woodin's Polygraphic Hall, 21 March 1864.

[7] Yates, *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. I, 308.

[8] With the exception of Bayard Quincy Morgan and A.R. Hohlfeld, ed., *German Literature in British Magazines 1750–1860* (Madison, WI, 1949) no secondary sources, including the *DNB* and obituaries in newspapers and periodicals, mention the translations (from the German), with frequent commentary, which Oxenford contributed to *Ainsworth's Magazine* and the *New Monthly Magazine* from 1842–1855. Even Morgan/Hohlfeld indicates only the existence of the lengthier commentaries and fails to call attention to Oxenford's shorter, but equally valuable, critical notes.

[9] The categories are those of Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1959).

[10] With the exception of Klaus Stierstorfer's work in the 1990s, Jaeck's article appears to be the only scholarly treatment of Oxenford.

[11] Emma Gertrude Jaeck, "John Oxenford as Translator," *JEGP*, XIII (1914), 214–237.

[12] It was Oxenford's own boast that "'none of those whom he had censured ever went home disconsolate and despairing on account of anything he had written'" (*DNB*, vol. XV, 13).

[13] Robin Humphrey Legge (*DNB*, vol. XV, 12–13) writes that Oxenford "was almost entirely self-educated, though for upwards of two years he was a pupil of S.T. Friend." It is especially interesting that Oxenford acquired Greek, Latin, and the principal modern languages (that is, German, French, Italian, and Spanish) entirely without aid (see *Times (London)*, February 23, 1877, p. 5, col. f).

[14] Oxenford is called a "devourer of books" in the obituary which appeared in the *Times (London)* on Feb. 23, 1877 (p. 5, col. f). The writer of the *Athenaeum* obituary also notes that Oxenford was deeply read in the books which a busy age is apt to neglect…." [*Atheneum* (January–June, 1877), p. 250.]

[15] *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. I, pp. 300–301.

[16] *Recollections and Experiences*, vol. I, p. 307.

[17] See note 6 above.

[18] *Times (London)*, 22 October 1866, p. 7, col. g.

[19] A translation of Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* is attributed to Oxenford by Legge in the *DNB*, vol. XV, p. 13, and by the writer of Oxenford's obituary in the *Times (London)*, 23 February 1877, p. 5, col. f. However, there is no English version of the novel published with Oxenford named as the translator. The only possibility is an anonymous translation listed on page fifty-nine of the second edition of Eugene Oswald's "Goethe in England and America. Bibliography," in *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, vol. XI (London, 1909). Oswald's listing reads: "*ANON*. Translation executed by a 'gentleman well known in the literary world, who does not wish his name to appear.' Occupying pp. 1 to 245 in *Novels and Tales by Goethe*. L., Bohn, 1854. VI and 504 pp." Jaeck also wonders if Oxenford is the "ANON." (See Jaeck, 235).

[20] C.A. Feiling also collaborated with Oxenford (and Prof. A. Heimann) on an adaptation of J.G. Flügel's *Complete Dictionary of the German and English Languages* (London, 1857). The three worked together on another edition, "carefully corrected and revised," which was published in 1861.

[21] Feiling contributed translations of: Hauff's "The Cold Heart," "Nose, the Dwarf," and "The Severed Hand;" Adam Oehlenschlager's "Ali and Gulhyndi;" Tieck's "The Klausenburg;" van der Velde's "Axel: A Tale of the Thirty Years'War;"and Zschokke's "Alamontage."

[22] The English edition (containing seventeen items) was published in 1844 in London by Chapman & Hall. The American edition (containing eight items, including Oxenford's versions of "Libussa," "The Criminal from Lost Honour," "The Wonders in the Spessart," "The Sandman," and "Michael Kohlhaas") was published a few months later in New York by Harper & Brothers.

[23] See the *Athenaeum* (1844), 1088–1090, and *Littel's Living Age*, III (1844), 475–478.

[24] *Athenaeum* (1844), 1088.

[25] Morgan, too, while evaluating the entire collection as excellent (615), singles out Oxenford's translation of "The Criminal from Lost Honour" for individual praise (419). Morgan also separately commends Oxenford's version of Jean Paul's "The Moon" for its excellence (392).

[26] Oxenford takes care to inform the reader when the polite or formal "you" is being used and when the informal mode of address is meant.

[27] Compare, for example, Oxenford's and Holcroft's renderings of the very first sentence of the story with the original, which reads: "In der ganzen Geschichte des Menschen ist kein Kapitel unterrichtender für Herz und Geist als die Annalen seiner Verirrungen" [Schiller, *Werke*, Bd. II (Berlin und Darmstadt: Tempel-Verlag, [1962]), 289].

Oxenford, 18 (American edition): "In the whole history of man there is no chapter more instructive for the heart and mind than the annals of his errors."

Holcroft, *Tales of Humour and Romance* (London, 1829), 139: "There is not a chapter in the history of human nature, more instructive both to the heart and understanding, than that which records our errors."

[28] Oxenford is in a few instances careless in the rendering of tenses. He translates, for example, the "du spurest" on page 65 of the original text [Musaeus, *Volksmärchen der Deutschen*, 3. Bd., neue Auflage (Gotha, 1826)] as "Thou hast traced" (66). There are a few mistranslations, too: "einen Schlechten Rechner"(65) is rendered as "a bad calculation"(17).

[29] Compare, for example, Oxenford's and Carlyle's translations with page 5 of the original, which reads: "Tief um Böhmer Walde, wovon jetzt nur ein Schatten übrig ist, wohnte, vor Zeiten, da er sich noch weit und breit ins Land erstreckte, ein geistiges Völklein, lichtscheu und luftig, auch unkörperlich…."

Oxenford, 3 (American Edition): "Deep in the Bohemian forest, of which now only a shadow remains, dwelt years ago, when it spread itself far and wide into the country, a little spiritual people, aerial, uncorporeal, and shunning the light…."

Carlyle, *German Romance*, vol. I (Boston, 1841), 87: "Deep in the Bohemian forest, which has now dwindled to a few scattered woodlands, there abode, in the primeval times, while it stretched its umbrage far and wide, a spiritual race of beings, airy and avoiding light, incorporeal also…."

[30] *Athenaeum* (1844), 1088.

[31] In comparison to a more modern translation, Oxenford's version seems to be stiff and too close to the original. Compare Oxenford's translation of the phrase "…mein holdes Engelsbild, so tief in Herz and Sinn geprägt" [E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 5. Bd., „Nachtstücke") Berlin, 1827), 1] with a modern rendering:

Oxenford, 67 (American edition): "… the fair angel-image that is so deeply imprinted in my heart and mind."J.T. Bealby, "The Sand-Man" in *The Best Tales of Hoffmann*, ed. E.F. Bleiler (New York, 1967), 183: …my sweet angel, whose image is so deeply engraved upon my heart and mind."

[32] Similarly, Oxenford's translations of Hoffmann's "The Elementary Spirit" and "The Jesuits' Church in G—" seem to have been the first English translations of these particular tales.

[33] This seems to have been among the first appearances of this tale in English translation.

[34] Oxenford's introductory note reads: "The story is probably meant to satirize the speculative tendency of the Germans, and old Albertus Magnus seems a sort of representative of Hegel, whom Immermann openly attacks in the course of the 'Münchhausen.' To me the expression 'dialectic thought,' which occurs in the Hegelian sense at page 41, is conclusive in this respect."

[35] Oxenford's translation of "Michael Kohlhaas" (and of "St. Cecilia; or, the Power of Music" which is included in the English edition) is the very first Kleist translation listed in

Morgan, Morgan/Hohlfeld, and Scott Holland Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1907). The *Athenaeum* reviewer's statement that "… this powerful tale ["Michael Kohlhaas"] is almost unknown in England…" (1844, 1088) seems to corroborate the assumption.

[36] Oxenford prefaces his translation thus: "on one point the translator of this tale solicits the indulgence of his critical readers. A great number of official names and legal terms occur, the technical meaning of which could not properly be defined by any one but a German jurist. As these names have no exact equivalents in English, the names into which they are here translated may appear arbitrary. The translator can only say that, where exactitude was impossible, he has done his best" (79). He proceeds thereafter to footnote and explain his translations of the various names and terms.

[37] Parke Godwin, ed., *The Auto-Biography of Goethe. Truth and Poetry: From My Life*, Part I (London, 1847), ix.

[38] In the "Advertisement" to *The Auto-Biography of Goethe. Truth and Poetry: From My Own Life* (London, 1848), iii, Oxenford makes the following comments about Parke Godwin's translation: "Before the following translation was commenced, the first Ten Books had already appeared in America. It was the intention of the Publisher to reprint these without alteration, but, on comparing them with the original, it was perceived that the American version was not sufficiently faithful, and therefore the present was undertaken.

[39] Oxenford, "Advertisement," iii.

[40] Compare, for example, the Oxenford and Godwin/John Henry Hopkins, Jr. translation of these two sentences from Book VI: "… er hatte eine Hofmeisterstelle in einem befreundeten Hause bekleidet, sein bisheriger Zögling war allein auf die Akademie gegangen. Er besuchte mich öfters in meiner traurigen Lage, und man fand zuletzt nichts natürlicher, als ihm ein Zimmer neben dem meinigen einzuräumen: da er mich denn beschäftigen, beruhigen und, wie ich wohl merken konnte, im Auge behalten sollte." [*Goethes Werke*, 27. Bd. (Weimar, 1889), 5–6.]

Godwin/Hopkins, 1847 London reprint, 2: "He had been a tutor in the family of one of our friends, though his former pupil had gone to the University without him. He often visited me in my sad condition, and they found nothing more natural at last than to give him a chamber next to mine, where he could keep me busy, quiet, and as I plainly marked, have his eye upon."

Oxenford, 181: "He had held the place of tutor in the family of one of our friends; and his former pupil had gone alone to the university. He often visited me in my sad condition, and they at least found nothing more natural than to give him a chamber next to mine, as he was then to employ me, pacify me, and, as I marked, keep his eye on me."

Although a single example may offer no more conclusive proof of the quality of Oxenford's translations than Jaeck's few random examples do of her contention that the translations are faulty, it is significant that random examples of instances in which Oxenford's translation is superior to Godwin's are numerous and easy to identify.

[41] *Westminster Review*, LII (Oct. 1849–Jan. 1850), 606 (A review of Bohn's Standard Library).

[42] *Spectator*, XXI (1848), 1192. Contemporary critical evaluation of the translation is much the same in tenor. Morgan, 155, gives Oxenford a "**" rating, which signifies that it is a translation of unusually high quality.

[43] Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *The Autobiography of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*. Translated by John Oxenford. New York: Horizon Press [1969].

[44] *Spectator*, XXIII (1850), 1192. For other favorable reviews plus extracts, see the *New Monthly Magazine*, XCI (1851), 256–259, and the *Dublin University Magazine*, XXXVII (1851), 732–749.Another highly favorable evaluation of Oxenford's skill in translating the conversations, although not contained in the review appearing shortly after the publication of

the work, is that given by the over-enthusiastic writer of Oxenford's obituary in the *Athenaeum* (1877), 258, who calls the translation "a work with qualities of style superior to the original."

A modern, critical evaluation, that given by Morgan, 175 ("Excellent translation on the whole"), is also favorable.

[45] *Literary Gazette*, XXXIII (1851), 62.

[46] *Athenaeum* (1850), 1338–1339.

[47] *Athenaeum* (1850), 1338.

[48] *Dublin University Magazine*, XXXVII (1851), 746–747. Oxenford gives an explanation of his arrangement of the conversations in the "Translator's Preface" to *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret* (London, 1850), V:

In 1836, John Peter Eckermann, who gives a full account of himself in the 'Introduction,' published, in two volumes, his "Conversations with Goethe." In 1848, he published a third volume, containing additional Conversations, which he compiled from his own notes, and from that of another friend of Goethe's, M. Soret, of whom there is a short account in the 'Preface to the Third or Supplemental Volume.' Both these works are dedicated to Her Imperial Highness Maria Paulouna, Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar and Eisenach.

Had I followed the order of German publication, I should have placed the whole of the Supplementary Volume after the contents of the first two; however, as the Conversations in that volume are not of a later date than the others (which, indeed, terminate with the death of Goethe), but merely supply gaps, I deemed it more conducive to the reader's convenience to rearrange in chronological order the whole of the Conversations, as if the Supplement had not been published separately.

Still, to preserve a distinction between the Conversations of the First Book and those of the Supplement, I have marked the latter with the abbreviation 'Sup.,' adding an asterisk (thus Sup.*) when a Conversation has been furnished, not by Eckermann, but by Soret."

[49] "Complete" is the adjective most frequently used by the reviewers themselves. Oxenford's translation is not, however, entirely complete. Catering to the contemporaries of Queen Victoria, Oxenford omitted two passages (supposedly too risqué to be printed) from the Eckermann part—those dated July 9, 1827, and February 20, 1829—and others from the Soret selections. See the "Editor's Preface" to Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, ed J.K. Moorhead (London and New York, [1935]).

[50] Oxenford, "Translator's Preface," vi. Oxenford writes: "I feel bound to state that, while translating the First Book I have had before me the translation by Mrs. Fuller, published in America. The great merit of this version I willingly acknowledge, though the frequent omissions render it almost an abridgement."

Again, Oxenford seems to have borrowed very selectively from the work of his predecessor. Oxenford's version is usually slightly closer to the meaning of the original German, although it is at the same time stiffer and less facile than Mrs. Fuller's translation.

Compare, for example, the Fuller and Oxenford translations of the following passage (dated Weimar, Dienstag, den 10. Juni 1823): "Vor wenigen Tagen bin ich angekommen; heute war ich zuerst bei Goethe. Der Empfang seinerseits war überaus herzlich, und der Eindruck seiner Person auf mich der Art, daß ich diesen Tag zu den glücklichsten meines Lebens rechne.

Er hatte mir gestern, als ich anfragen ließ, diesen Mittag zu zwölf Uhr als die Zeit bestimmt, wo ich ihm willkommen sein würde. Ich ging also zur gedachten Stunde hin, und fand den Bedienten auch bereits meiner wartend und sich anschickend mich hinaufzuführen." [Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, 1. Theil (Leipzig, 1899), 27.]

S.M. Fuller, *Conversations of Goethe* (Boston, 1839), 30: "I arrived here some days since, but did not see Goethe till to-day. He received me with great cordiality; and the impression he made on me during our interview was such, that I consider this day as the happiest of my life.

Yesterday, when I called to inquire, he said he should be glad to see me to-day, at twelve o'clock. I went at the appointed time, and found a servant waiting to conduct me to him."

Oxenford, 1850 ed., 9.: "I arrived here a few days ago, but did not see Goethe till to-day. He received me with great cordiality; and the impression he made on me was such, that I consider this day as one of the happiest in my life.

Yesterday, when I called to inquire, he fixed to-day at twelve o'clock as the time when he would be glad to see me. I went at the appointed time, and found a servant waiting for me, preparing to conduct me to him."

[51] Oxenford himself states in the "Translator's Preface" on page vi of the 1850 edition: "The contents of the Supplementary Volume are now, I believe, published for the first time in the English language."

[52] Oxenford gives a capsule summary of the book and its genesis in the "Translator's Preface" to Jacobs' *Hellas* (London, 1855), v.: "In 1808, Friedrich Jacobs, the celebrated philologist of Gotha, was requested by Prince (afterwards King) Louis of Bavaria, to deliver in his presence a series of lectures on Greek history and literature. The lectures were commenced and continued till April, 1809, whence the Prince was called to the army, and the course of oral instruction was broken off, never to be resumed. The manuscript lectures, however, containing a brief though comprehensive survey of the geography, history, literature and art of the ancient Greeks, were found among Jacobs' posthumous works. These were revised and edited, in 1853, by Professor E.F. Wüstemann, the editor of Theocritus, with the title of *Hellas*. Of the work so composed the present volume is a translation."

[53] Oxenford states in the "Translator's Preface" to Jacobs' *Hellas*, vii, that his book is "is intended for general readers," and on pages vi–vii of the "Translator's Preface" to Fischer's *Francis Bacon*, he notes that this English version is meant for "the generality of readers."

[54] See "Translator's Preface" to Jacobs' *Hellas*, vii, and "Translator's Preface" to Fischer's *Francis Bacon*, pages vi and vii.

[55] Oxenford states on page vi of the "Translator's Preface" to Fischer's *Francis Bacon*: "In performing the work of translation, I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to make my version *readable*," and on pages vi–vii: "I have, therefore, endeavoured to render sentence for sentence rather than word for word, certain that I should thus render a greater service to the generality of readers than by encumbering the text with a number of strange compounds, utterly at variance with the genius of the English language."

Morgen, 115, gives the translation a grade of somewhere between B and C and comments that the exact course of the argument in the original is not faithfully reproduced.

[56] Morgan, 253, calls the translation excellent and singles it out for being of unusually high quality. Oxenford seems to have successfully carried out his avowed purpose of making his translation of Hellas "as faithful to the original as possible" ("Translator's Preface," vi).

[57] "Preface" to the *Complete Edition of Beethoven's Songs* (London and New York, [1878], [iii]).

[58] A good example of the liberties which Oxenford took with the original poem is his rendering of Klärchen's song from *Egmont*:

Beethoven: "Freudvoll und leidvoll, gedankenvoll sein; Langen und bangen in schwebender Pein; Himmelhoch jauchzend, zum Tode betrübt; Glücklich allein ist die Seele, die liebt."

Oxenford: "Cheerful and tearful, and pensive to be; Never from care and anxiety free; Madly rejoicing, compell'd now to moan, Lovers live thus and are happy alone…" (241–243).

[59] Seven of these songs are translated by George Linley rather than Oxenford.

[60] "Preface," [iii].

[61] The volume includes Oxenford's translations of the poems of: S. v. Breuning, Bürger (4), Claudius, Friedelberg (2), Gellert (6), J. Göbel, Göthe (15), Count v. Haugwitz, Herder (Posthumous), F.F. Hermann, Herrosee, F.A. Kleinschmid, Carl Lappe, Lessing, Matthisson (3), Sophie Mereau, C.L Reissig (6), J.B. Rupprecht, J.L. Stoll (2), Tiedge (2), F. Treitschke, H.W.F. Ültzen, C.F. Weisse (2), and Wessenberg.

[62] See Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York, 1966), 299. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago [1957]), 394, lists the circulation of the magazine during its first year of publication (1842) at 7000.

[63] See Graham, 285–286. Altick, 393, lists 5,000 as the circulation for the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1830. No figures are given for the years when Oxenford's articles appeared (1845–1853).

[64] Other German poets translated by Oxenford include: Oscar von Sydow, Gustav Schwab, J.G. Seidl, Karl Simrock, Ludwig Bechstein, Edward Mautner, Alfred Meissner, Ferdinand Massmann, Klopstock, Halm, Gleim, Herder, A. v. Arnim, Tieck, Zacharias Lund, Moritz Hartmann, and Heinrich Smidt.

[65] Oxenford also appears to have been the first to translate the poems of such lesser-known poets as Oscar von Sydow, J.G. Seidl, Edward Mautner, Alfred Meissner, and Heinrich Smidt into English.

[66] When such introductory paragraphs are lacking, the information usually contained in them is often found instead in the many footnotes appended to the text.

[67] Four out of the total of nine articles which contain prose translations of Jean Paul were unavailable. Of the five consulted, four presented selections from *Die unsichtbare Loge*.

[68] Oxenford's articles devoted to prose translations include—in addition to nine Jean Paul articles—a direct translation of a German legend and the first English translations from Bechstein's collection of legends and traditions to appear in British periodicals.

[69] John Oxenford, "Selections from Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, "*Ainsworth's Magazine*, VII (1845), 536.

[70] *Ainsworth's Magazine*, VII (1845), 536.

[71] Oxenford stresses (in the "Legends of Leubus") that he does not alter the facts of the legends, that the novelty of his versions lies only in the style in which the facts are retold: "But we *find* our legends, good reader, we do not *make* them; and though we please ourselves as far as concerns the way in which we tell them, we do not venture to alter the facts …. "[*New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXVI (1849), 464.]

[72] John Oxenford, "Legends of Breslau," *New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXV (1849), 21–27.

[73] John Oxenford, "Legends of Salzburg," *New Monthly Magazine*, "Legends of Breslau," *New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXV (1848), 59–63.

[74] John Oxenford, "Legends of Gastein," *New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXII (1848), 316–319.

[75] *New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXII (1848), 60.

[76] *New Monthly Magazine*, LXXXII (1848), 317.

[77] "Iconoclasm in German Philosophy," *Westminster Review*, LIX (January–April 1853), 388–407. The article was unsigned. It was not until almost three years after it had first appeared that Schopenhauer learned that the author was John Oxenford. See Arthur Schopenhauer, *Der Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauers*, ed. Arthur Hübscher, 2. Bd. (1849–1860) (München, 1933), p. 478. [Letter from Schopenhauer to Frauenstadt, dated March 21, 1856.]

[78] *DNB*, vol. XV, 13.

[79] F. Hueffer, "Arthur Schopenhauer," *Fortnightly Review* (December 1, 1876), 785.

[80] Schopenhauer to Lindner, June 9, 1853, in Arthur Schopenhauer, der *Briefwechsel Arthur Schopenhauers (München, 1933)*, 2. Bd., 214.

[81] Schopenhauer to Lindner, May 9, 1853, *Briefwechsel*, 2. Bd., 208: "Der Artikel hat mir großes Vergnügen gemacht und habe ich ihn 3 Mal gelesen. ….Die Wärme des Mannes ist auffallend…."

[82] Schopenhauer to David Asher, October 22, 1857, *Briefwechsel*, 2. Bd., 590.

[83] Schopenhauer to Lindner, April 27, 1853, *Briefwechsel*, 2. Bd., 209.

[84] Schopenhauer to Lindner, May 9, 1853, *Briefwechsel*, 2. Bd., 209.

[85] Wilhelm von Gwinner, *Schopenhauers Leben*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1910), 348.

[86] Gwinner, 350.

[87] See Wilhelm Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon*, 10. Bd. (Leipzig, 1848; reprinted Graz, 1963), 333.

[88] See the *DNB*, vol. XV, 13. Neither Christian Gottlob Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon*, Bd. 7–Bd. 30 (Leipzig, 1841–1900) nor Heinsius, Bd. 10–Bd. 16 (Leipzig 1848–1887), mention the publication of a German translation of the play but the fact that Nestroy was familiar with the work seems to indicate that a German translation of the work was available.

[89] Neither Kayser nor Heinsius mention a published German translation of the drama. However, the *DNB*, vol. XV, 13; *The Annual Register for 1877*, 138; and *The Times* obituary, February 23, 1877, p. 5, col. f., all state that the drama was translated for the German stage and played in Germany or Austria.

[90] See John Oxenford, *Die beiden Waisen*, Drama in 8 Bildern und 6 Akten aus dem Englischen (Budapest, 1877).

[91] Robert F. Arnold writes: "Zu den ganz wenigen Possen des berühmten Wieners, für deren Handlung ein erzählendes oder schon gleich dramatisches Vorbild sich bisher nicht hat nachweisen lassen, gehört das unverwüstliche ‚Einen Jux will er sich machen'; eine zeitgenössische Kritik hob es ausdrücklich als Original hervor und noch Rommels ausgezeichnete Nestroy-Ausgabe (Bong, S. LI) läßt die Frage, ob die nur von Max Ring ('Erinnerung' 1898) II, S. 188) behauptete Abhängigkeit von einem englischen Schwank bestehe, offen."

[92] Donald Habermann, *The Plays of Thornton Wilder, A Critical Study* (Middletown, CN, [1967], 22.

[93] The copyright page of *The Merchant of Yonkers* (New York and London, [1939]) carries the following note: "This play is based upon a comedy by Johann Nestroy, Einen Jux will er sich Machen [sic] (Vienna, 1842) which was in turn based upon an English original, A Well Spent Day [sic], by John Oxenford."

[94] See Habermann, 22–23.

[95] Wilder comments upon the relation of this play to its German predecessor in the preface to Thornton Wilder, *Three Plays* (New York: Bantam, 1966), xi–xii: "I have already read small theses in German comparing it [*The Matchmaker*] with the great Austrian original on which it is based. The scholars are very bewildered. There is most of the plot (except that our friend Dolly Levi is not in Nestroy's play); there are some of the tags; but it's all 'about' quite different matters. My play is about the aspirations of the young (and not only of the young) for a fuller, freer participation in life. Imagine an Austrian pharmacist going to the shelf to draw from a bottle which he knows to contain a stinging corrosive liquid, guaranteed to remove warts and wens; and imagine his surprise when he discovers that it has been filled overnight with very American birch-bark beer."

[96] For a more detailed discussion see Klaus Stiersdorfer, Oxenfords *A Day Well spent* als Quelle von Nestroys Jux: eine Neubewertung. *Nestroyana* 16 (1996), S. 100–111, and Michael Mitchell and Brian Murdoch, "Wer kennt heute noch John Oxenford? The Fortunes of a Farce from Nestroy to Stoppard," in *Studies in Nineteenth Century Austrian Literature*. Glasgow 1983. S. 59–76.

Walter D. Kamphoefner

La Bahia *Turnverein: Vereinsdeutsche* in *Kirchendeutsch* Territory

La Bahia Turnverein is a fascinating example of Texas German material and immaterial culture. Although the name suggests Spanish-German bilingualism, La Bahia is simply the road along which it stands, established back in colonial times.[1] Its Verein's hall is an example of ethnogenesis, a distinctive type of Texas dance hall architecture, not derived from Anglo culture but also unlike anything in the Old Country. Regardless of what kind of Verein sponsored them—whether choral societies as with the Liedertafel in Sealy or Harmonie Hall in Shelby; agricultural societies such as the Germania Farmer Verein's Anhalt Hall or the Cat Spring Landwirtschaftsverein; athletic clubs such as La Bahia or the Turnverein Pavilion in Bellville; the Lindenau Rifle Club near Cuero or the Round Top Schützen Verein—these halls, often shaded by ancient live oaks and fitted with outdoor barbecue pits, are distinguished by their natural ventilation from the days before air conditioning, their clear-span dance floors, and sometimes by their geometric architecture.[2] Whatever the official purpose of their sponsoring organization, over the course of time, music, dance, and conviviality became the main rationale for their existence. That was certainly true of La Bahia Turnverein. In their original charter, they declared their purpose to be "physical and spiritual development of their members and the promotion of social life." They did have a bar on the wall where prospective members had to do at least one chin-up in order to qualify. But over time, as a profile from 1990 relates, the organization "became more of a social center where members and their families could find amusement and recreation and where they could meet for dances and other social gatherings."[3]

There were rumors that the Turnverein kept its minutes *auf Deutsch* until 1946, and I even repeated this assertion in print, but I was wrong, too early by nearly a decade on the language transition.[4] Despite repeated inquiries, it proved quite difficult to track down the evidence. But the Turnverein was featured in a 2019 NPR "Marketplace" story on Texas Dance Halls, in which its current president, Roy Schmidt, was interviewed.[5] A couple of e-mails and phone calls were sufficient to set up a meeting at the Turnverein, on a rural road near Burton, Texas, about an hour's drive from College Station. I arrived a bit early, when a guy in his seventies pulled up, alighted from his pickup truck, and apologized for his tardiness, saying "Fünfzehn Minuten zu früh ist nie zu spät." My bumper sticker for Democratic Senate candidate Beto O'Rourke initially gave him misgivings, but my fluent German and farm background soon established my credibility. Not only was I given a tour of the hall and its history; I was authorized to borrow the entire set of records in order to digitized them. Hans Boas and the Texas German Dialect Project pitched in to finance the work, and now have posted the entire ten books of minutes to make them publicly available to scholars.[6]

These records provide a wealth of insights—linguistic, social, cultural, and political—which other scholars may wish to pursue. For a social historian, they offer evidence of the kind of environment that supports heritage language preservation, something this article explores. These records show how much German Texans valued music, dance, and conviviality, even when Federal law tried to stamp out the latter. They offer a valuable resource for the study of Texas dance hall music, since the records list all the bands that were hired to play for their dances and the amount paid them. Especially during the two world wars with Germany, they reflect, to use the metaphor of Carl Schurz, the relative affection felt for the old mother as opposed to the new bride. And these records complement the Texas German Dialect Project, which has done a remarkable job of recording the oral evidence of a beleaguered heritage language, by documenting its written counterpart. Since English and German are written in different scripts, the Turnverein records illuminate which homonyms are considered part of which language, as in the case of house/Haus or beer/Bier. Readers can probably guess in the latter case.

Dating the language transition was easy; one needed only to page through the minutes looking for the first English. Shortly before, there was a resolution of May 2, 1955: „Es wurde beschlossen, die Statuten im English ubersetzen lassen und auf die jahrlige Versamlung uber abstimmen zu annahmen oder nicht" [*sic*]. The minutes of May 16 and 30, 1955, were also still recorded in German. Then on June 12, 1955, "A motion was made and carried to write our minutes in the English Language." Further down was a motion "honoring the retiring secretary 'Willie Kieke' who had served for twenty-

seven years." Members also resolved to spend $25-$30 to buy him an easy chair. According to his census entries on Ancestry.com, Willie Kieke was a farmer, born in 1892 of two German parents, who served in World War I and had his immigrant father-in-law in the household in the 1940 census. It initially appeared that Kieke might be incapable of writing competently in English, since the minutes in English for that day were signed "Willie H. Kieke, Secy, by Herbert Bathe." However, an English-language resolution on April 30, 1951, to pursue an oil lease was clearly written in Kieke's hand.[7]

The Turnverein records provide evidence that Theodore Roosevelt was woefully misguided in his fulminations against the hyphen: "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language … and we have room for but one sole loyalty and that is a loyalty to the American people." In the case of the Turnverein and elsewhere in German America, language and loyalty proved to be unrelated.[8] A month after the United States entered World War I, the Verein made a $1 donation for the Red Cross Society of America; perhaps an insignificant token, especially compared to the nearly $40 the beer stand brought in that day. But records from March, 1918, document a Liberty Loan purchase worth $50.00. Three months later in June, the Verein bought $50.04 worth of War Saving Stamps. In June, 1922, the Verein bought a United States flag for $3, though it is unclear whether this was the first such purchase. Perhaps it was flattery, but Lieutenant Governor Barry Miller, the speaker at the Verein's Fiftieth Anniversary celebration in 1929, "spoke in glowing terms of the patriotism of these people of foreign descent," remarking that as a recruiter, he "saw old German men and women bring their sons in ready to go to battle for American, and added forcefully that any one who says the Germans are not loyal to the American flag is a liar." Thus it comes as no surprise to see that on Dec. 26, 1941, the first meeting after Pearl Harbor, the Verein purchased $74.10 worth of Defense Bonds.[9]

One of the casualties of World War I was the German language paper in the county seat of Brenham, the *Texas Volksbote*. How it came about it interesting. In June 1918, the paper posted a list of eighty-three persons, representing the cream of the town's business community, who distanced themselves from the antiwar American Party. Shortly thereafter the statement was carried by the town's English paper, and a few days later the German paper ceased publication. The Verein subscribed to the *Volksbote* until its dying day, for example, publishing a resolution on the death of member Wm. Fuchs on June 24, 1918. Thereafter the English-language *Brenham Banner* took its place, where the Verein published a resolution in English on death of member Christian Matthies on August 27, 1919.[10]

On the topic of language, the Turnverein minutes and treasurer's records show many interesting and often humorous examples of German-English

interaction in vocabulary and script that should be of particular interest to linguists.[11] All the following quotes are literal transcriptions; *italics* indicate words in normal "Latin" rather than Kurrent "German" script. A 1918 entry recorded the payment of 50 cents to a "*Notary Republic*," although the next year they got it right. The first mention of Barbecue came in 1924. The next page recorded: "*Barbecue* Fleisch: *Beef $.08, Mutton $.10*. The following year, the Verein decided "ein *Piano* zu kaufen." By 1920, the automobile had apparently replaced horsepower: "Es wurde eine Komitte . . . ernant um die *cars* hier bei das Fest auf zu *line*." That policy was continued in 1923: "Car liner Willie Neumann Ewald Kieke." The minutes go on to record: "Es wurde Beschlossen ein *Old time dance* am 10 November abzuhalten mit *Baca Band*."

Worth noting is not only the English insertion but also what the choice of bands tells us about interethnic relations. The Bacas were a Czech family from Fayetteville, 20 miles away, whose bands performed traditional ethnic music throughout the twentieth century. They were back at the Turnverein two years later, and also played at the Verein's fiftieth anniversary celebration in 1929, as well as the following year when it was noted: "Music will be furnished by Baca's Band of Fayetteville, an old favorite of the La Bahia section."[12] Prophetic words: Bacas were back for the sixtieth anniversary as well. They were not the only Czech band patronized at La Bahia. In 1923 there is a puzzling notation: "Es hat die Navratil Band ein antrag gemacht das sie für den *trip* nicht verkomgen [?] wen wir ihr unser Halle am Donnerstag abend frei willig geben." Whatever the request was, apparently for use of the hall on Thursday before they played a weekend dance, it was granted. Navratil, who immigrated from Moravia in 1897, led a band for forty years in Brenham, 16 miles away. The two bands that played at the 75th anniversary celebration in 1954, Adolf Hofner's Orchestra in the afternoon and Ray Krenek's for the evening dance, were both well-known Texas Czech groups. Germans and Czechs obviously got along much better in Texas than in the Old Country.[13]

The Turnverein poses some interesting parallels, as well as some contrasts, to the Cat Spring Landwirtschaftsverein or Agricultural Society, the oldest society of its kind in the state with its 1856 founding. It operated in German longer than La Bahia, for some eighty-five years, but not as late, switching to English shortly after Pearl Harbor. Its minutes and membership rolls were translated and published at its 100th anniversary in 1956, aiding in the process of analysis, but providing no insights into language competence or interference.

The Cat Spring Society was even friendlier to Czechs, who were more common in their area, than was La Bahia. During the two decades before World War I, its festivities were not bilingual but often trilingual, with

"Bohemian" speakers invited to give addresses alongside German and English orators.[14] Czechs made up a significant minority on the society's membership rolls, easily outnumbering Anglo-Americans. In fact, Jozef Ernst Bergmann, often considered the father of the Czech immigration to Texas, was one of its founding members and was elected its first vice-president.[15] Still, it took until 1887 before the Czech language makes an official appearance in the minutes, when in preparation for the Harvest Festival: "It was further resolved to arrange for three speakers in German, English and Bohemian." From then on, Czech orators made regular appearances, being mentioned in six of the years between 1888 and 1898. In 1903 there was not only a Czech speaker, but the local lodge of the SPJST, the secular Czech fraternal organization, was expressly invited. Even after World War I there are Czech as well as German names among the musicians hired for various dances and festivities, with German groups alternating with the famous Baca's Band from Fayetteville, some 24 miles away, which shows up from 1920 all the way into the 1940s, and even the Gold Chain Bohemian Band from Schulenburg, a 40-mile drive.[16]

In yet another parallel, Cat Spring Germans appeared remarkably unperturbed by the onset of nationwide Prohibition. The minutes of 1922 record preparations for that summer's Anniversary Fest: "It was decided . . . to order 40 gallons of ice cream, three gallons of orangeade, five kegs of beer. . . .The sheriff and constable will be invited." In fact, from 1921 to 1926, the minutes record orders for no less than thirty-one kegs of beer for the society's various balls and festivities. After 1926, beer purchases no longer show up explicitly in the minutes, but that does not indicate a switch to lemonade. The sheriff, himself a Texas German, seems to have been a particular favorite of the society; the minutes record at least seven balls or festivities to which he was explicitly invited, and on one occasion he was presented with a box of cigars.[17]

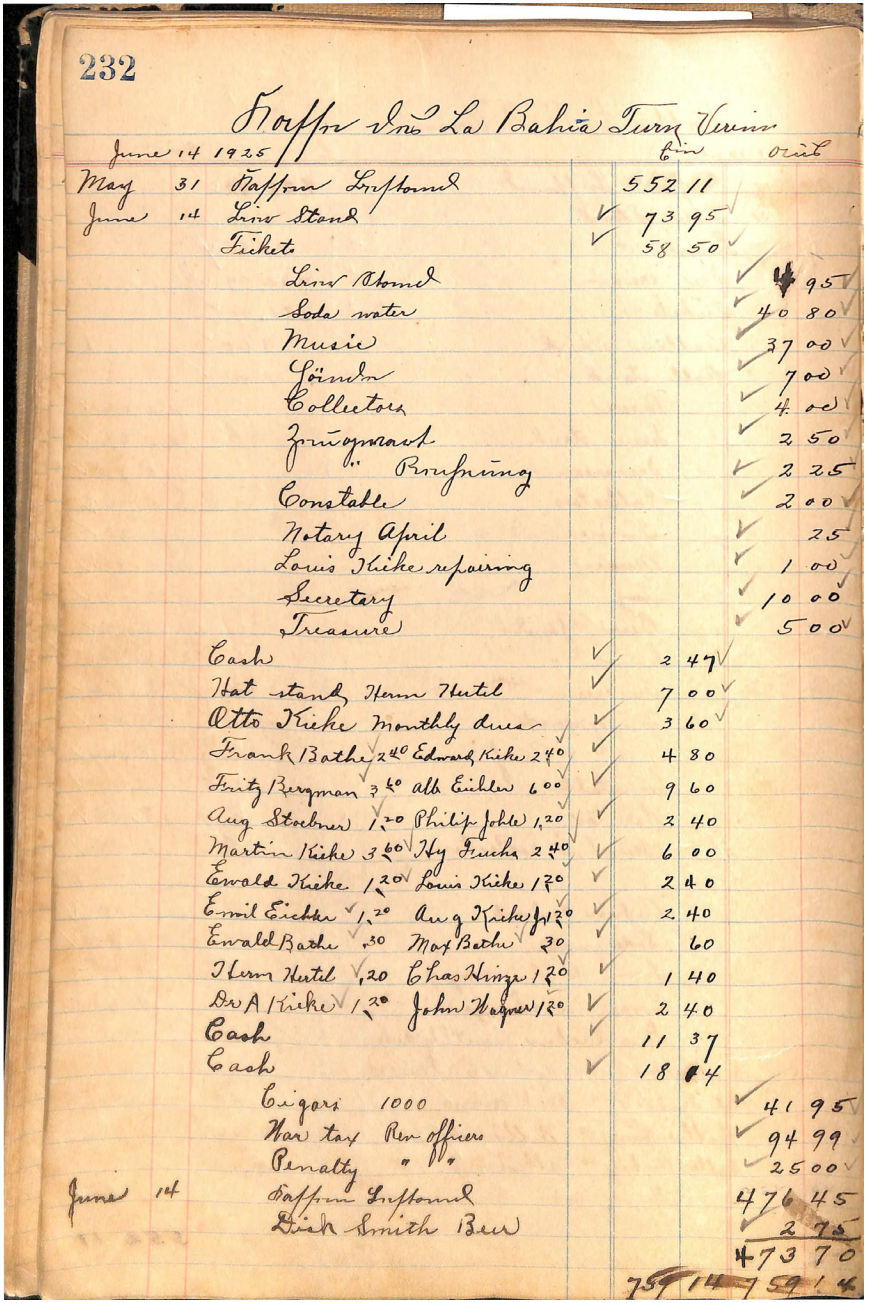
La Bahia Turnverein was if anything more blatant in its defiance of the Volstead Act. Its minutes regularly note which members were responsible for the "Bier Stand." In contrast to the minutes (*Protokolle*), the treasurer's reports were already kept mostly in English at this time (though they spelled Bier the German way).[18] But from month to month they systematically recorded receipts from the "Bier Stand" averaging just over $50 per meeting in the period from 1920 through the end of 1922. On October 3, 1920, they brought in an impressive $145. The only time receipts fell below $10 was on December 26, 1920, a measly $7.28, maybe because it was a Sunday; the weather was not extreme. But on Friday, December 26, 1924, they had a respectable income of $36. That date was also the first time a constable was hired, for $4. A typical entry from June 1925 shows an amusing mixture

of German and English vocabulary and scripts, and also the presence of beer sales and constable at the same event [Illustration 1]. The "Bier Stand" receipts show up regularly in the records at least until 1927, though some months only show "Soda Stand," perhaps based on availability of beer. From 1928 on, beer appeared rarely, and there were even a couple of entries for "near beer," but they made up for it on July 14, 1929, when beer sales hit $109.80. The Turnverein's defiance of alcohol laws in Washington County was more remarkable than at Cat Spring in Austin County where the sheriff was sympathetic. By contrast, up until 1924, the sheriff in Brenham was an Anglo Klansman who waged a violent crusade, including threats, tar and feathering, and beatings, against use of the German language, and also against bootlegging (which the sheriff was rumored to carry on himself).[19]

One point of contrast between the Cat Spring and La Bahia societies was the religious outlook of its members. The venerable Fred Luebke, in his standard work on German Americans' experience in World War I, defined the contrasts between *Kirchendeutsche* (church Germans) and *Vereinsdeutsche* (club Germans) as follows: "In contrast to the church people, most of whom lived in rural areas and small towns and were conservative in their religious, economic, and political beliefs, the club Germans were oriented toward secular values and attitudes. Overwhelmingly urban in residence, they demonstrated a tendency to be liberal or even radical in their politics. . . . The ethnic lodge frequently stood in lieu of a church, especially for the freethinker."[20]

Although rural, the Cat Spring Agricultural Society and the adjacent Latin Farmer settlement of Millheim otherwise fit this description perfectly. Millheim was never home to a German church, and Cat Spring only intermittently. Latin Farmers tended to be Freethinkers, and the Cat Spring centennial book made no attempt to disguise this, even in the conservative atmosphere of 1956. Its chapter on churches is one of the shortest in the book: "The German settlers at Cat Spring who were so greatly interested in agriculture, education, literature, music, and art, manifested little interest in religion."[21]

However, Luebke does concede, on the page following the previous citation: "It is possible to draw too sharp a line of distinction between the church Germans and the club Germans."[22] This was certainly the case with La Bahia Turnverein, as an analysis of its participants demonstrates. Two cross-sections of its membership were constructed: the forty-eight charter members from 1879, and another profile of the sixty-five members listed on two nearly identical membership lists taken just before and after 1900. Their proximity to the 1880 and 1900 census dates made it possible to further identify with a good deal of confidence the great majority of these members using Ancestry.com.[23] La Bahia Turnverein had its own associated cemetery, which provided



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Kassa des La Bahia Turn Verein

June 14 1925					Ein		Aus
May	31	Kassa von Lastschrift			552	11	
June	14	Line Stand			73	95	
		Tickets			58	50	
		Line Stand					4 95
		Soda water					40 80
		Music					37 00
		Löhndiener					7 00
		Collectors					4 00
		Frühjahrsmarkt Beleuchtung					2 50
		Constable					2 25
		Notary April					2 00
		Louis Kiekie repairing					25
		Secretary					1 00
		Treasurer					10 00
		Cash					5 00
		Hat stand Herm Hertel			2	47	
		Otto Kiekie Monthly dues			7	00	
		Frank Bathe 2.40 Edward Kiekie 2.40			3	60	
		Fritz Bergman 3.40 alb Eichler 6.00			4	80	
		Aug Stockmeier 1.20 Philip Jokel 1.20			9	60	
		Martin Kiekie 3.60 Hy Fuchs 2.40			2	40	
		Ewald Kiekie 1.20 Louis Kiekie 1.20			6	00	
		Emil Eichler 1.20 Aug Kiekie jr 1.20			2	40	
		Ewald Bathe .30 Max Bathe .30			2	40	
		Herm Hertel .20 Chas Hinze 1.20				60	
		Dr A Kiekie 1.20 John Wagner 1.20			1	40	
		Cash			2	40	
		Cash			11	37	
					18	04	
		Cigars 1000					41 95
		War tax Rev officers					94 99
		Penalty " "					25 00
June	14	Kassa von Lastschrift					476 45
		Dick Smith Beer					2 75
							473 70
					759	14	759 14

Illustration 1. Treasurer's record for La Bahia Turnverein, June 14, 1925.

further verification for a dozen charter member and seventeen of the 1900 links.[24]

There was a "Latin Farmer" settlement of freethinkers called Latium just four miles from the Verein's hall which had its own cemetery, but among the forty-eight charter members, there was not a single one buried on the Latium cemetery. The same thing held true for those on the membership rolls two decades later. In fact, there was only one overlap in family names on this cemetery on each of the Verein's member lists.[25]

Ancestry.com also has links to many of the Lutheran baptismal and marriage records in the area, and they clearly demonstrate that *Vereinsdeutsche* and *Kirchendeutsche* were not mutually exclusive. Fully half of the 48 charter members had one or more of their children baptized Lutheran, good evidence that they continued to be active church members into adulthood. All but two were baptized at Bethlehem Lutheran in Round Top, about eight miles from the Verein's hall. That does not mean the other half were freethinkers; many had moved to other communities where church records were not on Ancestry, though most of their cemeteries were on Findagrave.com. For example, one member who moved to Paige erected a tombstone entirely in the German language at St. John's Lutheran cemetery for a son killed in action in World War I.[26] Others engaged in religious activities that were perhaps less reflective of their own values than those of their parents or wives or survivors. Besides those with children baptized, records on Ancestry.com show that three charter members were themselves baptized Lutheran, and two others so confirmed. Eight more were married by Lutheran pastors; two of them and three others were buried on Lutheran cemeteries. Although church marriage is a low threshold, only two members were married by justices of the peace. One of them, and two with church marriages, had multiple children baptized as adults, probably after their fathers had died. That still only accounts for a half-dozen suspected freethinkers, including one borderline case who was married Lutheran and had a child baptized at the late age of seven.

There were if anything fewer indications of freethinking among the sixty-five men in the 1900 membership cohort, (seventeen of whom were charter members). No less than thirty of them had one or more of their children baptized Lutheran. Eight more were buried on Lutheran cemeteries, apparently faithful until death. Nineteen others were married by a minister, compared to only one couple united by a justice of the peace. As was noted above, absence of any children in the baptismal records does not necessarily indicate religious indifference; some members had moved away to communities whose church records are not on Ancestry.com, as was also the case with nearby Burton, which had no Lutheran church, but a German Evangelical congregation, St. Johns, established in 1895. Names of the pastors performing marriages suggest

that many of these couples were Evangelical.[27] There is strong evidence of freethinking with only one 1900 member who was also a founder, a German immigrant whose four children were all baptized on the same day—in 1920 a decade after his death. However, one obituary from September, 1931 does smack mildly of deism: "Whereas it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to take from our midst Edward F.W. Fischer . . ."

Some twenty-four members had children's baptisms performed at Bethlehem Lutheran in Round Top, a few miles south of the Turnverein in Fayette County. Normally churches are the most linguistically conservative institutions of all. One Lutheran congregation in an adjoining county had monthly German services into the twenty-first century.[28] But Bethlehem Lutheran undertook the language transformation earlier than the Turnverein. The pastor who served from 1930 to 1948 introduced "English services in an informal style," while all other services were still held in German. His successor, who served from 1948 to 1957, "introduced English in Adult Bible Class, Ladies Aid and worship," apparently alternating with German services each week at the beginning. By 1955 when the Turnverein made its language switch, Bethlehem Lutheran was worshipping in German just once a month, usually supplemented by an English language service in the evening. With the next pastor from 1957 to 1962, German was reduced to only four communion services annually, and thereafter apparently ceased entirely.[29]

Besides Bethlehem, several other Lutheran congregations in the area show up multiple times with Turnverein member affiliations. Although members were usually found in Washington or Fayette County in the 1880 census shortly after the Verein was established, by 1900, some had moved to other communities to the north and west, often showing evidence of chain migration. It was not surprising to find members in Paige, less than 35 miles west, or in the county seat of Brenham. But the largest concentration was in Buckholts some 75 miles to the northwest, and a couple of members even settled in and around the Norwegian Lutheran settlement in Bosque County west of Waco, more than 150 miles away. Apparently, they maintained membership for old times' sake.

Before the advent of the automobile, most of the Turnverein membership was locally based as one might expect. Texas counties are divided into precincts that are similar to Midwestern townships, but with boundaries not as regular or well mapped. No less than twenty-seven charter members lived in the census district or precinct in Washington County where the Verein's hall was located; two decades later it was up to thirty-three. Thirteen charter members, and ten in 1900 lived in an adjacent precinct south of the Fayette County line toward Round Top.[30] There were a half-dozen charter members who lived in other precincts of the two counties, but only two who lived in

other counties in 1880. By 1900, six other counties were represented on the rolls, accounting for a total of nine members. Of the twenty-three charter members who had survived until 1929, almost half remained in the local area of Washington County, seven at nearby Burton and another four down the road in Carmine. Four others lived within a thirty-mile radius in adjacent counties. But eight had made moves of considerable distance, one 200 miles away to Ft. Worth.

The membership of the Turnverein was predominantly agricultural, as might be expected given its location on a rural road four miles from the nearest town. Half of the charter members show up as farmers in the census, and eleven indicated they were farmhands, as were most or all of the nine people who just listed "Laborer." That leaves only two merchants and a blacksmith. The occupational mix had diversified somewhat by 1900, but nearly three-fourths of the sixty-five members were still listed with agricultural occupations: thirty as farmers, sixteen as farm laborers, plus a stock driver, a blacksmith, and one who combined farming with cotton ginning. Other local businessmen included four general merchants or storekeepers, one lumber dealer, and one "beer agent" who was not doubt most welcome at the Verein. Rounding out the lot were two school teachers, a postmaster, and a "publisher" of a short-lived English language newspaper in nearby Carmine.

In terms of birthplace, the second generation had only a slight edge over German immigrants in 1880, but by 1900 there were only thirteen immigrants remaining, compare to forty-four of the second generation, plus five in the third with no immigrants closer than their grandparents. In addition, one of the merchants had an unmistakably Anglo name, Thomas Watson, but he was trusted enough to be put in charge of the "Bier Stand" on April 8, 1923, among other assignments. It turned out he was a storekeeper and funeral home director, and married to Emma Knittel, the daughter of a prominent German storekeeper in nearby Burton. He was also the only local businessman with not just one but two of his advertisements painted on the proscenium arch above the stage in the Verein's hall. One suspects that he had learned German because of proximity and business reasons. But his was the sole Anglo name on the Turnverein membership rolls in 1900. Besides him, there was one other member from a mixed marriage, named after Confederate general Tom Green, with a mother born in Mississippi. But he is listed on the Verein rolls as "Grien" Wendt, spelled the German way.

So it looks as if Anglo neighbors were assimilating to German culture rather than vice versa, already by 1880. Among the founders were three Adams brothers, with a mother from Mississippi and a father from Rhode Island. He seems to have assimilated to the South, because they named one of their sons Lee Beauregard after two Confederate generals. However, the

sons apparently assimilated to their German surroundings. All three of their wives were children of immigrants, two from the prominent Von Rosenburg and Weyand families, and the third the sister of a Turnverein member who had their child baptized Lutheran. When Frau Weyand was widowed, a Texas German became her second husband. Thus it appears likely that the Adams brothers had learned their wives' language as well. These Anglos were not the only ones. Current Turnverein president Roy Schmidt related that his father Laurence walked to school in the 1930s with a black neighbor child, Sterling "Buster" Ray, who spoke fluent German, though they went their separate ways when they arrived at their segregated schools.[31]

Regardless of language, the activities of the Verein in the twentieth century show evidence of a mixture of cultures. On October 6, 1910, the Verein celebrated an anniversary, and also German American Day, but along with a "grand ball" in the evening, there was also an afternoon baseball game. During the 1920s and 1930s Turnverein dances and other activities such as a skat tournament were regularly reported in the Brenham paper under the local news from Greenvine, the nearest village to the hall's location, although by then it was withering on the vine. Barbecue and baseball were regularly on the program, which may indicate acculturation, but Germans and Czechs in this area actually adopted baseball earlier than Anglos and also contributed heavily to the barbecue culture.[32] In the 1920s, there was even a La Bahia Base Ball Club to which the Verein contributed $10 toward the purchase of uniforms. In later years, the *Brenham Banner* only reported on round anniversary celebrations, but the fiftieth was front page news in 1929, and featured baseball and barbecue as well as a speech by the lieutenant governor and a dance in the evening. The sixtieth anniversary followed the same pattern.

The switch to English initially changed little in the operation of the Turnverein. The 1990 report concluded: "Today the La Bahia Turn Verein remains an active and viable family oriented organization whose purpose continues to be the promotion of the social life of member families." Surviving members born in the 1940s have confirmed this family orientation. Current president Roy Schmidt claims to have attended his first dance at the Verein when only two weeks old, and drank his first beer there at age two when his mother was trying to put him to sleep. Another acquaintance reported something very similar from her late husband, whose family were charter members of the Verein. Born in 1946 on a farm nearby, Jimmie Hinze grew up with German as his first language, and long after earning a Stanford Ph.D., still spoke it fluently decades later on visits to Germany even though he had never studied it in school. As his wife related, "My husband's family . . . went to the dances as young children and his parents went to the dances

into their 80's. My husband tells the story that all 4 children would go to the dances with his parents and his mom would spread a quilt under a table and they all would stay there! [The four ranged in age from three to seven in the 1950 census] . . . Apparently each week the dance was at a different hall and there was even a designation for a hall if there was a 5th Saturday in the month." This weekly rotation was confirmed by a conversation with someone born in 1960 whom I actually met at the Verein recently.[33]

At some point between 1960 and 1990, the Verein's monthly meetings and dances were changed to quarterly. In 2004, it was reorganized as a (501)(c)(3) nonprofit corporation.[34] Most of the dances currently held at the hall are for wedding receptions. This is something that has also kept other dancehalls viable; I have personally witnessed the setups for wedding celebrations at Millheim Harmonie Verein, the Cat Spring Agricultural Society, and Anhalt Hall.[35] The Texas Dance Hall Preservation, Inc. offers seed grants to help dance halls make repairs to roofs, dance floors, and other critical items, and La Bahia is one of the images featured front and center on its webpage.[36] The Turnverein has something else going for it: nearby Round Top is the capital of the Texas antique business, to the extent that it sometimes becomes a traffic hindrance on La Bahia Road. Antique festivals lasting more than two weeks are held every spring and fall, and are an important source of revenue for the Turnverein.[37] It is impressive how traces of the German cultural footprint are still visible in Central Texas nearly two centuries after the first settlement in 1832.

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Notes

[1] Carole E. Christian, "La Bahia, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 04, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/la-bahia-tx.

[2] Https://www.houstonchronicle.com/entertainment/restaurants-bars/bbq/article/Houston-features-headline-5559058.php.

[3] Charles R. Schultz, "A Brief History of the La Bahia Turn Verein" (November, 1990), *Texas Dance Hall Preservation Newsletter*, October 2015. A longer version was posted without attribution at https://texasfolklife.org/venue/la-bahia-turn-verein-dance-hall.

[4] Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Elvis and Other Germans: Some Reflections and Modest Proposals on the Study of German-American Ethnicity," in *Paths Crossing: Essays in German-American Studies*, ed. Cora Lee Kluge (Munich et al.: Peter Lang, 2010), 33-53, here 43.

[5] https://www.marketplace.org/2019/04/26/weddings-are-helping-save-historic-texas-dance-halls/.

[6] La Bahia Turnverein Minutes Books are posted here: https://doi.org/10.18738/T8/A4BT2V. Roy Schmidt was interviewed by the Texas German Dialect Project on Jan 23, 2016, in Winedale, Texas, speaker number 522. His narrative interview is file 112-522-1-0-a. It is

available in the Texas German Dialect Archive (https://tgdp.org/dialect-archive/). Schmidt, born in 1948, knew no English until he started school; that was also true of his elder brother and his sister, born in 1951, who were punished with ruler blows to the hand for speaking German, even though the teacher himself knew German. Phone conversation, January 30, 2024.

[7] La Bahia Turnverein Minutes, Book 10, p. 399.

[8] Theodore Roosevelt, speech held July 4, 1917 at Forest Hills, NY. For additional examples of where language and loyalty were unrelated, see my "Doughboys auf Deutsch: U.S. Soldiers Writing Home in German from France," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 54 (2019), 114-134.

[9] Reported in "Thousands Attend Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration At La Bahia Turn Verein Sunday," *Brenham Banner-Press*, Monday, July 29, 1929, p. 1.

[10] La Bahia Turnverein Minutes, Book 6; 1914-20, p. 72: resolution in German on death of member Wm. Fuchs, published in *Texas Volksbote*, June 24, 1918: p. 88: resolution in English on death of member Christian Matthies, published in *Brenham Weekly Banner*, August 27, 1919.

[11] An important if brief early study of the Texas situation is Joseph C. Salmons, "Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance and Shift" Monatshefte 75 (1983), 187–196. Although they deal more with oral than written German, the broadest and most recent study in this field is Hans C. Boas, *The Life and Death of Texas German* (Durham: Duke University Press for the American Dialect Society, 2009). For a related case study see Karen A. Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death: The Decline of Texas Alsatian* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2012). Both studies address issues promoting or retarding the language transition in their concluding chapters. Some suggestive insights are also offered by Marc Pierce, "Language Death and Language Revival: Contrasting Manx and Texas German," in *The Medieval Cultures of the Irish Sea and the North Sea: Manannán and his Neighbors*, ed. Joseph Nagy and Charles MacQuarrie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 183-206.

[12] Brandy Schnautz and Laurie E. Jasinski, "Bacas of Fayetteville," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 05, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/bacas-of-fayetteville.

[13] Martin Donell Kohout, "Hofner, Adolph," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 05, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/hofner-adolph. Brandy Schnautz, "Czech Music," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 05, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/czech-music. For more detail see my "German-Slavic Relations in Texas and the Midwest," *Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny* 41 (2015), 27-53.

[14] Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *A Century of Agricultural Progress, 1856-1956* (San Antonio: Lone Star Printing Co., 1956), pp. 255, 278, 281, 284, and passim.

[15] Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *The Cat Spring Story* (San Antonio: Lone Star Printing Co., 1956), pp. 23-24, 104, 110 and passim. David Z. Chroust, 'Jozef Ernst Bergmann: "Father" of the Czech-Speaking Immigration in Texas?' *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, Vol. 20 (2006), pp. 48-64.

[16] *A Century of Agricultural Progress,* 288-385, passim. Mark Odintz, "SCHULENBURG, TX," Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hjs11>, June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association. On the Baca bands, see Sean N. Gallup, *Journeys into Czech-Moravian Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press), 91.

[17] Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German Settlements of Eastern Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 111 (2008), 52-66, here 59-62.

[18] Scholars who have studied the language of mathematics among bilinguals find that they usually do math in the language in which they first learned it, which would have been English in Texas public schools in that era; https://www.utsa.edu/discovery/2012/story/feature-math-bilingual-brain.html.

[19] Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall," 52-59. The Verein purchased a 3.2% beer license as soon as it was available, and on September 17, 1933 took in a record $247.37 from sales at the beer stand. Now operating legally, they had to enforce the drinking age: "Mitglieder die nich 21 jahr sind wurden von die beer liste gestrichen [sic]." La Bahia Turnverein Minutes, Book 8; 1927-35, pp. 126-27, 189.

[20] Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 42-43. Luebke won the SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award in 2010.

[21] *Preserving German Texan Identity: Reminiscences of William A. Trenckmann, 1859–1935*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Walter D. Kamphoefner, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018), 7-8.

[22] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 44.

[23] Forty-eight charter members were listed in a newspaper article, "Thousands Attend Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration"; it also noted which were deceased in 1929, and of those living, where they resided, a further aid in disambiguation. Another list, formerly posted on the internet but no longer available, is quite similar but slightly more accurate on spelling of names. The first book of Turnverein minutes is rather tattered and of limited use. In both years, a few members died before the census was taken or were missed. Charter member Otto Ponfick only paid his initial dues before he died, apparently from a mule kick, as recorded in the 1880 census mortality schedules. A couple of the occupations were derived from the 1910 census when missed in 1900.

[24] Judy and Nath Winfield, Jr., *Cemetery Records of Washington County, Texas, 1826-1960* (privately published, 1974), 199-200, 235-42. In one case, it was the infant child of a charter member who was buried at La Bahia.

[25] Carole E. Christian, "Latium, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 06, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/latium-tx. Rudolph L. Biesele, "Latin Settlements of Texas," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 06, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/latin-settlements-of-texas. The freethinking reputation of Latium is confirmed by the fact that of some 44 tombstones of people who died before 1900, there were only a half dozen or so with any Christian inscriptions. Both graveyards are also covered on Findagrave.com. Even at La Bahia, there were more deceased "resting in peace" than "resting in God," but the images are often of poor quality, making it impossible to determine whether the verses on many gravestones are scriptural or secular.

[26] Https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/47856363/richard-andrew-kissmann. Kissmann wrote a detailed account in the German language of his train trip from Texas to New York before embarkation, which was published in the *Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt*, as well as three German letters from the battlefront in France which the paper published posthumously.

[27] The church at Paige belonged to a different Lutheran synod that than at Round Top and did not allow Ancestry.com access to its baptismal records. See also https://stjohnsburton.org/about-us.

[28] Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Language Persistence in Texas and Missouri," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 55 (2020), 1-20, here p. 8.

[29] Martin Obst and John Banik, ed. Susan Watkins Grasty, *Our God is Marching On* (Austin, TX: Von-Boeckmann-Jones Printers, 1966); http://www.rtis.com/reg/roundtop/beth3.htm. Weekly *La Grange Journal* (La Grange, TX); bi-weekly *Fayette County Record* (La Grange, TX), 1950-1955, passim.

[30] The Verein's hall was located in Washington County Enumeration District 149 in 1880, which was probably identical with Precinct 4 in the 1900 census or nearly so. For Fayette County, the respective units were Enumeration District 163 and Precinct 3.

[31] E-mail exchange with Roy Schmidt, August 14-15, 2019. Lawrence Schmidt and Sterling "Buster" Ray were both born in 1920, and were just four pages apart in the 1930 census.

[32] *Brenham Evening Press*, Saturday, October 8, 1910; actually it was the anniversary of the hall's erection or the incorporation of the Verein, since its founding goes back to 1979. Carole E. Christian, "Greenvine, TX," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed March 17, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/greenvine-tx. David Vaught, *The Farmer's Game: Baseball in Rural America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 50-75. On barbecues see note 2.

[33] Personal conversation with Roy Schmidt, May 13, 2019; telephone conversation on January 24, 2024. E-mail exchange with Maxine Mueller Hinze, July 29, 2019. Clarence and Grace Hinze had four children between the ages of 3 and 7 in the 1950 census, including said Jimmie, age 4. https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/117096037/jimmie-wayne-hinze. Personal conversation with Wade Weigelt, La Bahia Turnverein, April 1, 2023.

[34] Https://www.guidestar.org/profile/74-0733780; https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/740733780.

[35] Https://texasdancehall.org/wp-content/uploads/TDHP-May-2019-Newsletter-Wedding-small.pdf. On the continuing Texas ethnic dance hall tradition see Clayton Stromberger, "Everybody's Happy: Welcome Another Polka Weekend," *Bluebonnet Electric Cooperative News*, May 1, 2023: https://bluebonnet.coop/everybodys-happy-welcome-another-polka-weekend. See also FN 5.

[36] Https://texasdancehall.org/category/member-hall-project/.

[37] Https://www.thevintageroundtop.com/guide-to-round-top-antiques-week. Katy Vine, "How Round Top Became a Whole Vibe," *Texas Monthly*, November 2022.

David Chroust

Czechs and Germans in Cleveland since 1850: Separate and Connected Lives and Communities in Migration

Czechs, Germans, Indifference and Cleveland

The Czech historian Jan Křen called the Czech-German relationship a "community of conflict," because Czechs and Germans both segregated themselves from each other and struggled against each other, all very visibly, while they also, less visibly, lived and worked together. They made and guarded boundaries between each other, and at the same time they crossed and ignored these boundaries. They also took their "community of conflict," with all its habits and attitudes, to America, but here they entered a new, common status as immigrants and minorities adrift in a host society. This removed much cause for conflict (over language and power), and it made them more attractive or at least useful to each other for all they shared as Central Europeans. So, in America, the Czech-German relationship was more of a "community of separateness" than a "community of conflict," and it developed in more areas of activity in a large city like Cleveland, Ohio, where not just Germans but also Czechs, some 40,000 at their peak, lived in large numbers.

Cleveland grew as a petroleum-refining, steel-making and machine-building city that also had to feed, clothe and house its growing population, and Germans and Czechs came to do much of this work, and to become connected to each other in various ways, because of the culture of skilled trades and labor migration that they already shared in Central Europe. A growing city also brings in many kinds of other people to serve its concentrated population. Priests to minister to its Catholics. Newspaper editors to inform

and entertain people, and beer brewers to help them to better enjoy their meals and leisure time. Czechs and Germans, separately, in common, and in collaboration, demanded, supplied and consumed these products and services, again because of their common culture from Central Europe.

All these areas of activity in the city brought Czechs and Germans into many different kinds of relationships. In the trades, factories, workshops and labor unions, they could be fellow workers in relationships of mutual benefit, reliance and support, or of distrust and antagonism. They also occupied positions in a hierarchy and related to each other as employees, subordinates, foremen, managers and owners in workplaces and organizations on a scale from small workshops to large industrial corporations. In the Catholic Church, Germans and Czechs also worked and related to each other in a hierarchy as bishops, chancellors, parish priests, assistant priests and lay people in a common diocese. But here they also shared an ideology, Roman Catholic Christianity, and it united them and committed them to obligations and practices of love, charity and respect for each other, regardless of ethnicity and language. At the same time, this ideology was challenged by another one, nationalism, which not only laymen but even priests brought into the Church. Nationalism and its allied modernizing ideologies from Central Europe, like freethought, rationalism and liberalism, had their own sites, organizations and workplaces in Cleveland, from beer halls to associations for fraternal insurance benefits, physical fitness and education, to print shops and editorial offices, which produced a product and a literature in the city's Czech and German newspapers. Editors of newspapers in two different languages would seem to have no use for each other and for each other's audiences, but in fact they were not quite so disconnected.

Czechs and Germans shared a common "Central Europeanness" that came from migration, labor and language before they crossed the Atlantic. Of course, it was shared unequally, because German speakers were on the order of ten times more numerous in Central Europe, and power and prestige were bound up with the German language. So, Czech speakers had more reason to enter the other language and culture, which were also present at home: in 1900 Bohemia, one of every five or six schoolchildren in the capital (Prague) and also in three cities on the periphery (Budějovice, Liberec and Most) were bilingual. All America-bound Czechs traveled through German-speaking lands at least once, to reach the emigration ports of Bremen and Hamburg, from where they crossed the ocean with German shipping companies. Even this equipped them with some knowledge of German language and culture, and the emigration experience became a centerpiece of the stories they later told and wrote about themselves. But many Czechs and also Germans already crossed the language border for months and years as children and

young adults to serve and learn as apprentices, journeymen, soldiers and maids. These formative experiences were a favorite topic of Czech writing in America. In fact, the richest archive for the study of childhood, youth and labor migrations in the Czech Lands before 1914 may be the farmers journal *Hospodář* in Omaha, Nebraska: it published hundreds of letters and memoirs every year. In rural Austria, at least one-third of the population in the 19th-century were servants, and many of these would have come from the Czech Lands. And for the Habsburg imperial capital, Vienna, as early as 1837 guild registration books suggest from "90,000 to 180,000 incoming journeymen" per year, "as compared to a population of 350,000."[1]

Even these simple facts of migration, mixed families, bilingualism and diglossia blur the picture of Czechs and Germans as distinct and mutually exclusive categories. We have known since Immanuel Kant how stuck we are with simplistic categories in our minds and outlook on the world. New scholarship helps us to get ourselves unstuck from categories like "Czechs" and "Germans" or at least to handle them more critically. Benedict Arnold argued that modern nations are not something primordial: they are constructed and imagined communities. But what about indifference? Are there people who stay out of the "construction" of the nation that claims them or who abandon one construction project for another as it suits them? This is the question that Tara Zahra took up, along with German and Slavic Central Europe as her case study, and she found much evidence for such people and behaviors there: as one man in Czechoslovakia answered when asked about his ethnic affiliation after World War II, "It is a matter of who is giving more." Scholars who "analyze nations as 'imagined communities,'" Zahra writes, "risk remaining imprisoned within nationalists' own discursive universe ... without questioning the extent to which [their] ideologies resonated among their audiences."[2]

Should scholars continue to write about ethnic groups as "entities" and "cast [them] as actors"? No, writes sociologist Rogers Brubaker. Instead, we should refocus our "attention from groups to groupness," because ethnic groups are more like "events," like "something that 'happens,' as E. P. Thompson famously said about class." Or does not happen, because "high levels of groupness may fail to crystallize, despite the group-making efforts of ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and even in situations of intense elite-level ethnopolitical conflict," as in the Czech Lands in the century after 1848, or in Transylvania in our times, where Brubaker found that "[m]ost Hungarians, like most Romanians, are largely indifferent to politics and preoccupied with problems of everyday life—problems that are not interpreted in ethnic terms." Ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are those who "live 'off' as well as 'for' ethnicity." In Cleveland, they included priests and newspaper editors, but

ethnic entrepreneurs also had everyday problems, like everyone else, and they were easier to solve without regard to ethnic divisions.[3]

So, perhaps Czech and German groupness did not happen always and everywhere in Cleveland, even if, as Mark Cornwall says, "the 'indifference camp' ... sometimes overstates its case" and "does not adequately reflect the degree to which national loyalties and questions ... were steadily ingrained in everyday thinking" in Central Europe. But he also says, in this Habsburg history forum in the journal *German History*, "scholars of Germany, without understanding the Habsburg Monarchy, cannot really comprehend the German diaspora in all its complexity." "Recent Habsburg historiography," adds Tara Zahra, "challenges the very notion of a common German identity or a German 'diaspora'" and makes "clear that the concept of 'Germanness' was extremely locally and regionally inflected."[4]

Ethnopolitical Entrepreneurs: Priests and Journalists

Priests could be ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, especially in Cleveland, where the Catholic diocese created a parallel system of nationality parishes, with their own languages and territories, besides the usual system of English-language territorial parishes for all Catholics by residence. As late as 1961, the bishop explained that a pastor was "correct in not accepting non-Bohemians in his parish and school." So he wrote to an African-American woman turned away with her three children from a local church after she moved to the area. Racial discrimination seems likely as a motivation for the bishop's argument here, but it was certainly an affirmation of the nationality parish system.[5] The first Czech pastor, Antonín Krásný, came to Cleveland a century earlier (1858) as assistant priest for the St. Peter's German church, after he served eight years in a Habsburg prison for his activity in the revolution of 1848, a peak event in the history of Czech groupness—and an ironic outcome for Krásný. But before dying in 1870, he managed to open the first Czech parish in Cleveland, St. Wenceslaus. Nothing more about him seems to survive in the documentary record.[6]

A nationalist priest of greater impact was Oldřich Zlámal (1879-1955), installed in 1915 in the city's chief Czech parish, Our Lady of Lourdes, which he led for forty years. For half that time, from 1921, Zlámal served under a bishop, Joseph Schrembs (1866-1945), who came from Bavaria at age eleven. Ethnicity and politics sometimes divided the two men, but their correspondence also reveals a solid and cordial relationship in their shared evangelical cause and culture. Zlámal already joined the Czech ethnopolitical cause at the seminary in Olomouc, as he relates in his autobiography, and in Cleveland he rallied Catholics to the clearly un-Catholic Czechoslovak

independence movement, which arose in the secular, religiously indifferent majority of Czech society and preferred the Bohemian Reformation and suppressed Czech Protestantism as a foundation of national identity. An episode from 1930 shows how tensions arose and then subsided between Zlámal and his bishop: Schrembs spoke in Budapest at celebrations for the 11th-century St. Emeric, patron of Hungarian parishes in America and the son of a Bavarian mother. The bishop's sympathies for Hungary, shorn of land and people for the benefit of Czechoslovakia and other states after the recent First World War, offended Zlámal. Schrembs reassured the pastor that all "eighteen different nationalities" in the diocese were "equally dear" to him. Then the reaction of Cleveland's Czech Catholic newspaper to the Budapest speech offended Schrembs: he accused the *Američan* of a "dastardly appeal to the Bohemian and Slovak people of this diocese to attack their bishop" and to withhold their contributions to the Church. But he closed his letter with words of tender reconciliation for Zlámal, writing, "[T]hank you for the spirit of fairness that has characterized all you have said." Five years later, Schrembs wrote to the bishop of his native Regensburg, in good German, and to others, on Zlámal's behalf, to ease the Czech pastor's journey to the Holy Land.[7]

Newspaper editors appear much freer as ethnic entrepreneurs than priests in a hierarchy, freer of the involvements with outsiders that could soften their ethnocentrism and diminish their legitimacy, but this was not quite the case with Czech journalists and at least one German in Cleveland. Until secondary schools in the Czech language became possible in the 1860s, and then one university in 1882, Czech elites were educated in German, and even after that, at least a reading knowledge of German remained a part of their idea of a good education. Václav Šnajdr (1847-1920) was already a "passionate nationalist" at the *Gymnasium* in Mladá Boleslav, where the only concession to Czech was to make it the language for teaching Catholic religion and Latin. So he wrote a few years before his death in a sketch about himself for a booklet to commemorate fifty years of the Bohemian Gymnastic Sokol Association in New York. Students like him, Šnajdr recalled, were "woefully behind" in Czech, and he longed to become a great stylist in the language. So, he transferred to Jindřichův Hradec, with its good Czech teachers who had nowhere else to go. One of them, a physics teacher named "Steinhauser," dressed like a nationalist and even trained the boys in gymnastics on the schoolyard with commands in Czech. It was a thrill for them, especially when the town's army officers and civil servants passed by. Šnajdr went on to study philosophy at the university in Prague, but he fled in less than a year to avoid trial for treason after his part in a student demonstration. He fled to Berlin, helped to publish the first Czech political journals in exile there, and then left

to raise money for them in America.[8]

In 1873, Šnajdr came to Cleveland, where he spent half his life and issued the most intellectually ambitious Czech newspaper in America. Even the name was extravagant: *Dennice novověku* (Morning star of the new age). Enlightenment and science were a big part of what it delivered to readers, and of Šnajdr himself as ethnic entrepreneur. A lifelong inspiration was Filip Stanislav Kodym's *Zdravověda* (1863), a cult object for Šnajdr's student generation. A landmark of popular science, this book about modern medicine meant progress and freedom to them, as Šnajdr recalled at the end of his life. But much more of the best science and scholarship was open to him in German, and it sometimes showed in Šnajdr's writing: in a travel book about California, where he retired in 1910, he uses the German word *verfty* for shipyards, instead of *loděnice* or even the English word. This is a jarring miscue from a master writer in a time of anti-German purism in the Czech language. Poetically, Šnajdr died at his home and garden in Pasadena, below the astronomical observatories on Mount Wilson.[9]

Václav Šnajdr had something of a German counterpart in Julius Kurzer (1835-1884), who in the 1870s and 1880s edited the daily *Wächter am Erie*, launched in Cleveland by refugees from the revolution of 1848. Kurzer, the son of a Habsburg war commissar in Alpine Tyrol, became a mining engineer after an education at *Gymnasien* and a mining school in Hungarian towns now in Romania, Serbia and Slovakia, and at the Vienna polytechnic, where he took a small part in the 1848 revolution. Kurzer also traveled in England, Scotland and Switzerland, thanks to an inheritance. He came to Prague as a technical manager for a coal company but moved on to manage a German newspaper in the city, where he "fought to preserve and expand the German element with his innate energy and skill," as his biography says in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum*, an extravagant late 1890s block of a volume about the prowess of German Cleveland in every field of life and business. Kurzer "spoke six languages," reported a local English-language newspaper. Perhaps Czech was one of them. Julius Kurzer and Václav Šnajdr had much in common as parallel German and Czech ethnic entrepreneurs, first in the 1860s Bohemia of ethnic conflict and then in immigrant Cleveland.[10]

Brewers, Toolmakers and Others

Beyond the Catholic Church and the ethnic press, Czechs and Germans practiced separateness from each other and connection with each other everywhere else in the broader world of work and leisure, where the product, object and pass for entry were not (or mostly not) ideology or language. These practices and relationships are especially visible in the industries and

cultures that most attracted Czechs and Germans and where they left a greater documentary record. This happened in beer brewing and in the skilled trades.

German- and Czech-speaking immigrants built separate breweries in Cleveland, and sources tend to ascribe brewing companies, by ownership, to one ethnic community or the other, but physical plant, careers and taste crossed or ignored the ethnic border between them. This happened despite a certain residential separation between the two ethnic groups: the German community centered on the West Side, in Ohio City, while the later Czech and Polish communities concentrated on the East Side, especially along Broadway Avenue, above the broad and deep Cuyahoga Valley that separated the two sides of Cleveland. John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company and then steel mills arose in the Valley and employed Czechs and Poles. Today, "Broadway-Slavic Village" is the only neighborhood named for an ethnic group, among thirty-six neighborhoods, as named and defined by the Cleveland City Council, that comprise the city's territory.[11]

Nevertheless, Czech beer brewing started on the West Side. The first Czech to brew lager beer, Frank Zíka, did so by leasing Schneider's brewery. Zíka's family was among the first Czech arrivals in Cleveland, in 1849, and it settled on the West Side. Forty years later, Václav Medlín opened his Bohemian Brewery there after learning the trade in Plzeň (Pilsen, in German), Bohemia, and then working at his trade among Germans in Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo and Jersey City for twenty years. Medlín went broke, but Václav Huml (1846-1920) reorganized and recapitalized the brewery as the Pilsner Brewing Company in 1894 with several others from the small Czech business class that arose in Cleveland. Sales grew four times over in just four years, from 6,000 to 26,000 barrels. Huml, trained as a locksmith, was a gifted business manager. Of his three brothers, one emigrated to Germany, another became a judge in Prague, and the third accompanied him to America. Huml built up the Pilsner Brewing Company as its president and became wealthy enough to own a home on the fashionable Detroit Avenue in the western suburb of Lakewood, where part of Cleveland's business elite lived, and one of his five children, Edward J. Humel (1879-1969), a chemist in the city's steel industry, married the daughter of German immigrants. Václav Šnajdr, the newspaper editor (see above), succeeded Huml as president of Pilsner Brewing in 1904. That year the Czechs who launched the Forest City Brewing Company in their main neighborhood on the East Side recruited Huml to serve as its treasurer and general manager.[12]

Forest City, which almost survived Prohibition but not the Great Depression (it closed in 1930), had only two brewmasters, both Czech. But on the West Side, at the other brewery, Pilsener, which lasted to the 1960s, the succession of brewmasters included two Germans, Vincenz Spitschka (b.

1852) and Franz Knopp (1877-1947). Spitschka came from a family that operated a glassmaking factory in German-speaking northern Bohemia, where he attended a *Realschule* and started his career as a brewer. From there, he moved on to work at breweries across Germany and then across German America. For three years, the Czech Pilsener brewery enjoyed the services of one of the most advanced professionals in the industry: Spitschka studied the chemistry of beermaking at the Lehmann brewing school in Worms, Germany, completed the Schwarz brewing school in New York, and patented several new technologies. Knopp came to Pilsner as brewmaster by 1918 from another brewery, in New York, and remained so to his death three decades later. He and his wife entered the United States census in these years as native speakers of German, he from "Austria," and she from Germany.[13]

Cleveland's Germans perhaps even regarded Pilsener as a German brewery: they could certainly get this impression from *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland and its Germans). This monumental tome from 1907, the second published with this title (the first appeared in 1898), included twenty pages on the city's brewing industry and lavished praise on the Pilsener Brewing Company: it sprawled over five acres at Clark Avenue and West 65th Street, was still growing every year, and had reached a capacity of 150,000 barrels per year. It was a place where visitors, who were "always welcome," could marvel at the newest technologies and at the "spotless purity" there. It was a showcase of progress in beermaking, and the only reference to anything Czech was to the "best Bohemian hops" that made Extra Pilsener Bier popular "everywhere" in the city "as much for its wonderful taste as for its abundance of nutrients." The promotional enthusiasm of the narrative smothers any sort of ethnic, ours-or-theirs doubts about the brewery.[14]

Ethnicity among Czechs and Germans in Cleveland's brewing industry was something that individuals could show, hide or change on their own person, and ignore or emphasize in others. Andrew Mitermiler (1840-1896) was the city's leading architect of beer breweries. He was from Choceň in eastern Bohemia, but the ethnic identity that others might ascribe to him did not stop him from taking his architectural services across ethnic lines in Cleveland. Perhaps the prestige of his University of Vienna diploma eased the way. For master brewer Karel Charvát (b. 1889), on the other hand, ethnicity did become a barrier. He was doing well in his trade in Bohemia as brewer for 48 innkeepers who operated their own common brewery, but he went to Cleveland in 1908 because his parents asked him to join them there. The Czech-owned Forest City Brewery, where he applied for work, sent Charvát to join the union. It turned out to be the "international" union, did "all its business in German," and would not recognize his papers, because they were from the Czech "national" union back home. Charvát, in his letter to the

Hospodář newspaper, was referring to the conflict that turned the Habsburg Empire's Czech- and German-speaking Social Democrats against each other in the decade before the war, when Czech workers seceded from the central, German-speaking Social Democratic labor unions in Vienna to form their own Czech-speaking labor organizations. In Cleveland, the German-speaking union authorities made Charvát go through another apprenticeship at Forest City, for two years, as a condition of his employment. So, the Czech master brewer discovered that the troubles betweens Czechs and Germans in Bohemia and Austria could follow a man to America and complicate his life even there.[15]

If Czech-German differences and their unpredictable outcomes overtook Karel Charvát in Cleveland, where he did not seek to go, it was these differences that dislodged František Vlček (1871-1947) from Austria and sent him to Cleveland, where became the largest maker of tools for American automobiles. Vlček's achievement as the largest industrialist among Czechs in America motivated him to write a 362-page book about his life. He wrote in detail about his four difficult years from the age of fourteen as a journeyman blacksmith, first in his native southern Bohemia, and then across the language frontier in German-speaking Upper Austria. It was an ordeal of unstable work, thieves, dirty *herberky* (journeymen's dormitories), privation and the disgrace of returns to his home village, all the more painful because he had little to expect there as the youngest of many children in his family. Finally, Vlček's ticket to a good life was a job as a machinist with a large, modern, solid and enlightened employer, Josef Werndl's Austrian armaments factory in Steyr. Until it all came to nothing in one night: a fight broke out between Czechs and Germans. Vlček stayed out of it but got blood on his shirt. It made him look like a brawler, and so his German bosses fired him. Only then did he take Cleveland, where he had two older sisters, as an option.[16]

In Cleveland, Vlček settled into the two Czech neighborhoods where his sisters lived, Old East Cleveland and Broadway, and he married there. At the same time, he continued his cosmopolitan work career in the new country. The first employer that Vlček chose was a German blacksmith named "Ebert." This was a common strategy for Czech people: if they needed to do something in the unfamiliar new Anglo world around them, such as to find work and learn about further prospects, they could turn first to Germans, whom they could more easily talk to, understand, assess and trust. Germans could relate to Czechs in the same way: Ebert, for his part, hired only Czechs, as Vlček noted. From there, Vlček went to McGregor, an Irishman on the West Side, and finally to Petráš, a Czech on Broadway. From Austria, Vlček was already used to the dynamic of uncertainty and opportunity in wage labor, and he walked all over the city seeking jobs. Finally, Vlček started his own shop in

Old East Cleveland. Prospects were dim, because of competition from the city's two other Czech blacksmiths. To make life better for all three, Vlček arranged a pact, but the others undercut him. This betrayal among his own countrymen changed Vlček's life, as he told it: it turned him back to the larger Anglo world, which included many Germans, inspired his drive and made him the only big industrialist in Czech Cleveland: he employed 480 people by 1919 and peaked at 750 during World War II. Along the way, Vlček, a devoted Catholic, earned a Vatican medal from the hands of Cleveland's Bavarian-born bishop Schrembs.[17]

Vlček's son-in-law demonstrated another kind of interethnic connection, Germanizing his Czech surname, for his own convenience in America's Anglo society. Edward Charles Koster (1892-1989) was engaged to Vlček's daughter when he claimed an exemption from the wartime draft in 1917, because, as "superintendent and director" of the Vlchek Took Company, he had a "position in [a] factory working on government work." Koster was the grandson of Czech immigrants on both sides of his family. His original surname, as recorded at the start of the decade in the United States census, was Koštíř, a common surname in the Czech Lands that means "broom maker." The son of truck farmers in the country outside Cleveland, Koster studied at the city's Case School of Applied Science. By changing one letter, an "i" to an "e," he turned his Czech surname into a German one. Appropriately enough, "Koster," a surname recorded by the 14th century, has a cluster of meanings centered on service, custodianship and supervision. But as a small irony, it occurs mostly in western Rheinland-Pfalz, near Luxemburg, and in the Saarland, on the other side of Germany from the Czech Lands. But America was English-speaking, English was a Germanic language, not Slavic, and that mattered more to Czechs like Koster, who pursued great ambitions for upward mobility: by World War II, when Vlček's company expanded and ventured into new technologies, like plastics, Koster was its general manager.[18]

Groupness: Thomas Masaryk in 1918 Cleveland

Kathleen Neils Conzen, writing about Germans in America, saw "ethnicity as festive culture," as she put it in the title of a 1989 essay. This analysis, older by over a decade, is akin to Brubaker's discovery of ethnicity as a "groupness" that comes and goes. Like Brubaker, Conzen cuts down exaggerated notions of ethnicity into something much more limited, like an event. She writes about a German "vocabulary of celebration," reinvented in America largely by the same liberal middle class and artisanal groups, organized into *Vereine* (associations), that had become the keepers of national ritual in the fatherland. As a voice from the time put it in the 1907 *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum*,

a book that was itself a celebration, "It is up to our *Vereine* to make the festivals that the German community, or they themselves, put on, into events worthy of the same." They included, in the authors' review, the festivals of the choral and *Turner* groups, for Humboldt in 1869, and, on a rising scale of participation, extending even to the "rest of Cleveland" (meaning non-Germans), the festivals for Germany in 1890 and for the Schiller-Goethe memorial unveiling in June 1907.[19]

Czechs in Cleveland practiced much the same kind of "ethnicity as festive culture," and even at their most separate from Germans, during the festivities for Thomas Masaryk's 1918 visit to Cleveland, they remained intimately connected to them. Masaryk, a philosophy professor from the only Czech university (Charles University), was leading the Czechoslovak independence movement when he came to the city for two days on Saturday, June 15th. The next day, a festival in his honor started with a mass parade down Euclid Avenue, still famous then as Cleveland's "Millionaires' Row," to the Wade Park speaker's platform. Some 25,000 people, organized by *spolek* (association), social group, ethnicity and gender, joined the parade from their assigned starting positions in the streets from East 57th to East 77th, including some 200 *spolky* (associations) with their banners and 38 marching bands. In a time when the United States was at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Cleveland's *Svět* newspaper located the Czech people firmly in the Slavic world and not in German Central Europe: it headlined its story on the event, "Homage of the Czechoslovaks to Masaryk: The Largest Panslavic Demonstration in the History of Our City."[20]

Leading the parade were 90 Cleveland policeman of Czech ancestry who petitioned Director of Public Safety Anton B. Sprosty, who was himself of Czech ancestry, for this honor. The policemen marched in three platoons, the first one led, as the *Svět* newspaper reported, by the "senior Czech police captain," A. Honig, whose surname was German, the second by Captain Synek, and the third by the "most junior Czech police captain," J. Čadek. Just a few years earlier, Cleveland had a police chief of German descent, Frederick Kohler (1864-1934): he served from 1903, when Mayor Tom L. Johnson appointed him, to February 1913, when the "Civil Service Commission removed him as police chief on charges of neglect of duty and gross immorality." Kohler allegedly "discriminated against Irish officers, brought his favorites downtown, and exiled his opponents to the 'woods.'" Kohler's wife, Josephine Modroch, whom he married in 1888, was a woman of Czech descent. Clearly, the police force was another workplace and social space in Cleveland where many Czechs and Germans made careers and connections.[21]

The Sunday of Thomas Masaryk's visit culminated in a public meeting at Grays Armory. Many people came to hear the speakers, among whom

was Cleveland mayor Harry L. Davis. Sup's Czech band played, and the *Svět* newspaper wrote about it the next day. The first speaker was the marshal of the day's great parade, Karel Bernreiter, another Czech with a German surname. Serving on the mayor's war council and war bond committee, Bernreiter was the Czechoslovak independence movement's man in Cleveland's Anglo establishment. Major Hodges, who commanded the 150 Czech and Slovak soldiers granted leave from Camp Perry to march in the parade, called them "expert Hun killers." Oldřich Zlámal, the charismatic Czech priest in Cleveland (see above), lamented that his "superiors" would not allow him to join the Czechoslovak Legion because of the "shortage of Czechoslovak priests."[22]

But amidst all the wartime fervor to distance the Czech people from Germans, with whom they shared so much of their culture, lives and even families in Central Europe and in Cleveland, the *Svět* newspaper, despite itself, showed that this Central Europeanness was not something that could be shed. The city's Czech daily newspaper did this in its ignorance of the Slavic and Eastern European world into which it tried to relocate the Czech people: it left both the "speaker for the Southern Slavs" and the Romanian officer who spoke at Grays Armory unnamed, and the paragraph it devoted to the "likable Russian" Lysenkovskii was full of error and omission. Vasilii Samuilovich Lysenkovskii (1882-1968) may have "spoken for the Russians . . . in pithy Russian," as the *Svět* wrote, because he was a priest from Odessa in the Russian Empire, but his parishioners at St. Theodosius in Tremont, a neighborhood of Carpatho-Rusyns and Western Ukrainians on Cleveland's West Side, were emigrants from the Habsburg Empire, and they were former Byzantine Rite Catholics. The *Svět* was unaware of all this, and it even misspelled the priest's name as "Lysenchovský." Personal knowledge of the Austrian crownlands and Germany was common at the *Svět* and among its readers, because many Czechs went there as servants, maids and journeyman (and also as soldiers to other Austrian crownlands and Bosnia), but far fewer Czechs had cause to spend part of their lives in Russia, the Balkans or even among the Slovaks in Hungary. Even in wartime Cleveland in 1918, where Czechs materialized as an immigrant ethnic group in a classic instance of Brubaker's "groupness" and Conzen's "festive culture," they and the ethnic entrepreneurs in their newspaper offices and churches could not relocate themselves out the common Central European culture, ties and relationships that they shared with Germans.[23]

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Notes

[1] Rates of bilingualism in schoolchildren in 1900 were 16-17% in Prague, Budějovice and Liberec, and 22% in Most. Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (Spring 2010), 107, citing Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1905), 435. Josef Ehmer, "Quantifying Mobility in Early Modern Europe: The Challenge of Concepts and Data," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011), 331, 336.

[2] Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities," 100, 111-112.

[3] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (2002), 165-166, 168, 180.

[4] Robert Evans, Tara Zahra, Nancy Wingfield and Mark Cornwall, "Forum: Habsburg History," *German History* 31, no. 2 (2013), 227, 237-238.

[5] Mrs. Lois E. Horn to Bishop Whalen [sic], September 11, 1961, and Auxiliary Bishop John F. Whealon to Mrs. Lois E. Horn, September 15, 1961. Hoban folder, Holy Family parish papers, Archives, Catholic Diocese of Cleveland. For context, see Dorothy Ann Blatnica, "'In Those Days': African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922-1961," (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1992).

[6] Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův Amerických* (History of the American Czechs) (St. Louis: Hlas, 1910), 692-693. On "Father Anthony Krasney" at St. Joseph's parish, see Fr. John Doctor, OFM, ed., "125 Years of History," in *St. Joseph Franciscan Parish, 125th Anniversary, 1855-1980* ([Cleveland]: Ray's Printing Service, no. 48 in Allied Printing Trades Council, [1980]), 16-22.

[7] Oldřich Zlámal, *Povídka mého života* (Story of my life) (Chicago, Ill.: Tiskárna Českých benedktínů, 1954). Martin Frank Polluse, "Archbishop Joseph Schrembs and the Twentieth Century Catholic Church in Cleveland, 1921-1945," (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1991). Bishop Joseph Schrembs to pastor Oldřich Zlámal, November 7, 1930, and January 2, 1931. Schrembs folder, 1921-1932, Our Lady of Lourdes parish papers, Archives, Catholic Diocese of Cleveland.

[8] Václav Šnajdr, "Ze vzpomínek starého Sokola" (Memoir of an old Sokol), in Bohemian Gymnastic Sokol Association (New York, NY), *Památník vydaný k oslavě padesátiletého trvání tělocvičné jednoty Sokol v New Yorku, 1867-1917* (Souvenir book for celebration of the New York Sokol Gymnastic Society's fifty-year existence) (New York, 1917), 194-199.

[9] Václav Šnajdr, "Ze vzpomínek starého Sokola," 194-199. "Sprecklesovy verfty" (Spreckles's shipyards). Václav Šnajdr, *Výlet do Kalifornie: cestopisná črta* (A journey to California: travel sketches) (Cleveland: Dennice novověku, 1904), 124. "Dopis ze slunné Kalifornie" (A letter from sunny California), *Svět*, January 21, 1922, which is a letter dated January 15, 1922, in Los Angeles, from a couple that evidently resided in Cleveland, about visiting countrymen from Cleveland who were now living in Los Angeles, including the recent widow of Václav Šnajdr. See also František J. Kuták, "Václav Šnajdr," *Orgán ČSPS* 28, no. 9 (September 1920).

[10] Typesetter Heinrich F. Rochotte and lawyers Louis Ritter (1826-1902) and Jacob Mueller (1822-1905) launched the twice-weekly *Wächter am Erie* on August 9, 1852. Jacob Mueller, "A German Perspective on Cleveland in the 1850s," in *Visions of the Western Reserve: Public and Private Documents of Northeastern Ohio, 1750-1860*, ed. Robert A. Wheeler (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 287-289. Jacob Mueller, *Memories of a Forty-Eighter: Sketches from the Period of Storm and Stress in the 1850s*, translated by Steven Rowan (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1996). "Julius Kurzer," in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (1897-1898), 144. *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland: Deutsch-Amerikanische Historisch-Biographische Gesellschaft, [1907]) was a no less extravagant follow-up volume one decade later. Julius Kurzer obituary, *Summit County Beacon* (Akron, OH), May 21,

1884, accessed at https://www.newspapers.com/clip/51025447/the-summit-county-beacon on May 5, 2022.

[11] Cleveland City Council, *Cleveland Neighborhoods: A Comprehensive Guide to the City's Thirty-Six Neighborhoods*, a pamphlet issued in 1999 and held by the Cleveland Public Library.

[12] Fr. Sakryd, "Kronika Čechů na západní straně města" (A chronicle of the Czechs on the city's West Side), *Svět*, February 14 and 21, 1931 (on Zíka). Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998), 120-121, 104-114 (on Medlín). On Huml, including a photographic portrait, see *Památník k jubilejní oslavě 50-ti letého výročí založení Řádu Žižka čís. 9 ČSPS v neděli, 10. ledna 1926 v Cleveland, Ohio* (Cleveland: Svět, [1926]), [pages 21-22], an unpaginated and uncataloged booklet in the "Bohemians in Cleveland" collection at the Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS) in Cleveland, issued to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Jan Žižka lodge, local no. 9 of the ČSPS, the largest "Czecho-Slavonic" fraternal benefit society in America. Huml was a founding member of the lodge. Václav and Edward Huml, spelled variously, in the Ancestry databases and the Cleveland Necrology File. Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland*, 140-141 (on Forest City Brewing Company).

[13] Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland*, 124, 161, 184, 187-188. "Vincenz Spitschka," in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* ([1907]), 297-300. Frank Knopp in New York State Census (1915), World War I Draft Registration Cards, and United States Census (1920, 1930, 1940), accessed in the Ancestry databases.

[14] "Clevelands Brau-Industrie" (Cleveland's brewing industry), part 3, chap. 6, in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* (Cleveland and its Germans) ([1907]), 134-153, including 149-150 on the Pilsener Brewing Company.

[15] "Mitermiler, Andrew Robert," in *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, https://case.edu/ech/, accessed on July 25, 2022. "Andrew Mitermiler," in *Cleveland Architects Database*, compiled by Robert D. Keiser (Cleveland: Cleveland Landmarks Commission, June 2011), 141-143, including a chronological table of Mitermiler's buildings, https://planning.clevelandohio.gov/landmark/arch/pdf/CLC_architects.pdf, accessed on July 25, 2022. Karel Charvát, letter from Twinsburg, Ohio, *Hospodář*, January 20, 1929, volume 38 (1928), 727. Later, Prohibition drove Charvát from his trade, and after working at a steel mill, he became a farmer in Twinsburg, southeast of Cleveland. The Czech-German rift in the Habsburg Empire's Social Democratic labor organization before World War I continues to attract the attention of historians: see Jakub S. Beneš, *Workers and Nationalism: Czech and German Social Democracy in Habsburg Austria, 1890-1918* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2017); Jiří Kořalka, "The Czech Workers' Movement in the Habsburg Empire," translated by Karl F. Bahm, in *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, edited by Marcel Van Der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), 321-346; Raimund Löw, *Der Zerfall der "Kleinen Internationale": Nationalitätenkonflikte in der Arbeiterbewegung des alten Österreich, 1889-1914* (Breakdown of the "Small International": nationality conflicts in the workers' movement of the old Austria, 1889-1914) (Vienna: Europa-Verlag, 1984); and Josef Kolejka, "Rozkol sociální demokracie na autonomisty a centralisty v roce 1910 a činnost centralistické sociální demokracie v letech 1911-1919" (The rift in Social Democracy between autonomists and centralists in 1910 and the activity of the centralist Social Democracy in the years 1911-1919), *Slezský sborník* 54 (1956), 1-28.

[16] František Vlček, *Povídka mého života: historie amerického Čecha* (Story of my life: history of an American Czech) (Cleveland: Vlchek Tool Co., 1928). "Doma" (At home), the first of three titled parts in this didactic autobiography, covers the events up to his 1889 emigration to America at age eighteen. It is 95 pages and so amounts to 27% of the book. According to Ham Hook, "Boy Horseshoer Now Industrial Leader" (Growing with Cleveland series), *Cleveland Press*, December 3, 1928, Vlček went to "learn the machinist's trade in a factory in the Stirian [sic] district" at age fifteen, and there, as a "good pupil," he soon made "fine surgical

instruments."

[17] "Za mořem" (Across the sea), part two of František Vlček, *Povídka mého života*, 136 pages (39% of the book), is about the two Czech neighborhoods where Vlček lived and about his progress there to business success. It ends with a 1909 fire that destroyed what he built. So, "U cíle" (Reaching the goal), the third and last part, 121 pages (34% of the book), is about his resurrection from sole proprietor to corporate executive, because he needed capital and Anglo partners to start over. For articles from the years 1928 to 1947 in Cleveland newspapers about Vlček and his company, see the Biographical Clipping File, Center for Local and Global History, Cleveland Public Library, microfiche number 562 of 603, including Ham Hook, "Boy Horseshoer Now Industrial Leader" (Growing with Cleveland series), *Cleveland Press*, December 3, 1928 (480 employees in 1919); "Vlchek Pours Out Tools for Peace," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 8, 1945 (peaked at 750 employees); and John Mihal, "Vatican Medal Is Bestowed on F.J. Vlchek by Bishop," *Cleveland News*, July 15, 1938.

[18] Edward Charles Koster in Ancestry databases accessed on April 14, 2022, including the 1910 United States census, World War I Draft Registration Cards, Cuyahoga County Marriage Records, and United States School Yearbooks, where his entry in the 1915 yearbook for the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland included his photograph and claimed that "Ed became famous as the mainstay of the Mechanical football team" and that he "seldom talks much, but his ready smile and constant good humor have made him thoroughly liked by everyone." "Koster" in Edwin Großgoerge's Deutsche Nachnamen website, https://www.deutsche-nachnamen.de/index.php/herkunft-a-z, and in the Karte zum Namen website, https://www.kartezumnamen.eu/index.php?sur=koster&s=Suchen, accessed on April 14, 2022. "F.J. Vlchek, Tool Firm Head, Dies," *Cleveland Press*, June 10, 1947 (Koster general manager).

[19] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, edited by Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 44-76 (quotation from page 55). "Die deutschen Kirchengemeinde und Vereine" (The German religious communities and other associations), part 2, chap. 4 in *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum* ([1907]), 97-98.

[20] K. Bernreiter, "Pořad slavn. průvodu na počest prof. Masaryka" (The order of the festival parade in honor of Prof. Masaryk), *Svět*, June 12, 1918. "Hold Čechoslováků Masarykovi: největší všeslovanská manifestace v dějinách našeho města" (Homage of the Czechoslovaks to Masaryk: the largest Panslavic demonstration in the history of our city), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 1, 6.

[21] "Čeští policisté do průvodu: 90 městských strážníků-krajanů žádá ředitele Sprostýho o zařazení do pol. kolony za nedělní manifestace" (Czech policemen for the parade: 90 city policemen and countrymen ask director Sprosty to include them in the police escort for Sunday's festival), *Svět*, June 14, 1918. "Kohler, Frederick" and "Public Safety," *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, https://case.edu/ech/articles/k/kohler-frederick and https://case.edu/ech/articles/p/public-safety, accessed on March 24, 2022.

[22] "Památná schůze v Grays Armory" (Memorable meeting at Grays Armory), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 8. Josef Mašek, *Památník Českého národního sdružení v Clevelandu, O., 1915-1920: dle protokolních záznamů, časopiseckých zpráv, osobních sdělení předních nár. pracovníků, jakož i dle paměti a poznání vlastního, napsal Josef Mašek, bývalý tajemník clevelandské odvodní kanceláře* (An account of the Czech National Association in Cleveland, O., 1915-1920: written by Josef Mašek, former secretary of the Cleveland recruiting office [for the Czechoslovak Legion in France] from minute books, press reports, personal communications from our leading national workers, and his own recollections and experience) (Cleveland: České národního sdružení, 1921), 85-86 (on Bernreiter).

[23] "Památná schůze v Grays Armory" (Memorable meeting at Grays Armory), *Svět*, June 17, 1918, 8. The entry for "V. Lysenkovsky" in *The Living Church Annual and Whittaker's Churchman's Almanac* (1912), 464, is in the section titled "Clergy of the Catholic Commu-

nions" and lists Lysenkovsky at "64 Starkweather Ave." in Cleveland, Ohio, the address of St. Theodosius Russian Orthodox Cathedral in the Tremont neighborhood. Sources from the Russian Orthodox Church in America list him as the priest there in the years 1910-1921. "Kovalevskie, Khersonskaia guberniia," https://forum.vgd.ru/1228/106540/, accessed on July 31, 2022, is a post on a genealogical forum in Russia from a descendant in San Francisco on the Kovalevskii family in the Kherson guberniia of the Russian Empire, now in southern Ukraine. It claims that Vasilii Samuilovich Lysenkovskii completed the seminary in Odessa in 1905 and emigrated to the United States with his wife and children on May 5, 1909, but it cites no sources.

Eddie Wolsch

Marx on the Brazos: Radicalism Reflected in the Correspondence of Maria Boeer and the Brandenburg, Texas, Socialists in the World War I Era

While the history of the Rolling Plains in northwest Texas, similar to Plains history in general, usually brings to mind the Plains Indian wars, decimation of buffalo, agricultural development and related ethnic settlement, there is another chapter of Rolling Plains history which hasn't received as much attention which lies at the intersection of ethnicity, class politics, and labor activism, during the World War I/Progressive era. Building upon the strand of nativism which runs throughout the nation's history, anti-German hysteria reached a crescendo in the WWI era as did the labor strife leading up to and following the war as even the casual reader of American history is aware. The related strands of the spread of radical politics in the heartland, the prominence of Germans in that movement and reaction due to nativism, World War I anti-Germanism, dissent to the war, anti-Bolshevik hysteria and Red Scare which followed are well-documented.

As James Green's seminal text, *Grass-Roots Socialism* has shown, the socialist movement had an agrarian wing as well and when combined with the anti-Germanism of the war created a volatile mix for ethnic Germans, agrarian and urban, who were active in the socialist movement. The anti-immigrant fervor of the era as described by John Higham in *Strangers in the Land* thus made for an easy segue to anti-Germanism as the nation neared the war as anti-labor/anti-German hysteria created by the labor strife of that era in which German radicals were prominent, merged.

While the roots of the Socialist Party (SP) and resultant labor strife occurred largely but not exclusively in the industrialized cities of the Midwest and northeast, thanks to SP organizers such as "Red" Tom Hickey and his

mother-in-law, Maria Boeer, Laura Payne, and Dan Crider the SP, and resultant strife, found a home in the sparsely populated Rolling Plains, as well.

This article will examine how, through the letters of Maria Boeer, anti-socialist class politics combined with the anti-German, "100 percent Americanism" movement of that era in the small, German farm community of Brandenburg in northwest Texas. The result was not only ethnic and class-based violence, reflecting the larger trend nationally, but development of a federal surveillance apparatus trained on anti-war "radical" activists in particular those of German descent. Thanks to the work of Joseph B. Neville, Jr. and Robert Wilson, the surveillance of the Boeer/Wolfe family and those within Maria's orbit has been brought to light, illustrating how pervasive the surveillance was. Her correspondence with 48er Theodor Hielscher, and Clara Zetkin, co-founder of the German Communist Party, and Tom Alter's work on her colleagues, the Meitzens, in *Toward a Cooperative Commonwealth* also provide an example of how German radicalism extended from the 48ers through the Progressive Era, transcending international boundaries and influencing domestic politics.

Agrarian populist politics gained prominence in the Midwest and elsewhere following the Civil War in reaction to the excesses of monopolistic corporate capitalism in the late 19th century. Texas was no exception as discussed in Gregg Cantrell's *The People's Revolt*, among other works. At the same time, Bismarck's purge of socialists and anarchists resulted in German Marxists and fellow radical political refugees immigrating to the industrialized U.S. cities, who soon played a leading role in the labor movement, development of the SP in 1901, and labor strife of that era.[1] While the urban wing of the labor movement and later of the SP was dominant, it and the agrarian wing were two sides of the same coin. Moreover, the Germans within the movement, agrarian or urban, descended from the same tradition as Tom Alter's work and the letters of Maria Boeer show.

Likewise, whether urban or rural, the same fate befell those Germans who espoused "radical" that is, systemic reforms to counteract dominance of the moneyed class in favor of the workers, be they industrial or agrarian. Their "radical" socialist politics, when combined with their outspoken anti-war views and ethnicity, combined into a combustible brew when the U.S. entered World War I. Like a tap which takes time to turn off, the ill-will generated by the "100-percent American" movement meaning an English language-only society based on WASP values continued for a time after the war. As atheistic freethinkers, as many socialists especially German immigrant socialists were, including the Boeer/Wolfe family, also played into the mix as outside the mainstream Anglo culture. Following the bombings of the Red Scare and resultant deprivation of civil liberties in the roundup of radicals,

nativistic restrictive immigration legislation was enacted and the federal surveillance system grew. Beginning just prior to U.S. entry into the war to at first monitor German aliens it soon encompassed those of radical persuasion particularly those of German ethnicity such as Maria Boeer of the small farm community of Brandenburg, in Stonewall County, and those within her circle.[2]

Although not shocked after learning that superpatriot Anglo neighbors burned a shed of Maria's son-in-law, Karl Wolfe, as a warning to stop their outspoken dissent to the war, having grown up hearing from my German elders about their treatment during the war, I was shocked to learn that federal authorities had surveilled Maria as well as those within her circle simply due to their dissent to the war, their ethnicity, and socialist politics. Considering that the small farm community of Brandenburg was far removed from any industrial centers of military importance this seemed bizarre. However, delving into the literature of the era and the mass hysteria prevalent at that time, in combination with the prominence of her correspondents within the SP and the fear of radical politics generally here and abroad, gave me a quite different perspective.

While the better-known educated class of 48ers immigrated for purely political reasons political repression also figured into the equation in addition to economics for a segment of farmers and laborers which included the Boeer/Wolfe family.[3]

Born in 1844 at Wingeshausen, Kreis Wittgenstein, on the border of the present states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse, Maria Wolfe immigrated in 1872 to Colorado County, Texas. Considering that she immigrated as a single, young woman she likely followed family and friends who had immigrated earlier to southeast Texas who arranged work for her as a governess. Several freethinker/socialist families she corresponded with who later migrated to Brandenburg from southeast Texas immigrated from the Giessen to Wingeshausen area, north of Frankfurt-am-Main.

It was in Weimar, Colorado County that she met and married Wilhelm Boeer in 1875 who had immigrated with his parents and two brothers in 1851 from Langenbielau, near Breslau. Maria and Wilhelm had similar backgrounds in that both of their fathers were artisans as well as farmers with Maria's a saddlemaker and Wilhelm's a blacksmith. Both were also freethinkers, Maria's radically so according to her. She described how Wilhlelm's father refused to use his blacksmithing skill to make weapons for the "reactionaries," those who opposed reforms, in the 1848 Revolution and his desire to prevent his sons, who were of military age, from becoming cannon fodder. The elder Boeer's stance and the general unrest which followed the revolt precipitated the family's immigration.

Maria and Wilhelm continued their families' tradition, becoming involved in the local freethinker community while farming, and eventually saved enough money to help her mother, brother, and his family, which included his son Karl Wolfe, to immigrate in 1890. After a short stint in Fayette County, Maria and Wilhelm moved back to Colorado County and sometime after 1890 moved to the Hillje/El Campo area of Wharton County where her brother Wilhelm, a "good socialist," had moved his family.

Wilhelm Boeer died at Hillje in March of 1906 and in line with the freethinker custom of that era was cremated in St. Louis. Soon thereafter Maria and her extended family made the trek to the newly established farm community of Brandenburg, Stonewall County, on the Rolling Plains of northwest Texas. Her son-in-law Karl Wolfe who had married her daughter Louisa in 1903 had moved first buying property and establishing a farm there in 1904 soon after the "colony" as Karl described it, had been established. Maria, her nephew Frederick who lived with her after her brother's death, and four other daughters and their families followed in 1907. Friends from Wingeshausen, the Stremmel and Reber families, and the Hamels of Wuerttemberg, had also immigrated to El Campo in the early 1890s, married daughters of Maria and moved with her. Similar to the Boeer/Wolfe family they were also farmer-artisans with Johannes Reber a tailor while August Stremmel worked winters in the steel mills of Solingen tending to his fruit and vegetable crops the rest of the year according to a grandson. The Hamels, of the Heilbronn area, were apparently well-educated or at least well-read as one correspondent referred to the mother of Alfred Hamel who had married Maria's daughter Anna, as "Frau professor Hamel."

One of Maria's five daughters was Clara, who was soon to marry the prominent SP activist "Red" Tom Hickey after the move to Brandenburg. A colleague of the Meitzen family of southeast Texas, the working-class Meitzens immigrated from the Breslau area in 1850 due to the revolt, similar to the Boeer family. The Boeer/Wolfe and Meitzen families thus had much in common eventually co-owning the *Rebel*, a socialist newspaper.

Connecting with her fellow socialists here and abroad Maria became prominent in the socialist parties in the U.S. and Germany via the extensive transnational network of political dissidents which developed due to the large German American radical press in which German socialists and fellow radicals participated.[4] Maria's participation in this network was simply a continuation of the radical tradition she had grown up with in the Frankfurt region as had a number of other Brandenburg socialists. Likewise, so too, had the Meitzen and Boeer families of the Breslau area. Both regions were prominent in the revolt with a large number of democratic and workers' clubs across the German states in which farmer-laborer grievances were a motivating factor

for the revolt.[5]

Not leaving their politics at the port of entry and not finding a democratic utopia, the radical German influence in the U.S. had deep roots in Texas within which the Boer/Wolfe and Meitzen families found a home. As a Civil War era correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Daily Tribune* with acolytes corresponding with him and spreading his views in the U.S., Marx kept abreast of the slavery issue, and even considered joining his brother-in-law at the commune of Bettina near the Lateiner community of Sisterdale northwest of San Antonio in the early 1850s. Having a large population of 48ers the Hill Country became a prominent free-soil stronghold in the antebellum period with connections to fellow 48ers and their abolitionist allies in the north.

Keenly interested in the development of the U.S. socialist and labor movements Marx and Engels continued their U.S. correspondence after the war with Engels even visiting Friedrich Sorge, an early socialist leader in the U.S., in Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1888. One of Engels' last letters before his death was to the editor of the *New Yorker Volks-Zeitung* (NYVZ) in 1895, the paper which figured prominently in connecting Maria to the transatlantic socialist community.[6] Although arriving some two decades after the 48ers, Maria was nevertheless only once removed from them via Theodor Hielscher as she was to the larger radical community which included Engels via the NYVZ.

A prominent 48er and colleague of Carl Schurz and Adolf Douai in the nascent Republican Party, Hielscher corresponded extensively with Maria. He described his revolutionary association with Schurz's brother-in-law and fellow Silesian Johannes Ronge and with August Siemering as a Berlin classmate. A fellow 48er Siemering had become prominent in Texas as secretary of Sisterdale's *Der freie Verein*, a branch of the *Bund Freier Maenner*, and as editor of the *Freie Presse fuer Texas* which he had established in San Antonio. Wanting a warmer climate Hielscher moved to San Antonio after the Civil War teaching for a time in the German-English School before taking a teaching position at Eagle Pass. Siemering was succeeded as editor of the *Freie Presse* by Robert Hanschke in 1885 who continued Siemering's liberal editorial stance. Hanschke also corresponded with Maria and both were soon caught up in the anti-war, anti-German dragnet when the U.S. entered World War I.[7]

Hielscher never commented to Maria on his relationship with Douai, fellow radical Karl Heinzen, or Friedrich Kapp, all of whom were prominent in antebellum free-soil politics as was Greeley. However, Maria was knowledgeable of the effort of a coalition of 48ers and native abolitionists to create a "Free State of West Texas" and her admiration was evident with

references to Douai and Heinzen throughout her correspondence.[8]

Not only did Maria's correspondence with Hielscher reflect their commitment to freedom of expression, but also their common interest in the life of the mind which she shared with the 48ers who preceded her. He shared with her the praise he received from Goethe's grandson for his poetry and gave a description of the fifteenth-century Hussite Wars as an example of how important religious freedom was. After contributing geological and botanical specimens to the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History he commented on his research which he believed contributed to the work of the renowned naturalist Alexander von Humboldt in his *Kosmos*.[9]

Maria's correspondence with Hielscher and prominent German socialist activists thus represents the continuity of influence German radicals had on Texas and American politics from the 48ers to the anti-war labor activism of World War I. The Boeer/Wolfe family can thus be credited with bringing the tradition of German liberalism and German radical politics to the sparsely populated Rolling Plains. Combined with the native agrarian populism of that era they directly impacted the politics of that region and through Hickey, the Meitzens and the *Rebel*, of the state and nation. In conjunction with their SP colleagues who were agitating for improved industrial working conditions they thus played a role in the SP influencing the politics of the pre-war era.

Living in a farm community far removed from the stimulation and interactions of a city anchored by a university, her papers show a remarkable breadth. While primarily socialist-oriented, her holdings of well over 500 books, letters, pamphlets, and political tracts also span German art, music, and literature. Her correspondence is replete with references to classical German literature as well as the American Founders of the classic liberal tradition such as Paine and Jefferson which she shared with her fellow Germans at Brandenburg in a Sunday afternoon Stammtisch as well as socialist principles. One of her granddaughters, Mina Wolfe Lamb, a graduate of Columbia who spent her career as a professor at Texas Tech University, shared with me that she went to sleep many nights listening to her father, Karl Wolfe, and fellow "Kamerad" Wilhelm Reber—the salutation most frequently used in Maria's letters—discuss German literature, fondly recalling their phrase, "Goethe sagte dass aber Schiller sagte dass."

Works dedicated to her by German and German American socialist/freethinker poets such as Konrad Nies, Friedrich Michel, and Karl August Specht, attest to her prominence in the German socialist community here and abroad and to her broad reading in German literature. Nies, a prominent German American poet, even planned on visiting her on a trip east from California.[10]

Michel, who established the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Friedengesellschaft* gave her a book of his poetry with the inscription, translated, "That which burns

in my heart's deepest depths, have I poured into German word and song. To my dear friend, Maria Boeer….I think of you dearly." With a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Jena, which a generation before gave rise to the "Jena Set" of Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Fichte, Hegel, the Humboldts, et al., and creation of Romanticism, K. August Specht was a prominent leader of the German freethinkers. He established the journal *Menschenthum* at Gotha and the *Deutscher Freidenkerbund* with prominent socialist leader Wilhelm Liebknecht. He published a lengthy poem eulogizing her husband Wilhelm in *Menschenthum*, dedicated a play to her, and corresponded frequently with her.

In the vein of arts and letters, her papers also include a postcard from prominent sculptress Elisabet Ney who sculpted portraits of Alexander von Humboldt and Jacob Grimm among others, with a sculpture in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art. She was also within the correspondence circle of Clemens Vonnegut, great-grandfather of Kurt.[11]

While politics and literature form the basis of her correspondence, she was also aware of Darwin's work which supported her freethinker beliefs. Specht was a follower of Darwin as was another mutual acquaintance Theodor Schwarz, who suggested that Maria read the work of Ernst Haeckel. Known as the "German Darwin" for his work on evolution as a professor of biology at the University of Jena, this suggests her reading may have extended even beyond politics, arts and letters.[12]

Her eulogy by the *Neue Volks-Zeitung*, reorganized from the *New Yorker Volks-Zeitung* of New York City, one of the oldest and most prominent German language socialist/Marxist newspapers in the country also attests to her prominence in the radical community. Connecting German radicals here and abroad, the *Volks-Zeitung* emphasized the role of the rank-and-file in the socialist movement through the obituary in which the contributions the deceased made to the movement were lauded.[13]

With the advancement of rail lines to the Rolling Plains and resultant availability of cheap land Brandenburg and its offshoot, New Brandenburg, in Stonewall County and Sagerton, their sister community "across the river" in Haskell County were established in 1904-05. Platting Brandenburg and buying the surrounding property, German immigrant Gustav Reinhold Spielhagen, a prominent San Antonio merchant and real estate developer with business ties in Germany was responsible for a large influx of Germans to Brandenburg from southeast Texas with spillover to its sister communities. Nephew of author Friedrich Spielhagen, the "Dickens of Germany," who had been a Franconia Burschenschaft member with Carl Schurz at the University of Bonn, G. R. Spielhagen was well-known within the German Texan community with his business activities covered by the German and English language presses statewide.[14]

After migrating to Brandenburg Maria became acquainted with Spielhagen and fellow immigrant, Robert Hanschke via his paper, who was still editor of the *Freie Presse fuer Texas* in San Antonio after succeeding Siemering in 1885. Having similar views, Maria and Hanschke began corresponding. Karl Wolfe was acquainted with Spielhagen due to Spielhagen's promotion of his Brandenburg property to his fellow Germans in southeast Texas. Spielhagen was well-known in the community returning to Brandenburg as needed when closing on a property sale and owned the tract adjoining Karl's which Maria's son-in-law Alfred Hamel bought.

The Boeer/Wolfe family quickly became leaders in the local socialist movement with Maria serving as secretary of the Sagerton local she organized in 1908 and Karl establishing annual SP encampments at his farm on the Double Mt. Fork of the Brazos River soon after arrival. It was at the 1909 encampment at Karl's farm that SP organizer and encampment speaker for the region, "Red" Tom Hickey met Clara Boeer, another of Maria's daughters. Marrying her in 1912, Hickey spent a great deal of time at his mother-in-law's home where his wife lived while he was on the road, and at Karl's. As Hickey's colleague, Karl promoted the Party in the area through the local paper, the long since defunct *Sagerton Sun*. In one of the few extant issues of the paper Karl reported on Hickey's speech at his farm for the May 16, 1910, encampment at which he spoke for two hours about the "Frenzied Finances or the Amalgated Copper War" of Standard Oil's manipulation of the stock market at the expense of workers. Karl translated the speech as he did at other encampments for those, like Maria, whose English was minimal, at best.

The commitment of Maria and the Brandenburg socialists to socialist principles was evident in the example of Gottlob Albers. An acquaintance of the Hamels he had immigrated from the same area and after working for several months in St. Louis made contact with Karl, working for a time for him in 1910 before migrating back to Gemmrigheim, near Heilbronn. He kept in touch with "Grossmutter" Maria telling her that he had become a socialist due to his time at Brandenburg. He continued corresponding after the war telling her he had lost several jobs due to his activism, thanked her for copies of the St. Louis *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and described the poverty, horrific inflation, and abysmal working conditions of post-war Germany. Thoroughly radicalized he wished for a socialist liberator to overthrow the capitalists and hoped the masses would arise and "shoot them all like mad dogs" an ominous portent of the strife soon to come.[15]

The influence of the Boeer/Wolfe family in the growth of the SP in the area is evident in the voting returns of Haskell and Stonewall Counties and in neighboring Jones County in which the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association (FLPA) was headquartered. An allied agrarian reform organization

with cross-memberships in the area's SP the FLPA would play a key role in the ordeal the Boeer/Wolfe family would endure. In 1906, soon after Karl and Louisa moved to Brandenburg, the SP candidate for governor received 7.2% of the vote in Stonewall County placing him, distantly, in second place behind the Democratic candidate. Although Haskell and Jones Counties recorded no Socialist votes for governor that year Party support rose rapidly in all three counties.

In the 1908 gubernatorial election, the year after Maria's arrival to Brandenburg, the Socialist candidate for governor received 6.5 percent and 7.1 percent in Haskell and Jones Counties respectively, and 12.2 percent in Stonewall County surpassing the third-place Republican candidate by nearly 9 percent. SP support continued to rise in those counties as well as in the state with the Party's 1910 gubernatorial candidate, Reddin Andrews, garnering 26.2 percent of the vote in Stonewall County with Party support in all three counties surpassing the third-place Republican Party candidate. Further evidence of the Party's popularity locally was creation in 1911 of the Brandenburg Socialist Band and inclusion of the November 6, 1911 issue of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* in the cornerstone time capsule of the new Stonewall County courthouse, completed in November of 1911.[16]

Capitalizing on agrarian discontent and earlier populist movements, the SP made considerable strides after establishment of the national party in 1901 and formally in Texas in 1904 reaching its peak nationally in 1912. Reddin Andrews received 8.4 percent of the total that year statewide in the Texas gubernatorial race, more than double from the previous gubernatorial election surpassing the Republican Party making it the second-largest party in the state. Although crushed by Democrat Oscar Colquitt, who won the gubernatorial race in part due to his anti-prohibitionist stance, the SP nevertheless had made great strides in Texas particularly in the Rolling Plains. Andrews received 24.2 percent of the vote for governor in Haskell County in 1912 and Eugene V. Debs, the SP presidential candidate, received 23 percent. Haskell County's support of Andrews even rivalled the 29.5 percent Andrews received in Van Zandt County in northeast Texas, where the state branch of the Party had originated in Texas. Although the Party reached its peak nationally in 1912 the Party continued to grow in Texas until peaking in 1914. The Party continued to grow in the Rolling Plains as well with Haskell, Jones, and Stonewall Counties each recording the highest percentage the Party received in those counties in the 1914 gubernatorial election.

E.R. Meitzen, the 1914 SP gubernatorial candidate, and Hickey's colleague, received 31.3 percent of the vote in Haskell County and 20 percent and 26.6 percent respectively in Jones and Stonewall Counties far and away outdistancing the third-place Republican candidate. Even with war looming

The Brandenburg Socialist Brass Band 1911 at Karl Wolfe's campground on the Double Mt. Fork of the Brazos River. Fourth from left, top row - August Stremmel (with beard.) Bottom row - beside drum on left in black hat and beard - Karl Wolfe. Johann Vahlenkamp is either immediately beside the drum on the right or at the end of the row on the right. The rest are unidentified.

and patriotic fervor increasing Meitzen still received 21.6 percent of the vote in Haskell County in the 1916 gubernatorial race. This was sizable considering he only received four percent statewide, the lowest the Party had received in a gubernatorial race since its first showing of consequence in 1906 of 1.6 percent. In addition to voting returns, encampments, a band, and time capsules, enthusiasm in Brandenburg was expressed in more personal terms, as well.[17]

One Brandenburg German named a son, born in 1912, after Eugene V. Debs, a co-founder of the Party and colleague of Hickey. Dan Crider, a SP organizer and farmer, who spoke frequently at encampments at Brandenburg and throughout Texas and Oklahoma, went a step beyond. He named a son, Debs Liebknecht Crider, after Eugene Debs and either Karl Liebknecht, prominent German socialist and later co-founder of the German Communist Party (KPD) or his father Wilhelm, co-founder of the German Socialist Party (SPD) who toured U.S. cities in 1886 with one of Marx's daughters. He named another Karl Marx Crider and another Robert Ingersoll Paine Crider. Named after Robert Ingersoll the "Great Agnostic" and freethinking Founding Father Thomas Paine, this alluded to his religious views and the Party's emphasis on reason, shared by Maria and her fellow German freethinkers.[18]

However, another important strand of the agrarian wing of the Party was the fundamentalism of evangelical Christianity, common throughout the south and southern Plains states, which emphasized class-based social justice. The irreligious such as the German freethinker and their Anglo counterparts, and those from the evangelical tradition were both attracted to the Party for its emphasis on social justice and reason. Thus Reddin Andrews, Baptist minister and former president of Baylor and SP candidate for governor in 1910 and 1912 who spoke at a Lueders encampment in Jones County near Brandenburg, shared the stage with his atheist counterparts. The encampment model itself followed in the tradition of the evangelical tent revivals common throughout the south in that era.[19]

In an era when use of public-school facilities for political and religious activity, especially in the countryside, was common Sagerton's Sankt Paulus Lutherisches Gemeinde (renamed as St. Paul's Lutheran Church) used the Brandenburg school for services for its Brandenburg mission, Ebenezer Evangelische Lutherische Kirche. So too, did local SP members some of whom were church members. The Party's state leadership began a "schoolhouse campaign" in 1910 as another way to reach rural areas explaining why a photo was taken of the newly formed Brandenburg Socialist Brass Band of 1911 and supporters at the Brandenburg schoolhouse. The photo was likely organized by Crider who stopped by on his way to encampments in Oklahoma and Kansas in the summer of 1911.[20] Similar to the Baptist minister Reddin Andrews sharing the stage with atheists and inclusion of the *Aspermont Star* in the courthouse cornerstone the photo is an example of how religion, politics, and ethnicity intersected in the pre-war years coalescing around agrarian discontent in the SP in the Rolling Plains.

The Party's rapid ascent in the state from its first encampment in 1904 at Grand Saline in Van Zandt County to its crest in the state in 1914, can be attributed at least in part to the tireless efforts of Crider and Hickey on the encampment circuit, channeling the agrarian discontent into Party locals. Josua Hicks should also be credited on this count as founder and publisher of *The Farmers' Journal* in Abilene, the regional hub. Published from 1904 to 1911 when it merged with the *Rebel*, Hicks converted to socialism from populism, and to freethought, sometime shortly after the Party was established. He continued promoting the Party in local Rolling Plains papers after the merger until his move a few years later to Waco where he continued its promotion as a printer and proofreader until his death.

Crider made several of the Brandenburg encampments and others in the Rolling Plains as well as trips to the Panhandle, Hill Country, and throughout the eastern half of the state from Commerce to Houston.[21] Hicks, Crider, Hickey, Karl, and Maria weren't alone in their activism on the Rolling Plains however, with Maria having an Anglo counterpart in Laura Payne.

Laura Payne played a prominent role in this period for the SP as an organizer and encampment speaker in the Rolling Plains and throughout Texas and Oklahoma. Living in Abilene in 1907-9 her lecture tour included a Jones County encampment and others in the area. During this period she served as a Texas delegate to the Party's national convention and ran twice, unsuccessfully, for congress on the SP ticket making her the first woman to run for congress from Texas and the South. Moving to San Diego in 1909 she joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and became an organizer, speaker, and participant in the IWW's anti-war Free Speech fights on the West Coast where she became acquainted with Emma Goldman.[22]

At the time Crider first spoke at a Brandenburg encampment in 1908 he was living in nearby Eastland which was soon to figure prominently in the federal pursuit of alleged traitors due to their anti-war activism. An early SP candidate for Congress and after moving to Eastland County for State Representative, both unsuccessful, and a state committee member of the SP he spoke again in 1909 at what was listed as a Sagerton encampment but which was likely in Brandenburg as Karl's property straddled the Haskell/Stonewall County line. Following that encampment he wrote to Clara Boeer that he would speak again if wanted upon return from an organizational trip to the Panhandle. After organizing a local in nearby Knox County and speaking at communities throughout the Panhandle he organized a local upon return to his home in Rising Star in Eastland County.[23]

In his *Sagerton Sun* article Karl noted that a large number of Anglos attended the May 16, 1910, encampment at his farm along with nearly all the Brandenburg Germans indicating amicable German-Anglo relations in the area. While this was true for those within the SP it was soon to change, however, with the onset of war in Europe for the superpatriot Anglos outside the Party who would soon take their cue from the Wilson Administration.

When the war began those within Maria's circle opposed it but for different reasons with Spielhagen and Hanschke viewing the Allies as the aggressors with the English-language press slanting coverage toward them. Similar to the vast majority of SP members the Boeer/Wolfe family opposed the war as benefitting the wealthy at the expense of the workers which became the official position of the SP the day after the U.S. declaration of war. Although opposed for different reasons they were nevertheless bound by their anti-war views and outspoken in opposition.[24]

Spielhagen soon came to the attention of J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau of Investigation (BOI) which later became the F.B.I., due to his outspoken support of Germany even though he voiced this support prior to U.S. entry into the war. He was prominent in the aid effort organized at the outbreak of the war, roughly two-and-a-half years prior to U.S. entry, by the San Antonio chapter of the National German American Alliance for the devastation

German citizens would soon face.[25]

Robert Hanschke, as editor of *Freie Pesse fuer Texas* was also prominent in the aid effort of the Alliance, a cultural organization promoting neutrality, and in the Sons of Hermann Lodge, which hosted a fund raiser for the relief effort at its San Antonio headquarters. As a well-connected merchant Spielhagen, who served as secretary of the San Antonio chapter's aid effort and later as State Warehouse Inspector during the war was also well-known in the Sons of Hermann community. The aid committee also doubled as a "literary bureau" designed to counter "errors and fabrications" in slanted coverage of the war by the English language press. Hanschke, who had been in Berlin for an extended stay when the war broke out in 1914, published in the *Freie Presse* and the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* his admiration for the Fatherland and his contention that Germany was not the aggressor. Both papers also carried a similar editorial by Spielhagen describing the creation of the literary bureau and relief organization.

Sharing Spielhagen's anti-war views Hanschke barely averted indictment for treason via the Espionage Act after U.S. entry into the war. Affiliated with a Mexico City news agency identified by the BOI as an agent of the German government he denied treasonous activity under questioning, and avoided indictment due to the end of the war and the fact that he died soon after while on a trip to Berlin.[26]

Rural northwest Texas at that time, with the Boeer/Wolfe family and fellow Germans in the forefront, were prominent in the agrarian wing of the SP. So, too, was Oklahoma particularly its southern central counties. Bavarian immigrant Oscar Ameringer and Otto Branstetter, of German Jewish descent, were SP organizers based there who were colleagues of Tom Hickey who worked largely out of his wife's home in Brandenburg as an organizer for the Party following his marriage. The Meitzens of Halletsville, publishers of the SP paper, the *Rebel,* which Hickey reported for and was part owner of which Maria helped establish financially, were also well-known within the Party nationally, as was Hickey. Established in 1911, the *Rebel* became one of the largest SP papers in the country bringing the Meitzens, Hickey, and their circle to national attention within the Party.[27]

Building upon the earlier populist movement which was supported by tenant and small farmers throughout the Plains states in reaction to domination of the agricultural market by corporations and large landowners, the SP emerged in the pre-war years with an agrarian wing which was especially strong in both regions plus other rural areas especially in the Plains. The ideology of anti-war/pro-labor Germans and Anglo farmers of similar views thus found fertile ground in central southern Oklahoma and their neighbors in northwest Texas as the U.S. neared entry into World War I.[28]

Fearing enactment of conscription as the U.S. neared entry into the war would lead to a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" in which the merchant class would benefit at the expense of the workers, resulted in development of the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association (FLPA) in southern Oklahoma prior to the war. Finding work in southern Oklahoma, G.T. Bryant brought the FLPA back to his home in Lueders in Jones County. With re-location of the headquarters to northwest Texas, local chapters soon spread throughout the region. Stemming from the same populist tradition there were cross-memberships in both the SP and FLPA with the FLPA via Bryant, also having ties to the more militant IWW. Labeled by federal authorities as a subversive organization for its anti-war stance, Will Bergfeld, another ethnic German of Weinert, also near Brandenburg in Haskell County became a leader of the FLPA.[29]

While there was no violence initiated by the FLPA of north central Texas a short-lived armed rebellion did occur in southern Oklahoma in early August following enactment of the Conscription Act in May following the U.S. declaration of war April 6, 1917. Known as the Green Corn Rebellion for the rebels' plans to live off of corn as they made their way to the federal capitol, which was crushed, it was another in a crescendo of law enforcement sweeps unleashed by a growing fear of armed rebellion and class warfare.[30] The opening salvo in the national disgrace which was to follow occurred in Brandenburg, followed shortly thereafter in Weinert and nearby communities.

On May 17, 1917, Texas Rangers arrested Tom Hickey without warrant in New Brandenburg as he entered the post office, which served both Brandenburgs, as part of a sweep of area anti-war FLPA "radicals." Two days later Will Bergfeld was arrested at his home in Weinert in the sweep as was G.T. Bryant in Lueders. Although Hickey was not a member of the FLPA his outspoken opposition to the war at SP encampments at Brandenburg and elsewhere and editorials in the *Rebel* made the distinction between the SP and FLPA meaningless. Similar to others who opposed the war all had been under federal surveillance before U.S. entry into the war as had Maria Boeer and other SP members and fellow anti-war Germans within her orbit. The sweep resulted in at least one death and fifty-six FLPA members indicted for conspiring to resist conscription via the Selective Service Act, enacted May 18, 1917, one day before the FLPA sweep which netted Bergfeld and Bryant.

The alleged conspiracy took place May 5, 1917, when members met in convention at Cisco, Eastland County to discuss the FLPA response to the conscription bill. The meeting which took place precipitating the charge of conspiracy occurred before the bill became law thus meant no conspiracy was possible since resisting conscription had not yet been made illegal. The judge nevertheless dismissed the motion to quash because the defendants "resisted

the inherent power of government to raise an army." While Hickey was not indicted and Bergfeld was found innocent in the trial that followed in early September in Abilene, Bryant and two other FLPA officers served some two-and-a-half years in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, until exonerated.[31]

Anticipating the tactics of the Stasi, the anti-war fervor generated by the Wilson Administration resulted in a San Antonio neighbor reporting to authorities the "suspicious" activities of Spielhagen including reporting of a suspicious letter to authorities "misplaced" in the wrong mailbox. Reports by postmasters and official censors of Spielhagen's and Hanschke's correspondence added to the case files of their and Hickey's newspaper editorials, public comments, memberships, and business ties. In addition to the arrests of Hickey, Bergfeld, and Bryant, the *Rebel* was effectively suppressed in June of 1917, Spielhagen nearly lost his state job due to his anti-war views and Hanschke was spared the possibility of indictment due to his death. Relying on the Espionage and Sedition Acts which were held constitutional along with other wartime Acts, speech was suppressed and guilt by association was effectively criminalized.[32]

As with any other group there wasn't a neat line between the minority freethinkers at both Brandenburgs and Sagerton and the majority *Kirchendeutsch* with conversations with elders revealing a mixture of opinions on how to deal with the superpatriots and suppression of their native language in church and in public.

Comparing records and meeting minutes of the Brandenburg Sons of Hermann Lodge and Sagerton churches could have possibly shed more light on the controversy over language and politics and how they intersected. However, other than a local history of the lodge and the charter listing the charter members, the records have been lost with no copy at the state headquarters in San Antonio. The only reference to the controversy in church records other than the language issue described in the history of St. Paul's, is what appears to possibly be expulsion of a member with his name crossed out and the notation "He a Mason" due to his lodge membership.[33]

Histories of Lutheranism in the modern era and synod histories describe the conflict over Rationalism imported to the U.S. which played out on the Rolling Plains, as well. The synods of both Sagerton Lutheran churches at that time prohibited lodge membership due to its roots in the deism of Rationalism with its universalist orientation considered as anti-Christian, or even atheistic. In the early years burials of lodge and church members at Brandenburg were segregated with lodge burial rites in conjunction with church rites forbidden by both synods of the Sagerton churches for joint members made possible later by a change to the lodge's charter at the state

level. Even so, prior to this change some early members of St. Paul's are listed as charter lodge members and in a photo of the Brandenburg Socialist Band some members appear to be wearing lodge badges connecting at least some church members with the lodge, freethinkers, and SP simplifying conflation for those so disposed.[34] In an interview of an elder on the other side of the divide who was a child in that era this simplistic conflation became apparent with the remark, "…those Germans… those atheists…."

Although political beliefs can't be concluded from lodge membership alone it is noteworthy that Hilda Franke Kupatt joined the Brandenburg Lodge in 1926, the first woman to do so. This is significant considering this was only six years after the 19th Amendment was enacted granting women's suffrage in an era when women and children were segregated from the men in church, with the further segregation of women with babies at the back in the Sagerton Lutheran churches. While not surprising that the first mixed lodge in Texas was established in cosmopolitan San Antonio near Hill Country freethinker communities the same year women's suffrage was enacted, it is surprising that rural Brandenburg had a mixed lodge shortly thereafter.

While the reason this occurred has been lost it adds to the general tenor of liberalism Maria and her cohort represented in a segment of the area's Germans as the SP reached its peak on the Rolling Plains in the World War I era.[35] Obviously not monolithic as no ethnic group is as to opinions on political issues and even with overlap, there was still a sharp divide between the two communities at that time as to religion, which Maria's letters illustrate abundantly.

In one such letter, using the derogatory term for priest or preacher, *Pfaffe*, she described an incident in which a Lutheran pastor was asked to officiate a funeral for a young freethinker mother who died in childbirth. Explaining that the death occurred soon after arrival in the community with no literature on hand for a freethinker eulogy, the pastor took the occasion to chastise those freethinkers in attendance telling them they would "go to hell" for their atheism causing great distress to those in attendance as would be expected. However, this natural dissension between believers and non-believers was lost on the superpatriots as the anti-war views of the socialists was a contributing factor in the anti-German hostility toward the entirety of the German community which continued for a time even after the war.[36]

German Lutheran churches in nearby Stamford and Albany succumbed soon after the war due to the anti-German sentiment of the World War I era. According to the history of St. Paul's, the "German hating people" in late June of 1918 had ordered cessation of the use of German in services. The church council's appeal was not only denied but resulted in the further restriction that confirmation instruction be in English even as the war neared its end.[37]

This experience must have been especially galling to "Fritz" Diers who kept in close contact with his family in Klein Nethen and Rastede, north of Oldenburg, as did his uncle Christian of Fayette County who had preceded him to Texas. A founding member of Die Deutschen Evangelische Lutherische Zions Gemeinde zu Sagerton and an early arrival to Brandenburg after immigrating in 1896, the family discovered that Fritz had first cousins on both sides of the war who died in the trench warfare of Reims. A correspondent of Maria's also described the loss of a German American doughboy as a "patriot for the cause" made all the more difficult knowing that he may have killed or been killed by a German cousin.[38]

Of a literary bent, Christian included the account of his nephews' deaths in his 400-plus page autobiographical memoir of narrative and poetry which found its way to Werner Harms, a relative in Rastede who added an introduction and conclusion and self-published it in 1990, sharing it with relatives here. Christian recounted his wife's expression of grief of having two nephews die in which one may have been responsible for the other's death; "*Hier hatten zwei Vetter vielleicht aufeinander geschossen. In Kriegen muessen Muetter viel erdulden*." Following his wife's description of the horrors of war she claimed the young were not only crippled physically but also "of the soul with belief in God lost."

Although divided by belief these freethinker and Lutheran families were nevertheless united in their anti-war sentiment by not only the deaths of their or their friend's doughboy sons but the possibility their sons killed or were killed by close relatives. The repression they shared stood in stark contrast to a description in Christian's memoir of a discussion with a shipmate on his voyage to Texas who used a Latin phrase in discussing the 48ers - "ubi libertas ibi patria (where freedom is, there is my homeland.)[39]

Just shy of five months prior to the Armistice and the effective end of the war, the superpatriot's demands for cessation of the use of German by St. Paul's parishioners in church services and in confirmation instruction, reflected the anti-German hostility which continued for a time locally and nationally, after the war. The number of preaching stations and congregations in the Sagerton-Stamford Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELCA) parish dropped from 14 to two from 1910 to 1921 with the number of communicants dropping from 245 to 148.[40]

Likewise, the Stonewall County newspaper, the *Aspermont Star*, continued to spew anti-German vitriol even after Anglos submitted a petition to change New Brandenburg's name to the more "patriotic" sounding Old Glory on the auspicious date of July 4, 1918. New Brandenburg had arisen just west of Brandenburg when the railroad depot was located there instead of at Brandenburg and soon became the hub of both communities.[41]

While the name change, one of many across the country, has been attributed solely to anti-German hysteria, the radicalism of the Boeer/ Wolfe family was likely a contributing factor and the spark which ignited the anti-German hysteria which followed. Although no record has been found to substantiate this the timing suggests it. Walter Kamphoefner's work uncovering the political undercurrent of a similar episode, the lynching of Robert Prager in Collinsville, Illinois is instructive.

A Dresden native, Prager was lynched April 5, 1918, ostensibly due to his ethnicity. However, Prager's socialist inclination was also a factor. Further complicating the purely "Anglo versus German" narrative was the fact that the lynch mob's ringleader, Joseph Riegel, and several of his followers were also ethnic Germans in that largely German town. Seizing the opportunity to have his ego stroked, Riegel assumed leadership of the mob which lynched Prager after failing to extract information about a non-existent bomb plot.

Its interesting to note that a similar incident occurred in Brandenburg albeit without the deadly consequence of the Prager episode but demonstrating the absurdity of the mindless hysteria of the superpatriots. After a report to the sheriff that Karl Wolfe was planting bombs on his property, upon investigation the sheriff found that he and the county agricultural extension agent were marking locations for terraces in his field.

As the Prager lynching shows although the war was the impetus for ethnic persecution there were other factors at work which the simplistic solution of renaming towns only glossed over. The folly of such a solution is on full display in the renaming of Germantown, Texas to the more "patriotic" name of Schroeder after its fallen son is apparent if a more "American" name was the goal.[42]

Similar factors also existed in Brandenburg and in Maria's broader circle which defied the simplistic perception that all Germans were of the same opinion as to the war. Just as with the Prager lynching opportunism and opposing political views were also present resulting in fissures which didn't fall along neat ethnic lines.

Thanks to State Senator Ferdinand Weinert, Spielhagen was appointed to the position of State Warehouse Inspector in payment for a political debt as the U.S. entered the war. In response to Spielhagen's outspoken anti-war views and subsequent BOI investigation Weinert agreed to act as an informant for the Bureau's San Antonio office agreeing to provide reports of potentially treasonous "activities on the part of this or any other German."[43]

As a child of German immigrants who had ascended in state politics and business whether his actions were out of a sense of duty or opportunism one can only speculate. However, his actions belie the simplistic notion that all ethnic Germans were of one mind on the war. In a twist, he was responsible

for the rail line through Haskell County in which the community of Weinert was named after him when it was established on the line in 1906. It was there that fellow German Will Bergfeld migrated to soon thereafter and became a leader of the FLPA.[44]

Similar to those involved in the Prager lynching the messiness of the motives of those within Maria's circle is apparent. Maria and Bergfeld opposed the war on political grounds as socialists and labor activists while Spielhagen and Hanschke opposed the war on the basis of ethnicity disputing the Anglo view that Germany was the aggressor. Weinert acted as an informant either out of conviction or possibly opportunism or some combination thereof, while opportunism was the sole motive for Riegel in the lynching of Prager. Thus, the knee-jerk reaction in the renaming of New Brandenburg and Germantown, the likely conflation of radical and German in Brandenburg, similar to Prager's lynching, distilled various motives into a simplistic "us versus them."

The *Aspermont Star* echoed the prevailing sentiment nationally of that era which viewed ethnic Germans, among other groups, as a suspect class unassimilated and therefore un-American, which included supporters of the SP. A *Star* editorial reflected the lack of discernment locally between German and socialist following another encampment shortly after the Wolfe incident warning "…you had better move to the country you are in sympathy with or keep your chops shut." Another editorial followed stating that "…plotters against America should be given a plot of their own, about seven feet long…" further lumping all those who opposed the war or who spoke German as unpatriotic and thus one and the same.[45]

While local lore, a local history, and a thesis on both Brandenburgs reported overwhelming support for the name change among the German community as well as the Anglo, reflected on a historical marker, conversations with German elders revealed dissension by some to the change but general acquiescence to prevent further conflict similar to what Karl Wolfe had experienced. This, when combined with the *Star* editorials and that only Anglo names were on the name change petition, paints a more nuanced version of the event. Regardless, the editorials' conflation of socialist with German, and both as unpatriotic, made the Wolfe family the perfect candidate for the incident which occurred. Ironically, the *Star* editor would have been shocked to know that Aspermont was the Latinized version of the surname of A. L. Rhomberg, the German who founded the town some 30 years earlier whose family had received land from the public domain from railroad construction.[46]

With members of the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and remnants of the American Protective League, a war-time citizens' federal auxillary empowered to root out pro-German sympathizers,

now acting on their own accord post-war in the forefront, anti-German hostility actually intensified after the war for some time.[47]

Anti-German fervor soon segued after the war into anti-Bolshevikism with anti-radical hysteria now layered on top of anti-German hysteria due to the prominence of German leftists within the radical movement. Identification with anarchism from the Chicago Haymarket bombing and the short-lived St. Louis commune led by German Marxists a generation before played into the continued vilification of Germans generally as did the reforms enacted due to the Americanization movement.

The puritanism and nativism of the era resulting in Prohibition, a resurgent KKK, deportation of alien radicals, a restrictive immigration quota, and a eugenics movement to "improve" society thus underlay the superpatriots' actions in their defense of "Americanism" on the Rolling Plains, as elsewhere. My doughboy grandfather, the first surviving native-born member of his family and a recipient of superpatriot action while home on leave, blamed the local anti-German hysteria on the KKK. Considering the Klan violence resulting in murders after the war in southeast Texas over language, the size of the FLPA sweep and related anti-German vitriol in the area the altercations which did occur could have just as easily turned more deadly than they did.

Thus, restrictions on German language education which had begun in the war as a language perceived to promote autocracy increased after the war as did a plethora of related efforts to combat the spread of Communism and "Americanize" immigrants through enforced uniformity of language and thought. Prominent in this effort were the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Klan, and the American Legion, established in 1919 to foster "100 percent Americanism," promote the "American language," and to combat the spread of Communism through English-only legislation. Teacher loyalty oaths and "patriotic education" mandates were also promoted thus predating the current culture war over "patriotic" curriculum and calls for loss of tenure for not hewing to orthodoxy by a century.[48]

These "Americanization" efforts impacted American citizens of German descent after the war, along with other groups not yet considered as fully assimilated into American society. Those groups, traditions, and beliefs which fell outside the mainstream WASP culture, those of non-Anglo ethnicity, the lack of English language facility, "radical" political views, the Sunday afternoon Stammtisch, the Jew, Catholic, and irreligious, all were considered as threats in varying degrees, to American values and the Republic.

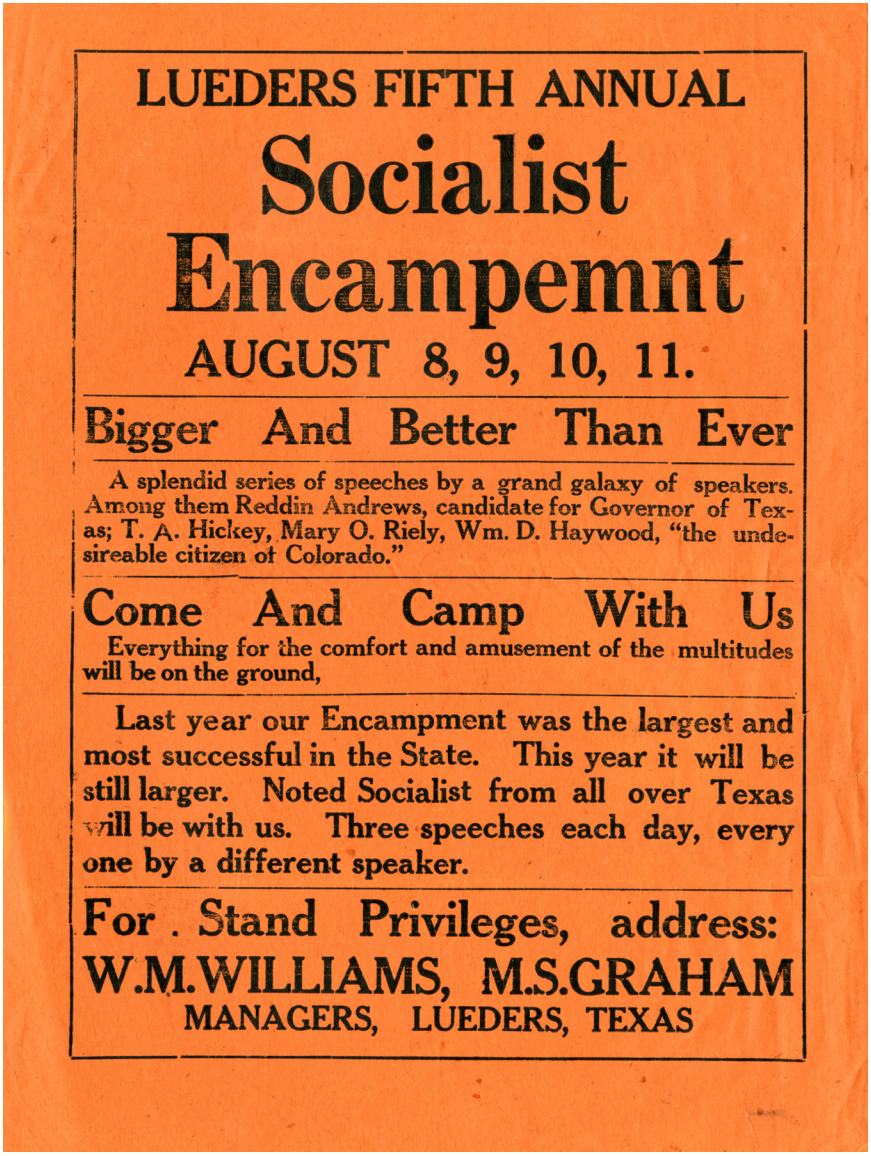
Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's testimony to the Overman Senate subcommittee shortly before the Armistice which was investigating alleged pro-German activities by the Brewers' Association, and the reports which followed were used to justify continued federal investigation of U.S. citizens suspected of anti-American sympathies, after the war. Reports to the

committee alleged that Germans controlled all Jewish businesses in the U.S. and supplied radicals with weapons. Not only did this play into the age-old anti-Semitic conspiracy of world-wide economic domination but linked Germans and Jews with Bolshevikism, via Karl Marx the German Jewish founder of Communism, and its stated aim of world-wide worker control, antithetical to U.S. business interests.

The ambassador to Russia testified that the German government supported the Bolsheviks in their successful overthrow of the Russian government in November of 1917 as did a report by Wilson's propaganda chief George Creel. Adding to the mix was suspected Bolshevik support of labor, fomenting strikes which averaged some 300 a month in the early post-war period. In the greatest strike wave in U.S. history over four million workers went on strike with close to 400 in one month, with labor radicals seizing control of Seattle for nearly a week at the height of the unrest.

This wide-ranging alleged conspiracy between prominent German American businessmen, German American radicals, the German government, and Bolshevik support of labor unrest was discredited as a ploy for political influence.[49] However, it nevertheless helped influence popular opinion to segue from anti-German hysteria based solely on ethnicity to a fear of all things foreign, including German, especially of ideas considered radical. With the war now over the federal Sedition Act, which expanded the reach of the 1917 Espionage Act by criminalizing anti-war speech deemed injurious to the war effort, no longer had standing and was repealed. However, with Palmer's encouragement, by 1921 roughly three years after the war, upwards of 35 state legislatures enacted peacetime sedition laws to curb "anti-American" speech, injurious to American values as defined by the bills' sponsors.[50]

The anarchist bombings which followed on the heels of the war dating from April of 1919 to the bombing of Palmer's home in June of that year resulted in massive surveillance and deprivation of civil liberties of radicals in the Palmer Raids of the Red Scare. Ending in January of 1920 when his overzealous reach was brought to a close over 4000 had been arrested in 23 states often without warrant and due primarily to guilt by association or expression of "anti-American" ideas. Included in this sordid episode was the deportation by December of 1919 of 249 aliens, including Emma Goldman, for profession of ideas which had been criminalized. Although Palmer was discredited for his overzealous response to the anarchist bombings, he may have felt vindicated after the Wall Street anarchist bombing of September 16, 1920, which followed the Red Scare shortly thereafter. The worst case of domestic terrorism until the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, the locals who supported his tactics, the roundup of the FLPA, arrest of Hickey, and their attempted burning of Karl Wolfe's farmstead, roughly only three years prior, likely felt vindication as well.[51]



Lueders Socialist Encampment Poster. Thomas A. Hickey Papers, 1896-1996 and undated, box 2, folder 25, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

BIG ENCAMPMENT

At O'Brien, in Haskell County, Aug. 5, 6.

Everybody cordially invited. A large crowd is expected. Plenty of beef, plenty of bread, plenty of refreshments. Good speaking by such speakers as Reddin Andrews, T. A. Hickey, Mother Jones and Bill Haywood. Col. Dick Maple may be at our service. Fine camping ground and plenty of stock water. Come and hear the only live issue discussed. Time will be divided with any representative man who thinks he has something better to offer than Socialism. Remember the date:

AUGUST 5 AND 6

Farmers Journal Print, Abilene.

O'Brien Socialist Encampment Poster. Thomas A. Hickey Papers, 1896-1996 and undated, box 2, folder 25, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas.

The incident which occurred at the Wolfe farm at Brandenburg and to those fellow travelers within the Boeer/Wolfe circle thus could be viewed as the opening salvo of the Red Scare, considering it was a federal roundup of radicals, generally acknowledged as one of the worst episodes of the deprivation of civil liberties in U.S. history. Hanschke, Spielhagen, Bergfeld, the Meitzens, and Boeer family member Hickey were all under surveillance due to their anti-war and/or radical political views with ethnicity a factor. Likewise, the association of Hickey with Socialist Party leaders Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, Eugene Debs, and "Big" Bill Haywood, all of whom except Hillquit were convicted under the Espionage Act, was well-known to authorities.[52]

The "Wobblies"—the IWW—led by "Big" Bill Haywood, who had spoken at Socialist Party encampments at O'Brien and Lueders near Brandenburg in Haskell and Jones Counties respectively, was considered especially dangerous. Alleged to be supported by the German government, though no proof was found, the IWW was nevertheless crushed by the Justice Department following a massive raid in early September of 1917, during the FLPA trial in Abilene, roughly three months following Hickey's arrest.[53]

Hickey and the Meitzens had been on the federal radar for some time considering Hickey was arrested in Brandenburg one day before the Conscription Act was enacted May 18, 1917, and the *Rebel* effectively suppressed a few days before the Espionage Act was enacted June 15, 1917. Following the U.S. declaration of war but before the Espionage Act went into effect, issues of the *Rebel* were withheld for material deemed treasonous. To receive the cheaper second-class postage rate materials had to be mailed regularly. By upholding issues for "review" the *Rebel* among others, lost that rate making distribution via the higher first-class rate prohibitively expensive.

Hickey's speeches at Socialist Party encampments at Brandenburg and his articles promoting socialism in the local paper, the *Sagerton Sun*, made his views known locally as well as to federal authorities via the *Rebel* and at other encampments. Judging by Spielhagen's "misplaced" mail experience Hickey's private correspondence at Brandenburg may have also been "misplaced" with his radical views shared locally in this manner as well. Although famed civil liberties attorney Clarence Darrow, later of Scopes trial fame, Hillquit, and Hickey, travelled to D.C. to argue the illegality of the *Rebel's* suppression with Postmaster Burleson, it was of no avail.[54] Similar to the arrest of Hickey and the FLPA officers and Goldman's conviction and subsequent deportation, Hickey's and the Meitzen's publication was thus suppressed prior to enactment of the law used for its suppression.

The stature of Hickey's advocate within the radical movement, Morris Hillquit, and the international events occurring during Hickey's arrest, the

FLPA sweep, suppression of the *Rebel* and FLPA trial provide perspective for these events placing them within the broader context of the era and the developing anti-radical hysteria.

Active internationally in the socialist movement Hillquit was an acquaintance of Lenin due to participation in a socialist conference in Europe. As a leader of the SP Hillquit successfully opposed Lenin's colleague, Leon Trotsky, who had been living in New York City since January of 1917, in his attempt to have the SP adopt violence in opposing the impending draft and moving the Party in a more militant direction befitting a true revolutionary movement.

Similar to the FLPA's convention which followed in May opposing the impending draft, Hillquit called a meeting of SP members in New York City in March to draft a statement opposing violence as a tactic of draft resistance. Losing the vote opposing the resolution and with the Russian government overthrown a few days later, Trotsky left for Russia to later lead the Red Army following the successful Bolshevik Revolution in November of 1917.

Hickey's arrest, the FLPA sweep and trial, suppression of the *Rebel*, and Green Corn Rebellion, took place from May to September of that year during which up to ten thousand Bolshevik emigrés to New York City returned to Russia. Several hundred held top posts in the new Bolshevik government following the November Bolshevik Revolution creating a link to fellow radicals in New York City. This exodus and linkage received wide coverage nationally and combined with the FLPA sweep and Green Corn Rebellion of the same period helped foment fear of a full-scale domestic radical insurrection.

Sensationalist articles of the FLPA arrests by state and local papers fed the developing frenzy of a violent insurrection. Disregarding any pretense of objectivity following the May 17, 1917 FLPA arrests and several months before the trial in September the *Houston Chronicle* reported May 20 that an "Armed Uprising Against the Draft is Nipped in Bud" followed May 26 with an article entitled "Secrets of Murder Lodge Laid Bare." Not to be outdone the *San Angelo Weekly Standard* reported May 25 that a "Staggering Plot of Conspiracy against the U.S. Discovered" while the *Dallas Morning News* entitled a May 30 article "German Influence at Work in Texas." Articles reported that death lists had been developed of leading citizens in the area by the FLPA, that towns would be dynamited and burned with telegraph lines cut and rail lines destroyed. Articles claimed that the FLPA was financed by the German government with ties to the IWW, also allegedly financed by the German government.[55]

While there was much support for the SP in northwest Texas of both Germans and Anglos, the arrests of Hickey and FLPA members, and the Wolfe incident, shows there was even more support in the region for the

war by anti-German superpatriots who had no qualms in using violence to enforce conformity.

During the time Anglos changed the name of New Brandenburg to Old Glory, a confrontation occurred in Sagerton between Friedrich Franke and friends versus Anglos at the pool hall/dry goods store of August Wolschk which served as the local watering hole for Germans. An accusation was made that Franke, who supplied water to the town might poison it, a common accusation at that time. The result was the beginning of the demise of the thriving town when he shut off the supply, as well as increased tension. It is worth noting that just a few years later it was Friedrich Franke's daughter who was the first woman to join the Brandenburg Lodge. The loss of the lodge records makes connecting politics to the altercation impossible, if in fact the connection existed, and the records commented on it. Nevertheless, a letter of Maria's documents there were charter members of the Lodge who were SP members.[56]

Reminiscent of the Haymarket trial a generation earlier and of the Red Scare, overzealous prosecutors, judges, and federal law enforcement officials had no qualms in depriving citizens of due process protections who expressed unpopular views particularly those of non-Anglo ethnicity. Officials announcing a purported Jewish-Bolshevik-German cabal, for political gain, added to the hysteria and while no evidence has been found that Hickey's association with German-speaking Jews Berger and Hillquit factored into his arrest it does indicate fertile ground for this conspiracy theory.[57] Further research on the small German-Jewish community of Jones County, boyhood home of Democratic Party operative and Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Robert Strauss, whose family migrated to Stamford near Lueders prior to World War I, may shed light on this aspect of the SP/FLPA repression in the area.

The national scope of the anti-war dragnet which the northwest Texas German SP members and their Anglo colleagues were caught up in is the fact that following the arrest of Hickey and FLPA leaders Bergfeld and Bryant in May 1917, Emma Goldman was arrested June 15 in New York City. In September, during the FLPA trial in Abilene, Hickey's colleague "Big" Bill Haywood was also arrested in a nationwide federal sweep of the Wobblies which effectively crushed the IWW. All were charged with obstructing the draft via speeches and publications made illegal by the Conscription Act among other charges with the prosecution attempting to tie support of the German government directly, or indirectly, to Goldman, Haywood, and the FLPA members. Haywood jumped bail and escaped to the Soviet Union where he died.

Likewise, although not charged under the Espionage Act for her radical activities during the war, former Rolling Plains activist Laura Payne was surveilled by the BOI in California. Her activism and a letter she wrote to Lenin in support of his movement not only resulted in her surveillance her poem, "Proletariat" had the dubious distinction of being entered into the record of the Overman Senate Committee.[58]

A German-speaking Russian Jew internationally prominent for her anti-war activism, free speech advocacy, and supporter of anarchism, though by this time she had denounced violence as a political tool, the die was cast for Goldman. She was later denaturalized via a technicality and was deported to the U.S.S.R. via the 1918 Anarchist Exclusion Act essentially for her outspoken opposition to the war but relying on her earlier support of anarchism made illegal by the Act. Just as with the FLPA officers, she was convicted for an action prior to the criminalization of the action, in effect an ex post facto conviction for her and the FLPA officers.

A colleague of prominent German émigré anarchist Johann Most, who also served time for promoting violence in his New York City newspaper *Freiheit*, Maria corresponded with his partner, Helene Minken, another German-speaking Russian Jew, a friend and former roommate of Goldman. Although there is no record that she subscribed to *Freiheit* Maria also corresponded with Georg Bauer, co-editor with Max Baginski of *Freiheit* after Most's death in 1905, continuing after the paper's demise in 1910. As the political climate heated up in apparent anticipation of what was to come Bauer recommended a work on the Haymarket. Also corresponding with the prominent anarchist poet Georg Biedenkapp of New York City and Martin Drescher, assistant editor of Robert Reitzel's *Die Arme Teufel* in Detroit, Maria's correspondence with these prominent anarchists apparently somehow eluded the censors.[59]

As Maria's letters reveal, she was staunchly opposed to the war and of the SPD's support of it as was Clara Zetkin, who wrote her a warm letter in August of 1920 thanking her for her financial help, describing the misery the German Revolution had wrought which followed on the heels of the war. As a major player in the socialist movement Zetkin had been acquainted with Friedrich Engels, co-founded the German Communist Party (KPD) with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and advised Lenin on the Communist Party's stance on women as a member of the Third International (Comintern.) One can only imagine the Anglo postmaster's shock if he had known that Maria was corresponding with a colleague of Lenin and acquaintance of the co-founder of Communism. Similar to "Big" Bill Haywood, colleague of Hickey who spoke at least twice at SP encampments near Brandenburg, Zetkin was buried at the Kremlin.[60]

Although Hickey's colleague, Eugene Debs, managed to avoid arrest until June of 1918, he too, was charged with violation of the Conscription Act serving time in a federal penitentiary as did FLPA leaders George Bryant and Z. L. Risley of Lueders and Samuel Powell of nearby Anson. Under pressure to pardon those imprisoned due to the wartime repression of dissent and a desire to return to "normalcy" President Harding commuted Debs's term in 1921 and exonerated the FLPA leaders the following year. Similar to Hickey's arrest and the suppression of the *Rebel* the FLPA leaders had been charged with conspiracy prior to the law's enactment making the alleged conspiracy illegal. However, unlike Hickey they served roughly two-and-a-half years in a federal penitentiary at great cost to their families' welfare and their reputations.[61]

Although difficult to believe now, members of the isolated, small German farm community of Brandenburg were the recipients, along with resident German aliens, religious pacifists, dissenters to the war, and German Americans across the country, of Hoover's nascent federal surveillance apparatus which began at this time which continued to grow through the McCarthy era and beyond up to the present day due to 9/11. Building upon the anti-anarchist legislation of the pre-war years the stage was thus set for the surveillance, cataloguing, and repression of radicals of all stripes during and after the war. German Americans, as a suspect class due to the hysteria created by the Wilson Administration, thus have the dubious distinction of being among the first recipients of the massive federal surveillance apparatus culminating in the Patriot Act as another group in a long line of others vilified for their ethnicity and for others, their political views or religious beliefs.

It's not inconceivable that others in the area suffered the same fate, unbeknownst to them, as did Spielhagen, Bergfeld, Hanschke, the Meitzens, Hickey, Bryant, Risley, Powell, and the Boeer/Wolfe family. The prominence of northwest Texas in that era's anti-war Agrarian Socialist movement in which Germans were already under suspicion lends itself to this possibility.[62]

Sadly, while accused of being an anarchist and working to overthrow democracy at home, Maria Boeer's correspondence expressed the opposite. She criticized the German monarchy for its war of aggression and kept abreast of the anti-war movement via the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and correspondence, and of calls for the abdication of the Kaiser in February of 1917, two months prior to the U.S. declaration of war. Her correspondence also indicates that she supported radical German émigré attempts to foment a revolt against the Kaiser and of creation of a socialist republic in Bavaria. Contributing money for the surreptitious distribution of anti-war pamphlets "by the millions" throughout Bavaria and Germany, the Bavarian Soviet Republic did occur for a short time in the postwar chaos.

She and her correspondents commented at length on the hardships that war inflicted on the German people and opposed it on grounds that it

benefited the rich at the expense of the workers. She was distressed that "...the German people need a Kaiser while the 48ers in Texas who had immigrated to escape the repression of the monarchical system are no longer secure due to anti-German sentiment."[63] She also decried the U.S. government's "brutal abuse of power" when the *Rebel* was suppressed to G.A. Hoehn, the influential editor of the socialist St. Louis *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

A founding member of the SP with Debs, Victor Berger, et al, Hoehn became influential as editor of the St. Louis *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. After immigrating from Bavaria, Hoehn became a journalistic protegé of Paul Grottkau who was co-editor of the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* with August Spies who was later hung for the Haymarket bombing with Albert Parsons. Following the bombing Hoehn became editor of the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* where he became influential in the movement which increased after he established the St. Louis *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.[64]

Maria's correspondence with Wilhelm Rosenberg also linked her to the German radicals in Chicago which had become prominent as a center of radicalism after the Civil War. Following immigration due to Bismarck's purge of radicals, throughout the 1880s in Chicago he edited the anarchist paper *Die Fackel* which was the Sunday edition of the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* and led the Socialist Labor Party which later merged with the SP. Parsons translated sections of *Die Fackel* into English for inclusion in his anarchist paper the *Alarm*. Parsons had moved to Chicago in 1873 following connections he had made in the radical German community due to a patronage job from his brother whose state senatorial district included a large German population in Houston's Third Ward and beyond, as well as from an editorial stint in Austin. After becoming radicalized and acquiring basic German language skills in Texas he soon became prominent in the anarchist movement in Chicago, settling in the radical German community on the northside, and a Haymarket martyr soon thereafter with Spies, et al.[65]

In addition to Zetkin, Maria's correspondence also linked her to other prominent anti-war socialists in Germany with ties to national political leaders. One such correspondent was Theodor Schwarz of Koenigsberg who described with disgust General Hindenburg's butchery of retreating Russian soldiers in the 1914 Battle of Tannenberg. His letter implied he was an acquaintance of Hugo Hasse also of Koenigsberg, co-chair of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) with the future first Weimar Republic president Friedrich Ebert.[66]

In an April 4, 1917, letter to New Ulm, MN lawyer and newspaper publisher Albert Steinhauser, Maria concurred with the anti-war sentiment Schwarz had expressed earlier writing ". . . when would the Germans realize the enemy was within their own borders, as it was here in the U.S.?" Written two days prior to the U.S. declaration of war, unbeknownst to her at the time

this sentiment was soon to become personal with the incident at Karl Wolfe's farm as it would for Steinhauser.

Similar to Hickey and the Meitzens he had been under suspicion for his public comments, in particular after he spoke at an anti-war rally a week before Maria's letter which had been followed by creation of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety. Charged with protecting Minnesotans from "treason and subversion" it placed the entire city of New Ulm under surveillance due to its large German population which was outspoken in opposition to the war as seen by a crowd of eight thousand in a town of six thousand at a 7/25/17 anti-war rally. Expressing his view in a speech at the rally that the war was "…a scheme of plutocrats for profit…," Steinhauser was arrested and charged with sedition in September, at the same time of the FLPA trial, following his refusal to disavow his remarks in a Commission hearing.[67]

As these few examples of Maria's correspondence show she was well-connected to the socialist and freethinker community here and abroad. She opposed the German monarchy as the aggressor in the war and of the monarchical system in general as anti-democratic due to its repression of the people and supported its overthrow. She was opposed to the war for its devastation and for benefiting rich capitalists regardless of ethnicity at the expense of workers and supported fully the basic tenet of democracy, that of freedom of expression.

With that said she did praise Johan Most made infamous by his coining of the phrase "propaganda of the deed"—a euphemism for terrorism—in a letter to his surviving partner Helene Minken. Although her praise was for his opposition ". . . to the mob's striving for dollars which led to war …" it is still disconcerting to read considering as well-read as she was, she had to of known of his advocacy of violence as a political tool.[68]

Notwithstanding this one blemish the body of her correspondence read to date paints a portrait of an individual opposed to war regardless of the aggressor. She maintained pride in her German *Kultur* while opposed to the Kaiser's repression of the people and indifference to their plight. She valued democratic principles tempered by a desire for restrictions on the unbridled capitalistic excesses of that era regardless of country. She did not advocate violence and had no sympathies for the Kaiser—to the contrary.

However, just a few weeks after Maria's letter to Steinhauser in which she decried German militarism, following federal surveillance the Brandenburg area SP members, German and Anglo, her family and others in her broader circle experienced the full force of the federal government and the hysteria created thereby, due to expression of their political views. Hickey was arrested May 17, 1917, without warrant followed two days later by the FLPA raid

which swept up Bergfeld of Weinert and Bryant of Lueders on charges related to sedition, impeding conscription, and related charges. A mob burned a shed of her daughter's family as a warning following Hickey's return to Brandenburg. Wobbly leader, Hickey colleague, and Brandenburg area encampment speaker, "Big" Bill Haywood was arrested on similar charges as was Emma Goldman, later deported effectively for expression of her radical views, who had shared an apartment with Helene Minken, with whom Maria had corresponded.

Although SP co-founder Eugene Debs eluded arrest until nine months after the FLPA trial, like Bryant and his fellow FLPA leaders of Jones County, he served time in a federal penitentiary until his term was commuted by President Harding along with others from across the nation for the same miscarriage of justice. Following federal surveillance due to their ethnicity and exercise of their right of dissent, Hanschke and Bergfeld narrowly missed federal imprisonment. While Spielhagen avoided financial hardship due to expression of his political views, the Meitzens did not. They were effectively deprived of their property without due process by way of enforcement of an Act prior to its adoption via the loss of sales of the *Rebel*.

As anti-German and anti-socialist hysteria reached full bloom mutually reinforcing one another, New Brandenburg underwent a name change, Sagerton began a swift decline and similar to German-speaking congregations nationwide local Lutheran churches experienced repression by local Anglo superpatriots.

Time heals all wounds and although hostility surfaced again in World War II it wasn't as pronounced. The new hall in Aspermont of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) was named after the first two casualties in the county of World War II, one of whom was a Herttenberger, a grandson of Brandenburg immigrants.[69]

The NYVZ captured the essence of Maria's life-long work on behalf of workers following her death in 1936 at the age of 92. The editor noted in her eulogy that since subscribing to its first edition in 1878 "general" Boeer had played a large role in the fight of workers for a free and better world order. True to her freethinker conviction she was cremated as her husband Wilhelm had been.[70]

Drawing a definitive conclusion as to how much of a factor anti-socialist hysteria played in the name change of New Brandenburg in combination with anti-German hysteria, the author can only speculate. Placing the event in the national context of the era in combination with sensationalized area newspaper reports of a suspected anti-war revolt lends itself to that conclusion but so, too, does the anti-German hysteria which was pervasive and swept the country. There is no definitive answer except one, that preventing the

erasure of such events from popular memory, even of a sparsely populated non-descript farm community, is important.

The painting over of the name of the Aspermont VFW, now closed, is a good representation of how memory of local history can be lost, even of events that were a part of a significant episode in the nation's history. Local histories make no mention of the prominence the SP and allied FLPA had in the area in that era even though nationally prominent radical leaders headlined the SP encampments in the area. Nor were the local historians I spoke with aware of the Party's earlier prominence or of the mass FLPA arrest. One would think that at least the mass arrest would figure in local remembrance in some fashion locally, but that is not the case.

In distant Seguin near San Antonio, where Bergfeld migrated from to Weinert, a short-lived run of a play about the FLPA trial written by the son of Bergfeld's granddaughter, Janice Woods Windle, based on her book *Will's War* is the only popular presentation of the mass arrest I have found to date. Nevertheless, apparently the Party and its platform were important to the locals at the time which they wanted to be known in perpetuity with placement of a 1911 issue of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* in the cornerstone of the Stonewall County courthouse. However, that has not happened.

Ironically, or maybe prophetically, while the area's socialist history has been erased, another casualty in the culture war over historical memory, the attitude underlying the name change has not. A recent social media post lauded the change even though it took place over a century ago. Considering the tone, the post likely would have been even more negative if the author had known that Brandenburg had been home to radical German Socialist Party members.

The experience of the Brandenburg socialists and fellow Germans pales in comparison to the lynching of a German American in Illinois for his support of labor, the torture and deaths of pacifist German Russian Mennonites while in federal prison for refusing military service, or of the murders of Germans by Klansmen which took place in Austin Co., Texas, in 1922, stemming from their ethnicity and use of the language. Even the bombing of a Lutheran church and burning of German language textbooks and Bibles during the war, among many other similar sordid events, may register as more egregious.[71]

However, the deprivation of civil liberties due to ethnicity and political views experienced by those within the orbit of the Boeer family, their fellow Anglo socialists, and the German American community as a whole at that time, demonstrates the ever-present fragility of democracy and the ethos of toleration it promotes. As the letters of Maria Boeer attest, she valued the democratic rights she was accused of trying to subvert, worked through the system with fellow activists to right the imbalance which existed then

between workers and the corporate class, worked to avert war, and promoted democracy in Germany.

Similar to other women in the radical movement, other than the most prominent such as Emma Goldman, "Mother" Jones, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Lucy Parsons, Maria's role in building the SP is largely unknown outside of the scholarly community which specializes in the topic, judging by the handful of books and articles which reference her papers. She helped build the Party through support of her son-in-law Tom Hickey's work as a national Party organizer and helped fund the creation of the *Rebel* which became one of the largest Socialist Party papers in the nation. She was influential in the Party's growth in the area through the Party local she founded and creation of a local encampment and support of other area encampments which hosted speakers nationally prominent in the SP and allied labor movements. She became prominent here and abroad due to diligently corresponding with prominent thought leaders in the movement from editors and publishers to politicians, poets, and authors, as well as fellow farmers who will remain in anonymity.

Mari Jo Buhle's statements in *Women and American Socialism 1870-1920* that the unknown ". . . tens of thousands of rank-and-file women who formed the Socialist women's movement . . . the forgotten warriors . . . of this hidden history" not only applies to Maria Boeer but could also be extended to include the Brandenburg area socialists and Maria's fellow travelers in her larger circle.[72]

Bound by their outspoken defense of their right of dissent regardless of ethnicity in opposition to the war, their participation in a mass movement in support of systemic political and economic reforms aided adoption of many such reforms which have since been woven into the social fabric and thus taken for granted today but considered unpatriotic at the time as socialistic.

Their participation, at sometimes great cost, also helped strengthen protection of civil liberties by adding to the mass of examples that period provided of how leaders and the body politic as a whole should not respond to a crisis, real or perceived. However, the subsequent Japanese American internment in World War II, Red Scare of the McCarthy era, and similar abuses make for a less than stellar record on this front, to put it mildly.

Likewise, due to the abuses suffered in this era due to political views and ethnicity which Maria and her correspondents decried such as the suppression of the *Rebel*, protection of political speech came to the fore. Whereas the judicial norm of this era judged speech considered as "radical" or "disloyal" as unprotected with scant federal free speech precedent, thanks to prosecutions under the Espionage Act such as that of the FLPA and Hickey's colleague, Eugene V. Debs, the tide turned, and constitutional precedents began to

be established protecting the right of dissent. The American Civil Liberties Union, a legal defense organization for the protection of civil liberties, was also established then due to the civil liberties abuses which occurred in that era and has been a force in their protection from then to now.[73]

Hickey's arrest without warrant at New Brandenburg and the FLPA roundup in the Rolling Plains marked the start of the tactic of mass federal surveillance of suspect classes and was thus the precursor to the gross abuse of the Palmer Raids precipitating a focus on protection of civil liberties. Nevertheless, the system of federal surveillance grew in Hoover's reign of the FBI continuing through the McCarthy era and the discredited Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of surveillance of 1960's radicals. The incidents involving those of Maria's circle, now largely forgotten, are nevertheless significant to the history of the Rolling Plains and beyond as another episode on the continuum of the struggle to refine and protect basic democratic rights for all regardless of political views or ethnicity.

Following 9/11, the War on Terrorism, and enactment of the Patriot Act, suspect classes and ethnicity and the issue of the proper boundary of federal surveillance versus protection of civil liberties was once again at the forefront. Just as it was in the World War I era following the arrests of Hickey, conviction of FLPA officers, Debs, and surveillance of Maria's circle due to political views and/or ethnicity, the threat of attack by those considered by some as radical and therefore un-American due to culture, language, values, or political views out of the norm, was once again on the docket.[74]

Mineral Wells, Texas

Notes

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Book Reviews

Edited by Marc Pierce

Music, Art, and Film

Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age.
By Harry Liebersohn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 336 pp. $97 (cloth), $32 (paper).

From around 1850 through the outbreak of the First World War, culture, or rather people, ideas, and objects moved in new and unprecedented ways. European colonial expansion and conflict, scientific and technological advances, as well as the industrialization of daily life created a maelstrom of change that left few aspects of human life untouched. In the realm of music, this period witnessed the invention of the phonograph, the acceleration of the European encounter with non-Western music, as well as gave rise to the deafening noise of the modern industrial city. Under the pressure of such change, traditional understandings of what music meant, what it could or should be, became difficult, if not impossible to maintain.

Historian Harry Liebersohn's *Music and the New Global Culture* traces the lives and works of historical figures who embraced, catalyzed, and in even more significant ways embodied this new, emerging, global modern culture. To start, Liebersohn focusses on individuals not from traditional centers of music culture, but its margins. Neither composers nor critics nor even music educators at conservatories, they are academic outsiders, amateur inventors, scientists, craftspeople, immigrants, and entrepreneurs. Aside

from marginality, mobility is another key characteristic of this study's main protagonists. So while the historical subjects at the center of Liebersohn's narrative all originated in one of three national contexts (Germany, England, or the United States), they made their most significant contributions to music culture between, or better beyond the traditional boundaries of these states.

The work itself is organized into three thematic sections that reflect this outside-in approach to music history: craft, science, and commerce. In the first section on craft, Liebersohn uses the biographies of instrument collectors Carl Engel, a German immigrant to England, and Alfred James Hipkins, originally an English piano tuner of great renown, to track the evolution of ideas and practices that produced European knowledge of non-Western music. Before the advent of sound recording, this meant above all the study and collection of musical instruments from various world traditions. This section charts the organization and cataloguing techniques of Engel and Hipkins and suggests they approached non-Western music with neither hubris nor notions of superiority, but with openness, understanding, and appreciation. As Liebersohn suggests, these qualities were not accidental, but, at least in part, a function of these figures' own experiences of migration and the global dimensions of their lives.

The second section is on science and continues the back-and-forth exchange between Germany and England. Specifically, it explores the transnational origins of ethnomusicology via Alexander J. Ellis and Carl Stumpf. Both were interested, on the one hand, in situating Western music within world music traditions and, on the other, in finding unbiased ways to represent and understand non-Western music systems. Against the grain of much discourse in this period, Ellis, for instance, viewed the European tonal system not as natural or universally valid, but as the product of historical accident and error. What was required for cross-cultural musical comparison was a new system, which he then supplied in his 1885 essay "On the Musical Scales of Various Nations." By dividing each semitone of the diatonic scale into one hundred gradations, Ellis created the cent system, a means of representing any individual tone without forcing its translation into the limited Western system of notation. While Ellis's ideas did not fall upon fertile ground in England, in Berlin, a small group around the psychologist Carl Stumpf began to elaborate on his ideas and methods, eventually creating the new academic field of *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* (comparative musicology or ethnomusicology). Like Ellis, Stumpf at first sought out visiting global musicians as sources for his comparative analyses, a telling example of the global interconnectivity of the nineteenth century European metropolis. Then, in 1900, Stumpf selected Erich Moritz von Hornbostel,

an Austrian-Jewish scholar, to lead a new *Phonogramm-Archiv*, whose mission was to record, document, and preserve world music cultures. While the introduction of the phonograph meant that Hornbostel and Stumpf no longer needed to visit entertainment venues in Berlin, the introduction of this new technology hardly untethered the archive from European colonialism and global capitalism. Apart from their obvious reliance on local, indigenous performers, Hornbostel and the Berlin archive developed extensive contacts with German travelers, missionaries, and businesspeople across the globe who were responsible for conducting the on-site recordings.

In the final section on commerce, Liebersohn builds on the motif of interpersonal interconnectivity through a discussion of the early recording industry. Rather than to technology, he looks at human interaction, esp. between Western and non-Western actors, as central to the development of the new marketplace for sound. Much of this argument proceeds via a comparative global history of Thomas Edison's and Emile Berliner's firms. Whereas Edison marketed his American technology and repertoire primarily on the basis of their supposed "superiority," the German-Jewish American immigrant Berliner valued adaptation to local market demands. Relying heavily on regional expertise, Berliner's company produced unique recordings for individual regions using local artists. Liebersohn shows this strategy at work through a discussion of the peripatetic career of sound engineer Fred Gaisberg, detailing, for example, the latter's collaboration with the singer Gauhar Jaan in India. Berliner and Gaisberg's lives and approach embody what Liebersohn calls "practical transnationalism" (233), a form of Western global engagement that, while not disavowing white, male, colonial privilege, was equally marked by relative receptivity and respect for non-European, non-white actors. While such practical transnationalism did not erase or even necessarily oppose inequity between Western corporations like Berliner's and indigenous peoples, it did open up new spaces of possibility for "genres of music…that no longer fit the old cultural molds," that is to say, for genres of music that "were expressions of transit, modern urban experience, and encounters between classes and peoples long held apart" (236). Though his study ends on the eve of the First World War, Liebersohn uses the conclusion to argue that the global conflict accelerated rather than gave rise to fundamental changes after 1918. To take one example, Liebersohn claims that the rise of jazz in the 1920s represents not so much a radical departure from the pre-war era than an "unleashing" (253) of prior cultural shifts. Though generally persuasive, given the presence of the term "jazz age" in the book's subtitle, a more substantive reading of the dissemination of jazz in light of his argument would have been a welcome addition.

Wide-ranging in scope, yet with equal attentiveness to detail, Liebersohn's study offers innovative takes on a number of key questions within globalization studies as well as music and sound studies. First, the transnational, comparative framework of *Music and the New Global Culture* adds significantly to our understanding of the origins of ethnomusicology, the history of the recording industry, and of popular music more broadly speaking. Second, his focus on human interaction, especially his centering of experiences of marginality and migration in shaping cross-cultural encounters, offers a compelling counterpoint to more technology-driven approaches to these subjects. As a result, this work will particularly valuable to scholars interested in the role of migration in shaping cultural creativity and music in the late-nineteenth century.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee *Jonathan Wipplinger*

George Grosz in Berlin: The Relentless Eye.
By Sabine Rewald. With an essay by Ian Buruma. New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, distributed byYale University Press, 2022. 180 pp. $45.

Georg Grosz is, of course, well known in Germany with *Das Kleine Grosz Museum* in Berlin dedicated to him. By contrast, the first and last display of his works in the U.S., where he spent time in New York in exile, was at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1954. Hence, an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art planned for summer 2022 was intended to bring renewed attention to this famous and notorious artist but fell victim to COVID-19. Fortunately, the *Staatsgalerie Stuttgart* took over the project, and it was turned into reality there from November 2022 to February 2023.

This catalogue, which has been published in both in English and German (*Georg Grosz in Berlin: Das unerbittliche Auge*), consists of two richly illustrated essays: Sabine Rewald's "George Grosz in Berlin. The Relentless Eye" and Ian Buruma's "A Voluptuous Rage." The subsequent catalogue as such with further text on individual paintings and sketches makes up the majority of the volume. Notes on the essays and catalogue, a selected bibliography and index complete the catalogue.

Rewald's longer essay is more biographical in nature as she traces Grosz's beginnings, early influences, devastating experience of World War I, the exceedingly critical view of Weimar society, his dabbling in communism, participation in the Dada movement, Italian Pittura Metafisica and Neue

Sachlichkeit, and the artistic successes that made him the famous, hated and popular artist he was. As we know, his street scenes, bar, café and restaurant interiors, prostitutes, wounded soldiers and corrupt politicians, profiteers and bigoted clergy are brutal in their satiric depiction of the moral decay that Grosz perceived in Weimar Germany, especially in Berlin. A series of trials between 1921 and 1931 for defamation of the Reichswehr, offending public morality and religious blasphemy only enhanced his notoriety. Nazi Germany ended up classifying his art as "degenerate," and so it may very well have saved his life that he accepted a position to teach at the Art Students League in New York starting in June 1932. As necessary as this essay is to set the stage for the exhibition and catalogue as such, it does not present any particularly new perspectives on Grosz.

In contrast, Buruma's shorter essay takes an interesting stab at getting beyond the obviously politically critical aspect of Grosz's work. He sees the artist's rage as having also had an aspect of attraction to his subject matter: "What gives his best pictures so much zest is the love that was always mixed with the hate, the love of clothes, American myths, life in the big city, art, sex. The not-so-guilty secret of Grosz's art is that he was rather bourgeois himself. Even in his angriest, most graffiti-like images, there is an interesting tension between revolutionary provocation and the homme moyen sensuel" (49). According to Buruma, Grosz identified with the people he so detested: "He got a kick out of his own disgust" (52). It is a thesis convincingly presented and worth considering, and one that lets the reader view the subsequent drawings and paintings of the catalogue itself in a new light. These drawings and paintings also reveal the great variety of Grosz's work that extends beyond the images of Weimar Berlin that we typically associate with him and include his forays into Futurism and, at the other end of the spectrum, a poignant realism with high sympathy for the subjects he portrayed.

As the catalogue title clearly states, the focus is on Grosz in Berlin when his art was much more provocative. Once he made it to the "country of my longing" (39), he embraced the U.S., and his art lost a lot of its critical power. In fact, Grosz apparently fantasized about becoming a Norman Rockwell kind of illustrator. This development is unfortunately only briefly sketched, and thus the German American studies scholar left somewhat hanging in that regard. Nonetheless, the catalogue is a high-quality contribution to the continuing fascination with one of the most unique Weimar artists.

Loyola University Chicago *Reinhard Andress*

Lyonel Feininger: Portrait eines Lebens.
Von Andreas Platthaus. Rowohlt Berlin Verlag, 2021, 448 Seiten, Euro 28.

Andreas Platthaus legt hier eine dicht gewobene Künstlerbiographie vor. Der Chef der Ressorts Literatur und Literarisches Leben bei der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* hat gründlich recherchiert und Informationen über den amerikanischen Maler Lyonel Feininger zusammengetragen, die er detailreich und spannend geschrieben an den Leser weitergibt. Die zum Teil jedoch überlangen Sätze erfordern volle Konzentration, die Informationen sind so eng gesetzt, dass sie beim Lesen keine Entspannungsabschnitte zulassen. Eigentlich könnten drei weitere in das Buch eingearbeitete Biographien ein Durchatmen ermöglichen, aber auch diese sind in ihrer Ausführlichkeit nicht dazu angetan, dem Leser Erholungspausen zu gönnen. Bei aller Informationsdichte weiß man den Menschen Lyonel Feininger nicht recht einzuordnen, was aber vielleicht auch an dessen Widersprüchlichkeit liegt. Selbst dem Autor scheint es gelegentlich so zu gehen, oder würde er sonst ein Kapitel mit dem Satz beginnen, ein Charakteristikum Feiningers war die Treue zu Menschen und Orten, nur um im letzten Satz desselben Kapitel darauf hinzuweisen, dass Feininger einem wichtigen Vorsatz untreu wurde. Der Anfangssatz über die Treue geht darüber hinweg, dass Feininger seine erste Ehefrau, die Halbjüdin Clara Fürst und seine zwei kleinen Töchter verließ, um seine neue (ebenfalls verheiratete) Liebe, Julia Berg, zu heiraten und drei Söhne zu zeugen. Zwar zahlte er regelmäßig Alimente, aber die erste Familie scheint für ihn keine wichtige Rolle mehr gespielt zu haben. Ein großer Teil der in die Biographie eingeflossenen Informationen ergibt sich aus dem umfangreichen Briefwechsel Feiningers mit seiner Frau Julia. Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist der Hinweis in Platthaus' Danksagung, dass er zwar einerseits, unter erheblichen Schwierigkeiten, Zugang zu dem Original-Briefwechsel hatte, teilweise aber nur auf Feiningers Briefe in einer von dessen Frau für die Öffentlichkeit geschönten Version zurückgreifen konnte. Wie auch immer - was Platthaus wunderbar schafft, ist, den Künstler Feininger und sein Werk lebendig werden zu lassen. Die Analyse seiner Kunstwerke wird kenntnisreich eingerahmt von zeitgenössischen Stellungnahmen.

Das 448 Seiten umspannende Werk enthält sowohl Photographien, die Einblick in Feiningers Privatleben bieten, als auch eine Vielzahl seiner Werke, angefangen mit den Karikaturen/Comics, mit denen Feiningers künstlerischer Werdegang ursprünglich begann. Dieser Magier der Leinwand, der sich auch mit Zeichnungen, Aquarellen und Holzschnitten hervortat, ging seinen Weg unbeirrt, nachdem er sich für die Malerei bzw. Kunst entschieden hatte. Es hätte auch anders kommen können, denn als Kind zweier Musiker, der zudem ein begabter Geiger war, schien für kurze Zeit in jungen Jahren seine berufliche Zukunft in der Musik zu liegen. Der Amerikaner Feininger lebte

fast 50 Jahre in Deutschland, hegte zunächst sogar Sympathien für Hitler, entschied sich 1937 aber für eine Rückkehr nach Amerika, da seine (wenn auch getaufte) Frau Jüdin war. Kurz nach der Ankunft in Amerika wurde seine Kunst in Deutschland als "entartet" bewertet. Auf in Deutschland erstellte Naturskizzen zurückgreifend, malte Feininger bis zu seinem Tode.

Wie oben bereits angesprochen, wird in diesem Buch das Leben dreier weiterer Personen ausführlich geschildert und natürlich in Beziehung zu Feininger gesetzt. Da diese Biographien mehr als ein Viertel des Buches ausmachen, ist es wert, kurz auch auf sie einzugehen. Da ist zum einen Galka Scheyer, die sich seit 1924 darum bemühte, der aus den Malern Alexej Jawlensky, Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee und Wassily Kandinsky bestehenden Künstlergruppe "Die blaue Vier" ("The blue four") zu Bekanntheit und Ruhm in Amerika zu verhelfen. Die drei anderen Maler außer Jawlensky waren Bauhaus-Künstler und -dozenten. An dieser von dem Architekten Walter Gropius 1919 gegründeten Kunstschule war Feininger der einzige Künstler, der von Anfang bis zur Auflösung als Formmeister wirkte und über einige Jahre, wenn es ihm auch eher lästig war, lehrte.

Der Kunsthistoriker Alois Schardt erwarb als Direktor des Städtischen Museums für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Halle diverse Werke von Bauhaus-Künstlern, darunter der von der Stadt Halle an Feininger in Auftrag gegebene, letztendlich aus 11 Gemälden bestehende berühmte Halle-Zyklus, sowie 29 Zeichnungen Feiningers. Als Wegbereiter der Moderne ließ Schardt sich auch von zunehmenden, durch die Naziregierung verursachten Restriktionen nicht von seinem Einsatz für moderne Kunst abhalten. 1939 ging er ins amerikanische Exil.

Den dritten biographischen Abstecher unternimmt Platthaus bezüglich Marguerite Friedländer (Wildenhain), eine deutsch-englische Keramikerin und Porzellangestalterin, die in ihrem Freund Feininger ein Vorbild sah: Sie bewunderte dessen Konzentration auf die eigene Arbeit.

"Die Lehre stand für Feininger im Dienst seiner Kunst, aber zugleich bot sie die Möglichkeit, anderen das Selbstverständnis beizubringen, dass alles im Leben dem kreativen Schaffen unterzuordnen sei." (305) Die Künstlerin jüdischer Abstammung setzte die einfache und strenge Lehre des Bauhaus-Konzepts sehr erfolgreich in den USA um, wohin sie nach mehrjährigem Aufenthalt in Holland 1940 emigrierte.

Man möchte sich nach der Lektüre des Buches unverzüglich ins Lyonel Feininger Museum in Quedlinburg (Sachsen-Anhalt) begeben, das einzige Feininger-Museum weltweit. Es ist zugleich Ausstellungshaus für Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart.

West Bloomfield, Michigan *Susanna Piontek*

A Critical History of German Film, 2nd Edition.
By Stephen Brockmann. Rochester: Camden House, 2020. 677 pp. $60.00.

The second edition of Stephen Brockmann's *A Critical History of German Film* expands upon his first, highly serviceable iteration (2010) to include more contemporary films and round out the initial canon set forth in his first survey of German cinema. Indeed, the bulk of the updates (approximately 150 additional pages) in this volume consist of new film analyses, leaving much of the introductory and previous treatments of films untouched.

Brockmann's text begins with an introduction that creates intentional links between the fields of German studies and critical film history. What follows are thirty-nine chapters in seven parts that cover a period of German film history, e.g., Weimar Cinema or Postwar West German Cinema. Each part begins with an historical overview of both the film industry at that period and any relevant German cultural and political context, followed by films that the author deems emblematic of that period in Germany's long cinematic history. For his tome, Brockmann begins with the first presentation in 1895 at Berlin's Wintergarten theater by the Skladanowsky brothers of short, early movies and works his way through the next one hundred and twenty years to close with a brief conclusion that situates German cinema's future within a global cinematic discussion (13, 643-45). Brockmann expands the final paragraph from the first iteration to meditate on the roles of reality and truth in image as a way of understanding how moving images fit into our daily lives and perceptions (643-645). While an interesting jumping off point, this conclusion to the volume, which purports to think about the prospects of German cinema, takes an abstract turn in thinking about the role of media and the viewer and is a bit incongruous to the preceding meticulous examination of German films, its personnel, and history. Moreover, the challenges Brockmann suggests affect the future of German films, i.e., streaming services and individualized screenings via personal communication devices; the impact of Hollywood globally; digital vs. analog filmmaking (641-643), are hardly unique to this national cinema but are existential perils that cinema faces worldwide.

Of course, with only thirty-two films to represent the entirety of German cinema, this book is a rather traditional disciplinary interpretation of German film studies, mainly focusing on many famous and well-regarded films and common, chronologically-based markers of this national cinema. The films presented were all produced in Germany and in the German language, which largely sidesteps the issues of German directors, actors, camera operators, etc. in exile, e.g., Fritz Lang's *Fury* (1936) or the émigré-filled *Casablanca* (1942) and contemporary films made by German directors in the English language,

e.g., Wim Wenders' *Paris, Texas* (1984) or Tom Tykwer's *Perfume: The Story of a Murderer* (2006). While such films and discussions of German film may garner a mention within the text, Brockmann resists opening his definition of German cinema, which, given his approach, makes sense and creates an understandable framework for approaching this national cinema.

And, as with texts that mainly deal with canonical works, some frustrating blind spots to Brockmann's updated edition emerge. While a thorough investigation of the greatest hits—from *Metropolis* to *Triumph des Willens* to *Lola rennt*—and even a few films lesser known outside Germany, e.g., *Rossini*, the volume does little more than nod at queer cinema or experimental cinema within Germany's borders. It does a little better at including women filmmakers, with the incorporation of three additional films made by women (in comparison to only one film in the original), but representation of a diverse and multicultural Germany on film falls largely to a reading of superstar director Fatih Akin's *Gegen die Wand*.

However, the upside of Brockmann's approach to presenting German film history in such a neat package is that the volume lends itself well to teaching. Because Brockmann does not stray far from well-known films and directors, even in this expanded edition, many films are widely available in both physical and digital, i.e., streaming formats, to screen, and the clear and straightforward manner of writing provides an easy entry point for anyone interested in Germany's film history. In addition, this book is an excellent companion text for someone teaching a straightforward survey of German cinema. Students will learn both film criticism and analysis, as well as about various film periods in the national film history. Brockmann excels at providing important contextual information to situate players within the film industry through extensive production histories or to help readers understand the impact of historical events on the films he studies. And, while perhaps not providing entirely new analyses, his research pulls together most of the important and well-known discussions of the films cited, particularly within German Studies, and related cultural theories, e.g., a discussion of Freud's *Unheimliche* and castration anxiety in relation to *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*. Indeed, with its conversational tone and familiar asides, this text is highly accessible both in language and format and recommended for a broad audience.

Indiana University – Purdue University Indianapolis *Nichole M. Neuman*

History

Inside the Texas Revolution: The Enigmatic Memoir of Herman Ehrenberg.
Edited by James E. Crisp, with the assistance of Louis E. Brister and translated by Louis E. Brister, with the assistance of James C. Kearney. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2021. 680 pp. $40.00.

James E. Crisp, currently Professor Emeritus of History at North Carolina State University, has been researching and writing about Texas history for over half a century. At the beginning of his career, Crisp read a typescript of Edgar William Bartholomae's 1925 master's thesis ("A Translation of H. Ehrenberg's *Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas*, with Introduction and Notes") in the basement of the Old Tower Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Twenty years later, in December 1992, Crisp returned to Ehrenberg when he realized that the anti-Mexican language attributed to Sam Houston had actually been written by Ehrenberg. Crisp set the record straight on this point, but, as he explains, "I was still haunted by the actual author of the 'Houston Speech'—the mysterious teenaged volunteer whose own origins and ancestry no one seemed to know for sure" (xvi). *Inside the Texas Revolution* is the result of Crisp's fascination with Ehrenberg and his determination "to solve as many as possible of the mysteries that enveloped his life and his memoir of the Texas Revolution" (xvi).

Ehrenberg has both fascinated and puzzled scholars for nearly one hundred years. Bartholomae got Ehrenberg's birthday and place of birth wrong. The first published book-length translation of Ehrenberg's narrative (*With Milam and Fannin: Adventures of a German Boy in Texas' Revolution*) mangled Ehrenberg's life in an attempt to make the book suitable for children. Benjamin Sacks discovered that U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater's grandfather knew Ehrenberg in the Arizona Territory. Crisp and Brister began collaborating on a new translation of Ehrenberg's narrative in the 1990s. Although the translation was completed by the end of that decade, Crisp felt that there were "too many anomalies and 'black holes' in Ehrenberg's known life to proceed with immediate publication" (6). *Inside the Texas Revolution* does not just offer a translation of Ehrenberg's narrative, it is another example of historical detective work, like Crisp's *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution*. Crisp and Brister's work provides a biography of a complicated man who often misrepresented events or exaggerated his participation in some of the key moments of the Texas Revolution.

Readers who wish to read Ehrenberg's narrative without any editorial interventions should skip the chapter introductions and the endnotes. However, Crisp cautions, readers need to be aware that Ehrenberg "wrote to entertain as well as to inform, and thus not all of his statements should be taken at face value" (17). Consequently, it makes sense to read the chapter introductions and the endnotes at the same time as Ehrenberg's text to comprehend the volume as fully as possible. Ehrenberg, as he described Texas and its revolution, also wrote for German readers. A lengthy defense of independence and self-government in chapter three, for example, was intended for German readers and anticipated the revolution that erupted in 1848. Ehrenberg's account of the battle of Coleto, the lives of the prisoners, the massacre, and his escape, as well as his subsequent travels after his escape, offer an important perspective about common soldiers during the Texas Revolution. Some of Ehrenberg's text borders on fantastic – for instance, his assertion that he turned himself in to the Mexican army and, moreover, got into a verbal sparring match with General José de Urrea! Still, even fiction such as this can hold important lessons for scholars and readers. A lengthy Epilogue follows Ehrenberg from the end of the Texas Revolution through his untimely death in Arizona Territory and explains how he gradually faded from memory.

Inside the Texas Revolution makes important contributions to understandings of the Texas Revolution and early Texas history. This book will work in classes examining Texas history, Nineteenth Century U.S. History, the history of race and racism, immigration and ethnicity, and in classes dealing with historical methods. The information in this volume is important, but so is the careful detective work of the authors that allowed them to create a full portrait of an enigmatic German who fought in the Texas Revolution and the complicated record of events he left in his narrative.

University of Arkansas – Fort Smith *Evan C. Rothera*

The Missouri Home Guard: Protecting the Missouri Home Front During the Great War.
By Petra DeWitt. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2022. 242 pp. $40.

In this book, Petra DeWitt has produced an interesting and highly readable study of a hitherto neglected institution. In examining the Missouri Home Guard, DeWitt uses this World War I-era civilian adjunct to the more widely known National Guard as an opportunity to explore broader questions

of manhood, patriotism, and race in the early twentieth century. The Home Guard was one manifestation of the preparedness movement in the United States, asking able-bodied men to voluntarily devote time to military and survival training in preparation for future military service or to ready its members to take up the state-level mission of the National Guard while the latter was deployed overseas. The Home Guard also fulfilled important symbolic functions, as its members publicly drilled, participated in parades and other spectacles, and served as one way for men on the home front to publicly brandish their patriotic credentials. DeWitt possibly overstates the case when she contends that for Missourians this organization "became *the* [emphasis original] visual representation of a war fought thousands of miles away," (5) but it undoubtedly was of a piece with similar organizations in other states. It was certainly a key element in a mass-mobilized propaganda, fundraising, and recruitment effort that drew upon a network of what Christopher Capozzola has designated "coercive volunteerism" in his *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (2010).

The Missouri Home Guard is organized thematically across eight chapters. The first explores the broader history of militia service in Missouri and contextualizes the wartime movement to train and arm the organization's members, who disproportionately hailed from white-collar backgrounds, amid fears of neurasthenia and feminization brought on by industrialization and professionalization. After establishing this ideological grounding, the next chapter turns to the Home Guard's actual formation, composition, and resources. Exploring its constituent units one by one, DeWitt suggests that this could be an arena for conflict between German-Americans and other ethnic groups, particularly in areas that had seen German-Americans mobilize disproportionately in favor of the Union some fifty years before (33-34). Chapter three highlights the logistical difficulties the Home Guard encountered in securing supplies and weapons, before the fourth chapter looks at the social dynamics of the organization's members. In particular, DeWitt argues that "Serving in the Home Guard also defined who was patriotic and who was disloyal" (64) both in men's initial decisions to volunteer and to keep up with training requirements over time.

Chapter five contains perhaps the most engaging of the book's thematic investigations, exploring the efforts by black Missourians to form and support segregated Home Guard units. DeWitt contextualizes their actions within the broader history of racial minorities advancing claims to citizenship both through military service and an emphasis on respectability politics. On a practical level, too, DeWitt suggests the "The establishment of a Home Guard

was… not just an expression of patriotism for African American men but also reflected the need for self-defense and protection from a white mob" (88) as race riots erupted in Missouri and nationwide in 1917-18. Although black communities' efforts met with imperfect success and their opportunities were often limited by local conditions, this is a fascinating glimpse into competing motivations for and forms of quasi-military organization, and a useful contribution to the historiography of black military service broadly.

The sixth chapter holds out a potentially fascinating glimpse into how gendered expectations shaped women's contributions to the war effort, but the reader might be left disappointed by its brevity. Though DeWitt amply demonstrates that Missouri women seized upon the prewar preparedness movement and wartime mobilization to challenge conventional gender roles and to push for suffrage, relatively little of this activity seems to be related to the Missouri Home Guard as such. This is presumably due to a dearth of sources, but is perhaps also an opportunity for future research. The much longer seventh chapter details the Home Guard's law enforcement and symbolic tasks – most prominently strikebreaking – that it took over from the National Guard. It is in this section that DeWitt most clearly demonstrates the Home Guard's usefulness as a quasi-military establishment, struggles with supplies and membership retention notwithstanding. Chapter eight concludes with the Home Guard's disbanding in 1919 and an assessment of its legacy, summing up their contributions by arguing that "the Home Guard assured a relatively quiet home front for Missouri… In short, they helped preserve the state's image of loyalty despite the presence of a sizeable population that opposed the war" (139).

While limited in geographical and chronological scope, *The Missouri Home Guard* is a worthwhile and eminently readable study. Readers familiar with the German-American World War I experience will note that, as DeWitt identifies throughout the book, demands of loyalty were backed by a state-sponsored, potentially coercive organization. Historians of militia service will recognize in the Home Guard a path not taken, whose relative laxity and reliance on volunteerism stands in contrast to the National Guard system that was codified around the turn of the twentieth century. Above all, students of social history will appreciate DeWitt's ability to deftly link local, state, and national social and political trends.

University of Wisconsin *Michael Kaelin*

The Mind in Exile: Thomas Mann in Princeton.
By Stanley Corngold. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022. 280 pp. $34.95.

The juxtaposition of Thomas Mann, Princeton University, and Stanley Corngold on the title page offers great promise for the reader. Although Corngold is most often associated with his work on Kafka, his reputation as a distinguished scholar, particularly in German literature and philosophy, precedes him. Princeton, of course, is a prestigious university known to many as host to several intellectual refugees from Nazi Germany, most notably Albert Einstein. Thomas Mann spent the initial two and one-half years of his fifteen-year sojourn in the United States at Princeton after his works were banned in Germany and his citizenship rescinded. As the bulk of Mann's time in America was spent in the Los Angeles area, Corngold's text offers the possibility of illuminating a lesser-known period in Mann's American exile. Moreover, to those of us who trained in the 1960s and '70s, a discussion which evokes the memory of Germanists of the stature of Harry Levin, Victor Lange, and Theodore Ziolkowski is a particular treat.

Much of the promise of the title is, in fact, realized. In his preface, Corngold establishes both his own credentials as an expert on Mann and his intention of "reviving our cultural memory of Thomas Mann at Princeton" (xiv) by recalling his own early years as a young assistant professor and the ultimate rehabilitation of Mann in the wake of the dismissals of his work by Paul de Man and deconstructionism. The first of the five chapters establishes the parameters of the discussion—Mann's literary and political writings and lectures during the two and one-half years between September 1938 and March 1940—and sets the scene admirably by recounting the details of the Mann family's move from Europe to New Jersey in some detail. The chapter establishes an almost intimate atmosphere which combines entries from Mann's letters and diaries with descriptions of the house in which the Manns took up residence in Princeton. Particularly noteworthy is the mention of Erich Kahler, a good friend and neighbor in Princeton, and of Mann's son-in-law Giuseppe Antonio Borgese. Both were willing interlocutors in earnest discussions on the state of German culture under the Nazis and potential American involvement in the political situation in Europe. Corngold's remarks on the frequency and intensity of those discussions highlight their importance for Mann as a newly arrived exile who took his role in representing the best of German values and encouraging the American public (and President Roosevelt) to support the war against Hitler and fascism quite seriously.

The tone of the first chapter endures in the third and fifth chapters, "A Roundup of Political Themes" and "Toward a Conclusion" respectively. The

writing is clear, and Corngold's knowledge and erudition contribute considerably to the reader's understanding of both the political situation in America and the role Mann's lectures and writings played in influencing public opinion in the United States. Corngold includes and comments on excerpts from Mann's diaries which provide insight into Mann's efforts to find the time to be the representative of all that was good in German culture while leaving enough time to devote himself to his literary writing. Chapters two and four, on the other hand, differ significantly in approach.

The second and fourth chapters, with 119 and sixty pages respectively, constitute more than eighty percent of the text. Of the two, chapter two is not only considerably longer but also for me the most problematic of the five. Although Corngold provides a short, three-page prologue, the text, entitled "Reflections of a Political Man," contains sixteen separate lectures or articles published during the time of Mann's residence in Princeton with only a minimum of commentary. By conscious design Corngold presents "… what Mann wrote in his moment" (28) with very little "intervention." Despite what might be seen as a high-minded goal of letting the reader "savor" Mann's words without guidance, the decision seems unfortunate. The title of the chapter itself alludes to Mann's fraught relationship with politics and his long-term struggles to preserve the notion of German culture as he understands it while fighting the perversions of that culture under Hitler and continuing to represent the best of the German spirit in his literary endeavors. The problem becomes even more complex in the United States as Mann tries to balance his need to write on a daily basis with the demands made on him by his university assignments as well as his desire to use his influence and reputation to urge the United States to actively join the war against fascism. To truly appreciate and evaluate the value and impact of the various pieces, one needs to be a particularly sophisticated reader well-versed in Mann's works and attitudes as well as the particular moment in American history.

The fourth chapter "Thomas Mann, Nobel Laureate," deals with Mann's literary and philosophical output during his time in Princeton—work on *Lotte in Weimar*, Freud, Wagner, *Die vertauschten Köpfe*, and later sections of the "Joseph cycle". The political situation in America and Europe, which was crucial to an understanding of the import and impact of the works discussed in the second chapter, plays little role here. Mann's artistic concerns predominate, and the mix of diary entries, other commentary, and Corngold's glosses make the text eminently readable, instructive, and illuminating. The sense of intimacy which made the first chapter in particular so rewarding is lacking but has been replaced by a discussion which makes excellent use of the three elements which seem so promising on the title page—Mann's own thoughts

on the situation, the unique situation in Princeton in the late 1930s, and Stanley Corngold's ability to assess the combination.

The Mind in Exile has much to recommend it. There are many biographies of Thomas Mann and numerous studies of his literary and philosophical output, and the material presented is not new per se, but only Stanley Corngold has the experience and insight to bring the disparate elements together. The amalgam is unique and well worth the effort which the reader might need to bring to some parts of the text, the second chapter in particular.

Loyola University Maryland *Randall P. Donaldson*

Surveillance, the Cold War, and Latin American Literature.
By Daniel Noemi Voionmaa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. 290 pp. $99.99.

Postmodernist critiques of modernity and the intertwining of knowledge and power have been ubiquitous within critical scholarship for at least the past 50 years. *Surveillance, the Cold War, and Latin American Literature* by Daniel Noemi Voionmaa attempts to expand the theorization of the panoptical gaze by exploring the effects of surveillance and secret police agencies on the writings and lives of Latin American literary figures during the Cold War. By delving into archives in Mexico, Chile, and Guatemala, Voionmaa investigates the secret police reports on Gabriel García Márquez, Pablo Neruda, Octavio Paz, Elena Poniatowska, José Revueltas, Otto René Castillo, and Carlos Cerda. Voionmaa, who formerly taught at the University of Michigan, where he began the project resulting in this book before joining the faculty at Northeastern University, frequently contributes to *El Desconcierto*, the most significant online daily in Chile, explaining the strong emphasis on Pablo Neruda and Chilean records in this book. By examining records from 1950 to 1989, *Surveillance* argues that the Cold War through surveillance, recordkeeping, and archival production itself created an objective reality in order to control narrative and transform Latin American society.

Chapter 1 is a breakdown of the theoretical framework the author uses in his analysis; a trajectory of social control—the gaze—based on perspective and surveillance with its theoretical origins in the Italian Renaissance with Filippo Brundelleschi's 'Perspectiva artificialis,' further developed by Bentham's panopticon, Robert Barker's panorama, discussed by Foucault, and finally perfected by Cold War governments. Chapter 2 applies this theoretical framework to the archive itself, where Voionmaa examines archives as

artificial knowledge products and producers. Chapter 3 examines the rise of anticommunism and its modern gaze towards Asturias and Neruda. Chapter 4 takes us out of Latin America towards East Germany where surveillance of Carlos Cerda by the Stasi is revealed via the Stasi archives. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 examine the surveillance apparatuses of the governments in Chile, Mexico, and Guatemala and how these tactics influenced the writings of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Jose Revueltas, Otto Rene Castillo, Mario Payeras.

What the author does in this study is done well, but there are certain issues that could arise depending on the reader. This book is heavily theorized, and not intended for a popular audience. Frequent name drops and quotations assume the reader will have a thorough background in post-modernist literature to appreciate and understand the full context in which Voionmaa is working. For example, statements such as "Crime control is a calamity; it is hard to escape the absurdity of this endeavor. There is an attempt to measure, classify, regulate, and to control reality, which only brings us back to Linnaeus, reminding us of Foucault's ideas, reminding us of paintings where there is a central point from which, as Alberti explains, there are 'straight lines to each of the divisions we have established in the baseline'" (126) require a thorough understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of postmodernist critiques to completely understand the author's point. Additionally, the author tends to wax and wane poetically in his writing. While making for a more enjoyable read, this style may turn off some scholars used to more formal paragraph structure with introductory sentences stating the main idea of each paragraph. For instance, the author begins one paragraph with, "Journey and labyrinth. Entering the archive is first and foremost a journey of searching" (42) and begins another with, "The aerial gaze. Horror penned from above; airplanes that fly over the fragile Guatemalan democracy." (58) The scope of the book is ambitious, yet the author's emphasis on Chile and Chileans remains obvious. A more balanced structure in the book with each nation given equal weight and analysis would have been apt for a project of this kind. Still, this book will be of interest to Germanists for its use of postmodernist critiques of East Germany and its examination of the effect of surveillance on a Chilean exile in GDR found in Chapter 4 entitled Spying and Knowledge: The Stasi and the File on Carlos Cerda.

University of Iowa *Samuel Boucher*

The Burden of German History: A Transatlantic Life.
By Konrad H. Jarausch. New York/ Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2023. 188 pp. $120 hb; $29.95 e-book.

In the interest of full disclosure, Konrad Jarausch was on my doctoral committee. In fact, I call him my "Doktorstiefvater" and was included among his genuine advisees in a collection of reminiscences presented to him in 2017. An anecdote from my early career gives a hint at his character. When I left for a postdoc in Germany, I was scheduled to give a paper at the Southern Historical Association, and Konrad agreed to read it for me. As I later learned, he introduced it with the following quip: "In the old German tradition a busy *Ordinarius* would send his *Assistent* to a conference to read a paper for him; here in egalitarian America it's the other way around." So obviously I am much indebted to Konrad but can also offer some close-up insights like this.

I have referred elsewhere to Jarausch's cohort as a fatherless generation—sometimes literally with war casualties, sometimes figuratively with men discredited by their complicity in the Nazi regime—for whom the United States was a big brother in the benign sense, rather than the Orwellian sense that it became for many younger Germans in the Vietnam era. Jarausch was fatherless in both respects, although his father's Protestant nationalism was tempered by empathy for the Russian POWs he administered—a *Reluctant Accomplice*, as characterized in the title of the volume of Konrad's letters from the Eastern Front published in 2011.

Jarausch deals with *The Burden of German History* at three levels: personally, with respect to the transatlantic history profession, and with German society and politics in general. At all three levels one detects a strong sense of personal responsibility. Jarausch has made important contributions to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (confronting the German past), although he never uses that term.

For those not familiar with his life and work, Jarausch, born in 1941, left the "constricting and provincial" Adenauer Germany and family expectations behind at age 18, and used family connections for what was intended to be a "gap year" working in Wyoming. Instead, it turned into a B.A. in American Studies as co-valedictorian of the state university, and what Jarausch's conservative uncle called a veritable "America mania" (42). Similarly, MA studies to round out his American stay morphed into doctoral studies at the University of Wisconsin, this time in European history under émigré scholar Theodore Hamerow.

Jarausch and his new bride Hannelore were hired before their dissertations were completed by the University of Missouri. "Though it was no Harvard,

Mizzou was also no Wyoming" (64). Jarausch declined the offer of a C-4 professorship at Saarbrücken in 1976, but in 1983, frustrated by budget cuts under a Republican administration, he left Mizzou for a chair at the University of North Carolina, the self-described "Southern Part of Heaven." Before retirement he encountered the same kind or Republican retrenchment at UNC (80), but Jarausch found much to do in the interim, on a transatlantic basis. The fall of the Berlin Wall surprised him as much as the rest of us, but it opened up another entire field of activity. From 1998 to 2006 officially, and informally before then, Jarausch served as co-director of the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (ZZF: Center for Research in Contemporary History), spending eight months of the year in Potsdam.

The autobiographical sections of the book include many reflections on motivations and (shifting) identity: "the question of how to relate to my German identity after the war and the Holocaust continued to trouble me my entire life, since I found the excuses of the perpetrator generation for their ethnic nationalism utterly repugnant" (10-11). It records his mixed feelings when taking on American citizenship some thirteen years after arrival (90). It also portrays the challenges of a sometimes transatlantic marriage of two academics, now in its sixth decade. Wife Hannelore née Flessa, a professor of French, was also a German immigrant, albeit of the "1.5 generation," having arrived at age 8.

Sections of the book are a perfect historiographic introduction for graduate students in modern German history, because Jarausch has been in the mix with nearly all the recent debates. His dissertation and first major book (Wisconsin also published his MA thesis) was on Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, tracing Germany's course in World War I and walking a tightrope between "apologists like Gerhard Ritter . . . and Anglo-American scholars like A.J.P. Taylor [who] wrote in the accusatory vein of war propaganda" (68). (The most recent synthesis, Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers* (2012) appears to have borne him out and is cited in his bibliography.) Jarausch next turned his attention to Germany's *Unfree Professions* and the *Rise of Academic Illiberalism* that led people like his father to fall prey to Nazi blandishments. In the process he added quantitative approaches to his methodological toolbox, constructing social profiles of German professionals and publishing a guide to quantification first in German (1985) and later in English (1991).

The collapse of the GDR and Jarausch's personal and scholarly involvement with this part of Germany and its recent history precipitated a changing focus and a dozen or so authored or (co)edited books in both languages on this place and time, among them *The Rush to German Unity* (1994). Jarausch's latest concerns have focused on history and memory, and the experiences of

ordinary Germans, especially his parents' generation, typified by the edition of his father's war correspondence, and by *Broken Lives: How Ordinary Germans Experienced the 20th Century* (2018).

Jarausch reflects on his role as a "transatlantic mediator, an insider and outsider on both sides" (95; see also 158-9). One advantage is illustrated when he told a Brandenburg official, "I don't need you. I have a US chair, but you need me" (106). It also equipped him to argue that "the Europeans have developed a credible alternative to the American way of life in terms of peace, prosperity, and equality" (141), one of the themes of his 2015 *Out of Ashes: A New History of Europe in the Twentieth Century*. In contrast to many "scholars [who] felt uncomfortable in this affirmative role" (162), Jarausch spells it out on his final page: "Though many Americans see themselves as teachers of democracy, even they can learn something from German history" (167).

Texas A&M University *Walter D. Kamphoefner*

Moderate Modernity: The Newspaper *Tempo* and the Transformation of Weimar Democracy.
By Jochen Hung. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. 274 pp. $75.00.

If journalism is indeed the first rough draft of history, as the saying goes, then Jochen Hung's monograph reveals the complicated process by which such drafts are produced. Looking at the important, yet overlooked daily newspaper *Tempo* (1928-1933), this work explores how ideas of democracy and modernity were constructed and contested by this paper's editors, journalists and readers. Hung aims beyond the microhistorical, however, and intends to demonstrate with this case study that the Weimar Republic was characterized not only by the hyper-modernity of the avant-garde or the anti-modernity of reactionaries, but also by the moderate modernity of liberals.

The book itself is organized into three main chapters, each covering two-years of *Tempo*'s existence. In the first and longest chapter covering 1928 and 1929, Hung spends considerable time laying out the thematic foundations of his argument. He begins by noting the key role played by consumption and technology for *Tempo* in promulgating its vision of moderate modernity. Though many of the products featured in its regular column on new consumer technology (cars, vacuum machines, refrigerators, etc.) remained beyond the means of the paper's lower-middle class and white-collar readers, the "virtual consumption" (46) involved in reading about and desiring such products, helped readers buy into the idea of a prosperous future. In a similar vein, the United States, as a mecca of technology, consumerism and popular

culture, figured prominently as aspirational model within *Tempo*. A second theme here is democracy and democratic culture. As Hung convincingly shows, *Tempo* carved out a pro-democratic position that was not bound to any individual party, but to democracy as idea and process. Gender and the construction of masculinity and femininity comprise the third major theme. *Tempo* presented its young urban readership with a set of behavioral codes that placed rationality and *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity) above blind adherence to tradition. A case in point is the paper's positive reporting on the phenomenon of the *Kameradschaftsehe*, wherein women and men cohabitated for economic, rather than romantic reasons. Still and in evidence of its moderate, rather than radical modernity, on the matter of sexuality *Tempo* remained generally conservative, as Hung also shows.

Chapter 2 traces these same thematic elements for the following two years, 1930 and 1931. This period bore witness to spiking unemployment numbers, repeated breakdowns in the parliamentary system and, of course, the rise of the Nazi party. Like other media outlets, *Tempo* had been slow to perceive the Nazis as a threat to Weimar democracy. After the Nazi party's breakthrough performance in the September 1930 elections, *Tempo*, like other liberal media outlets, concluded that white-collar workers – the same demographic courted by the paper – had turned the tide for Hitler. Though as Hung points out, later historiography would debunk this notion, this conclusion resulted in a loss of faith in young, urban white-collar workers by *Tempo*'s and further moderated its stance toward democracy and modernity. While it remained a staunch defender of consumerism, US culture and phenomena like the American "Girl" came to be viewed much more critically. In sum, while far from abandoning its core principles, by the end of 1931 *Tempo*'s optimism had decelerated under the weight of the ongoing economic and political crisis.

The final substantive chapter covers 1932 through the paper's closure in late 1933. As Weimar democracy ground to a standstill, *Tempo* attempted to hold the line of rational politics by promoting the idea of fidelity to the state and the Weimar Constitution. In the run up to the 1932 presidential election in which Paul von Hindenburg squared off against Hitler, "*Tempo* did not call on its readers to support parliamentarism, the democratic system, or even the Republic, but much more basic values, such as personal freed and German culture itself" (193). This embrace of the aged Hindenburg was paired with growing skepticism toward youth culture, which increasingly came to be seen as dangerous and irrational. Following the appointment of Hitler to chancellor, the paper quickly became a target of Nazi attacks. The precarity of its position within the new state, coupled with precipitous declines in readership and advertisement revenue, led the Ullstein publishing house to shutter *Tempo*'s doors in August 1933.

The conclusion turns outward from Weimar to explore how the issues of democracy, technology, consumerism, "Americanism," and changing gender norms played out in interwar Britain, France, Japan and the US. Faced with similar, though hardly identical challenges, in each national context these same questions were vigorously debated, producing unique alternative modernities (a concept he takes from Dilip P. Gaonkar). Pushing back at the idea that Weimar liberal discourse was anomalous or a failure, he writes in the penultimate sentence of the monograph: "The moderate modernity constructed in *Tempo* did not pave the way for the Third Reich. Rather, it was a vision of the future, competing with the alternative modernities of the Nazis and other groups, over the definition of a modern German society" (239).

Hung's monograph is thoroughly researched and written in an engaging and convincing manner. The construction of the work around three sets of two-year intervals is highly effective at showing both the significant shifts in the liberal press' vision of modernity as well as revealing key continuities. That said, and acknowledging this is not Hung's focus, greater discussion of the role and meaning of print media in the period – within the political sphere, but even more so everyday practices – could have added significantly to the argument. As Hung notes, *Tempo* was not only a newspaper covering popular culture and consumption but part of popular culture itself. This minor quibble aside, *Moderate Modernity* makes an important and needed contribution to the historiography of the Weimar Republic and twentieth century German cultural and political history. Further examples of "moderate modernity" can undoubtedly be found within and outside Weimar-era discourse and Hung's work will prove essential to better contextualizing them.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee *Jonathan Wipplinger*

Asylum Between Nations: Refugees in a Revolutionary Era.
By Janet Polasky. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023. 320 pp. $45.

This study focuses on the migrations of thousands of Europeans who fled the French Revolution and the backlash after the Revolutions of 1848, and tracks their fates in destinations that were more open and welcoming than others: German Hamburg, Danish Altona, the federated Swiss Cantons, the newly independent Belgian monarchy, and the United States.

The perspective synthesizes masterfully philosophical and political tracts on the treatment of refugees with primary sources in letters and diaries that bring their circumstances to life. Janet Polasky, Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire, is the author of *Revolutions*

without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World (2015, Yale University Press), *Reforming Urban Labor: Routes to the City, Roots in the Country* (2010, Cornell University Press), *The Democratic Socialism of Emile Vandervelde: Between Reform and Revolution* (1995, London, Berg,) *and Revolution in Brussels, 1787-1793* (1987, University Press of New England). She draws from a wealth of sources.

Her synthesis is remarkable in light of scant uniformity in the stories of her subjects. It is, in effect, an exercise in hitting moving geographic and social targets. Some were wealthy, well educated, and had access to their wealth while in exile while others, just as wealthy and educated, had to take up trades of all sorts to get by. Many had extensive family and contacts in their new homes. Others started from scratch as strangers. Many found secure places in their new communities, married into society, joined prestigious organizations, and even sat on city councils. Others were not so fortunate and lived in perpetual flux. Many wished to settle permanently and sought citizenship. Others migrated many times until they found homes. Still others were content to live in a sort of suspended tourist status. Until the 48ers came to the United States, and even then, citizenship itself could be a moving target that shifted with the political wind: the number of refugees, the economic strength of the community, unemployment, and public opinion.

Such a kaleidoscope of fates tends to obscure generalized conclusions, and, yet, this history makes three important points for the times studied and those we are living in. First, the refugees in this study landed on their feet and established a level of security that made life possible for their heirs. Second, the communities that welcomed them benefitted from their presence economically and culturally. Third, the countries that can offer help in the twenty-first century need to prepare for an impending human disaster, namely, sea level rise. Millions of people, mostly but not only poor, will be driven from their homes and perhaps their countries. As Polasky asked, "Who will take them?" In spite of the Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, and the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, international law governing their treatment is "a Kafkaesque legal vacuum." Polasky does not go into the science in detail but it is worth mentioning that The United Nations Protocol on Climate Change has gravely misled the world on this danger by predicting only a one to three foot rise in this century when scientists agree that the average will be closer to ten feet, fifteen in the worst case--regardless of how we contain carbon to limit global warming. Disaster is rising around us. The time to talk and plan is now.

Susquehanna University *Susan M. Schürer*

In Humboldt's Shadow: A Tragic History of German Ethnology.
By H. Glenn Penny. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021. 230 pp. $32.00

Do not be misled by the title of this beautifully written and fascinating volume. The great Alexander von Humboldt is present only as a beacon and éminence grise. A full history of German ethnology would need to cover the theories of Kulturkreise and cultural materialism and the gamut of scholars from Georg Forster to Adolf Ellegard Jensen. Instead, this is the story of one pivotal figure, Adolf Bastian (b. 1826), his successors, and their efforts to establish the Berlin Ethnological Museum. The story is indeed tragic, notwithstanding notable triumphs.

Bastian sidestepped evolutionism and diffusionism in favor of a program inspired by Humboldt's notion of *Kosmos*. He sought to confront the multitude of diverse world cultures holistically, in order to reveal a unitary human history. The literal workshop for this endeavor would be the ethnological museum, a massive warehouse of material culture items collected from around the planet. Bastian believed that material objects were virtually all that constituted the history of non-literate societies, and that they were concrete impressions of *Volksgeist*, the spirit of the people who made them. The process he envisioned needed to be a long and patient one, and like his protégé Franz Boas, who would later steer the development of American anthropology, Bastian eschewed grand theory in favor of careful collecting and analysis. Bastian and his followers valued everyday items as well as artworks and icons, and most understood that it was essential to gather native knowledge and environmental context along with the objects. Examination of cultural artifacts would reveal the *Weltanshauungen* (world views) of the world's peoples and disclose underlying natural laws of human development. It was also a form of *Bildung* (self-edification) for Bastian personally, and for Germans individually and collectively.

Bastian set the pace for acquisitions, traveling worldwide beginning in 1850, residing for half a year in a Burmese palace, hauling a crate of ancient bronze axe heads by mule through the snows and desert sands of Ecuador. Along the way he mastered local languages and published groundbreaking, thorough ethnologies. Almost everywhere he was aided by local networks of German officials and merchants, themselves often keen students of culture and collectors of antiquities.

Bastien was equally dogged in urging completion of a museum building in Berlin, and would be named its first director, but the facility was already inadequate when it opened in 1886. It lacked enough space and light to

function as the intended laboratory. Instead, select items were displayed in *Schausammlungen* (show collections), organized in simplistic didactic groupings, amounting to little more than a hall of wonders. The bulk of the collections were sent to storage. Bastian died in 1905 while visiting Trinidad, his vision compromised. Succeeding museum director Wilhelm von Bode preferred show collections and shifted museum resources from the sciences to the arts.

Nevertheless, Bastian's intrepid acolytes continued collecting, despite setbacks resulting from World War I. Felix von Luschan purchased precious carved ivory and many the famed Benin bronzes, ancient masterworks seized from the Nigerian kingdom in a British military action. Johan Jacobsen secured Native masks and skulls from Alaska. Franz Termer, aided by expatriate coffee capitalists, gathered glorious textiles in Guatemala. Africa, Asia, and Oceania yielded further booty. Hundreds of thousands of articles were amassed, and the German collections became so copious that sister museums sprung up in eighteen cities besides Berlin, and a brisk trade developed among them in duplicate artifacts.

World War II was, to the Bastian program as to all else, devastating. German ethnologists accommodated in various ways to the Nazi regime and its sinister construction of race science. Nazism disrupted the expatriate communities. As conflict approached the German homeland, the enormous holdings had to be dispersed and hidden; when the war ended much had been destroyed, seized by the Allies, or simply lost. Bastian's original building was demolished. An enduring aura of mystery and shame fell over the collections, which the author encountered during his doctoral research in the mid-1990s. The Soviets in East Germany were the first to enable some reconstruction of the German holdings. Unification led to more opportunities and motivations, and now about half of all the materials have been recovered, spurring recent efforts to establish a new museum.

There is a pathetic irony in how the cultural patrimonies of many far flung and often extinguished societies became the national treasure of a troubled modern state. But coming as it does in the wake of new works about Humboldt, and as the new museum, called the Humboldt Forum, takes shape, and as some of the Benin bronzes are being repatriated from London and Berlin to the Oba of Benin, Penny's account of the Bastian saga is timely. It will appeal to those interested museum studies, the history of science, and German cultural history, colonialism, and identity. Modern museologists will feel either expiation or despair upon reading how old and persistent their problems are. Others will reflect on the ethics of colonialism and its handmaiden anthropology, or marvel at the global reach of German influence and the energy of German intellectuals. Ultimately, Bastian offers

mediation between tribal and universal conceptions of humanity. Thus, the author concludes with a convincing plea to salvage Bastian's agenda, even as the formation of German national identity continues.

University of Texas at San Antonio *Daniel J. Gelo*

Breathing in Manhattan: Carola Speads – The German Jewish Gymnastics Instructor Who Brought Mindfulness to America.
By Christoph Ribbat. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2023. 131 pp. $35.00.

Christoph Ribbat, Professor of American Studies at Paderborn University, writes that every biography is "incomplete and subjective and any sense of unity just some construct cobbled together by the author" (113). In *Breathing in Manhattan*, a book previously published in German (*Die Atemlehrerin: Wie Carola Spitz aus Berlin floh und die Achtsamkeit nach New York mitnahm* [Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2020]), Ribbat has assembled the equivalent of an aesthetically-pleasing cobblestone road. What emerges is a picture of a German Jewish woman who, after fleeing Nazi Germany, remakes her life as an instructor of mindful breathing in New York City during the second half of the twentieth century.

Ribbat describes the life of Carola Speads – formerly Carola Henrietta Spitz/Spitzová and born Carola Joseph – through five chapters. These chapters describe her early career in Berlin, her participation in the "Wandervögel" movement, and her time as a student of Elsa Gindler, a gymnastics teacher interested in mindful movement and breathing, who allegedly "cured herself of tuberculosis" (36). In the 1920s, Carola was a licensed gymnastics instructor and ran her own studio in Berlin while also teaching for Gindler. That she was a registered member of the German Gymnastics Association meant "that she's an expert and not a quack" (40). In 1932 she married a man who owned a cigarette factory, Otto Spitz, a German-speaking Czech Jew, and everything changed. Here was a breathing expert who sometimes delivered cigarettes even as the Nazis campaigned against smoking. Economically privileged, and with her husband Otto's Czech passport, the family thought they were fine in Berlin until Otto was taken by the Gestapo and imprisoned in 1937. Ribbat provides a description of the process of Otto's release and the family's subsequent journey through Europe to the United States.

Carola and Otto settled among over 70,000 other German Jews in the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan. When Otto's business failed, Carola supported the family by teaching and lecturing to massage ex-

perts, psychoanalysts, and Jewish organizations. Setting up a studio in an apartment adjacent to Central Park, Carola Speads distinguished herself from physical therapists by focusing on mindful breathing. She provided a relaxing environment for New Yorkers who concerned themselves with the Cold War while breathing in smog – the "city is prepared for nuclear attacks, but not for bad air" (23) – while she herself could not relax because of family and business stressors. In addition to taking clients (including psychotherapist Ruth Cohn and physiotherapist Berta Bobath) and teaching classes, Speads provided interviews on various topics. In 1970, a journalist for *Mademoiselle* referred to her as a "guru" (57). Her book, *Breathing: The ABC's* (New York: Harper, 1978) hit the market at a time when therapeutic culture was spreading across the United States.

Ribbat uses a variety of primary sources, including Otto and Carola's papers, her diaries and reports from teaching Gindler's courses, and an unpublished anthology of work by her students. He evidently took a Gindler course in Germany, and he also interviewed a number of experts and practitioners as well as Speads' students and acquaintances. This allows Ribbat to place Speads in the broader context of the mindfulness movement. In the final chapter he leads the reader through the geography of Speads' life in New York City. The text is supplemented with a few photographs, some by Speads herself of subjects in her studio.

The book contains a few typographical and grammatical errors, which may be translation issues. A major issue is the fact that endnote numbers are continuous throughout the chapters, but numbering of the notes themselves restarts per chapter. Some readers may find it disorienting that the chapters are not in chronological order. Ribbat interweaves present tense narrative with anecdotal renditions of earlier periods, and the text regularly flows from what is at times a bare narrative to bits of great detail to background and analysis.

Breathing in Manhattan shows clearly that while today's mindfulness trend may well be a passing fad, it has a complex history. Ribbat argues that the work of Speads and her contemporaries "had an emancipatory power for women" (105). The reader can decide whether Speads qualifies as a "subversive immigrant intellectual," however (106). Nevertheless, she had a lasting influence on the disciplines of physical therapy, psychoanalysis, and gestalt therapy.

The book provides an interesting study in escapism. Juxtaposing the death of Speads' mother and brother in Auschwitz with her life in New York helping others breathe and understand their bodies, the book "sheds light on the 20th century, which destroyed and limited so many lives and made so many biographies seem downright absurd" (107). The book is historical, yet

present, scholarly and rigorous, yet interesting and fun to read. The casual reader interested in New York immigration or German Jewish refugees and the modern mindfulness practitioner will both find value in it.

Iowa State University *Jesse David Chariton*

Oktoberfest in Brazil. Domestic Tourism, Sensescapes, and German Brazilian Identity.
By Audrey Ricke. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2023. 250 pp. $110.

Audrey Ricke's *Oktoberfest in Brazil: Domestic Tourism, Sensescapes, and German Brazilian Identity* is one of the first ethnographies to analyze domestic tourism based on German cultural heritage in southern Brazil. Ricke focuses on the sensory experiences and emotions surrounding domestic tourism associated with German Brazilian cultural heritage, including the largest Oktoberfest in Blumenau, Santa Catarina (a city established by immigrants from what is today Germany).

The author introduces the "economy of aesthetics" as a new framework to analyze how the "sensescapes" function as a means for the negotiation of ethnic identities, national and transnational belonging, social distinctions, and human-environment relations. Ricke defines the frameworks as "the complex interactions among sensory experience, emotion, form (e.g., the organization or structure of movements and sounds), and their various social meanings and value systems." While the term "sensescapes" has been used in geography, tourism management, and anthropology, Ricke refers to it as "multivocal and multisensory lived experiences produced through interactions with culturally constructed and biophysical environments and with those that inhabit and move through these spaces." The unique contribution of the economy of aesthetics framework is its ability to capture sensory aspects of "culturally produced landscapes," such as gardening, folk-dance performances, and the Blumenau Oktoberfest, in the negotiation of belonging and citizenship.

For her book**,** Ricke interviewed people on all levels of government and tourism, tourists, university professors, students, employees of German cultural herniate tourism industry, elementary school teachers, merchants, band leaders, dance performers, local residents, and visitors from Germany.

Chapter one traces the history of Germans in Brazil from the first German-speaking immigrants in 1818 to public images of German Brazilians today. European countries and the United States have served as Brazil's reference

point for defining itself as a modern nation. Therefore, "The Making of Ethnic and National Imaginaries" explores how certain values, such as whiteness, modernity, and strong work ethic, became associated with German Brazilians and have influenced public opinion.

Ricke analyzes in chapter two how German Brazilians in the Itajai Valley cultivate their communities and identities through their relationship with the landscape. It illustrates how the lived experiences involved in creating, cultivating, and maintaining the gardens promote certain values, such as dedication to work. Ricke differentiates between modern- and traditional-style German gardens that can symbolize the movement into or retention of middle-class social identity as well as intergenerational distinctions.

Besides cultivating a German Brazilian identity through gardening, German folk dance performances have contributed to domestic tourism in southern Brazil. Chapter three illustrates how the economy of aesthetic serves to maintain ties with Germany and counter the public image of German Brazilians as *fechado* and *frio* ("being closed and reserved in personal interactions and not showing emotions"). By drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's social capital theory, Ricke argues that members of a German folk dance group can expand their social capital by producing connections within and across particular social groups. According to Ricke, the emotion of "natural joy" (*alegria* in Portuguese) can facilitate a connection to Brazilians audiences and overlaps with the German concept Gemütlichkeit, indicating a German transnational identity.

Ricke's last chapter focuses on how Blumenau's Oktoberfest creates "sensescapes" that promote sensory citizenship, shifting individuals' perception of German Brazilians. For two consecutive years, Ricke engaged in participant observation and interviewed approximately two hundred mostly (Southern) Brazilian tourists and local residents at the Oktoberfest and its associated activities. The *alegria* evoked by music, dance, and tourist interactions can influence and reinforce German Brazilians' social status as a group. Those experiences are juxtaposed with those of gender- (female beauty), race- (white), and class-based distinctions (middle-class), reflecting social exclusion.

Ricke succeeds in bringing a new perspective to tourism spaces with her emphasis on domestic tourism and her "economy of aesthetics" framework. *Oktoberfest in Brazil* is an important addition to ethnographies of Southern Brazil and German cultural heritage sites around the world. Even though Ricke created an engaging read with (sometimes too) personal stories, the garden and Oktoberfest chapters could be structured differently in order to avoid repetitive responses about work ethic and being *fechado* and *frio*. Due

to the location and nature of the Oktoberfest interviews, Ricke barley covers the surface with her qualitative (and partially quantitative) analysis of the paraphrased and translated statements.

Nevertheless, *Oktoberfest in Brazil* provides historical and contemporary insights into the politics of citizenship associated with German cultural heritage in Southern Brazil. Since tourism is constantly changing (as the COVID-19 pandemic has shown), the need to analyze and find different ways of communicating through sensory experiences has increased.

College of William and Mary *Sabine Waas*

The *Heimatklänge* and the Danube Swabians in Milwaukee: A Model of Holistic Integration for a Displaced German Community.
By Julia Anderlé de Sylor. Bern: Peter Lang, 2021. 318 pp. 55,60 €.

This book investigates how the *Heimatklänge* newsletters from the Danube Swabian community in Milwaukee by attempting to "provide insights into the challenges and successes" of the immigrant community. Key methods for this analysis and discussion is the defining of Structured Grounded Theory, as well as de Sylor's in-development Model of Holistic Integration. The Model of Holistic Integration is used to examine the trauma undergone by the immigrant community and how to reconcile these traumas with the challenges faced in their new homeland.

De Sylor begins with Chapter 1, introducing the community in focus and discussing the immigration of Danube Swabians to the Milwaukee region of Wisconsin. She highlights the importance of the Catholic religion to the immigrant community, as well as the impact of the religious connection to the newsletters in focus. De Sylor also spends time in Chapter 1 introducing the methods of analysis, namely the qualitative method of Structured Grounded Theory, which is inspired by Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory. This method appears to have influenced the methods of coding the newsletters, with which de Sylor looks to analyze the Danube Swabians changing ideas around *Heimat*. There is also a mention of a Model Holistic Integration proposed by the author, which in turn proposes "strategies for the parishioners to face their past "breaks in attachment" (traumatic experiences of WWII) and their current 'tensions' as immigrants in Milwaukee". A further explanation of both methods is promised in subsequent chapters.

In the literature review, Chapter 2, de Sylor focuses extensively on defining trauma and PTSD, as well as models proposed to address stressors,

which were all briefly mentioned in the abstract and introduction. This felt like more of a shift than expected based on the discussion in Chapter 1, but de Sylor reconnects this back to the methods used for later analysis by discussing literature around trauma as it relates to the narratives in the *Heimatklänge* newsletters. The author also discusses how the immigrant community underwent acculturative stress as they experience intercultural contact and adjusted to their new *Heimat.* However, the focus on trauma responses and strategies felt slightly out of place when considering how the topic was first introduced. Chapter 3, focusing on the methodology used for de Sylor's analysis, discusses the Structured Grounded Theory and the development of a Model of Holistic Integration. De Sylor also begins a discussion of *Heimat* through examples from the *Heimatklänge* newsletters. De Sylor's explanation of these qualitative methods for analyzing narrative from and about the immigrant experience of the Danube Swabians is well-organized, but some of the references to the author's dissertation might be unnecessary. This chapter also bridges into the discussion and analysis slightly more than one would expect. The development of the Model of Holistic Integration is an interesting concept that could be applied to broader studies, but the discussion of the methodology of the model using examples from later chapters' analyses tends to overwhelm the explanation of best practices. With so much time spent on discussing the structure of each later chapter, much of the discussion found within those could already be picked out. Without the examples, however, the model would not be as clear.

Chapter 4, "Breaking Down *Heimat*", introduces the analysis of the *Heimatklänge* newsletters using the theories and models outlined in the previous chapter. De Sylor discusses the breaks in attachment and loss of a *Heimat* experienced by the Danube Swabians, using the narratives from the newsletters. Also included are the different categories of attachments and how the immigrant community experienced either the loss of or rebuilding of them as they joined the greater Milwaukee community. Chapter 5 then develops the Model of Holistic Integration further through a discussion of tensions faced by the Danube Swabians between their old and new *Heimate*. The parishioners of the Catholic church that published the *Heimatklänge* newsletters continued to need to define *Heimat* in their new environment, and de Sylor focuses in this chapter on how their attachments developed through their immigrant experience. The author spends this chapter exploring the *alte* vs. *neue Heimat* in this chapter, repeating many of the arguments made in previous chapters and focusing on the different tensions in attachments faced by the Danube Swabians. The Model of Holistic Integration that de Sylor first mentioned in Chapter 1 also appears to have been used here, but

it is not fully clear how this model is that much different than the methods already used to discuss process immigrants faced in the formation of their new *Heimat* in Milwaukee. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 expand on this, however.

De Sylor focuses in these next three chapters on a process already mentioned which she refers to as *Beheimatung*. This can be understood as the process of a place becoming home. The author acknowledges the difficulties in coding the newsletters texts and found that the *Beheimatung* process appeared to have multiple stages. Chapter 6 is intended to begin the discussion of this process by focusing on the breaks in attachments, as mentioned in Chapter 5, as well as how the immigrant community created new attachments through their refugee experiences. Chapter 7 then describes the actual theory of *Beheimatung*, which feels slightly out of place, since the analysis has already been begun in the two earlier chapters. The only truly new information added to de Sylor's overall argument in this new chapter is inclusion of strategies for identifying and reducing the tensions first introduced in Chapter 5. Chapter 8 then concludes de Sylor's discussion of *Beheimatung* with an expansion of the categories of tension and attachment discussed in earlier chapters. Here, the large number of religious references in the *Heimatklänge* newsletters are analyzed in how they contribute to the process of *Beheimatung*. De Sylor connects this process to theories stemming from psychology and child development. While the shift feels sudden, de Sylor connects these ideas back to her original discussion of *alte* vs *neue Heimat*.

Concluding with a summary of the findings from Chapters 4-8 before turning back to the Model of Holistic Integration, de Sylor ends where she began: with a discussion of how we can best interpret and analyze the immigrant experience of past experiences, current tensions, and future strategies for creating a new sense of home and belonging. While a more in-depth discussion of trauma might be expected, de Sylor does provide sufficient evidence that the *Heimatklänge* offer a wide array of immigrant narratives from the Danube Swabians available for analysis. Her proposed model for holistic analysis presents interesting possibilities for the further investigation of the impact of attachments to and detachments from both an immigrant community's homeland and their new surroundings.

University of Texas at Austin *Ellen Jones Schoedler*

Radikale Beziehungen: Die Briefkorrespondenz Der Mathilde Franziska Anneke Zur Zeit Des Amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs.
Edited and translated by Victorija Bilic and Alison Clark Efford. Wiesbanden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023. 250 pp. $59.

"Süße Franziska Maria" wrote Mary Booth in several of her letters to the German-born revolutionary, journalist, educator, and activist Mathilde Franziska Anneke. These words of endearment attest to their intimate relationship and valuable friendship during the turbulent socio-political upheavals of the mid-19th century on both sides of the Atlantic. Their exchange of letters is part of a wider epistolary collection, edited and translated by Alison Clark Efford, a leading scholar of German American migration at Marquette University and Victorija Bilic, professor of translation at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Besides her passionate relationship with the abolitionist and writer Mary and their struggle for gender equality, the collection of letters sent between 1859 to 1865 illuminate debates around slavery, revealing an astounding reach and depths of transatlantic entanglements between European and U.S. abolitionists and feminists. Eventually, Mathilde became a leading woman suffragist in the U.S., working with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Unsurprisingly, such a prominent figure has already received scholarly attention. This volume adds a fresh look on her highly mobile Civil War years, traveling back to Europe with extended stays in Switzerland and France, and finally returning to Milwaukee in 1865.

The volume begins with a reflection on translation methods (most letters are translations from their original German) and a biographical overview of the main protagonist Mathilde reminding us to be careful in transferring 21st century categories to understand the same sex relationship between Mathilde and Mary. Herein lies the interdisciplinary potential of the edited volume, offering perspectives for, among others, immigration and Civil War historians, Queer Studies, and linguistics who might be interested in sentences such as "An Deinem 'Germanischen English' haben sie im Sentinel nur noch zu fixen gehabt" (60). Moreover, the person, place, and subject index are very helpful tools.

Beginning with a (translated) letter by Mary to her sister in February 1859, the epistolary narrative develops in seven chronological chapters. Chapter 1 sets the scene by introducing the reader to the close relationship between the Anneke and Booth family. Through their correspondence, we follow the emotional weight and eschewing financial burden of the court case against Mary's infamous husband Shermann. He was eventually prosecuted for raping a 14-year-old girl, though it were his antislavery activities which

landed him into jail in 1860. Interestingly, even though their marriage fell apart (in a private letter to her mother, Mary calls him "Blutsauger" und "Blutegel" [119]), she and Mathilde tried to get him out of prison, albeit unsuccessfully. This is but one of the many examples emphasizing the women's strong sense of justice and liberty.

Meanwhile, as Fritz left the family in May 1859 to cover the fight for Sicilian independence for the Wisconsin Free Democrat, Mathilde's letters regularly allude to the recurring themes of Heimweh and loss of both, her husband and father of their children. Their daughter Hertha features frequently in her letters as a mouthpiece to articulate her wish to join him in Italy, e.g., "Hertha fragt mich heute; sagt mir, wann gehen wir zum Papa in Italia" (68).

Personal woes, financial problems, and chronic illnesses within each family reinforced each other. In Chapter 2, Mathilde's letters show her difficulty in getting paid for her journalistic work as well as serious health problems. Chapter 3 starts with a family reunion as Mathilde followed Fritz to Europe in August 1860. However, already in the next year, Fritz went back to the U.S. to join the Union army. While his letters are lost, Mathilde's and Mary's correspondence allows us to follow their lives in Zürich, at the time a hotbed of leading radicals such as Ferdinand Lassalle and Emma Herwegh. While consistently worried about finances ("Ich lebe jetzt von Nichts, d.h. vom Schuldenmachen" [129]), Mathilde ardently kept track of Fritz's articles for German speaking newspapers, commenting on the political developments in the U.S. and in Europe.

Economic frustrations and health problems continue to be central themes in the letters of chapter 4 as the Civil War dragged on and Fritz's Union army career was not progressing. At times, the letters read very melancholic, full of sorrow and fears which also translated into (private) political side blows against their revolutionary contemporaries, most notably Carl Schurz. Fritz had served alongside Schurz during the failed revolts of 1849 and while Schurz became a general officer with a promising career in the U.S., Fritz got discharged from the Union army.

Mathilde's letters reveal not only these personal frustrations (and jealously) but also her deep concerns about the cause of liberty in the U.S. She sees parallels between the Civil War and the European Revolutions of 1848, in which she and Fritz had participated – yet this time, she lived far away in Zürich. Here, Mary and Mathilde developed a deep affection for each other: "Du bist der Morgenstern meiner Seele, der wunderschöne rosige Glanz meines Herzens, die heilige Lilie meiner Träume, die tiefdunkle Rose, die sich jeden Tag in meinem Herzen entfaltet, versüßt mein Leben mit Deinem flüchitgen Duft", wrote Mary to Mathilde in 1862 (155).

Chapter 5 follows the end of Fritz's military career due to what he called the "tyranny" of the Freemasons (165). After he was (in his view unfairly) suspended and detained in jail for mutiny, disregard of command, and flight from imprisonment, he got officially dismissed in September 1863. Like many 48ers, he got more and more frustrated with the Republican Party. In the meantime, Mathilde worried about their reputation (Fritz a deserter?) and how to make ends meet. Their passionless marriages became a partnership of convenience for their children.

Mathilde had to say goodbye to Mary who left Zürich for the U.S. in chapter 6. By then, Fritz had moved to St. Louis and started working for the (Neuen) Anzeiger des Westens – an interesting turn as the newspaper was the antithesis to the ideals of the 48ers. Chapter 7 follows Mathilde's move to France for a supposedly better education of their children where she became friends with Cäcilie Kapp who inspired her to start a girl school in the U.S. After Mary's death in April 1865, Mathilde finally also left for the U.S though she refused to join Fritz in St. Louis, not only because the climate would be detrimental to her health but also because she saw no future in working for a Democratic Paper in a "alte Sclavenstaat" (232).

The edited collection of letters highlights 19th century transatlantic radicalism and networks spanning the U.S., Germany, Switzerland, and France. Moreover, this collection attests to the rich periodical culture and offers personal glimpses into the emotional, financial, and intellectual (everyday) life. Its main female protagonist is making her voice heard in a male dominated world. Housed in the collection of Anneke manuscripts at the Wisconsin Historical Society, Efford and Bilic allow us access to a fascinating collection of letters, useful for research and teaching alike.

University of Texas at Austin *Jana Weiss*

Lone Star Vistas: Travel Writing in Texas, 1821-1861.
By Astrid Haas. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021. 215 pp. $45.00.

This volume focuses on travelogues concerning Texas dating from the period between Mexican independence and the beginning of the American Civil War. Rather than being merely a collection of travel writings, Haas has put together a comparative analysis, covering three main genres – those dealing with military-scientific exploration, colonization and settlement, and professional journeys – from three main perspectives – that of the Mexican, German, and Anglo-American. Haas identifies these three population groups as the ones "whose text production most profoundly shaped public perceptions and representations of Texas," which persist to the present (x).

Of these three groups, the German perspective is of most interest to readers of this journal, and thus will provide the primary focus here. However, there is a high degree of uniformity among the various perspectives, especially between those of the Anglo-American and German. Haas' analysis of their respective texts illustrates the general low regard in which these two groups held both the preceding Native and Mexican inhabitants of the territory. They portrayed the region under these groups as something of an economically underdeveloped wilderness which would benefit from Anglo-American and German settlement and cultivation.

The middle section of the book concerning colonization and settlement is itself divided into three subsections, the first covering travelogues related to Anglo-American colonization, followed by two from the German perspective, with the first detailing travel narratives promoting German settlement of Texas, and the second those warning against such migration. For her analysis of the pro-migration sentiment, Haas uses the accounts of three German writers from the period, Detlef Dunt, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels, and Ferdinand Roemer. Representing the voices warning against German settlement, the writings of Eduard Ludecus and Jakob Thran are included.

Haas points out that, although the "colonial gaze" with which settlement-promoting German travelogues viewed Texas mirrored that of their Anglo-American counterparts, it was those same Anglo-Americans which often served as a "foil against which writers affirmed the German national character and German approaches to solving social and political problems" (81). However, the Anglo-American society was simultaneously held up "as an almost utopian model," and "one that implicitly outline[d] the political deficiencies in Europe" (83).

The German depiction of the topography of the region, and its function in the pro-settlement sources, is another key point in Haas' analysis. The emphasis on the natural beauty and favorable comparisons to European locales served to "familiarize an alien and remote terrain for [the] German target readers" (85). However, the writers would also include frequent comparisons of the landscape to "gardens," as the cultivation of which was seen as an absolute prerequisite for contemporary civilized modernity. The writers who were attempting to discourage potential immigrants, though, often portrayed the terrain as inalterably indomitable and perilous. Yet, it was the narratives of the pro-settlement voices, such as those of Detlef Dunt and Ferdinand Roemer, that ultimately won over the target audiences in the German-speaking lands of Europe, with the impact of the ensuing migration and settlement, particularly in areas such as the "German Belt" of central Texas, still tangible today.

Due to Haas' meticulous methodological approach, researchers beyond those specializing in the history of German American immigration, including those interested in Texas history, cross-cultural encounters, or immigration more broadly, should find this book an enjoyable and worthwhile read.

Indiana University *Bradley Weiss*

God on the Western Front: Soldiers and Religion in World War I. *By Joseph F. Byrnes. University Park: The Pennsylvania State UP, 2023. 252 pp. $114.95.*

When the guns of August 1914 ushered in what was then known as the Great War, no one could have predicted that four years later soldiers from most of the European nations, North America, Asia, and Oceania would still be killing each other as they continued to battle over the same landscape. Byrnes ties together this panoramic experience in his focus on soldiers and religion: that is, how religion influenced soldiers, clergy, and theologians as they interpreted in a spiritual sense the brutal reality that confronted them.

Byrnes's view of the war can be seen as somewhat kaleidoscopic, as the soldiers involved were, among others, Germans, Austrians, Brits, Frenchmen, Australians, Gurkhas, and Americans; of all ranks; military chaplains, including, in the French forces, ordained clergy serving as enlisted soldiers; and theologians, most of whom were located far from the front. If anything is clear from this cacophony of witnesses, it is that those who served close to the action were most often free of illusions as to the nature of war.

The evidence that Byrnes cites—from diaries, archives, sermons, military records and histories, and a variety of other sources—is both varied and compelling. It includes what he refers to as "God talk" and "nation talk," soldier stories and clergy stories, and uses an interfaith focus that includes the voices of Roman Catholics on both sides, Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, Lutherans and other Evangelicals, Hindus, Muslims, and the unique testimony of the Jewish soldiers, who were present in almost all of the armies.

At the beginning, he says, "Church leaders gave the soldiers no reason to believe that there was any conflict between their religion and war" (31). In fact, the opposing sides were most eager to enlist much of the available Christian hagiography for the purpose of lifting the spirits of their armies. French Catholics made full use of Joan of Arc, and the Sacred Heart imagery of Jesus, while Anglicans invoked the spirit of St. George, and German Protestants called upon the archangel Michael, the patron saint of soldiers and a national warrior image. The early battles of Mons and the Marne were portrayed

by the French, especially, as miracles of military deliverance from looming battlefield defeats, although evidence of divine intervention is absent.

On the other hand, Byrnes's description of the Christmas Truce of 1914 (54-60) makes clear that the event was directed by neither temporal nor divine leadership, but by an unplanned outbreak of fraternizing among the opposing common soldiers. They used the unexpected respite to sing choruses of Christmas carols and even arrange for peaceful burial details. The Christmas spirit brought about opportunities for musical harmony, with the English singing "O Come All Ye Faithful" while the Germans responded with the Latin wording of the same hymn, "Adeste Fideles." In Byrnes's view, "The truce was inspired by nostalgia, homesickness, war weariness, and awareness that the enemy soldiers were suffering the same horrors" (60). For a moment at least, the propaganda that painted opponents as monsters, as representatives of the anti-Christ, seemed to be disproven.

The motivation of individual soldiers was often inspired less by loyalty to God and country than for more clearly pragmatic reasons, seen among African-American troops and Jewish soldiers on both sides: showing loyalty to their homeland "offered the possibility of first-class citizenship" (85). For instance, French Jewish chaplains, according to Philippe Landau, sought "to define the role of Judaism in this time of trial as an heir of the Revolution of 1789 and a protector of the republic" (126).

The nearer one approached the soldiers in the trenches, the more apparent it becomes that religion was hardly a source of comfort for many of the combatants. As British Pvt. J. Bowles wrote in his diary, "Men go to their deaths with curses on their lips and religion is never mentioned or thought of…. being killed is spoken of as being 'jerked to Jesus'" (160). Many would conclude that "The war was not only evil, but church support made it worse" (163). This point was completely lost on the French clerics who attacked German Catholicism in a screed entitled *La guerre allemande et le catholicisme*, and its German response *Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus, und Weltkrieg*. Ironically, the leading voices in the two documents were made both cardinals after the war (177).

The final chapter of Byrnes's study, "Theology out of War Experience," is perhaps the most compelling. Here he presents the thoughts of the Jewish reconnaissance officer Franz Rosenzweig and three Christian chaplains whose views became central to the theology of the 20th century: the German Lutheran pastor Paul Tillich; the French Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin; and the Anglican priest Geoffrey Studdert Kennedy. Byrnes's summary of their thought is a model of historical objectivity and balance.The war experience shared by these four helped them gain the insight that formed their philosophy. For Rosenzweig, that meant "to prioritize, even absolutize the individual

human being in the face of death" (196); for Tillich, it meant to reformulate the doctrine of justification by faith, which lay at the root of Lutheran belief; Teilhard de Chardin was compelled by the wanton destruction of life he witnessed to formulate a transfigured cosmos as the foundation for his thought; and Studdert Kennedy reached the conclusion that war was sin, and that "prayer can change nothing in physical life but can ensure that the real person is not destroyed" (212).

Byrnes's work is uniquely successful in applying a broad international and interfaith approach to a study of modern religion and war. His sourcing and documentation are impressive, and the text is well organized and lucidly written. It is highly recommended for both academic and general collections, and will appeal to historians, theologians, and serious general readers.

Longwood University *Geoffrey Orth*

Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik: Leben zwischen Deutschland und Amerika.
By Frank Trommler: Böhlau Verlag, 2022. 384 pp. €28,00.

In the first lines of Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik, Frank Trommler writes (translated):

> The six-year-old boy in the little village of Zwönitz in the Ezgebirge had often heard of the Americans. Talk of them was friendlier than that of the Russians, much friendlier. But the Americans were far away and the Russians were approaching ever closer. Suddenly, in April 1945, there came days when that was no longer true. Adults warned children not to go out too far into the open since there had been sightings of low-flying American military planes that shot at people on the roads. They would swoop down in the middle of the day, very quickly. And very quickly one would have to make for the bushes.
> Finally, it was no longer true, what they said about the Americans.

Reading an opening such as this, one would likely expect the book to be a gripping, first-hand account of life in Germany during the Second World War, perhaps a work of fiction. This is engaging material and Trommler is a gifted writer whose elegant, accessible prose makes this hefty tome a joy to read from cover to cover. Though the through line of the book is autobiographical and includes many compelling personal stories, it is primarily a memoir of

the intellectual, social, and political currents in Germany and the United States of which Trommler has been, for a good six decades, been both an observer and participant.

Born in Saxony in 1939, Frank Trommler's earliest years in eastern Germany during the war and immediately following, as one can imagine, were profoundly turbulent, marked not least by the tragic death in 1950 of his father, who had been a victim of both Nazi and communist oppression. Trommler's mother fled with her children to West Germany, eventually settling in Offenbach, where Trommler completed his Abitur in 1959. These years are documented in chapters 1 and 2 of the book, "Eine östliche Kindheit" (An eastern childhood, 15–43) and "Mein Offenbachiade" (My time in Offenbach, 44–60).

Trommler originally set his sights on a career in journalism, for which he was clearly well suited due to his obvious gifts as a writer and the experiences he collected in postwar West Germany and travels as a youth across Europe and North Africa, which are discussed in chapter 3, "Hitlers Erben auf Reisen" (Journeys of Hitler's heirs, 61–77). Though still intending to become a professional journalist, Trommler decided it was important to earn a doctorate, and studied Germanistik, first at the Free University of Berlin, then in Vienna, and finally in Munich. He completed his degree in 1965 with a dissertation on the works of three early 20th-century Austrian novelists, which appeared in revised form the following year under the title *Roman und Wirklichkeit: Musil, Broch, Roth, Doderer*. An extended visit to the United States, which was partly financed by lectures he delivered at several universities, inspired Trommler to seriously consider a career in academia instead of journalism. His fate was sealed when he was invited to teach as a Visiting Lecturer at Harvard from 1967 to 1969. In 1970, Trommler was hired as an associate professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught until his retirement in 2007.

Of the books nineteen chapters, eleven center on Trommler's experiences throughout his long and successful career in German studies in the United States. Of special interest to those interested in the history of the field are chapter 10 "Die amerikanische Universität bietet besondere Chancen" (The American university offers special opportunities, 207–232), chapter 11 "German Studies: ein Reformprojekt" (233–251), and chapter 12 "Der jüdische Anteil an German Studies" (Jews and German studies, 252–270). In these chapters, Trommler discusses how German studies in North America developed away from Germanistik through the efforts of European émigrés like Trommler, including several German and Austrian as well as many native-born American scholars. Trommler describes in detail how his intellectual horizons were widened through interactions with colleagues at Penn and

elsewhere, including those working outside of German. For example, one section of chapter 10 is devoted to the influence of Trommler's colleague at Penn, Barbara Herrnstein Smith, a Shakespeare scholar and critical theorist whom he credits as enabling him to "make the leap from Continental to Anglo-Saxon thinking" about modernism and post-modernism (211). Trommler writes at length in chapter 11 also about the growth of the German Studies Association, which he served as president in 1991-92.

Over the course of the 1970s, Trommler's intellectual focus was on German literary studies. His professional activity broadened to include German American studies especially after he became chair of Penn's German department in 1980. The previous year, Edward G. Fichtner, a medievalist from Queen's College, City University of New York, had been a visiting faculty member at Penn and pointed out to Trommler that 1983 would mark the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Germantown, the first permanent German settlement in America. Given Germantown's proximity to his university and the fact that Penn's German department was America's oldest, Trommler, in his role as chair, decided that this anniversary should be marked by a scholarly conference. In chapter 8, "Es wird ernst mit Amerika" (Things get serious with America, 182–206), he devotes several pages (190–196) to a discussion of his organization of the Tricentennial Conference for German-American History, Politics, and Culture, which was held at Penn October 3–6, 1983. This important event brought together American and European scholars from multiple social scientific and humanistic disciplines and was capped by a banquet attended by 1,500 guests that featured speeches by German Federal President Karl Carstens and US Vice President George H. W. Bush. The two-volume collection of proceedings from the conference, America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History, which Trommler coedited with Joseph McVeigh, was a watershed in the development of German American studies as a rigorous scholarly discipline. Trommler's description of how he navigated the multiple challenges of organizing this huge event, not least of which included financing it and doing his best to ensure that it would not be tainted by filiopietism, makes for fascinating reading.

Trommler's first engagement with German American studies occurred in 1975, when, while conducting research for an article on German American poetry, he visited the Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library at the German Society of Pennsylvania, an organization founded in Philadelphia in 1764. The society's original charge had been to support German-speaking immigrants, especially indentured servants, however by the end of the 18th century its mission changed to promote German language and culture. The library was founded in 1817 and over the course of the 19th century became

an important repository of not only German American literature, but also precious archival materials related to German American history and culture. Trommler devotes chapter 16, "Die Rettung der deutsch-amerikanischen Bibliothek in Philadelphia" (Saving the German American library in Philadelphia, 322–332) to his successful efforts to raise the funds necessary to catalog some 30,000 titles and restore those in critical need of repair. Trommler pays important credit in this chapter to Elliott Shore, originally the Director of the Historical Studies-Social Science Library at the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) at Princeton and later the Director of Libraries and Professor of History at Bryn Mawr, whose expertise was critical to the success of the project, which was completed in 1999. The capstone of Trommler's and Shore's efforts was a conference held that year, The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000, which built on the achievements of the 1983 tricentennial conference and resulted in a collection of revised presentations edited by Trommler and Shore that appeared in 2001.

Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik is an utterly fascinating book that will appeal to readers with an interest in Germanistik, German studies, German American studies, and German and American history, among other fields. As mentioned at the outset of this review, Trommler's gifts as a writer, which were clearly honed during his early years of journalistic activity, make reading this book a pleasure. Each of the eighteen chapters is subdivided into titled subsections that are around five pages in length, which, complemented by the superb binding and bookmark ribbon, makes it easy for readers to move back and forth through the text. However, I suspect many readers will share my experience and want to read the entire book from cover to cover.

University of Wisconsin–Madison *Mark L. Louden*

"Wo Sie sind, ist Deutschland!" Biographie, Briefwechsel mit Thomas Mann. Texte. Bilder. Bibliographie.
By Wolfgang Born, edited by Dirk Heißerer. Munich: Konigshausen & Neumann, 2023. 406 pp. 39.80 €.

Those who have seen Visconti's film *Death in Venice* may find it impossible to forget the melancholy tones of Gustav Mahler's *Fifth Symphony*, the music accompanying the hero's slowly moving ship on the way to his final destination. For all practical purposes, the music in that film has become an integral part of Mann's prose narrative. Those melancholy tones have totally transformed the person of the novella, the "other" Gustav, the victim of an

obsession and seemingly inevitable fate. Thomas Mann himself could explain why this unusual combination of music and prose narrative could happen. But we need the present edition to understand how and why.

The unexpected combination of prose, music, and film become accessible with Dirk Heißerer's publication of Thomas Mann's correspondence with Wolfgang Born. Born (1893-1949), an artist and art historian, has remained practically unnoticed by Thomas Mann scholars, and yet their correspondence, spanning four decades, reveals much about shared struggles, imposed on both by German history under Hitler and the difficult years of adjustment to exile in the United States. What Heißerer reveals for the reader and scholars of Thomas Mann's novella is new and fascinating.

Thomas Mann's 1921 letter to Born, introducing Born's collection of *Death in Venice* lithographs revealed for the first time how Aschenbach had "inherited" Gustav Mahler's profile. During Mann's 1911 stay in Venice Thomas Mann learned in the Viennese newspapers about Mahler's illness and death. Reading about the concerned and respectful bulletins about the composer's last hours inspired Mann to assign his Aschenbach the mask and background of the composer. The extraordinary combination, joining the demoralized hero with the famous composer (who impressed Mann greatly when he saw Mahler conducting his *Symphony a Thousand*, his Faust symphony, in Munich), restrains the reader from quick and uncompromising condemnation of Aschenbach's character and achievements. The moral failure is also a tragic failure.

What impressed and amazed Mann about Born's image of Aschenbach was the fact that Born, who had been totally unaware of Mann's inspired characterization of his hero, was nonetheless able to create that specific profile, solely on the basis of Mann's prose description. How could such an artistic depiction, based solely on Mann's prose, create a convincing Mahler's profile? The resulting profile Thomas Mann understood the result as a compliment; it showed the power of his precise articulation. Born had achieved a startling close approximation of Mahler.

Mann's praise for Born's (and his own) success need to be somewhat moderated when we compare the initial lithographs that Born initially showed to Mann. In two cases there are substantial differences, which the present edition of the letters effectively demonstrate. In one case Born had depicted the imagined scene of a naked Phaidros (i..e., Tadzio) next to Socrates (i.e., Aschenbach). This explicit sensual display Thomas Mann found unacceptable. He must have asked Born to retain between pupil and teacher a semblance of the intellectual nature of the relationship. In the case of the final image of the novella the artist was again evidently prompted to make changes. But in this case it is more difficult to determine to what extent Thomas Mann

influenced those changes. In that significant, final scene the clouds became darker and more threatening. The gesture of Tadzio beckoning Aschenbach has changed in a subtle way; Tadzio appears to be luring Aschenbach toward the underworld. Moreover, Aschenbach's profile has also changed slightly. It appears that Born might have actually looked at a photograph of Mahler; the resulting profile appears a slight degree more convincing than Born's previous effort. To achieve this result, it is reasonable to suspect that in the conversation between author and artist touched on the identification of Aschenbach and Mahler.

With his extraordinary, illustrated edition Heißerer provides fascinating insights into the creation of Mann's famous masterpiece. The complex way in which novella, music, and film merge has become more evident and meaningful.

University of Kansas *Frank Baron*

The Frankfurt School in Exile.
By Thomas Wheatland. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2023. 415 pp. $30.00.

The Frankfurt School originated in the Weimar Republic when Marxist intellectuals were perplexed after the proletarian revolution predicted by Marx failed to take place in the Spartacist winter of 1918-19. Jewish Marxist Feliz Weil, having completed his doctorate, established an Ins*titut für Sozialforschung* to study German Marxism. The *Institut* was generously endowed by its founder's father—a wealthy grain dealer. The first director, Carl Grunberg, like Weil and the other early members, was from a highly assimilated, bourgeois Jewish family. In 1923, Grunberg became a department chair at the University of Frankfurt as well as director of the *Institut*. The latter had close ties to the German Communist Party (KPD) and attempted to develop a theory of contemporary society within a Marxist framework.

In 1929 when Grunberg retired, Max Horkheimer, "who had recently received a chair in social philosophy at the University of Frankfurt" (23) became director of the *Institut*. He wanted to combine empirical research with an attempt to find a general theory of society as desired by Hegel. Horkheimer removed the *Institut*'s endowment from Germany so that when the Nazis came to power in early 1933, a move from Frankfurt to Geneva was easily accomplished. But fearing that all continental Europe would become fascist, Horkheimer moved the *Institut* from Geneva to Columbia University in New York City in 1934. Julian Gumperz and Robert Lynd convinced

Sociology faculty head Robert MacIver, fearful that his faculty were being bested for leadership in the discipline by the University of Chicago, to extend an invitation to the *Institut* and to provide it a building on the Morningside Heights campus.

There, the *Institut* continued to finance empirical research in Europe by paying for questionnaires and interviews in the Netherlands and elsewhere, but its main emphasis was on the development of Critical Theory. Horkheimer insisted that members of the *Institut* stay out of politics, and he continued to publish the *Institut*'s periodical, Zeitsc*hrift für Sozialfor*schung in academic and highly stylized German. During its first year in New York, the *Institut* gained, by immigration or the post, Theodor Adorno, Otto Kirschheimer, Franz Neumann, and Walter Benjamin. Adorno and others began to work with Paul Lazerfeld's Radio Research Project. No members gained faculty positions at Columbia at the time, but members joined MacIver's Sunday Night Seminars for faculty at his home. The *Institut* offered its own evening seminars where Columbia faculty and graduate students, including Daniel Bell, attended. Erich Fromm became the Institut's most visible and popular member. By March 1936, Fromm's *Studien über Autorität und Familie* was ready for publication. It was not until 1940 that the *Zeitschrift*, which Horkheimer thought of as "one of the last bastions of authentic German thought and culture" (65), became a journal in English entitled *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*.

In 1937 due to bad investments, the *Institut* lost a major portion of its endowment and had to cut expenses. Fromm departed, although when his *Escape from Freedom* was published in 1941, he became "the first highly accessible public intellectual transmitter of Critical Theory in the United States" (178). Horkheimer searched for foundation grants.

In addition to limited interaction with Columbia faculty, Wheatland devotes considerable space to how the Institute was soon engaged with "the New York Intellectuals" who published the Greenwich Village little magazines: William Phillips and Philip Rahv of *Partisan Review*, Dwight Macdonald of *Politics*, Irving Howe of *Dissent*, Eliot Cohen of *Commentary*, and others. The first direct contact was with Sidney Hook, "perhaps the foremost [American] authority on the writings and legacy of Karl Marx" (102) in the 1930s. The Horkheimer Circle, as the Institute was called, thought Hook had misinterpreted Marx by viewing his work in the light of John Dewey's Pragmatism. During WWII, the Institute's financial problems were eased when Marcuse, Neumann, and Kirchheimer all went to work for the government in the Central European section of the OSS. There they worked with such accomplished historians as Hajo Holborn and William Langer.

In the 1940s and 50s, both the New York Intellectuals and members of the Horkheimer Circle came to embrace American democracy.

Horkheimer and Adorno returned to Frankfurt in 1949. Others, such as Marcuse, stayed in America. Much of the latter part of this book is devoted to demonstrating that Marcuse was not the guru of the 1960s New Left student rebels that the American media reported him to be. And only in a single essay did he seem to endorse violence. Marcuse's books were not *Flaschenposte* or messages in bottles found by Students for a Democratic Society or others in the 1960s. Nevertheless, Wheatland ends by suggesting that the academics who have studied the Frankfurt School and teach at major American universities in our time may today serve the *Flaschenposte* function.

Wheatland has certainly been a diligent researcher and writes clearly, but familiarity with continental philosophy since Kant is required to fully grasp the author's assertions.

Independent Scholar *Robert W. Frizzell*

Humboldt Revisited: The Impact of the German University on American Higher Education.
By Gry Cathrin Brandser, New York: Berghahn Press, 2022. 392 pp. $145.00.

Social scientist Gry Cathrin Brandser examines the new meaning of the modern university, one Brandser deems the "service university" (1). The Humboldt university system based on the legacy of Wilhelm von Humboldt emphasized the continuous search for scientific knowledge (Wissenschaft). Brandeser argues, however, the modern service university system understands the search for scientistic knowledge as a "mode of production" because of "historically discontinuous reactions against the Humboldtian university" (6). In turn, the modern understanding of what makes the university system legitimate has changed significantly over the past century. This book explores how the American university system both received and rejected Humolditan ideals in forming their own academic identity.

Brandser guides the reader through each chapter with clear questions that illuminate the transformation of the American university's identity. The first chapter dives into the history of the creation of the Enlightenment university system, Mythos Humbdolt, based on four concepts established by Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1806: academic freedom, the unity of knowledge, education (*Bildung*), and principles of academic research methods. This new "liberated education" offered a different sense of academic freedom-based reason and free-thinking which differed from the medieval university system previously in place.

The next two chapters examine how Humboldt's university expanded to the United States. Between the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of World War I, the American university system both accepted and rejected the new German university model. After World War II, however, debates about an individual's education and the university system's goal occurred. At the same time, the United States looked to German universities as the search for scientific knowledge ran rampant during the Cold War. By 1960, "a renaissance of science studies" tasked the American university system with creating a "knowledgeable society" (189). At the same time, the American university system also transformed into a service institution. In the last section of the book, Brandser explores how the American university system operates and addresses how the modern "academic identity" relates to the Humbolditan traditions (10). Notably, Brandser centers the last section of the book's argument on the work of German philosopher Hannah Arendt. Due to the ambiguities in Arendt's writing, according to Brandser, Arendt's work provides a space to discuss American reception of Humbolditan traditions and legacies. The emphasis Arendt places on the "urgent need to think" illustrates the Humboldt tradition continues, although changed in the modern American university system.

Humboldt Revisited engages with the past to better explain the present condition of the American university system. In doing so, Brandser draws on a series of scholarship dedicated to understanding the service university drawing specifically on Michel Foucault's idea of genealogy. As a form of history, genealogy seeks to trace the conditions of an object (the university) to understand how its transformation. Aware of her own contemporary bias, Brandser chose to incorporate Humboldt's original texts alongside other interpretations and recent scholarship to provide a better, accurate overview of the formation of the Humboldtian tradition. In examining Humboldt, Brandser also draws on two, in her opinion, "neglected sources of inspiration" from Humboldt: debates about Enlightenment in public salons and Humboldt's inspiration from the life sciences (12).

Although Brandser's work lends itself to a wide audience, casual readers may find the theory-heavy pages cumbersome and frustrating to parse through. Brandser introduces concepts such as Foucault's theory of genealogy, but the heavy reliance on various theoretical approaches often muddles Brander's own opinion. At the same time, however, the state of public universities currently serves as a popular topic of debate among many state legislatures and underscores Brandser's discussion on the transformation of the American university system. Hence, any reader invested in education would benefit from *Humboldt Revisited*.

Texas A&M University *Sophia Rouse*

Linguistics

Deutsch in sozialen Medien: *interaktiv – multimodal – vielfältig.*
Edited by Konstanze Marx, Henning Lobin, und Axel Schmidt. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache, Band 2019. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020. 378 pp. 99,95 €.

This issue offers a comprehensive review of several studies investigating the German language in social media contexts. The book is divided into the four following sections with individual articles in each appealing to different aspects of online language use and behavior (the original German titles are in parenthesis):

1. Social media as a mirror of the times (*Soziale Medien im Spiegel der Zeit*)
2. Specific phenomena of social media under the magnifying glass (*Spezifische Phänomene Sozialer Medien unter der Lupe*)
3. Social media in use (*Soziale Medien im Einsatz*)
4. Methodical approaches to social media (*Methodische Zugänge zu Sozialen Medien*)

The final section of the book includes several descriptions of various ongoing as well as long-established online corpora (*Kaleidoskop*). Twenty-three articles in total comprise the five sections of the book, all written in German with minimal English quotes from other researchers as well as English examples from online entries or postings.

The book begins with a short introduction from the editors outlining the forthcoming chapters for the reader, as well as stating in bullet point format the guiding research questions which concern linguists in the field and shaped the articles in the current issue (xii). This list gives the reader a practical sense of the topics covered with the research questions ranging from how social media influenced general communication to which roles social media played in societal and political processes (xii). Although the articles in this collection are at times pedantic, especially regarding the care taken in some articles to explain online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter as well as the possible meanings of emoticons in text messaging, the authors do well by providing an exhaustive account of current linguistic trends in social media which will benefit future readers if these social media platforms cease to exist and/or the behavior on such platforms shifts.

In the first section, "Social media as a mirror of the time," the two beginning articles by Schlobinksi and Dürscheid present the reader with an

extensive review of internet linguistics and current problems in the field. Of note, Schlobinski mentions the vast array of opportunities for online users to not only communicate but also to create a lingua franca through web-based jargon and emojis. He further states that although the amount of data in internet linguistics is vast, the methods to research and analyze these data are lacking which hinders the field from further developing, leaving many topics untouched. He argues for more research in the areas of internet linguistic theories, methodology, and artificial intelligence (12-13). In the following article, Dürscheid answers Schlobinksi's call for more research by investigating the use of emojis on social media platforms, newspaper articles, and emails. Her research suggests that companies use emojis as "eyecatchers" in subject lines for emails to catch the attention of readers, specifically women (43).

The remaining articles range from investigating the gendered use of emojis to the investigation of "fake news" on online platforms and the "shitstorms" that ensue on Twitter and Facebook following a provocative blog post about the tragic Germanwings Flight 9525 and an advertisement for a park in Hesse, Germany. Stefanowitsch defines "shitstorms," a supposed technical term, as a coordinated event against either a person or organization in which social media users attack them through a series of posts (185). These so-called "shitstorms" are reminiscent of blitzkriegs in that they are rapid in nature and their intent is to destroy the reputation of the person or organization in question. Although perhaps comical at first, both studies included exemplify how pervasive online forums are and how they have become a part of international online culture as the unofficial "digital town square," as coined by Elon Musk.

Other topics covered in this book range from the multimodal nature of social media platforms which provide a plethora of ways to analyze user data and linguistic choices (265-288) to blogs as an ideal place to exchange ideas, develop projects, and interact with others from around the world (244). Contributors also praise Wikipedia as a "multilingual, multimodal, interactive, and dynamic" online tool for users to engage with (255) and promote the idea that internet-based communication is a "third way" to communicate, apart from normal oral and written communication (296). As such, it has influences beyond everyday interaction, combining the culture and intelligence of a variety of users, and is closely linked to daily events as well as the reactions of the users to these events (296-297). Emoji-use is researched multiple times in this issue, with one study confirming that women tend to use emojis more than men in WhatsApp communication (104-105) especially when they are chatting with other woman; however, men are more likely than women to express love through emojis than words (106-107). Further, although most of the data for the studies in this book come from Germany, some articles include

developments in other countries, such as China and their social credit system controlled by artificial intelligence (29-30).

Lastly, some authors (Abel & Glaznieks) tackle the pedagogical implications for this field by researching the benefits of online communication. In their study, they compare online writing practices and the violation of grammar rules, specifically in German clauses which require verb final position (66-67). Würffel continues with this thread by advocating for the use of social media and wikis as a practical tool in German language-learning classrooms (228).

Finally, the corpora at the end of the book provide an interesting look into the developing online databases available for internet linguists. These corpora range from WhatsApp message banks (349) to so-called "virtual" corpora (373) and dialogues with bots (363). In sum, this *Jahrbuch* provides an in-depth look at the current state of digital linguistics regarding online users through a series of different lenses: writing, pedagogy, emojis, sociology, anthropology, and research methods. This book also presents digital and social media linguists with several ideas for future research by providing several unanswered research questions as well as possible corpora to mine for data. Considering the number of digital natives, or those who have grown up with online media, will only increase in the coming years, I would argue that studies included in this book will continue to be relevant and needed to analyze how we connect online and if those online interactions affect interpersonal communication and linguistic habits for future generations (219).

Furman University *Emily Krauter*

The Verticalization Model of Language Shift: The Great Change in American Communities.
Edited by Joshua R. Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. 256 pp. $90.

This book contains a number of papers exploring the verticalization model of language shift (the replacement of one language by another in all contexts, e.g., the replacement of German by English in numerous communities in North America). Earlier models of language shift often pointed to factors like core values, religion, and prestige (among a wide variety of others), but some of these ideas are problematic in various ways (e.g., it is probably impossible to define 'prestige' exactly). The verticalization model, on the other hand, connects language shift to "a change from local control of tightly connected institutions to more external or 'vertical' control of those increasingly independent institutions" (8). These institutions include the schools,

the press, and religious organizations, among others. As the limitations of this forum preclude an exhaustive discussion of all the papers, here I discuss only three chapters that I believe will be of particular interest to readers of the Yearbook. Two of the papers discussed here focus on German, while the third introduces the verticalization model. (The other papers in the book address a wide range of languages, including Cherokee, Finnish, and Norwegian. There are also two chapters of commentary and a chapter responding to the commentaries.)

The first paper to discuss is the introductory chapter, "A Verticalization Theory of Language Shift," by Joshua Brown and Joseph Salmons. Among other things, this chapter lays out the basic premises of the book, describes the verticalization model, and presents some arguments in favor of this model. (The authors contend, for instance, that the verticalization model is testable, since verticalization can be located chronologically within a community and then it can be seen if language shift took place around that time in the same community.) Other issues discussed in this chapter include resistance to language shift, exemplified with Yiddish and Pennsylvania German, and the limitations of the studies contained in this book (most prominently, they all focus on the USA, and it is therefore currently unclear if the verticalization model can be applied successfully to situations outside North America, where the institutions involved can be very different. The authors deserve considerable praise for this frank and open acknowledgement.)

The second paper considered here is "The Great Change in Midwestern Agriculture: Verticalization in Wisconsin German and Wisconsin West Frisian Heritage Communities," by Joshua Bousquette. The chapter uses the verticalization theory, synthesized with the Danish ethnologist Thomas Højrup's idea of 'life modes' and the concept of social networks (utilized very successfully in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics by scholars like James and Lesley Milroy), to show how the division of labor in a community, and changes in this division, can lead to language shift. Assessments of language abilities are drawn from US census data. Bousquette looks at four communities in Wisconsin, three German-heritage and one Frisian-heritage, and concludes that in all four communities labor-related changes do indeed lead to verticalization and then to language shift (e.g., on the more micro level a change from working for oneself to working for wages can lead to drastic changes in an individual's social networks and thus to changes in an individual's language use).

The next paper to discuss is "Language Shift and Religious Change in Central Pennsylvania," by Joshua Brown (also the volume's editor). This chapter looks at the role of religion in verticalization in an Anabaptist community in Pennsylvania. In it, Brown demonstrates convincingly that a num-

ber of vertical religious changes (i.e., changes that created ties to the larger community), most importantly probably a reinterpretation of what exactly "separate from the world" meant (125), led to a number of vertical linguistic changes, especially the increased use of English. The old situation of stable Pennsylvania German-English bilingualism has been replaced by a largely monolingual English situation, thus supporting the verticalization model.

The verticalization model is a very promising way to account for language shift. I am not entirely convinced that it is always the best way to do so, and it is unfortunately probably impossible to determine if this is in fact the case. (This is because different interpretations of the same situation are possible, e.g., it is clear that German-language newspapers in Texas tended to stop publishing or to switch to publishing in English after World War I, but at the same time it is not clear if this is the result of the economics of the newspaper business itself, or is part of the verticalization process, or stems from anti-German sentiment.) But the analyses presented in this volume all seem to work, the papers are all worth reading, and the volume deserves a wide circulation. I also look forward to analyses of language shift situations outside of North America relying on the verticalization model, as such analyses would go a long way towards confirming its value as a model.

University of Texas at Austin *Marc Pierce*

Selected Proceedings of the 10th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA 10).
Edited by Arnstein Hjelde and Åshild Søfteland. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2021. 78 pp. Printed edition $240.00. [Also available at https://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/10/index.html]

Selected Proceedings of the 11th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA 11).
Edited by Kelly Biers and Joshua R. Brown. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2022. 78 pp. Printed edition $250.00. [Also available at https://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/11/index.html].

The volumes reviewed here are the proceedings of the Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA), one of the most important conferences in the scholarly area, which started in 2010 and continues today. The papers in these volumes cover a wide range of languages, including German, Frisian, Norwegian, and Arabic, among others. In what follows,

I concentrate on the papers focusing on German, as those papers are of the most interest to readers of the Yearbook.

The proceedings of WILA 10 contain two such papers, as well as two additional papers that address German among other languages. The first paper on German is "Phonological and Lexical Maintenance of Swiss German in Ohio and Misiones," by Robert Klosinski. This paper looks at the use of the Swiss German dialect Bernese in Ohio and Argentina, focusing on two phonological developments (/l/-vocalization and a velarization process) that Klosinski sees as being potentially particularly susceptible to language contact. While both speaker groups have generally preserved l-vocalization, they behave differently regarding velarization, which is generally retained in Ohio but not in Argentina. Klosinski suggests that these differences regarding velarization may be due to greater exposure to standard German on the part of the speakers in Argentina (since standard German does not show this velarization), but notes that further study is necessary. The second paper on German is "Language Use and Codeswitching in the Trilingual Diary of an East Frisian Immigrant to the USA," by Maike Rocker. The material considered in this paper is drawn from a handwritten 160 page diary written in German, Low German, and English; Rocker gives the background of the diarist (a man from East Frisia who emigrated to Iowa in 1924), reviews the literature on codeswitching in such documents, and investigates the use of the different languages in the diary. She shows, for instance, that the diarist wrote most often in German, the first language he learned to write in, which "indicates that language maintenance is stronger in the written than the spoken domain" (57). The two papers looking at German alongside other languages are "Competition at the Left Edge: Left-Dislocation vs. Topicalization in Heritage Germanic," by Joshua Bousquette et al, which looks at Heritage German and Heritage Norwegian; and "Post-Hoc Proficiency Measures as a Tool for Cross-Community Comparison," by Nora Vosburg and Lara Schwarz, which looks at German, Low German, and Icelandic.

The proceedings of WILA 11 contain a number of papers on German. As there are too many to discuss all of them in this forum, I comment only on two that I found particularly stimulating. (But note that, as pointed out above, all the papers in the volumes are worth reading.) The first of these is "Reducing the Role of Prosody: Plural Allomorphy in Pennsylvania Dutch," by Rose Fisher, Katharina S. Schuhmann, and Michael T. Putnam. Standard German shows a preference for noun plurals that end in a syllabic trochee (i.e., a two-syllable foot with stress on the leftmost syllable, e.g., adding *-e*, i.e. [ə] to *Berg* 'mountain' to form *Berge* 'mountains' creates such a foot);

this paper investigates the potential role of this prosodic requirement in Pennsylvania Dutch. The authors conclude that prosody does play a role in Pennsylvania Dutch plural formation (e.g., in *Hemm ~ Hemmer* 'shirt ~ shirts'), but that it plays less of a role than it does in Standard German. The second is Samantha M. Litty's "Historical Sociolinguistic Contexts: Networks and Feature Availability in 19th Century German Letter Collections," which looks at a collection of 99 documents from a family in Wisconsin (mostly letters). All of the documents are written in a "standard-like H[igh]G[erman]" (42), but also include features from Low German, Northern German, and Eastphalian Low German, as well as features that could be attempts to represent pronunciations orthographically. These include examples like the Low German -s plural where standard German requires a different plural (e.g., *Augens* 'eyes' instead of standard German *Augen*). Litty's analysis of this material is a first step towards determining early inputs to what became Wisconsin Heritage German.

It is important to note that these are conference proceedings. As such, the papers were not refereed or edited as stringently as they might otherwise have been, and they also had to conform to very strict length limits. The results are thus somewhat unfortunate: there are more typos and stylistic issues than one would wish, and, more importantly, the papers could not go into as much depth as would be necessary for a full treatment of the topics. To give an example from one of the papers on a non-Germanic language, Reda Mohammed's very interesting paper on Arabic in the WILA 11 volume, is only six pages, which just is not enough space to cover the topics discussed in any depth. There are also, as is the case with any book, things that one might question and/or object to. (For instance, I am uncomfortable with Klosinski's formulation of the velarization process he describes as "the velarization of <nd> in coda position," as it conflates orthography and phonetics/phonology.)

Despite the limitations of the volumes, the papers are generally quite good, and the volumes are well-worth reading. One hopes that expanded versions of the papers, not subject to space restrictions, will also appear. (Some of the material discussed in these volumes is discussed by the same authors in more detail in Brown's recent edited volume on language shift, also reviewed in this issue of the Yearbook, which is to be applauded.) I am also happy to be able to report that future volumes will be published with the Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies (https://bells.uib.no/index.php/bells/issue/view/450), which will resolve the issues with length limits and copyediting mentioned above.

University of Texas at Austin *Marc Pierce*

Amish and Mennonite Studies

Mennonite Farmers: A Global History of Place and Sustainability.
By Royden Loewen. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. 348 pp. $52.

As Anabaptism has spread across the globe, through migrations and missions, the adherents to this creed have had to adapt to a wide array of problems stemming from the different environs in which they have farmed. In his new book, *Mennonite Farmers: A Global History of Place and Sustainability*, Royden Loewen has crafted a global comparative study based on his ambitious project of the micro-histories of seven different farming communities called Seven Points on Earth. Writing global history while paying attention to local circumstances is a difficult task, yet *Mennonite Farmers* exemplifies this approach while at the same time, exploring the complex intersection of religion and agriculture within these globalized localities.

As previously noted**,** the book offers an analysis of seven different 'Mennonite' farm communities: Santa Cruz in eastern Bolivia, Manitoba in Canada, Java Peninsula in Indonesia, Friesland in the northern Netherlands, southern Siberia (Russia), Iowa in the U.S., and Matabeleland in southwestern Zimbabwe. The scope of the project is bold, encompassing nodes of both the Global North (four points) and the Global South (three points), and would not have been possible without the aid of local interlocutors—a true bottom-up history—and a research team Loewen has been able to assemble from his time as Chair of Mennonite Studies at the University of Winnipeg. This book is an interesting and compelling addition to the growing literature of Mennonite environmental history since the call to action from Calvin Redekop's *Creation and the Environment*, which explored the unique perspective of Anabaptism and the environment. The seven communities are located in distinct climatic regions, such as tropical, semi-arid, and maritime regions, along with the corresponding soil types, such as alluvial deposits, chernozem clay, jungle silts, and glacially produced loess. Each climate and soil type provides an interesting case study of the ways in which farmers adapt to the local conditions. Additionally, the author explains the agricultural products developed in these regions. Broadly-speaking, farmers grow wheat and oilseeds in Manitoba and Siberia, corn and pigs in Iowa, soybeans and cheese in Bolivia, rice and cassava in Java, cattle and viscos in Matabeleland, and potatoes and butter in Friesland, among other crops. Four of the seven are communities settled by ethnic Mennonite farmers while two are linked to the Mennonite tradition via missionary activities in post-colonial contexts. The final region in the northern Netherlands is the birthplace of Menno

Simmons. Despite the immensity of the project, Loewen weaves in and out of each locale clearly and effortlessly, tacitly basing his global study on local interviews with a local perspective, and succinctly taking the reader back and forth between localities explaining the different local takes on global issues such as climate change or governmental power. Thus, by the end of the book, the reader will gain a familiarity with each of the above locations while still maintaining the bird's eye view of the broader globe—fitting perfectly with the new emphasis on Global Anabaptism within Mennonite Studies, (note the Centre for Mennonite Studies has recently been rechristened the Centre for Transnational Mennonite Studies).

While the first two chapters give an overview of Mennonite history leading up to each location, every chapter afterward focuses on a specific theme: technological change, religious belief, gender relations, climate change, government policy, and the global turn. Chapter 3 shows the ways in which these farmers have been linked to modernization and transfers of agricultural knowledge, and how Mennonite farmers adapted to agricultural innovations over time such as chemical fertilizers of the Green Revolution. Chapter 4 deals with the tensions and various interplays between religion and environmentalism, including the ways in which each community conceptualized the environment. In the fifth chapter, Loewen takes time to consider the "cultural variable of gender, focusing on how women in five of the seven places negotiated the nexus of the patriarchal farm household in different ways, in colonized and decolonized settings (Java and Matabeleland) and in white settler communities (Iowa, Siberia, and Bolivia)" (12). Chapter 6 explores biopower, or the way in which the state pursues an agricultural policy, and how these local communities benefitted or were punished from these policies. Chapter 7 broadens the discussion further by exploring the wider issue of climate change. Finally, Chapter 8 aimed to comprehend the various levels of transnationalism and globalization in farmers' lives and their approaches to the land.

Loewen is at his best as a historian when making these large comparative studies; his credits include *Village Among Nations, Seeking Places of Peace, Diaspora in the Countryside*, and *Family, Church and Market*—all comparative histories. *Mennonite Farmers* furthers this tradition as Loewen ambitiously takes on comparing seven different places. The book makes use of a great number of local interviewees in addition to the typical bread and butter of local history: personal memoirs and diaries. This focus on a the local is a slight critique of histories of nations as well as global histories. Loewen argues that despite the recent emphasis on the Global Turn, these histories cannot be understood without the local context. Farmers from each location adapted to the local conditions, drastically changing the universal problems

of agriculture and sustainability—as Loewen aptly presents. Yet, there is one glaring issue with the book. For a book entitled *Mennonite Farmers* and a focus on local history, there is not much explanation for what constitutes Mennoniteness. Loewen avoids the typical 'ethnic' debate of Mennoniteness as two of the communities were mission fields of Mennonite missionaries, but the community in Siberia did not self-identify as Mennonite either. Loewen writes, "As a 'Baptist' and a 'German,' interchangeable postwar terms that often replaced *Mennonite*, especially in Mennonite Brethren communities." (138) In this way, *Mennonite Farmers* as a study focuses on the *Farmer* aspect of the title than the *Mennonite* part, which could cause some confusion amongst readers interested in German-speaking Mennonite history. Still, this book will be of interest to Germanists as Mennonites represent a historically German-speaking sect and each locality has some form of connection with the transnational Mennonite network, either through tradition, ethnicity, history, or missionary activity.

University of Iowa *Samuel Boucher*

All About the Amish: Answers to Common Questions.
By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2020. 119 pp. $14.99.

What the Amish Teach Us: Plain Living in a Busy World.
By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. vii + 182 pp. $14.95.

These small-format books provide introductions to Amish life and culture, written by experts. Karen Johnson-Weiner, Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology Emerita at the State University of New York-Potsdam, is a recognized authority on Amish and Mennonite language and culture. Donald Kraybill, Distinguished College Professor and Professor of Sociology Emeritus at Elizabethtown College, also served as director and Senior Fellow at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. Both authors have published well-received books on Amish life and culture.

Johnson-Weiner divides her book into seven parts that address general questions about the Amish. Part 1, "Who are the Amish?" presents Amish history, characteristics, demographics, and geographical spread. The second Part, "What are Amish communities like?" introduces the primary sociocultural units of Amish life, the family, and the church-community (*Gmay*). In Parts 3 and 4, "What does it mean to be 'Plain'"? and "What is it like to grow

up Amish?", Johnson-Weiner describes how the Amish differentiate themselves from mainstream society, including religion, dress, language, education, recreation, and technology. Amish young adulthood is covered in Part 5, "What are Amish courtship and weddings like?". The descriptive portion of the book ends with Part 6, "What is life like for Amish adults?", which explains male-female relations, work, ageing, retirement, death, and funerals.

Johnson-Weiner depicts a culture that is not nearly as strict and homogeneous as mainstream people might assume. For one thing, the Amish embrace individual free will; for instance, membership in the church results from voluntary adult baptism. Additionally, because important decisions tend to be made by autonomous *Gmays*, there is a spectrum of responses to challenges presented by the secular mainstream. Twice-yearly negotiation of individual communities' rules (*Ordnungs*) by all baptized members ensures a variety of rules that reflect acceptance, accommodation, or rejection in response to changing economic, legal, and social circumstances in mainstream society.

Part 7, "What Will Amish life be like in the future?", considers the potential effects on the Amish of largescale internal shifts, for instance, the increasing abandonment of farming in order to pursue more financially rewarding work, as well as external influences, for example, the growing ability to access the mainstream via smart phones. Johnson-Weiner notes that the Amish manage these threats to their way of life skillfully, "redraw[ing] the lines that separate [them] from the world" (102). The book concludes with the author's observation that, as the Amish continue to thrive by defining themselves against mainstream society, this rejection enables them to remain cohesive and present a "visible alternative to modern society" (103-4).

Kraybill's book also espouses the notion that the Amish lifestyle represents a positive and healthy option to modernity, offering readers a "critique of modern culture" with the Amish playing the role of "silent social critics" (x). The author derives the book's twenty-three short essays from lessons learned over forty years of research, including fieldnotes, conversations with hundreds of Amish people, and introspection about his research experiences and encounters (xii-xiii). He focuses his musings on the Amish present, covering many of the same sociocultural topics as Johnson-Weiner: family life, the church-community, religion, education, technology, childhood, adulthood, ageing, retirement, and death. Kraybill enhances these discussions with thoughts about the role of dense personal ties in ensuring "an identity, a secure place, and a sense of personal dignity" for all community members (25). These ties within small communities, enforced by shunning (*Meidung*) and excommunication (*Bann*), bind the Amish to their communal lifestyle and reinforce separation from the mainstream. Kraybill praises Amish religious and cultural values such as modesty, humility, tolerance, patience, forgive-

ness, nonviolence, free will, and submission (*Gelassenheit*). Especially compelling are discussions reflecting on the interplay between free will and *Gelassenheit*. For instance, young adults are free to join the church through adult baptism, and 85% of them do so. *Gelassenheit* requires that they then submit to their *Gmay*'s *Ordnung* for the rest of their lives.

Kraybill concludes his book with a longer essay on negotiations within and outside the Amish community, indicating the tension that exists between individuals' choices and their *Gmays'* rules as the Amish react to the many complications inherent in their dealings with the modern secular world. He illustrates this tension and negotiation through the group's creative response to the telephone, whereby all but the most conservative church-communities prohibit ownership of telephones yet tolerate their use outside the home. He contrasts this reception of "solid technology" with the acceptance of "liquid technology" such as smart phones into Amish life. Most communities have reacted to smart phones with acceptance, rejection (shunning or even excommunicating owners of smart phones) or negotiation (limiting their use to mobile telephones without smart applications). However, some Amish have persevered in using smart phones, which are small, portable, and concealable, in spite of the rules imposed by their *Gmays* (146-49).

Both Johnson-Weiner and Kraybill present the Amish in a very positive light as a viable alternative to mainstream lifestyle and values. While Kraybill provides more scholarly depth than Johnson-Weiner, his essays are tinged with a palpable negativism regarding mainstream society, presenting it as a "self-first," "speed at all cost," and "hate-filled world" (17, 94-95,138). While readers can discover much to admire in the small Amish communities and their dense ties, neither author mentions the constraints under which individuals participate in Amish communal life. For example, James A. Cates, a psychologist who serves the Amish, has written about the problems of Amish homosexuals in *Serpent in the Garden: Amish Sexuality in a Changing World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020). Individuals who deviate from Amish heteronormative values must either suppress their desires or leave the *Gmay*, which functions as a source of identity, acceptance, and security. Similar costs are borne by victims of familial sexual abuse who must submit to the community's requirement that they forgive and continue to live with offenders. A more balanced description of the Amish ought to encompass both the benefits and the costs of communal life for communities and individuals in order to accurately and fairly shed light on both Amish and mainstream culture.

University of South Dakota *Carol A. Leibiger*

Amish Women and the Great Depression.
By Katherine Jellison and Steven D. Reschly. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2023. 186 pp. $49.95.

Toward the end of the Great Depression, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor and the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture conducted the Study of Consumer Purchases (SCP). As part of this large research project, Old Order Amish women of Lancaster County were interviewed about their household spending habits, farm crops and income, farm and household equipment, home production, dietary habits, leisure time practices, and family size. The data gathered in the 1935/36 federal government's survey served as a source for a quantitative study on production, consumption and gender relations in Amish households published in the 1993 article by Katherine Jellison and Steven D. Reschly in *Agricultural History*. The researcher duo collaborated once again on an analysis of the SCP statistics as a principal source for their book *Amish Women and the Great Depression*. In addition to the data gathered by the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, Jellison and Reschly consult with qualitative sources to enliven the SCP data in their current publication. Qualitative evidence is sought in the diaries and memoirs of Lancaster County Old Order Amish women, accounts by and about these women in the weekly Amish newspaper *The Budget*, and photographs of their farms and families taken by federal employees. The researchers also drew from an extensive oral history with Walter M. Kollmorgen, the author of a study of Old Order Amish community stability commissioned by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1942. By combining the statistical information with qualitative material, Jellison and Reschly aim to provide a fuller picture of the experience of Amish farm women during the Great Depression.

As the most economically stable agricultural community in the nation, the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County were designated by the US Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture for interviews as a potential model for viable rural community life. In form of surveys and questionnaires, more than 1,200 farm families in Lancaster County were interviewed including 74 Old Order Amish families. The surveys, that captured production and consumption activities of the interviewees, reveal how Old Order Amish women sustained family farming during the Depression-era. Jellison and Reschly analyze the documented farming practices and daily lives of these women with comparative data about practices of their non-Amish neighbors. Their study draws a picture of 1930s Amish women as having agency and crossing gender-role boundaries to ensure the success of their family farms. In that context, chapter one of *Amish Women and the Great*

Depression discusses the cooperation between the sexes as key to accomplishing the work needed to sustain family farms during the economically devastating time. The authors link mutuality of labor to the absence of large gasoline power farm equipment symbolizing manhood among non-Amish farmers. With their rejection of mechanized, capital-intensive agriculture, Old Order Amish practiced a traditional, labor-intensive family farming style that necessitated cooperation and allowed for flexibility of gender work roles.

In the following three chapters, the authors focus on different areas of women's labor in and beyond the household. Sewing is reported as an activity in which Old Order Amish women outdistanced other Lancaster County women, thereby keeping costs of clothing, bedding, and linen to a minimum. Likewise baking, canning, poultry dressing, and dairy production are listed as activities with which Old Order Amish women helped feed their families and earn necessary cash to finance farm expenditures. It is also noted that women worked in the fields (largely grain, tobacco, or potato) during busy seasons, and they birthed farm-family labor force at a higher rate than their non-Amish neighbors.

Chapter 5 addresses women's recreational lives. The authors give evidence that the Old Order Amish favored leisure time activities that were organized around the family, neighborhood, and church. Quilting bees and other labor frolics reinforced Amish work ethic and community solidarity. The religiously based recreational habits and low-cost entertainment proved to be economically practical for the hard times during the Depression. Likewise, the group's religious practices, noted in chapter 6, were traditional and home-based. Weddings, funerals, and bi-monthly Sunday services were held in private homes and organized and catered by the women of the household and church community, thus saving Old Order Amish families much needed cash resources. In chapter 7, the women's role in times of medical crises is discussed. Their healing practices and eldercare labor saved community members money to compensate for the otherwise high medical costs due to frequent childbirths and farm accidents. Women also performed necessary communication labor in reporting the outcomes of medical treatments to community members via *The Budget*. Within their culturally assigned roles as care givers and social communicators, Old Order Amish women significantly contributed to the group's coping with medical concerns.

The final chapter pertains to the 1942 report on Amish agricultural success written by Walter M. Kollmorgen. The cultural geographer provided an account for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on how the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County skillfully weathered the Great Depression. The analysis attributes the community's success to the patriarchal system under which Amish farmers and homemakers functioned. Although Kollmorgen

reported on the Amish dependence on women's labor, it needs to be mentioned that he received first-hand information entirely from male community members and only partially told the women's story in his narrative.

With their current study, Jellison and Reschly aim to part with the male-dominated focus on the 1930s Old Order Amish life to reveal the vital nature of women's work and provide an authentic picture of the diversity of tasks and labor they conducted partially under male supervision and sometimes autonomously. The wealth of SCP data and secondary sources used in this study is quite remarkable. The authors cite extensively from memoirs, *The Budget*, and federal government reports. The short chapters are visually enriched with photographs from federal office collections portraying Amish practices, farmhouse interior, and participation at markets, and the appendix includes scans of some consumer purchase questionnaires and additional information about SCP's background, findings, and use. In an effort to examine and compare Old Order Amish consumption and production with those of their non-Amish neighbors, some sections include long lists of items and numbers with general reflection on cultural or historical implications. In the chapter on accidents and illness (which includes several reports of childbirths to which neither of the two terms in the chapter title relates) a per capita rather than household analysis of expenses would give a clearer picture of Amish medical needs of that time. Nonetheless, the book makes a unique contribution to Anabaptist studies by enabling the narrative voices of Amish women to be heard. *Amish Women and the Great Depression* serves as a valuable resource to those interested in American and Anabaptist history of the early 20th century.

University of Colorado – Boulder *Berit Jany*

Fooling with the Amish. Amish Mafia, Entertaining Fakery, and the Evolution of Reality TV.
By Dirk Eitzen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022. 248 pp. $44.95.

In 2012 the so-called reality TV show *Amish Mafia* debuted on the Discovery Channel. It ran a total of four seasons and reached an audience of up to 3.65 million viewers. As its oxymoronic name of the show suggests, it draws a picture of Amish society that is in stark contrast to concepts commonly associated with the peaceful and pious faith group. At the center of the action stands a violent gang of Amish enforcers and extortionists who are equipped with guns and ready to engage in nefarious operations in and around Lancaster County. In the first episode, the head of the group, Levi, and one of his sidekicks catch an Amish leader in the act of hooking up with a prostitute and capture

the moment of the man's philandering on camera. Other episodes feature drug-carrying pigeons, a premarital sex training camp for Amish couples, gambling, racketeering, and Satan worshipping. The content of this reality TV show is obviously fake. Non-Amish and ex-Amish people were hired to act out made-up scenarios. In *Fooling with the Amish*, Dirk Eitzen, professor of film and media at Franklin & Marshall College and resident of Lancaster County, investigates how the fakery in *Amish Mafia* was engineered. In his monograph, he points to mechanisms and effects of deception in reality TV in general and employs the uniquely contrived fake show *Amish Mafia* as a specific case study for his media explorations.

In his search for answers to questions about the appeal of reality TV and the role of contrivance and fakery in this genre of television programming, Eitzen starts his study by examining *Amish Mafia* and explaining how the show creates an illusion of reality, thereby confounding and deceiving viewers. He also reveals true identities of the Amish subjects of the show and exposes misleading representations of the Amish community. In the following two chapters, the author puts *Amish Mafia* into historical perspective and gives an account of the long tradition of deception in entertainment, starting with celebrated hoaxes in the nineteenth century and early cinema culture to contemporary TV and "fake news." Furthermore, he gives an overview of the history of reality TV and illustrates how trickery has evolved in shows leading up to *Amish Mafia*. In chapter four, Eitzen analyzes the pleasures of deception in reality TV. In particular, he presents findings from interviews with *Amish Mafia* fans and industry experts, consults with scholarly work on reality entertainment, and shares results of small-scale experiments led by student researchers on viewer perception using clips from *Amish Mafia*. As an outcome of these investigations, a connection between reality TV and gossip is drawn in chapter five. After clarifying the evolutionary origin and social functions of gossip, Eitzen analyzes the role of deception in gossip and how it relates to *Amish Mafia*. The final chapter deals with the ethics of manipulation in reality TV. Here, too, *Amish Mafia* serves as a case study both for the extent of deception and the criticism that the trickery has generated with regards to treatment and exploitation of Amish.

Fooling with the Amish combines two projects: it attempts to explain the social and psychological appeals of reality TV; and it documents how Amish people got involved in reality TV and what impact their engagement with this genre has made on their community. On a larger scale, however, Eitzen's work addresses nothing less than the current concerns about the increasingly widespread practice of deliberate dissemination of false facts, often accompanied by mistrust of mainstream journalism and science. He traces the "truth decay" back to social factors and psychological causes, particularly the hunger for sensation and longing for emotional validation and moral superiority, all main

ingredients for gossip. Through a cognitive cultural approach, Eitzen studies deception and fakery in reality TV, with *Amish Mafia* as a main focus. He aims to understand the topic objectively and to critique it fairly by assuming a dual perspective, one that does not judge media consumption, producers' interests, or critics' rationale and motivations.

As Eitzen peels back the façade of the Amish-themed pseudo reality show to help readers discover the underlying interests of viewers, producers, and critics, he utilizes an engaging writing style. His captivating way of narrating about his research includes humorous analogies, puzzles addressed directly to the audience, and cognitive tasks that actively involve the readers. Furthermore, his monograph is visualized by a collage of screenshots, viewer analysis diagrams, images of questionable tabloid stories, and pictures of historical entertaining con. The writing style and images contribute to making this book on critical media analysis an entertaining experience.

The author does not only approach reality TV with the critical eye of a media scholar and careful attention to details. Eitzen has also worked as a filmmaker himself and made documentary films including a nationally broadcast public TV documentary about the impact of tourism on the Amish. As an expert in the field, he dissects individual scenes from the show and reveals filmic techniques and tradecraft used as trickery. His shot-by-shot analysis of camera work, dialogue, and scene setup by which audience is deceived into thinking that what they are watching is real, makes Eitzen's work a suitable reading for critical film studies courses. An accompanying collection of *Amish Mafia* clips analyzed and researched in this book may further support its implementation in the classroom. The diachronic overview of deceptive entertainment and the evolution of reality TV as well as the comprehensive analysis of one particular program is congenial to an arts and media curriculum, regardless of special interest in Amish or plain Anabaptist studies.

University of Colorado – Boulder *Berit Jany*

Literature

German Literature as a Transnational Field of Production, 1848–1919. *Edited by Lynne Tatlock and Kurt Beals. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Vol. Nr. 235. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2023, 344 pp, $120.00.*

This collection of fourteen essays is focused on German-language literary production from 1848 to 1919. Norbert Bachleitner examines the relation-

ship of Austrian and German literature in the second half of the nineteenth century, while Daniela Gretz's piece is centered on the international and transnational aspects of Stefan George's literary magazine *Blätter für die Kunst* and the establishment of an international media network. Tobias Boes tackles the early twentieth century *Schriftstreit* at a time when publishers of German literature debated whether to use *Fraktur* or *Antiqua*. The volume also includes fresh perspectives on the (trans)national reception of well-known German authors. In his chapter entitled "Visualizing the End: Nation, Empire, and Neo-Roman Mimesis in Keller and Fontane," Sean Franzel maintains that Keller's anthology *Zürcher Novellen* (1877/1889) and Fontane's historical novel *Schach von Wuthenow* (1883) both rely on images that transcend national borders and include repeated references to the city of Rome for example. Todd Kontje analyzes the "Eurocentric Cosmopolitanism in Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*." He concludes that Mann's saga about the demise of a family from Lübeck is both "ein sehr deutsches Buch" and characterized by a "double worldliness." Paul Michael Lützeler examines writings by Victor Hugo and Bertha von Suttner, and Caroline A. Kita analyzes Gustav Mahler and *Weltliteratur* through a musical lens. The essay collection also includes chapters on lesser-known German writers, such as the Forty-Eighter Johannes Scherr, who, according to Thomas Beebee deserves to be a little less forgotten. The broad focus of this fascinating volume is also underlined by chapters entitled "Hermann Graf Keyserling and Gu Hongming's Ethics of World Culture: Confucianism, Monarchism, and Anti-Colonialism" (Chunjie Zhang), "Canon Fire: Dada's Attack on National Literature" (Kurt Beals), "Arbiter of Nation? The Strange Case of Hans Müller-Casenov's The Humour of Germany (1892/1893)" (Birgit Tautz), and "Ernst Brausewetter's Meisternovellen Deutscher Frauen (1897-98): Gender, Genre, and (Inter)National Aspiration" (Lynne Tatlock). Scholars in the field of German American history and translation studies will find the chapters by Vance Byrd and Kristen Belgum especially interesting. In "Reading Stifter in America" Byrd analyzes Adalbert Stifter's (1805–1868) work and readership in the United States by focusing on previously neglected sources: German- and English-language reviews and newspaper coverage of Stifter publications appearing in the United States from the 1840s until 1919, concluding that through these translations and editions Stifter became a classic beyond Austrian borders. Kirsten Belgum's contribution examines a text type that is transnational by nature: travel writing. More specifically, Belgum studies the transnational travel writings of Austrian author Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858) whose literature was widely read in Austria, the German lands, and beyond. Similar to Friedrich Gerstäcker, she also became a household name in English speaking circles. In her outstanding piece, Belgum describes Pfeiffer's work as "born translated" and focuses on

how Ida Pfeiffer became a global celebrity due to her unconventional style, advanced age, and modest travel budget, but especially due to her international connections in science and publishing.

The fourteen case studies included in *German Literature as a Transnational Field of Production* show that international and transnational concepts played a significant role and shaping German literary production during the so-called Age of Nationalism. By focusing on these international forces, the authors highlight the transnational dimensions of the literary and cultural field in Austria and the German lands during this pivotal time in history. This excellent volume should be interesting to students and scholars in the fields of German American history, German studies, and translation studies.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee *Viktorija Bilić*

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.
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. He or she shall organize the symposium in the first year of his or her term.
    - 4.2. The vice president maintains the procedures of and coordinates the long-term schedule for the annual symposia. He or she shall organize the symposium in the second year of his or her term. 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. The Society may also reimburse a member of the Executive Committee up to $500 for documented travel and lodging in conjunction with a Fall Executive Committee Meeting.

Article IV. Meetings

1. The Society shall hold an annual symposium which shall include the annual business meeting of the membership.

1. The Executive Committee shall meet at the symposium and any other time as may be required to conduct business.

1. 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. Finalize nomination 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. 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. 2. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by the Executive Committee.
3. 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.

   4.1. 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 eleven members: the four elected officers of the Society, the editor of the *Newsletter*, the editor of the *Yearbook*, the book review editor, the website

manager, the membership chair, a representative of members outside of North America and a representative of graduate student/early career members.

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. Publications Committee

1.2.1. 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.

1.2.2. The Publications Committee shall oversee the various publishing activities of the Society.

1.3. Nominations Committee

1.3.1. The Nominations Committee shall consist of a chair, an additional member, and the immediate past president of the Society.

1.3.2. Members will serve staggered, three-year terms, beginning July 1 of a given year and ending on June 30 three years later.

1.3.3. The Nominations Committee shall solicit nominations and prepare a slate of candidates for officers to be elected. 1.3.3.1. Members of the Nominations Committee cannot be nominated for an elected office.

1.3.4. The Nominations Committee shall recommend members to fill vacancies in the appointed positions on the Executive Committee.

1.3.5. The Nominations Committee shall also solicit nominations for the annual Outstanding Achievement Award and report the results to the Executive Committee for consideration.

1.4. Publication Fund Committee

1.4.1. 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 renewable three-year terms, beginning July 1 of a given year and ending on June 30 three years later.

1.5. Research Fund Committee

1.5.1. The **Albert Bernhardt 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 renewable three-year terms, beginning July 1 of a given year and ending on June 30 three years later 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, sexual orientation, religious preference, creed, age or physical impairment.

Approved: April 12, 2022
Madison, Wisconsin

Myka Burke
Secretary, Society for German-American Studies

SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES: MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

The Albert Bernhardt 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 Bernhardt 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 $1,000. 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;
- an itemized budget of projected research expenses, including additional support received or applied for;
- two letters of support.

Applications with all supporting materials should be directed to the Committee through its current chair, Mark L. Louden (2023–2026), University of Wisconsin–Madison (*mllouden@wisc.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, anthologies, translations, and critical editions 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 $3,000 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*).

Symposium Grants for Graduate Students

Five symposium grants of up to $1,500.00 US will be available on a competitive basis to graduate students and recent PhD recipients (within four years of receiving the degree) whose paper proposals have been accepted for presentation at an in-person SGAS Annual Symposium. The grants are to be used to cover registration, meals, travel and accommodations in conjunction with the Annual Symposium.

By accepting a grant, recipients commit themselves to submitting a revised version of their paper by August 1 of the conference year for consideration as a publishable essay in the *Yearbook for German American Studies*. The symposium grants are made available through the Karl J. R. Arndt Publication Fund of SGAS.

Applicants should identify themselves as such when submitting a paper proposal and indicate that they wish to be considered for a symposium grant. Please submit paper proposals to the organizer of the symposium by December 15 prior to the symposium with a copy to William Keel (*wkeel@ku.edu*), editor of the SGAS *Yearbook* and chair of the Arndt Publication Fund Committee. The deadline for paper proposals is also the deadline for applications for a symposium grant. Payment will follow participation at the Annual Symposium.

SGAS Student Membership Fund

At the initiative of Mary and William Seeger, the Executive Committee established the SGAS Student Membership Fund at its fall meeting in Amana, Iowa, in October 2014. Thanks to the contributions of a number of SGAS life members and a matching amount from Mary and William Seeger, SGAS began supporting new student members attending the annual SGAS symposium.

Any new student member who attends the annual SGAS symposium for the first time in the spring of a given year, meaning they have paid their initial first year's membership and the symposium registration fee, will receive the following year's membership in the Society at no additional cost, courtesy of the Student Membership Fund.

Life Members, Society for German-American Studies

FRANCES OTT ALLEN
KAREN BAHNICK
CHARLES BARBER
BYRON D. BECHLER
ALLEN W. BERNARD
TYLER CARRINGTON
KATHLEEN NEILS CONZEN
PETRA DEWITT
GABY DIVAY
DALE DOERHOFF
REINHARD E. DOERRIES
RANDALL P. DONALDSON
RAYMOND A. EHRLE
GLENN EHRSTINE
EDWARD FICHTNER
ALEXANDER FREUND
THOMAS FRITSCHE
JERRY GLENN
MARK HIMMELEIN
LEROY T. HOPKINS
GILES & DOLORES HOYT
ANDREAS HÜBNER
WALTER D. KAMPHOEFNER
LINDE KATRITZKY
WILLIAM D. KEEL
PAUL KERRY
CORA LEE KLUGE
KARL KRÜGER
MATHEW LANGE
BRUCE LESLIE
MARK L. LOUDEN
PAUL MICHAEL LÜTZELER
ROWENA MCCLINTON
DAVID CONLEY NELSON
NICHOLE NEUMANN
BARBARA PARSONS-SCHAUPP
BENJAMIN PHELPS
KAREN K. RIDGEWAY
KAREN ROESCH
KARYL ROMMELFANGER
HELMUT SCHMAHL
SUSAN SCHÜRER
MICHAEL SHAUGHNESSY
WERNER SOLLORS
ALBERT SPENGLER
BECKY THORNTON
FRANK TROMMLER
GLENYS WALDMAN
MARIANNE WOKECK
PATRICK WOLF-FARRÉ
MANFRED ZIMMERMANN

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 Mark L. Louden (2023-2026), University of Wisconsin–Madison (*mllouden@wisc.edu*).

Year	Recipients of SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award
1980	Robert E. Ward, Youngstown State University (Meritorious Achievement)
1981	Adolf E. Schroeder, University of Missouri-Columbia LaVern J. Rippley, St. Olaf College
1985	J. Anthony "Toni" Burzle, University of Kansas
1986	Adolf E. Schroeder, University of Missouri-Columbia
1987	Lester W. J. "Smoky" Seifert, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1988	Don Yoder, University of Pennsylvania
1989	Paul Schach, University of Nebraska
1990	John A. Hostetler, Temple University
1991	Günther Moltmann, Universität Hamburg
1992	Hildegard Binder-Johnson, Macalester College
1993	Robert E. Ward, Youngstown State University (Special Award)
1994	C. Richard Beam, Millersville University of Pennsylvania
1995	Ruth and Eberhard Reichmann, Indiana University
1996	Willi Paul Adams, Freie Universität Berlin
1997	Helmut E. Huelsbergen, University of Kansas
1998	Robert E. Cazden, University of Kentucky
1999	Bradford Miller and Gary Grassl, German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, DC
2000	Antonius Holtmann, Universität Oldenburg Dirk Schroeder, Bremen, Germany (Special Award)

2001 Lisa Kahn, Texas Southern University
Ilse Hoffmann, Steuben Society of America (Special Award)
2002 Guy Stern, Wayne State University
2003 Steven Rowan, University of Missouri-St. Louis
2004 Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati
The City of New Ulm, Minnesota (Special Award)
2005 Leo Schelbert, University of Illinois-Chicago
William and Mary Seeger, Grand Valley State University (Special Award)
2006 Christoph E. Schweitzer, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
2007 Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati
2008 Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
2009 Frank Trommler, University of Pennsylvania
2010 Frederick C. Luebke, University of Nebraska
2011 Alexander Ritter, Universität Hamburg
LaVern J. Rippley, St. Olaf College (Special Award)
2012 Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University
2013 Dolores and Giles Hoyt, Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis
2014 Reinhard R. Doerries, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg
2015 Kathleen Neils Conzen, University of Chicago
2016 William D. Keel, University of Kansas
2017 Wolfgang Helbich, Ruhr-Universität Bochum
2018 Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati (50th Anniversary Award)
2019 Mark L. Louden, University of Wisconsin-Madison
2021 Werner Sollors, Harvard University
2022 Karyl Rommelfanger, Manitowoc, Wisconsin
2023 Cora Lee Kluge, University of Madison-Wisconsin
2024 Walter D. Kamphoefner, Texas A&M University