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The Society for German American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants to North and South America and their descendants from 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. Membership applications are available online at *sgas.org*. Publication of the *Yearbook*, the Supplemental Series of the Yearbook and the *Newsletter* is digital. The *Yearbook* and earlier journals of the Society are available at *journals.ku.edu* 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* https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/home.html 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 Gregory Redding (*reddingg*@wabash.edu). The *Newsletter* appears three times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to the editor Caroline Huey (*chuey@louisiana.edu*). Inquiries regarding the SGAS website *sgas.org* should be addressed to Kathleen Condray (*condray@uark.edu*).

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FROM THE EDITOR

Following the recent publication of our 6th supplemental volume, *North American Varieties of German,* edited by Mark Louden and myself, we have decided to designate this next regular volume of the *Yearbook* a double volume 58/59 for the years 2023/2024. Since its inception in 1981, the *Yearbook* has attempted to publish the research of our members in the year following the date of each volume. Over the last several years, we have fallen two years behind. This renumbering is a commitment to return to the traditional publication schedule.

Our loyal and hard-working members of the *Yearbook's* Editorial Board continue to offer their critiques of new and revised submissions. Their critical reviews and recommendations form the basis for the publication decision for each essay and continue to maintain the high quality of this publication. The editor cannot thank them enough.

The editor's special thanks go to Marc Pierce of the University of Texas at Austin, who as our Book Review Editor for the past several years has produced an excellent set of reviews of the latest book publications in German American Studies. Marc has now assumed the position of Vice President of SGAS as of July 1, 2025, and will be replaced as Book Review Editor by veteran SGAS member Gregory Redding of Wabash University. Greg as well as Marc have been long-time members of our Editorial Board.

Eric Bader (Center for Research Engagement at the University of Kansas Libraries) has again provided his much-valued technical expertise in formatting our journal for publication. He has been and continues to be an incredible asset and source of all sorts of knowledge 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.

The essays presented in this volume, span nearly two centuries in terms of their historical context and cover fields of culture, history, linguistics and art as well as biography. Please also 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 of our members. Members may avail themselves of the opportunities for scholarly support from SGAS by contacting the respective committee chair or the president of the Society.

Symposium Grants for Graduate Students and Recent PhDs currently provide a $1500 stipend for presentation of a paper at the Annual Symposium. Each recipient commits to submit the essay for consideration by the *Yearbook*. The SGAS Student Membership Fund provides new student members with a one-year free membership and is supported by our life members (who are listed following a description of the fund) with matching contributions by former life members Mary and William Seeger of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The final item in our *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 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 you at our next Annual 50th Anniversary Symposium scheduled to be held in March 2026, in Columbus, Ohio. 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).* Contact Gregory Redding for possible book reviews *(reddingg@wabash.edu).*

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Steven M. Nolt

Rethinking German Sectarians: Compound Singularity in Colonial Pennsylvania

Eighteenth-century Mennonites and Brethren were but a small slice of the colonial Pennsylvania German world. Among the more than 80,000 German-speakers who passed through the port of Philadelphia in the 1700s were some 5,500 Rhine Valley Anabaptists and Anabaptist-inflected Radical Pietists, namely Mennonites (including Amish Mennonites) and Schwarzenau Brethren.[1] Although few in number compared with their more numerous Lutheran and German Reformed compatriots, these newcomers attracted attention, even in the colonial era, for their concentrated numbers in Pennsylvania, and have garnered perhaps more than their expected share of scholarship.

Yet such scholarship, while impressive and still valuable, merits reconsideration. Key synthetic works on colonial Pennsylvania German sectarians, produced in the 1960s-1980s and remaining foundational in the twenty-first century, often assumes too much in terms of their subject's singularity.[2] We might, instead, consider how these communities lived with what political scientists have called "compound singularity," in which a group sees itself "as distinct and sometimes … unique, while recognizing cultural as well as [other] ties to" those around it.[3]

Pennsylvania's origins have long been associated with being a haven for religious refugees, a place of remarkable ethno-religious diversity, even when compared with other Midatlantic colonies.[4] The resulting pluralism is sometimes mythologized in these tellings, but it does reflect a real fact: there was something unusual going on in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Yet an emphasis on Pennsylvania's diversity has had a problematic byproduct. Pennsylvania-as-a-haven has had the effect, perhaps unintentionally, of

presenting the colony as a place of preservation and even stasis rather than as a place of interactive evolution and hybridity. In the 1940s, for example, the chapter on "The Sects, Apostles of Peace," in Ralph Wood's *The Pennsylvania Germans*, presented a timelessness born of Pennsylvania tolerance that allowed separatists to live unmolested and free from the forces of assimilation.[5] Later, Pennsylvania folklife studies employed discrete categories of "Church Dutch" and "Sect People" in ways that sequestered Pennsylvania's Anabaptist groups into their own realm, reading certain mid-twentieth-century patterns of distinctiveness back in time.[6]

True, German-speaking Anabaptists and Anabaptist-inflected Pietists are rightly recognized for their distinctive sensibilities. Yet these groups also changed and adapted within the social reality of Pennsylvania pluralism. Precisely because they no longer faced legal discrimination as dissenters, they were able to develop in new ways. The political and cultural context that allowed for bolstering group identity through the unfettered publication of religious literature, including polemical pieces needed to fend off critics in a competitive marketplace of ideas, also had the effect of encouraging ecumenical encounters, borrowing, and the reformulation of identities—subtly but significantly redrawing the parameters of peoplehood. On some level, these phenomena were always simultaneous, but on another level, one or the other tended to predominate in particular periods, emerging and receding as context allowed and encouraged. The mid-eighteenth-century era was a moment of expansion and mixing, less a place for group preservation than a workshop in which group identities were, in turn, developed and expanded over time.[7] There were, to be sure, polemical pieces that nursed old rivalries and differences. But there were also real dynamics of adaption, and these developments suggest new avenues to investigate and consider.[8] In the vein of religious studies scholars who have used the concept of "world building" to describe an integrated dynamic of social and intellectual development, or sociologists' use of the metaphors of the hybridity, we might revisit colonial-era Pennsylvania German sectarians in a context marked by an open economy, the world of religious print, and the reality of social diversity that was important alongside their separatist beliefs and background.[9]

The colonial Pennsylvania context

The so-called First Purchasers in Penn's colony were mostly English and Welsh Friends, but the proprietor had made several Rhine Valley Quaker missionary excursions prior to 1681 during which he had met Mennonites and Radical Pietists.[10] Penn reached out to these communities and by 1683 a handful would launch Germantown, with many more following in succeeding

decades, most settling in the Philadelphia hinterlands to the north (1707ff) and west (1711ff).[11]

Pennsylvania offered religious toleration, freedom from ecclesiastical taxes, no religious test for Christians to access the benefits of citizenship, and—attractive to these German Anabaptists—no colonial militia from which they would need to purchase exemption or substation. Each of these factors might have contributed to the establishment of sectarian Mennonite and Brethren communities in line with a sharply dualistic "two-kingdoms" worldview that left little room for ambiguity. As their spiritual forebearer Hans Schnell had written around 1575, "There are two distinguishable kingdoms on earth—namely, the kingdom of this world and the peaceable kingdom of Christ. These two kingdoms cannot share or have communion with one another."[12] Yet in practice, the two-kingdoms worldview, which made theological sense of the social and religious persecution they had faced in Europe, fit awkwardly into the mixed multitude of Pennsylvania, with its market economy, citizenship rights, and the possibility for exogamy.[13] Economic commitments, real estate contracts, and simple neighborliness all conspired to give Anabaptists a sense of peoplehood grounded in geography or blood ties, as often as baptism.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, a coalescing Pennsylvania German culture was providing a source of identity, wider than the Anabaptists but also distinct from anglophone America.[14] One marker of this evolving peoplehood was its American-evolved dialect, soon called Pennsylvania Dutch, which united a broad range of Pennsylvanians.[15] Material culture also channeled Pennsylvania German identity, with distinctive dress and appearance that caught the attention of British-stock neighbors. Such dress reflected the lingering memory of German sumptuary laws and a society monitored by local custom and authority, given more to the household economy than to wider networks of trade.[16] German Reformed clergy, as much as their Mennonite and Brethren peers, feared the individualism expressed through personal clothing choices, denouncing in 1786 "the sad consequences of display in dress" that threatened community order, such that "a stranger on Sundays, or festival days, cannot possibly tell whom he meets."[17] Pennsylvania Germans also followed a ritual calendar that marked their sense of time differently from Anglo-American society. While the legacy of the Cromwellian Reformation meant that many British colonists rejected all churchly holidays save Sunday, Pennsylvania Germans—including Mennonites and Brethren—marked days such as Easter Monday, Ascension Day, and Pentecost [Whitsun] Monday that otherwise went unobserved (and often condemned) by many anglophone Pennsylvanians.[18]

Negotiating Anabaptist identities in Penn's Woods

A broader Pennsylvania German context, then, provided the space in which colonial-era Mennonites and Brethren could develop a sense of "compound singularity," as noted above.[19] Such compound singularity developed in at least three interrelated areas: the open economy, the world of religious print, and reality of social diversity. Each area fostered change, and each unveiled some new or renewed friction. Together, these factors engendered new ways of thinking of themselves as German-American sectarians and may offer us, in the twenty-first century, a fresh perspective on their experience.

Pennsylvania's open economy allowed Anabaptists the freedom to practice crafts and trades, including those of printing, generally denied them as dissenters on the Continent.[20] Beginning in 1738, the radical Pietist Christoph Sauer (1693-1758) and his son, Brethren Elder Christopher Sauer II (1721-1784), operated a thriving print shop in Germantown, the village adjacent to Philadelphia in which Philadelphia's first Mennonite minister, Willem Rittenhausen (ca. 1644-1708), had established a papermill in 1690. The Sauers printed various genres and also imported German publications from Europe for resale. Among their notable projects was their influential Luther Bible.[21] Swiss and Palatinate Anabaptists in Europe had long favored the Zurich Froschauer version of scripture, and Radical Pietists had embraced the Berleberg Bible (which the Sauers imported), but in Pennsylvania the Sauer press was free to print a German edition of the Bible and aimed for the widest market by issuing Luther's translation in 1743. The twelve hundred copies sold briskly, and the Sauers reset and reissued two more editions, in 1763 and 1776.[22] Copies of the Sauer Luther Bible began showing up in eighteenth-century Mennonite and Brethren estate inventories, coming to eclipse the sectarian Froschauer and Berleberg Bibles, and by the nineteenth century had brought Anabaptist Bible reading into line with their Lutheran and Reformed neighbors.[23]

As noted earlier, the dynamics of continuity and change were never unidirectional and despite the fact that Sauer's Luther Bible, which presented the text of the thirty-fourth Halle edition, made the Bible more accessible to non-Anabaptist Pennsylvania Germans, some Reformed and Lutheran clergy discouraged parishioners from purchasing it since the publisher (Sauer) was a sectarian.[24] Although the senior Sauer had promised that "we are not willing to add any explanations or interpretations [to his edition of the Bible], because we hope that everyone who reads the Holy Writ with an upright heart, under the leading and fear of the God" will understand it rightly,[25] the Sauer Bible did, in fact, include the Berleberg version of several apocryphal books (Esdras and Maccabees).[26]

Thus, the Anabaptist printing of Luther's Bible in the 1740s (and subsequent editions) by the Sauers both contributed to the long-term convergence of Anabaptist, Pietists, Lutheran, and Reformed Bible reading in Pennsylvania and, in the short-term, provided an opportunity for clergy from the German majority to cast the Sauers as outsiders, though that effort seemed to fall flat. Indeed, the Sauer press continued to offer conventional German religious pieces, such as works by European state-church Pietists like the Reformed writer Gerhard Tersteegen. These items included Tersteegen's unique *Der Frommen Lotterie, oder Geistliches Schatzkästlein*, an interactive devotional aid that included 381 cards, each with a verse of scripture and a reflection by Tersteegen, which "players" would draw, read aloud, and comment on in turn.[27]

Tersteegen brings us to a second example of how the world of colonial Pennsylvania print contributed to dynamic Pennsylvania German Anabaptist identities: hymnody. Turning to the Mennonites west of Philadelphia, in Lancaster County, we find immigrant households bringing copies of the *Ausbund*, an Anabaptist hymnbook whose core dated to 1564. Additional printings of the *Ausbund* were made in Pennsylvania, such as the 1742 Sauer edition, but supply apparently never kept up with demand. Scattered sources suggest a growing variety of hymnbooks came to be used, both individually and corporately, among colonial Lancaster Mennonites. For example, a description of worship at the so-called Kraybill meetinghouse reported that men with strong voices sat close to the center of the congregation, around a table on which any available hymnals were stacked and, "at the opening of every service, the brethren around the table passed the books back among the audience to those who had a desire and ability to sing."[28] Another writer, recalling an eighteenth-century scene, noted that "We had all sorts of hymnbooks, the old Swiss [*Ausbund*] songbooks and Reformed hymnbooks" but "not enough of what we had."[29] The Reformed book was *Lobwasser's Gesangbuch*, a metrical psalter by the German Calvinist Ambrosius Lobwasser. Other books in Mennonite use included the Brethren hymnal *Das kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*, which had been issued by Christoph Sauer in 1744, as well as several Lutheran books.

The clearest evidence for hymnal variety among Pennsylvania Mennonites of the colonial era comes in the form of the hymnal that Lancaster Mennonites produced themselves in 1804 to replace the *Ausbund*. The new book, titled remarkably enough *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*, represented the new Mennonite repertoire that had developed after several generations in Penn's Woods. Included were only sixty-three hymns from the old Anabaptist *Ausbund*, thus comprising only one-sixth of the new collection. A third of the contents now came from Lutheran sources, and more than a third were

of German Reformed origin, especially the Lobwasser psalms. Finally, *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* included fifty-two Brethren hymns and a few Schwenkfelder and Ephrata songs.[30] The book proved so popular among Mennonites that its 1804 edition sold out quickly, as did an 1808 printing.

Again, the process of change was more complicated than mere borrowing, and certainly was not a case of thoughtless assimilation. One hymnologist, writing in the late twentieth century, described *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch* as a sophisticated blend of content from different traditions.[31] While including dozens of Lutheran and Reformed hymns, the book's compilers arranged them under headings such as "On Baptism of the Believer," "On Christian Life and Conduct," and "On Love of God and Neighbor," thus creating an ecumenical collection while simultaneously communicating a recognizable Anabaptist theological framework.[32] And the hymnal's foreword included reflections on Anabaptist history, freedom of conscience, and nonresistance.[33] Anabaptist identity was not abandoned, but it was being refashioned.

Finally, the social and demographic reality of Pennsylvania pluralism was also among the significant factors expanding Anabaptist renderings of their identity. An observer, such as Christopher Schultz of Berks County, explained to a friend in Europe in 1768, "You can hardly imagine how many denominations you will find here…. A Mennonite preacher is my next neighbor," while on the other side were Lutherans and Reformed, and a Jesuit priest. "We are all going to and from like fish in water."[34] Making sense of this new reality required some new theologizing. Anabaptist two-kingdoms dogma had made no explicit provision for the faithful to live with a foot in both worlds. In the words of the influential Schleitheim Confession (1527), "there is nothing else in the world and all creation than good or evil, believing and unbelieving, darkness and light, the world and those who are [come] out of the world … and none will have part with the other."[35]

In contrast, prominent Pennsylvania Mennonite leader Heinrich Funck (d. 1760), who lived about 30 miles north of Philadelphia in Montgomery County, presented a rather different formulation in a manuscript that his children published three years after his death. In *Eine Restitution*, Funck modified traditional dualism through an allegorical interpretation to the Pentateuch's sacrificial code. (Funck's entire work was highly allegorical, for example, finding references to animals chewing cud as enjoining readers to ruminate on the Word of God.) Funck saw the Mosaic discussion of clean and unclean animals suggesting a traditional dualism, but then complicated that picture by differentiating two types of clean animals: those fit for sacrifice and those not fit for sacrifice, yet equally "clean" and thus not part of the kingdom of the world. "There is a great multitude of people," he averred, "who are recognized in the word of the Lord as clean and fit for the everlasting

kingdom" and yet were not part of Funck's self-sacrificing church. They live as Jesus directed: "Thou shall love thy neighbor as thyself, etc.," Funck explained, and "Love is the fulfillment of the law," so in some respects, such persons "are far superior to many so-called Christians" who act selfishly despite honoring God with their words."[36] This tri-part formulation (clean-sacrificial, clean-unsacrificial, and unclean) was novel and perhaps inherently unstable, though no more unstable than the multipolar world that the new American context presented.

By the 1740s, a quarter century after William Penn's death, some of Pennsylvania's early pacifist shine was wearing off, and Heinrich Funck and fellow church leaders laid plans to secure literature that would bolster their children's nonresistant convictions. They did so, however, in ways that seemed to both draw clear lines while blurring other boundaries. Funck was a key figure in arranging for the translation into German and publication in 1748 and 1749 of a Dutch Anabaptist martyrology, the *Martyrs Mirror*, a massive volume—at more than 1,500 pages it was the largest book in any language printed in colonial North America—of interpretive history.[37] In this telling, which spans sixteen hundred years, Anabaptists play a prominent role, but they were not alone. All manner of marginal and sometimes heretical groups were gathered into a narrative whose boundaries are defined by those who suffered but did not seek revenge.[38] The Radical Pietists of Ephrata translated and produced the martyrology.[39] And although there was some friction over Ephrata's attempt to use a title page suggesting a mode of baptism Mennonites rejected, the project was never stalled by sectarian squabbles.[40] The *Martyrs Mirror* represented a sectarian ecumenicity necessary to bolster identity in a colony that increasingly was heading for war and an abandonment of Penn's Holy Experiment.[41]

The political atmosphere hardens, tilting identity toward a sharper singularity

Indeed, the politics of colonial warfare highlight the way a republican-rights political frame was coming to replace William Penn's subject-privilege paradigm, with implications for minority groups. Already as imperial colonists, Pennsylvania Mennonites and Brethren had begun moving toward citizen-style participation in public life. No longer confined to being tenants, as they had been, for the most part, in Europe, they had obtained North American land titles and worked with the provincial government to secure their real estate. Anabaptists' pacifism was not necessarily a barrier to acceptance, given the peace-minded ethos of the Quaker-led assembly. Even when violence inflamed the frontier in the 1750s, Anabaptist donors contributed money

and otherwise lent their support to a Quaker organization known as the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Means, which raised substantial sums to pay Indigenous people for confiscated land, return hostages taken in war, and propose ideas for more equitable treaties.[42] Although the Association was a private venture, it represented an activist mentality associated with citizenship.[43]

After 1776, however, a thoroughgoing notion of citizenship as a primary and nonnegotiable identity took hold in Pennsylvania, as the revolutionary Supreme Executive Council replaced the proprietorship and directed a compliant unicameral assembly devoid of dissenting voices. Anabaptists' pacifism and general wariness of rebellion moved them to the political margins. A generation earlier, in the 1750s, some Mennonites, acting as dutiful royal subjects, had served as teamsters for the British army even while refusing to bear arms. Now, in the midst of revolution, the new state assembly rejected non-combattancy as insufficient and would accept nothing less than full support from its citizens.[44] The new government acted speedily to pass an oath-bound Test Act on June 13, 1777, a measure that required all white males over age eighteen to swear "true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state" and to repudiate the King. Non-swearers were stripped of voting and office-holding rights, as well as the privilege of jury service, entering suits for debt, and transferring deeded property. The next year the Assembly stiffened the provision.[45] Although the measure was notionally a means of ferreting out Tories, in practical terms it worked to exclude Quakers and German Anabaptists who feared the military implications of the oath (as well as objecting to swearing in any form). George Bryan, acting president of the Supreme Executive Council, admitted as much in a 1778 letter concerning the Test Act when he named, not militant Tories, but pacifist religious bodies as the act's targets. The Test Act would keep such people disenfranchised, Bryan pointed out, for "if many of these people should be found to qualify themselves for enjoying all privileges, they might by appearing at elections disturb the plans layed [sic] for the defense of the State."[46] Notably, Christopher Sauer II's Germantown printshop was forcibly shuttered by Supreme Executive Council in 1778 owing to his refusal to endorse military action.[47]

Only in 1790 did Pennsylvania German Anabaptists regain political rights, including access to the ballot box, when a new constitution welcomed all citizens back into the political process. Still, the events of the Revolution and its aftermath had created a sharper sense of singularity for framing identity in the new republican context, different from what had been evolving in Pennsylvania.[48] In time, a dynamic sense of compound singularity would again emerge more prominently. By then, however, some observers

would be tempted to read a nineteenth-century ethos back into the colonial era, obscuring the yeasty world of colonial Pennsylvania and its attendant developments.

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Notes

1. Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and the Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (July 1981): 249-78; Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University pf Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 103.

2. Key works of an earlier generation still play an outsized historiographic role, including Donald F. Durnbaugh, *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967); its interpretation remained influential, not least because it underwrote the narrative of Durnbaugh's later synthesis, *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997). Similarly, a sourcebook, Richard K. MacMaster, Samuel L. Horst, and Robert Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739–1789* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1979), underwrote MacMaster's subsequent synthesis, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America, 1683–1790* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985). This essay does not include the Moravians, sometimes included under the German sectarian rubric (often with justifiable reason, e.g., in the work of Aaron Fogleman or A. G. Roeber) because Moravian historiography of the colonial period has continued to develop in a way that has not been as common for other groups.

3. Odd Arne Westad, *Empire and Righteous Nation: 600 Years of China-Korea Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2021), p. 163—quote from a very different historical and cultural context, but one in which scholars are reconsidering historical identities and later categories that have been read back in time.

4. Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 356-65.

5. G. Paul Musselman, "The Sects, Apostles of Peace," 57-84, in Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1942).

6. Otherwise valuable and deeply researched works by the late Don Yoder, University of Pennsylvania, fall into this pattern. It can be seen in classic works about other regions, as well, such as Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1969), for example, p. 145.

7. The focus here is on identity among German Anabaptists, but one could investigate the same dynamics in Reformed and Lutheran circles. For example, what did it mean that the estate inventory of loyal German Reformed church member Johann Peter Denig (c.1730-1794), of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, revealed that among the fifteen books he owned was the Mennonites' *Martyrs Mirror* and that when a decade earlier his son had produced an illustrated devotional book, the volume quoted only two sources: the Bible and *Martyrs Mirror*. See Don Yoder, trans. and ed., *The Picture-Bible of Ludwig Denig: A Pennsylvania German Emblem Book*

(New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1990), 1:12-13, 24-36, 42-45, 64, 67, 157-58, 165, 166, and 169; 2:40, 46, 49, 51. Denig's "picture Bible" was dated 1784.

8. Examples of Anabaptist polemics produced in Pennsylvania include the anonymous Brethren booklet *Ein Geringer Schein des verachteten Lichtleins* (Germantown, PA: Christopher Sauer, 1747), which critiqued Quakers for their rejection of water baptism, emphasizing instead the need for three-fold immersion, and Heinrich's Funck's *Ein Spiegel der Tauffe mit Geist, mit Wasser und mit Blut* (Germantown, PA: Christopher Sauer, 1744), which was a lengthy Mennonite rebuttal to the Brethren claim that baptism by immersion was the only valid mode.

9. Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Robert J. C. Young, *Empire, Colony, Postcolony* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015).

10. By Radical Pietists, I mean Pietists whose desire for personal and corporate renewal of the church had led them to reject the ecclesiology of the state churches as beyond hope of reform and adopt an Anabaptist free church ecclesiology. Most Pietists remained within Lutheran and Reformed churches. The Schwarzenau Brethren were a Radical Pietist group that crystalized in 1708 in the territory of Wittgenstein, near Kassel, and relocated to Pennsylvania in several waves between 1719 to 1733.

11. A recent account of Mennonite settlements in Bucks and Montgomery Counties, Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth-century, with careful attention to interactions with Penn's land settlement program and the indigenous Lenape people of the area is John L. Ruth, *This Very Ground, This Crooked Affair: A Mennonite Homestead on Lenape Land* (Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing House, 2021). Hundreds of primary sources documenting Anabaptist migration to Pennsylvania are now available in parallel original and translated form in James Lowry, et al., eds., *Documents of Brotherly Love: Dutch Mennonite Aid to Swiss Anabaptists, Volume II, 1710-1711* (Millersburg, Ohio: Ohio Amish Library, 2015) and *Documents of Brotherly Love: Dutch Mennonite Aid to Swiss Anabaptists, Volume III, 1712-1784* (Millersburg, Ohio: Ohio Amish Library, 2023).

12. Hans Schnell, "Thorough Account from God's Word," 358; text translation in Leonard Gross, "H. Schnell, Second-Generation Anabaptist," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68 (July 1994): 351-77.

13. A well-researched example of forced migration from Europe due to a confessionally-mixed marriage (Lutheran and Anabaptist) is described in Nic Stoltzfus, *German Lutherans to Pennsylvania Amish: The Stoltzfus Family Story* (Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 2019). Confessionally-mixed marriages were more acceptable in Central Europe if both parties were from groups recognized by the Peace of Westphalia. Such mixed marriages were not uncommon in Pennsylvania, though marriages across ethnic lines remained rare—see Mark Häberlein, *The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 145-46, 149-52.

14. Beyond the scope of comments here, the Great Wagon Road connected Pennsylvania Germans with the more distant Appalachian region that some historians have termed Greater Pennsylvania.

15. Mark Louden, *Pennsylvania Dutch: The Story of an American Language* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 63-118.

16. John M. Vincent, *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich, 1370-1800* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935), 1, 19, 37-39, 74-95, 133.

17. *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792; Together with Three Preliminary Reports of Rev. John Philip Boehm, 1734-1744* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), 406.

18. See, e.g., the observations of Christopher Marshall, *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution, 1774-1781*, ed. William Duane (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1877), 242, and Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk-Cultural Study* (Kutztown, Pa.: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1959), 6, 11-13, 52-58, 102-103.

19. See n.3.

20. Curiously, it was an economic restriction on British colonial subjects that provided commercial space for Pennsylvania Germans in the realm of printing: printers in England held a monopoly on the publication of English Bibles, but there were no such restrictions on German Bibles. Thus, Sauer's German Bible was the second Bible printed in colonial British America, and the first in a European language. The first Bible published in North America was the Eliot Algonquian Bible in 1663.

21. The son of a Reformed pastor, Sauer was born in what is now Baden, not far from where the Berleberg Bible would be produced between 1726 and 1742. Sauer immigrated to Pennsylvania, in 1724. He wrote to Halle to ask for help in obtaining a printing press, but his overture was rejected. He then obtained a press and type from friends in Berleberg and opened his shop in 1738. See Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 125-31.

22. A good overview of the Sauer Bible editions is Don Yoder, *The German Bible in America: An Exploration of the Religious and Cultural Legacy of the First European-Language Bible Printed in America* (Kutztown, PA: Kutztown University, Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center, 2016), 52-63,

23. It must be said that the Radical Pietist Ephrata press printed a limited run of Froschauer New Testaments in 1787 and the Sauers continued to import copies of the four-volume Berleberg edition, but these copies are exceptions that prove the new pattern.

24. It is possible that, in a backhanded way, Pennsylvania's open economy played a role in this criticism; clergy who were agents of the Halle publishing establishment were not able to capitalize on German Bible distribution in colonial Pennsylvania in the face of the Sauer press.

25. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 31, 1742.

26. Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine*, 134.

27. [Gerhard Tersteegen], *Der Frommen Lotterie, oder Geistliches Schatzkästlein* (Germantown, PA: Christoph Sauer, 1744). Each of 381 cards (or tickets) is numbered and contains a biblical text and verses by Tersteegen, the latter appearing with the same numbering at the end of his *Geistliches Blumen-Gärtlein* (1729 and later editions). *Der Frommen Lotterie*, quite rare today, exists in several Pennsylvania depositories, including the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, and the Hess Archives and Special Collections at Elizabethtown College. The set in the Hess Archives is missing 20 of the 381 cards.

28. Martin G. Weaver, *Mennonites of Lancaster Conference* (Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931), 437, citing early observations at the Kraybill meetinghouse near Mount Joy, Pennsylvania.

29. The ca.1790s description, reported in an 1821 letter, is found in Harold Bender, trans. and ed., "Correspondence of Martin Mellinger: Translations of the Correspondence of Martin Mellinger with Relatives in the Rhenish Palatinate, 1807–1839," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 5 (Jan. 1931): 55–57.

30. A detailed analysis of the 1804 hymnal can be found in Philip E. Stoltzfus, "Tradition and Diversity in *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch*," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 17 (Apr. 1994): 29-36.

31. Ibid.

32. See in *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-buch: Enthaltend Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen, zum Allgemeinen Gebrauch des Wahren Gottesdienstes ...* (Lancaster, PA: Johann Albrecht, 1804),

"Von der Taufe auf den Glauben," 98ff; "Vom christlichen Leben unter Wandel," 144ff; "Von der Liebe Gottes und des Nächsten," 252ff. (Pagination begins anew after the 80-page psalm section at the beginning.)

33. Ibid., [1-4].

34. Schultz, manuscript in Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center, Pennsburg, Pa., trans. and quoted in Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 62. A subject not adequately explored, to my knowledge, is the phenomenon among Germans of union meetinghouses. A few references are Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, vol. 2, *The History* (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1981), 161-70, and John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1938), 238-46.

35. "Schleitheim Confession," 1527, and specifically, article 4, available at http://www.anabaptistwiki.org/mediawiki/index.php/Schleitheim_Confession_(source).

36. Heinrich Funck, *Eine Restitution: oder, eine Erklärung einiger Haupt-puncten des Gesetzes wie es durch Christum erfüllet ist* (Philadelphia: Anton Armbrüster, 1763), 133-43; quotes from pp. 140-41.

37. Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 252-69.

38. David L. Weaver-Zercher, *Martyrs Mirror: A Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 65-86.

39. Ephrata was a community established 60 miles west of Philadelphia in 1732 by the Radical Pietist and Sabbatarian Conrad Beisel, and which drew members from Brethren and Mennonite families. See Jeff A. Bach, *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2003).

40. Jeff Bach, "Priests and Martyrs: The Second Engraved Title Page of Ephrata's *Martyrs Mirror*," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* 16:3 (July 2022), 215-33.

41. On the ways warfare remade Pennsylvania politics, see Kevin Kenny, *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

42. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 394-396; MacMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood*, 240-46.

43. Some Mennonites remained involved in party politics even after religious Quakers began withdrawing from colonial administration. In 1768, for example, one Lancaster, Pennsylvania, English official reported that "the head Men among the Menonists have had a Meeting … and have fixed a new [election] Ticket," carrying their endorsement; see Edward Shippen to Mr. Burd, September 16, 1768, Shippen Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, reproduced in MacMaster, Horst, and Ulle, *Conscience in Crisis*, 210.

44. Jan Stievermann, "Defining the Limits of American Liberty: Pennsylvania's German Peace Churches during the Revolution," 207-45, in *A Peculiar Mixture: German-Language Cultures and Identities in Eighteenth-Century North America*, ed. by Jan Stievermann and Oliver Scheiding (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 2013).

45. The text of the act and its penalties appeared in *Pennsylvania Evening Post,* May 16, 1777, reproduced in MacMaster, et al., eds., *Conscience in Crisis,* 408-11, and the revision of 1778 on p. 447.

46. George Bryan to John Thorne, May 25, 1778, *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2nd series, 3:169-70.

47. Durnbaugh, ed., *Brethren in Colonial America*, 400-405.

48. On Pennsylvania's political twists and turns that often silenced minority voices, see Kenneth Owen, *Political Community in Revolutionary Pennsylvania, 1774-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

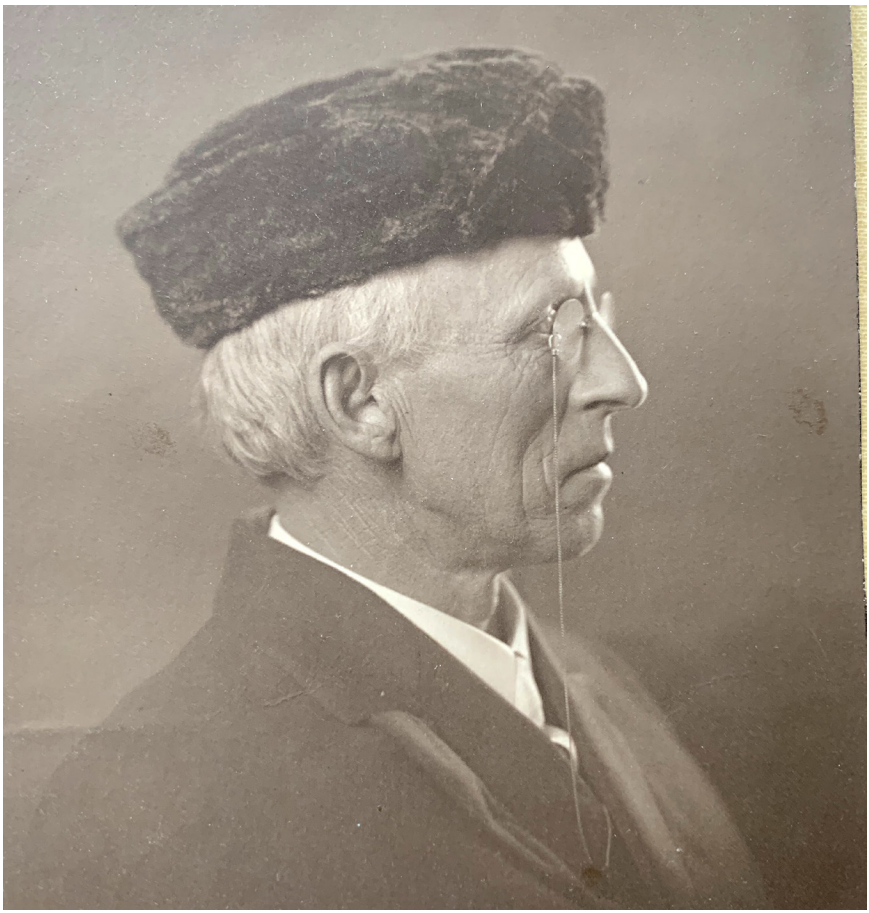
William E. Petig

Albert F. W. Grimm: Wisconsin's Most Prolific German American Author

When the Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was founded in 1983, Jürgen Eichhoff, the director, put out a call for German books that people in the community might have stored in their attics. In response to this request, relatives showered me with boxes of German books, in which I discovered a number of novels written in German by Alfred Ira and printed in Antigo, Wisconsin. Research revealed that Alfred Ira was the pen name used by Albert F. W. Grimm, who had served as the pastor of Peace Lutheran Church, in Antigo, Wisconsin, from 1891 to 1922. Except for a few references to Grimm in Lutheran church publications and a few translations of his works in English, there have been no studies of his literary oeuvre. One of the earliest references to Grimm is a partial list of his literary works in *Wisconsin Authors and Their Books, 1836-1975,* compiled by Orrilla T. Blackshear.[1] Robert E. Ward in *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers 1670-1970* provides a list of Grimm's twelve novels and seven collections of short stories, but he gives the incorrect date for Grimm's emigration to the United States.[2]

Life

Albert F. W. Grimm was born on January 18, 1864, in Petershagen, Kreis Schevelbein, Pomerania, Germany. In 1870 his parents, Wilhelm and Johanna Grimm, decided to emigrate to the United States with their children: Albert who was six years old, Franz who was four, and Fritz who was six months old. They left Hamburg on the ship *Reichstag* and arrived on May 18, 1870, in New York City. Here the family lived for a time while his



Albert F. W. Grimm (Alfred Ira), 1864-1992

father worked to earn enough money to move the family to Wisconsin, then a favorite destination of many German immigrants. While in New York City, young Albert attended public school.[3]

After arriving in Wisconsin, Albert's parents purchased a farm near Pella, a small town just west of Shawano, Wisconsin. Here Albert was enrolled in the school of the local Lutheran parish. His pastor and teacher soon recognized his abilities and recommended that Grimm study for the ministry, even supporting him financially. In 1881, at the age of seventeen, he enrolled in Concordia Theological Seminary in Springfield, Illinois, then known as the practical seminary, because it did not require students to learn Greek and Hebrew. Already as a seminarian Grimm practiced his musical talent by filling in as the director of the Concordia Choir, the seminary's glee club. During his last three years as a seminarian he served as vicar for two years

in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, located in Shawano County, and for a year and a half in Antigo, Wisconsin. In June 1888 he graduated from the seminary and accepted a call to serve the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Ash Grove, Illinois. The same year he married his girlfriend from school days in Pella, Wisconsin, Mathilda Auguste Moldenhauer, with whom he had three sons: William F., Marcus Arnold, and Alfred Ira. In 1891 Grimm accepted a call to Peace Lutheran Church in the small town of Antigo, Wisconsin, the seat of Langlade County, about 45 miles north of Pella, Wisconsin, where his parents had originally settled.[4] He loved the serenity and natural beauty of Langlade County with its 543 wilderness lakes and spent many hours fishing on these lakes. He built the first cottage on Lady Lake for his family and often used it as retreat for his fellow pastoral colleagues.

Albert Grimm served as pastor of Peace Lutheran Church in Antigo, Wisconsin, for twenty-eight years. During that time the congregation grew to over a thousand members, with a Christian day school of over three hundred students. In addition to his duties at Peace Lutheran, Grimm ministered to mission stations in the surrounding communities, and many of these eventually developed into thriving congregations, including Pickerel, Polar, Deerbrook, Elcho, White Lake, and Gleason, Wisconsin.[5]

Grimm's first publishing venture was a collaboration with Edmund Lutze, the teacher and superintendent of the orphanage in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, the small town where Grimm had served as vicar for two years. With a simple hand press he printed dialogues or recitations in a question-answer format dealing with religious topics, which were to be used to instruct and entertain school children and young people in his congregation. At the same time, he started printing his own arrangements of hymns for church bands. In 1898, Grimm established his own publishing house, the Antigo Publishing Company. His eldest son, William, managed the company until he was called up for military service in 1917. While stationed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, William died of pneumonia on October 14, 1918, at the age of twenty-nine, most likely as the result of the Spanish flu that was raging among American soldiers at the time. Faced with managing his publishing company and serving as the full-time pastor of Peace Lutheran Church in Antigo, Grimm decided to resign from the active ministry in 1919 for what he hoped would only be a temporary interlude, so that he could take over as manager and editor of the Antigo Publishing Company and eventually be able to return to the pulpit. However, three years later Grimm suffered a major stroke on February 14, 1922, and died on March 12, 1922, at the age of fifty-eight, one month and twenty-four days. He was survived by his wife, two sons, his aged mother, five brothers, and two sisters.[6] His son Marcus continued to operate the Antigo Publishing Company for a few years after

his father's death at its old location on Seventh Avenue in Antigo. Eventually he moved the company to Summit Lake, Wisconsin, seventeen miles north of Antigo, where it existed for only a few years longer.[7]

Literary Oeuvre

While carrying out his pastoral duties at Peace Lutheran Church and frequently serving as a guest pastor in neighboring churches and mission stations, Grimm was busy writing short stories and novels that focused on congregational life, the experiences of the pastor, and the church's mission work on the frontier, especially in Wisconsin. He also wrote shorter works, such as religious plays, dialogues, and recitations in German and in English. In addition he composed and arranged music, especially for church use, ranging from music for solos, duets, or trios to operettas and pieces for church bands and orchestras.

From 1897 to 1922 Grimm published a total of twelve novels, three of which consist of two volumes, and seven collections of short stories. Grimm's first two novels, the first volume of *Gotthold I. Eine Erzählung aus dem Seelsorgerleben von der Pastorin selbst erzählt* (*Gotthold I: Story of the Life of the Pastor as told by His Wife),* and *Der Prachtjunge* (*The Magnificent Boy*), were published by the Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1897 and probably in 1898, respectively, although *Der Prachtjunge* lists no publication date. The first two novels published by his own company, the Antigo Publishing Company, were *Das Stiefmütterchen. Erzählung aus den Kupferminen am Superiorsee für das christliche Volk* (*The Stepmother: A Story for Christian People from the Copper Mines on Lake Superior*) in 1898 and the second volume of *Gotthold* in 1899. Grimm's last novel, *Ehrwürdens Vereine* (*The Pastor's Church Groups*), was published in 1922, the year he died. This novel provides a humorous account of the social church groups the pastor organized for the youth, women, men, and young unmarried women of his congregation.

Three of Grimm's novels have been adapted and translated into English: *Das Stiefmütterchen, Seile der Liebe. Eine Erzählung aus dem Stadtleben für christliche Jugendvereine* (*Bands of Love: A Tale of City Life for Christian Youth Groups*, 1900), and *Erwürden Nudel. Eine Erzählung von der Herrlichkeit des ewigen Evangeliums* (*Father Noodle: A Narrative of the Glory of the Everlasting Gospel*, 1917). Grimm's third novel, *Das Stiefmütterchen,* was adapted and translated into English by E. F. Engelbert with the title *Stepmuvver: A Tale of the Copper Country* and was published serially in the *Walther League Messenger* over ten issues, beginning in October 1923 and concluding in the July 1924 issue.[8] Engelbert shortened the novel by about half and reduced the original seventeen chapters to ten. One of characters of the novel, Frau Panwitz speaks

only Low German, and the translator rendered her words into a dialect resembling British Cockney along with an abundance of grammatical errors that are supposed to reflect the mistakes she makes when trying to speak High German. The translator, however, limits Frau Panwitz's discourse to what is necessary for the plot of the novel, thereby also reducing the length of the novel considerably.

The plot of *Stiefmütterchen,* like that of other novels by Grimm, is based on the parable of the prodigal son in the Gospel of Luke 15:11-32, in the New Testament. The main character, Schwocher, the Cliff Mine's superintendent and Frau Panwitz's border, has been living in a mining town in Upper Michigan under an assumed name. One day Schwocher is confronted by memories of the family he left over twenty years ago when his nephew, Otto Seiler, applies to work in the mine. Schwocher's eventual reconciliation with his family is brought about through his nephew's stepmother, whom everyone in the village calls "Stiefmütterchen" or "stepmother" instead of Frau Seiler, and who unlike the evil stepmother of German folklore is a kind and generous woman. The novel's title *Stiefmütterchen* has a double meaning in German: in addition to meaning stepmother, it is the German name of the pansy flower. Grimm reverses the German legend of the pansy by making his heroine a virtuous stepmother, who not only helps Schwocher reunite with his family, but who also brings him back to his faith. On an evening walk Schwocher is drawn to a beautiful flowerbed of pansies, where he runs into Otto's sister Marie and meets her mother. Stiefmütterchen invites him to attend her reading services at the Panwitzes on Sunday and gives him a bouquet of pansies as a parting gift.[9] The pansies not only remind Schwocher of his mother, but also foreshadow his growing love for Marie.

Since the mining village has no pastor or church, Frau Seiler agrees to instruct the eight Panwitz daughters in Bible history and the catechism and, because there are no church services on Sunday, she invites people into her home and reads them a sermon. Since Stiefmütterchen is holding her next reading service at the Panwitz home and assumes that Schwocher will attend, she selects a sermon that is heavy on the law rather than on the gospel because she considers Schwocher to be hardhearted. She is amazed that the sermon has the opposite effect on Schwocher that she had anticipated, and that it leads him to repent and to want to reconcile with his family. The omniscient author points out to the reader, however, that Stiefmütterchen was not alone in ministering to Schwocher, but that it was the Holy Spirit that assisted her. Grimm does not mention who wrote the sermons Frau Seiler uses in her Sunday readings, but she is sufficiently versed in theology to be able to determine the sermon's message and its possible effect on the listener. When Frau Münch's young daughter dies, it is Stiefmütterchen who prays the Lord's Prayer at the child's burial. For those who might question having a woman

officiate at a funeral, the author reminds the reader of the reality of life on the frontier with the German proverb: "Necessity knows no law [when] the comforting service of a pastor is not available."[10]

Women have prominent roles in some of Grimm's novels. This is particularly true in *Stiefmütterchen*, which takes its title from the nickname given to the main female character, Frau Seiler. Since the community is without a pastor, she serves as their spiritual advisor. Her foil in the novel is the down-to-earth, uneducated, but kind Frau Panwitz, who speaks only Low German. In Grimm's first novel *Gotthold*, Frau Gotthold, the pastor's wife, narrates her husband's life story about how he is reunited with his biological father, who had abandoned the family when the son was only a baby and who now lives in the same town, but under an assumed name. In the novel *Seile der Liebe* Frau Schulz mothers the young men and women who live at her boarding house by helping them find employment and live a virtuous life.

Seile der Liebe was the first novel to be adapted in English by Mary E. Ireland as *The Shadow of a Crime* in 1916.[11] This novel follows the lives of two young men, Schulz and Stiller, who had just been released from prison after serving three years for robbery, and who, with the help of the Lutheran pastor in a neighboring town, are able to overcome the difficulties of finding work and being forgiven and accepted again by their families and society. Grimm bases the plot and the moral message of this novel on the parable of the prodigal son from Chapter 15 of the Gospel of Luke, and it is the only one of Grimm's novels that is set in a city, no doubt to warn young people of the evils and temptations of city life, namely saloons, dance halls, card-playing, and shady characters and criminals.

In 1918 John T. Mueller, a professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, and friend of Grimm's, published an English adaptation of the 1917 novel *Erwürden Nudel. Eine Erzählung von der Herrlichkeit des ewigen Evangeliums* as *Father Noodle: A Narrative of the Glory of the Everlasting Gospel*. Mueller's adaptation, which was published with the author's approval in his own publishing house, follows the basic story line, but changes the names of characters and takes numerous liberties when portraying the action.[12] This is Grimm's only novel in which a Catholic priest plays a major role and not a Lutheran pastor, and already from his name, Father Noodle, it is clear that Grimm is creating a caricature of the main character. Not only does Father Noodle suffer from addiction to good food, wine, and tobacco, but he also exhibits all the characteristics of a self-righteous, hypocritical, and narrow-minded cleric. The exaggeration of Noodle's negative traits to the point of caricature is a basic form of satire, which is reminiscent of religious satirical attacks on orthodox and pietistic Protestant clergy in German dramas and novels of the early Eighteenth Century. The novel also focuses on the

interaction between Catholics and Lutherans in the community, how they view their doctrinal differences, how they deal with interfaith marriages, and how these religious differences affect families and the community.

While generally there was harmony between Lutherans and Catholics in Grimm's novels, tensions between the two denominations did arise from time to time. In *Der Missionsplatz. Eine Erzählung aus der kirchlichen Missionstätigkeit im Staate Wisconsin* (*The Mission Station: The Story of Church Mission Activity in the State of Wisconsin,* 1902) both groups use the local schoolhouse for their services, but their agreement disintegrates when the Lutherans insist that the Catholics remove their confessional from the building. The conflict is resolved when the school board, consisting of two Catholics and one Protestant, votes that the school can no longer be used for religious services, and both groups decide to build their own churches.[13]

The tensions between Lutherans and other Protestant denominations, especially the Methodists, were often greater than those between Lutherans and Catholics. In the novel *Erwürden Noodle,* the laity seems to understand the theological differences between Catholics and Lutherans, but this is not always the case with Methodists. The theological disputes between Lutherans and Methodists go back to the controversies of the period of German Pietism in the Eighteenth Century and the Methodists' insistence on being reborn and on leading a strict and pious life of good works. The Lutheran antipathy to Methodists is on display in the novel *Im Zuckerbusch. Eine Erzählung aus dem Landleben,* (*The Sugar Bush: A Story of Country Life,* 1909) when Bruno Mantel, the new teacher, asks Frau Winkelmann for directions to his lodgings and whether Henkel, the founder of the Methodist church in the village, lives in the same street, she replies in Low German: "Ih, jawoll, abersten er is man bloss ein Minnedist un zählt nich mit." (Ah, yes, he is only a Methodist and doesn't count.").[14] In Chapter Five of *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben* (*Pictures from the Life of a Traveling Preacher*, 1913), the pastor arrives at one of his mission stations only to find his parishioners upset because a German-speaking Methodist minister from Pella, Wisconsin, wanted to become their preacher and informed them that their Lutheran Pastor Ira believes in predestination and is a false prophet.[15] Another reason for the hostility between Lutherans and Methodists was the fact that they were competing for parishioners and were afraid that one group would steal members from the other.

Much of the conflict in the novel *Im Zuckerbusch* has to do with Seemann, the storekeeper and justice of the peace in the village. Seemann is nominally Lutheran and suspect because he underwent a conversion at a Methodist service. He claims that Lutheran sermons fail to stress contrition and conversion sufficiently and is referred to as a "Schwärmer" (religious

fanatic). Conflict also arises between Lutherans in *Der Missionsplatz* when they decide to organize their own congregation, and opposing groups within the congregation call different itinerant pastors. Feuchter, the owner of the hotel and dance hall, does not want a pastor who is against dancing and alcohol and calls Anton Fuchs, who drinks, smokes cigars, plays cards, and goes fishing on Sundays. Feuchter promises two free beers to everyone who comes to hear Fuchs preach, but Fuchs himself misses the church service because he had imbibed too much the night before. It turns out that Fuchs is an imposter and not a real minister, and Feuchter locks his saloon so he does not have to give out free beer. The ministerial candidate of the second group, named Gans, is also forced to leave town when he alienates the parishioners by accusing Max Froehlich, their honorable school teacher, of having an affair.

Grimm published only one of his novels in English, *Dodai* (1921), with the notation on the back of the title page: "Done in English by E. K. Sihler."[16] It is unclear if Grimm first wrote the novel in German and then had Sihler translate it into English, or if Sihler's task was simply to improve the author's English version. However, it does read at times like a translation. The English in this novel is at times poetic and consists of a combination of standard English and the biblical language of the King James translation of the Bible with such archaic verb forms as "knoweth, dwelleth, abideth," pronouns "thee and thou," and adverbs like "thither and whither." However, the author also includes such colloquial forms of English like "thot (thought), tho, altho, and thru." The occasional English misspellings, errors in the formation of past tense verb forms, and the incorrect use of tense suggest that English was not the writer's first language.

Whereas Grimm's novels are normally filled with comical scenes and humorous dialogues, *Dodai* is his most serious work and was written after the death of his oldest son William as "A Booklet of consolation in illness and health, but particularly for those that are sick, that they may turn away from earthly things and set their hearts on things that are above."[17] The main character, Dodai, a twenty-seven-year-old soldier, dies from wounds suffered in battle and is welcomed into heaven by his old pastor, his grandparents, and even by Adam and Eve. The author then chronicles Dodai's new life in Paradise and his encounters with Old Testament prophets and kings, including Moses and King David, the apostles from the New Testament, and church leaders and musicians like Martin Luther, Bach, and Paul Gerhardt.

The novel *Im Zuckerbusch* and the collections of short stories *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle: Geschichten aus der Studentenzeit* (*From the Old Coffee Mill: Stories from My Student Days,* 1911) and *Unter dem Apfelbaum, und drei andere Erzählungen* (*Under the Apple Tree, and Three Other Stories*, 1914) have been scanned and are available online.[18] Students at Concordia Seminary in

Springfield, Illinois, had nicknamed the main building on campus "the old coffee mill," and Grimm used this sobriquet as the title for his tribute to the director, Professor August Friedrich Crämer, who was well known for his parsimonious habits and for running the seminary on the leanest possible budget. Grimm published his short stories either separately in various German magazines like *Die Abendschule* or *Die Glocke* or in collections like *Sommerfäden: Sonderbare Geschichten für nachdenkliche Leute* (*Summer Spider*

Webs: Droll Stories for Thoughtful People, 1913) or *Unter dem Apfelbaum, Wenn man's gut meint. Gemütlich-humoristische Erzählungen aus dem Gemeindeleben* (*When One Means Well: Cheerful and Humorous Tales of Congregational Life*, 1915), and *Unter Uns: Intime Episoden und Anekdoten aus dem Leben und Wirken der Klerikalen* (*Among Us: Intimate Episodes and Anecdotes of Clerical Life and Work,* 1921). Robert E. Ward estimates that Grimm published over 100 short stories in various German American publications.[19]

In addition to novels and short stories, Grimm wrote short pieces in German and English called dialogues and recitations that young people could perform in church or school, or use as light reading for entertainment (*Unterhaltungslektüre*) at home. Grimm wrote some 50 dialogues under the pen name E. J. Freund, but it is possible that he was also the author of other dialogues that have no authorial attribution and no publication or copyright date, which were printed by the Antigo Publishing Company as well. Examples of some of his dialogues are "Schooling Future Housewives and Talking Slang," "Of a Pleasing Disposition," and "Quitting Tobacco." These dialogues and recitations must have been quite popular because many appeared in second and third editions. Some of the recitations were collected in volumes titled *Deutscher Humor: Poesie und Prosa zum Vorlesen and Vortragen auf geselligen und heiteren Zusammenkünften* (*German Humor: Poetry and Prose For Reading Aloud and Reciting at Happy Social Gatherings*) and *American Humor: Poetic and Prose. For Reading and Speaking at the Schoolroom, the Society Hall, the Social Gathering and all Entertainments, where Genuine Harmless Humor, Clean and Wholesome Fun is desired.*[20] Grimm also wrote plays, but, unfortunately, we do not know how many dramas he authored because, like his dialogues and recitations, many of them have not survived. From advertisements we know that he wrote several plays in Low German and Saxon dialect. His plays *The Chiropractor* and *Weihnachten im Felde* (*Christmas on the Battle Field*), copyrighted in 1914 and 1915 respectively, must have been very popular since both were printed in third editions. The first page of *Weihnachten im Felde*, which is set in France in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian War, contains a "performance rights" warning to those who plan to produce the play stating that they must purchase at least eight copies, equal to the number of characters in the play, and that no part of the play may be copied. In 1915 Grimm started publishing the quarterly, *Der Rezensent* (*The Reviewer*), in which new publications were reviewed.

Grimm's works were well known among German-speakers in the Midwest, especially among members of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. In fact, during the first decades of the twentieth century the Antigo Publishing Company was a major source of German story books based on historical characters, religious plays, and dialogues, as well as musical arrangements and compositions.[21] We do not know how many copies of his literary works were

sold, but many of them were reprinted in second and third editions, attesting to their popularity among German-speaking readers. Over a hundred years ago his novels and collections of short stories were often given as Christmas gifts to young readers in parochial and Sunday schools in Lutheran churches.

Musical Compositions and Arrangements

When and where Grimm acquired the musicological training to arrange and compose music is unclear. He must have started piano and organ lessons as a child and received some elementary musical training in secondary school. In addition to being self-taught and very talented, he undoubtedly studied music theory during his undergraduate studies at the seminary. Since music played such an important role in his personal and professional life, it is understandable that he passed down this love for music to his sons, who became accomplished musicians and band and choral directors in their own right. William and Marcus were organists and accompanied their father on his visits to minister to outlying congregations and missionary stations, where they played the organ for their father's church services. The youngest son, Alfred Ira, was a singer and played the trombone.

Grimm discusses his musical ability in the humorous autobiographical story titled "Der Notnagel" ("The Last Resort") found in the collection of short stories in *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle.* This story, which derives from Grimm's time as a student at the seminary in Springfield, Illinois, recounts how the director of the seminary, Professor Crämer, who had become forgetful and sometimes sang a different melody than what the organist was playing, asked Grimm to serve as his cantor to lead the singing of hymns at a funeral service he was conducting. Grimm, who as a student found the director quite intimidating, notes that Crämer was not impressed by his musical talent, even though Grimm conducted the Concordia Choir and the student band. However, the director was surprised when Grimm was able to lead the singing of hymns without the help of a tuning fork.[22]

When Grimm was a pastor in Antigo, he often could not find suitable arrangements of church music for band or orchestra to accompany congregational singing at the outdoor services, which he frequently conducted during the warm summer months behind the church, and he produced his own arrangements of hymns or composed original pieces for the service. The congregation even constructed a band shell behind the church, where choral groups, the church band, and the orchestra could give concerts during the summer.

According to the ethnomusicologist, Philip V. Bohlman, Albert Grimm used music to "broaden the American religious experience" for German-speaking congregations in the Upper Midwest. He exemplified the pioneer

church musician in that he wrote hymns and popular songs, adapted German chorales, arranged music for church and town bands and orchestras, and also published the scores for the various musical parts. Bohlman describes Grimm as a voice in the wilderness whose influence waned rapidly after his death in 1922 because the use of German declined after World War I and because Grimm's music clashed with the musical traditions of German Lutheranism. As Bohlman states:

> Grimm's music specifically addressed the conditions of the American settler and the American frontier. He prescribed a way of faith rather than promulgating that of the denominational institution…His musical voice offered an alternative to tradition, but in so doing failed to form itself into tradition.[23]

Albert Grimm published his novels and short stories under the pen name of Alfred Ira. It is not known how he came to choose this name, but he apparently liked it: he even gave this name to his third son Alfred Ira Grimm, born on March 2, 1905. As was already noted, Grimm used the pseudonym E. J. Freund for his dialogues, recitations, and plays. However, when these were translated into English, they were often published without the name of the author in second and third printings. He published his musical compositions and arrangements for solo voice and choir under the pen name of E. Stern, but compositions for band and orchestra were usually signed with his own name, A. F. W. Grimm.

Edification Literature

Most of Grimm's literary works fall into the general category of *Erbauungsliteratur* or edification literature. This devotional or character-building literature has a long tradition going back to Middle Ages, to the lives of the saints and of the early church fathers, to mystics like Meister Eckart and Jakob Böhme, and to the devotional books of Johann Arndt's *Wahres Christentum* (1605-10) and *Paradiesgärtlein aller christlichen Tugenden* (1612), and the autobiographical writings of the Pietists of the Eighteenth Century.[24] Unlike much devotional literature that consists of prayer books, theological discourses, collections of sermons, religious biographies or autobiographies, including conversion histories, all written with the goal of promoting a pious and virtuous life, Grimm uses imaginative literature or fiction both to entertain and teach moral lessons. He develops these lessons with a generous quantity of subtle humor and insight into human nature without becoming

overly pedantic and preachy. He is a gifted storyteller not only with the ability to generate naturally flowing dialogues for his characters, but also with the talent to portray the foibles of his characters in comical situations along with linguistic humor. Grimm's theological message of forgiveness and love to overcome strife in families, between neighbors, in the church, or in the school tends to be more generic rather than denominational or parochial.

A theme that runs through many of Grimm's novels, either as a major or secondary motif, is the responsibility that parents have to raise their children to become God-fearing, morally responsible adults. This is the major theme in *Der Prachtjunge* (*The Magnificent Boy*), which is Grimm's second novel,

published by Concordia Publishing House in St. Louis, Missouri. In this novel the parents, Herr and Frau Grotemund, are responsible for spoiling their son Wilhelm in spite of all the advice and admonitions of their pastor and the teacher of the parochial school and suffer devastating consequences without reconciling with their son. However, the parents are able to redeem themselves by changing how they raise their younger children, and reconciliation with their neighbors, the Gieses, takes place when the son August Giese asks for the hand in marriage of the Grotemunds' daughter. In the novel *Liebe. Erzählung für das reifere Christenvolk* (*Love. Story for More Mature Christians*, 1903), Gottlieb and Malvina Lehmann take over the parenting of their granddaughter, Lulla, because their daughter Line is married to a lazy and unchurched man. Like the novels *Stiefmütterchen* and *Seile der Liebe*, *Der Prachtjunge* and *Liebe* also take their basic plot from the parable of the prodigal son from Luke 15:11-32. The main difference in the novel *Liebe* is that the main character is not a rebellious son or sons, but a granddaughter, and it is the grandparents, not the parents, who search for her and welcome her home with unconditional love and forgiveness. However, not all families are as fortunate as the Lehmanns to be reunited and reconciled with their wayward child. Frau Schierling's son Eldor, who stole money from her and who then convinced Lulla to run off with him, refuses to help his mother when she is in need and never returns home.

It is the inclusion of a moral lesson or maxim in all of his novels and short stories that distinguishes Grimm's works from the usual historical fiction and that leads to his work being categorized as edification literature. In an article on the dearth of historical fiction based on American Lutheranism, Theodore Graebner singles out Grimm along with his contemporary Hermann H. Zagel (1859-1936) as two of the few authors whose literary works are imbued with Lutheran history, especially of clerical life on the frontier.[25] According to A. Ira Grimm, Grimm's youngest son, Graebner, who taught at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, would tell his students that Albert Grimm's writing "would be the only and a very rich source of the history of Lutheranism and of the Missouri Synod in America."[26]

Hermann Zagel, the son of a Lutheran minister, was born in Columbus, Indiana, and attended Concordia Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana. He taught in German American schools in Missouri and Illinois and wrote a number of novels about family life on the American prairie, in which the Lutheran church plays a prominent role. In addition to teaching, Zagel wrote numerous articles for the *Abendschule,* a magazine published by the Louis Lange Publishing Company in St. Louis, Missouri, which was also the publisher of his novels.[27] Like Grimm, Zagel wrote for a German American audience in a somewhat archaic High German with some Low German and

English words introduced along the way, undoubtedly reflecting the spoken German of his time. Grimm and Zagel both wrote about the role of the pastor, either Lutheran or Evangelical, as a leading figure in German American communities on the frontier. In his two-volume novel *Jack Roostand* (1909-12), Zagel chronicles the life of the young Protestant pastor, Jack Roostand, who feels called to minister to his fellow German Americans on the frontier, where he is often asked to arbitrate disagreements between German Americans in the community and in his church who cannot even understand each other's German dialect because they came from different areas of Germany. Unlike Grimm's novels, however, which incorporate a moral lesson and are devotional in nature, Zagel's novel is basically historical fiction.[28]

A common element that runs through most of German American literature of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is life on the frontier. In fact, Sander Gilman sees the frontier as the key to gaining deeper insight and understanding of German American literature of this era, which consists not only of high literature, letters, diaries, and memories, but must also include popular literature.[29] For German immigrants life on the frontier was difficult and often dangerous, and they needed not only a strong family unit to be able to survive, but also the mutual support of other members of the community. However, the cultures of immigrants from different countries often clashed on the frontier until they found some form of accommodation. The focus of religious and social life in the German American community was its church and school and the pastor, who, in addition to his role as spiritual counselor and arbitrator of general disputes, often was also the school teacher.

Fraternal organizations or lodges, such as the Freemasons, the Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias, were often active in frontier communities before pastors of organized churches arrived to set up mission stations and establish congregations. The purpose of these secret societies was both social and charitable: they not only offered members of the community a place to socialize, but they also provided financial assistance when member families suffered misfortune or fell on hard times. The Freemasons were one of the first of these societies to be active as early as 1861 in the Keweenaw Peninsular region of Upper Michigan, known for its copper mines and the setting for Grimm's *Stiefmütterchen*.[30] Conservative Lutherans, especially the Missouri and Wisconsin synods, strongly opposed membership in these fraternal lodges on theological grounds. They considered the teachings and rituals of lodges to be pseudo-religious and to be in conflict with basic Christian doctrines regarding salvation by faith alone and the Trinity. At the same time that the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church's youth magazine, *The Walther League Messenger,* serialized Grimm's *Stiefmütterchen*, it published a regular column

with testimonies by church members explaining why their membership in fraternal lodges was in conflict with their faith and why they left the lodge.[31]

Anti-lodge sentiment comes up in several of Grimm's novels. In the novel *Stiefmütterchen*, Schwocher, the superintendent of the Cliff Mine, discovers that his foreman Harris refuses to hire men to work in the mine unless they agree to become members of his lodge. When Schwocher employs his nephew, Otto Seiler, Harris and Münch, one of the mining crew bosses, work on Otto until he acts against his better judgment, carouses through the night with his new friends, and finally agrees to join the lodge. When Otto neglects his watchman's job to attend his initiation as a new member into the lodge, Schwocher is forced to fire him. Like that of the prodigal son, Otto's life reaches a low point before he decides to ask for forgiveness and to reconcile with his family and Schwocher. In the novel *Der falsche Prophet* (*The False Prophet*, 1905), membership in the lodge becomes a major theme. When Pastor Paulus, who preaches against dancing, going to the theater, and purchasing life insurance, forbids his parishioners to join the local lodge, fifteen members of his church decide to leave his parish. They file a lawsuit against the church for a monetary payout so they can establish their own congregation, which they name Gnadensonne (Sun of Grace). To Pastor Paulus's surprise, the new congregation thrives and even attracts prominent members of the community, while his own congregation continues to lose members. Morgenrot, the pastor of the Gnadensonne congregation, is known for preaching only sermons that his parishioners like to hear, and he is willing to officiate at the burial of a non-member of his congregation who belongs to the local lodge, something Pastor Paulus would never do. When Morgenrot asks his church members for his salary so he can pay for his board, or he requests parishioners to contribute to a building fund so the church can build a parsonage, his members respond with only meager donations. However, they do not hesitate to pay their large lodge dues on time out of fear that their membership will be suspended. Morgenrot is forced to flee town when just before his marriage to the town-beauty, whose wealthy family does not belong to a church and whose father sells life insurance and is a high official in the lodge, it is disclosed that Morgenrot has been engaged to another young woman for almost two years.

Grimm's novels and short stories are unique in the history of German American literature published in this country. They show not only how German immigrants adjusted to life in the New World and the hardships that they faced on the frontier, the setting for most of his works, but they provide the reader also with a picture of family and religious life in these backwoods communities of the Upper Midwest, especially in Lutheran congregations, of the late Nineteenth Century. His stories illustrate the simple country family

life, its customs and superstitions, the everyday disagreements that arise in small communities, where everyone knows each other's business, and they show how these conflicts are resolved in a fair and equitable way.

Grimm based many of the characters in his short stories and novels on real-life people, whom he met through his professional role as a pastor, but he never used their real names. It was said, however, that Grimm's friends could easily recognize the people after whom he had modeled his characters. Many of these German American immigrants, or their descendents were farmers, trades people, shopkeepers, and common laborers, and the few educated people usually were the pastor, the school teacher, and the doctor. City officials and government authorities tended to be English immigrants or their descendants, who had settled in the frontier village before the German immigrants arrived.

Members of minority groups, such as Native Americans and Jews, appear in only a few of Grimm's works. In the novel *Das Sägemühldorf. Eine Erzählung aus dem Menominee-Aufstande im Staate Wisconsin* (*The Sawmill Village: A Story of the Menominee Uprising in the State of Wisconsin,* 1901, 1907) tensions develop between the Menominee and Stockbridge Indians and the townspeople of the small village. This was caused by Whites stealing wood from the Indian reservations, one of the major sources of income of the Native Americans, poaching deer and fish, and keeping the poll tax. Fearing an attack by the Indians, the villagers request protection from the army, which arrives in time to scare off the Indians, but not before the Indians have set the mill on fire. The soldiers stay to guard the one Indian, a chief, who was taken prisoner by the villagers when he fell into Tante Mille's vegetable cellar and could not get out. When an Englishman, Long Joe, incites a mob to lynch the Indian prisoner, he sets the fort on fire as a diversion, but in so doing also burns down the general store owned by the Yankee Single, whom the Germans have nicknamed "Schlingel" (rascal). Single refuses the help of the German villagers to rescue his store because it is supposedly well insured, and he hopes to be compensated for his loss. However, to his chagrin, Single discovers that his insurance had lapsed a month earlier, and he is now bankrupt. As Single digs through the ashes of his store, he laments: "All gone – all gone – Oh what a fool." To this the author replies with a moral admonition, "So klagt ein Mensch, der seinen Götzen verloren hat. Wer an einen lebendigen Gott glaubt, dem blüht aus Trümmern und Asche wieder neue Hoffnung" ("This is how a person complains who has lost his false god. For whoever believes in a living God, new hope blossoms forth out of ruins and ashes").[32]

Grimm introduces his first Jewish member of a German American community, Ikabod, in the novel *Im Zuckerbusch.* Like Shakespeare's Shylock, the literary topus of the avaricious Jewish businessman, Ikabod is accused of

being greedy and ruthless and of charging exorbitant interest. Grimm's second Jewish character appears in the short story "Der Pastor will ein Pferd kaufen" ("The Pastor Wants to Buy a Horse"), found in the collection *Wenn man's gut meint,* and he is simply referred to as "der israelitische Pferdehändler" (Israelite horse dealer) and never by name. The horse dealer tricks the pastor into buying the same horse offered to him by his neighbor, but for considerably more money.

In some of Grimm's novels there are obvious tensions between the German-speaking immigrants and the English settlers who had arrived on the frontier first. Much of the German immigrants' anger is directed against shopkeepers who overcharge for their products and cheat their customers. The townspeople's dislike of the Yankee Single in *Das Sägemühldorf* is illustrative of the attitude that many German immigrants had of the English members of their community. The German immigrants felt that they were handicapped by their inability to speak English and thus were disadvantaged in business transactions and open to exploitation.

Some of Grimm's novels and stories give readers a glimpse of Wisconsin and Upper Michigan history. For example, *Das Stiefmütterchen* describes life in the copper mines on Lake Superior on the Keweenaw Peninsula of Upper Michigan, and *Das Sägemühldorf* depicts the events surrounding the uprising of the Menominee Indians in Shawano County, Wisconsin. Northern Wisconsin is also the setting for the mission stations in *Der Missionsplatz* and *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben* and for the novel *Im Zuckerbusch,* whose first sentence states: "Echter Wiskonsinischer Wald" (real Wisconsin forest).

The novel *Der Missionsplatz* is set in a Wisconsin village of 165 mostly German inhabitants, with a store, train station, hotel, English public school, dance hall and saloon, but no church and no doctor. Conflict develops in *The Mission Station* when one group calls an itinerant preacher who opposes dancing and alcohol, while the other faction's candidate does not object to dancing and consuming alcohol. The novel also illustrates the role of folk medicine and superstition in a frontier community without a medical doctor when members have to deal with medical problems. Frau Unruh, the storekeeper's wife, secretly engages Frau Messerschmidt, the neighbor lady, to treat her ulcerated leg with a combination of caustic home remedies which she accompanies with religious rituals and magical incantations. As Frau Unruh cries out in pain, her husband breaks into the room, accosts Frau Messerschmidt, and accuses her of deviltry.

In a note to the reader in *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben*, Grimm points out that the twenty-four short stories in this collection are based on his own experiences as a traveling pastor or on those of his colleagues.[33] A few of the stories are much more religious and devotional in nature than his novels and

deal with questions of providential guidance, e.g., "Hatte Gott seine Hand darin?" ("Was God Involved?") or "Waren es Engel" ("Were They Angels?").[34] Other stories are often humorous and give us not only a good picture of what pastors confronted when carrying out missionary work on the frontier in Northern Wisconsin, but they are also some of the earliest historical accounts of early Lutheran missionary work in the Upper Midwest. There were only forest paths and no mapped roads, which meant that the pastor often got lost, especially in snowstorms. He would have to travel by horse and wagon, sled, or coach, or sometimes ride in the caboose of a freight train to an outlying station and then walk several miles on foot to the log cabin of a farm family, where services for the community would be held and where the pastor would lodge with the family in cramped quarters during his stay. On one such trip the pastor's sled overturned in a stream when his horse took a wrong turn, and the pastor was soaked to the skin in freezing temperatures. Along the way the pastor might be asked to visit a sick person or officiate at a funeral. And once at his destination he might have to settle theological disputes among parishioners or resolve disagreements as to which side the men and women should sit in church.

Grimm's Language

Since Grimm was only six years old when his parents immigrated to America, he acquired his formal education in High German in the local parochial school in Wisconsin in the 1870s and during his seminary training in Illinois in the 1880s. At home and in the community the family undoubtedly spoke their native Pomeranian Low German as well as a standard German in which English words and expressions were often substituted.[35] During Grimm's entire pastorate at Peace Lutheran Church in Antigo, Wisconsin, he conducted all services in German.

While Grimm wrote his novels and short stories in High German, but with considerable use of Low German in conversations, he wrote his plays, dialogues, and recitations in both German and English. His English is not always idiomatic, and he was obviously more comfortable writing in German. He published only one of his novels, *Dodai*, in English. Grimm uses language to maintain social distinctions in his novels and short stories: the pastors and teachers all speak High German, and the common people respond either in a less formal and more colloquial form of Standard German or in the Low German of Grimm's native Pomerania. In *Der Prachtjunge* the Grotemund parents, especially the mother, speak Low German not only with their children, but also with Pastor Engel and the teacher, Herr Werner. When the pastor and his nephew discover the attempted robbery and arson of Lieschen Giese's home, the night policeman who arrives speaks only English. The

author makes it perfectly clear that Hoopston, the city where the action takes place, has both English- and German-speaking residents.[36]

Besides *Der Prachtjunge,* Grimm's novels with the most extensive conversations in Low German are *Das Stiefmütterchen, Des Pastors Nachlass* (*The Pastor's Estate*, 1900), *Das Sägemühldorf, Der Missionsplatz,* and *Im Zuckerbusch.* In *Das Stiefmütterchen* Frau Panwitz speaks almost exclusively Low German, even with her border Schwocher, who replies in High German because he does not know Low German. When Frau Panwitz does speak High German, her German is filled with grammatical errors. In *Des Pastors Nachlass* the pastor speaks in High German in the church board meetings, but the board members, most of whom are farmers, respond only in Low German. Similarly, in *Das Sägemühldorf* the doctor, who bandages the Indian Blind Owl's hand after he is shot by the blacksmith, speaks High German with the village residents, who respond in Low German, but Blind Owl answers in High German. To assist readers who may have difficulty with Low German, Grimm frequently provides the High German equivalent in parentheses of some Low German expressions, e.g., "farig" (fertig), "Awen" (Ofen), "Partüffeln (Kartoffeln), "Gauds" (Gutes), "rümhulwarken (umgehen), "dei Sägemöhl" (die Sägemühle), "utäuwen" (ausüben). Grimm supplies the same linguistic assistance with Low German in *Im Zuckerbusch.* In Chapter One, Frau Winkelmann is busy cooking maple syrup and instructs her children to stir the syrup so that it does not overcook while she goes to speak with an approaching stranger who asks for directions: "Gören, kamt her un röhrt (rührt), dat dei Molasses nich äwerkaakt (überkocht)."[37] Her first question to the well-dressed stranger is "Sie sind woll ein Hochdeutscher?" (Are you a speaker of High German?), and she tries to speak with him in Standard German, but frequently falls back into Low German. In *Der Missionsplatz* the use of High and Low German clearly determines social status: the common folk all speak Low German, and the educated people, that is, the teacher and traveling pastor, speak High German. On the other hand, Feuchter, the owner of the hotel and saloon, switches between High and Low German: he speaks standard German with his guests and with the pastors and the schoolteacher, but with his seven children and neighbors he communicates only in Low German.

Grimm's German tends to be archaic at times, and his dialogues often include English loan words and expressions, undoubtedly reflecting both the increasing use of English as well as the actual language use in the German American community. In the novel *Seile der Liebe* Grimm uses such dated German words as "*der Perron*" (train platform), "*das Kosthaus*" (boarding house), "*despektierlich*" (disrespectful), and "*der Kumpan*" (buddy), and where appropriate he mixes English words and expressions, as well as germanisized forms of English words into his dialogues, for example, "*der Saloon, der*

Saloonkeeper, Barroom, Office, boarder, boarden, you bet, Piekruste, Pieteig, sie baken einen extraen, Haar clippen, Bicyclefahren, der Grocer, der Farmer, das Frontzimmer, die Screentür." In his last novel, *Ehrwürden Nudel*, Grimm similarly blends English words into the German narrative where appropriate, for example, "*der Plumber, mein Bosz, gentlemanlike, er hängte den Receiver auf, die Cars honkten, Holz in den Furnace legen*."

In his recollections from his seminary studies in Springfield, Illinois, in *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle,* Grimm writes about the occasional use of English by his fellow students and the teachers. Among the faculty, Professor Crämer, the director of the seminary, was considered the ultimate authority in the use of English. In the humorous anecdote "Ein hoffungsloser Fall" ("A Hopeless Case"), Grimm, however, relates how the students' respect for Crämer's English suffers a reversal.[38] According to Grimm, a student started using the colloquial English expressions "doggone" and "doggonit," and the use of these expressions soon spread on campus, but students were uncertain whether it was a curse word or the simply equivalent of "dummes Zeug" (rubbish, nonsense).[39] Coder, one of the immigrant students from Germany who considers himself an expert in English, accuses the student who used the expressions of cursing. Professor Crämer, however, informs the students that "doggone" is not a curse word, but means simply "Rede weiter" ("Keep talking"), also an incorrect translation. Clearly English language skills, even among the seminary faculty, were limited at the time. However, a student organization, the Germaniaverein, met every Saturday evening to help students practice debating in English, which Grimm illustrates with such comical phrases as "I make a Moschen dat we close" ("I make a motion that we adjourn") and "I segen de Moschen" ("I second the motion").[40]

The controversy over the use of idiomatic English during Grimm's student days also illustrates that relations between the immigrant and non-immigrant German American students at Concordia Seminary in Springfield, Illinois, were at times strained, especially when German and American cultures clashed. Similar conflicts, undoubtedly, also existed in the students' German American home communities. In another story from *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle*, "Kaiser Wilhelms Geburtstag" ("Emperor William's Birthday"), Grimm recalls how seminary students who had immigrated from Germany and who usually tended to be older than the American students, requested and received permission to be excused from classes to celebrate the German emperor's birthday, while the non-immigrant German American students were required to attend classes and were not given time off to celebrate Washington's birthday. This led to name-calling and pranks, and when the German students in the cafeteria dared to sing "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," the national German anthem, the American students responded

with "My Country 'Tis of Thee." When the American students threatened to boycott classes, Crämer, whom the American students suspected of siding with the Germans, relented, and Washington's birthday became a holiday for all students.[41]

The use of the German language in schools and churches declined significantly after World War I and negatively impacted the sales of German publications of the Antigo Publishing Company. German was already under attack a decade before Grimm founded his publishing company, when in 1889 Wisconsin passed the Bennett School Law that required that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen attend school and that all instruction of reading, writing, math, and American history in public and private schools be in English. German Catholics and Lutherans, especially the Missouri and Wisconsin Lutheran Synods, viewed the law not only as an attack on their schools, but on their language and culture and worked for the law's repeal in 1891. It was the churches and parochial schools that continued to maintain the use of German during the first decades of the twentieth century.[42] The fact that public schools were no longer using German as the language of instruction is reflected in Grimm's novel, *Der Prachtjunge*. After the teacher of the local parochial school disciplines Wilhelm Grotemund for misbehaving, his parents decide to send their other children to public school even though they will be taught in English and not German, and they rationalize their decision by asking why German is necessary for success in the world when the children of their English-speaking neighbors have done so well.[43] Yet most German Americans viewed the German school as an important means to preserve their language, culture, and religion, even though the farmers usually complained that the school cost too much. Until Grimm resigned from the active ministry in 1919, he had conducted all services at Peace Lutheran Church in Antigo, Wisconsin in German. However, when his successor was installed in July of that year, it was decided to introduce an English service in addition to the regular German services on Sunday.[44]

Because of his use of Low German in some of his writings, Albert Grimm has sometimes been compared with the North German author, Fritz Reuter, who was born in Stavenhagen, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, on November 7, 1810, and died in Eisenach, Germany, on July 12, 1874. Reuter wrote humorous novels that depict the everyday life of farming people in the small villages of Mecklenburg. Although he wrote some of his novels in Standard German, Reuter found that his writings in Plattdeutsch (Low German) had greater success. Reuter is credited with beginning the development of regional literature in German dialect.[45]

There have been numerous attempts over the years to translate Grimm's works into English. However, most translators agreed that it is impossible to do justice to the passages in vernacular German, especially those in Low

German, when translating them into English and still be able to capture the humor in these works.[46]

Conclusion

Albert F. W. Grimm was one of the most prolific German American writers in the United States, and his literary works constitute one of the few examples of imaginative writing or fiction with a definite didactic purpose that also serves as a rich source of historical information on the early days of Lutheranism on the American frontier, especially of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. Grimm's short stories and novels, based on his experiences as a Lutheran pastor for over three decades, reveal the impact that German settlers had on the social and religious life of America, especially in the Upper Midwest and Wisconsin, and as such they are an important part of American cultural history. Specifically, they provide a picture of the role German settlers played in the development of Wisconsin, of the establishment of mission congregations by traveling pastors and lay leaders, of the way in which church schools maintained religious and ethnic unity, of what everyday life was like in these early rural settlements, and of the important role played by the pastor and school teacher in these pioneer communities.

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Notes

1. Orrilla T. Blackshear, *Wisconsin Authors and Their Books 1836-1975: A Compilation of Wisconsin Authors and Their Books, 1836-1975 Including Titles from Earlier Bibliographies,* Bulletin 7100 (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1976), 258-59.

2. Robert E. Ward, *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1985), 105. Ward states that Grimm and his family immigrated to America in 1874, but the correct date is 1870.

3. See obituaries: "The Rev. A. Grimm, Pastor and Author, Died Early Sunday," *The Antigo Daily Journal,* March 13, 1922, p. 1; "Heim: In memoriam," *Der Rezensent: Vierteljähriger Publikations-Anzeiger*, no. 29 (October, 1922): 1-3; C. D. Griese, "Rev. A. Grimm," *The Lutheran Witness*, 41 (1922): 349; the same obituary in German in *Der Lutheraner*, 78 (1922): 384; and William Grimm, "Biography for Rev. A. Grimm" (unpublished biography by grandson, April 26, 2002). The personal papers of Albert F. W. Grimm are located in the archives of the Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. William Grimm, "Biography," 1.

8. Alfred Ira, *Stepmuvver: A Tale of the Copper Country,* trans E. R. Engelbert, in *Walther League Messenger* (October, 1923-July, 1924). Engelbert translates the novel's title *Das*

Stiefmütterchen, the diminutive form in German of "stepmother," with "*Stepmuvver*," which is "stepmother" in the English working-class Cockney dialect. The diminutive form in German is also used as a form of endearment, which is the case in Grimm's novel.

9. In German folklore the large lower pedal of the pansy flower symbolizes the evil stepmother; the two colorful pedals on either side of the large pedal are her two daughters, and the two plain upper pedals are the two poor stepdaughters. However, in Grimm's novel the stepmother is a loving mother to her stepson and nurses him back to health when he is ill.

10. *Stiefmütterchen,* 218, "Not kennt kein Gebot und der tröstende Dienst eines Pastors war nicht zu haben."

11. Mary E. Ireland, *The Shadow of a Crime* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1916). Although based on Grimm's *Seile der Liebe*, Ireland's adaptation is considerably shorter.

12. Alfred Ira, *Father Noodle: A Narrative of the Glory of the Everlasting Gospel.* Adapted by J. T. Mueller (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1918).

13. Alfred Ira, *Der Missionsplatz. Eine Erzählung aus der kirchlichen Missionstätigkeit im Staate Wisconsin* (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1902), 187-210.

14. Alfred Ira, *Im Zuckerbusch. Eine Erzählung aus dem Landleben*, Vol. 1 (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1909), 8.

15. Alfred Ira, *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben* (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1913), 35-43.

16. See the back of title page of *Dodai* (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1921). Dodai, which means "beloved," was one of the judges in the Old Testament (Judges 10:1) and the grandfather of Tola of the tribe of Issachar.

17. *Dodai,* title page.

18. The novel *Im Zuckerbusch* and collection of short stories *Unter dem Apfelbaum* are available through the HathiTrust, and *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle* is accessible through the Internet Archive.

19. Ward, 105; this number seems high and has not been verified.

20. Both books were published by the Antigo Publishing Company, Antigo, WI, but without a date or copyright.

21. A. Ira Grimm, "Synodical Loyalty 1910 Style," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 48, no. 3 (Fall, 1975): 103.

22. Alfred Ira, *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle. Geschichten aus der Studentenzeit* (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1911), 10-25.

23. Philip V. Bohlman, "Prayer on the Panorama: Music and Individualism in American Religious Experience," in *Music in American Religious Experience*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman, Edith Blumhofer, and Maria Chow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 245-46. Bohlman refers to the composer as "Alfred Grimm" instead of "Albert Grimm," his correct name; this is undoubtedly a confusion with Grimm's literary pseudonym "Alfred Ira." For his musical arrangements and compositions, Grimm used the pen name "E. Stern," but he signed his band and orchestra pieces with "A. F. W. Grimm."

24. Gero von Wilpert, "Erbauungsliteratur," in *Sachwörterbuch der Literatur*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1961), 157; Rosmarie Zeller, "Erbauungsliteratur," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz)*, Version vom 14.12.2006. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/011510/2006-12-14/, konsultiert am 25.11.2024. See also Hermann Beck, *Die religiöse Volksliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891) for an overview of edification literature from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century.

25. Theodore Graebner, "The Place of Fiction in the Development of Lutheran Consciousness," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 1, no. 3 (1928): 55-58. Graebner incorrectly refers to Grimm as "Alfred Grimm" instead of "Albert Grimm."

26. A. Ira Grimm, 103.

27. Hermann Heinrich Zagel was born January 19, 1859, in Columbus, Indiana, and died on January 6, 1936, in Peoria, Illinois. He attended Concordia Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and graduated in 1882 from Addison Teachers College, now known as Concordia University Chicago.

28. Hermann H. Zagel, *Jack Roostand*, 2 vols. (St. Louis, MO: Louis Lange Publishing Company, 1909-12). See also Giles R. Hoyt, "Herman Zagel's *Jack Roostand*: A German-American View of Prairie Life," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 38 (2003), 113-18.

29. Sander Gilman, "German? American? Literature? Some Thoughts on the Problem of Question Marks and Hyphens," in *German? American? Literature?, New Directions in German Studies*, eds. Winfried Fluck and Werner Sollors (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 12-15.

30. Lindsay Hiltunen, "Secret Societies of the Copper Country." Michigan Tech Archives Blog, September 1, 2017, https://blogs.mtu.edu/archives/2017/09/01/secret-societies-of-the-copper-country/. For a history of Freemasons in Wisconsin, see Jesse D. Chariton, "'Some Ceremony Peculiar to Themselves': The Continuation of a European Masonic Ceremony in Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin," *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* 56 (2021), 21-40.

31. See, for example, Charles Schlueter, "Why I Left the Knights of Pythias," *Walther League Messenger,* 32, no. 9 (April, 1924): 462; Frank E. Vanderwal, "Why I Left the De Molays," 32, no. 10 (May, 1924): 526, 573; John A. Zulauf, "Why I left the Modern Woodmen of America," *Walther League Messenger*, 32, no. 11 (June, 1924): 590; Elizabeth H. Nichols, "Why I left the Degree of Honor Lodge," *Walther League Messenger,* 32, no. 12 (July, 1924): 652.

32. Alfred Ira, *Das Sägemühldorf. Eine Erzählung aus dem Menomoneeaufstande im Staate Wisconsin* (Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1907), 279.

33. See Alfred Ira, "An den Leser" in *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben*, at the beginning of the novel.

34. Alfred Ira, *Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben*, 82-86, 114-23.

35. For an overview of Pomeranian Low German spoken in Central Wisconsin, see Ryan Dux, "Wisconsin Pomeranian Low German" in *Yearbook of German American Studies,* Supplemental Issue, eds. Mark L. Louden and William D. Keel, Vol. 6 (2025), 5-36.

36. It is unclear whether Hoopston is a fictional city or if Grimm modeled it after the small town Hoopeston, Illinois, which was about two hours from Springfield, Illinois.

37. Alfred Ira, *Im Zuckerbusch,* 5.

38. "Ein hoffungsloser Fall" in *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle*, 80-89.

39. Grimm spells it incorrectly as "Dog on" and "dogonte," see *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle*, 82.

40. *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle*, 83-84.

41. "Kaiser Wilhelms Geburtstag" in *Aus der alten Kaffeemühle*, 62-79.

42. Cora Lee Nollendorfs, "The First World War and the Survival of German Studies: With a Tribute to Alexander R. Hohlfeld," in *Teaching German in America: Prolegomena to a History,* eds. David P. Benseler, Walter F. W. Lohnes, and Valters Nollendorfs (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 184.

43. Alfred Ira, *Der Prachtjunge* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.), 17.

44. *Peace Lutheran Church's "Seventy-five Diamond Studded Years*," (1959), 7.

45. Thomas Sergeant Perry, "Fritz Reuter," *The Atlantic* (January, 1875): 36-41; James Sime, "Fritz Reuter," *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 9th ed., XX. *Wikisource,* https://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica,_Ninth_Edition/Volume_XX&oldid=14316848 (accessed November 26, 2024).

46. A. Ira Grimm, 102-09.

Appendix: Works by Albert F. W. Grimm (Alfred Ira), 1864-1922

I. Literary Works in German

Gotthold I. Eine Erzählung aus dem Seelsorgerleben von der Pastorin selbst erzählt. St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1897.

Der Prachtjunge. Eine Erzählung aus dem Landleben. St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, ca. 1898.

Gotthold II. Aus dem Seelsorgerleben. Von der Pastorin Anna selbst erzählt. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1899.

Das Stiefmütterchen. *Erzählung aus den Kupferminen am Superiorsee für das christliche Volk.* Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1898.

Des Pastors Nachlass. *Eine Erzählung aus dem Gemeindeleben für Gemeindeglieder und alle, die es werden wollen.* 2. Bände. Illustriert von G. Ruhland. Schön in Leinwand gebunden mit Goldtitel und Marmorschnitt. Wird nur in beiden Bänden abgeben. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1900.

Seile der Liebe. Eine Erzählung aus dem Stadtleben für christliche Jugendvereine. Illustriert von A. O. Leutheusser. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1900.

Das Sägemühldorf. Eine Erzählung aus dem Menomoneeaufstande in Staate Wisconsin. Illustriert von A. O. Leutheusser. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1901.

Der Missionsplatz. Eine Erzählung aus der kirchlichen Missionstätigkeit im Staate Wisconsin. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1902.

Liebe. Erzählung für das reifere Christenvolk. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1903.

Der falsche Prophet. *Eine Erzählung aus dem Pfarramte für alle Amtsbrüder und solche, die am Wohl und Wehe des Reiches Gottes innigen Anteil nehmen*. Illustriert von A. O. Leutheusser. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1905.

Das Sägemühldorf. Eine Erzählung aus dem Menomoneeaufstande im Staate Wisconsin. Rev. ed. Illustriert von A. O. Leutheusser. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1907.

Im Zuckerbusch. *Eine Erzählung aus dem Landleben*. In zwei Bänden. Illustriert von Prof. A. O. Leutheusser. Wird nur in beiden Bänden abgeben. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1909. (Scan available online through HathiTrust)

Aus der alten Kaffeemühle. *Geschichten aus der Studentenzeit*. Illustriert mit Federzeichnungen und lichtbildlichen Wiedergaben. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1911. (12 short stories) (Scan available through Internet Archive)

Bilder aus dem Reisepredigerleben. Erzählungen aus der Missionstätigkeit, meistens im Staate

Wisconsin. Mit photographischen Aufnahmen. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1913. (24 short stories)

Sommerfäden. *Sonderbare Geschichten für nachdenkliche Leute*. Illustriert von O. Lüdicke und mit photographischen Aufnahmen versehen. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1913. (14 short stories)

Unter dem Apfelbaum und drei andere Erzählungen aus dem Gemeindeleben. Illustriert von Max Dressler. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1914. (Scan available online through HathiTrust)

Wenn man's gut meint. Gemütlich-humoristische Erzählungen aus dem Gemeindeleben. Illustriert von G. Wind. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1915. (11 short stories)

Erwürden Nudel. Eine Erzählung von der Herrlichkeit des ewigen Evangeliums. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1917.

Dodai. A Booklet of consolation in illness and health, but particularly for those that are sick, that they may turn away from earthly things an set their hearts on things that are above. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1921.

Unter Uns. *Intime Episoden und Andekdoten aus dem Leben und Wirken der Klerikalen.* Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1921.

Ehrwürdens Vereine. *Vereinsgeschichten aus dem Gemeindeleben*. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1922.

II. Literary Works in English Translation

Father Noodle. A Narrative of the Glory of the Everlasting Gospel. Trans. and adapted, J. T. Mueller. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1918.

Dodai. Trans. K. E. Sihler. Antigo, WI: Antigo Publishing Company, 1921.
The Shadow of a Crime. Based on Alfred Ira's *Seile der Liebe* by Mary E. Ireland. St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1916.

Stepmuvver: A Tale of the Copper Country. Trans. E. F. Engelbert.
Walther League Messenger, 32, no. 3-12 (October, 1923—July, 1924).

III. Dramas

A. German

Ehrlich währt am längsten. 12 bis 20 Personen. n.d.

Der Flecktyphus. Dramatisches Spiel für 2 weibliche und 4 männliche Rollen. ca. 1915.

Knutschdoctor Stremel. 9 männliche und 5 weibliche Rollen. n.d.

Die Leinfenz. 1 weibliche and 8 männliche Rollen. n.d.

Die nirnodzige Raadz. 4 männliche und 4 weibliche Rollen. n.d.

Spiele für Jugendvereine. Für gesellige Abende in der Familie und im Vereinslokal. Zusammengestellt von A. Grimm. n.d.

*Weihnachten im Felde***.** Dramatisches Spiel für 8 männliche Rollen. ca. 1915.

Der Weihnachtsmann (Weihnachtsspiel). Dec. 1, 1918.

B. English

A Bad Mix-Up. ca. 1921.

The Cerebroscope. n.d.

The Chiropractor. ca. 1914.

The German Hunters. ca. 1921.

Grapejuice. ca. 1914.

Hatching the Lucky Egg. 1920.

*Honesty is the Best Policy***.** ca. 1914.

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If a Body Meet a Body. ca. 1916.

A Nail in the Floor. n.d.

Painting the Church Red. ca. 1916.

Ruled by Suffragettes. A Play for 15 Female Characters in Two Scenes. ca. 1914.

The Soap Club. 1916.

Wanted A Wife. A Humorous Play for Two Male and Two Female Characters. ca. 1914.

IV. Short Stories

"Geistreich: Eine Humoreske." *Jahrbuch des Verbandes deutscher Schriftsteller in Amerika*. New York, 1911. 48-55 pp.

"My Rival." Trans. Hilton C. Oswald. *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 53, 1 (Spring 1982): 23-28.

"Pastor Stute in Langlade County." Trans. A. Ira Grimm. *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 51, 4 (Winter 1980): 172-78.

"Die Überraschung." *Die Glocke* (October 15, 1907): 324-28.

V. Articles

"Blumenpflege im Zimmer." *Abendschule-Kalender* (St. Louis, MO: Lange, 1896), 131-48.

VI. Music Collections

62 Melodien der gebräuchlichsten Choräle und Lieder für Blaschöre zusammengestellt von A. Grimm. (ca.1900)

Unterhaltungslieder: eine Sammlung von Solos, Duetten und Chören für weibliche and männliche Stimmen. (ca. 1900)

VII. Works by E. J. Freund (Dialogues, Recitations, Plays)

A. German

Rätselneckerei. No. 1. n.d.

Der arme Knabe. Nützliches Bibelwissen. No. 2. n.d.

Neid bringt Leid. Sonntagsmorgenscene. Der König und der Bauer. No. 3. n.d.

Für die Kleinen. No. 4. n.d.

Humoristische Vorträge in verschiedenen Dialekten. No. 5. n.d.

Deklamationen für größere Kinder. No. 6. n.d.

Ich suche Arbeit für 5 Knaben und 2 Mädchen. Dialoge und Vorträge für Schulfeste. No 31. 1915. 12 pp.

Dialoge und Vorträge für Jugendvereine, No. 33. 16 pp. (incl. poems: "Karl hat Zahnschmerzen," "Vergiß die deutsche Sprache nicht") n.d.

B. English

The Wild Man. No. 1. n.d.

Quenching Tyranny. No. 2. n.d.

An Interrupted Birthday Party. No. 3. n.d.

Stop that Fiddle. No. 4. n.d.

Schooling Future Housewives. Talking Slang. No. 5. n.d. 22 pp.

The Inventor. *Hiring a Confidential Clerk.* No. 6. n.d.

Barking up the Wrong Tree. No. 7. n.d.

Don't Lose Your Temper. No. 8. n.d.

Of a Pleasing Disposition. No. 9. n.d.

According to the Cook Book. No. 10. n.d.

A Home for the Lady Clerks. No. 11. n.d.

School Examinations. No. 12. n.d.

Bunny, Cunny, Funny. *Inquiring for Items of Census.* No. 13. n.d.

Choice Humerous Recitations. No. 14. n.d.

Her First Birthday. No. 15. n.d.

That Spot on the Stairs. No. 16. n.d.

If I was President. No. 17. n.d.

A Good Investment. No. 18. n.d.

A Lesson in Geography. No. 19. n.d.

Strike out My Name. No. 20. n.d.

Curing Defective Sight. No. 21. n.d.

Five O'Clock Tea. No. 22. n.d.

Mr. Briggs has got La Grippe. No. 23. n.d.

The Virtue Toilers. No. 24. n.d.

Going to the Poor House. No. 25. n.d.

At the Corner Drug Store. No. 26. n.d.

In the Postoffice. No. 31. n.d. 20 pp.

The Difficult Examination. No. 33. n.d.

The Haunted House. No. 34. n.d. 22 pp.

Blumenstein's Toot Horn. No. 35. n.d.

At the Grocery. Dialog for Six Males and Four Females. Dialogs for Young People's Societies. No. 45. n.d.

The Smart Country School. No. 52. n.d.

A Bad Mix-Up. Dialog for 5 Males. No. 55. 1920.

Hatching the Lucky Egg, No. 56. 1920.

The Soap Club. Dramatical Plays for Young Peoples' Societies. 1916.

VIII. Works by E. Stern

Selections for choir were signed with the *nom de plume* E. Stern. Compositions for band and orchestra were signed with his own name, A. F. W. Grimm.

IX. Unsigned Works Published by Antigo Publishing Company that may be by Alfred Ira

American Humor. Poetic and Prose. For Reading and Speaking at the Schoolroom, the Society Hall, Social Gathering and all Entertainments, where Genuine Harmless Humor, Clean and Wholesome Fun is desired. n.d.

Deutscher Humor: Poesie und Prosa zum Vorlesen und Vortragen auf geselligen Zusammenkünften. n.d. 128 pp.

Geburtstagswünsche für die Geburtstage des Vaters, der Mutter, der Großeltern, des Onkels, der Tante, des Pastors und Lehrers und anderer Personen. n.d.

X. Works by other Authors Published by Antigo Publishing Company

Karpinsky, R. *Lustige Sachen für Mädchen zum Lachen. Vorträge für Jungfrauen.* n.d.

Vonderau, M. I. *Paul und Peter. Eine possierliche Knabengeschichte in Reimen.* Mit 80 Illustrationen von A. O. Leutheusser. n.d.

Sebastian Döpp

Ernst Jäckh: A Broker of Turkish-American and German-American Relations 1940-59

Introduction

"Here a German-American, to whom Germany and the USA are equally familiar and dear, writes about the inner affinity between the two peoples as the future of their cooperation."[1] With these words, Ernst Jäckh describes his 1951 book Amerika und Wir directly on the cover, so that everyone is immediately aware of his position as speaker. He speaks from two perspectives, the German and the American, or rather from a combination of the two. During his time in the United States, Jäckh worked intensively on German-American relations and the ongoing rapprochement between the two former enemies. Here he saw a special function for himself, the "German-American," namely that of a broker of bilateral relations. He sought this role on his own authority and independently of state structures and did not have an "official" mandate for his activities. However, Jäckh focused his work not only on German-American relations, but also on American-Turkish relations. Through the founding of an American-Turkish Society,[2] extensive academic work and many public lectures and op-eds in newspapers, Jäckh tried to promote greater understanding of Turkey in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. Again, Jäckh saw himself as a broker of these two spheres, as will be shown in this paper. However, Jäckh was not only valued as a scholar and publicist in the USA, but also as an ideological representative of the "new Germany":

> He is one of the great and forward-looking men of the new Germany. As the head of the "Hochschule für Politik" at

> Berlin and as the expert and right-hand man of Stresemann at Locarno and subsequent conferences, as well as a writer and historian Ernst Jäckh has come to be known as an outstanding authority on international relations. He is even more than a scholar, expert and politician, he is the German representative of the new political ideology.[3]

But why did Ernst Jäckh, a German academic and publicist who arrived in his "second exile" in 1940, choose these activities at the end of his academic and journalistic career? Why is it that he devoted the last years 20 years of his life and work to these two bilateral spheres?

Biographical Background

Ernst Friedrich Wilhelm Jäckh (or later anglicized and interchangeably used) Ernest Jackh was born on February 22, 1875, in Urach near Reutlingen in the Kingdom of Württemberg. After graduating from the Karls-Gymnasium Ernst Jäckh continued his education and studied in Stuttgart, Breslau, Geneva, Munich and Heidelberg, focusing on German and French literature, history and art history, political science and psychology and subsequently obtained his doctorate in Heidelberg in 1899. Jäckh then worked for various newspapers and magazines before becoming editor in chief of the Neckar-Zeitung in 1902 at the age of just 27. The Neckar-Zeitung, which he politically oriented in a liberal democratic way, quickly gained a nationwide readership under his tenure.[4]

During this activity, he formed a formidable collaboration and friendship with Theodor Heuss, the future first President of Germany. Heuss, while studying in Munich, worked as a correspondent for the Neckar-Zeitung. In 1907, Heuss and Jäckh helped Friedrich Naumann,[5] one of the leading liberal thinkers in Germany, by organizing his election campaign for the Reichstag seat in Heilbronn, which ultimately was successful and got Naumann elected. The two journalists, Jäckh and Heuss, became close friends in the progress, which can also be said about Jäckh and Naumann.[6] Naumann later also played a key role in introducing Jäckh to other influential German political figures, such as the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Marschall von Bieberstein.[7]

At this time, Jäckh's political and ideological positioning can best be characterized as national-social-liberal according to the ideas of Friedrich Naumann. He would remain more or less faithful to this political direction throughout his life, expanding and modifying it to suit his own purposes. On Naumann's advice and to recover from the tedious 1907 election campaign, Jäckh traveled to the Ottoman Empire for the first time in 1908. Planned

merely as a vacation trip, Jäckh found a vocation there that would accompany him for the rest of his life: the German-Ottoman and later German-Turkish relations.

In Constantinople, Jäckh befriended Alfred Kiderlen-Wächter[8], at that time Deputy State Secretary at the Foreign Office. Kiderlen-Wächter managed to "finally" bring Jäckh to Berlin, to get the organizationally gifted journalist a position in the civil service, which he turned down. Jäckh was then appointed to the position of managing director of the Deutscher Werkbund,[9] which he held for over twenty years despite his other activities.[10] This independence from government and state institutions, which Jäckh always tried to maintain also impressed his contemporaries. The art critic and publicist Karl Scheffler wrote retrospectively in his autobiography about Ernst Jäckh:

> Jäckh knew the whole world, had irons in the fire everywhere, was interested committed, took a political view of all issues. But he never pushed for the front row. He had a need for power from a second row. His nature had the characteristics of those men who are called 'kingmakers.'[11]

After moving to Berlin, Jäckh handed over the editorship of the Neckar-Zeitung to Theodor Heuss. He also traveled more often to the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East in general and agitated for a German-Turkish alliance. These activities only increased with the outbreak of the First World War and Jäckh founded the Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung (German-Turkish Association). For his work behind the scenes on the German-Turkish alliance, he was awarded the Iron Cross First Class. In this context, he also used his position and standing to obfuscate emerging knowledge about the Armenian Genocide.[12]

The war ended badly not only for the German Reich, as Jäckh lost his only son Hans, who fell on his first day on the Western Front in France at the age of 18 in the final days of the war. The lost war and the lost son marked a turning point in Jäckh's life and political thinking, as from then on Jäckh was preoccupied with peace and international understanding. He founded the German Union for the League of Nations and the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, which Jäckh was to lead as its president until 1933.[13]

As President of the Hochschule für Politik and in the course of his many other activities, Jäckh increasingly became a player in and broker of cultural and academic policy – not only in Weimar Germany. Jäckh sought all kinds of financial support for the Hochschule and applied for funding from the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. In this context, Jäckh developed a close relationship with the president of Columbia University and

of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Nicholas Murray Butler.[14] In the course of the 1920s, Jäckh also became one of Rockefeller Foundation's more important advisors in Europe.[15]

American Approaches

Starting in 1925, Jäckh traveled to the United States annually, visiting all 48 states (Alaska and Hawaii were not yet incorporated) and lecturing at over 200 institutions.[16] On these trips, Jäckh spoke on many topics, but above all on his blueprint for a new "Western" world order and on the Hochschule für Politik. In Jäckh's design, the United States was the "world builder" and the new Germany an important cornerstone of the new Western world, which could and should take over leadership in Europe. Jäckh can be regarded as one of the foremost brokers of post-war reconciliation between Weimar Germany and the United States. Liberal politicians and educators were among the most important players in this field at the time, and Jäckh played his role among the likes of Prussian Minister of Culture Carl Heinrich Becker, economist Alfred Weber, legal scholars Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Walther Schücking, and scientists Albert Einstein and Max Planck.[17] The German Foreign Office regularly tried to approach these brokers, if there was an article to be written, a conference to be attended or a lecture to be held that could be useful for its transatlantic endeavors.[18] Ernst Jäckh played an especially vital role with his Hochschule für Politik and his friendship with Nicholas Murray Butler, providing spaces and networks for rebuilding Germany's transatlantic academic relations.[19]

Ernst Jäckh was not only regarded as one of the foremost representatives of this new transatlanticism in Germany. In the United States, he quickly developed a reputation to be representing the "new Germany" with his lectures, interviews and op-eds. He also managed to secure more funding for the Hochschule from the Carnegie Endowment through Nicholas Murray Butler.[20] In America, Jäckh also wrote short articles for local newspapers and gave his first radio lecture on the Hochschule für Politik in 1926. The Hochschule was seen by a broad mass of the informed and educated American upper class as a good example of political education for the "citizen" that could serve as a model for the United States.[21] On one of his trips in 1926, he also married his second wife Marta in New York City.[22]

He published the aforementioned book America und Wir in 1929, which summarized six of his Berlin radio lectures for a German and international audience. This work was generally reviewed very positively in Germany and the United States and was seen as an important book for international understanding.[23] However, he also argued for a German-American "alliance of

ideas" and for the clear recognition of the new world order: the democratic, free and capitalist West, consisting largely of the axis "United States - Germany - Turkey" against the "spectre of communism," the Soviet Union.[24]

The year 1933 naturally changed everything for Ernst Jäckh. His Hochschule für Politik, which also had many Jewish lecturers, was to be incorporated into Goebbels Ministry for Propaganda. Jäckh at first tried to adapt to the new National Socialist Government, tried to bend the Hochschule into shape but to no avail.[25] He ultimately resigned from his post and emigrated to the United Kingdom in the same year.

Emigration and Exile

His work in Great Britain is not the subject of this paper, so I will only briefly mention the most important stages of his career. Together with other influential figures in the field of international relations, he founded the New Commonwealth Society, an association to promote pacifism and disarmament.[26] He also founded an Anglo-Turkish association, at least somewhat modeled after his Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung, which does not seem to exist anymore. Before and after becoming a naturalized British citizen in 1938, he worked for the British Foreign Office in different (freelance) jobs. In these contexts, he used his contacts in Turkey and the Balkans to work against Nazi Germany on behalf of the British government.[27] When it became known that he was watched by and finally put on a blacklist of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt,[28] he received a call from Nicholas Murray Butler to Columbia University in 1940 to protect him from a possible German invasion of the United Kingdom.[29]

He accepted this call and began his work as Professor of International Relations in New York City in the same year. Here, Jäckh used his old connections, especially from the time he served as the president of the Hochschule für Politik in the 1920s and was also awarded a Carnegie Fellowship. However, Jäckh did not just intend to teach at the university, he also wanted to shape the structures that he now found himself surrounded by. According to his ideas of politics, democracy and international understanding, Jäckh first wanted to influence American academia and then also American politics. He set out to establish a Near- and Middle-East Institute at Columbia and an American-Turkish Society. Jäckh saw Turkey and consequently the entire Middle East, as an emerging region and the most important pillar against the current threat of fascism and the potential threat of communism.[30]

For Jäckh, Turkey's geographical position and its neutrality made it one of the most important players in stopping Hitler from military success in Northern Africa and the Caucasus. If the Nazis were to be granted free passage through Turkey and Asia Minor, the Allies would be divided and greatly

weakened. Even though Jäckh was a staunch anti-communist, he saw the necessity of a united "common" front against Nazi Germany that included the Soviet Union as well. This Turkish neutrality, which in his eyes stood firm against Germany, he called "Red-Light Neutrality."[31] He contrasted Turkey's neutrality with Sweden's and Switzerland's, which he called "Green-Light Neutrality", as they let Hitler's troops freely pass through their territories. Turkey, on the other hand, would even fight against the Nazis to protect its neutrality and therefore sovereignty.[32]

He was convinced that it was necessary to move closer to this region academically and politically and that the United States had a lot of catching up to do here. His endeavors, mainly the planned Middle East Institute and the American-Turkish Society, were important possible players to achieve exactly that. It can be argued that Jäckh built up the importance of Turkey for the war effort so eagerly to strengthen his own importance. As he regarded himself to be one of the foremost experts on Turkey with an extensive network of old friends, acquaintances and colleagues in the region, he would naturally be the one to broker this (renewed) US-Turkish relationship.

"Türken-Jäckh" in America – Institutionalization of his Ideas

According to his own accounts in the US, Jäckh found a lot of "buzzwords, ignorance, stereotypes, Tales from One Thousand and One Nights" about Turkey and the Middle East.[33] This was unacceptable to him, especially because of the important position Turkey had in his worldview. As a first step, he proposed the founding of the Near and Middle East Institute mentioned above, which was met with open arms but also with empty wallets. He was reassured that such a project could only be tackled after the war was won. As part of his talks to acquire funds, Jäckh founded the American Turkish Society with American and Turkish colleagues in 1949. This association was intended to strengthen cultural and political ties between the United States and Turkey and to promote understanding between the two peoples. According to Jäckh, his excellent relations with the State Department was vital in the success of the American Turkish Society, as it won over Edwin Wilson, then ambassador to Turkey, to be its inaugural president.[34]

But even after 1945, there was neither much interest from the university management nor any money for his Near- and Middle-East Institute. His friend and advocate at Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler, who previously told Jäckh that the Institute could be established after the war, lost his sight in 1945 and resigned from his post shortly after. His interim successor showed little interest in Jäckh's ideas, which forced him to seek support elsewhere. Renewed interest and support he found with two colleagues: Historian William

Westermann and Professor of Government Schuyler C. Wallace, both experts on the Middle East. Meanwhile, Jäckh was told that the necessary funds for his Institute would not be available for at least another ten years.[35]

In order to be able to implement his plans anyway, Jäckh set about doing what he was best at: Acquiring funds. According to Schuyler C. Wallace, Jäckh went looking for money "with a freshness and enthusiasm that is otherwise natural for a man in his thirties."[36] Jäckh calculated that he needed to provide half of the funds from outside the University and thus turned to the respective government representatives of the countries in the Middle East. The networks he had built up over decades in the region helped him greatly: He spoke to statesmen from Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Greece, Syria and the Arab League. These men knew Jäckh from many different occasions. Some studied under him in Berlin during World War I (Turkey, Egypt), some worked with him at the New Commonwealth Institute in London (Turkey), others visited his seminars in London (Pakistan, Egypt, Arab League) or at Columbia (Iran), or were simply old friends like Nahum Goldmann (Israel).[37] This process illustrates how Jäckh used his networks that he built up throughout his life to fund and achieve his goals, regardless of where he currently resided. As a result, he received a binding commitment from each government for the annual sum of $100,000 over a period of ten years, a total of 1 million dollars from each country. With these funds and the enthusiastic approval of the new president of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jäckh was finally able to establish his institute.[38] By the end of the 1950s, over 300 students were already studying there on average, supervised by 26 lecturers.[39] Columbia was also very grateful for Jäckh's persistent commitment to the establishment of the Institute, as documented by a letter of Provost Grayson Kirk.[40]

Jäckh, now 80 years old, was far from ready to retire. He continued to publish books on Turkey and the Middle East, increasingly in the 1950s with his close collaborator and later rumored romantic partner, Ruth Nanda Anshen. His books continued to be reviewed quite favorably, with the exception of his translated and revised version of Der aufsteigende Halbmond published in 1944 as The Rising Crescent for a US audience, that, according to Jäckh, was not as well versed in the region and its politics and history. The book received mixed reviews, among them an especially negative one by the Armenian historian Arshag Ohan Sarkissian:

> This work by a former German professor who now teaches at Columbia University is a highly colored apologia for Turkey. [...] Everywhere the Turk bestowed the blessings of good government upon all his subjects. Religious and racial mi-

> norities were given privileges unknown in western Europe; and if at times these minorities were maltreated, or even massacred en masse, one must not condemn such acts without "bearing in mind the time factor" and the circumstances under which these acts were committed (p. 42).[41]

Ernst Jäckh, from the onset of his interest in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century, could never fully distance himself from the Hamidian and later Young Turk propaganda, especially when it came to the so-called Armenian Question. His whole life he downplayed the massacres[42] of the Armenians under Ottoman rule and subsequently the 1915/16 Genocide altogether. The apologia Sarkissian is writing about (p. 42 of The Rising Crescent) is regarding Jäckh's description of the massacres. In not more than two pages of his 278-page book, Jäckh explains that "massacring the enemy has been an age-old endemic instrument of total warfare" and:

> When the Christians have been the unfortunate victims [of massacres by "Mohammedans"], the incident has been headlined and dramatized and used as just one more example of the practices of the "bloody Turk." On the other hand, when innocent Mohammedans have been the victims, likely as not the case has been disregarded or misrepresented. This has been particularly true since the Treaty of Berlin, which made the Armenians the wards of Britain.[43]

In the past, Jäckh was often criticized for his taking sides and reproducing Turkish propaganda about the massacres and the Genocide, and he continued in the US what he started in the 1910s in Germany.

With the founding of NATO in 1949, Jäckh expanded his field of activity and argued vehemently for the inclusion of Germany and Turkey in the new defensive alliance. He actively tried to influence the relevant authorities in American politics and traveled to Germany and Turkey for meetings. [44] He also continued to serve on the Board of Directors of the American Turkish Society as Executive Vice-President.[45]

"Amerikakunde für Europa"[46] – Jäckh as a Transatlantic Educator?

After Turkey was admitted to NATO in 1952, he concentrated increasingly on Germany and tried to exert influence through his good relationships with Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer, Bundespräsident and long-term friend Theodor Heuss and Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had been US President since

1953. When in 1953 Adenauer and Eisenhower declared that their respective countries and peoples should move closer together through cultural and political initiatives, Jäckh saw this as a personal call-to-action. He wanted to establish a "George-Washington-Institut" for American Studies in Stuttgart, which he saw as a necessity to follow Adenauer's and Eisenhower's political directive.[47]

Jäckh secured the support of long-term friend and representative of Robert Bosch (of Robert Bosch GmbH) Hans Walz, who repeatedly helped to acquire funds (mainly from Bosch himself) for Jäckh's many endeavors – like the Hochschule für Politik, Deutscher Werkbund, Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung, Deutsche Völkerbundliga or the New Commonwealth Society. The two men chose Stuttgart for their institute, mainly because of their personal connections to the city and the region, but also because they planned to use the 1949 reestablished Washington-Gedächtnis-Bücherei as a base upon which the institute was to be built.[48] Together with Ruth Nanda Anshen, Jäckh, again, set out to seek funding in the US. He asked his contacts at the Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford foundations and managed to win over the High Commissioners for Germany John McCloy and Lucius Clay. The foundations were reluctant to fund his institute, but McCloy and Clay were convinced and offered federal support.[49] However, Washington DC demanded proof of "stability and continuity" from the German side, i.e., long-term funding from the city (Stuttgart), the state (Baden-Württemberg) and the federal government in order to be independent of US funds in the future. After some negotiations, Jäckh managed to obtain commitments from all of these bodies: The city of Stuttgart provided DM 50,000 per year and a building plot worth DM 1 million in the center of the city (Stadtgarten), the state of Baden-Württemberg provided DM 50,000, the federal government DM 100,000 and businesses from the region another DM 100,000 per year. Jäckh had the explicit approval of Adenauer and Heuss, but in the end the institute, which was already believed to be set in stone, failed due to the Minister of Finance, who, against Heuss' and Adenauer's protest, cut all funds for "cultural activities" from the budget for "austerity reasons."[50] In the end, the "only" thing that remained was the establishment of the "Institute for Empirical Sociology, George Washington Foundation" at the Mannheim School of Economics, which was set up without federal funding, but with the help of Jäckh's acquired funds and lobbying.[51]

In Jäckh's final years he pivoted more and more from trying to directly influence transatlantic politics and relations as a political broker to a cultural actor that tried to influence public perception in Germany and the US, respectively. He repeatedly asked himself if there would be "historical understanding, human experience and political trust" for the new Germany in the old United States, after everything that Germany did after "thirteen years of

the Hitler-Episode of terrorist Pan-Germany?"[52] In order to achieve this brokering of understanding between the American and (West-)German people, Jäckh tried to elevate himself to some kind of unofficial messenger or even ambassador of Heuss and Adenauer. He writes clearly why he thinks he is the right man for the job and where his credentials and legitimacy come from:

> Just as for Weimar, it was now necessary to gain trust for the men and the mentality of Bonn – through advice in the State Department, especially in the German department, through interviews, lectures and publications. My legitimation was not only my Weimar past of a proven straightforwardness, but also the part of it that was known: long-standing friendship with the presidential candidate prophesied years ago and soon to be elected President by the Bundestag, Theodor Heuss (since 1902), and with the equally earlier announced and characterized Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (since our cooperation in 1913-1914 and again from 1920-1933).[53]

For the Encyclopedia Americana Jäckh was tasked to organize the article about the new Germany – among the authors for the sub-sections were Ruth Nanda Anshen, Emil Dovifat, Karl Löwenstein and Theodor Heuss.[54] Heuss was responsible for the sections "People" and "Political Division."[55] With his close collaborator Ruth Nanda Anshen, Jäckh established the World Perspectives series in 1954 published by Harper & Brothers (now HarperCollins). The series was planned and edited by Anshen, Jäckh mainly served on the Board of Editors, together with Niels Bohr, J. Robert Oppenheimer and others. The series was dedicated to "the concept of man born out of a universe perceived through a fresh vision of reality. Its aim is to present short books written by the most conscious and responsible minds of today."[56] Jäckh used his position to grant volume five to such a "conscious and responsible" mind: Konrad Adenauer. The volume, designed to be an anthology of Adenauer speeches, was titled and introduced by Jäckh himself. According to him, the book was supposed to illustrate Adenauer's ideas about German and European politics, economy, culture and social problems for an American and worldwide audience.[57] Jäckh, who "prophesied" Adenauer's chancellorship, also saw himself as the facilitator of his thoughts and political ideas in the United States. This self-fashioning becomes undoubtedly obvious in his introduction of World Indivisible:

> The present Chancellor of the German Federal Republic has been called by Prime Minister Churchill "the best German statesman since Bismarck," and by President Eisenhower

> "one of the great statesmen of the world." […] Twenty-five years ago I myself ventured to prophesy that "Adenauer's statesmanlike qualities of intuition, initiative and courage will give him historic rank as a European statesman."[58]

First, Jäckh elevates Adenauer to one of the greatest statesmen in the world using quotes from Churchill and Eisenhower to add gravitas, then he directly inserts himself as the prophet of this statesman, who saw his qualities before others. In the introduction Jäckh explicitly stresses Adenauer's idea of the "New Era of World Unity," which directly corresponds to Jäckh's own design for a new world order.[59] According to him, the book received widespread acclaim and was reviewed unanimously positively,[60] but some reviews were, in fact, devastating:

> In 15 chapters we are handed a hodgepodge of material. The fragmentary content and questionable sequence of the chosen passages are clear proof that Nanda Anshen and Ernest Jackh are unfamiliar with the spiritual and political philosophy of Konrad Adenauer […]. For this lack we must not blame Adenauer himself, but the reprehensible ignorance of Adenauer's ethico-political creed and statesmanlike program shown by the compilers of this anthology. […] And then there is the questionable ten-page introduction by Ernest Jackh, with its embarrassing formula of identification, "Adenauer and I."[61]

In 1949, Jäckh had also tried to get newly elected President Heuss to agree to a similar book with short articles and speeches, which the latter then declined. For the first volume of his autobiography, Jäckh had also proposed an "Introduction by the Bundespräsident" without consulting with Heuss beforehand. Heuss seemed very much not amused by that and declined again.[62] Ironically, Heuss commented in the same letter: "But I don't think your memories need a herald in front of them."[63] Just five years later, Jäckh himself "herolded" Adenauer's World Indivisible. For his 1951 revised edition of Amerika und Wir, Jäckh again tried to get Heuss to write an introduction to the book.

Heuss declined, stating that the request would put him in an awkward position, as he generally declined such requests, but suggested that Jäckh could simply curate a selection of quotes about German-American relations from Heuss for the book. Jäckh appeared highly irritated by Heuss' refusal, writing to him that he simply "could not understand his feeling of awkwardness" and additionally telegraphed Heuss: "Thanks for not writing introduction."[64] In the following correspondence of the same year, Jäckh and Heuss grew visibly

apart and the tone in the letters changed drastically. Heuss was increasingly annoyed by Jäckh and his brazen requests for Amerika und Wir and later in the year also about early drafts of Jäckh's autobiography, which Heuss harshly criticized for its style and self-fashioning, calling parts of it full of "pointed egocentricity."[65]

Jäckh's plans to educate the United States about the new Germany and vice versa, was also not always well received. Elly Heuss-Knapp, politician (FDP), author and wife of Theodor Heuss, received an anonymous letter signed by "Ein Warner" (A Warner) on December 8, 1950. In the letter, the anonymous writer denounces Jäckh in the strongest terms. He alleges, that Jäckh, together with his "girlfriend" Ruth Nanda Anshen, and the State Department, was trying to "educate us Germans," even though he only found his interest in Germany after the war, when it suddenly suited him. Before, Jäckh supposedly had said to be "done with Germany" and his "girlfriend" Ruth Nanda Anshen was "an enemy of Germany" until she had met Jäckh and noticed the potential for her career. The anonymous writer also attacked Jäckh's character, e.g., that he would use the alias Mr. Edward James to covertly check into hotels with Ms. Anshen and furthermore treat his wife Marta horrendously.[66] A direct reaction to this letter by Elly Heuss-Knapp or Theodor Heuss is not available, but it is known that Heuss' friendship with Jäckh quickly deteriorated after they learned of his affair with Anshen.[67] Later Theodor Heuss also denounced Jäckh's character, in regard of the latter's treatment of his second wife Marta and Jäckh's supposed affair with Anshen.[68]

In Germany, newspapers generally wrote positively about Jäckh if he visited his old home country or published a new book. He was regarded as a "political educator of international caliber" by some papers, and an important broker of German-American understanding and relations.[69]

Legacy

How influential or in the end relevant Jäckh's work and endeavors in the United States were, is of course difficult to assess and requires further research. In any case, shortly after his 80th birthday in 1955, Ernst Jäckh was awarded the *Großes Verdienstkreuz* (Grand Cross of the Order of Merit) of the Federal Republic of Germany in recognition of his academic, cultural and political activities.

Ernst Jäckh enjoyed excellent health up until shortly before his 85th birthday, when he died unexpectedly of a stroke in 1959. The memorial service was held at St. Paul's Chapel at Columbia University. The eulogies were delivered by long-time friends Nahum Goldman (President of the World Zionist Organization), Seyfullah Esin (Turkish Ambassador to the UN) and the German Consul General in New York, Dr. Georg Federer.[70]

In the context of his work in the US and also in the broader picture of his life's work, Jäckh can be seen as a representative of a special type of political actor who entered the field of international politics in the first half of the 20th century: a private individual who, usually completely detached from state structures and political parties, who tries to influence and shape the politics of a state according to his own political ideas and ethical convictions. This is also what he set out to do in the final chapter of his life in the United States. From the very beginning, he tried to influence and shape existing institutions, politics and politicians and subsequently managed to create his own tools to do just that: The American-Turkish Society and the Near- and Middle-East Institute at Columbia. He competently used his established networks to acquire funds and political good-will for his plans. In his final ten years, he more and more shifted from influencing institutions to shaping discourse and public perception through his own publications and edited works. For Turkey, he tried to achieve this with the 1944 version of the Rising Crescent, in which he painted the same whitewashed and euphemized image of Turkish and Ottoman history that he propagated during WWI in service of the Kaiser. Especially when it came to the Armenian Genocide and preceding massacres, Jäckh was heavily criticized for his accounts. However, it can be attested that he did have success when it came to brokering American-Turkish relations after WWII, using his aforementioned institutions and publications.

When it comes to the German-American relations, he championed his Amerika und Wir as a guidebook on American history and German-American relations of the two "Schwester-Republiken" – as he liked to call the two countries. He repeatedly tried to position himself as one of the foremost representatives of the "New Germany" in the US, again using his publications, networks and planned institutions like the George-Washington-Institut in Stuttgart. That he was, in fact, perceived to be such a representative is shown by the quote from Rudolf Syring at the beginning of this paper—one of many similar ones. However, the last thing that Jäckh tried to broker was perhaps his own legacy, when he tried to write in existence a triumvirate consisting of Heuss, Adenauer and himself.

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Notes

1. This essay is part of my doctoral project "'Türken-Jäckh' - Ein Player zwischen den Welten. Eine Biografische Analyse eines Politischen Akteurs" that I am conducting at the Institute for Diaspora and Genocide Research and the Institute for Social Movement at the Ruhr University in Bochum. The goal is to create a first political biography and analysis of Ernst Jäckh as a political actor and self-empowered broker of international relations.

2. Ernst Jäckh, *Amerika und Wir 1926-1951. Amerikanisch-deutsches Ideen-Bündnis* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1951), cover. In the following: Jäckh, *Amerika und Wir*. For publications in the US Jäckh used an anglicized version of his name (Ernest Jackh), however, for his German readers and in private correspondence he still used his birthname. Therefore, "Ernst Jäckh" will be used throughout this paper.

3. The society still exists today: https://americanturkishsociety.org.

4. Rudolf Syring, Review of *Amerika und Wir*, by Ernst Jäckh, *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (January 1930), 331-33.

5. Wilhelm von Kampen, *Studien zur deutschen Türkeipolitik in der Zeit Wilhelms II.* (Kiel University, 1968), 282. In the following: von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*.

6. Friedrich Naumann (1860-1919), German theologian, liberal politician and co-founder of the Deutscher Werkbund and the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP).

7. Von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*, 282 and: Theodor Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann. Der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1937), 324f. & 384f.

8. Ernst Jäckh, *Der goldene Pflug* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1954), 123.

9. Before Kiderlen-Wächter's death in 1912, Jäckh was entrusted by the same to manage and publish parts of his estate, which Jäckh subsequently did in two volumes 1924/25: Ernst Jäckh, *Kiderlen-Wächter. Der Staatsmann und Mensch. Briefwechsel und Nachlaß* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1924/25).

10. Deutscher Werkbund (founded 1907) is an association of artists, designers, artisans and architects. Its initial aim was to improve German manufacturing quality and design to make German goods more competitive on the global market.

11. von Kampen, *Türkeipolitik*, 282.

12. Author's translation of: „Jäckh kannte alle Welt, hatte überall Eisen im Feuer, war nach vielen Seiten

13. interessiert und engagiert, sah alle Fragen politisch. Doch drängte er nie an die erste Stelle. Er hatte das Machtbedürfnis aus einer zweiten Position heraus, sein Wesen hatte Eigenschaften jener Männer, die man "Königsmacher" nennt." Karl Scheffler, *Die fetten und die mageren Jahre* (List Verlag, 1948), quoted

14. in: Jäckh, *Der goldene Pflug*, 184, also in: van Kampen, *Deutsche Türkeipolitik*, 283.

15. For more context on Jäckh's involvement during the Armenian Genocide refer to: Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Helden in Zeiten eines Völkermords? Armin T. Wegner, Ernst Jäckh, Henry Morgenthau", in *Johannes Lepsius Eine deutsche Ausnahme. Der Völkermord an den Armeniern*, *Humanitarismus und Menschenrechte*, ed. Rolf Hosfeld (Wallstein, 2013), 127-72.

16. For more context on the Hochschule für Politik refer to: Rainer Eisfeld, *Ausgebürgert und doch angebräunt. Deutsche Politikwissenschaft 1920-1945* (Nomos, 1991) or Siegfrid Mielke, *Einzigartig. Dozenten, Studierende und Repräsentanten der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik (1920 - 1933) im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus ; Begleitband zur Ausstellung* (Lukas-Verlag, 2008).

17. Nicholas Murray Butler (1862-1947), was an American philosopher, diplomat and educator. He served as President of Columbia University, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

18. Ernst Jäckh, *Weltsaat. Erlebtes und Erstrebtes* (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1960), 79-93. In the following: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*.

19. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 105-20.

20. Elisabeth, Piller: *Selling Weimar. German public diplomacy and the United States, 1918-1933* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021), 249. In the following: Piller, *Selling Weimar*.

21. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 249.
22. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 250f.
23. Piller, *Selling Weimar*, 252.
24. See for example: Rose C. Feld "New University Trains Germans for Politics; Dr. Jäckh, Its President, Comes to Urge Cooperation between Americans and Future Leaders in this Country. His Hope Is for Youth," *New York Times*, December 20, 1925, XX8.
25. New York City Department of Records & Information Services, *Marriage Certificate of Ernst F W Jackh and Marta Ruben*, M-M-1926-0013127.
26. See for example the aforementioned review by Rudolf Syring in *The Modern Language Journal*.
27. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 105-20.
28. Eisfeld, *Ausgebürgert und doch angebräunt*, especially 93-136. Also, using material from the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts* (PAAA, Political Archive of the Foreign Office) and the *Bundesarchiv* (Federal Archive) it is possible to reconstruct Jäckh's efforts and negotiations with the new Nazi regime, to preserve the Hochschule's independence by adjusting its profile to the needs of the Hitler and Goebbels.
29. On the *New Commenwealth Society* and Jäckh's involvement refer to: Christoph Ploß, *Die "New Commonwealth Society"* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017).
30. He writes extensively about his endeavors working for the British in *Weltsaat*. Parts of his depictions could also be verified and reconstructed through records at the *National Archives (UK),* for example: National Archives, HO 405 24235.
31. Dossier über Tätigkeiten politischer Feinde des RSHA 1937, Referat II, *Bundesarchiv [BArch]* R58/6614 and Sonderfahndungsliste G.B. der Gestapo, 1940, *Hoover Institution Library & Archives*, DA585.A1 G37 (V).
32. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 210ff.
33. Ernst Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent. Turkey Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Farrar & Rinehart, 1944), 226-43. In the following: Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*.
34. Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*, 244ff.
35. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 221.
36. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 251.
37. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 230.
38. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 252f.
39. Author's translation of „mit einer Frische und Begeisterung, die sonst für einen Mann in den dreißiger Jahren natürlich ist", quoted in Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 253.
40. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 254.
41. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 255.
42. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 259.
43. BArch N 1221/155.
44. A.O. Sarkissian, "untitled", *The American Historical Review* 50, No. 3 (1945), 536f.
45. Here especially the so-called Hamidian Massacres 1894-96 and the Adana Massacre in 1909.
46. Jäckh, *The Rising Crescent*, 42.
47. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 229.
48. BArch, N 1221/155.
49. „American Studies for Europe", Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 260.
50. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 260.
51. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 261f.
52. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 262.
53. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 263-70.

54. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 270.

55. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 272.

56. Author's translation of: „So wie für Weimar, so galt es jetzt, für die Männer und die Mentalität von Bonn Vertrauen zu werben - durch Beratung im State Department, besonders in der deutschen Abteilung, durch Interviews, Vorträge und Publikationen. Meine Legitimation war nicht nur meine Weimarer Vergangenheit einer bezeugten Gradlinigkeit, sondern auch der Teil daraus, der bekannt war: langjährige Freundschaft mit dem vor Jahren prophezeiten Präsidentschaftskandidaten, dem jetzt vom Bundestag zu wählenden Präsidenten Theodor Heuss (seit 1902) und mit dem ebenso früher schon angekündigten und charakterisierten Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer (seit unserer Zusammenarbeit 1913-1914 und nochmals 1920-1933).", in: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.

57. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.

58. Ernst Wolfgang Becker, *Theodor Heuss. Erzieher zur Demokratie. Briefe 1945-1949* (K.G: Saur, 2007), 462, footnote 6.

59. Konrad Adenauer: *World Indivisible. With Liberty and Justice for All* (Harper and Brothers, 1955), ii-ix. In the following: Adenauer, *World Indivisible*.

60. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273.

61. Ernst Jäckh, "1930-1955" [Introduction], in Adenauer, *World Indivisible*, xxi.

62. Ernst Jäckh, "1930-1955" [Introduction], in Adenauer, *World Indivisible*, xxiii.

63. Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 273f.

64. Edgar Alexander, "Adenauer – poorly presented. World Indivisible", review of *World Indivisible. With Liberty and Justice for All,* by Konrad Adenauer. *America Magazine: The Jesuit Review of Faith & Culture* 93, Issue 24 (1955), 566f.

65. BArch N 1221/155.

66. Author's translation of: „Aber ich glaube, deine Erinnerungen brauchen garnicht einen vorangesandten Herold.", in: BArch N 1221/155. In a letter from Dec. 1951, Heuss also wrote to Jäckh, that the latter "did not need to go arm in arm with him [Heus] and Adenauer", because Jäckh's achievements in life would surely speak for themselves.

67. BArch N 1221/155.

68. BArch N 1221/155.

69. BArch N 1221/155.

70. In Theodor Heuss' estate are many letters that reference this deterioration.

71. BArch N 1221/155 and N 1221/240.

72. BArch N 1221/155.

73. Picture of the memorial service's program, in: Jäckh, *Weltsaat*, 332.

Fritz Kusch

A Hero of Two Worlds: The 1910/11 Steuben Statues in Washington and Potsdam and German American Memory Politics

Introduction

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was one of the most significant foreign generals of the Continental Army and a hero of the American Revolution – perhaps the most unlikely one. Born into a Prussian military family in 1730, Steuben quickly rose in the ranks of the Prussian army during the Seven Years' War and even briefly served as an aide-de-camp to King Friedrich II. After a largely unsuccessful employment as the court chamberlain of the financially struggling Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen in Southwestern Germany, Steuben crossed the Atlantic in 1777 to join the American rebels fighting for independence from Great Britain. Although Steuben did not speak English at the time, George Washington soon appointed him as inspector general of the Continental Army. During the winter camp at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1777/78, Steuben was instrumental in drilling and training the American troops. In 1779, he published a drill manual entitled Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States, which remained in use until the War of 1812. In addition, he successfully participated in the battles of Monmouth in 1778 and Yorktown in 1781. After the war, Steuben became an American citizen, was honorably discharged from the army, and retired to Oneida County in upstate New York where he died in 1794.[1]

As with other central figures of the American Revolution, a retrospective mythification and a utilization as a political icon have been defining features of the public commemoration of Steuben since the nineteenth century. His German-Prussian roots predestined Steuben to become a symbol of German-

American friendship, which is frequently invoked by politicians on both sides of the Atlantic to this day. Perhaps even more importantly, Steuben also emerged as the preeminent historical patron of German Americans. The Steuben Society of America, founded in 1919, has served as an advocacy group of German American interests for decades. Since 1957, German Americans have held the famous Steuben Parade in New York City, which draws thousands of visitors every year.[2] However, in contrast to the extensive scholarship dedicated to Steuben and his role in the Revolutionary War, historians have largely neglected the history of this Steuben commemoration.[3] Jürgen Brüstle has recently called attention to this gap in historiography.[4] Apart from an older overview article by Hartmut Lehmann, little has been written on the commemoration, heroization, mythification, and political use of Steuben after his death in 1794.[5]

By investigating the history of the two bronze statues of Steuben erected in Washington, D.C. and Potsdam, this article seeks to broaden our understanding of Steuben's public afterlife and its intersection with German American demands for political recognition and inclusion. The statue in Washington, unveiled on December 7, 1910, in close proximity to the White House, arguably represents the most visible and prestigious manifestation of German Americans' admiration for Steuben. The unveiling ceremony was among the largest German American political gatherings of the early twentieth century. The original idea went back to a German American congressional initiative from 1902. An exact replica of the Washington statue was later erected in Potsdam and unveiled on September 2, 1911, with the German Emperor Wilhelm II in attendance. It was the first public monument to Steuben in Germany and was presented as an official diplomatic gift from the United States to the German Empire – again initiated by German Americans in Congress.

Through the two statues, German Americans did not just express their admiration for Steuben and his achievements during the Revolutionary War. The statues were inextricably linked to a political demand for public representation and official recognition of the German American ethnic community. Perceiving the German American community as facing crisis and decline in the early twentieth century, German American ethnic leaders utilized the Steuben statues to publicly assert the social status of German Americans and to gain broader political and social recognition – in the United States but also in Germany. The initiative for the Washington statue was rooted in the belief that publicly honoring Steuben also served as a recognition of and tribute to the German American community as a whole. By inscribing Steuben, and by extension German Americans, into national American history and by claiming the prestigious space of the national capital, German

American ethnic leaders sought to secure their status within American society, but also to strengthen German American group identity. As an official and lasting recognition of German Americans through the United States government, the Washington Steuben statue was arguably the highpoint of the German American Steuben myth. With the gift of a replica to Germany, this venture in ethnic memory politics moved onto the diplomatic stage, shifting the German American recognition demand toward their ancestral homeland. In Washington, German Americans sought to affirm their status within American society. In Potsdam, the Steuben statue served to remind their old fatherland of German Americans' achievements abroad.

In describing the common admiration of Steuben and the popular narrative constructed around him as a myth, the article builds on two conceptualizations of myths. On the one hand, it refers to Heike Bungert's understanding of myths as collectively remembered forms of expression that narratively connect the present with the past to reduce complexities, to legitimize actions in the present, and to create and reinforce contemporary group identities.[6] More specifically the article builds on the concept of homemaking myths as developed by Orm Øverland. He discusses how European immigrant groups used historical narratives, homemaking myths, to justify their own presence in the United States and to claim equal status within American society. According to Øverland, American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries functioned as a hierarchy of different ethnic groups. Through the strong assimilation pressure exerted by Anglo-Saxons, who were at the top of that hierarchy, other ethnic groups were forced to compete for status and acceptance. In this competition, European immigrant communities attempted to prove their Americanness by demonstrating their contributions to the American nation. To Øverland, history was the central battle ground on which this competition was carried out. As almost all European immigrant groups developed such narrative strategies to gain and secure acceptance in American society, homemaking myths are, according to Øverland, an "essential feature of American ethnicity in this period."[7]

Prominent historical individuals, called ethnic heroes by Øverland, were an integral part of most homemaking myths. The achievements and successes of these figures, also called "Kulturheroen" by other scholars, were projected - pars pro toto – onto the entire group.[8] Furthermore, Øverland identifies three distinct types of homemaking myths. Claims to status and recognition could be based on a long-standing presence in North America, exceptional achievements or significant suffering endured for the United States, typically in the context of war, or cultural contributions to the American nation.[9] The history of Steuben, the quintessential German American ethnic hero, could be

told in all three varieties of homemaking myths described by Øverland. Since he participated in the American Revolution, references to Steuben could serve as a reminder of the long-lasting presence of Germans in the United States. As a war hero, Steuben could symbolize the suffering for and commitment to the United States that German Americans had demonstrated. And, as the Drillmaster General of Valley Forge, Steuben could be connected to values like discipline or perseverance, which many German Americans claimed as their contribution to the American national character.

Øverland further argues that historians have tended to dismiss many of these ethnic history narratives as one-sided, romanticized historical fabrications. However, he maintains that these narratives should themselves be historicized and understood as expressions of an intrinsically political demand for inclusion in American society.[10] In other words, Øverland calls on historians not to dismiss these narratives as mere folklore or curiosities but to recognize the profound cultural desire and political demand of belonging to the American nation that ethnic minorities expressed through them. Building on Øverland's argument, this article analyzes the role that German American demands for acceptance and belonging to the American nation played in the erection of the Steuben statues, which can be understood as the physical manifestation of the German American homemaking myth constructed around Steuben. Furthermore, the article seeks to broaden the analytical scope of Øverland's concept of homemaking myths. The intertwined history of the two Steuben statues in Washington and Potsdam demonstrates that the identity constructions and recognition demands, which these myths entailed, could also encompass a transnational dimension. While primarily aimed at American society, the German American Steuben myth also travelled to German Americans' ancestral homeland. In this process, the myth was subject to a complex process of rearrangement and reinterpretation through different actors. German Americans did not just extend their recognition demand or redirect it towards Germany, the Imperial German government simultaneously co-opted the German American homemaking myth and converted Steuben from a symbol of German American achievements in the United States to a general symbol of German-American friendship that served the diplomatic interests of the Empire.

Like the history of the commemoration of Steuben in general, the events surrounding the Steuben statues have so far only been a marginal topic in historical research. The statues are mentioned in passing in several works on the history of German Americans and German-American diplomatic relations, or in compilations of historical monuments.[11] In a National Park Service brochure, William Richards takes an art historical perspective and focuses primarily on the selection of the statue model and sculptor.[12] In addition,

Rainer Lambrecht has authored a detailed but largely descriptive brochure.[13] What is lacking is a careful reconstruction of the political processes that led to the erection of the two statues and a thorough analysis of the motives of the main political actors, especially German American ethnic leaders. Moreover, the history of the statues needs to be integrated into the longer history of the public commemoration of Steuben. To achieve this, the article first examines the longer history of Steuben's public commemoration among German Americans, providing the historical context for the Washington Steuben statue. The following sections deal with the political processes that produced the two statues in Washington and Potsdam.

As outlined, this essay is specifically concerned with the political interpretation of the meaning of these statues for German Americans. To approach these interpretations, the essay focuses on the German American ethnic leaders who were the driving forces of the two statue projects. The perspectives of political and diplomatic actors from the American and German governments at the time are also considered but are not at the center of analysis. While not necessarily representative of the entire German American ethnic community, the formulation and dissemination of the political and social demands of any ethnic community usually fell to community leaders like journalists, pastors, businessmen, or politicians. They formed an elite of ethnic brokers who acted as intermediaries between the perceptual worlds of the majority society and their ethnic community.[14] In the case of the Steuben statues, Richard Bartholdt, the Republican congressman from St. Louis who initiated the legislative processes, and the leadership of the National German American Alliance (NGAA) were the central actors.

Bartholdt was born in Thuringia in 1855 and emigrated to the United States in 1872. He was editor in chief of the St. Louis Tribune before his election to Congress in 1892. Apart from international peace and arbitration politics, his main political concerns revolved around German Americans. Bartholdt understood himself as the congressional voice of German America. A large German American voting bloc that began to form mainly in the heavily German-populated Midwest in the late nineteenth century formed a core part of the constituency of Bartholdt and other Republicans. In his advocacy of German American interests, Bartholdt cooperated closely with the NGAA.[15] The Alliance was founded in October 1901 with a twofold aim. On the one hand it sought to foster cohesion within the German American community by providing a unifying roof to the varied landscape of German American social clubs and associations. On the other hand, the NGAA acted as a political lobby organization for common German American demands. Greatly aided by the political support organized by figures like Bartholdt, the NGAA could secure official congressional recognition in 1907.[16] Despite

its large membership of over two million in 1909, the NGAA was mostly an organization of the German American middle class. Cultural and economic elites, but also the German American working class were underrepresented in the organization.[17]

Fig. 1: Richard Bartholdt in 1913 (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, [reproduction number LC-DIG-hec-02075]).

The Steuben Myth and the Crisis of German America

To understand why German American ethnic leaders came to advocate for the erection of a Steuben statue in Washington in the early twentieth century, three interrelated historical contexts must be considered: the longer history of the German American Steuben myth, the broader turn to ethnic history in the late nineteenth century, and the perceived crisis facing German America. From its origins in the mid-nineteenth century, the public commemoration of Steuben and his achievements during the Revolutionary War was heavily intertwined with German American attempts to improve and secure the status of the German American community within American society at large. This entanglement of historiography, mythification, and ethnic politics was already evident in the first Steuben biography, published by Friedrich Kapp in German in 1858 and in English the following year.[18] He rediscovered Steuben as a topic of historical interest and laid the groundwork for the subsequent Steuben myth. Kapp, a liberal Forty-Eighter, who emigrated to the United States after the failed revolution in Europe, explicitly pursued political aims with his historical biographies of German American figures like Steuben and later Johann de Kalb.[19] Like other Forty-Eighters, he intended to raise historical consciousness among his fellow German Americans and to equip them with a historical defense argument against the aggressive Know-Nothing nativism of the 1850s.[20] In the introduction of his Steuben biography, Kapp wrote:

> Durch Umstände und Ereignisse, deren Bestimmung nicht von meinem guten Willen abhing, gezwungen, vorläufig im Auslande zu leben, habe ich, seit ich mich in den Vereinigten Staaten aufhalte, mit besonderer Vorliebe in der Geschichte dieses Landes die direkten und indirekten Einwirkungen Europa's auf die Gestaltung der hiesigen Republik studiert. Die nativistische Bewegung, die vor einigen Jahren mit ungezogenerer Heftigkeit als früher sich wieder an die Oberfläche des öffentlichen Lebens drängte, führte mich unwillkürlich zu jenen Fremden, welche die Unabhängigkeit der Vereinigten Staaten begründen halfen und durch ihre uneigennützigen Thaten den Nachkommen jener Unabhängiggewordenen einen beschämenden Spiegel vorhalten. Steuben ist Einer der hervorragendsten unter diesen Fremden …[21]

As a result of his hagiographic intent, his political aims, and the limited collection of sources that Kapp consulted, the book reproduced many legends and half-truths, some of which Steuben had invented himself. For example, Kapp significantly overplayed Steuben's achievements in the Prussian army during the Seven Years' War. Kapp had little information about Steuben's life in Europe and thus followed the account that Steuben had himself propagated after his arrival in the United States. Similarly, Kapp's assessment of Steuben as Washington's most important general and advisor was overstated.[22] Nevertheless, he achieved his goal of rescuing "den braven Steuben … vom Scheintode," and his book remained the authoritative Steuben biography well into the twentieth century.[23]

The influence of Kapp's book also ensured that the hagiographic focus and historical inaccuracy of his Steuben narrative heavily featured in the following wave of German American Steuben admiration. Whereas attempts to erect a monument at Steuben's burial place in Oneida County, New York found only sluggish support among German Americans in the 1850s and 1860s, Steuben soon rose to the status of the most beloved German American ethnic hero.[24] German American writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century competed with each other in their exuberant praises of Steuben and canonized him as the ideal German American. Hardly any of the many compendia amassing German contributions and achievements in American history failed to assign a prominent position to Steuben. And almost all of them adopted Kapp's assessment that, after Washington, Steuben had been the most important general of the Continental Army.[25] As Hartmut Lehmann summarized, "Kein nach Amerika ausgewanderter Deutscher wurde im späten 19. und im 20. Jahrhundert in ähnlicher Weise heroisiert und zu einer Symbolfigur für gute deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen hochstilisiert wie er."[26]

The establishment of Steuben as a historical patron of German Americans was part of a larger trend. In the late nineteenth century, a new, ethnically centered historical consciousness developed among many immigrant groups in the United States – not just among German Americans. This renewed emphasis on ethnic history was a reaction to the Whiggish narratives centered around Anglo-Saxonism that dominated most accounts of American national history in the wake of the American centennial celebrations of 1876. As a counterreaction, many ethnic historians felt prompted to highlight the historical contributions of non-Anglo-Saxons to the American nation.[27] The movement was mostly sustained by amateur historians and chroniclers who gathered in newly founded ethnic historical societies.[28] In the German American case, the bicentennial of the founding of Germantown in Pennsylvania, celebrated in 1883, was a key event for the consolidation of

German American historical consciousness. Often adhering to the motto "Germania's contribution to the land of Columbia," annual German Day celebrations became a fixture in the German American celebratory calendar afterwards and frequently included tributes to Steuben.[29] In this sense, the homemaking myth constructed around Steuben was only one part – albeit a crucial one – of a larger turn to German American ethnic history as a political tool to foster group cohesion and to improve the political and social status of the German American ethnic community.

The NGAA was especially active in this field. Many later leaders of the Alliance participated in the foundation of the Philadelphia-based German American Historical Society in 1901. Its journal German American Annals later also functioned as the Alliance's official organ. To reach a broader readership, the NGAA also printed and distributed popular books and pamphlets on German American history.[30] Statues and monuments were another crucial element in the NGAA's endeavor to popularize German American history. They allowed German Americans to create lasting spaces of memory as physical manifestations of their historical narratives that would address both the German American community and American society at large.[31] Mirroring Kapp's assessment of Steuben's military prowess, NGAA-President Charles Hexamer summarized in 1907,

> Ferner muss durch Monumente in Erinnerung gebracht werden, was der Deutsche in der amerikanischen Geschichte bedeutet, und dass es neben einem Barry und einem Lafayette auch einen Steuben, einen De Kalb, einen Mühlenberg und einen Herchheimer gegeben hat, denn nichts wirkt so wie öffentlicher Anschauungsunterricht.[32]

Lastly, a widespread perception of crisis and decline among German American community leaders, such as Bartholdt and the NGAA leadership, provided another context for the Steuben statue initiative in the early twentieth century. This crisis notion among German American ethnic leaders was caused by three fundamental changes that occurred at the time. First, a dramatic drop in the number of newly arriving immigrants had interrupted the fairly steady influx that had sustained and enlarged the German American community for decades. According to the census, 1,445,181 individuals migrated from Germany to the United States between 1880 and 1889 (27.5% of total immigration). Around the turn of the century, this figure fell to 579,072 (15.7%, 1890-1899) and to 328,722 (4.0%, 1900-1909).[33] Second, the assimilation pressure on all ethnic minorities increased as suspicion against so-called "hyphenated Americans" grew in the wake of a strong nativist resurgence. Third, the increasing assimilation of second- and third-generation

German Americans and the gradual dissolution of many urban ethnic enclaves, so-called "little Germanies," reinforced the feeling of decline among German American community leaders.[34]

In the wake of this widespread perception of crisis, many German Americans discussed questions of individual and collective identity with increased urgency. German American community leaders sought internal and external affirmation for the German American community by strongly underlining their ethnic identity. German American ethnic identity has historically been composed of three interrelated, yet sometimes competing elements: German, American, and German American identity constructions. At the turn of the century, the complex relationship between these three components was readjusted. Simultaneously, expressions of German patriotism, American patriotism, and references to independent German Americanism became more frequent among German Americans. Bungert characterizes this process as a "dreifache Nationalisierung."[35]

In several respects, Steuben was well suited to serve as the historical icon of this threefold readjustment of German American ethnic identity. Following Kapp's narrative, Steuben appeared as a military disciple of Friedrich II and could thus be integrated into existing forms of German group identity like Prussian-German militarism, monarchism, and German nationalism. As the Drillmaster General of Washington's Continental Army, his status as a hero of the American Revolution was indisputable and allowed German Americans to express their patriotism and loyalty to the United States through their admiration of Steuben. Lastly, Steuben was himself a German who had become an American citizen and could thus serve as an exemplary patron of German Americans in general. In this light, it is unsurprising that Bartholdt and the NGAA focused on Steuben as a figure through which to strengthen German American historical consciousness, particularly as a response to the perceived crisis of German America.

Homemaking: The Washington Steuben Statue

Since 1834, the open rectangular space north of the White House in Washington, D.C. has been known as Lafayette Square, named to honor the Marquis de Lafayette, who died in Paris that same year. After a statue of Andrew Jackson had been added to the square's center in 1853, a bronze statue of Lafayette followed in the southeastern corner in 1891. In the early twentieth century, the remaining corners were filled with statues of Lafayette's foreign comrades in arms, gradually transforming Lafayette Square into a pantheon of European heroes of the Revolutionary War. A statue of the Comte de Rochambeau was unveiled in the southwest corner on May 24,

1902, followed by a statue of Tadeusz Kościuszko in the northeast corner on May 11, 1910. Finally, on December 7, 1910, the statue of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was unveiled in the northwest corner.[36]

The political processes of erecting the last three statues were intricately entangled. Preparations for the unveiling of the Rochambeau statue, a gift from the French government, were in full swing by the spring of 1902. The statue was intended to celebrate both Rochambeau and the traditional French-American friendship.[37] The involvement of France, however, brought Germany to the scene. Envious of its rival neighbor and in dire need to broaden its diplomatic margin of maneuver, the German Empire applied a policy known as Schmeichelpolitik in German scholarship: a policy of flattery that aimed at winning the United States as an ally. As a first measure of Schmeichelpolitik, Prince Heinrich, Emperor Wilhelm's younger brother, had paid an official visit to the United States early in 1902. As a second step, a statue of King Friedrich II of Prussia was announced as a gift to the United States on May 14, 1902 – only days before the unveiling of the Rochambeau statue. The German announcement and especially the gift itself – the statue of a European monarch – caused considerable uproar and met with reservation and hostility in Congress and among the American public. Eventually, President Roosevelt decided to accept the gift but ensured that the statue was placed out of public view on the campus of the newly constructed War Academy in 1904.[38] By early 1902, the first steps towards erecting the Kościuszko statue had also been initiated. Republican Congressmen James H. Southard and Abraham Lincoln Brick had introduced a bill to the House of Representatives proposing the erection of an equestrian statue of Kazimierz Pułaski. The bill was backed by the Polish National Alliance (PNA) and later coupled with a proposal for the Kościuszko statue, also sponsored by the Alliance.[39]

Amid this series of statue proposals, announcements, and unveilings, Richard Bartholdt introduced "A bill for the erection of an equestrian statue to the memory of Baron Steuben at Washington, D.C." to the House of Representatives on May 22, 1902.[40] As Bartholdt explained retrospectively, the idea was inspired by the other statues:

> When in 1893 I first came to Washington as a Representative I looked around for some visible sign of official recognition of the German element and its history on American soil. There was nothing to be found. One day, standing in front of the White House and looking over to Lafayette Square I noticed that the two nearest corners of that beautiful little park were occupied by statues of Lafayette and Rochambeau. France being doubly honored I asked myself, why should

> not future generations also be reminded of what men of German blood had contributed to the cause of American independence?[41]

Bartholdt claims that he wrote and introduced the Steuben bill immediately after reading Kapp's biography of the Prussian general.[42] However, this retrospective account is likely inaccurate, as the Rochambeau statue was unveiled only two days after Bartholdt introduced his bill, and nearly a decade after he first arrived in Congress in 1893. The role that the German statue announcement, made about a week earlier, played in Bartholdt's decision remains unclear. Given the poor reception of the German statue announcement in the American public, the other statue projects carried out in 1902, and the general context of German American ethnic memory politics, it is plausible that Bartholdt felt compelled to introduce a German American initiative into the competition – one that he believed stood a higher chance of success than the Friedrich statue proposed by Germany. German officials, on the other hand, were initially very skeptical of Bartholdt's project. Ambassador Theodor von Holleben reported to Berlin: "Natürlich wird daraus auch bis auf Weiteres nichts."[43]

Bartholdt's bill was referred to the Committee on the Library, which produced a favorable report on the proposal:

> As Baron Steuben rendered such great services to our Nation and received for them such small reward, the committee feels confident that Congress and the country will esteem it a privilege at this late day to rear to him this monument of its gratitude.[44]

The report cited Kapp as its primary source of historical information and acknowledged that

> a century and a quarter have passed since Frederick William Augustus Henry Ferdinand Von Steuben, or Baron Steuben, as he is more commonly called, came to America to offer his services to the young Republic struggling for existence, and yet the Nation that he served so well has done practically nothing to indicate that it appreciates those services.[45]

Bartholdt attributed this "failure of history" to the fact that Steuben had worked "behind the scenes" of the Revolutionary War and therefore had fallen behind "Washington and the dash and daring of other leaders" in

public memory – a thinly veiled contempt of the Rochambeau, Kościuszko, and Pułaski statue projects, but also a clear allusion to Kapp.[46]

Immediately after the bill regarding the Pułaski statue was read in the House on June 1, 1902, Democrat William Sulzer of New York proposed merging it with the pending Steuben proposal. Bartholdt supported this motion, asserting, "They were both great Revolutionary heroes, and France has been recognized in statues for Lafayette and Rochambeau, and the Poles are to be recognized in a monument for Pulaski, and I ask that these two bills be passed together."[47] As his wording reveals, Bartholdt understood the statue primarily as a tribute to German Americans and their achievements, just as a Pułaski statue would be a recognition of Polish Americans. This interpretation of the two statues as recognition of ethnic minority groups and their contributions to the United States was not limited to German American or Polish American representatives but was widely shared during the House debates. Republican James Hemenway of Indiana, for example, offered a similar interpretation:

> Baron Steuben was only one of that sturdy, honest type of Germans who left the Fatherland to become American citizens. And loyal citizens they have been both in time of war and in time of peace. … To the German-American citizens this country of ours is greatly indebted for its wonderful progress and for the fact that this day our beloved flag floats over the most prosperous and happy people on earth.[48]

With unanimous consent, Congress passed the combined Steuben-Pułaski Bill allocating $50,000 to each statue project. It was signed by President Roosevelt in February 1903.[49] Despite this apparently swift and smooth legislative process, Bartholdt lamented considerable reservation among his colleagues even years later:

> I soon discovered that not more than one out of a dozen Congressmen knew anything about this man "Stu-ben," but it was not long before they knew all about him and even learned to pronounce his name right. Don't think for a moment that there was no opposition for there was. You couldn't see or hear it, but you could feel it. In the Senate committee they tried to kill the bill by procrastination, but I gave them no rest, and so the measure was finally reported out.[50]

Like Bartholdt, the NGAA was concerned about the bill's prospects and sent petitions to all senators and the president asking for their support.[51] Bartholdt's recollection of the legislative process and the NGAA's petitions illustrate that, despite Steuben's status as a hero of the Revolutionary War, the passage of the statue bill was not considered to be assured by German American leaders and required considerable political effort.

Bartholdt later described the lengthy period between Roosevelt's signature and the eventual unveiling of the statue in 1910 as "a delay of 7 long years which is unaccountable to me to this day."[52] However, this delay was not due to political reasons but rather stemmed from the protracted process of selecting a suitable sculptor and statue model. After Roosevelt's signature, a so-called Steuben Commission was formed in the Department of War. It was chaired by the Secretary, first Elihu Root, later William Howard Taft. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the preeminent American sculptor of the time, was originally commissioned but resigned in December 1904. As a result, the commission, with the advice of Saint-Gaudens, invited proposals from selected sculptors in July 1905. All six participating artists were of German descent. The three finalists all came from Saint-Gauden's circle. In May 1906, the commission selected the model submitted by Albert Jaegers. Born in Elberfeld in 1868, Jaegers had come to the United States at a young age. He grew up in Ohio and became a self-taught sculptor before joining Saint Gaudens' school.[53] In May 1907, the commission approved his draft model. The approximately three-and-a-half-meter high bronze statue showed Steuben in a relaxed pose with a stern, concentrated gaze while his left hand rested on his saber. The pose, in combination with the heavy winter coat, clearly revealed that the statue showed Steuben inspecting the troops at Valley Forge. Around the base, 13 stars representing the original states were added. The House Order of Fidelity was an indication of Steuben's German origins. In addition to the statue itself, a plaque commemorating his adjutants North and Walker was placed on the back of the pedestal. Jaegers added two further bronze sculptures to be placed to the side of the pedestal depicting "military instruction" and "commemoration."[54]

Before the unveiling of the Steuben statue, the statues of Kościuszko and Pułaski were unveiled in Washington, D.C. on May 11, 1910. The equestrian statue of Pułaski, located on Pennsylvania Avenue, had been approved by Congress alongside the Steuben statue. The Kościuszko statue in Lafayette Square was financed directly by the PNA. Orchestrated by the PNA, thousands of Polish Americans travelled to Washington to celebrate the unveiling of the statues.[55] Bartholdt took the Polish American celebrations as an occasion to bring another motion to the House floor. Pointing to the extraordinary size of the planned German American celebration of the Steuben statue unveiling,

he asked for an increase in the sum of $2,500, which had been allocated in the original bill to cover the costs of the unveiling ceremonies.[56] The same amount had been approved for the Polish American celebration. Now, Bartholdt insisted that the number of German Americans expected to arrive for the Steuben celebration would clearly exceed that of the Polish Americans and thus justify an increase in the funds granted:

[I]t is proposed to make this the greatest demonstration of German-Americans that has ever taken place in the United States. I am informed that at least 50,000 people will be here as compared, perhaps, with 5,000 or 6,000 who attended when the Pulaski and Kosciuszko statues were unveiled.[57]

Although Bartholdt's motion was ultimately rejected, his justification reveals not only his confidence in the number of German Americans expected at the celebrations, but it also highlights the ambiguity that German American leaders demonstrated toward both the Polish American statue project and Polish Americans in general. On the one hand, the two groups were political allies due to the merger of their statue bills in Congress, which made their respective successes mutually dependent. On the other hand, Bartholdt exhibited a keen ethnic rivalry toward the Polish American project, viewing the size and grandeur of the celebrations as a measure of the respective ethnic groups' status.[58]

This sense of rivalry toward the Polish twin project was repeated by Bartholdt in an appeal to German Americans published in the New Yorker Staatszeitung in August 1910. He declared it a

> Ehrensache des amerikanischen Deutschthums, die Enthüllung des Steuben-Denkmals zur größten Demonstration zu machen, die jemals auf amerikanischen Boden stattgefunden hat. … Die kürzlich erfolgte Enthüllung der Denkmäler für Pulaski und Kosciusko hatte wohl über 20,000 Polen nach der Bundeshauptstadt gebracht … Bewißlich sollten die Deutsch-Amerikaner nicht hinter den Polen zurückbleiben, sondern womöglich in noch viel großartigerer Weise ihre Macht und Bedeutung sowohl als ihr amerikanisches Bürgerthum betonen.

Once again, Bartholdt emphasized that he understood the statue as "eine vom amerikanischen Kongreß dem deutschen Element gezollte Anerkennung." The celebrations should represent "ein Ehrenblatt in der Geschichte des Deutschthums der Ver[einigten] Staaten."[59]

In preparation for the celebrations, the Steuben Commission had sent out 3,000 invitations to selected guests. In addition, numerous German American

Fig. 2: President William Howard Taft speaks at the unveiling of the Washington Steuben statue (Library of Congress [U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing: Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben]).

associations promoted the event and attempted to attract German Americans to it. At the convention of the NGAA's Pennsylvania branch in June 1910, President Hexamer underlined the overriding importance of the nearing Steuben celebrations: "An dieser nationalen Feier muss sich jeder Deutsch-Amerikaner und jede Deutsch-Amerikanerin, die es möglich machen kann, betheiligen."[60] The local NGAA branch in Washington produced a special souvenir program to serve as a guide to the festivities. It featured touristic information, brief introductions and pictures of the speakers, but above all exuberant praises of Steuben's historical achievements.[61]

On December 7, 1910, the day of the unveiling, snow covered the streets of Washington.[62] A crowd of around 10,000 people, most of them German Americans, had gathered on Lafayette Square. Bartholdt was the first of the four acclaimed speakers. In his 1930 memoir, he recalled receiving several minutes of ovations before he could begin to speak.[63] He opened his speech with a historical tribute to Steuben calling him "one of the military godfathers of this nation" who allegedly had surpassed all other foreign generals:

> History tells us that among the men who came from foreign lands there was none who rendered more valuable service to the cause of American independence than did that brave Prussian soldier whose memory a grateful country honors to-day, Baron Steuben.[64]

Fig. 3: Unveiling of the Washington Steuben statue (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-08859]).

Following Kapp in his assessment of Steuben's crucial importance for the success of the Continental Army, Bartholdt again demonstrated that his sense of rivalry towards other ethnic groups, such as Polish Americans, also extended to the field of history. For the most part though, Bartholdt focused on Steuben's importance for the German American community and presented him as a German American ethnic hero:

> The thousands of American citizens of German birth or descent whose presence makes this a national German-American day are not here simply because the hero we honor was of their flesh and blood. They have come because Baron Steuben has shed luster on the German name by the display of qualities and virtues which they admire, and among those none has more powerfully thrilled their hearts than his example of unswerving loyalty to America.[65]Bartholdt thus projected Steuben's unquestionable loyalty to the emerging American nation onto German Americans in general and interpreted the statue as a manifestation of German American patriotism.

Fig. 4: Helen Taft unveils the Washington Steuben statue. Bartholdt and Hexamer stand at the left (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-08856]).

NGAA President Hexamer, like Bartholdt, praised Steuben as the most skilled foreign general of the Revolutionary War, referring to him as the "Father of the American Army."[66] However, unlike Bartholdt, Hexamer confined his remarks to Steuben's historical contributions, avoiding direct associations with the German American community.

Following the Northeastern Singers' Association's performance of the "German song," German Ambassador Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff took the stage. Although the German Empire had not been involved in the political process leading to the statue's erection, the fact that Bernstorff had been invited to speak underscores that the Washington Steuben statue project was also perceived as having diplomatic significance, rather than being solely a domestic American matter. Bernstorff's speech clearly mirrored the diplomatic interests of the Empire. He highlighted Steuben's Prussian-German origins and placed him in a direct, seemingly unbroken tradition of German American friendship reaching back to Friedrich II:

> This monument will all the more be a token of the old friendship existing between the two great nations, as the United States Congress besides munificently providing for the erection of this statue, has decided to present a copy of it to the Emperor. Here and in Germany whoever regards one of the two monuments will be reminded of the ancient ties of friendship uniting him with his cousins beyond the ocean.[67]

In Bernstorff's telling, Steuben's outstanding military abilities appear as a direct consequence of his training in the Prussian army. In this way, the ambassador linked Steuben to Prussian and thus German military traditions. The reference to Friedrich II may also be understood as an attempt at retrospective rectification of the controversy surrounding the German statue gift of 1904.

After Bernstorff's speech, Helen Taft, the president's daughter, unveiled the statue to the tunes of the "Star-Spangled Banner." Bartholdt later remembered the emotionality of the moment: "few eyes remained dry."[68] In his following speech, President Taft praised Lafayette Square as a place of remembrance not only for Steuben but for all European generals of the Revolutionary War:

> We dedicate to-day the last of the monuments which fill the four corners of this beautiful square and which testify to the gratitude of the American people to those from France, from Poland, and from Prussia who aided them in their struggle for national independence and existence. Lafayette,

> Rochambeau, Kosciuszko, and Von Steuben contributed much to the success of American arms in the Revolution.[69]

Unlike Bartholdt and Hexamer, who had stressed Steuben's superiority, Taft made no distinction between the foreign generals of the Revolutionary War, equally honoring their contributions. The president also seized the opportunity to address German Americans and confessed that he, too, regarded the statue not only as a tribute to Steuben but also to German Americans:

> When Baron Steuben came to this country he found Germans who had preceded him, and who, like him, had elected to make this their permanent home. Since this day millions of his countrymen have come to be Americans, and it adds great interest to our celebration and emphasizes the propriety of the action of Congress in erecting this statue to know that the German race since the Revolution has made so large a part of our population and played so prominent a part in the great growth and development of our country. … The Germans who have become American citizens and their descendants may well take pride in this occasion and in this work of art, modeled by the hand of an American of German descent, which commemorates the valued contribution made by a German soldier to the cause of American freedom at the time of its birth.[70]

Taft's remarks closely mirrored the interpretation of the statue put forward by German American leaders such as Bartholdt, who regarded the statue as a general recognition of German Americans. With the statue of their ethnic hero erected by Congress and lauded by the president of the United States, the status of German Americans was publicly manifested in the prestigious space of the national capitol and must have seemed secured and elevated to German American community leaders.

In the afternoon, a parade marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, comprising approximately 3,000 American soldiers, 6,000 members of German American clubs and associations, along with German veterans of the American Civil War and some German American veterans of the Franco-German War of 1870/71. In the evening, various dinners and gatherings, most of them hosted by German American associations, concluded the festivities. Bernstorff's report to Berlin mentioned "annähernd ein halbes Dutzend Festessen und Kommerse der Deutschen."[71] The NGAA dinner,

attended by around 1,500 guests, was the largest of these gatherings. In short, solemn speeches in German, Bernstorff and Bartholdt celebrated Steuben and German America. While the ambassador praised the loyalty of German Americans, with whom German virtue had come to the United States, Bartholdt described the celebration as a "Triumph des Deutschthums in den Ver[einigten] Staaten." Later, the guests sang both "Die Wacht am Rhein" and the "Star-Spangled Banner."[72]

Homecoming: The Potsdam Steuben Statue

When the Washington Steuben statue was unveiled in December 1910, the initiative for the Potsdam replica had already begun. Roughly a year earlier, on December 21, 1909, Bartholdt had introduced a bill to provide $5,000 "for the erection of a bronze replica of the statue of General von Steuben … to be presented to His Majesty the German Emperor and the German Nation in return for the statue of Frederick the Great, presented by the Emperor to the people of the United States."[73] Bartholdt had gained the approval of President Taft and Secretary of State Philander C. Knox in advance. He also consulted with Bernstorff, who welcomed the proposal and ensured German approval, while emphasizing that unanimous congressional consent would be desirable.[74] Bernstorff's report to Berlin was skeptical of the bill's prospects although "Bartholdt behauptet, seiner Sache sicher zu sein."[75] The ambassador's skepticism reflected his concern that the German Empire's official involvement might backfire, much like the earlier German statue gift of 1904, which Bartholdt now sought to follow up with the Steuben statue gift to Germany.

In his memoirs, Bartholdt wrote about his motivations behind this second Steuben statue initiative, describing the statue gift as an attempt at an American-German rapprochement:

> Assured of the approbation of my constituents, I wanted to take into my grave the satisfaction of having contributed, while in official station, my little mite towards making Americans and Germans think well of each other. And in pursuing that object, I believe, I had good American ground under my feet.[76]

The unanswered German statue gift thus provided Bartholdt with an opportunity to act upon broader diplomatic aspirations. Given the "dreifache Nationalisierung" of German American identity constructions that Bungert observes during this period, the prospect of delivering a statue of the German

American ethnic hero Steuben as a diplomatic gift to the German government also offered the chance to duplicate the recognition effort of the Washington statue project and gain the recognition of their ancestral homeland for German Americans.

When the bill was discussed in the House of Representatives in February 1910, Bartholdt argued that the statue gift would serve as a manifestation of a "traditional friendship" between Germany and the United States.[77] Meanwhile, the American State Department inquired with Bernstorff in May, 1910 whether a possible gift would meet with German approval. As he had responded to Bartholdt, Bernstorff indicated German willingness to accept the statue but insisted on a "glatt[e] Erledigung der Frage durch den Kongreß."[78] The bill was passed by Congress without much delay. President Taft signed it on June 23, 1910, and directed Knox to hand over the gift to Germany.[79]

With the American statue gift, Germany was to receive its first public monument of Steuben. Even though Kapp had published the original German version of his 1858 biography in Berlin, Steuben had found little reception in his homeland prior to 1911, except for an extensive historical novel that was largely based on Kapp's narrative.[80] Now, a combination of German American recognition demands and Germany's objective of fostering amicable diplomatic relations with the United States brought Steuben onto the political agenda. In this way, the American gift of the Steuben statue became the first instance in which Steuben was used as a diplomatic symbol of German-American friendship: A pattern that was to become characteristic of German-American diplomatic relations during the twentieth century – at least during periods of diplomatic goodwill. Moreover, the unveiling of the Potsdam Steuben statue marked the beginning of Steuben's public commemoration in Germany, which continued to develop from then on.[81]

With the completion of the legislative process in the United States, the preparations for the unveiling in Germany began. While the United States government cast the replica and shipped it to Germany, all decisions relating to the statue's eventual location and the unveiling ceremonies were left to German authorities. Most of these decisions were taken personally by the emperor, who showed an unusually keen interest. Wilhelm requested photographs of the Washington statue and commissioned his court architect Ernst von Ihne to design the pedestal and redesign the surrounding area. Before making a final decision, he visited the designated site and even had a statue imitation installed to get a rough impression. Moreover, the emperor covered the costs for the rearrangements and the ceremonies, amounting to 4,760 marks, from his personal funds.[82] Besides Potsdam, no other location seems to have been considered by German authorities. A note reading

"Potsdam?" – most likely written by a member of the emperor's staff – can be found as early as December 14, 1910, in the German files.[83] Bartholdt's later assumed that Potsdam must have seemed the most appropriate site for the Steuben statue. This is probably correct, given the city's strong association with Friedrich II. After all, the gift of the statue of Steuben's supposed patron had provided the occasion for the reciprocal gift.[84]

The Kommandanturgarten, a small green area centrally located between the city palace, the Kommandatur and the so-called Ringerkolonnade, quickly emerged as the preferred site. Sometime during the summer of 1911, Wilhelm decided on September 2 as the unveiling date. September 2 was a national day of remembrance in the German Empire: Sedantag. It commemorated the decisive victory over France at Sedan in 1870 and thus carried strong anti- French implications. Under Wilhelm II, the celebrations underwent a strong military renaissance. So-called Kaisermanöver, large military exercises in the presence of the emperor, and parades in Berlin became regular features of the annual celebrations. Additionally, Wilhelm frequently attended monument unveilings on September 2.[85] Given the emperor's keen sense for dramaturgic symbolism, the choice of Sedantag for the Steuben statue's unveiling was hardly coincidental.[86] This is particularly evident given that the Agadir Crisis, a tense confrontation between Germany and its European rivals France and Britain, was ongoing throughout the summer of 1911. Celebrating a Prussian general, who had fought against Britain, on the anti-French Sedantag in the midst of this mutual saber-rattling

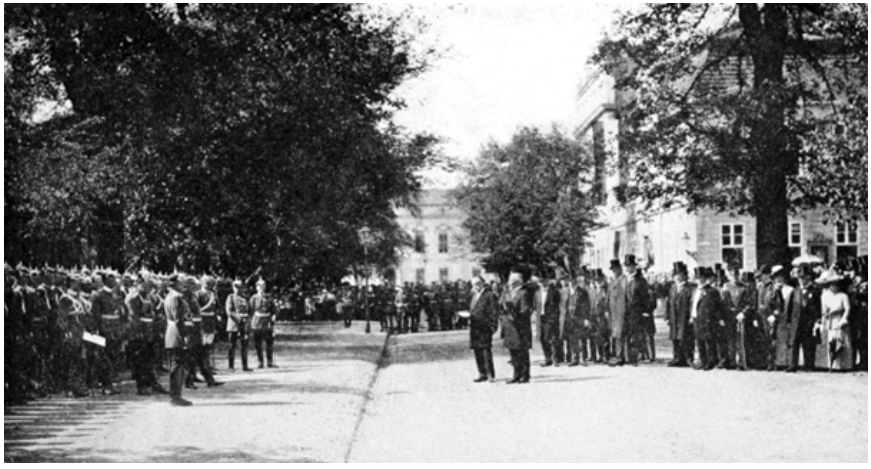

Fig. 5: Wilhelm II and his entourage (left) and the American delegation (right) at the unveiling of the Potsdam Steuben statue (Library of Congress [U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing: Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben]).

was precisely the kind of symbolism Wilhelm appreciated. Thus, the emperor's interest in the statue was primarily driven by its potential for diplomatic symbolism vis-à-vis Germany's European rivals and only to a lesser extent by the German American dimension of the gift. When Wilhelm received a draft version of Bartholdt's planned address, he ignored Bartholdt's remarks on German-American friendship and commented at the end of the document: "Sehr gut! London wird darob schmollen!"[87]

In early summer 1911, the American State Department obtained German approval of the two special envoys chosen to deliver the statue: Richard Bartholdt and Charles B. Wolffram.[88] Bartholdt, the father of the initiative and a fellow Republican, represented a logical choice to Taft. The choice of Wolffram, the editor and founder of the German-language newspaper New Yorker Herold, on the other hand, indicates that the president had a domestic political gesture to German Americans in mind.[89] The absence of a high-ranking government representative in Potsdam, however, suggests that Taft attached little diplomatic importance to the matter. Before departing for Europe on August 19, 1911, Bartholdt and Wolffram were given a pompous send-off by the German Americans of New York City. A dinner was held

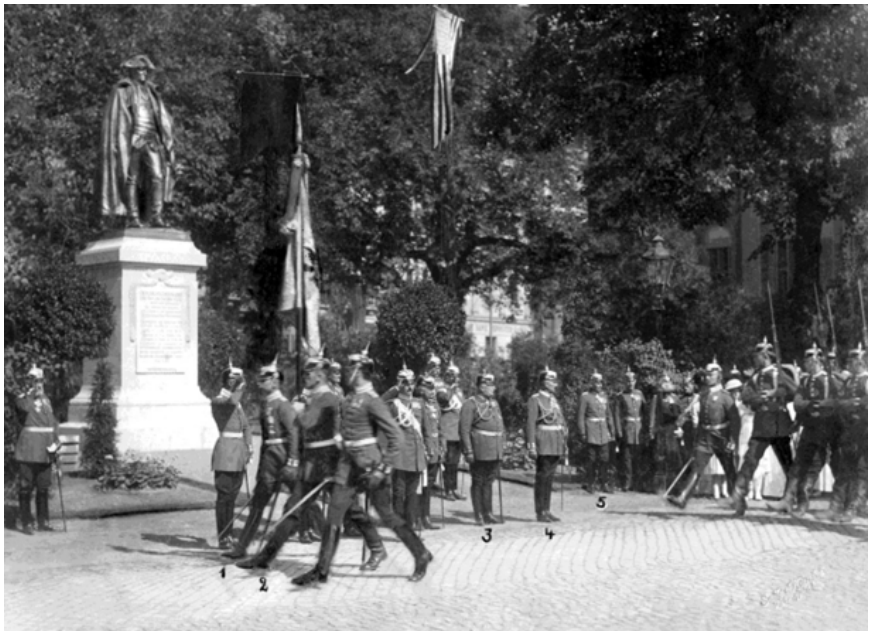

Fig. 6: Wilhelm II (4) inspects German troops parading past the Potsdam Steuben statue right after its unveiling, with his sons Wilhelm (1) and Joachim (2) marching in the front (© SZ Photo).

onboard their steamer the day before the departure, featuring numerous speeches from prominent local German Americans. Until shortly before the departure, the Allied German Singers of New York delighted a sizable crowd of German-Americans, who had gathered to bid farewell to 'their' delegates to Europe.[90] These impromptu send-off ceremonies in New York suggest that the enthusiasm for the Steuben statue gift to Germany was not limited to German American leaders but also extended to ordinary German Americans.

The unveiling ceremony in Potsdam on September 2, 1911 was not open to the general public. The American delegation consisted of the two presidential envoys, the sculptor Albert Jaegers, and Ambassador David Hill alongside the embassy staff. On the German side, the celebrations were attended not only by the emperor, but also by the royal family, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, Secretary of State Alfred von Kiderlen-Waechter, and Prussian War Minister Josias von Heeringen. Additionally, senior military officers, including Chief of the General Staff Helmuth von Moltke, as well as members of the Steuben family, the district president, the mayor, and the chairman of the Potsdam city council, were present. In contrast to the celebrations in Washington, the Potsdam ceremony was more military in character. Following Imperial German traditions, the emperor and his entourage appeared in uniform, creating a notable contrast to the predominantly civilian attire of the American delegation.[91]

Bartholdt was the first to address the audience. Speaking in his native German, he assumed for himself the role of the "Dolmetsch der Gedanken und Gefühle des amerikanischen Volkes" towards Germany. For him, paying tribute to Steuben equally meant paying tribute to German Americans in general. He declared that the monument was reminiscent of the achievements of Steuben, whom he called a "Helden zweier Welten," but that it also symbolized "den rühmlichen Antheil der Deutschen an der grossen 'Unabhängigkeitsbewegung.'" Bartholdt also interpreted the Potsdam statue as a sign of German-American friendship, noting

> dass das dargebotene Geschenk ein Unterpfand des Friedens und der Freundschaft sein soll und zugleich eine eherne Bürgschaft für die Aufrichtigkeit des von uns Amerikanern gehegten heiligen Wunsches, dass die Bande traditioneller Freundschaft, welche, gefestigt durch den Kitt der Blutverwandschaft, das grosse Deutschland stets so innig mit den Vereinigten Staaten verknüpft haben, sich immer enger um die beiden Kulturvölker schlingen mögen.

Not shy of lofty expressions, Bartholdt announced, "Der Friedens-Präsident reicht dem Friedens-Kaiser . . . die Freundeshand zu gemeinsamer friedlicher

Fig. 7: The Potsdam Steuben statue sometime between 1933 and 1945 (© Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Lösung der grossen Kulturaufgaben." The emperor responded by reading out a brief reply thanking Bartholdt, Wolffram, and the American nation for the statue. Alluding to Bartholdt's earlier formulation, Wilhelm asked Bartholdt and Wolffram "daß Sie Sich auch bei dem Herrn Präsidenten und dem amerikanischen Volk zum Dolmetsch dieser unserer Gefühle machen wollen."[92]

With the emperor's final words, the monument was unveiled to the sound of marching music played by a military band. Wilhelm then inspected the guard regiment as it paraded past the statue. Afterward, the emperor invited around 80 guests to a luncheon at the city palace, where Bartholdt and Wolffram sat beside him. In high spirits, Wilhelm raised a toast to the health of the American president, with whom he exchanged brief telegrams during the luncheon.[93] After the emperor had bid farewell to his guests, a dinner followed, which was hosted by Kiderlen-Waechter. In the evening, a third dinner, hosted by Wolffram in honor of Bartholdt at the Adlon hotel in Berlin, concluded the celebrations.[94]

This second Steuben celebration was also interpreted positively by German Americans. Immediately after his return to the United States, Wolffram gave an enthusiastic summary to the press on September 12, 1911:

> Our mission has been a success in every respect. The Steuben monument … has evidently been instrumental in recalling to the memory of both nations the many other bonds of friendship which have existed between them ever since Frederick the Great first recognized our struggling States as a nation. … My impression was that the Emperor for the time being had dropped "his Majesty" and conversed with us like one gentleman would with another.[95]

Unlike Wolffram, Bartholdt only returned to the United States in mid-October 1911. Around 300 mostly German American guests attended a banquet held in honor of the two envoys at the Astor hotel in New York City.[96] In his speech, Bartholdt described the long road to the establishment of the two monuments "die noch späteren Geschlechtern von dem rühmlichen Anteil der Deutschen am amerikanischen Befreiungskriege erzählen werden," before Wolffram reported his experience. He suggested that the president had chosen to send two German Americans as special envoys to honor the "Deutschamerikanertum, das zu den besten Bürgern dieses Landes gerechnet wird und dennoch die Liebe zum alten Vaterlande sich im Herzen bewahrt hat und immer bewahren wird."[97] Writing to Kiderlen-Waechter, whom he had met in Potsdam, Wolffram gave a similar assessment:

> Die Deutschen New York's haben in der verflossenen Woche den beiden Sonderbotschaftern für die Steubenfeier in Potsdam, in einem unserer vornehmsten Hotels ein Festmahl gegeben, welches, als eine völlig spontane Demonstration, dem Gefühl der Veranstalter, dass unsere Entsendung nach

> Berlin eine besondere und vom Präsidenten beabsichtigte Ehrung des amerikanischen Deutschthums bedeutet, beredten Ausdruck gab. Ich bin in aller Bescheidenheit stolz darauf, dadurch wieder ein neues Glied der Kette freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Ländern angefügt zu sehen.[98]

Conclusion

Unlike the monument itself, the cultural and political meaning of any public statue is not fixed in stone. Rather, it is subject to a multifaceted process of continuous interpretation and reinterpretation. The intertwined histories of the Washington and Potsdam Steuben statues illustrate this dynamic. For the American government and probably most Congressmen, honoring Steuben meant paying homage to a previously somewhat neglected hero of the American Revolution. Given the sheer size of the German American community and its electoral power, granting an official recognition to German Americans was certainly also regarded as expedient by many political decision makers. This perception of the statues as an official recognition of German Americans is evident in several congressional speeches and remarks made at the Washington unveiling ceremony. It was also demonstrated by the choice of a German American sculptor and two German American envoys to Potsdam.

In contrast, the Imperial German government framed the statues in a manner that aligned with its diplomatic objectives. For Emperor Wilhelm and other high-ranking officials, the Steuben statues primarily served as an opportunity to rectify the rather clumsy affair of the Friedrich statue gift, to reinforce ties with the German American community, and to affirm amicable relations with the United States, especially vis-à-vis Germany's European rivals. In doing so, German officials appropriated and rearranged the German American homemaking narrative for their own diplomatic purposes. By emphasizing Steuben's service in both the Prussian and American armies, they recast him from a German American ethnic hero into a broader emblem of German-American friendship.

German American leaders like Bartholdt and Hexamer interpreted the Washington statue first and foremost as an official recognition of the German American community by the American government. Their admiration of Steuben and his historical achievements was pronounced and sincere, but it was not detached from their considerations of contemporary ethnic politics. Bartholdt's memoirs still mirrored that interpretation even years after the Washington celebration:

> The German element had never been thus honored. It had of its own accord paid homage to many of its great men, but here it basked in the sunshine of national recognition, the government of the United States, on behalf of the nation paying official tribute to one of their own flesh and blood.[99]

To Bartholdt, honoring Steuben and his memory was intrinsically linked to an official recognition of the German American community in general. Moreover, the Washington statue established a permanent site of remembrance for German Americans. The statue was intended both to reinforce a sense of community and belonging among German Americans and to convey to the broader American public that German Americans were an honorable, deserving, and lasting part of the American nation. That this interpretation was, in fact, widespread among many German Americans, was demonstrated by the roughly 10,000 German Americans who gathered in Washington on a cold, snowy Wednesday to transform the 1910 Steuben statue unveiling into one of the largest political gatherings of German American history.

To German American leaders, the Potsdam statue again served to symbolize an official recognition of their ethnic group, as the United States government allowed two German American envoys to represent the nation vis-à-vis the German Empire – at least ceremonially. This time, however, German Americans also sought official recognition from their ancestral homeland. By placing the statue of the leading German American historical icon in Potsdam, the city of Friedrich II, the Imperial German government symbolically inscribed German Americans into Prussian-German national history, acknowledging both their connection to the German nation and their achievements in the United States. This recognition, paired with the official diplomatic character of the mission, enormously boosted the confidence of German American ethnic leaders. Bartholdt's self-characterization as the "Dolmetsch der Gedanken und Gefühle des amerikanischen Volkes"[100] toward Germany, along with Wilhelm's request for Bartholdt and Wolffram to fulfill this role in reverse, must have come close to the ideal position that German American ethnic leaders envisioned for themselves: secured and recognized in their status as a respected part of the American nation while also maintaining their distinct identity as American citizens of German descent. From this unique hinge position between their two fatherlands, German American leaders like Bartholdt aspired to promote amicable and peaceful diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. Just as these ethnic brokers acted as intermediaries between their own ethnic community and the larger American society, Bartholdt thus also aspired to act as a transnational diplomatic broker.

Obviously, the German American aspirations of effectuating friendly German-American relations were shattered when the two countries went to war with each other not even six years after the Potsdam celebration. The Steuben statues remained in place in Washington's Lafayette Square and in Potsdam's Kommandanturgarten throughout the conflict. Yet, their meaning soon underwent major reinterpretations. In Weimar Germany, right-wing militarists appropriated Steuben, attempting to position him as an icon of Prussian military genius, with the Potsdam statue serving as a popular site for speeches and rallies. In the United States, Steuben's role as the preeminent historical patron of German Americans was reinforced by the widespread repudiation German Americans faced after the First World War. Besides Steuben, few symbols of belonging remained that German Americans could confidently point to.[101] Like the original history of the Steuben statues, then, these developments indicate that the history of the Steuben myth and its various political applications still holds valuable insights for future research.

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Notes

[1] Within the extensive scholarship dealing with Steuben, the biographies by Lockhart and Brüstle best reflect the current state of the field: Paul Douglas Lockhart, The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron De Steuben and the Making of the American Army (New York: Harper, 2008); Jürgen Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Eine Biographie (Marburg: Tectum, 2006); Kapp and McAuley represent important older works: Friedrich Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1858); John McAuley Palmer, General Von Steuben (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937). For Steuben's drill manual, see Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben, Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States, Part I (Philadelphia, PA: Styner and Cist, 1779).

[2] Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 461–63.

[3] For an overview of the Steuben historiography see Don H. Tolzmann, "Baron Von Steuben: From Prussian Soldier of Fortune to Inspector General," The Palatine Immigrant

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[4] Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 463–64.

[5] Hartmut Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," in Alte und neue Welt in wechselseitiger Sicht: Studien zu den transatlantischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 106–26.

[6] Heike Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis: Die Konstruktion einer deutschamerikanischen Ethnizität 1848-1914, Studien zur historischen Migrationsforschung, no. 32 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 18–20.

[7] Orm Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870-1930 (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 17–24.

[8] Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 9–10, 91–92; Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 99–101, 411–12; Willi P. Adams, "Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner," in Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestandsaufnahme einer 300jährigen Geschichte, ed. Frank Trommler (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 165–73.

[9] Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 54–86, 87–119, 120–43.

[10] Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 17–24, 29–36.

[11] Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 411–12; Don Heinrich Tolzmann, The German-American Experience (Amherst, MA: Humanity Books, 2000), 269–70; Charles T. Johnson, Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918, New German-American Studies = Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, no. 20 (New York: P. Lang, 1999), 71–73; Christine M. Totten, "Affinität auf Widerruf: Amerikas willkommene und unwillkommene Deutsche," in Trommler, Amerika und die Deutschen, 537; Hans A. Pohlsander, German Monuments in the Americas: Bonds Across the Atlantic, New German-American Studies = Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, no. 33 (Oxford: P. Lang, 2010), 25–37; Frank Bauer, Hartmut Knitter, and Heinz Ruppert, Vernichtet, Vergessen, Verdrängt: Militärbauten und Militärische Denkmäler in Potsdam (Herford: Mittler & Sohn, 1993), 181.

[12] William Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue: Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., President's Park Notes: Statues, no. 5 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2007).

[13] Rainer Lambrecht, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Verdienste und Nachruhm – eine Denkmaltopografie, 2nd ed. (Potsdam: Knotenpunkt, 2012).

[14] Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 28–29; Kathleen N. Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA," Journal of American Ethnic History 12, no. 1 (1992): 15–16; Victor R. Greene, American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 5–13; Adams, "Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner," 170–74.

[15] Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 4; Kathleen N. Conzen, "Germans," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 421–22; Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties, and Issues," in Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 85–87.

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[17] Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 380–85; Russell A. Kazal, Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 130–36; Johnson, Culture at Twilight, 15–17; Conzen, "Germans," 422; Reinhard R. Doerries,

"Organization and Ethnicity: The German-American Experience," Amerikastudien/American Studies, no. 33 (1988): 313; James M. Bergquist, "German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience," Journal of American Ethnic History, no. 4 (1984): 21–22.

[18] Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben; Friedrich Kapp, The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859).

[19] Friedrich Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb (Stuttgart: Cotta'scher Verlag, 1862).

[20] Edith Lenel, Friedrich Kapp 1824-1884: Ein Lebensbild aus den deutschen und nordamerikanischen Freiheitskämpfen (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935), 83–87, 109–16; Frank Trommler, "The Use of History in German American Politics," in The German Forty-Eighters in the United States, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 283–85.

[21] Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, II.

[22] Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 112–13.

[23] Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, XI.

[24] Heike Bungert, "The German Forty-Eighters in American Society and Politics," in Yearbook of Transnational History 4, ed. Thomas Adam (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2021), 82.

[25] See for example Nikolaus Schmitt, Leben und Wirken von Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (Philadelphia, PA: John Weik, 1858); Hermann Julius Ruetenik, Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika, von 1626 bis 1888: Einhundert und fünfzig Biographien, mit sechzehn Portraits (Cleveland, OH: Forest City Bookbinding, 1891), 70–87; Georg von Bosse, Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethnischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses (New York: E. Steiger, 1908), 90–95; Rudolf Cronau, Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909), 226–41; Max Heinrici, ed., Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika (Philadelphia, PA: Walther's Buchdruckerei, 1909), 105–18; See also Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 115–16.

[26] Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 106.

[27] Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 18–19; Stuart Anderson, Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 22–25.

[28] Tolzmann, The German-American Experience, 257–60; Frank Trommler, "Inventing the Enemy: German-American Cultural Relations, 1900-1917," in Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schröder (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), 110–11; Trommler, "The Use of History in German American Politics," 289–91; Adams, "Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner," 165–66.

[29] Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 342–62, 380–97; Trommler, "The Use of History in German American Politics," 287–91.

[30] Kazal, Becoming Old Stock, 134–35.

[31] Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 385–410; Tolzmann, The German-American Experience, 263.

[32] "Protokoll der vierten Konvention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen National-Bundes der Ver. Staaten von Amerika: Abgehalten vom 4. bis 7. Oktober 1907," accessed Oct. 24, 2024, https://www.loc.gov/item/74230056/, 11.

[33] Conzen, "Germans," 409–10.

[34] Katja Wüstenbecker, Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen, Transatlantische Historische Studien, no. 29 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 40–49; Kazal, Becoming Old Stock, 79–84; Bergquist, "German Communities in American Cities," 17–19.

[35] Bungert, Festkultur und Gedächtnis, 379.

[36] Lina Mann, "The History of Lafayette Square," The White House Historical Association, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-history-of-lafayette-park; George J. Olszewski, Lafayette Park: Washington, D.C., National Capital Region Historical Research, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1964).

[37] Curtis A. LaFrance, "History of the Rochambeau Statue," Journal of Newport History 68, no. 237 (1998); U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, Rochambeau: A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of America of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of Independence (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), 15–30.

[38] Fritz Kusch, Forthcoming, "Ein Preußenkönig in Washington: Schmeichelpolitik, Statuendiplomatie und deutsche auswärtige Kulturpolitik in den USA im frühen 20. Jahrhundert," Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte 34 (2024).

[39] Adriana Ercolano, General Thaddeus Kosciuszko Statue: Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., President's Park Notes: Statues, no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2011).

[40] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben: Major General and Inspector General in the Continental Army During the Revolutionary War in Washington D.C., December 7, 1910 and Upon the Presentation of the Replica to His Majesty the German Emperor and the German Nation in Potsdam, September 2, 1911. Erected by the Congress of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 136.

[41] Richard Bartholdt, "Steuben: An Adress by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Delivered at Chicago, December 3, 1927," in Jahrbuch Der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft Von Illinois, ed. Julius Goebel (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 21.

[42] In his memoirs, Bartholdt published a similar version of this event a few years later: Richard Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress: Reminiscences and Reflections (Philadelphia, PA: Dorrance, 1930), 303–5; Lehmann follows Bartholdt's account in claiming that the idea dated back to Bartholdt's early days in Congress: Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 116–17.

[43] Holleben to Bülow, May 26, 1902, RZ 201/17333, A8868, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA AA), Berlin.

[44] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 149.

[45] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 137.

[46] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 137–38; Kapp, Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 1.

[47] Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record 35 (July 1, 1902): H 7770.

[48] Representative Hemenway, speaking on S. 3057, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record 35 (June 13, 1902): Appendix 456.

[49] Senator George Wetmore submitted a corresponding report, which no longer spoke of "equestrian statues" but, in Steuben's case, simply of "statues:" U.S. Congress, Joint Committee

on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 164–65, 169–70; Senator Wetmore, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 36 (Feb. 6, 1903): S 1775.

[50] Bartholdt, "Steuben," 22. In fact, this incorrect spelling can even be found in the official Congressional Record: Representative Wachter, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 36 (Feb. 24, 1903): H 2580.

[51] "Protokoll der vierten Konvention Des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Zentral-Bundes von Pennsylvanien: Abgehalten zu Johnstown, Pa., am Samstag, den 27, und Sonntag, den 28. Juni 1903," accessed Oct. 24, 2024, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433019536923, 8.

[52] Bartholdt, "Steuben," 22–23.

[53] Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 4–9.

[54] Pohlsander, German Monuments in the Americas, 29–30; Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 8–10;

U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 11; Rudolf Cronau, "Deutschamerikanische Maler, Bildhauer und Architekten," in Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika, ed. Max Heinrici (Philadelphia, PA: Walther's Buchdruckerei, 1909), 350–51.

[55] Ercolano, General Thaddeus Kosciuszko Statue.

[56] Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 25552, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (May 27, 1910): H 6987–8.

[57] Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 25552, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (May 27, 1910): H 6988.

[58] On the rivalry between different homemaking myths, see Øverland, Immigrant Minds, American Identities, 9–10.

[59] New Yorker Staatszeitung, "Enthüllung des Steuben-Denkmals," Aug. 1, 1910.

[60] Hexamer, Charles, J., "Jahres-Bericht des Bundes-Präsidenten Dr. C. J. Hexamer," German American Annals 8, (1910): 102.

[61] Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 10; Souvenir Program: Unveiling of the Steuben Monument, Washington D.C., December 7, 1910 (Washington, D.C.: Carnaham Press, 1910).

[62] Unless otherwise indicated, all information on the course of the celebrations stems from the following sources: U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 55–62; New Yorker Staatszeitung, "General Steuben's Monument in Washington Enthüllt," Dec. 8, 1910; New Yorker Staatszeitung, "Glänzende Feier im 'New Willard Hotel,'" Dec. 8, 1910; New Yorker Staatszeitung, "In höflicher Runde. Festlichkeiten in Vereinskreisen der Bundes-Hauptstadt," Dec. 8, 1910; The Evening Star, "Praised by Taft. President Eulogizes von Steuben's Services to America," Dec. 8, 1910.

[63] Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 309–10.

[64] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 19.

[65] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 27–28.

[66] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 32.

[67] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 43–44.

[68] Bartholdt, "Steuben," 22–23.

[69] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 49.

[70] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 51.

[71] Bernstorff to Bethmann Hollweg, Dec. 10, 1910, RZ 201/17351, A21147, PA AA.

[72] New Yorker Staatszeitung, "Glänzende Feier im 'New Willard Hotel.'"

[73] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 171.

[74] Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 315–16.

[75] Bernstorff to Bethmann Hollweg, Dec. 28, 1909, RZ 201/17349, A197, PA AA.

[76] Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 315.

[77] Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 16222, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (Feb. 9, 1910): H 1654.

[78] Knox to Hill, Nov. 23, 1910, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, With the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 7, 1911 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), accessed Oct. 24, 2024, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1911/d287, Document 287; Bernstorff to Foreign Office, May 11, 1910, RZ 201/17349, A8155, PA AA.

[79] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 186–89.

[80] Albert Emil Brachvogel, Des großen Friedrich Adjutant (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1875).

[81] Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 120–21; Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 3–4.

[82] I. HA Rep. 89, Nr. 20816, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), Berlin.

[83] I. HA Rep. 89, Nr. 20816, GStA PK.

[84] Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 334; U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 71–72.

[85] Ute Schneider, "Nationalfeste ohne politisches Zeremoniell? Der Sedantag (2. September) und die Erinnerung and die Befreiungskriege (18. Oktober) im Kaiserreich," in Das politische Zeremoniell im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1918: Konferenz vom 16. bis 18. Februar 2006 am Institut für Soziale Bewegungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum, ed. Andreas Biefang, Michael Epkenhans and Klaus Tenfelde (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2008); Fritz Schellack, "Sedan-und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste," in Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum 1. Weltkrieg, ed. Dieter Düding (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1988), 278–86.

[86] For an opposing view, see Reiner Pommerin, Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung 1890-1917 (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 289.

[87] Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA.

[88] Knox to Hill, May 6, 1911; Hill to Knox, May 31, 1911; Hill to Knox, June 20, 1911, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, With the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 7, 1911 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), accessed Oct. 24, 2024, https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1911/ch60, Documents 288, 290, 292.

[89] On the role of journalists as leaders of the German American ethnic community, see Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics," 80–84.

[90] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 70–71; Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 326–27.

[91] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 71–73; Chronik der Stadt Potsdam von 1891-1919, Chr/10: Chroniken, 174, Stadtarchiv Potsdam.

[92] Both speeches quoted from Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA. The two speeches are preserved in several slightly differing versions in the files of the German Foreign Office. The versions quoted here correspond to the latest versions there and are, therefore, probably closest to the speeches actually given. They also correspond to the English translations recorded in the congressional documentation: U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 73–75.

[93] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 75–76; See also Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 338–46.

[94] U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 76–78; Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 346–50.

[95] New York Evening Post, "Statue Pleased Kaiser: Wolffram, Special Steuben Ambassador Returns," Sep. 12, 1911.

[96] New Yorker Revue, "Nachklänge vom Festbankett: Zu Ehren der Sonderbotschafter Bartholdt und Wolffram," Oct. 19, 1911.

[97] Quoted from Arnold Fueredi, Deutschland und Amerika Hand in Hand: Eine Verständigungsschrift für die zwei größten Nationen der Welt, eine Kampfschrift gegen Hetzer und Unwissende (Berlin: Concordia. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 185.

[98] Wolffram to Kiderlen-Waechter, Oct. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17163, A18055, PA AA.

[99] Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 307.

[100] Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA.

[101] Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 119–21; Regarding the ongoing commemoration of Steuben and the Steuben statue in Washington, see Don H. Tolzmann, "Centennial Celebration of Steuben Monument," Steuben News, Nov./Dec. (2010).

Andrew J. Carlson II

Germans in the History of American Alaska, 1867-1993

Germans, defined broadly as including immigrants from German-speaking Europe coming directly to Alaska as well as German Americans from the lower forty-eight states, have played a vital role in Alaska's history. Russian historian Andre Greinev recognized their importance in Alaska during the Russian period asserting, "On the whole, based on the significance of their contribution in opening up Russian America, the Germans occupy, after the Russians proper, second or third place…leaving far behind representatives of other ethnic groups who took part in Russian colonization of Alaska."[1] Greinev's observation regarding the significance of German contributions in Russian Alaska is also shared during the American period. Paralleling the 126 years of the Russian period (1741-1867), with the first 126 years of the American period, (1867-1993), the significance of German contributions during Alaska's American possession also becomes evident.[2]

In 1741 German fluent Danish Captain Vitas Bering was accompanied by a German scientist Georg Wilhelm Steller on the Russian expeditionary ship *St. Peter*.[3] Steller became the first Euro-American to set foot in Alaska similarly to Captain Cook in Hawaii during the eighteenth century.[4] While in Alaska Steller named several animals and fauna the most recognizable of his discoveries being the "Steller Jay" and the "Steller Sea Lion" during his scientific observations on Alaska's shores (two mountains were named after Steller: Mount Steller in the Aleutian range 1928 and Mount Steller in the Chugach range 1928; in 1974 Steller Secondary School in Anchorage was named after him).[5] Bering, however, at the first sight of Alaska was anxious to return to Russia as winter fast approached remarking sarcastically in German, "gehen viele mit grosen Winden Schwanger!" translation "Now we think we have found everything, and many are full of expectations like

pregnant windbags!"[6] During the *St. Peter's* return trip to Kamchatka Bering's angst was realized when the *St. Peter* was wrecked during a storm. Bering, Steller and crew were marooned on an uninhabited island with a derelict ship. Ford noted while Steller and crew were marooned on Bering Island, "Palatable herbs sent up their first tender shoots, and under Steller's direction the men dug medicinal plants from the tundra…The health of the sailors was not fully restored until they ate the fresh greens he recommended."[7] Stellar helped save what remained of the Russian crew on Bering Island with his scurvy remedy, allowing what was left of the German/Russian crew to make it back to Kamchatka.[8] Another German Otto von Kotzebue born in Estonia (the son of August von Kotzebue born in Weimar Germany in 1761, whose assassination in 1819 precipitated the Karlsbad Decrees) appears in the literature during the Russian period accompanied by German scientist, Adelbert von Chamisso (author of *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte*/ *Peter Schlemihl's Miraculous Story*), they traveled together on the Russian ship *Rurik*. Chamisso chronicled the Kotzebue voyage in his diary later published as, *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs Expedition in den Jahren 1815-1818 auf der Brig Rurik, Kapitain Otto von Kotzebue.* Alaskan historian Robert Fortuine made an English translation of Chamisso's 1856 publication titled, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage 1815-1818* (1986).[9] Kotzebue Middle High School, Kotzebue Sound, Kotzebue Creek, the city of Kotzebue and Chamisso Island and Chamisso Anchorage (not the city of Anchorage, Chamisso Anchorage found in Eschscholtz Bay which Eschscholtz Bay was named for Dr. Frederick Eschscholtz the physician on the *Rurik*) were named after Kotzebue and Chamisso respectively.[10] The most recognizable of all the Germans during the Russian period is Baron Ferdinand von Wrangell. Wrangell served as administrator of Russian Alaska from 1829-35 and then as president of the Russian American Company from 1840-49. Wrangell has left one of the largest imprints on Alaska's toponymics observed at the town of Wrangell, Wrangell High School, Mount Wrangell, the Wrangell Mountains, Wrangell Island and Wrangell-St. Elias National Park.[11]

Germanic contributions did not halt with the sale of Russian Alaska to the United States in 1867. Russia's minister to the U.S. who performed the transaction on Russia's behalf was Eduard A. Stoeckl (from German-speaking Austrian ancestry on his father's side; Mount Stoeckl in Alaska was later named after him in 1924).[12] The painting commemorating the Alaskan purchase was, *The Signing of the Alaska Treaty* (1867) depicting Secretary of State, William H. Seward, sitting in an armchair with Stoeckl standing to his right stretching his hand over a globe pointing towards Alaska (the original painting is kept at the Seward House Museum in Auburn, New York).[13] *The Signing of the*

Alaska Treaty painting was created by the German American painter Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze in 1867 (Leutze is best known for his painting *Washington Crossing the Delaware*).[14] Alaskan historian Terrence Cole observed, "The man who made Washington stand up in the boat was also responsible for the most important historical painting in Alaskan history."[15] Historian Lee Farrow noted that the Alaskan purchase was welcomed by the Germans. Otto von Bismarck, who had just created the northern confederation of German states under the control of Prussia in 1867, viewed the Alaskan purchase favorably, understanding that the Alaskan purchase was in line with the Monroe Doctrine (the full consolidation of the German nation would not occur until four years after the Alaskan purchase January 18, 1871, when Bismarck brought the western German states into an alliance with the northern German states and solidified Germany's unification by defeating France in the Franco-Prussian war).[16] The nineteenth century, the century of Alaska's purchase by the United States, was also the century that saw the largest influx of German immigrants into the U.S. with over five million Germans immigrating into the country. Similar to the Russian period of Alaska, the American period saw its share of Germanic influence. Germans, Austrians and Swiss all helped make contributions in Alaska's mining, agriculture, defense, politics, science, the history department of Alaska's first college at the University of Alaska Fairbanks and in tourism on the ski slopes of Alyeska.

Mining was one of the first industries in American Alaska and Germans would play a role in its development. One notable German miner, George Pilz, was born in Saxony, Germany, in 1845. Pilz influenced the history of gold mining in Alaska and was Alaska's first formally educated mining engineer to arrive there, having received his mining degrees in Freiburg, Germany, and he worked in the coal mines near Leipzig before immigrating to the United States in 1867 the year of Alaska's purchase. Pilz's first jobs were working in the copper mines of Michigan he also mined in California, Nevada and Arizona before moving to Alaska. Pilz began gold exploration in Southeast region of Alaska where he moved to Sitka in 1879 and worked at the Stewart Mine in Silver Bay near Sitka.[17] Historian Harry Ritter writes, "The first major strike, by the French Canadian Joe Juneau and his partner Richard Harris, came in 1880 at Gold Creek – the site of present day Juneau. The two men had been outfitted by a German immigrant mining engineer named George Pilz…"[18] A year after outfitting Juneau and Harris, Pilz wrote a letter to the *Mining and Scientific Press* stating:

> I think it probable that as you have not heard for a long time from this part of the coast (Sitka), a few notes in regard to certain newspaper reports may be of advantage to the

> readers of the Mining and Scientific Press. During the past summer, feeling confident of the mineral wealth of Alaska, I fitted out seven different parties to prospect, each with six month's provisions and equipments. I also paid each party, which consisted of five or six men, regular wages; as otherwise I could not expect to have the prospecting of the country done to my own satisfaction…[19]

In 1912 the newspaper *Juneau Empire* gave the true credit of founding Juneau to Pilz, stating: "George Pilz, who according to Chase Wells, is really the discoverer of Juneau, at the time of the discovery was superintendent of the Stewart mine, 12 miles back of Sitka. It was a ten stamp affair and was owned by Portland Ore., people. It was Pilz who grubstaked Richard Harris and Joe Juneau to explore this section."[20] Pilz passed away in Eagle, Alaska in 1926. Pilz later received recognition for his contributions in the field of Alaskan mining and was inducted into the Alaska Mining Hall of Fame Foundation.[21]

Nineteen years after Pilz grubstaked Juneau and Harris, Edward E. Harriman, an American Financier and Railroad executive, selected German American Forester Bernhard E. Fernow to join the Harriman Expedition (a scientific expedition) to Alaska. Fernow originally came from the Prussian province of Posen and worked for the Prussian Forest Service there, he was a veteran from the Franco-Prussian War. In 1882 Fernow became a United States citizen after his marrying an American. Barbara and Mary Selig write regarding Fernow's expedition to Alaska, "Professionally, he found the trees along the coastal area of Alaska were not a good source of timber…"[22] Fernow's negative perception of Alaskan timber can be observed in his report:

> …The present commercial value of the forests of the Alexander Archipeligo is not of high order , the character and quality of its timber being inferior. The species mainly composing it, spruce and hemlock, are of inferior quality; the open stand and moist climate produces excessive branch growth and knotty timber; the roughness of the country makes logging operations expensive. The valuable Alaska Cedar occurs only in limited quantities and the Red Cedar still more so, entering Alaskan territory only at the southern extremity. Nevertheless, a field for the development of a paper pulp industry is suggested.[23]

Fernow's negative report of Alaskan forests helped stall the logging industry for years to come as the Selig's write, "However it did keep timber companies

out of Alaska for a time."[24] Ironically, Fernow helped preserve the environment he was sent to investigate for exploitation due to his negative reporting on Alaskan forests resulting in only a small scale pulp mill operation in Southeast Alaska.[25] Large scale logging did not become prevalent until the 1950s.

After the goldrush era had ended the next significant event to influence Alaska's history was World War One. Wartime paranoia would grip the territory of Alaska, but not as bad as in other regions of the United States as historian Preston Jones observed, "On the whole, Alaska walked a more moderate path."[26] Although Jones added, "But there is no doubt that Germans in Alaska were watched, and that whatever culture of easy trust that existed in Alaska's communities came under pressure."[27] This more moderate path can be seen in the treatment of Germans just nine years prior to the outbreak of war with Germany: the Germans were given an entire day of celebrating everything German on August 18, 1909, at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle.[28] The celebration even received a congratulatory telegram from the Kaiser. *The Daily Progressive Miner* in Ketchikan Alaska reported four days after the United States declared war on Germany with an article titled "Our German Alaskans" reprinted from the *Juneau Dispatch*:

> Now that it has come to war we can be sure that the Germans in Alaska are just as good Americans as any of us. There isn't one of us who is not happy in the acquaintance of some Alaskans who were born in the country with which we shall be in a state of war but we know them to well to consider them anything but the best of Americans and the best of friends. George Washington was English to the core, even if not born in England, and who would dare say that he was not the noblest American of them all? There may be some German born amongst us who have not become naturalized, but even if the law requires that they must be considered as "enemy aliens," they will only be so considered in the technical sense. Germany and America will again be friends. The German people and the American people are friends today and the government of the United States in warring on the governmental methods of Germany can well say to the German people in the words of the old German song: "Brothers full up anew: We war not, friend on you."[29]

Although the Alaskan press was exercising caution there were still issues with German paranoia observed in a situation with a German trapper who worked a trapline along the Kantishna River located in interior Alaska near Fairbanks. The National Park Service noted that Carl Nigel, "came in 1912 the first

white man to stay in that area" was deported from the territory.[30] Nigel was "a German national arrested after Uncle Sam declared war on the Kaiser. The U.S. marshal in Fairbanks became convinced Nigel was a security menace and had him interned Outside."[31] A hand colored lantern slide featuring Carl Nigel has a caption on it reading, "Carl Nigel standing under sign. He wanted to stand with gun at present arms, which I would not allow. He was secretly organizing Germans and had been a high non-commissioned officer in the German army."[32] The chances of Nigel organizing effective resistance against the American government in Alaska's remote interior is implausible at best. Yet, due to these accusations Nigel was deported. It did not help Nigel's cause that he displayed a German sign on the front of his cabin roof that spelled out "Hindenburg."[33] Overall Germans in Alaska like Nigel were treated better than Germans in other parts of America, especially when these Germans kept a low profile. Alaska did not see the extreme anti-German sentiment that occurred in other parts of the country that manifested in acts such as a lynching in Illinois.[34]

Agriculture was another field in Alaska which Germans would excel at. Joseph A. Kendler was born in Saalbach, Austria in 1886 and his wife Mathilda Kendler was born in Weinheim, Germany. Kendler moved to America in 1913 and made his way to Alaska and began working for *Alaska Dairy* on Douglas Island (near Juneau) in 1917 not becoming a naturalized citizen until three years after World War One ended in 1921. Joe's story reveals German speaking Austrians like himself could be readily accepted in Alaskan communities in the midst of World War One (Austria was one of Germany's allies during World War One).[35] Joe got into dairy farming in Alaska due to his Austrian upbringing, as Joe remembered, "Most of the time I worked on a dairy farm, which was high up on a mountain plateau, surrounded by a long chain of immense mountains and beautiful meadows. My job was caring for the cows and making Swiss cheese, which my employer exported."[36] Joe's experiences in Austria were perfect preparation for dairying in Alaska's Southeastern Panhandle. When Joe returned from visiting relatives in Austria he met his future wife Mathilda a German traveling on the *SS Hansa*. Mathilda was traveling to Chicago in order to stay with her aunt and work at her aunt's delicatessen. Mathilda made the decision to move to America reflecting:

> During World War 1 in Germany, the Allied embargo on food and raw material was so successful that food displays in grocery stores, bakeries and butcher shops completely disappeared. Potted geraniums were on display instead. The war ended three years before I left for America, but war time

> shortages were still just as acute. Factories stood idle, store shelves were empty. Looking at the store windows, I mentally stocked them with prewar goodies my grandmother used to make.[37]

One such food Mathilda warmly remembered her German grandmother making was *Käsekuchen* (cheesecake). After arriving in America Joe and Mathilda communicated by letter for two years and then Mathilda traveled to Juneau in 1922 where she and Joe were married. The next year Joe purchased the *Alaska Dairy* and its 320 acres (the U.S. government doubled the homestead act from 160 acres to 320 acres specially for Alaska believing the doubled homestead size would attract more settlers to Alaska). Together the Kendler's developed the most successful dairy in the Southeast region.[38] The Kendler's fed the growing town of Juneau with their Alaska Dairy products from 1922 to 1951. Mathilda recorded her family's experiences farming in Alaska in her autobiography *Kendler's: The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy* (1983). Mathilda reminisced, "My husband Joe and I were lucky enough to have been a part of Juneau from 1922-1965. We owned and operated the Alaska Dairy farm 10 miles out of the city for more than 35 years and we stayed another ten years after we gave up our business."[39]The Kendler's sold their farm and moved near Seattle, Washington where Joe passed away in 1967 and Mathilda passed away in 1988. Although Kendler's *Alaska Dairy* has ceased operation, a large section of the Kendler farm that was sold became a part of Juneau's now modern airport. The Kendler name can also be found on a road near the airport titled, "Kendler Way."[40]

World War One had strained German and American relations. After it ended Germany sought to repair its tarnished image in America. Germany sent prominent goodwill representatives to ease tensions such as Captain Erwin Wassner who docked his Königsberg Klasse (class) Kreuzer (cruiser) the *Karlsruhe* in Juneau on May 19, 1932.[41] Wassner was a notable German submarine captain from the First World War, decorated with the *Pour Le Merite* twice for his achievements. The *Karlsruhe* and its crew of 560 men stayed in Juneau for 11 days.[42] During the *Karlsruhe's* visit, Alaska's then territorial governor, George Parks, invited Wassner and his officers to a dinner and dance at the governor's mansion in Juneau.[43] The purpose of *Karlsruhe's* 12-month international trip was as historian Simone De Ramos Santiago observed, "The German goodwill tours of the early 1930s were an important first step in reconciling Germany to the rest of the world. They were meant to improve international relations, and the German government could not have picked better representatives."[44] To this aim the *Karlsruhe's* crew helped ease German-American tensions in Alaska as the *Karlsruhe's* crew performed community outreach noted in a newspaper column. The newspaper stated:

> A squadron from the German Cruiser Karlsruhe and American Legion members, the majority of whom saw service overseas, took part in a memorial day parade. The cruiser will be in port 11 days. Commander Wassner rode in the parade with commander Dench of the coast guard cutter Tallapoosa.[45]

By participating in dances at the governor's mansion, linking up with local American Legion members and participating in local parades the *Karlsruhe's* commander and crew performed their duty of promoting German goodwill in Alaska.[46]

The interwar period between World War One and World War Two also saw Alaska receive a German American territorial governor, Ernest H. Gruening, who was personally appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939. Gruening would hold his Alaskan Territorial Governor position until 1953. Gruening was originally from New York where he was born in 1887 and his earliest memory noted in his autobiography was knocking on his parents' door and shouting, "Ein Löwe steht vor deiner Tür!" (A lion stands before your door).[47] Gruening goes on to write regarding his family's usage of German and English at home, "…we were all bilingual and used both languages interchangeably." Gruening's father Emil Gruening of German Jewish ancestry had just immigrated to America from Posen, Prussia (coincidentally the same place Furnow had immigrated from; after the Treaty of Versailles, Posen was returned to Poland). Emil joined the Seventh New Jersey Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War and as Ernest writes "... Father fought in the battle of Five Forks and was among the cheering boys in blue at the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox."[48] Ernest's father earned money for college to become a physician by working as a German tutor. Emil's son Ernest Gruening would shape the Alaskan Territory and State by first serving first as Alaska's Territorial Governor from 1939 to 1953 and then as Alaska's Senator from 1959 to 1969. Gruening authored several books about Alaska's history, one of which was *An Alaskan Reader 1867-1967*. In it, Gruening includes a selection from a German journalist, writing, "A foreigner's view of contemporary Alaska is presented by the German Hans Otto Meissner, journalist and big-game hunter, in his book, Bezaubernde Wildnis ("Enchanted Wilderness). A more understanding appraisal of Alaska and its people has seldom been written."[49] Gruening was also a strong proponent of Alaska Statehood. Alaskan Statehood was achieved in 1959 when American president Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Alaska in as the 49th state. Eisenhower was from German ancestry, as noted by his granddaughter Susan Eisenhower, "The name Eisenhauer was anglicized to Eisenhower

sometime shortly after their arrival in North America."[50] Eisenhower's signing Alaska statehood marked one of the most important achievements of Alaskan history during the 20th century and it was signed in by a president from German ancestry. Eisenhower wrote regarding his granting statehood to Alaska, "Because of its location across the Bering Strait from the Soviet Union, Alaska had a particular strategic significance: within the northern and western parts of Alaska, it was essential that our military forces continue to have maximum freedom of movement."[51] After Gruening's time as Territorial Governor, his involvement with Alaska Statehood and his term as Alaskan Senator, Gruening's name became ubiquitous around the state, from the "Gruening building" located at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (amusingly the current site of UAF's German language department), "Gruening Street" in Homer, "Gruening Middle School" in Eagle River and "Ernest Gruening State Historical Park" located just north of Juneau.[52]

As World War II approached, Alaska had an opportunity to provide a safe haven for German Jews in 1938 with the Slattery Plan. The Slattery Plan endorsed moving European refugees, predominantly Jews, from Nazi Germany and Austria to Alaska. There were issues with the Slattery Plan; one article noted that there was not enough housing in Alaska to bring in a large influx of "foreigners."[53] Reading between the lines, the issue was more complicated than a lack of housing. Alaska's Delegate to Congress, Democrat Anthony Dimond was noted in 1939 as being:

> ...emphatically opposed to the colonization of Alaska misfits and refugees from other countries, and declares that there is not the glimmer of a hope in congress in its wisdom will sponsor such a movement or enact legislation that will let down the bars to a foreign horde entering Alaska and discriminating against her as compared with the rest of America.[54]

Antisemitism was another factor at play during the Jewish immigration debate. German born Alaskan Historian Claus Naske published an article on Alaska's missed opportunity to help Jewish immigrants in Alaska titled, "Jewish Immigration and Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility."[55] Naske's weltschmerz is apparent in the title of his publication. In his article, Naske chronicles the missed opportunities that Alaska's Governor Ernest Gruening failed to exploit. Naske writes deservingly critical of Gruening:

> After considerable testimony, the hearings concluded, but Congress took no action on the bill, owing in part to the

> negative nature of much of the testimony. In addition, both the King-Havenner measure and the Slattery plan on which it was based contained many weaknesses. Gruening and Dimond had criticized the inadequacy of the Slattery plan, which failed to recognize how limited economic opportunities were in Alaska. The governor (Naske refers to Governor Gruening here) was correct in his criticism of the plan as unrealistic, but as a lifelong liberal he should have taken up the cause of people in dire jeopardy and urged that at least a few hundred of these be settled in Alaska immediately. As opportunity arose more should have been added, given his German-Jewish background, it is astonishing that Gruening was so opposed to efforts to help these people."[56]

Naske's frustration with Gruening becomes more apparent upon realizing that Naske lost Jewish relatives during the Nazi period on his mother's side in his home country of Germany (Naske's mother's last name was Solomon; Naske's father was an officer in the Wehrmacht and was able to protect his family from persecution, due to his high rank).[57] Naske noted that he lost a grandfather and three uncles, who were executed in concentration camps.[58]

Less than 10 years after the *Karlsruhe's* goodwill tour ended, the United States was at war with Germany again. During World War II Alaska received 700 German POWs who were predominantly came from the Afrika Korps captured in Tunisia in 1943. *The Alaska Journal* published an article titled, "German Prisoners of War in Alaska" (1984).[59] In 1945, 700 Germans were sent to Alaska in order to tear apart an 18 million dollar barge terminal that should not have been built in the first place, referring to it as, "the Army's white elephant on Excursion Inlet."[60] War time censorship largely prevented public knowledge of this wasted money as well as about the Germans who dismantled it. The article goes on to state, "More German POWs might have been brought to Alaska for salvage work, except for strong opposition to their presence by Delegate Bob Bartlett and territorial Gov. Ernest Gruening." Naske observed regarding military bases in Alaska:

> Actually, many of the military construction projects and activities had been wasteful and badly planned from the very beginning. When war broke out in December 1941, numerous Alaskan bases had been under construction but all for purely defensive purposes. In fact, most of the bases had been poorly located and badly planned. For example,

> neither Army nor Navy bases were built taking into account the role of airpower. At the Navy bases at Sitka, Kodiak, and Dutch Harbor, and at Fort Richardson (the principal Army base near Anchorage), structures were crammed together without provision or forethought for concealment, camouflage, or dispersal, and had the Japanese invaded Alaska, Gruening asserted, these bases would have been extremely vulnerable targets.[61]

Gruening was both concerned and aware of the issue regarding the poor selection of sites for military installations throughout Alaska, having criticized the naval base problem in 1942.[62] Gruening was also aware of the Excursion Inlet base as Naske recounts:

> In August of 1942, Gruening recounted, he learned that the Army had contracted for the construction of a transshipment port on the site at a cost of $23 million. The Army planned to transport all goods and supplies destined for western Alaska and the Aleutians by barge from Seattle up the protected waters of the Inland Passage to be unloaded at Excursion Inlet… Just as Gruening had predicted, the project turned out to be waste on a colossal scale.[63]

Just as Naske could be critical of Gruening's shortcomings such as Gruening's inability to offer German Jews a refuge in Alaska, Naske could also see Gruening's strengths regarding his exceptional leadership ability on the Homefront of the Alaskan war effort against Japan. Gruening was troubled by the Excursion Inlet base again two years later in 1944 when he learned that German POW ersatz labor was taking away Alaskan jobs to dismantle the poorly planned base he flagged two years earlier.[64]

Germans were not just POWs interned in Alaska during World War II dismantling Alaskan bases. The descendants of Germans contributed to America's war effort in Alaska too. Ross Elroy Wulfkuhle from Kansas, who served in the Alaskan theater of war, was of German ancestry:

> …the second of seven children whose parents were William Ferdinand Wulfkuhle and Mildred Ann Gress Wulfkuhle. The Wulfkuhle ancestors emigrated from Kohlstadt, Germany, in 1860, joining several other German families in the community of Deer Creek, now Stull, Kansas, a small unincorporated village between Lawrence and Topeka. Ross's grandfather, William, was a lad of four years at that time.

> In Germany their occupations were shoemakers and hops pluckers. Most of the succeeding generations continued in agricultural work.[65]

Wulfkuhle was drafted into the U.S. military in 1941 and received orders for a two year tour in the Aleutians beginning in August of 1943. While Wulfkuhle was stationed on Kiska he built Franklin Delano Roosevelt's wheelchair ramp during a presidential visit there. Wulfkuhle was unable to write back home to friends and family about building FDR's wheelchair ramp, due to secrecy regarding FDR's disability.[66]

Ten years after World War Two ended the Alaskan Constitution would be written from 1955 to 1956, and German-speaking immigrants would share a hand in its creation. Yule F. Kilcher was born in Switzerland in 1913 moved to the United States settling in Homer, Alaska, in 1940, where he homesteaded 660 acres. Kilcher served on Alaska's first constitutional convention held in Fairbanks at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.[67] Kilcher suggested removing the "ugh" from the word "Borough," as Kilcher stated:

> I suggest that as a last compromise, a small compromise with the bigger ones we have made, that we at least change the spelling of this borough to b-o-r-o. I don't see any reason at all why we should stick to this u-g-h spelling. It hasn't changed since Chaucer used it. It has a nostalgic reference looking back towards New York and further beyond the ocean towards England. The spelling of b-o-r-o is commonly used in connection with and affixed to town names.[68]

The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* noted, however, that the local government article went into the constitution with the name of local government units, still set at "borough."[69] After serving on the constitutional convention Kilcher returned to Switzerland for 21 months and then came back to Alaska to live permanently.[70] Kilcher also served as a member of the Alaskan State Senate from 1963 to 1967. Kilcher noted that his best memories were homesteading in Homer, stating, "The best times were haying and berrypicking, hunting ptarmigan, skiing the back hills in winter, singing songs around the table at dinner."[71] Kilcher also enjoyed mushroom picking; he noted his father was an expert mushroom picker in Switzerland and Kilcher was surprised to find that many of the European varieties of mushroom he was familiar with in Switzerland were to be found in Alaska.[72] On his homestead in Homer, Kilcher harvested naturally occurring coal found on the beaches for heat, he subsistence harvested silver salmon and grew Arctic Seedling potatoes. Kilcher noted:

> I'll pick them out I did that for thirty-five years I've done that since 1943 a fellow gave me these arctic seedling potatoes they were very popular in those days you know and uh he selected for 15 years that makes it fifty years by now see yeah every year I pick out the nicest hills and uh that will be my next years seed and then I pick the nicest again I always pick the nicest for next year's seeds and so I have a very nice train here healthy potatoes look at that shape.[73]

Kilcher noted regarding his decision to come to Alaska:

> I had a dream ever since 1935 in effect and I went on my year and a half cruise to find an appropriate corner where our young group of then idealists could lead the kind of life we wanted, with the war and other things interfering I not much came of it, but I stuck today this idea, through thick and thin, through my years working in Alaska as a builder, as a homesteader, and politician if you will.[74]

Kilcher lived in Alaska for 58 years before he passed away in Homer, Alaska in 1998. "Kilcher Road" and the "Kilcher Family Homestead" (now a living museum), all reflect his name.[75]

German-speaking immigrants would continue influencing Alaskan politics after Alaskan Statehood was granted by German American President Eisenhower in 1959. Walter J. "Wally" Hickel born near Claflin, Kansas, in 1919 would become the second governor of the State of Alaska (1966-69) and serve again as Alaskan Governor from (1990-94).[76] Hickel was the eldest of ten children born to Robert and Emma Hickel. Hickel's grandparents had left southern Germany and had settled near a German community in Claflin, Kansas. *Time* Magazine referred to Hickel's ancestry as, "…the son of a German American tenant farmer."[77] Hickel personally noted about his German ancestry in his autobiography *Who Owns America?*, writing:

> My parents were both first-generation Americans. My mother's parents, whose surname was Zecha, emigrated from southern Germany about 1890, and my mother was born in Odin, Kansas, in 1894. Nearly everyone in the area was of German ancestry, and until the middle 1930's, the grade school in Odin conducted classes in German for half of each day. My grandparents on the Hickel side had left

> southern Germany a decade or so before the Zecha family did, and my father Robert Anthony Hickel, was born near Clafflin. My grandparents never did learn to speak English, and my older sister, Gertrude was handicapped by the mix of German and English when she first went to school. Perhaps that is why my parents stopped speaking German in our home. I understood the language fairly well as a small boy, but I have some difficulty with it now. There were 10 children in the family in our family. I was the oldest boy. My sisters Gertrude and Catherine were four and two years old, respectively, when I was born. Seven other children were born in the "great house."[78]

Hickel moved away from Kansas and settled in Anchorage, Alaska in 1940. Upon his arrival in Alaska, he only had 37 cents to his name, but through hard work and sacrifice Hickel became a self-made millionaire. Hickel's construction company built the Captain Cook hotel in downtown Anchorage, after the great Alaska earthquake of 1964.[79] Hickel's willingness to build in the aftermath of the earthquake encouraged others to help rebuild Anchorage as well.[80] After serving as Alaska's Governor from 1966 to 1969, he left his term as governor early in order to serve as Secretary of the Interior in the Nixon administration. His first term as governor saw the construction of the Hickel Highway, which was the first road that attempted to reach Alaska's north slope.[81] Although the Hickel Highway no longer exists (the Dalton Highway took its place) Hickel still has a road named after him, "In 2012, the Alaska State Legislature named a 7.5-mile section of Minnesota Drive and O'Malley Road the Walter J. Hickel Expressway from 15th Avenue to the New Seward Highway in Anchorage."[82] Hickel passed away in Anchorage, Alaska in 2010.

Otto W. Geist breaks up the chronology of this paper due to his arrival in Alaska in 1923 and remaining in Alaska until after statehood in 1962, but his influence on science in Alaska is significant. Otto W. Geist born in Eiselfing, Germany in 1888 one of fifteen children born to a southern German family in Bavaria. Geist was trained as an auto mechanic and served in the German army until he was able to receive his discharge papers and immigrate to America in 1910.[83] Geist's arrival in New York marked the beginning of his wanderlust as he moved to Chicago, then St. Louis, and then on to Kansas City. Geist found employment on a farm on the outskirts of Kansas City for $100 a year and worked as a farmhand there for a couple of years. Geist left his farmhand job for an auto mechanic position with Sterling Morton. Geist then left Morton in order to work on transport trucks

for the U.S. army fighting Pancho Villa. Afterwards, Geist joined the U.S. Army again in order to serve in France during World War One. When Geist returned from his WW1 service he decided to move to Alaska and join his brother there in 1923. Upon arriving in Alaska, Geist obtained a dishwashing job at a restaurant in Anchorage operated by Kurt Wagner, who was also from German ancestry.[84] Geist saved his money and made plans to mine gold. He did not end up becoming a successful gold miner but became a successful archaeologist. His success with archaeology began when Charles Bunnel (University of Alaska president) sponsored Geist's archaeological digs in 1927. The Native Alaskans of St. Lawrence Island, where Geist did most of his archaeological work, later adopted him, providing him with a whale tattoo and the nickname, "Aghvook" meaning "whale." Geist's nickname "Aghvook" was used in the title of his biography by Charles Keim, *Aghvook, White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology* (1969). Keim writes, "The German immigrant who had come to Alaska in 1923 now, thirteen years later, was an acknowledged scientist both outside and inside the vast territory. That same year the Explorers Club of New York elected him to its membership."[85] Just thirteen years after arriving in Alaska, Geist had authored a book about his findings titled *Archaological Excavations at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska: Preliminary Report* (1936).[86] Gruening provides insight regarding what a day in the life digging up artifacts with Geist involved:

> We visited Dr. Geist's workshop where he was reconstructing the skull of a mammoth and preparing it for shipment, wrapped in rice paper and then encased in cement. I asked him whether the presence of lion and tiger bones meant that Alaska had once had a tropical climate, but he said that in the view of some zoologists the lion's mane was a survival of life in a colder climate, and that the lioness had lost her mane first. He also said that some human bones had been found but no one knew whether mastodon and man had been contemporaneous in Alaska. Equipped with rubber boots, old clothes and a gunny sack, Peter and I went on a bone-hunt of our own with Dr. Geist. We descended a steep slope of frozen muck until we reached a place seventy feet below the surface where the gravel was exposed. Dr. Geist directed us to pick up all bones. Later we would discard the useless fragments. It was so warm that we took off our shirts and worked bare from the waist up. We found a considerable number of bison vertebrae and shoulder blades, but the

> first good find was the maxilla of a young mammoth with teeth in place. Dr. Geist said he would have it polished and sent to us in Washington. Then Peter found the femur of a mammoth, half as high as he was and weighing twenty-five pounds. It was in almost perfect condition and Dr. Geist pronounced it the best find of the day.[87]

The 1930's were successful scientific years for Geist, but he faced adversity during World War Two. Keim writes:

> Otto was scheduled to travel to New York to work in the Frick Laboratory. He was packed and ready to leave when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and America entered the war. Alaskans, because of their relatively isolated geographic position and lack of defenses, were quite jittery. Again, because of Otto's German ancestry, some of his more ignorant neighbors who did not know his background suspected that he was pro-German. Soon a rumor began going around that he planned to leave Alaska with a big bundle of important maps.[88]

Fortunately for Geist, his friends stood up for him and he was not deported. Geist was able to make a beneficial impact for the United States on the Alaskan war front. Alaskan historian Ross Coen asserted:

> During World War II, Geist helped organize the Alaska Territorial Guard, an all-volunteer reconnaissance and defense force comprised mainly of Alaska Natives. ATG officials wanted leaders who understood village life and had the respect of Natives. Geist was the perfect choice.[89]

Coen's observations regarding Geist having, "understood village life and had the respect of Natives" is apparent in Geist's pre-war work during his archaeological digs he compiled over fifty Alaska Native place names (predominantly on St. Lawrence Island) which he reported to the U.S. Geological Service in 1932.[90] After the war Geist continued with his archaeological pursuits and earned the title "Dr. Geist" on May 13, 1957, when he received his honorary doctorate from University of Alaska Fairbanks. During his graduation ceremony he received the following address:

> Born in Eiselfing, Bavaria, and came to the United States which he served in three wars. Initiated the archaeological

> work on St. Lawrence Island; contributed greatly to the geographical knowledge and Eskimo nomenclature of that island; secured for the University of Alaska museum on of the largest Eskimo archaeological collections in the world; is chiefly responsible for the present status of that museum; gathered thousands of specimens for the University of Alaska and other institutions; made the only accurate observations of the Black Rapids Glacier advance in 1937; conducted several expeditions in the Yukon territory and Alaska; publisher of the book "Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik" and of numerous articles; has always been generous in sharing his vast amount of scientific information.[91]

The citations go on. The honorary doctorate was a crowning achievement among a long list of personal accomplishments. Five years after receiving his doctorate Geist left Alaska for Europe in 1962 in order to visit friends and family back in Germany. During his vacation in Germany Geist discovered that he had cancer and passed away in a hospital in Munich, Germany on August 3, 1963.[92] The "Otto Geist - Museum of the North Building" located on University of Alaska Fairbanks's campus was named after him as well as "Geist Road" located in Fairbanks and "Mt. Geist" (1965) located near Delta all reflect his name.[93]

It is fitting a German would become one of Alaska's most prominent historians, as the modern history profession has its foundation in Germany. German historian Leopold von Ranke noted history should be written, "wie es eigentlich gewesen" meaning "how it really was."[94] Claus M. Naske arrived in Alaska in 1954 and made a profound influence on Alaska's 20th century historiography. Naske was also able to write history "how it really was," due to experiencing history firsthand. Naske was born in Stettin, Germany a Baltic seaport December 18, 1935 (Stettin is now part of Poland and is now called Szczecin; at the end of World War II the borders between Germany and Poland changed to compensate Poland).[95] Naske noted that his family moved around from Kolberg to Novogard as Naske remembered:

> In February of 1945 you could hear the artillery fire from 18 kilometers the sky was red from burning villages and towns. We thought it was time to get out now or never…Everyone was afraid of the Russians it was axiomatic and when I grew up the boogieman in my youth was the Russian he might get you and in my case it came true…We kids were playing on a huge farm estate in eastern Europe around the barn

> came a Mongolian soldier with a burp gun. These were the advance troops… [96]

Naske describes anguish and privation traveling across war ravaged Germany with his mother and three sisters, finally making their way to war devastated Berlin. There was no food anywhere on their journey as Naske remembered one had to forage for food off the land or steal food since there were no food stands to be had. Naske was also forced to do slave labor for the Russian soldiers as they made Naske herd cattle. Fortunately Naske was able to escape when the Russian soldiers were not paying attention and reunite with his mother and sisters. By 1946 Naske and his family had finally made it to Western Germany out of the Soviet Zone and Naske started attending school again after a two year hiatus from 1944-46 (in 1944 his school had been turned into a field hospital) and he found returning to school difficult.[97] Naske read three novels about Alaska and with things not going well for him in school in Germany his father helped him write letters to Whitehorse, Canada and Palmer, Alaska to see if there were any families in either location willing to sponsor Naske. The letter printed in Palmer, Alaska's *The Frontiersman* Newspaper reads:

> Editor's note: The following letter was sent by a German youth seeking a foster home in Alaska. The letter was received by U.S. Commissioner Dorothy B. Saxton and is published below. Anyone interested in assisting Mr. Naske is asked to contact Mrs. Saxton.
> Claus Naske
> 3, Nonnenberg
> Goslar/Harz
> Germany-Western Zone
> March 30, 1953
> To Town Authority
> Matanuska
> Alaska
> Sir!
>
> Very interested in all agricultural methods in the whole world I like to find out a place in your country where I am in the position to study the manner of work at your farms by own work may it be a hard or not.
> I am 18 years of age, appr. 6 feet high, blond hair, brown eyes, strong and solid and in best of health. A picture of

> myself you will find hereby. And that's my request to you:
> Can you do me a favor to denominate your addresses in your district either to turn for by myself or by an arrangement from yourself hoping to get a sort of foster-parents in your country in the family of which I can live resembling a member of it.
> I intend to obtain money for the passage in mining in a German pit during two or three months being sure to get enough cash as I was informed
> Hoping to get good news from you in a short time.
> Yours sincerely
> Claus Naske[98]

No word came back from Whitehorse but a family from Palmer responded. By October of 1954 (Naske left for the United States more than a year after being approved due to strict immigration quotas), Naske left Germany by ship from Bremerhaven to New York and then flew to Alaska. Naske worked on the Palmer dairy farm of the family who sponsored him but a couple months after arriving he broke his leg. While recovering from his broken leg Naske noted he wanted to attend high school and his sponsoring family stated they, "wanted a farm hand not a scholar." Naske was fortunately able to find another family to sponsor him in Palmer and would ultimately find yet a third family to sponsor him before finishing his studies at Palmer High School (one year was taken off Naske's graduation requirements allowing him to graduate from Palmer High School at the age of twenty in 1956).[99] After graduating from Palmer High School Naske attended UAF and obtained BA degrees in History and Political Science in 1961. Naske's interviewer Schneider asked Naske a question, "When did you first develop your interest in history and when did you think about becoming a professional historian? Did that come later?" Naske replied:

> Much later...Yeah I don't know when you graduate with a BA I couldn't find any jobs in Alaska… I continued in History… I got a Master's in European History in 1964 then we got a job teaching grade school in Point Barrow and then took off and taught there for a year…I thought I have to do something else and Herman Slotnick (Naske's History teacher at UAF) then helped me get a job as an instructor at the Juneau-Douglas Community College left Barrow in 65 and went to Juneau for three years and it was a tremendous experience I was teaching Political Science and European History, American History, and Alaskan History.[100]

Naske received his master's degree from University of Michigan and then his doctorate from Washington State University by 1969 his doctoral thesis was "A History of the Alaska Statehood Movement." Naske came back to Alaska and worked in the department of history at University of Alaska Fairbanks from 1969–2001. Naske wrote numerous notable Alaskan history books and articles. Naske noted regarding his historical interests, "I'm really interested in late 19th century and 20th century political and institutional history and all of the grand applications I have made have been in that direction and that's what I like to do um so most everything I've done I've tried to turn into tried to do the work in that area."[101] Naske turned his doctoral thesis into a book *An Interpretive History of Alaskan Statehood* (1973) which was later reprinted by the University Press of America revised and expanded as *A History of Alaska Statehood* (1985); *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska: A Life in Politics* (1979); *Ernest Gruening: Alaska's Greatest Governor* (2004); *49 at last! The battle for Alaska Statehood* (2009).[102] Naske's magnum opus, *Alaska: A History*, which he co-authored with his colleague Herman Slotnick, was revised, and reprinted a third time in 2014.[103] Naske passed away in 2014 at the age of 78, leaving an indelible mark on Alaska's history.

Chris von Imhof similarly to Claus Naske also left Germany after World War Two and would also end up in Alaska. Imhof, however, would make his mark not in the history department at UAF but in the Alaskan Tourism Industry. Imhof's backstory in Germany is comparable to Naske as Imhof and Naske both faced hardships as children in wartime Germany during World War Two. Unlike the Naske family the Imhof family fled Berlin before the Soviets invaded. Chris was born in Germany on September 26, 1939. Two years later Chris's father Roni was drafted into the Wehrmacht in 1941 and shipped off to the eastern front in Russia, Chris writes:

> In 1942 my mother received a letter from my father. He had given the letter to a wounded soldier who had been transported back to Berlin. He smuggled my father's letter with him. My mother showed me the letter later in life. In it my father had told her to pack up us three boys and move back to his parents' home in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. He rightfully assumed Berlin was not a safe place to live. He also wrote that his chances of survival on the Russian front were almost zero, and he wrote a loving farewell to my mother and us young boys. Three months later, in November, 1942, my father was killed and buried near Smolensk, Russia. My mother received a photo of the graveyard cross with his name inscribed. She never found out the exact circumstances of

> his death and, maybe, it was better that way. Unfortunately, my brothers and I never had a chance to get to know our father. This remains an eternal open wound in my life that I have been sad about to this day."[104]

Chris's mother heeded her husband's warning and moved Chris and his two brothers Florian and Fabian to Garmisch-Partenkirchen (the site of the 1936 winter Olympics), moving in with their grandparents there in the Kurhaus at Schnitzschulstrasse 3. As the war dragged on the Imhof family was relatively safe in their Alpine abode, but they still had some close calls as Chris writes:

> I still remember from early 1945 that we had many aircraft siren alarms, and all residents would run into nearby forests, Then the sky would blacken as hundreds of bombers were flying northbound to attack all the major cities of Germany.[105]

Chris held no animosity towards the Americans stating "My hometown, Garmisch-Partenkirchen in Bavaria, was lucky that the American forces occupied that region after the war, as the U.S. was more humanitarian than the Russians, who occupied East Germany."[106] Chris also remembered American occupation soldiers, "Us children got chewing gum, oranges, and Hershey chocolate from them, an incredible pleasure after years of deprivation." Chris's childhood in Garmisch-Partenkirchen provided him with the opportunity to become an advanced skier (preparation for his future job in Alaska that he would later obtain at Alyeska). All was not well for Chris during his childhood in Garmisch-Partenkirchen as he lost his older brother Fabian to a drowning accident in the Kainzenbad in 1948.[107] Seven years after losing his brother his mother Ingeborg died from cancer in 1955. This tragic event set the stage for Chris's willingness to emigrate to the United States as he writes, "I am a hundred percent sure that I would have made many pioneering life decisions differently if my mother had been alive."[108] Imhoff finished high school and apprenticed at his Uncles's Parkhotel Alpenhof. Having lost most of his immediate family (besides his brother Florian) Chris decided to move to the United States when the opportunity arose in 1956 (two years after Naske arrived in Alaska) and Chris left for the United States on the *USS Constitution*. Upon his arrival in America he traveled to Los Angeles and got a job at the Hilton Hotel. Chris decided to leave the hotel industry and try for the aviation industry applying at Lufthansa Airlines. Lufthansa did not hire Chris since they did not have any openings and to try applying instead with Swedish Airlines System (SAS). Chris was hired by SAS in 1961. In

1963 SAS transferred Chris to Alaska in November of 1963. One of Chris's first experiences in Alaska was at a German restaurant (similar to Geist) as Chris reflected,

> Back at the hotel, I asked about places to eat. The desk agent told me that a popular restaurant was right across the street on Third Ave. named the Woodshed, operated by a couple of Germans. So, for dinner I went to the Woodshed restaurant, which had a cozy atmosphere. The gentleman at the entrance greeted me with a friendly welcome. I could tell right away he was German. I introduced myself and told him I had just arrived the day before and was the new manager of SAS. We got along well from the first moment; his name was Bob Schreck. He took me to the kitchen and introduced me to the chef and his partner, Hans Kruger.[109]

Chris felt welcome in Anchorage and settled down to his new job at SAS just in time to experience the Great Alaska Earthquake on March 27, 1964. Chris noted regarding this rattling event occurring while at his SAS office at the Anchorage airport, "I took a big chair, headed for the big closed bay window, smashed the window, and jumped with my chair in front of me out of the window to the ground that was eight feet below."[110] During his time at SAS Chris made many connections and had even impressed Alaska's then Governor William Egan. This resulted in Egan presenting Chris with a job offer in September 1965 to be Alaska's first Director of Tourism. Chris accepted the offer stating:

> The governor and his chief of staff had reviewed my application. The Governor said he was very impressed with my enthusiasm for the Alaska tourism industry while we traveled to Europe. At that time I had told him I felt Alaska had great potential for more international business from Europe and Japan with Anchorage being the air crossroads of the world. I also had told him that I could see Alaska's great potential for more winter tourism, especially in Southcentral Alaska. I compared the climate to Bavaria, where I was raised.[111]

Chris's job as Director of Tourism ended ironically when Democrat Governor Egan lost to Republican (German American) Walter J. Hickel in 1967. Although Chris was on good terms with Hickel remembering a dinner party:

> Another energetic businessman was Mr. Walter Hickel who was in the construction business in Alaska. One time at a dinner party at his home, Mr. Hickel informed me about his plans to build the best hotel in town and would name it the Captain Cook hotel after the famous explorer who had come to Alaska in 1778.[112]

After Chris's job as Alaska's Director of Tourism ended. He took on a job at the Alyeska ski resort and during his tenure at Alyeska added his own Garmisch-Partenkirchen Alpenglow there. Chris helped acquire many updates and expansions to Alyeska including lifts, sewer system and other amenities and increased tourism. Chris also advocated for the winter Olympics to be held in Anchorage. Although Anchorage never got to hold the winter Olymics Alaskan historian Pierce Bateman noted that Chris, "would prove himself an ardent booster in his own right."[113] Chris's endeavors were not without reward. In 1983/1984 Chris received the Alaska Visitor Association (AVA) North Star award for his work in the Alaska Visitor Industry. The "Imhoff Trail" on the slopes of Alyeska and the "von Imhof Walkway" at the Alaska Wildlife Conservation Center were both posthumously named after him.[114]

Grinev reflected, "The memory of Germans in Russian America is reflected in local toponymics."[115] Likewise, the Germans have been reflected in the toponymics during the American Period of Alaska some of which have been carried over from the Russian period as well. This becomes evident when observing names of buildings such as the "Steller Secondary School" in Anchorage, Kotzebue Middle High School in Kotzebue, "Wrangell High School" in Wrangell, the "Otto Geist - Museum of the North Building" and "Gruening Building" located on UAF's campus and "Gruening Middle School" located in Eagle River. On road names such as "Kendler Way" in Juneau, "Kilcher Road" and "Gruening Road" in Homer, "Geist" road in Fairbanks, and the "Hickel Expressway" in Anchorage. They are also reflected on geographic features named during the American Period such as Chugach mountain range "Mt. Steller," the Aleutian range "Mt. Steller," "Mt. Stoeckl," "Mt. Geist," "Ernest Gruening State Historical Park," the "Imhoff Trail" the "von Imhof Walkway" [116] Not only do the toponymics reflect Germans in Alaska but Alaska's written history has been meticulously chronicled by Germans too.[117] The German Zeitgeist of the American Period spans from Leutze's painting of the Alaska's American purchase in 1867 to Gruening and Naske documenting Alaskan Statehood history.

Since 1993 Germans have continued making contributions in Alaska. In 2004 Alaska confronted its *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* with the opening

of the Jewish History Museum in Anchorage. The museum informs visitors on Alaska's failure to provide a safe haven for German-Jews during World War Two.[118] In 2005 German film director Werner Herzog made his film documentary *Grizzly Man* in Alaska.[119] Two years after Herzog's documentary was released the *Rilke Schule German School of Arts and Sciences* opened its doors in Anchorage in 2007, which Chris von Imhof's grandchildren Liesel and Nick attended (the Rilke Schule is a K-8 German immersion school named after German poet Rainer Maria Rilke and the school's mascot is a panther in reference to Rilke's poem "Der Panther").[120] The same year Rilke Schule opened the Alaskan Legislature honored Chris von Imhof on his retirement from Alyeska Resort and recognized his, "many contributions to his community of Girdwood and the State of Alaska."[121] From 2011to 2022 Kilcher's descendants starred in a reality television series on the Discovery Channel titled *Alaska The Last Frontier*, the show being set on Yule Kilcher's homestead. The German military presence in Alaska is now not one of subservient POWs nor a good will tour, but now the German military trains with the American military as compatriots. The German Luftwaffe travels to Alaska each summer to train with United States Air Force.[122] Alaskan politics continue to see politicians with German last names as Chris von Imhof's daughter in law Alaskan State Senator Natasha von Imhof recently served in the 30th – 32nd legislature (2017-22).[123] Germans continue to influence Alaska's history and toponymics.

Glennallen High School
Glennallen, Alaska

Author's Note: Several sources cited in this essay were obtained from the Internet, this was due to the topic of German-speaking immigrants during the American Period being a neglected topic of research. Besides Grinev's publication on Germans during the Russian Period, the American Period has had no significant studies focused on the role of Germans in Alaska.

Notes

1. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 40-41. Andre Grinev translated by Richard Bland, "Germans in the history of Russian America," *Journal of the West* vol.47 no.2 (Spring 2008), 40-41. Grinev utilizes a broad definition of Germans basing his research on Germanic names throughout the Baltic. Grinev references several Germans in his paper as "Baltic Germans," such as Otto von Kotzebue a German who was born in Estonia. This article also includes individuals of Germanic origin, i.e., Germans, Austrians, Swiss and those of Germanic descent.

2. One of Alaska's most prominent historians Claus Naske was himself a German. Naske covered German American history topics during his career focusing much of his work on the German American Ernest Gruening who became a Territorial Governor and then a Senator in Alaska see: "Governor Ernest Gruening's Struggle for Territorial Status-Personal or Political?"

Journal of the West vol. 20 no.1 (Jan. 1981), 32-40. This *JOW* Gruening article was included and renamed as "Dr. Alaska: Ernest Gruening" in Mangusso and Haycox, eds., *Interpreting Alaska's History: An Anthology* (Anchorage: Alaska Pacific Univ. Press, 1989), 378-392 and the *JOW* Gruening article was reprinted a third time and given back its original title "Governor Ernest Gruening's Struggle for Territorial Status-Personal or Political?" in Mangusso and Haycox, eds., *Interpreting Alaska's History: An Anthology* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1996), 287-300; "Ernest Gruening Alaska's Territorial Governor 1939 to 1953," (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1982) - written under a grant of the Alaska State Legislature for the Alaska State Library; "Ernest Gruening and Alaska Native Claims" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 82, no.4 (Oct. 1991), 140-148; Ernest Gruening *Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004). Naske also researched Alaska's failure to help Jewish-Germans see "Jewish Immigration And Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 8:2 (1976), 139-157 (Naske will be discussed in greater detail later on in this paper). Naske references Grinev in his *Bibliographic Essay The Sources of Alaska History* found at the end of his book that he co-authored with Herman Slotnick *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 474; 459-488. Naske writes, (The Spring 2008 issue of *The Journal of the West* featured five articles on Alaska…A.V. Grinev, "Germans in the History of Russian America.") Naske's bibliographic essay does not mention any comprehensive study of Germans during the American Period from 1867-1993.

3. O.W. Frost, "Vitus Bering and George Steller Their Tragic Conflict during the American Expedition," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 86, no.1 (Winter, 1994-1995), p.3-16. (see page 5) where Frost writes, "Evidently Bering and Steller were at first very cordial. Both men spoke fluent German. Both were devout Lutherans and refined gentlemen." See also Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 8. Frost notes in his introduction that Steller changed his name from Stöller to Steller "a modification more easily pronounced by non-Germans."

4. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742*, 18. Unlike Cook, Steller had a better reputation in his interactions with native peoples Frost writes in his introduction, "In his self sufficiency, his love of nature, his predilection for preaching, his reputation as a loner, his respect for aboriginal peoples and his zest for science, he anticipates Henry David Thoreau and John Muir by more than a century."

5. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 917. Orth records two mountains named after Steller one in the Chugach mountain range "10,267 ft., on Waxell Ridge, 20.5 mi. E of Cordova, Chugach Mts.; 60° 31' 25" N, 143° 06'45" W…Named in 1928 by USGS for George Wilhelm Steller, naturalist with Vitas Bering on his discovery voyage in 1741. Steller went ashore and collected specimens on Kayak Island which is about 60 miles southwest of this peak." The other mountain named after Steller located in the Aleutian Range,"7,300 ft., on ridge at head of Hook Glacier, on Alaska Penin. In Katmai National monument, 24 mi. NE of Mount Katmai, Aleutian Ra; 58 25' 50" N., 154 – 23' 15" W." Orth also notes Steller Cove, Steller Creek, Steller Glacier, Steller River; "History of Steller / History of Steller." n.d. https://www.asdk12.org/domain/4141. The Steller School mascot is fittingly the Jay named after the bird Steller discovered Steller's Jay.

6. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 61; 190.

7. Corey Ford, *Where the Sea Breaks Its Back: The Epic Story of Early Naturalist Georg Steller and the Russian Exploration of Alaska*, 154. See also Georg Steller translated by Margarette

Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742*, 23. Frost notes, "As for scurvy, Steller's achievement preceded Dr. James Lind's controlled dietetic tests by only six years."

8. Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). And Orth notes See also Claus Naske who notes in his Bibliographic Essay The Sources of Alaska History *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 469. "The Frankenschen Stiftungen zu Halle supported, among other volumes, the publication of a catalog to accompany a 1997 exhibition, called Die Grosse Nordische Expedition: Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), Ein Lutheraner Erforscht Sibirien und Alaska [The Great Nordic Expedition: George Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), a Lutheran Explores Siberia and Alaska] (1996)."

9. Translated by Robert Fortuine Edited by Eva Trautmann, *The Alaska Diary of Adelbert von Chamisso Naturalist on the Kotzebue Voyage 1815-1818* (Anchorage: Cook Inlet Historical Society, 1986). Otto von Kotzebue's father August von Kotzebue was born in Weimar, Germany.

10. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper* 567, 198; 542-543; for Eschscholz see 317. Andre Grinev translated by Richard Bland, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 38. Greinev refers to Eschscholz as, "an ethnic German born in the Russian Empire."

11. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 34; Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567* pp. 1,061. Orth notes: Cape Wrangell; Mt. Wrangell; Port Wrangell; Wrangell Bay; Wrangell Cove; Wrangell Crater; Wrangell Harbor; Wrangell Island; Wrangell Mountains; Wrangell Narrows; Wrangell Peak; Wrangell Range. See also Toivo Harjunpaa, "The Lutherans in Russian Alaska," *Pacific Historical Review* 37, no.2 (1968), 126&134. Wrangell was a Lutheran and helped establish the first Lutheran pastor and Lutheran Church in Sitka where German worship services were held.

12. Andrei Greinev translated by Richard Bland, "Why Russia Sold Alaska: The View from Russia," *Alaska History* vol.19 no.1&2 (Spring/Fall 2004), 1-22. Stoeckl also had an Alaskan mountain named after him see also Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 919. "Stoeckl, Mount: *mountain*, 6,014 ft., on Alaska-Canada boundary, N right bank of Unuk River, Coast Mts.; 56° 21'56" N, 130°47'10"W….Named in 1924 by USGS for (Privy-Councilor Edward de Stoeckl, Russian Minister to the United States, who signed the convention ceding Alaska on March 30, 1867)." See also *Täglicher Baltimore Wecker*, June 22, 1867, 1.

13. "Paintings & Sculpture." n.d. Seward House Museum. https://sewardhouse.org/collections/explore/paintings-sculpture.

14. "Signing of Treaty of Cessation, March 30, 1867." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/9752/rec/8.

15. "Painting on Exhibit Commemorates Purchase of Alaska." n.d. UAF News and Information. https://www.uaf.edu/news/archives/news-archives-2010-2021/painting-commemorates-purchase-alaska.php.

16. Lee Farrow. "European Reactions to the Alaska Purchase," *Alaska Historical Society*, March 10, 2018. https://alaskahistoricalsociety.org/about-ahs/special-projects/150treaty/150th-resource-library/new-articles/european-reactions-to-the-alaska-purchase/. German Jewish American businessmen started the Alaska Commercial Company after the American purchase from Russia see Matthew Eisenberg, "The Last Frontier: Jewish Pioneers in Alaska Part I," *Western State Jewish History* (Oct. 1991), 51-73. Eisenberg writes, "Shortly after the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States in 1867 a

corporation, based in San Francisco, formed under California law named the Alaska Commercial Company, The original seven partners were Hayward M, Hutchinson, a Baltimore businessman; Louis Sloss, Lewis Gerstle,' and August Wasserman, all three San Francisco merchants of German-Jewish origin; Leopold Boscowitz, a Jewish fur trader from Victoria, British Columbia who had an office in San Francisco; William Kohl, a shipbuilder from Victoria; and Captain Gustave Niebaum, a Finnish ship's officer and a Russian subject stationed in Sitka,' Four of the seven original partners were Jewish." See also Frank Sloss and Richar Pierce, "The Hutchinson, Kohl Story: A Fresh Look" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* vol.62 no.1 (Jan. 1971), 1-6. See also Frank Sloss, "Who Owned the Alaska Commercial Company*" Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 68 no.3 (Jul., 1977), 120-130.

17. C.L. Andrews, *The Story of Alaska*, 5th ed.(Caldwell, The Caxton Printers, 1942) 156-157;280-281

18. Harry Ritter, *Alaska's History The People, Land, and Events of the North Country*, (Portland: Alaska Northwest Books, 1993), 58-59. See also "George Pilz, Mining Engineer." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/12564/rec/1. Pilz was not the only German who founded an Alaskan town during the Gold rush but did not receive credit for it see Robert Selig, "North to Alaska, Go North The Rush Is On- Wilhelm Mohr, The Klondike Gold Rush And The Town of Skagway," *German Life* Dec.2012/Jan. 2013, p.48-51. Wilhelm Mohr was a land speculator who predicted Skagway would boom when gold was discovered there and homesteaded what became the town of Skagway, but Mohr did not receive credit in the town's naming although he did strike it rich and was able to retire comfortably in Victoria.

19. Chris Allen and Mark Kirchhoff, *A Rough and Tumble Country Juneau's Origins as Alaska's First Gold Mining Boomtown As Described by Eyewitnesses, 1880-1881* (Fairbanks: Alaska, 2020), 5.

20. "A Bit of Juneau's Ancient History," *Juneau Empire*, Nov. 18, 1912, 3.

21. "George Pilz." n.d. https://www.alaskamininghalloffame.org/inductees/pilz.php. see also "Pioneers Have Interesting Meeting," *Juneau Empire*, April 21, 1915, 5. The article notes that during a meeting of the Juneau Igloo Pioneers, "At the meeting last night, Capt. Rowland Davis, whose coming to Alaska in 1883, was initiated, and an application for membership was read from George A. Pilz, now a resident of Jackwade, Alaska. Pilz and N.A. Fuller, formerly owner of the Alaska-Juneau mine, at one time assistant superintendent of the Treadwell mine and still later owner of the Dawson telephone and electric light company then residents of Sitka, grubstaked Richard Harris and Joe Juneau on the trip that resulted in the discovery of gold on Gold creek and the establishment of Juneau."

22. Barbara Selig and Mary Selig, "Yester Years, Bernhard Eduard Fernow January 7, 1851 – February 6, 1923" *German Life* (April 2023/May 2023), 62.

23. Bernhard Eduard Fernow papers, #20-1-561. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

24. Barbara Selig and Mary Selig, "Yester Years, Bernhard Eduard Fernow January 7, 1851 – February 6, 1923" *German Life* (April 2023/May 2023), 62.

25. John Sisk, "The Southeastern Alaska Timber Industry: Historical Overview and Current Status," *Southeast Alaska Conservation Assessment*: https://www.conservationgateway.org/ConservationByGeography/NorthAmerica/UnitedStates/alaska/seak/era/cfm/Documents/9.6_TimberIndustry.pdf, 1-20; 4.

26. Preston Jones, *The Fires of Patriotism* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013), 56.

27. Preston Jones, *The Fires of Patriotism* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013), 56.

28. Peter Blecha, "Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle Celebrates German Day on A." n.d. HistoryLink. https://www.historylink.org/File/8628.

29. No author, "Our German Alaskans," *The Daily Progressive-Miner*, April 10, 1917, 1.

30. William Schneider, Diane Gudgel Holmes, and John Dalle-Molle, *National Park Service Research/Resources Management Report AR-9 Land Use in the Northern Additions of Denali National Park and Preserve an Historical Perspective* (United States Department of the Interior, 1984), 48.

31. Annette Freiburger, *The Life History of Effie Kokrine through Personal Recordings*, (Master's Thesis: University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2013), 42.

32. Stephen Foster Photograph Collection, *Alaska's Digital Archives*: https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg11/id/49077/rec/1

33. Stephen Foster Photograph Collection, *Alaska's Digital Archives*: https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg11/id/49082/rec/1

34. E.A. Schwartz, "The Lynching of Robert Prager, the United Mine Workers, and the Problems of Patriotism in 1918," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95:5 (Winter 2002/2003), 414-437. See also Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 49 (2014), 3-30; Kamphoefner, "Doughboys auf Deutsch: U.S. Soldiers Writing Home in German from France," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 54 (2019), 114-134.

35. No Author, "Dairyman Home" *Douglas Island News*, Dec. 5, 1919, 4. The article notes, "After a quick trip to Seattle, Joe Kendler, owner of the local dairy returned…he brought with him four lady cows and one gentleman cow for his herd." See also "No Author, "Several Citizenship Papers Granted," *The Stroller's Weekly and Douglas Island News*, Aug. 27, 1921, 6. The article notes, "Nicholas Bozo Terzovich and Joseph Kendler were granted their papers Thursday. They were both former citizens of Austria Hungary. Mr. Terzovich was allowed to change his name to Nick Travis. He lives at Juneau and Mr. Kendler is the owner of the Douglas Dairy."

36. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1983), 119. There were also German farmers' in the Tanana Valley as well see Josephine Papp & Josie Phillips, Like a Tree to the Soil: A History of Farming in Alaska's Tanana Valley, 1903 to 1940, (Fairbanks: School of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences, Alaska Agricultural and Forestry Experiment Station, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2007), 84; 90; 178. Papp and Philips note Otto Hoppe born Feb. 2, 1860 in Berlin Germany died in Sitka in 1939, was a well-known musician and gardener, 84; see also "Agricultural Products Are Given Prizes" *Fairbanks Daily Times* Sept. 6, 1911, 4. *The Fairbanks Daily Times* noted, "First prize mushrooms – Otto Hoppe."; Papp and Philips note George Kolde born 1859 in Germany died Jan. 10, 1924 Portland Oregon, grew grain in Fairbanks, 90; see also "Oldtimer May Lose His Valuable Ranch," *Fairbanks Daily Times*, July 31, 1915, 1. *Fairbanks Daily Times* noted, "Through a technicality, George Kolde, familiarly known throughout the whole interior as Bismark may lose his valuable ranch, located on Cushman street, and Harry B. Averill, city editor of the News-Miner, who jumped the ground, may become its owner.. The story of the hardship that is being worked upon Mr. Kolde has seldom been equaled in the North."; Papp and Philips note William Waechter Born Germany 1853 died Oct. 17, 1925, Port Angeles Washington, Waechter made cattle drives from Valdez to Fairbanks, 178; See also "William Waechter, Former Cattle Man Alaska, Dies," *Juneau Empire*, Oct. 17, 1925, 1. Juneau Empire notes, "William Waechter aged 76 years, pioneer, died yesterday at his home here. He drove some of the first cattle across the White Pass to the Yukon in 1897. Two sons are engaged in the cold storage and meat business in Alaska under the name of Waechter Brothers. They also have reindeer herds in Alaska and stock farms in Eastern Washington…" ; Germans have acclimated to farming wherever they have chosen to settle in the United States see Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil Immigrant Farmers in*

Nineteenth-Century Texas (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). See also William Gehrke, "The Ante-Bellum Agriculture of the Germans in North Carolina," *Agricultural History* vol.9 no.3 (July 1935), 143-160.

37. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, 1.

38. "Milkman of Douglas Buys Juneau Dairy," *Juneau Empire*, July 19, 1923, 7. The article notes, Joseph Kendler, proprietor of the Douglas Dairy yesterday became the owner, by purchase, of the dairy business and ranch of Thomas Knudson, of Juneau, known as the Alaska Dairy."

39. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, preface page ix.

40. "Museum – Gastineau Channel Memories – Browse – City and Borough of Juneau." n.d. https://juneau.org/library/museum/gastineau-channel-memories-browse/entry/17576. See also "Kendler Family, ca. 1930-1961." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/25116/rec/18.

41. "German Cruiser In Port At Juneau," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 31, 1932, 5.

42. Matilda Kendler, *Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy*, 56. The Cruiser/kreuzer *Karlsruhe* was not the only German warship to visit Alaska. The Cruiser/Kreuzer *Emden* also made a stop in Juneau in June of 1927 see also "KREUZER KARLSRUHE, Juneau, Alaska, May 25th, 1932." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/13522/rec/3.

43. "Dinner and Dance given by the Governor in Honor of the Officers of the German Cruiser KARLSRUHE, Docked in Juneau, May 1932." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/1138/rec/1.

44. Simone Santiago "Gone to Texas-Twice! The Visits of the German War Cruiser Karlsruhe," *East Texas Historical Journal* vol.53 no.1 (2015), 3.

45. "German Cruiser In Port At Juneau," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 31, 1932, 5.

46. Matilda Kendler, Kendler's The Story of a Pioneer Alaska Juneau Dairy, 56. Matilda takes not of the Karlsruhe's visit to Juneau.

47. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973), 3.

48. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, 4.

49. Ernest Gruening, *An Alaskan Reader*, (New York: Meredith Press, 1967), 241-245.

50. Susan Eisenhower, Mrs. Ike Memories and Reflections on the Life of Mammie Eisenhower (New York: Farrar, Sraus And Giroux, 1996), 23. Susan Eisenhower also notes, "Jacob, Dwight's grandfather, was by all accounts the most dynamic of the sizeable brood of second-generation American Eisenhower's. He became a River Brethren preacher whose passionate pacifist oratory was delivered in German, the only language of his sect." she goes on to write Dwight's mother, "was of German stock and also a member of the river brethren. Her family had come to America in one of the German waves of immigration in the early 1700s. The Stovers had settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania…" See also Dwight D. Eisenhower Pre-Presidential Papers Box 172 Folder 5 there is a document titled Staunton and Augusta County Chamber of Commerce, which notes, "The name Stover in the Shenandoah Valley goes back to 1720-1732, and we find Jacob Stover in 1729 receiving a grant of 5000 acres along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River at the base of Massenutten Mountain, -there German-Swiss settled Massanutten Town. This Jacob was a great-great-great-great grandfather of the Man, there being six generations back. The name appeared as Stauffer in the lower Valley, where was Stauffer Stadt, or Stover Town, a German extraction and derivation going back into Bavaria, Baden, German Switzerland. Tradition says the Stovers or Stauffers owe their origin to a generation of knights called Stauffacher at Hohenstauffen." See also Rick Atkinson, An Army At Dawn (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2002), 196.

Atkinson writes, "A rumor in Arab neighborhoods that Eisenhower was a Jew sent by the Jew Roosevelt to establish a Jewish state in North Africa required a leaflet campaign stressing the general's German Protestant ancestry."

51. Dwight D. Eisenhower, The White House Years Waging Peace 1956-1961 (New York: Double Day & Company Inc., 1965), 324.

52. "Gruening Building (UAF) UA Journey." n.d. https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/buildings/gruening-building/..

53. "Slattery Report And Housing Problem Are Before Chamber of C," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Dec. 27, 1939, 4.

54. "The Slattery Report Query," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Dec. 15, 1939, 2.

55. Claus Naske, "Jewish Immigration And Alaskan Economic Development: A Study in Futility," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* vol.8 no.2 (1976), 139-157. See also Gerald Berman, "Reaction to the Resettlement of World War II Refugees in Alaska," *Jewish Social Studies* vol.44 no.3/4 (Summer-Autumn 1982), 271-282.

56. Claus Naske, *Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004), 39.

57. Terrence Cole interviewing Claus Naske 01/18/2012 31:00 – 33:00.

58. Terrence Cole interviewing Claus Naske 01/18/2012 33:00 – 34:00.

59. No Author, "German Prisoners of War in Alaska" *The Alaska Journal* vol.14 no.4 (Autumn 1984), 16-21.

60. No Author, "German Prisoners of War in Alaska," 16.

61. Claus Naske," The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," *Military Affairs* vol.49 no.3 (July 1985), 144-151; 148.

62. Clause Naske," The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," 148.

63. Clause Naske," The Battle for Alaska has ended and .. the Japs Won It," 150.

64. "Nazi Prisoners to Excursion Inlet," *Sitka Sentinel*, June 28, 1945, 1. Article notes, "Col. P. Hardy announced the first German prisoners of war to be sent outside continental United States as workmen will go north to dismantle a port built secretly in an Alaskan fjord.."

65. "Ross E. and Margaret Colman Wulfkuhle Papers, 1915-2004 - Kansas Historical Society." n.d. https://www.kshs.org/p/ross-e-and-margaret-colman-wulfkuhle-papers-1915-2004/14140.

66. "Ross E. and Margaret Colman Wulfkuhle Papers, 1915-2004 - Kansas Historical Society." n.d. https://www.kshs.org/p/ross-e-and-margaret-colman-wulfkuhle-papers-1915-2004/14140.

67. Victor Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1975), 271. Kilcher is noted as being born in, "Switzerland 1913." Kilcher was not the only one serving on the constitutional convention from German ancestry see Claus Naske, *49 At Last The Battle for Alaska Statehood*, (Kenmore: Epicenter Press, 2009), 193. Naske writes, "Vic Fischer was born on May 5, 1924 Berlin, Germany, the son of the American writer Louis Fischer and his wife, Bertha. In 1933 life in Nazi Germany had become intolerable and endangered the lives of its Jewish inhabitants. Louis Fischer , an American citizen, and his Lithuanian-born wife and children escaped to Moscow after many adventures. Vitja, as Victor then was known, grew up in Moscow together with his brother, Juri. His father broke with Stalin after the signing of the Soviet German Non-Aggression Pact, and the Fischers moved to the United States." See also Vic Fischer, *Alaska's Constitutional Convention*, 270. Fischer's birthplace is noted, "Born: Germany 1924." Fischer also wrote an autobiography, *To Russia with Love: An Alaskan's Journey* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2014). Fischer was the last surviving Alaska constitutional delegate when he died at the age of 99 on 10/23/2023.

68. "Kilcher | UA Journey." n.d. https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/history-and-trivia/alaska-history/creating-alaska/constitutional-convention/delegates/kilcher/. See also Vic Fischer, Alaska's Constitutional Convention (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Fairbanks Press, 1975), 118-119. "As the committee was evolving these principles, its members agreed that some type of unit larger than the city and smaller that the state was required to provide both for a measure of local self government and for performance of state functions on a regionalized basis. They also agreed that any form of local government for Alaska that would be similar to counties would need a broader scope, should have authority to perform all services and should provide a maximum amount of local self government. The result was the borough concept and areawide unit that while different from the traditional form of the county, was in effect a modernized county adapted to Alaska's needs."See also pg.119 footnote 92 where it states, "Almost unending controversy surrounded the selection of the name (borough). While there were strong proponents for the word (county)…the majority believed that the term had such a definite and negative connotation that its use had to be avoided to preclude rigid thinking and restrictive legal interpretation. It was believed that a different name would be more readily interpreted in the context of the Alaska Constitution. Black's Law Dictionary defines a (borough) as a (place organized for local government purposes.)"

69. "One Last Ride," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Feb. 1, 1956, 2.

70. "On the Inside," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, May 1, 1958, 4. The article notes, "Yule Kilcher, erstwhile Kenai Peninsula Homesteader and Constitutional Convention Delegate, who has just returned to this country after spending 21 months in Switzerland, has quite a family and unusual taste in names. The eight children of Mr. and Mrs. Kilcher are named Mairiis, Wurtila, Fay, Attila, Sunrise, Otto, Stella, and Catkin. They all called on Delegate Bartlett in Washington last week."

71. Art Davidson, Alaska's Backdoor Homer Wilderness Homestead," *Alaska The Magazine of Life on the Last Frontier*, Dec. 1989, p.22-25; 52.

72. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZQJIR9X1gY.

73. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZQJIR9X1gY.

74. Darvil McBride. 2023. "Yule Kilcher, Alaska." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZQJIR9X1gY.

75. "Kilcher | UA Journey." n.d. https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/history-and-trivia/alaska-history/creating-alaska/constitutional-convention/delegates/kilcher/ see also "Kilcher Family Homestead" https://www.alaska.org/detail/kilcher-family-homestead. After Kilcher died his children had a reality television show that ran from 2011-2022 titled "Alaska The Last Frontier." Yule Kilcher's granddaughter is Jewel Kilcher a grammy winning American Singer-Song Writer.

76. Joe Vogler was also from Kansas and likely from German ancestry based on his last name. Vogler created the Alaska Independence Party and offered the chairmanship to Ernest Gruening, Gruening declined the offer Vogler disparaged Alaskan Federal Land holdings as "just a big frozen park wherein only posy-sniffing, bug-hunting, bird-watching swine are now grunting." Coen notes, 'The following week, a clever environmentalist pointed out the word "vogler" means "bird catcher" in German.' Ross Coen, "From The Desk of Joe Vogler," in *The Long View Dispatches on Alaska History*, (Ester: Ester Republic Press, 2011), 203-209.

77. "Environment: Wally Hickel Revisited." 1971. TIME.Com. October 4, 1971. https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,905435-1,00.html.

78. Walter Hickel, *Who Owns America?* (United States: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 40-41.

79. Hickel was not the only German to build in Anchorage see also "Pfeil, Emil H. | Alaska History." n.d. https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/pfeil-emil-h/. It notes, "Emil Herbert Pfeil was born in Seisen, Germany on March 4, 1886…. After his retirement, Pfeil became interested in real estate and constructed several housing project homes in Anchorage. With partner Thomas "Tom" Bevers [Beavers], he built the Bevers and Pfeil apartment and store building on the corner of 4th Avenue and E Street."

80. "Hickel, Walter J. 'Wally' Alaska History." n.d. https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/hickel-walter-j-wally/.

81. Chris Allan, "The Brief Life and Strange Times of the Hickel Highway: Alaska's First Arctic Haul Road" *Alaska History* vol.24 no.2 (Fall 2009), 1-29.

82. No author, 'Anchorage 1910 - 1940 Legends & Legacies Hickel Walter J."Wally"' https://www.alaskahistory.org/biographies/hickel-walter-j-wally/. "Governor Walter Hickel Seated at Desk." n.d. https://vilda.alaska.edu/digital/collection/cdmg21/id/7311/rec/18.

83. "Otto Geist | UAF Centennial." n.d. https://www.uaf.edu/centennial/uaf100/geist.php.

84. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1969), 45.

85. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, 233.

86. Otto Geist, *Archaeological Excavations at Kukulik, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska: Preliminary Report* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1936).

87. Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, 249-250.

88. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, 243.

89. Ross Coen, "The Austrian Skier, The German Archaeologist, and The Country That Sees Subversives Everywhere," in *The Long View Dispatches on Alaska History*, (Ester: Ester Republic Press, 2011), 72. See also "Notice," *The Nome Nugget*, July 2, 1945, 8. The article notes,"The following men should come to the ATG meeting…If they are not able to so they should contact Capt. Otto Geist.." See also "Returns from Kuskokwim," *The Nome Nugget*, April 20, 1945, 7. The article notes, "Capt. Otto Geist of the ATG has returned from his trip to the Kuskokwim district. He reports that most of the trip was made by dog team and the weather was not as pleasant as that of Nome."

90. Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567*, 514; 667; 851; 57; 67; 84; 458; 466; 493; 692; 695; 713; 856; 873; 168; 300; 540; 527; 726; 776; 949; 158; 50; 303; 446; 511; 520; 521; 523; 524; 528; 541; 675; 718; 767; 877; 897; 1,010; 1,011; 1,075; 179; 605; 680; 690; 723; 756; 782; 855; 868; 881; 929; 975; 986.

91. Charles Keim, *Aghvook White Eskimo Otto Geist and Alaskan Archaeology*, p. 5-6. Charles Keim's biography on the back of his book, about Otto Geist, notes, "Charles Keim is professor of journalism and English and dean of the college of Arts and Letters at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. He was born and reared in Montana…" Based on Keim's last name and a genealogical look into the Keim's of Montana it is probable that Charles Keim was of German ancestry as well. See also "Archaeology Discoveries of Otto Geist Published," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Jan. 20, 1969, 10. Article notes, "Keim was both a personal friend of Geist and a student of his work." Charley Mayse, "Otto Geist Became 'Aghvook' the White Eskimo," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, Feb. 14, 1969, 10.

92. Howard Rock, "Friend of the Eskimo Otto William Geist Dies in Germany After Illness," *Tundra Times*, Aug. 19, 1963, 5. Rock writes, "Otto William Geist, a great friend of the Eskimos of the Arctic coast, passed away in Munich, Germany, on August 3, 1963."

93. "Geist Building (UAF) | UA Journey." n.d. https://www.alaska.edu/uajourney/buildings/geist-building/ see also Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567*, p. 363. "Geist, Mount: peak, 10,720 ft., 5 mi. NW of Mount

Hayes and 45 mi. SW of Delta Junction, Alaska Ra; 63° 38' 30" N, 146° 52' 15" W; *BGN* 1965; (Map 86) . Named by T.L. Pe'we' for Otto William Geist, 1888-1963, Univ. of Alaska, researcher in Alaskan paleontology, archaeology, and glaciology.

94. "GHDI - Document." n.d. https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=358&language=german.

95. Claus-M. Naske papers, ca. 1959-2014 https://eds.s.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=57bbea90-657a-4f0b-8b7d-6dee96f7f971%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.3717027&db=cat07106a. See also "Naske Writes Statehood Book," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, June 4, 1973, 2.

96. "Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a

97. "Clause Naske is interviewed by Terrence Cole and Leslie McCartney on Oct. 1, 2012," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4278647&db=cat07106a

98. No author, "Letters to the Editor," *The Frontiersman*, April 9, 1953, 4.

99. No author, "Our Best Wishes To Palmer High School Class of '56," *The Frontiersman*, May 24, 1956, 2.

100. Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a. Naske was not the only German who had to roll up the shirt sleeves and milk cows in Palmer see also "Ernst Knueppel is interviewed by Wynd Churchill Randolph on Oct. 13, 2002, in Palmer Alaska," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks https://research.ebsco.com/c/qg64q2/search/details/xd6okdxlub?limiters=None&q=SU%20alaska%20AND%20german%20history

101. "Claus Naske is interviewed by Bill Schneider on Oct. 18, 1983," Oral History Collection, Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=2&sid=29f785fa-5349-45a9-95b3-1e7e651cce47%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#AN=uaf.4286481&db=cat07106a

102. "Claus Naske, "UAF Centennial." n.d. https://www.uaf.edu/centennial/uaf100/naske.php.

103. Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

104. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality* (Girdwood, AK: Edelweiss Publishing Company, 2021), 8.

105. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 10.

106. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 10.

107. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 12.

108. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 13.

109. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 36.

110. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 40.

111. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 48.

112. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 43.

113. Pierce Bateman, "Our Anchorage, an International Host": A History of Alaska's Bids to Host the Winter Olympic Games, 1947–1989" *Alaska History* Vol.38 no.1 (Spring 2023), 29-54. Regarding references to Chris von Imhof and his effort to get the Olympics to Alaska see pages 36-37; 40-42.

114. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 192-193; 223.

115. Andre Grinev, "Germans in the history of Russian America," 40.

116. For other toponymics in Alaska named after Germans, Austrians and Swiss not highlighted in this paper see Donald Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names Geological Survey Professional Paper 567*, pg. 49 "Agassiz Point," "Agassiz Glacier," "Agassiz Lakes," Agassiz Mountain," "Agassiz Peak," Orth writes, "Named in 1877 by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, for Louis Agassiz, 1807-73, famous Swiss-American naturalist, who taught at Harvard University, 1848-1873."; pg.124 "Cape Bendal" Orth writes, "Named in 1877 by W.H. Dall, USC&GS for Bernhard Bendel, born in Germany, who was an Alaska pioneer and who helped USC&GS parties with his hospitality and valuable information."; pg. 803 "Spuhn Island" Orth writes, "Named in 1880 by Capt. L.A. Beardslee, USN, for Carl Spuhn, 1855-1927, of the northwest trading company. He was born in Germany and came to Juneau after the town was founded in 1881 and operated the company's store and engaged in mining."; pg.814 Orth writes, "Named in 1923 by Lawrence Martin, U.S. Dept. of State, for Eugeniusz Romer, 1871-1954, professor of geography at the Univ. of Lemberg in Austria, who visited Glacier Bay in 1913."; pg.1,021 "Mount Villard" Orth notes "probably named by W.H. Dall, USC&GS, in 1883 for Henry Villard was born in Germany and came to the United States in 1853. He was a newspaper reporter and reported the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He was also a Civil War correspondent."

117. The first 34 years after Alaska achieved statehood from 1959-1993 saw a significant portion of Alaskan Statehood historiography chronicled by Germans see Claus Naske, *An Interpretive History of Alaskan Statehood* (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1973), vii. Naske writes in the preface of his book, "Ernest Gruening published his *The Battle for Alaska Statehood* in 1967. Since it was based primarily upon the recollections of one of the participants, a re-examination of the movement based on a variety of sources seems in order." Regarding Gruening's Alaska history books see Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, Inc, 1954); Ernest Gruening, *The Battle for Alaska Statehood* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1967);Ernest Gruening, *An Alaskan Reader* (New York: Meredith Press, 1967); Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, Inc, 1968); Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973). Regarding Claus Naske's Alaska history books see Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska a History of the 49th State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979); Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska a History of the 49th State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Claus Naske, *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska a Life in Politics* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1979); Claus Naske, Anchorage A Pictorial History (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1981); Claus Naske, *Alaska A Pictorial History* (Norfolk: Donning Co., 1983); Claus Naske, Ernest Gruening Alaska's Greatest Governor (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004); Claus Naske, *49 at Last! The Battle for Alaska Statehood* (Kenmore: Epicenter Press,

2009); Claus Naske and Herman Slotnick, *Alaska: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014). See also The Alaska History Society, *The Alaska 67 Guide To Alaska's Best History Books*, (Walnut Creek: Hardscratch Press, 2006), 8. In the introduction Frank Noris writes, "The list according to the proposal, would have 67 books, in commemoration of the 1867 purchase of Alaska from the Russian government." The 67 list included: Georg Steller translated by Margarette Engel & O.W. Frost, *Journal of a Voyage with Bering 1741-1742* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles The Autobiography of Ernest Gruening*, (New York: Liveright, 1973); Regarding Gruening's autobiography see No Author, "The 'Old Battler' Returns," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* 12/17/1973, 6 . The article notes, "Gruening now 86, is making a five day visit to the state to publicize his new book, which is appropriately titled, 'Many Battles'"; Claus Naske, *Edward Lewis Bob Bartlett of Alaska a Life in Politics,* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1979). Regarding Naske's book about Bartlett see, No Author, "UA Professor gets grant of $50,000," *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, 10/23/1974, 17. The article notes, "A university of Alaska history professor has received 50,000 grant…He is Dr. Claus Naske…Naske said the grant will fund 18 months of work on the book including two trips each to Washinton D.C., and Juneau See also https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm $50,000 is equivalent to over $300,000 in today's money.

118. Alaska Jewish Museum. n.d. "Alaska Jewish Museum Home." https://www.alaskajewishmuseum.com/. In an odd twist of fate the first pioneer of European descent born in Sitka Alaska (after the Alaskan purchase by the United States) was a German Jewish girl by the name of Josie Randolph. Josie's birth in Alaska would later become her method of escape from Nazi Germany see Tom Kizzia. "Josie's Story: Birthplace." *Anchorage Daily News*, October 21, 2024. https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/19/josies-story-part-1-birthplace/; Tom Kizzia, "Josie's Story: Jews of the Frontier," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 26, 2024. https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/22/josies-story-jews-of-the-frontier/; "Josie's Story: Stumbling Stones." *Anchorage Daily News*, October 25, 2024. https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/24/josies-story-stumbling-stones/; "Josie's Story: The Alaska Plan," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 27, 2024. https://www.adn.com/alaska-life/2024/10/25/josies-story-the-alaska-plan/.

119. Werner Herzog, *Grizzly Man*. (United States: Lions Gate Films, 2005).

120. Polly Tafrate, "The German Schools of Anchorage," *German Life* Aug./Sept. 2016, 27-29. See also Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 167-168. Chris writes, "It was important for me to give my sons and grandchildren access to their German heritage. However, in situations like those, I regretted that none of my sons spoke German. When they were little, I was simply too busy to teach them a second language consistently, especially since English was spoken exclusively in our house and among our friends. (At least Rudi and Natasha filled this gap later sending their two children to the Rilke Schule in Anchorage, where lessons were given in equal parts English and German. Both Liesel and Nick, to this day have a great command of the German language.)"

121. Chris Imhof, *Today Alyeska, Tomorrow Zee World! How Chris von Imhof became Mr. Hospitality*, 242. Another German in Girdwood was Werner E. Egloff (1928-2016) who opened and ran a bakery in Girdwood with his wife in 1972 at the base of Alyeska Ski Resort. Egloff sold his bakery in 1997 and moved to Montana see link: https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/adn/name/werner-egloff-obituary?id=17565943

122. Pacific Air Forces. 2024. "German Air Force Exercise to Begin July 8 in Alaska." July 2, 2024. https://www.pacaf.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/3825263/german-air-force-exercise-to-begin-july-8-in-alaska/.

123. "Alaska State Legislature," n.d. https://www.akleg.gov/basis/Member/Detail/31?code=VON.

John P. Jenkins

German America, Transnationalism, and the Murder of Albert Molitor

Introduction

When Lake Huron froze over in the winter of 1874, Presque Isle County, Michigan, once again fell under the near-unmitigated control of Albert Molitor. Molitor, described posthumously in newspapers as a lecherous and wrathful Prussian-style aristocrat, has been imagined by illustrations of his upturned chin and strutting stallion. In Presque Isle, however, he was immortalized by the shroud of his death at the hands of a coalition of townspeople. On the last day of July 1891, Wilhelm Repke, a farmer in the township of Moltke, Michigan,[1] confessed that he and at least a dozen other local men had been responsible for the fatal shooting of Albert Molitor and his assistant, Edward Sullivan, on August 23, 1875.[2] Shortly thereafter, Friedrich Sorgenfrei, Gottlob Mende, and Carl Wiesegardt, all German settlers in the area, confessed their own guilt and provided testimony to the prosecutor[3] that corroborated Repke's original claim. Several other suspects: Heinrich Jacobs, August Grossmann, and Andrew E. Banks were named. The intrigue of Repke's confession intensified the mystery of Molitor's death and brought long-awaited condemnation of the murder.

Repke's testimony in court alleged that he and twelve other men[4] gathered on the night of August 23rd to kill Molitor, going together in secrecy, on the pain of death, to Molitor's residence in Rogers City to carry out their plan.[5] Andrew Banks, Repke said, told him days prior that if Molitor continued getting his way, they'd have to abandon their prospects there.[6] Repke's broader defense, that he was leveraged into joining Banks' posse on the evening of the crime, did not hold up in court. He, Vögler, Jacobs, and Grossmann were

convicted of murder, subsequently receiving life sentences at the state prison in Jackson. In 1897, however, a board tasked with advising the Governor on the merits of potential legal pardons wrote the following of Albert Molitor:

> …[Governor Pingree] should be advised as to the social and business conditions in Presque Isle county at the time of the commission of this crime, and the influences that brought it about...[Molitor] brought with him certain people of his own nationality but of more lowly birth…as he needed…or his interests demanded… induced others of the same class… to settle in [his] near vicinity. He thus built up a community of which he became the veritable lord and master. To his equals he was courteous and companionable, but to those whom he deemed his inferiors he was a despot…. He played well the role of lord and master and seemed to regard these people as slaves; and he became known as the "King of Presque Isle" and "The Royal Bastard," it being claimed that he was the illegitimate son of the King of Wurtemberg [sic]. He seemed to control the officials of the county and dictated the levying of taxes… used public money in his private business.[7]

The recommendation, heeded by Governor Pingree, is remarkable because rather than revisiting the merits of Repke's defense, it reframes the affair around Molitor's behavior. Molitor's death was the last of many controversies associated with his name. Andrew E. Banks, a lawyer, and Hermann Höft, a merchant, were blamed by Repke for allegedly pursuing Molitor's removal for selfish reasons, while the rest were made to play along. Given what was concluded in 1897 on the conditions leading up to the crime, it is unlikely that the case was so simple. The Presque Isle County community was isolated, but its people belonged to a broader German American community that had grown considerably during times of German upheaval. After 1830, Germans arrived in numbers exceeding 10,000 a year, every year for much of the 19th century.[8] As is implicitly recognized by the advisory board's assessment, it is fruitful to reexamine these events within this context. Grounding this story in the environment of German America and its history, it would be more apt to describe Molitor's project as nearing German feudalism and thus to understand the crime as a political response related to contemporary German political violence.

"The King of Presque Isle County": Albert Molitor

Albert was born on February 2, 1842, in Stuttgart. His mother Franziske Amalie Schmid (1808 –77),[9] it was alleged, was attached to the staff of Queen Pauline von Württemberg,[10] and it was at this time, it is erroneously claimed, that Albert was conceived by Schmid and King Wilhelm I of Württemberg.[11] He was baptized Albert Joseph von Molitor at the Leonhardskirche in Stuttgart on April 25, the day of his mother's marriage to Joseph Cleander von Molitor (1794–1862,)[12] a knight, chancery officer of Württemberg's Royal Treasury[13] and *Oberleutnant* in its army. The rumor of his high birth was unsubstantiated but largely accepted in America and an important part of his public persona, defining how he was seen by members of his community and standing as a striking poetic parallel to his position in local politics and economy. Young Albert grew up in the minor nobility and had two younger siblings, Caroline (1843–1930)[14] and Eduard (1847–1928.)[15]

In 1861, Molitor, an *Oberguide* and cadet member of Württemberg's general staff, was court-martialed and jailed for 14 days for unauthorized entry into a government office and the improper, though determinately benign, use of 1:25,000 and 1:50,000 scale plans of the confederal fortress at Ulm.[16] This episode seems to have prompted Molitor's flight to North America. During the Civil War, Molitor was a lieutenant in the 13th Independent Battery of the New York Light Artillery in the XI Corps under the command of Franz Sigel, a revolutionary from Baden. In September 1862, Molitor was accused of insubordination and bad behavior by Captain Julius Dieckmann and summoned to be court-martialed.[17] Molitor was not seriously punished. His military credentials led to his assignment to the U.S. Lake Survey[18] as an assistant engineer, charged first with surveying the Lake Erie shoreline around Sandusky, Ohio in 1864.[19] Despite a favorable outcome, Molitor's two military reprimands are the earliest instances of his controversial behavior.

It is through the Lake Survey that Molitor would eventually meet William Evans Rogers (1846–1913)[20] and, with his backing, founded the Molitor–Rogers Company, which was responsible for establishing and populating Rogers City.[21] With the absence of functional rail infrastructure connecting the furthest northerly towns with the rest of Lower Michigan, the company controlled the traffic of commodities and services (including food),[22] making Presque Isle into what was essentially Molitor's county. Molitor's personal grip on life in Rogers City and outlying areas was especially tight during the harsh winters, when the natural port at Rogers City freezes, rendering the region, then unconnected by land, totally cut off from maritime commerce and at the complete mercy of Molitor, who was rich enough to hoard ample

supplies for the winter. Molitor also influenced local government, stunting the already small probability of independent oversight of his actions.

In 1871, Molitor claimed the title of Township Supervisor, despite a legal dispute of its results from Leonard C. Crawford,[23] of Crawford's Quarry, the rival seat of political power to Rogers City.[24] In 1873, the Alpena Circuit Court ruled that Molitor and allied public officials did not have to repay Alpena County for a regimen of exorbitant, pre-paid public salaries, which angered taxpayers.[25] In 1874, Molitor and his brother-in-law, Henry Clothier, were accused of kidnapping Hortensia Karle and her infant daughter, Walpurga,[26] in an attempt to prevent her from suing Molitor for breaching the terms of an unspecified arrangement.[27] Molitor originally sent for Karle from Württemberg, allegedly promising to marry the woman, with whom, she said, he'd been previously involved.[28] The case was dismissed after Molitor's death,[29] and so the charges were never proven. Another incident, leading up to the shooting of Molitor, describes a situation where he, then treasurer, refused to produce the township ledgers, and was surrounded at his residence by a mob of between two and three hundred people who presented him with gallows and threatened to execute him.[30] The mob, most likely made up of Germans, serves as a demystifying prelude to what would eventually transpire in September 1875. In addition to owning several lumbering patents and controlling local industries,[31] Molitor's image signaled to notions of power resonant with German political tradition. Combining this with his navigation of local law, closeness with elites like Rogers, and the deliberate effort to coalesce a community of prospective German homesteaders beneath him, Molitor sought to constitute a political project that built a miniature German fiefdom in the Northern Michigan frontier for himself to control.

Feudalistic Conditions among the Presque Isle German Settlers

Molitor's political project was predicated upon his image and the Old World power it represented. The language of the recommendation for Repke's pardon places this at the center of the anti-Molitor movement, explaining that Repke's circumstances were the circumstances of an entire community. Repke gave the names of twelve other men: August Grossmann, August Fuhrmann, Heinrich Jacobs, August Barabas, Carl Vögler, Carl Wiesegardt, Gottlob Mende, Friedrich Tuljetzki, Stephan Rieger, Friedrich and Ferdinand Bruder, and Friedrich Sorgenfrei. The defense rested upon the narrative that the accused were merely caught between Molitor and Höft and his lieutenant, Banks, who manipulated them. The court, however, ruled that the accused had not been coerced into acting.[32] Indeed, the group shared more in common than living beneath Albert Molitor. Most conspirators were common-

ers from rural Prussia. Mende and Fuhrmann[33] were from Prussian Saxony. Wiesegardt,[34] Barabas,[35] Rieger,[36] Tuljetzki,[37] Grossmann,[38] and Repke[39] were all Prussians from the rural east. Vögler[40] and brothers Friedrich and Ferdinand Bruder were from Nearer Pomerania.[41] Sorgenfrei was from Holstein,[42] Heinrich Jacobs came from Mecklenburg-Schwerin,[43] and Andrew Banks was Bavarian. Hermann Höft, though never named as a suspect, was from West Prussia.[44]

The settlers had been driven to the Presque Isle area by the involvement of Detroit's German community in procuring homesteads to settle and work up north. In 1870, immigrants from the German states made up around 48%[45] of what was then Rogers Township. Of that number, 83.8% were from Prussian provinces (including Schleswig-Holstein, recorded separately in the census.) A smaller 7.6% were from Württemberg, and the remaining ~8.6% were from Hesse-Darmstadt, Royal and Ernestine Saxony, Bavaria, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Baden. More German immigrants would arrive through the 1870s and into the 1880s as more of the county became organized. Land procurement directly from survey through the General Land Office made theoretically for the equitable distribution of arable land. Many of the settlers had been peasant laborers on estates originating in the widespread feudalism of the previous century. Though proprietary rights were granted to the Prussian peasantry by the 1807–8 Stein-Hardenberg Reforms,[46] in practice, most peasants would never own a hectare. Serfdom was abolished, but the petty noble classes in Prussia were still represented disproportionately in the land-transfer economy, even absent of true feudal estates.[47] Concessions to landowning aristocrats at the expense of land reform particularly impacted those in rural areas more vulnerable to exclusion by agricultural modernization.[48] Accordingly, settlers like Repke, a weaver by trade,[49] and Fuhrmann, who was a small farmer,[50] would have been familiar with Molitor's overbearing style.

The relationship between land and peasant in Württemberg, whence came the second largest section of Presque Isle's German population in 1870, was much different. Peasants there had more considerable freedom of movement and were subjects of the crown, rather than the feudal landlords, before the abolition of serfdom.[51] Thus, the exploitative dynamic between peasants and landlords that, with the purview of Prussian conservatism, maintained the systemic disposition of the rural peasantry well past emancipation, was not so in Württemberg. Bavaria, Saxony, and the Central German principalities all similarly dissolved old systems of feudal lordship, though without large success. Eastern Prussia remained underdeveloped until the late 19th century.[52] Given Molitor's origin in the petty elite of Württemberg, where royal power outsized local lords, it is apt that expressions of Molitor's power evoked notions of royalty. It is further expected that Molitor's image was given power by rumored royal heritage, rather than his provable noble roots. The Northern

Michigan frontier, where thousands of acres of newly surveyed land created codependent booms in timber and agriculture, grew with the expectation of a reward for the risk of preliminary settlement. Molitor was no exception, and neither were Detroit's Germans. His scheme, recognized by the 1897 pardon and enshrined in his legacy, took advantage of the gap between his and other settlers' expectations. By design, Molitor deigned himself to live as one of the colonists and thus ensured the formation of a clique against him.

At least one German-language account demonstrates sensitivity to the notion of an anti-Molitor political movement in a German political context. Published not in the wake of Repke's bombshell confession, but rather mere days after Molitor was attacked, the St. Louis-based *Anzeiger des Westens*, edited by Carl Dänzer, speculated that Molitor's killing was motivated by the anger of a clique of Pomeranian farmers who felt cheated by his monopolistic business practices.[53] The *Anzeiger* characterized the row as part of a broader pattern of unrest throughout the United States, citing high tensions following the sudden removal of Molitor from the community's affairs as part of a larger pattern of instability.[54] Dänzer's newspaper thus seemed to acknowledge the huge role played by Molitor and the potential of his behavior to create enemies, while also taking into consideration the group dynamics of the settlement in German terms. Noting that most of the conspirators, and indeed, many of the community members, were from the poorer, more remote, and more heavily exploited parts of Prussia, the *Anzeiger*'s early account stands out as an address of the affair of Molitor's death as a political phenomenon. Dänzer, a vocal German polemic in his own right, likely would've sympathized with the anti-Molitor clique and a polemical interpretation of the crime.

The consideration of the German American press attests, as noted by Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer in 1854,[55] to the political syncretism created by the massive migration of Germans to North America during the 19th century. As Molitor's compatriots left the Old World at least partly behind, Molitor brought much of it with him. The symbol of Molitor, a child out of royal wedlock, banished into the lower aristocracy and removed from his homeland, connected Molitor's controversial reputation, disputes with rivals, and finally, the drama of his death, to a history of power in Germany that was less noticeable to English Americans. For example, a writer for the English-language *Detroit Free Press* gave his role in the settler community a utilitarian slant, writing that Molitor "furnished [the settlers] with outfits for farming, gave them supplies…. carried them along from year to year on credit, taking pay for advances in labor, logs, cedar posts, farm produce, or whatever else the newly arrived colonists could pay in"[56] while also taking upon himself "the management of political affairs in the county"[57] supposedly due to the unfamiliarity of the fresh colonists with American law.[58]

As the supervisor of Rogers Township, Molitor sought the unequal taxation by the county of Belknap and Moltke Townships[59] in order to pay for the improvement of what was essentially his estate.[60] The account, which places Molitor's death at the junction of the necessary burden of responsibility and the workaday disagreements entailed by managing his enterprise, literally describes the system of proprietary paternalism lived by the settlers themselves before coming to the United States. This may have been lost on most of Michigan's reading public (and probably was on the writing and editorial staff of the Detroit Free Press) because they did not experience serfdom nor its consequences as Germans did. It was, however, palpable in the minds of those caught up in Molitor's venture, and recognition of this was clear in Governor Pingree's pardon as it sought facts about what was simultaneously very sensational and very secretive.

Relevant Political Forces in German America

The Molitor plot may very well have rubbed up against radical ideas in German political culture, and indirect parallels exist. Karl Peter Heinzen's essay *Der Mord*, published as a pamphlet in 1848, was wrought with brazen calls to violence against lords in the German Confederation. To Heinzen, who was known in German America, the conditions in Germany were inherently violent and provocative.[61] Heinzen himself is sometimes regarded as a progenitor of modern political violence,[62] having written that human history was the history of killing and its rationale.[63] Indeed, Heinzen's flippant and violent rhetoric echoed through several members of the conspiracy. A son of Tuljetzki claimed that Repke praised his and Tuljetzki's decision to participate in the gruesome deed as good and courageous.[64] Banks, Repke said on the stand, told him that their posse of twelve constituted a jury[65] which, while taken literally for Repke's defense, probably should've been interpreted symbolically. Furthermore, popular heroes of German America like Friedrich Hecker, Carl Schurz, and Franz Sigel had their origins as agitators in Germany's nationalist revolution. Other German issues, such as Germany's national conversation about the role and shape of monarchy remained relevant to the Germans of North America, even in rural communities, and saw public contribution from the likes of Heinzen.[66] One cannot say that the Presque Isle men were dyed-in-the-wool radicals, or even overtly engaged in radical politics. It must be noted, however, that Andrew Banks, a lawyer who served in several official capacities after Molitor's death was almost certainly educated and could have been touched by radical politics in Germany.[67]

Forty-eighters became central figures of German America,[68] which itself was comprised of extensive institutions. A comprehensive German press, a

host of beneficiary societies and fraternal organizations, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church, all at their strongest in the mid-19th century,[69] would've served to connect the Presque Isle settlers with a rich community extending far beyond their neighborhood chapel or the local German clubs of Detroit. The absence of any involvement by non-Germans, who were subjected to similar conditions and made up over half of the population of the area in 1870, warrants considering that the response on the part of the Germans was informed by a broader perspective which was not shared with their English- and French-speaking neighbors. Nevertheless, German America exhibited tendencies towards certain stances based on its syncretic political experience. For instance, Zachary Stuart Garrison asserts that German Americans tended to liken chattel slavery and the preeminence of a planter aristocracy in the South to European feudalism[70] and were often opposed to slavery based on European, rather than North American political sensibilities.[71] Germans differed on support for abolition, but certainly had views that fused their lived experiences on each continent: Joseph Dünnebacke, a Westphalian Catholic from Dallas, Michigan, for instance, wrote in 1862 that the Civil War was destroying everything and expressed intense frustration both around his view that abolitionists, forty-eighters among them, caused the fighting, and that political incompetence had prevented Southern defeat.[72] Additionally, German American organizations during the 19th century, including Detroit's German workers' clubs held and participated in Thomas Paine anniversary celebrations, as influential German Americans saw their politics in his writings.[73] German America was transnational: German Americans were shaped by their closeness to Germany, a fact that must be strongly considered when thinking about the fate of Albert Molitor.

The many German American institutions that facilitated the maintenance of the German community in the United States were consequentially influenced by political overtures in Germany. The Evangelical Church is perhaps the largest of such institutions. What would become the German state church, the Prussian Union of Churches, was created in 1817 by the King of Prussia and sought to mend organizational and theological rifts between Lutheran and Calvinist sects within the body of Prussia's Evangelical majority. Its early supporters were mostly statists and conservatives. Naturally, dissenters to state oversight granted by the tenets of the Prussian Union, like Friedrich Schleiermacher, became symbols of liberal resistance to the encroachment of Friedrich Wilhelm III's conservative rule, particularly in the early 1800s.[74] Some opponents of rationalism and statist church doctrines, or pietists, were anti-authoritarian[75] and were often moralists. The political break between rational traditionalists in state institutions and pietists, and then within pietism between church unionists and non-unionists, and further still between pro- and anti-absolutist articulations of the anti-union opposition,

was important in German church politics. Such debates would have led many German American churches into one position or the other. Opponents of the Union, like Ferdinand Walther,[76] were influential in the Missouri Synod, to which many of the local and Detroit churches associated with the Presque Isle Germans, belonged. In their positions of influence in German communities like that of Presque Isle (which had several professionally trained German clergymen,)[77] the politics of the church would have been felt in the communities themselves: five of the conspirators, including Banks, were founding trustees of the Immanuel Church, a Missourian church, in Moltke.[78] Indeed, the politics of German Lutheranism, despite rejecting forty-eighter radicalism, played a role in constructing and disseminating German political discourse throughout German-speaking communities in the United States.[79]

Conclusion

The saga of Albert Molitor was a tragedy. Molitor's unceremonious and mysterious death was a matter of the utmost secrecy and, once its nature was uncovered, intense speculation and sensationalism. Similarly, Molitor's killers, according to the pardon advisory board, suffered immensely under Molitor's conduct. While the murderers had their personal grievances, the collective anti-Molitor conspiracy is aptly placed in the transnational space between Germany and the United States. The conspirators came to the United States to live in American society but were thrust back into the throes of their old lives by Molitor, whose greatest capacity to control could only be understood through the lens of German America as a community. While we may never know exactly what happened on August 23, 1875, it is an interesting story about German America. It makes an undeniable case about the transnationalism of Germans living in the United States: a fact that played a clear role in the way Molitor cast himself and the way he was seen by his community. Above all, it tells us that transnationalism is not the seamless slide between cultures. Rather, cultures meld and conflict in various ways. In general, indicators of this are clear: the German appeal of Thomas Paine, the overlap of abolitionism and the forty-eighters, and the sundered views of German Americans on both German and American political discourse, show points of congruence—and tension—between the dual worlds of German America. Symbols of the Molitor murder, like Banks' "twelve-man jury" and the notion of Molitor both as a lumber baron and as a runaway aristocrat provide us an example of messy syncretism of German America.

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Notes

1. United States Census Bureau. Township of Moltke, Presque Isle County, Michigan in the 1880 United States Federal Census.
2. "Michigan News." *The Times Herald* (Port Huron, Michigan), 25 Aug 1875.
3. "Three Others Confess." *Livingston County Daily Press and Argus* (Howell, Michigan) 13 Aug 1891.
4. "Molitor's Murderers." *The Detroit Free Press*, 6 Dec 1892.
5. Ibid.
6. People v. Repke.
7. "Opinions of Advisory Board of Pardons." In *Joint Documents of the State of Michigan for the Year 1897, Vol. IV.* (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing Co., 1898): 74–75.
8. H. Glenn Penny. *German History Unbound: From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2022): 64.
9. Francisca Amelia von Molitor, death entry, 31 October 1877, file no. 6, Michigan Department of Community Health.
10. "Royal Blood and Bad Blood." *St. Louis Republican*, 27 Jan 1875.
11. Ibid.
12. No. 179/1862, Joseph Kleander von Molitor, 17 Dec 1862. Todten-Register, Evangelische Kirche Cannstatt. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
13. No. 11/1842, Joseph Cleander Christian Speusipp v. Molitor and Franziske Amalie Schmid, 25 Apr 1842. Ehebuch, Sankt Leonhardskirche Stuttgart. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
14. No. 6122, Family of Joseph Cleander von Molitor. Alte Familienregister, Evangelische Kirche Ludwigsburg. Evangelische Landeskirche Württemberg, Stuttgart.
15. Ibid.
16. Report of the Investigation into Oberguiden Molitor and Natter for the improper use of state-owned plans, 22 September 1861. E 4 Bü 1716, 2. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Stuttgart.
17. "New-York, 23. Sept. *Es wird fürchterlich Musterung gehalten!*" [It will be a dreadful examination!]. *Die Wochentliche Demokrat* (Davenport, Iowa), 2 October 1862.
18. Arthur M. Woodford. *Charting the Inland Seas: A History of the U.S. Lakes Survey*. (Detroit: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1991).
19. Letter to Lt. Col. Fred D. Palmer of the U.S. Lake Survey from Capt. W.F. Raynolds, aide-de-camp, clarifying the circumstances of the presence of Assistant Albert Molitor, engineer, in Sandusky, Ohio, 28 October 1864. *Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians, 1861–1867*, Roll 193 NAID: 2133728, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Group 109, NARA, Washington D.C.
20. University of Pennsylvania Archives and Records Center. "William Evans Rogers 1846-1913." In *Penn People*. https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/william-evans-rogers/
21. John Fedynsky. "Presque Isle County" in *Michigan's County Courthouses: An Encyclopedic Tour of Michigan Courthouses* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 157. https://books.google.com/books?id=Akc_DwAAQBAJ
22. Ibid., 157-158.
23. People ex. rel. Crawford v. Molitor. 23 Mich. 341 (S.C. Mich., 1871.) https://cite.case.law/mich/23/341/
24. Fedynsky, 158.

25. Attorney General ex. rel. Lockwood v. Moliter. 26 Mich. 444. (S.C. Mich., 1873.) https://cite.case.law/mich/26/444/

26. "Our Reporter on the Alert." *Alpena Argus*, 27 Jan 1875.

27. "For False Imprisonment." *Detroit Free Press*, 18 Mar 1875.

28. "Royal Blood and Bad Blood." *St. Louis Republican*.

29. "Clearing the Docket." *Detroit Free Press*, 22 Dec 1875.

30. Fedynsky, 158.

31. Molitor owned ~7 mi^2 in several counties. He was sole proprietor of much of it. With William Rogers, Molitor jointly owned much of Rogers City itself. He may have also owned timbering lands in Iron County, Wisconsin. (General Land Office. Numerous patents belonging to Albert Molitor. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management.)

32. People v. William Repke. 103 Mich. 459. (S.C., Mich., 1895.) https://cite.case.law/mich/103/459/

33. Mende and Fuhrmann arrived on the same ship, the S.S. Cimbria, one hailing from Ottmansdorf and the other from Zahna. (Passengers no. 57 and 65, S.S. Cimbria, 9 Sep 1868. S.890, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII, Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburg.)

34. No. 110, Johanne Pauline Wiesegardt, 15 Jul 1863. Taufbuch, Evangelische Kirche Tuchel [Tuchola,] Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, Berlin.

35. Passenger no. 18, S.S. Allemannia, 7 Oct 1868. S.1023, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.

36. No. 11/1868, Stephan Jacob Philipp Rieger and Caroline Schmoekel, 27 Sep 1868. Trauungsbuch, Evangelische Kirche Klein Katz [Mały Kack.] EZAB.

37. No. 6/1847, Friedrich Tuljetzki, 7 Feb 1847. Geburts und Taufregister, Evangelische Kirche Groß Tromnau [Trumieje.] EZAB.

38. No. 5/1867, August Grossmann and Albertine Bergmann. Index to marriages at Catholic Church in Roslasin [Rozłazino.] *Pomeranian Marriage Indexes*, ed. Dempc (Pomorskie Towarzystwo Genealogiczna.)

39. No. 7/1860, Friedrich Wilhelm Repke and Wilhelmine Friederike Schneider, 3 May 1860. Controllverzeichnis Getrauten, Getauften, und Confirmirten, Evangelische Kirche Buckowin. Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Gdańsk.

40. Passenger no. 246, S.S. Silesia, 1 Nov 1871. Band 25, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.

41. Passenger no. 37, S.S. Doctor Barth, 2 Aug 1865. S.585, Band 19, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.

42. No. 62/1866, Anna Dorothea Stut, 22 Apr 1866. Taufbuch, Evangelische Kirche Sülfeld. Kirchenkreis Plön-Segeberg, Bad Segeberg.

43. Jacobs was from Mecklenburg-Schwerin according to records of his service in the 9th U.S. Infantry at various western posts from 1859 to 1872. (Heinrich/Henry Jacobs, Records Register of Enlistments in the U.S. Army, 1798-1914; Microfilm Publication M233; NAID: 575272, Group 94, NARA, Washington D.C.)

44. Passenger no. 252, S.S. Keppler, 15 Apr 1865. S.123, Band 19, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII. StAHH.

45. Calculations based on 1870 United States Federal Census.

46. Lujo Brentano. "Agrarian Reform in Prussia." *The Economic Journal* 7, no. 25 (1897): 6.

47. Ibid., 7–8.

48. Ibid., 11–12.

49. Controllverzeichnis, Evangelische Kirche Buckowin. AP Gdańsk.

50. S.890, Band 22, Bestand 373-7 I, VIII, StAHH.

51. Jerome Blum. "Reviews of Books: *Die Bauernbefreiung im Königreich Württemberg*." *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 2 (1978): 552–553. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2119878

52. Elizabeth B. Jones. "The Rural 'Social Ladder:' Internal Colonization, Germanization and Civilizing Missions in the German Empire." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 40, no. 4 (2014): 465–467. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24368716

53. "Vermischtes. Anarchische Zustände herrschen nicht nur in der Kohlenregionen Pennsylvaniens…" [Miscellaneous. Anarchic conditions prevail not only in the coal regions of Pennsylvania…]. *Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis, Missouri), 11 Sep 1875.

54. Ibid.

55. Wagner and Scherzer cited social equality as perhaps the greatest factor pulling Germans to the United States. (Penny, 63–65.)

56. "Murder Will Out." *Detroit Free Press*, 1 Aug 1891.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Adolphus A. Ellis, Michigan Department of Attorney General. "Schedule B." In *Report of the Attorney General of the State of Michigan for the Year Ending June 30, A.D. 1893.* (Lansing: Robert Smith & Co., 1893): 31–32.

60. "Murder Will Out." *Detroit Free Press*.

61. Mischa Honeck. "'Freemen of All Nations, Bestir Yourselves': Felice Orsini's Transnational Afterlife and the Radicalization of America." *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (2010): 598. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40926066

62. Daniel Bessner and Michael Stauch. "Karl Heinzen and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Terror." In *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no. 2 (2021): 143–176. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550903445209

63. Karl Heinzen. *Mord und Freiheit*. (New York: Self-Published, 1853): https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015080468724

64. "Boasted of the Shooting." *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago) 2 Dec 1892.

65. People v. Repke.

66. Stefan Manz. *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire," 1871–1914.* New York: Routledge, 2014: 136.

67. Examples of even modestly educated German Americans espousing forty-eighter radicalism and maintaining hardline positions on politics in Germany through this lens exist. One such man, Carl Hermanns, a teacher from Hamberg, situated between Cologne and Elberfeld in the Rhineland, demonstrates such complex and transnational political leanings (See Carl Hermanns. Correspondence to sister in the Rhineland. In *Germans in the Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, ed. Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Susan Carter Vogel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006): 113–116.)

68. Many German dissidents and revolutionaries became distinguished during the Civil War. Friedrich Hecker, Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, and Gustav Körner probably have the most renown of these figures having been political activists and soldiers, but many revolutionaries were also influential. Other soldiers like August Willich and Alexander Schimmelpfennig played roles in German and American politics and were well-known in German America. Writers and publishers like Carl Dänzer, Oswald Ottendorfer, and Hermann Raster played important social roles through the press.

69. James M. Bergquist. "German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4, no. 1 (1989): 16. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27500350

70. Zachary Stuart Garrison. *Im Abendlande: German American Liberalism and the Civil War in the Border West, 1830 – 1877*. (PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2015): 7, 30. https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/i-im-abendlande-german-american-liberalism-civil/docview/1991532776/se-2.

71. Ibid., 103.

72. Joseph Dünnebacke. Correspondences to family in Westphalia. In *Germans in the Civil* War, 118–120.

73. Mark O. Kistler. "German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine." *American Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1962): 87–90. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2710229

74. Robert M. Bigler. *The Politics of German Protestantism: The Rise of the Protestant Church Elite in Prussia, 1815-1848*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972): 162.

75. Some Pietists, including the influential cohort of Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, gained traction among the Junker class of arch-conservative Prussian nobility, displacing the rationalists of the pre-Napoleonic era in Prussia's major religious institutions (Ibid, 175.) Hengstenberg and his allies (namely H.A.C. Haevernick) were unpopular among both conciliatory pietist moderates (who were often political pragmatists) and liberal pietists. For the former, Hengstenberg and his Junkers were far too dogmatic, and for the latter, dogmatism meant nothing if the Church were to be chatteled to the King and his bureaucracy.

76. Concordia Historical Institute. "Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther: First President of the Missouri Synod: 1847-1850 & 1864–1878." (Concordia Historical Institute, 1997.) https://concordiahistoricalinstitute.org/presidents/president-walther/

77. There were several German church communities in Presque Isle: Sankt Jacobi (St. James) and Immanuel of Moltke Township (founded with Rev. J.D. Druckenmiller), Sankt Michael (St. Michael) of Belknap Township, Sankt Johannes (St. John) of Rogers City, Sankt Peter (St. Peter) of Metz Township (founded along with Sankt Jacobi with Rev. Christian Schwann of Neuendettelsau, Middle Franconia), and Sankt Paul of Posen Township (founded, along with Sankt Michael, with Joseph Antonius Bohn). The community was also associated with Rev. Johann Adam Hügli (originally of Hassloch, Palatinate), Rev. Carl Haaß (originally of Niedereggenen, Baden), and Rev. Konrad Ludwig Moll (originally of Windsbach, Middle Franconia) of Detroit.

78. List of church trustees of the Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church in Moltke Township, Michigan, 1876–1883. Immanuel German Evangelical Lutheran Church records, 1876-1919. Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor.

79. Garrison, 79.

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Meyer v. Nebraska at 100: The Legal History of German Language Education in the 20th Century

In the wake of World War I, German American communities across the United States were the target of policies that restricted use of the German language and sought to force assimilation to Anglo-American customs. Most notably, by 1923, upwards of 37 states codified provisions that restricted teaching children in a language other than English. These provisions were applied to public and private schools alike and signified the use of democratic systems to force the Americanization of one of the nation's largest ethnic groups.[2] Even further, such laws signified an infringement on speech and expression at a time prior to the majority of significant First Amendment jurisprudence.

As teachers were prosecuted under statutes that forbade them from teaching German, legal challenges were mounted. Things came to a head on June 4, 1923, when the United States Supreme Court announced its ruling in two companion cases – *Meyer v. Nebraska* and *Bartels v. Iowa* – both of which asked the Court to evaluate the constitutionality of state laws that prohibited teaching German in grade schools. In *Meyer* and *Bartels*, the Court struck down such laws and found that they violated the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In doing so, the Court crafted a decision that gave rise to the substantive due process doctrine—the doctrine that justifies the Court's ability to protect fundamental rights from government interference that are not expressly enumerated in the Constitution. Moreover, the Court found that there was a fundamental "right to choose and pursue a given legitimate vocation" that was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment; the vocation there being teaching German as a "modern language."[3] The story

of the "German Language Cases" is illustrative of the cultural resistance that German American communities faced in the wake of World War I—a resistance that was, to an extent, stagnated by the Supreme Court's ruling.

This article revisits *Meyer* and *Bartels* upon the 100th anniversary of the Court's decision in both cases by illustrating the circumstances that led to the German Language Cases, describing their immediate impact, and looking more broadly at the long-term impact *Meyer* and *Bartels* had on protecting the right to German education, as well as language education more broadly. In the century since it was decided, *Meyer* has been cited in over 3,000 decisions in state and federal courts nationwide, including in 127 Supreme Court decisions. Yet, for such an important case, *Meyer* has been often diminished to a footnote in American history and a mere squib in constitutional law textbooks and its companion case, *Bartels*, which applies *Meyer* to four factually similar cases, is hardly remembered whatsoever. As a result, fascinating aspects of these cases are often overlooked. For instance, while *Meyer* significantly impacted the ability of immigrant communities to express their cultural heritage, *Meyer* was not decided on First Amendment grounds and predated much of the Supreme Court's significant First Amendment jurisprudence, which has led to the German Language Cases being overlooked as case studies on free speech and expression. Further, overlooking *Bartels* and the three other cases consolidated within it deprives students and scholars alike of the opportunity to engage with factual comparisons between the cases, as well as to engage with a dissenting opinion that was not articulated in *Meyer*, which often discounts the contemporary jurisprudential debate around the principles that *Meyer* stands for. This article aims to remedy the latter problem through discussing the facts of *Meyer, Bartels*, and their companion cases and offering a more accessible means for others to draw conclusions on the significance of this moment in American legal history.[4]

Background

German American Presence in America

The German Language Cases culminate a jurisprudential moment that culminated over two centuries of co-existence between German Americans and Anglo-Americans that spurred periodic cultural tensions. Anglo-American concerns regarding the prevalence of German language usage dates back to the colonial period, where some raised the issue of what civic role German Americans should play in an emerging American society. Famously, Pennsylvania statesman Benjamin Franklin, once pondered this question, asking, "Why should the Palatine Boors (Germans) be suffered to swarm

into our settlements and, by herding together, establish a language and matters, to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them?"[5] Indeed, as Philadelphia became an epicenter of decision-making for colonial leaders, especially in the revolutionary era, the presence of German communities was seen and felt in close proximity. Franklin's ponderings illustrate how cultural differences raised the issue of whether these communities could effectively coexist under the same system.

From the time that the first significant German American community was formed in Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1683 to the time of the American Revolution, over 70,000 Germans had emigrated to American shores and by 1790 Germans accounted for roughly one-third of Pennsylvania's population alone.[6] As German Americans quickly became the largest non-English ethnic group in the early United States, their growth came alongside early considerations of policymaking that would promote English as the nation's *lingua franca*. For instance, John Adams encouraged the Continental Congress to form "the first public Institution for refining, correcting, improving and ascertaining the English Language."[7] Adams' idea indicated his promotion of an English-favoring governance, which he thought would "have an [*sic*] happy effect upon the Union of the States, to have a public Standard for all persons in every part of the Continent to appeal to."[8] Such concerns raised in the Revolutionary Era ran parallel to those discussed in the wake of World War I, America's first international conflict with German peoples.

By the time the situations that gave rise to the German Language Cases were set in motion, German communities had a widespread presence in American life. Over four million Germans immigrated to America in the century after independence, with consistent immigration continuing through 1914. As "manifest destiny" spurred western settlement, German Americans were encouraged to move west through policies federal policies like the Homestead Act of 1862, which offered 160 acres of land to heads of households for $1.25 per acre; an open invitation for immigrants to seek their fortune by settling the American frontier.[9] As a result, German communities became more prevalent in the Upper Midwest, forming America's "German Belt," a region that remains home to many German Americans today.[10] The Midwest remains the home to a significant German American population today.

The spread of German American communities also gave rise to stereotypes that followed those communities in their movement west, reflecting that the cultural tension that existed in the Revolutionary Era still was present over a century later.[11] Albeit, German American communities came in closer and

more integrated proximity to Anglo-American communities, the attitude behind some of these stereotypes shifted to terms of endearment. Indeed, the perception of German Americans being "sluggish, phlegmatic, kind, and devoted to beer-drinking," in the early nineteenth century, shifted largely to a perception of being "efficient, hard-working, militaristic, and still devoted to beer-drinking" by the turn of the twentieth century.[12]

Stereotypes played a significant role in policymaking that affected German American communities. Indeed, positive connotations assigned to one's "German-ness" largely dissipated after 1914 with the onset of World War I. As America came at odds with Germany on the battlefront, xenophobic sentiments were communicated through propaganda posters depicting Germans and Germanic iconography in an anti-patriotic light, as well as through occasional acts of violence targeted toward German Americans by Midwestern nativists.[13] Amidst the tense social climate, German Americans sought to assimilate into Anglo-American society by disbanding social organizations, changing surnames, and limiting speaking German to private settings, keeping pride in their heritage subtle at best.[14] As German cultural organizations and publications declined in numbers during this period, churches and schools were critical to keeping the German language alive in more subtle settings. However, when America claimed a military victory over Germany where President Wilson played a key role in drafting the Treaty of Versailles, at home, states claimed a cultural victory by implementing statutory schemes that restricted where the German language could be learned.

State laws restricted teaching German in schools, with the goal of promoting an English-centered civic life. Two types of restrictions evolved: (1) restrictions that limited classroom instruction to being conducted in English and (2) restrictions of substantively learning a foreign language. The former was the most common type of restriction, schemes that required classroom instruction to be conducted in English and prohibited instruction in other languages.[15] Such laws were adopted by states across the country, not concentrated in any particular region.[16] These regulations sought assimilation by streamlining the language that students learned in. The justification was that if children heard German at home or in church, that they already had exposure to their cultural mother tongue. In that regard, states with English requirements in schools felt that students should universally be exposed to English, as a *de facto* official language. While all such statutes applied to public schools, many states extended their reach to private schools as well, both secular and parochial. This was notable considering that parochial schools attached to German-speaking parishes often involved community-based leadership that offered more focus on language and cultural immersion than public schools. Some felt that language restrictions were actually targeted at Catholic and Lutheran parishes in particular.[17]

Some of these states then added on to restrictions by passing bans or limitations on learning a foreign language. Such statutes saw more variation in the breadth of their reach. Some states, like Wisconsin and Connecticut, limited the length of foreign language instruction to one hour per day.[18] Others prohibited foreign language from being taught in primary schools, with restrictions spanning from the first grade to the sixth or eighth grade, but allowed foreign language study at the high school level.[19] Three states, Indiana, Louisiana, and Ohio, only banned German and not other languages, demonstrating that German communities were directly targeted by such laws.[20]

The effects of these statutes were felt dramatically in states across the country as the public school system saw a dramatic drop in students taking German because of wartime sentiments. For instance, in 1915, 71% of New York State high school students took German as a foreign language.[21] By 1925, this number dropped to a mere 9%.[22] While language restrictions were taken on a state-by-state level, the issue had adopted a nationalized character. The German Language Cases illustrate instances where individuals resisted these state legislative schemes and speak to a German American response to propagandized sentiments which caused many to view speaking German as unpatriotic.

Getting to the Supreme Court

Each of the German Language Cases involved an instance where an educator was prosecuted for teaching German in a state with a statutory language restriction. This section aims to illustrate the stories of each case for comparison.

Meyer involved the case of Robert T. Meyer, an instructor at Zion Lutheran School in Hampton, Nebraska, who was charged with violating Nebraska's Siman Act for instructing students on how to read German by using a German bible.[23] Enacted on April 9, 1919, Nebraska's law read that "No person, individually or as a teacher, shall, in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language."[24] By way of penalties, the Siman Act found violators "guilty of a misdemeanor" and subjected violators to a fine between $25 and $100, or up to 30 days in prison for each offense.[25] Accounting for inflation, the fines allowed under the Siman Act ranged from over $400 to over $1,600 in 2025.[26]

Arthur Mullen, the attorney who represented Meyer before the Supreme Court, illustrated Meyer's situation in his memoir, *Western Democrat*:

> [Meyer] was teaching the story of Joseph to a dozen little children. It was not during school hours, but during recess between one and one-thirty o'clock in the afternoon. As had been the custom of the school before the passage of the Siman Law, he was using the German Language, having been instructed by the synod, who were acting under my opinion, that the law could not forbid the use of a language other than English as a time not in the regular school period.[27]

As Meyer instructed German bible verses to his students, the Hamilton County Attorney arrived. Meyer recalled that,

> I had my choice … I knew that, if I changed into the English language, he would say nothing. If I went on in German, he would come in, and arrest me. I told myself that I must not flinch. And I did not flinch. I went on in German. … It was my duty … I am not a pastor in my church. I am a teacher, but I have the same duty to uphold my religion. Teaching the children in the religion of their fathers in the language of their fathers is part of that religion.[28]

Meyer appealed his criminal conviction to the Nebraska Supreme Court, however, that court found Meyer's conviction was justified under the law and, thus, his conviction was affirmed.[29] So, Meyer then appealed his conviction to the court of last resort—the US Supreme Court. Notably, when this case was heard in 1923, it predated the Court's adopting the practice of *certiorari*, where the Court chooses the cases that it hears for an upcoming year's docket; a practice intended to manageably limit the Court's workload and prevent significant backlog that the Court had experienced by the turn of the nineteenth century.[30] So, by virtue of being appealed, Meyer's case was going to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court by default, as were the other German Language Cases, and was scheduled for oral argument. Meyer's attorney, Arthur F. Mullen, was respected as a gifted orator, attorney, and political organizer in Nebraska.[31] At the time of Meyer's arrest, Mullen was working with the Lutheran synod to challenge Nebraska's Siman Act.[32] At oral argument, Mullen emphasized the gravity of Nebraska's law as having the potential to "change the history of the entire human race."[33] However, the gravity described in the *Meyer* argument was true of the several other German Language Cases appealed to the Court.

Bartels v. Iowa, for instance, involved the situation of August Bartels, a teacher for the parochial school affiliated with St. Johns Evangelical Lutheran Church, in Bremer County, Iowa.[34] The school was small, with 36 pupils enrolled between ages six and thirteen, who would attend classes that were generally taught in English.[35] The exception to this was found to be religious instruction, which was delivered in both English and German, at the request of parents who wished to supplement the religious instruction provided at home.[36] On appeal to the Iowa Supreme Court, that court found that desire of the parents was "to enable then to read intelligently the church catechism and the Bible in … German."[37] However, Bartels was fined $25 under Iowa's foreign language ban where he used German as the language of instruction for a secular subject (reading) and taught German to pupils below the eighth grade.

Passed in 1919, Iowa's law held that "[t]he medium of instruction in all secular subjects taught in all of the schools, public and private, within the state of Iowa, shall be the English language, and the use of any language other than English in secular subjects in said schools is hereby prohibited; provided, however, that nothing herein shall prohibit the teaching and studying of foreign languages as such as a part of the regular course above the eighth grade."[38] Like under Nebraska's Siman Act, Iowa's penalty charged violators with a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of between $25 and $100, but did not specify prison time.[39]

Bartels initially appealed his conviction to the Iowa Supreme Court, which upheld his conviction as rightfully assigned. In justifying this, the Court found that "[t]he state has an absolute right to adopt a policy of its own, respecting the health, social welfare, and education of its citizens; and so long as it does no violation to constitutional inhibitions, the citizen within [the state's] borders has no other alternative than to obey…". [40] Bartels argued that Iowa's law violated both protections enshrined in the Iowa State Constitution and the United States Constitution protecting freedom of worship. His assertion was "that to learn to read German is an "innocent act;" and that it is being down … for a *religious* purpose, namely that the children may, by reason thereof, receive religious instruction at home in the German language."[41] However, the Court rejected this logic under the notion that secular subjects were being taught—the secular subjects of reading and writing in the German language—such that there was no interference with religious freedom.[42]

The cases of *Bohning v. Ohio* and *Pohl v. Ohio* were slightly distinguishable insofar as Ohio's statute targeted instruction in German specifically, whereas Nebraska and Iowa targeted instruction in languages other than English more broadly. Ohio's Ake Law, named for sponsoring Senator H. Ross Ake, ordered that,

> all subjects and branches taught in elementary schools . . . below the eighth grade shall be taught in the English language only. The board of education, trustees, directors and such other officers as may be in control, shall cause to be taught in the elementary schools . . . Provided, that the German language shall not be taught in any of the elementary schools of this state (emphasis added).[43]

Ohio's law applied such restrictions to public, private, and parochial schools equally.[44] Similar to Nebraska and Iowa, violators were charged with a misdemeanor and subject to a fine between $25 and $100, and the law also provided that "each separate day in which such act shall be violated shall constitute a separate offense."[45] These cases involved Ohio's prosecution of Emil Pohl, a teacher, and H.H. Bohning, a trustee, both of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran School in Garfield Heights, Ohio, who each were fined $25 for violations of the Ake Law.[46]

On initial appeal, the Ohio Supreme Court found the Ake Law was constitutional and gave deference to the Ohio State Legislature in enacting the law.[47] In that regard, the Court found that the legislature was presumed to have "information with reference to the effect of the teaching of the German language to the youth" and that if the legislature found such facts warranted enacting a ban, that "it is not within the province of a court to redetermine the existence or nonexistence of such facts."[48] Presuming the facts that were before the legislature at the time of enactment were true, the Ohio Supreme Court found that the Ake Law was reasonable within the state's authority to enact legislation that was "essential to the welfare of the state."[49] Pohl and Bohning challenged Ohio's German language ban to the Supreme Court. National news coverage illustrated how, at oral argument, counsel compared how depriving a Lutheran of the right to learn religion in German would be a comparable burden to preventing a Rabbi from studying Hebrew or a Catholic priest from studying Latin.[50] In this vein, counsel for *Pohl* and *Boehning* articulated that Ohio's law violated the Fourteenth Amendment's privileges and immunities clause, as well as the element of the Due Process clause that protects against takings of life, liberty, and property without due process.[51]

Lastly, another challenge to Nebraska's Siman Act was elevated to the Supreme Court by the Nebraska District of Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (hereinafter "the Missouri Synod").[52] There, the Missouri Synod, which was formed by German Lutheran immigrants in the early nineteenth century, sought an injunction against Governor Samuel Roy McKelvie to prevent state enforcement of the Siman Act. This case

differed from the others on appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court because the relief sought was different. Rather than seeking to reverse a conviction, the Missouri Synod sought to preemptively challenge the Siman Act before it was used to prosecute more teachers within the Lutheran community.

Represented by a legal team that included Arther Mullen, who represented Robert Meyer in his case, the Missouri Synod initially sought an injunction in 1919, prior to Robert Meyer's conviction.[53] The Missouri Synod described the harm as that "since the officers and members of the respective churches are largely made up of foreign speaking people, if the act is enforced their children will be unable to obtain instruction in religion and morals in accordance with the doctrines of the religious denominations to which the parents belong, in the language of their parents."[54] Further, the Missouri Synod highlighted other practical concerns, "that many of the children cannot understand English, and . . . such instruction in that language" and that "the language of parents is used to teach English."[55] Further, the Synod opined that if such children "cannot learn English if they do not receive rudimentary education in the tongue the parents use [and] that property rights in the school buildings and grounds, and in the good will of schools, will be destroyed." [56] At that time, the Nebraska Supreme Court was unpersuaded by the Missouri Synod's arguments and found that the use of language was not as interfered with as the Missouri Synod implied. For instance, it found that parents, teachers, or pastors could continue conveying religious or moral instruction in the language of their choice, so long as not interfering with studies in school.[57] It also found persuasive that the law did not prevent hiring private tutors to teach language or that language could be taught on Saturday or Sunday.[58] Overall, the injunction sought at that time was denied, paving the way for prosecutions like that of Robert Meyer the following year.

In 1921, after the Nebraska State Legislature reissued a slightly modified version of the Siman Act, the Missouri Synod again sought an injunction to prevent the Act's enforcement. There, the Nebraska Supreme Court found its treatment of Meyer's case was informative.[59] The Court specified that the Act did not specifically target "teaching of the German language only, but applies to all foreign language."[60] So, the Court there found that the harm put forward by the Missouri Synod was still not persuasive. It noted that "[t]he law does not create an absolute prohibition against the learning of a foreign language. It only postpones and regulates that teaching. There is no curb on knowledge."[61]

In contrast to the Nebraska Supreme Court's majority opinion, Chief Justice Andrew M. Morrissey authored a sole dissent. There, he disagreed with the majority's rationale, writing, "I cannot regard as a reasonable exercise of the police power a provision which arbitrarily forbids the acquisition of

useful learning—learning that is not harmful in itself, learning that the well to do parent may employ a private tutor to impart to his child, or that the cultured parent may personally impart to his child, if not done in a school."[62] Further, Morrissey found that the Siman Act violated the state and federal Constitutions. This discourse foreshadowed how the Missouri Synod case, alongside those of Meyer, Bartels, Pohl, and Bohning, would be treated at the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Decisions

Meyer and *Bartels* were decided on the same day and published consecutively, with Justice James Clark McReynolds authoring the majority opinion for a 7-2 Court with Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and George Sutherland in dissent. The majority opinion in *Meyer* reasoned that Nebraska's law violated the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In that regard, the Court found that the Fourteenth Amendment included protections for "an individual's right to contract, engage in any of the common occupations of life [and] to acquire useful knowledge."[63] In other words, the Court found that the language bans were unconstitutional because they interfered with a teacher's right to pursue teaching another language—like German—as a profession. "Mere knowledge of the German language cannot reasonably be regarded as harmful. Heretofore it has been commonly looked upon as helpful and desirable. … His right to teach and the right of parents to engage him so to instruct their children, we think, are within the liberty of the amendment."[64] Through this analysis, it seems apparent that the majority concluded that a German teacher's right to work as they see fit was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment.

While Justice Holmes authored a dissent (joined by Justice Sutherland) in *Bartels*, both justices dissented in *Meyer* in name only. As a result, since *Meyer* is the better remembered case, it is easy for Holmes's dissent to be overlooked. Holmes's dissent in *Bartels* speaks for both cases and offers insight into a different perspective on the issue. A contemporary collection of Holmes's dissents reflected on *Bartels* as the result of "zeal for good citizenship, given impetus by war [and] it is certainly in the province of the legislature to enact laws protective of patriotism and the war power of the country."[65] In his dissent, Holmes analyzed the question at issues through the lens of whether the means adopted deprive teachers of the liberty secured to them by the Fourteenth Amendment."[66] While disagreeing with the majority and finding that the Constitution did not prevent "the experiment being tried" of limiting teaching a foreign language to young children, Holmes agreed with the majority's rationale to strike down the Ohio statute that targeted German

specifically.[67]

The Aftermath

The Court's rulings in *Meyer* and *Bartels* signaled a shift in American mindsets away from the fears associated with World War I. Indeed, a 1923 case brief reviewing *Meyer* in the University of Pennsylvania Law Review described how "[t]he prohibition against teaching one class of studies is certainly an arbitrary restriction of [protected] liberties, unless some very pressing consideration of public welfare demands it."[68] In the years immediately following the *Meyer* decision, *Meyer* was interpreted to apply beyond teaching languages and more broadly doubting states' ability to prohibit teaching other types of curricula, such as evolution in science classes amidst the *Scopes* trial.[69] These discussions focused on the right for a teacher to contract their duties, emulative of the antiregulatory *Lochner* era of Supreme Court history. During that period, from 1905 to 1937, the U.S. Supreme Court issued decisions that largely rejected government regulation of economic enterprise, on industry-wide and individual levels alike. For instance, this discussion noted that, "[a] Legislature should not, under the United States Constitution, have the power to provide imprisonment because a teacher breaks his contract by teaching something forbidden under the curriculum, any more than if he had been lacking in punctuality, or had failed to wear a prescribed scholar's gown, or had broken some other rule of routine discipline."[70] The results in this dialogue signaled two overarching impacts the Court presented through *Meyer* and *Bartels*: one being a common law impact on individual rights jurisprudence and the other being a practical impact on the ability of German-American communities to freely engage in their language and culture.

Jurisprudential Effects of Meyer and Bartels

By way of legacy, *Meyer* is an early example of the Court's enshrining individual rights through the Fourteenth Amendment under the substantive due process doctrine. Here, the right enshrined was the right for a teacher to contract, and by virtue of this, the right to learn German in schools. *Meyer* is frequently cited alongside *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, which in 1925 established a similar principle of protecting parents' rights to choose whether to send their children to parochial schools, as opposed to public schools.[71] In *Pierce*, the Court struck down Oregon's Compulsory Education Act, which would have eliminated parochial schools in effect, finding the law in violation of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, as well as the Free

Exercise Clause of the First Amendment.[72] Again authoring the Court's opinion, Justice McReynolds held in *Pierce* that under *Meyer*, Oregon's act "unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control."[73] Through this lens, the challenges raised against the German language bans had a broader impact of assisting other communities in their pursuit of enshrining individual rights, especially those related to the schoolhouse.

Meyer also reflects an anomaly from within individual rights jurisprudence from the early twentieth century. *Meyer* and *Pierce* have both been described as "nearly impossible" to reconcile with the balance of *Lochner*-era jurisprudence, having nothing to do with business.[74] While many cases from this era that follow *Lochner*'s logic pertain to business enterprise, *Meyer* and *Bartels* apply the right to contract in a different vein. Yes, those cases ultimately protect a language teacher's right to pursue their profession. However, the logic used also protects the intended consumer of that information, the student, insofar as if there is a right for a teacher to teach German, then it follows that the students they teach have the right to consume information in the language they instruct. Indeed, *Meyer*, *Bartels*, and *Pierce* have been credited for being centered on a family-oriented issue which established and protected a parent's substantive right to rear their children and make decisions regarding their education.[75]

Further, the majority's focus on parental autonomy mirrors societal concerns surrounding socialism typical for the time. *Meyer* has been viewed alongside *Pierce* as representing the Court's rejection of socialist theory inserting its way into how children are raised, rejecting states' efforts to centralize education within the public school system.[76] Jeffrey Schulman has interpreted *Meyer* as being not only about the right to learn German, but determining a more soviet-inspired question in a post-Russian Revolution era over who had ownership over America's children: individual parents or the government.[77] Arthur Mullen referenced this concern at oral argument, asserting that state control over educational content would lead America down a slippery slope to Bolshevism.[78] At oral argument, Mullen expressed that,

> This is one of the most important questions that have been presented for a generation, because it deals with the principle of the soviet. Here, is an act requiring the child to be taught religion after dark or on Sundays. In Russia they abolished religious teaching altogether. There are 147 different languages in Russia; and you cannot teach a child religion in any one of them over there. That is the question which is involved in the right to run private institutions.[79]

Indeed, the Court's answer not only would affect state policymaking in responding to the 34 jurisdictions who had outlawed German but also speak to potential federal-based policy measures. To be sure, in 1920, a bill titled the Smith-Towner Bill, proposed to create a Department of Education and would have conditioned receipt of federal funds by state education agencies on states establishing a law requiring English as the basic language of instruction in all public and private schools.[80] The bill was considered an "emergency measure in the midst of the [First World W]ar," which in reality may have reflected negative attitudes towards German American communities at that time.[81]

Lastly, while not a case decided on First Amendment grounds, *Meyer* and *Bartels* had extraordinary implications on access to information in the education context.[82] Regarding students' rights to information, *Meyer* and *Bartels* have stood for the notions that (1) all children have the right to be educated regardless of their language of origin and (2) government cannot restrict languages other than English that are presented to children in the educational setting. Being decided shortly after landmark First Amendment decisions related to World War I – including *Schenck v. United States*, *Abrams v. United States*, and *Debs v. United States*—all cases involving wartime government restrictions of speech supporting the Soviet Union–*Meyer* and *Bartels* favored peacetime protection of "harmless" information, like learning the German language.[83] McReynolds's majority opinion in *Meyer* alluded to protecting individuals' rights under the First Amendment to have access to content in other languages in stating, "Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution – a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means."[84] However, as such is not analyzed deeply in the Court's decision, any potential infringement on the First Amendment, whether through the free speech or free exercise clauses, did not seem to be an issue that the Court felt was necessary to address.

The conundrum of *Meyer* and *Bartels* goes deeper when considering how Justice Holmes, who only four years earlier established the marketplace of ideas theory through his dissent in *Abrams*.[85] Holmes's marketplace of ideas theory has long been referenced over the last century of First Amendment jurisprudence to promote the open exchange of ideas and access to information. So, while Holmes's dissent in *Bartels* suggested that the state could experiment with limiting the marketplace of ideas in the schoolhouse based on the language information is exchanged in, the majority's opinion seems more consistent with the principles advanced by the marketplace of ideas theory, even though it did not engage with the First Amendment directly.[86]

More narrowly, with regard to education law, *Meyer* opened the door for decisions that protect students' access to knowledge through curricula by using an individual rights-based analysis. [87] In 1927, *Meyer*'s principles were applied through the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment in *Farrington v. Tokushinge* where the U.S. Supreme Court held that the then-Territory of Hawaii violated individual rights in attempting to close Japanese supplementary schools—private schools that instructed students in Japanese.[88] *Meyer* has also been remembered along with *Lau v. Nichols*, a 1974 case that protected the right to English as a Second Language programs, as one of only two Supreme Court cases which directly enshrine a child's right to use languages other than English in schools.[89] The implications of *Meyer*'s ability to survive the *Lochner*-era has been celebrated and discussed as the judicial bedrock to allowing modern bilingual education, which oftentimes benefits immigrant-heavy populations through the form of English As A New Language (ENL) programs.[90]

The Court's decisions in *Meyer* and *Bartels* left a meaningful impact in establishing the path justices would navigate towards protecting individual liberties under the Fourteenth Amendment. *Meyer*'s application to a teacher's right to use German in the classroom has been attached an individual's right to "engage in any of the common occupations of life" protected under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[91] As the Court rejected *Lochner*-era jurisprudence through the New Deal, *Meyer* was preserved and cited to support advancing the substantive due process doctrine, notably in the U.S. Supreme Court's 1938 *Carolene Products* decision, a case remembered for asserting that the government has a duty to protect "discrete and insular minorities."[92] *Meyer* was then later used by Justice Douglass in *Griswold* as a sturdy foundation for his argument that the First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments had "penumbras" which "help give them life and substance," in other words, a rationale to extend rights of privacy, checks on law enforcement, and others as protections that are applicable at both the federal and state levels.[93] In terms of impact, the German Language Cases opened the door to a framework for the U.S. Supreme Court to protect individual rights that has been revisiting many times over the last century.

Societal Effects of Meyer and Bartels

A century after *Meyer* and *Bartels*, German was reported the third most-studied foreign language in the United States.[94] In the decades following *Meyer* and *Bartels*, a sharp growth in popularity for German resurged, undoing some of the sharp decline in study that occurred after World War I. Enrollments in German language classes rose significantly, peaking in the late-

1960s.[95] These trends occurred across education levels, becoming noticeable in high schools, colleges, and universities alike.[96] German's popularity rose as relations with Germany improved, with the number of secondary school students studying German rising from 43,000 in Fall, 1948 up to 283,000 by Fall, 2000.[97] By 1990, nearing the reunification of Germany, an estimated 1.6 million Americans spoke some level of German,[98] around which time an estimated 326,000 high school students nationwide were studying German.[99] A century later, Americans continue to identify with their German heritage as well, making German the largest ethnic group in the United States. Most recently, the 2020 census revealed that 12.3% of Americans identify as having German American heritage. Moreover, by the 2021-22 academic year, 3,649 public K-12 schools were offering Dual Language Immersion programs, where students are provided content and language instruction in both English and a partner language.[100] Without the Court's ruling in the German Language Cases, such programs would not be possible.

Conclusion

A reflection on *Meyer* published 35 years after the decision the issued found that when *Meyer* was announced, "it aroused very little stir. Nebraska was entering a new era with new problems and new interests and the reasons for the legislation gradually faded into the past.[101] Indeed, while new problems took the attention of Nebraska leaders, the statutory provision that spurred *Meyer v. Nebraska* still remained on the books.

In 1999, 76 years after *Meyer* and *Bartels* were decided, Nebraska State Senator Elaine Stuhr introduced Legislative Resolution (LR) 20CA, which proposed eliminating the English-language requirement as it applied to private, denominational, and parochial schools and was invalidated by *Meyer*. Notably, Senator Stuhr had come to know Raymond Parpart, a child who was being taught German by Robert T. Meyer when he was arrested and prosecuted under the Siman Act in 1920. In 2000, LR 20CA passed through Nebraska's unicameral legislature unanimously, but failed a statewide referendum vote nearly four-to-one, losing in all 93 counties.[102] An amended version, LR 1CA, passed the Legislature in 2002 by 45-1, but similarly failed to pass by referendum at the ballot, meaning that provision of the Nebraska State Constitution challenges in *Meyer* remains the same as it was in 1920.[103] Despite the societal developments that have ensued since *Meyer*, the fact that the Siman Act remains a dormant provision of Nebraska state law begs the question of whether the values that inspired the Siman Act have actually withered.

Overall, however, revisiting the German Language Cases offers a situation that may seem brighter than bleaker for German American studies. When statutory language restrictions were passed by state legislatures in the early twentieth century, one of the justifications was in effort to promote civic education. Revisiting the facts of these cases suggests that the opposite was true and that, rather, limiting language education ran contrary to original constitutional principles. To be sure, the survival of these cases and reliance upon them over the last century signals not only that the German Language Cases remains pertinent, but that the principle they established always was pertinent. As discussed, the German language has maintained a longstanding presence in the United States dating back to colonial times, such that encountering German is a tradition as old as our republic. The German Language Cases represent this principle by taking it one step further. Not only do these cases offer some legitimacy to that history and tradition, but they confirmed that the right to teach and learn German is within our constitutional framework. As Americans now embark on celebrating our nation's 250th anniversary, revisiting stories like those of Robert Meyer, show how German communities fit within the larger heritage of our nation's democratic institutions. Indeed, through the lens of cases like *Meyer* and *Bartels*, German language educators advance students' civic duty to "acquire useful knowledge" still today.[104] And we are all the better for it.

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Notes

[1] Courtland D. McEneny Ingraham is a Professorial Lecturer of Law at The George Washington University Law School and Adjunct Professor of History and Politics at Marymount University. This article evolved from research conducted for "History of the Supreme Court," taught by Professor Ethan Torrey at The George Washington University Law School. The author thanks the Society for German American Studies for the opportunity to present this research at their 47th Annual Symposium in Alexandria, Virginia in 2023, as well as to Professor Jana Weiss and the University of Texas at Austin Germanic Studies Department for the opportunity to share this research with students and to simulate the Court's process of deciding the German Language Cases. Special thanks also goes to Dr. Dennis Tamburello, OFM, at Siena University for fostering my research in German American studies from my time as an undergraduate, and to Frau Connor and Frau Hickey for performing their civic duty in teaching me German in the Guilderland Central School District.

[2] By 1910, an estimated 2.3 million German-born immigrants lived in the United States, who relied on over 800 German-language periodicals for news. This number of periodicals fell to 230 by 1920 as anti-German sentiments rose throughout the nation. See Library of Congress Area Studies European Division, The Germans in America (Apr. 23, 2014). As of the 2021 American Community Survey, the United States Census Bureau continues to list Ger-

man as the most common ancestry reported, encompassing roughly 42.3 million Americans. See United States Census Bureau, American Community Survey: Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, (2021).

[3] Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

[4] Contemporaneously, these cases were remembered as the "Foreign Language Cases," based on the impact of these cases on foreign language education. Nebraska organizer Arthur F. Mullen, who opposed Nebraska's ban on foreign language in school, proposed that instead these cases "should have been called the Private School Cases or the Freedom of Education Cases: for upon them rested the right to every private school in the United States to operate and the right of every American citizen to direct the education of his child, provided only that such education is consonant with public morality." See Arthur F. Mullen, Western Democrat (New York: Wilfred Funk Inc., 1940) at 208-09. However, this framing underemphasizes that the litigation that rose to the U.S. Supreme Court involved restrictions targeted towards teaching German. In that regard, the "German Language Cases" seems a more appropriate title for this article's discussion and is the term I have chosen to use.

[5] See Benjamin Franklin, Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc., (1755) at para. 23.

[6] The Concordia Trust, "Early History: The Founding of Germantown," https://perma.cc/24VN-3FYV; Wokeck, Marianne. "The Flow and the Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775." The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 105, no. 3 (1981): 260-61 (detailing the number of passengers on German passenger ships arriving in America from 1683 to 1775); John B. Frantz, "The Pennsylvania Germans: "A Persistent Minority," Der Reggeboge, v. 35, no. 1 & 2, 2001, 3-4.

[7] "John Adams to the President of Congress, No. 6, 5 September 1780," Founders Online, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-10-02-0067.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See generally Folke Dovring, European Reactions to the Homestead Act, 22 J. of Econ. History 4 (Dec. 1962), 461-472 (describing the rise in European immigration as a result of settlement incentive programs such as the Homestead Act of 1862).

[10] See Cora Lee Kluge, Kevin Kurdylo, Mark Louden, and Antje Petty, "How German is American?", Max Kade Institute, 2005; United States Census Bureau, American Community Survey: Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, (2021) (noting the placement of German Americans following the 2020 U.S. Census).

[11] Bill Piatt, Only English?: Law and Language Policy in the United States, 17 (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[12] Dirk Voss, National Stereotypes About Germans in American Travel Writings, 1815-1914, University of Oklahoma, Dissertation, 2000, 2.

[13] See generally "Prussianizing Wisconsin," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 11, January 1919, No.1 pp. 101–102. (Describing an incident of a Wisconsin man being threatened with lynching in October, 1918); History On The Net. "War Hysteria & the Persecution of German-Americans," (July 12, 2012), http://www.historyonthenet.com/authentichistory/1914-1920/2-homefront/4-hysteria/.

[14] For examples of German-American assimilation documented in national memory, see Mary J. Manning, Being German, Being American In World War I, They Faced Suspicion, Discrimination Here at Home, Nat'l Archives: Prologue, (Summer 2014), https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2014/summer/germans.pdf.

[15] See I. N. Edwards, "The Legal Status of Foreign Languages in the Schools," The Elementary School Journal 24, no. 4 (1923): 270–78. (identifying the states that restricted use of languages other than English in schools).

[16] Ibid. In total, the states that enacted some form of language restriction included: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

[17] See generally See Arthur F. Mullen, Western Democrat (New York: Wilfred Funk Inc., 1940) at 206-26.

[18] Edwards at 272.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] White, Christopher Scott. "Table XI: Study of Modern Languages in High Schools throughout New York State," in From Acceptance to Renunciation: Das Ende von Albanys Deutschtum, Master's thesis, University at Albany, 2005.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Capozzola, Christopher (2008). Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen. NY: Oxford University Press, 176–85, 190–3.

[24] Act Neb. April 9, 1919, Laws 1919, c. 249; Adopted as Neb. Const. art. I, § 27 (1920); adopted 1920, Constitutional Convention, 1919-1920, No. 3 (stating "The English language is hereby declared to be the official language of this state, and all official proceedings, records and publications shall be in such language, and the common school branches shall be taught in said language in public, private, denominational and parochial schools).

[25] Ibid.

[26] See U.S. Inflation Calculator, https://www.usinflationcalulator.com (adjusting the dollar value using CPI data accumulated since 1913).

[27] Mullen, at 217-18.

[28] Mullen, at 218.

[29] Bill Piatt, Only English?: Law and Language Policy in the United States, 39 (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[30] See e.g. Peter Charles Hoffer, Williamjames Hull Hoffer, and N.E.H. Hull, The Supreme Court: An Essential History (University of Kansas Press, 2018), 220 (discussing the Judiciary Act of 1925).

[31] See generally Mullen.

[32] Mullen at 219.

[33] Transcript of Oral Argument at 8, Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

[34] State v. Bartels, 181 N.W. 508, 509 (Feb. 12, 1921).

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Iowa State Legislature, "Chapter 198. English Language for Secular Subjects in Schools of State,"Laws of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly (Apr. 10, 1919).

[39] Ibid.

[40] State v. Bartels, at 1067.

[41] Ibid, at 1071.

[42] Ibid at 1072.

[43] Bartels v. Iowa, 262 U.S. at 410 quoting Section 7762 of Ohio General Code.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] New York Times, "Upholds Ban on German.; Ohio Court Finds Valid Law Prohibiting it in Lower School Grades," New York Times, (June 8, 1921), at 22.

[47] Pohl v. State and Bohning v. State, 102 Ohio St. 474 (1921).

[48] Ibid, at 476-77.

[49] Ibid, at 477.

[50] New York Times, "Ban on School German Before Supreme Court; Ohio Statute Violation of Fourteenth American, Counsel Contend—Jurisdiction in Doubt," New York Times, (Oct. 11, 1922); see also Washington Evening Star, "Ban on German Argued: Prohibition of Teaching in Ohio Before Supreme Court," Washington Evening Star, (October 11, 1922), at 15.

[51] Ibid.

[52] See Nebraska Dist. Of Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (Siefken et. al., Interveners) v. McKelvie, et. al., 108 Neb. 338 (April 19, 1922).

[53] See Nebraska District of Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States et al. (St. Wenceslaus Church of Omaha, et. al., Interveners) v. McKelvie, Governor, et al., 175 N.W. 531 (Dec. 26, 1919); see also Mullen at 219-20.

[54] Ibid, at 532.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid at 534.

[58] Ibid, at 534-35.

[59] Missouri Synod, 187 N.W. at 927.

[60] Ibid, at 928.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid, at 930.

[63] Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390, 399 (1923) (citing Lochner v. New York, 198 U.S. 45 (1905)). In his opinion, Justice McReynolds authored the following passage, which has been cited frequently over the last century as an early definition of substantive due process: "without doubt, it denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint but also the right to the individual right to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and generally to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men." See ibid. See also E. Thomas Sullivan & Toni M. Masaro, The Arc of Due Process in American Constitutionalism 134 (Oxford Univ. Press, 2013) (highlighting the notable nature of Meyer in outlining a substantial list of unenumerated rights the Court found were protected under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment).

[64] Meyer, 262 U.S. at 400.

[65] Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes, 25 (Alfred Lief, ed., The Vanguard Press, 1929).

[66] Bartels, 262 U.S. at 412 (Holmes, dissenting).

[67] Ibid, at 412-13.

[68] Gerald F. Flood, "The Unconstitutionality of the Foreign Language Law," University of Pennsylvania Law Review 72, no. 1 (Nov. 1923) 46-48, 48.

[69] Nous Verrons, "Letter to the Editor, Evolution and Religion," New York Times (Jul. 7, 1925).

[70] Nous Verrons, "Letter to the Editor, Evolution and Religion," New York Times (Jul. 7, 1925).

[71] Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Phillips at 96, 116-117.

[75] Michael J. Phillips, The Lochner Court, Myth and Reality: Substantive Due Process from the 1890s to the 1930s, 9 (Praeger, 2001).

[76] See generally Jeffrey Schulman, Meyer, Pierce and the History of the Entire Human Race: Barbarism, Social Progress, and (the Fall and Rise of) Parental Rights, 43 Hastings Const. L.Q. 337-388 (2016).

[77] Schulman at 338-339.

[78] Douglass A. Kibbee, Language and the Law: Linguistic Inequality in America, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016 at 101-102; see also Mullen at 224-25.

[79] Mullen at 224-25; see also Transcript of Oral Argument at 8, Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).

[80] Smith-Towner Bill §10 (1920).

[81] Charles H. Judd, Desirable Amendments of the Smith-Towner Bill, Address delivered before the Society of the College Teachers of Education in Cleveland, Ohio, (Feb. 23, 1920); see also Livia Gershon, When American Schools Banned German Classes, JStor Daily (May 9, 2017).

[82] Hoffer, at 228-29.

[83] See generally Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47 (1919); Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919); Debs v. United States, 249 U.S. 211 (1919).

[84] Meyer, 262 U.S. at 401.

[85] Abrahms at 630 (Holmes, J., dissenting) ("that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out.")

[86] Bartels, 262 U.S. at 412.

[87] Dennis Baron, The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 11 (citing Meyer, Lau).

[88] Baron at 12 (citing Farrington v. Tokushinga, 273 U.S. 284 (1927)).

[89] Baron at 10 (citing Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974) (holding that schools must ensure non-English speaking children are not excluded from the benefits of education).

[90] See generally Bill Piatt, Only English?: Law and Language Policy in the United States, (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[91] Meyer, 262 U.S. at 400; Phillips at 52.

[92] United States v. Carolene Prod. Co., 304 U.S. 144, 153 (1938) (citing Meyer in "There may be narrower scope for operation of the presumption of constitutionality when legislation appears on its face to be within a specific prohibition of the Constitution, such as those of the first ten Amendments, which are deemed equally specific when held to be embraced within the Fourteenth. … we [need not] enquire whether similar considerations enter into the review of statutes directed as particular … national … minorities. Whether prejudice against discrete and insular minorities may be a special condition, which tends seriously to curtail the operation of those political processes ordinarily to be relied upon to protect minorities, and which may call for a correspondingly more searching judicial inquiry.")

[93] Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479, 500 (1965); See also See also E. Thomas Sullivan & Toni M. Masaro, The Arc of Due Process in American Constitutionalism 141 (Oxford Univ. Press, 2013) (discussing Douglass's use of Meyer in authoring his majority opinion in Griswold).

[94] Dennis Looney and Natalia Lusin, Enrollments in Languages Other Than English in United States Institutions of Higher Education, Summer 2016 and Fall 2016 Preliminary Report, Modern Language Assoc., (Feb. 2018).

[95] National Center for Education Statistics. "Enrollment in Foreign Language Courses Compared with Enrollment in Grades 9 through 12 in Public Secondary Schools: Selected Years, Fall 1948 through Fall 2000." Digest of Education Statistics, 2009. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d09/tables/dt09_056.asp.

[96] Ibid.

[97] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary/Secondary Education, 1982 through 2000. Am. Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (Fall 2000).

[98] Bill Piatt, Only English?: Law and Language Policy in the United States, 7 (Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1990).

[99] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary/Secondary Education, 1982 through 2000. Am. Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (Fall 2000). Supra note 54.

[100] U.S. Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition, "Dual Language Immersion Programs," January 2025, https://ncela.ed.gov/sites/default/files/2025-01/dliprogramsinfographic-20250113-508_2.pdf.

[101] Jack W. Rodgers, "The Foreign Language Issue in Nebraska, 1918-1923," Nebraska History 39 (1958) 1-22, 22.

[102] James Cunningham, Meyer v. Nebraska Created an Interesting Story, S. Neb. Reg. (Jan. 23, 2015), https://www.lincolndiocese.org/op-ed/capitol-correspondent/3156-meyer-v-nebraska-created-an-interesting-story.

[103] Id.

[104] Meyer, at 399.

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Towards a Roadmap for Exploring Past and Present Texas German Voices: A Case Study of German-Indigenous Relations

Introduction

German immigrants began trickling into Texas as early as the 1820s when Texas was still part of Mexico. The influx swelled enormously during the Republic years and, except for a brief pause during the Civil War, continued unabated throughout the 19th century. By the turn of the century, Germans formed one of the largest European ethnicities in Texas. The story of German immigration to Texas is compelling on many levels and yet, German American migration to the Southwest has not received as much scholarly attention as the migrations to the East Coast or the Midwest have.

In this paper, we explore how linguists and historians can work together, using a variety of written and oral sources to investigate questions relating to the Texas German dialect and history.[1] After providing an overview of the history of German migration to Texas (Section 1), we introduce available resources such as the recordings from the *Texas German Dialect Project* (Section 2). Next, we take 19th century Texas German-Indigenous relations as our case study (Section 3). Through linguistic and historical lenses, we showcase how the uses and connotations of the term *Indianer* and the associated synonyms have evolved over time. We place special emphasis on the depiction of "Indians" in the (passed down) story of the kidnapping and return of Herman Lehmann in the 1870s.

Please note that this is not a classic research paper, presenting original research. The sources presented here are neither quantitatively nor

qualitatively sufficient for a comprehensive linguistic or historical analysis of German-Indigenous relations, nor do we make claims of representativeness. Instead, our paper aims to inspire future research to pay more attention to the translocal Atlantic ethnic lens and to take into account a variety of sources that have previously not been tapped into.[2] Moreover, our paper seeks to (re)open an interdisciplinary dialogue, between linguists and historians (and beyond, including other fields such as anthropology and sociology) on Texas German history, identity, culture, and language. In our conclusion, we will point out how digital humanities may help us realize possible future research initiatives.

1 German Migration to Texas

Economic and political hardships in German-speaking central Europe during the 1830s and 1840s sparked an increased interest in immigration to Texas (and elsewhere). Friedrich Ernst is considered the "Father of German immigration to Texas" by virtue of a letter he sent back to family and friends in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg.[3] In April 1831, Ernst received a league of land from the Mexican government, located on Mill Creek in present-day Austin County. Here, he established the town of Industry. In February 1832, less than a year later, Ernst wrote a letter in which he praised Texas as a land well-suited for German settlers where good farmland was readily available and practically free for the asking. His letter was widely circulated in German-language newspapers, sparking a keen interest in the region. Dozens of German speakers began to settle in south-central Texas, lured by stories of freedom and opportunity.

Shortly thereafter, Germans began settling in a second area: the Texas Hill Country. After declaring independence from Mexico in 1836, the Republic of Texas revived the former Mexican land grant system to attract immigrants from central and northern Europe in order to help the young country build up its infrastructure, expand its farming operations, support an army to defend itself against Mexico, and create a buffer zone against American Indian raids.[4] A decade after Ernst's letter, a corporation of German noblemen also known as the *Mainzer Adelsverein*,[5] set up operations to support Germans interested in emigrating to Texas. While the whole endeavor was ill-conceived and overly ambitious, coming close to descending into a complete debacle of staggering proportions, the *Adelsverein* managed to introduce close to 7,000 German emigrants into Texas between 1844 and 1848.

Most of the German-speaking immigrants coming to central Texas under the auspices of the *Adelsverein* during the 1840s settled in the Texas Hill Country, founding towns such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg, Boerne, and

Comfort. Subsequent waves of migrants after the Civil War helped establish further German settlements, leading to the emergence of what is known today as the "German Belt" of central Texas, as shown in Figures 1 and 2. German-speakers continued to compose a considerable portion of the Texas population. For example, many former German businessmen, tradespeople, and professionals near San Antonio relocated to the city, so much so that by 1880, about a third of the population of San Antonio spoke German.[6]

The two main areas of German concentration contrasted in important ways. The Germans in the south-central counties of Austin, Fayette, and Colorado created (initially) islands of German language and culture that were located amongst the dominant Anglo settlements. The settlements in the Hill Country, however, were isolated and had a true frontier experience, which included frequent interactions with Native American tribes, principally the Comanches. These interactions offer a fascinating and important contour to the story that will be explored in Section 3.

By 1907, there were about 75,000 to 100,000 Texas Germans, and by the beginning of the 20th century, about one third of all Texans were of German ancestry. According to Heinz Kloss, the number of German speakers in Texas peaked at around 159,000 in 1940. Since then, that number has declined, mainly because Texas German parents did not pass their language on to their children because of anti-German sentiments during the two World Wars.[7]

While it was still common to find monolingual Texas German speakers in many communities across central Texas well into the 1950s, language shift to English was in full swing during the 1960s, leading to a further decline of Texas German in both public and private domains. The first quarter of the 21st century has seen a drastic decline in the number of Texas German speakers, dropping from an estimated 8,000 to 10,000 speakers in 2000 to only about 2,000 to 3,000 in 2025. Today, the youngest speakers of Texas German are in their late 70s, and current projections estimate that Texas German, after being spoken in the Lone Star State for almost 200 years, will go extinct sometime during the 2030s.[8]

2 Overview of Texas German Primary Sources

2.1 From Family Papers to Poems and Interviews: A Wide Range of Sources

German-speaking settlers in Texas and their descendants were prolific writers and record-keepers. Written Texas German sources are scattered across the state, nation, and abroad, in various large and small archives and hidden in dusty attics in private homes. According to the *Texas Archival Resources Online*, there are hundreds of collections pertaining to Texas German history, housed in dozens of repositories throughout the state.[9] The collections are

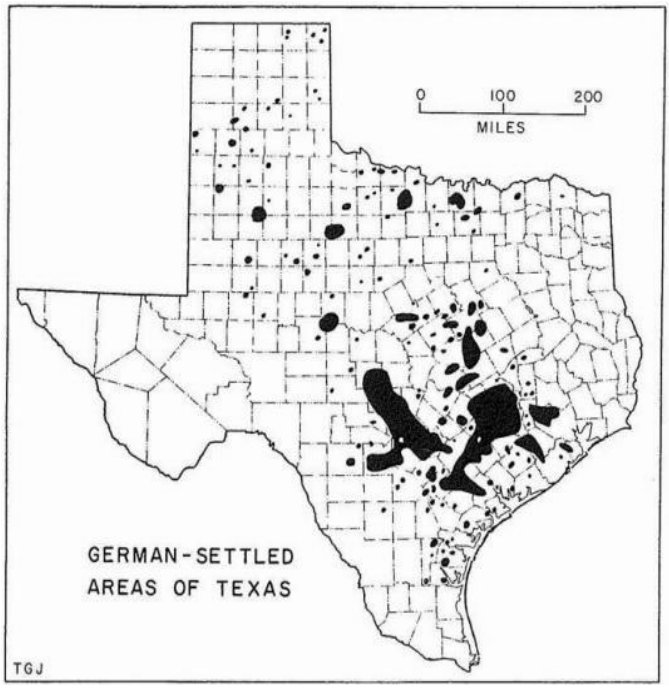


Figure 1: German-Settled Areas of Texas.[10]

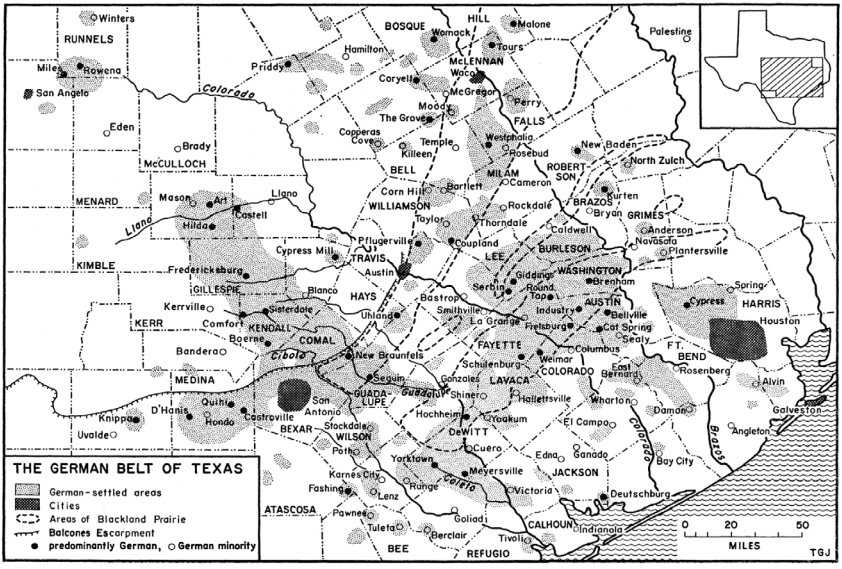


Figure 2: The German Belt of Texas.[11]

often family papers and letters, but also include scrapbooks and diaries. The *Portal to Texas History* also includes thousands of materials pertaining to Texas German history, in particular hundreds of German-language newspapers.[12] The *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* at the University of Texas at Austin is home to several collections of written Texas German materials.[13] In addition to these collections at large institutions, there are numerous smaller, local collections in museums, libraries, and churches across the state, as well as with private individuals and families. This wealth of material lends a richness to the possibilities for teaching, research, and outreach, but since they are disseminated among dozens of places, it can be difficult to have a firm grasp on what is available.

To complicate research further, there are also Texas German materials housed outside of Texas, such as the *Solms-Braunfels Archive* (SBA) at Yale University, which is a collection of the *Adelsverein's* (handwritten) extensive reports and correspondence documenting their experiences in Texas. The SBA is one of the most detailed and extensive records about Texas in the mid to late 1800s, and is often overlooked as it is primarily written in German.[14] Other (inter)national collections contain materials relating to German immigration to the United States more generally, sometimes also to Texas specifically. Such collections include the German Historical Institute's *Auswandererbriefe aus Nordamerika* and *German Heritage in Letters*; the Library and Archives of the Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison; and the *Auswandererbriefe* collection at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, a collection of hundreds of immigrant letters, including those from German-speakers in Texas to their relatives in Germany.[15]

With respect to the kinds of primary sources available, Texas German materials span a wide range of genres, such as official reports, meeting minutes, guidebooks for prospective immigrants, historical and/or scientific descriptive literature, travel literature and sketches of pioneer life, letters, diaries, memoirs, newspapers, poetry, novels, musicals, and dramas.[16] Texas Germans wrote (non)fiction for both private and public audiences within Texas, the wider United States, and German-speaking Europe.

In addition to this abundance of written records, the *Texas German Dialect Project* (TGDP) contains hundreds of hours of Texas German oral histories. The TGDP was founded in the fall of 2001 by Hans C. Boas at the University of Texas at Austin. Its goal is to preserve records of the spoken Texas German dialect for future generations, to provide information about Texas German for public and educational interests, and to use the collected materials to improve educational programs about language, history, and culture. For over 20 years, members of the TGDP have been conducting oral interviews with the remaining speakers of Texas German.[17] These recordings are freely

available in the online *Texas German Dialect Archive* (TGDA Online).[18] The narrative interviews in Texas German are also transcribed and translated. In 2025, the TGDA Online contained over 250 hours of publicly accessible interview recordings from over 700 Texas German speakers, and it has been accessed by thousands of people around the world.[19]

Given the rich history of Texas Germans, the archived oral history interviews are a treasure trove from both a linguist's and a historian's perspective. So far, these interviews have mostly attracted linguists,[20] but could also be of value to historians. They add information not accessible in the written word, and open up new research questions of, for example, ethnic (inter)generational knowledge circulation and memory. Many Texas German speakers interviewed by the TGDP recount how the populations of their hometowns have changed by inward and outward migration since the 1940s, and how these changes have affected the use of languages and the presence of German American culture in the communities. Another recurring theme in the interviews is the many different types of daily hardships encountered by the first generation of German speakers settling in Texas and how these experiences had long-lasting effects on the self-identification of German settlers and their descendants.

From a linguistic perspective, there has been a growing interest in learning more about earlier linguistic developments of the German dialect(s) in Texas during the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the oldest speaker interviewed by the TGDP was born in 1915, which only allows an estimation of some of the linguistic properties of Texas German in the early 20th century using the apparent time method.[21] To overcome the dearth of information about earlier stages of Texas German for which we have no interview recordings, the TGDP has started looking at written sources as alternative options. Here, the historian's perspective and expertise in working with these materials plays a decisive role.

Taken together, these written and oral sources provide a rich source of information on a plethora of topics, such as the founding of settlements and pioneer life, climate (changes), the 1848 European revolutions, slavery, and relations with the local tribes, especially the Comanches. To showcase this range of Texas German primary sources, we selected a variety of German-language documents dealing with German-Native American relations in Texas in the next section (Section 2.2). While this is not a complete list of available sources on the topic, our selection highlights the variety of materials. Analyzing a multitude of sources (from various authors and genres) allows for the needed nuance in deciphering the complex and evolving relationship between German immigrants and Native Americans on the Texas frontier, shaped by conflict, negotiation, and cultural exchange. It should also be

noted that our source selection represents a strictly white, Texas German perspective. In Section 3, these sources will be taken up again to illustrate how these can be used for an investigation and discussion of Texas German-Indigenous relations, from both a historical and a linguistic perspective.

2.2 Examples of Texas German Sources Relating to German-Indigenous Relations

One of the key sources of 19th century immigration are letters. Prominent scholars in the field, such as Walter Kamphoefner and Ursula Lehmkuhl, have repeatedly pointed out that letters have played the most decisive role in the decision to migrate.[22] As mentioned in Section 1, in 1832, Friedrich Ernst wrote one of the first letters by a German speaker who had settled in Texas. His letter played a crucial role in placing Texas on the map for many Germans and it also seems to be the oldest surviving source where the relationship between German settlers and Native Americans in Texas is described. It was printed in the local newspaper and subsequently published in Detlef Dunt's (1834) *Reise nach Texas,* leading to its wide circulation.[23]

Ten years later, in 1842, the aforementioned *Adelsverein* was set up with the goal of obtaining a land grant agreement with the state of Texas. Despite poor planning, underfinancing, and hardships, the *Adelsverein* managed to secure land through the Fisher-Miller grant. As part of this agreement, they needed to settle German migrants within that land grant, allowing them "a foothold in the trans-Llano region."[24] In the following years, Germans settled in the Hill Country, which was much more of a wild west frontier than where Ernst had settled. Whereas early German migrants had settled in south-central Texas, the *Adelsverein* began pushing to the north-west, an area inhabited by several, potentially hostile American Indian tribes, most notably the Penateka of the Comanche Nation (Figure 3). The area was largely unsettled by Mexicans, Texans, and Anglo-Americans.

Subsequently, Native American-German interactions intensified, especially to the west in the Hill Country. One of the reasons Texas was interested in settling immigrants in the western portions of the state was to create a buffer and assert territory rights, protecting central, southern, and eastern parts of the state from Native Americans and Mexicans. Thus, German Americans were part of the wider colonization efforts and the violent displacement of American Indians, supporting at first, Texas independence from Mexico, and later U.S. nation-building. In her (unpublished) 2013 dissertation, *Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835-1890*, Julia A. Brookins makes the latter point quite

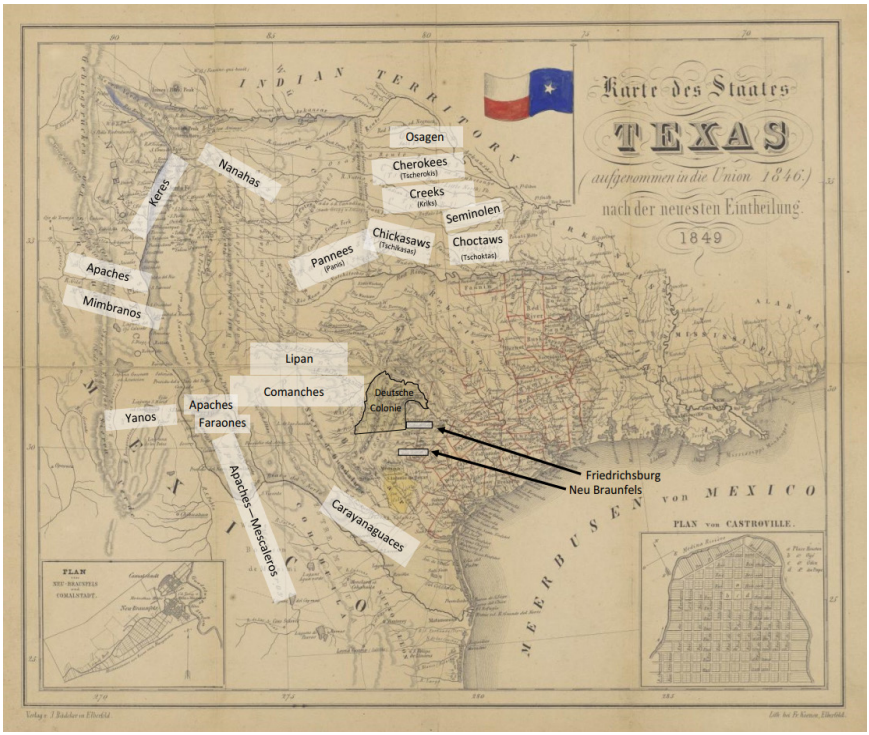
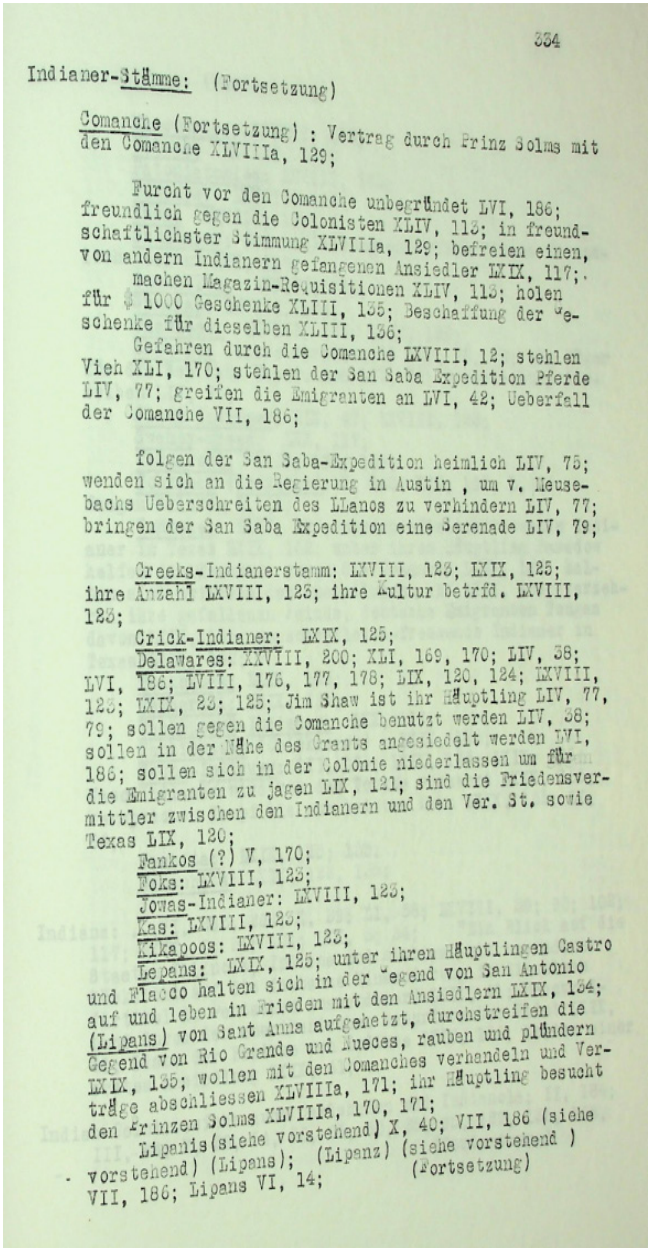


Figure 3: Koenen, Fr. *Karte des Staates Texas aufgenommen in die Union 1846: nach der neuesten Eintheilung* (1849).[25]

clear: Germans in Texas "advocated for U.S. territorial conquest in spite of its deleterious consequences for other minority groups—particularly native Tejanos, Mexican immigrants, and indigenous Indians."[26]

Throughout their efforts, the *Adelsverein* kept meticulous records and produced advertisement materials to encourage and prepare people to travel to Texas. Since the land grant area was quite far inland and within Comanche territory, information about Native Americans was included in their reports and letters. Native Americans were such an important and common subject in their reports that the index within the transcription of these records contains 11 pages of Native American-related topics, including a section subdivided by tribe (see Figure 4). This makes these documents, commonly referred to as the Solms-Braunfels Archives, one of the most thorough records of Native Americans in central Texas in the mid-1800s and thus, central to any study of Texas indigenous history.



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Indianer-Stämme: (Fortsetzung)

Comanche (Fortsetzung) : Vertrag durch Prinz Solms mit den Comanche XLVIIIa, 129;

Furcht vor den Comanche unbegründet LVI, 186; freundlich gegen die Colonisten XLIV, 113; in freundschaftlichster Stimmung XLVIIIa, 129; befreien einen, von andern Indianern gefangenen Ansiedler LXIX, 117;. machen Magazin-Requisitionen XLIV, 113; holen für $ 1000 Geschenke XLIII, 135; Beschaffung der Geschenke für dieselben XLIII, 136;

Gefahren durch die Comanche LXVIII, 12; stehlen Vieh XLI, 170; stehlen der San Saba Expedition Pferde LIV, 77; greifen die Emigranten an LVI, 42; Ueberfall der Comanche VII, 186;

folgen der San Saba-Expedition heimlich LIV, 75; wenden sich an die Regierung in Austin , um v. Meusebachs Ueberschreiten des LLanos zu verhindern LIV, 77; bringen der San Saba Expedition eine Serenade LIV, 79;

Creeks-Indianerstamm: LXVIII, 123; LXIX, 125; ihre Anzahl LXVIII, 123; ihre Kultur betrfd. LXVIII, 123;

Crick-Indianer: LXIX, 125;

Delawares: XXVIII, 200; XLI, 169, 170; LIV, 38; LVI, 186; LVIII, 176, 177, 178; LIX, 120, 124; LXVIII, 123; LXIX, 23; 125; Jim Shaw ist ihr Häuptling LIV, 77, 79; sollen gegen die Comanche benutzt werden LIV, 38; sollen in der Nähe des Grants angesiedelt werden LVI, 186; sollen sich in der Colonie niederlassen um für die Emigranten zu jagen LIX, 121; sind die Friedensvermittler zwischen den Indianern und den Ver. St. sowie Texas LIX, 120;

Fankos (?) V, 170;

Foks: LXVIII, 123;

Jowas-Indianer: LXVIII, 123;

Kas: LXVIII, 123;

Kikapoos: LXVIII, 123;

Lepans: LXIX, 125; unter ihren Häuptlingen Castro und Flacco halten sich in der Gegend von San Antonio auf und leben in Frieden mit den Ansiedlern LXIX, 134; (Lipans) von Sant Anna aufgehetzt, durchstreifen die Gegend von Rio Grande und Nueces, rauben und plündern LXIX, 135; wollen mit den Comanches verhandeln und Vertrge abschliessen XLVIIIa, 171; ihr Häuptling besucht den Prinzen Solms XLVIIIa, 170, 171;

Lipanis(siehe vorstehend) X, 40; VII, 186 (siehe vorstehend) (Lipans); (Lipanz) (siehe vorstehend) (Fortsetzung)
VII, 186; Lipans VI, 14;

Figure 4: *Indianer Stämme* 'Indian tribes' index excerpt from Solms-Braunfels Archive. This indicates where references to various topics can be found in the 70-volume collection.[27]

The Solms-Braunfels Archive also includes reports about the expedition led by John O. Meusebach, second commissioner-general of the *Adelsverein*, who successfully negotiated the infamous Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty (1847).[28] To this day, the peace treaty has gained (albeit disputed) legendary status as it was never broken.[29]

In addition to their own reports, some of the personnel of the *Adelsverein* also produced promotional materials and guides to encourage migration. One prime example is the book by the first commissioner-general, Prince Carl Solms-Braunfels' (1846) *Texas*.[30] He describes his experiences of the country and its Indigenous and Anglo-American people. Such promotional texts were relatively widespread in the mid-19th century.

Besides the reports and promotional materials of a single immigration company, there exist numerous accounts about Native Americans in German-language newspapers in Texas, from the beginning of immigration to more than a century later. In general, German American newspapers peaked in the early 1890s, when they made up almost 80 percent of all foreign language newspapers in the U.S. For Texas, Karl Arndt and May Olson list a total of 137 German-language publications, including daily and weekly newspapers as well as periodicals.[31] According to Boas, these "publications covered a diverse range of topics, including news, religious topics, cultural matters, and literature, while at the same time presenting varying political views, from the abolitionist San Antonio Zeitung to the proslavery *Demokrat*."[32]

Likewise, Native Americans captured Germans' artistic imaginations and inspired poetry, historical fiction, and art. For example, German Texan poet Fritz Goldbeck wrote a poem titled *"Ausrottung der Büffel"* 'Eradication of the Buffalo' about the sharp decline of the buffalo population and its negative impacts on Native Americans in the area.[33]

In addition to contemporary accounts on Texas German-Native American relations, there are also sources from a slightly more removed position such as memoirs. One example is the reminiscences of Mathilda Doebbler Gruen Wagner. Her family immigrated to Texas in 1851, and she was born in Fredericksburg in 1856. Her memoirs depict the struggles of growing up on the frontier.[34]

The fascination with Native Americans and German-Indigenous relations is also echoed in the 21st century in oral history interviews with Texas German speakers in the TGDA Online. Almost 50 Texas German interviewees mention *Indianer*.[35] One of the stories that several interviewees reference is the story of Herman Lehmann. In 1870, Herman Lehmann, a 10-year-old first generation Texas German who lived near Loyal Valley (about 20 miles north of Fredericksburg), was kidnapped by Apaches. He lived with them for several years, then lived with a Comanche tribe. Lehmann rejoined

his family in 1878, after which followed a long period of readjustment. In 1927, Lehmann wrote a book about his life and experiences called *Nine Years Among the Indians*.[36] Lehmann's story offers a unique opportunity. It has been documented and recounted for over 100 years by different people (himself, family members and other contemporaries, such as newspaper reporters and Texas Germans today) in different sources (memoirs, newspaper articles, oral histories). The story allows us to connect and reconstruct the TGDA Online oral histories with written sources to explore ethnic sites and practices of memory-making.

This introduction to the diversity of Texas German primary sources from a range of authors, genres, and time periods underscores the depth and breadth of material available. The following section looks at some of the materials in more detail, demonstrating ways in which these sources can be used for future research.

3 Case Study: Exploring German-Indigenous Relations on the Texas Frontier

After a brief overview of previous historical and linguistic research pertaining to German-Indigenous relations in Texas (Section 3.1), we explore the evolution of Texas German-Indigenous relations: First, by looking into the use of the term *Indianer* across genres in the 19th century (Section 3.2), and second, by linking this to 20th and 21st century ethnic memories of Texas German-Indigenous encounters in newspaper accounts and oral history interviews (Section 3.3).

In exploring the evolution of the discourse around *Indianer* in the Texas German context, it is important to note that once the German-speakers came to Texas, many of them stayed here for generations. This means that their interactions with and attitudes about Native Americans were likely influenced by their interactions with the dominant society, their Anglo-American neighbors. This differs from the evolution of the discourse around *Indianer* in continental Europe, where German speakers did not have the same experiences.[37]

3.1 Previous Research on Texas German-Indigenous Relations

So far, only a small circle of researchers has focused on German-Indigenous relations on the Texas frontier.[38] Two reasons for this might be language barriers (of German and of the Indigenous languages) as well as the lack of awareness of the rich source materials as laid out in the previous section. Over the last two years, anthropologist David J. Gelo and German

studies scholar Christopher J. Wickham have published three books relating to our case study: In *Comanches, Captives, and Germans: Wilhelm Friedrich's Drawings from the Texas Frontier*, they present the astonishing finding of three 1848 paintings by Texas German artist Wilhelm Friedrich, meticulously reconstructing its background captivity story.[39] In *The German Texas Frontier in 1853*, Gelo and Wickham analyze the first year of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, started by famous Texas German botanist Ferdinand Lindheimer.[40] Through his newspaper, Lindheimer advocated for the rights and concerns of German settlers. Lastly, Gelo and Wickham report on an 1851 article by Heinrich Berghaus in the *Geographisches Jahrbuch*, which aimed to establish linguistic connections between Comanches, Shoshones, and Apaches.[41] Together, these works expand our knowledge of Comanche history and the German-Indigenous experience, offering valuable insights into the challenges and complexities of intercultural relations on the Texas frontier.[42]

However, while Berghaus' article demonstrates a Texas German interest in Native American languages and cultures and is evidence of contact for a short number of years, it does not offer any evidence of German language influence on Native American languages or vice versa. To date, there is no significant research on the linguistic outcomes of contact between Native Americans and German-speaking immigrants in Texas. While English had a considerable influence on Texas German since the earliest days of German settlements, primarily in the form of English words and phrases borrowed into Texas German,[43] there do not seem to be any traces of Native American languages in Texas German, except for a few borrowed words that entered via English (for example, *tomahawk,* meaning a war hatchet, derived from Algonquian).[44] The fact that there are so few words borrowed from Native American languages into Texas German can be seen as an indication of the relatively low degree of intensity of contact between the two speaker groups, and potentially the low perceived prestige of Native American languages for German-speakers.[45]

Analyzing written and oral sources, spanning from the early 19th century to the present day requires a reflection on handling different genres, subjectivities, and positionalities. For example, from a linguistic perspective it is important to acknowledge that the early sources were established at a time when there was no uniform orthographic standard in German-speaking countries. This means that if a researcher looked for a particular term, they may need to use multiple spelling variations. Likewise, from a historical vantage point, we need to critically reflect on how people in the past have invoked sameness and/or difference to include or exclude and to (dis)empower. As Nancy Shoemaker rightly pointed out in her Presidential Address at the 2019 meeting of the *American Society for Ethnohistory*, "how historical actors

deployed sameness and difference is complicated by unexpected twists and turns."[46] In our discussion of German-Indigenous relations, we do not want to perpetuate western constructs of Native Americans as the "exotic Other," replicating the discourse of civilization versus savagery. Rather, we seek to find balance showing how Texas German discourse shifted between the two poles, depending on a variety of factors such as the colonizing agenda and (non) resistance of the tribes. The doctrine of discovery legitimized the subjugation, exploitation, and dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, resulting in racialized practices and policies of dispossession and extermination.

The following questions guide the next two sub-sections: (1) how has Texas Germans' language use surrounding Native Americans evolved over the centuries, reflecting their interactions and (white) perceptions over time?; (2) Given the rich body of sources, how can these resources be fruitfully connected for future research?

3.2 The Evolution of Texas German-Indigenous Relations in the 19th Century and Use of the Term "Indianer" across Genres

Since the 16th century, German writers have grappled with the question of who "the Indians" were. While the interactions between Native Americans and Germans in Texas decreased throughout the 19th century, the topic and idea of Native Americans remained an important part of their collective imaginations and understandings of Texas. As Texas Germans commented on such themes as trade, conflicts, and captives, they invariably used the term *Indianer* but also sometimes differentiated between different tribes. Throughout, the widespread idea of the "noble savage" informed their discourse, going back to Enlightenment philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau. As Vine Deloria explains, as a term "that both juxtaposes and conflates an urge to idealize and desire Indians and a need to despise and dispossess them," it has remained ambiguous ever since.[47] Related, several scholars have repeatedly argued that outside views of "the Indian" do not represent Native Americans per se, but rather Germans themselves and their projections of longings and anxieties.[48] Our selected sources discussed below reflect the Texas German understanding of Native Americans in the 19th century.

From the beginning, Native Americans were a topic of note for Germans writing home and were an important consideration for potential emigrants to Texas. For example, as Ernst encouraged his Oldenburg family and friends to join him in Texas, he sought to soothe their fears by telling them how Native Americans would (according to him) interact with and interfere (or not) with German immigrants. As Ernst portrayed the Texan landscape, he

characterized most tribes as friendly and peaceful. He supported this claim by saying that the members of the tribe hunted animals and traded with furs, with "trading" having a positive connotation. He also implied that the settlers seemed to have power over the Native Americans (and that the settlers exploited it), mentioning a particular tribe's displacement and noting their resistance:

> Up higher on the rivers there are beautiful areas, and silver has been found there; it is merely a matter of driving off an Indian tribe which resists individual visits. Several Indian tribes are moving about peacefully like Cossacks, hunting deer, of which they sell the hides.[49]

Ernst seemed to acknowledge that Native Americans were not a monolith, but rather that there were different groups, although he did not go so far as to name specific tribes. Since Ernst neither glossed nor provided any additional explanation, he probably assumed that his intended audience was familiar with the term *Indianer*, as German speakers had been immigrating to North America for some time by this point and had shared stories about their experiences. The very fact that Ernst discussed Native Americans in his letter highlights that the presence of Native American tribes was central to a potential émigré's decision whether to make Texas their new home.[50]

Solms-Braunfels' *Texas* is a good indicator of the increasing awareness of indigenous diversity. Similar to Ernst, Solms-Braunfels had self-serving interests, but instead of being more of an informal text (a personal letter), his book was designed to give potential émigrés more information about the conditions in Texas, with the aim of appearing to be a neutral, authoritative text.[51] To this end, he created a more elaborate and detailed systematization of Native American tribes. An entire chapter discusses the inhabitants of Texas, referring to the original inhabitants as *Indianer*.[52] While Solms-Braunfels, like Ernst, divided the tribes into the categories "friendly" and "hostile" according to their attitude towards the colonists, he went on to provide more detail.[53] The tribes who had submitted to the government were considered "friendly," such as the Lipans and Tonkahuas. These were explicitly characterized as "pleasant": "When they please a settlement with their pleasant visitation, they show great talent in begging, and the more you give them, the more they covet." Those who had refused to submit and "wandered in the mountains of the west" were considered hostile. The hostile tribes, such as the Comanches and Wakoos, were described as "stealing," "murdering," and "plundering." Solms-Braunfels referred to the Comanche tribe as "the most dangerous and numerous."[54]

Like Ernst, Solms-Braunfels had an interest in collecting information that he perceived as integral to the Germans' survival and success in the foreign land. Interest in categorization and differentiation was common at the time.[55] By collecting the names of Native American tribes, describing them, and categorizing them, Solms-Braunfels externally defined otherness.

Besides this increased category-based and tribe-based detail, Solms-Braunfels also used synonyms such as "redskins" for the term "Indian" in addition to the specific tribal names, thus expanding the vocabulary of the readership. He also described the terms *Indian fighter* (Indianer-Fechtern) and borrowed Native American terms such as *Tomahawk*, which were most likely borrowed via their Anglo neighbors. This kind of information reflects early contact and exchange with Anglo settlers.[56]

While these findings echo previous scholarship on white-Indigenous relations, they also add an important ethnic and class lens. Solms-Braunfels' categorization fits into Karen O. Kuppermann's study of early encounters between the English and Algonquians along the East Coast. Like Anglo-Americans, Texas German descriptions of Native Americans became less favorable once they resisted colonialism.[57] However, it was only a year later, in the spring of 1847, that Solms-Braunfels' successor, Meusebach, successfully negotiated a non-government peace treaty with the Penateka Comanches, opening more than three million acres of land to (unharmed) settlement. Whereas Solms-Braunfels was a prince, who was very conscious of his standing in German aristocracy, Meusebach was a Prussian bureaucrat, who renounced his title as Baron after migration.

The peace treaty greatly aided Fredericksburg's survival and was symbolic of the communal approach of the Germans. It was "an anomaly in the history of nineteenth century Indo-white relations."[58] Texas Germans seem to have adopted an unusually sympathetic approach, which Matthew Babcock aptly comments on: "The fact that Germans sought permission from Comanche before settling on their land places them in sharp contrast to most Anglo Texans of the era."[59] In general, treaties made with indigenous peoples were frequently broken, resulting in further land dispossessions by settlers.[60]

Meusebach, however, should by no means receive the sole credit for the "successful" treaty. For a more critical and comprehensive view, we need to look at sources by the Penateka-Comanches, who played an equally major role, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.[61]

Possibly having this special treaty in mind, some German settlers favorably compared their "special" relations to those of Anglo-American settlers with indigenous tribes. For example, in his letter written on June 18, 1851 in New Braunfels, Gustav Eisenlohr argued that interactions with Native Americans were by and large peaceful, and that (the fear of) conflict was partially

manufactured to benefit primarily Anglo settlers: "The Indians do trouble the borders to Mexico and the north, but here, where their main hunting ground used to be, we live as safe from them as you do in Emmendingen under the protection of the mayor of Baden."[62] Eisenlohr also expanded the conversation around *Indianer* by looking at the larger power structures at play, such as the Texan government and economic interests, while he further underscored that New Braunfels itself was incredibly safe and instead highlighted potential ulterior motives for maintaining fear of Native Americans:

> It seems that one does not want to be completely rid of the Indians [...] because many have their advantage in the fear of the Indians. [...] [The ranger] earns a nice amount of money, but without Indians there is no need for a ranger, so it is in this interest that at least the fear of the Indians is maintained. Then the government needs a lot of food for the Indian troops [rangers] and horses, so the farmer can always sell his products at good prices to the government [...]. If the government no longer needs rangers, it no longer needs grain and the farmer can no longer benefit from it as much. [...] I have yet to see an Indian.[63]

When looking at this excerpt from a linguistic perspective, the three main subjects (*Indianer*, *Ranger*, and *Farmer*) are all borrowed from English into German. This reflects how the characters at play were fundamentally different concepts than those people were familiar with in the German-speaking lands, and as such, terms for them needed to be borrowed rather than using German terms. Yet, like Ernst, Eisenlohr felt no need to describe what an *Indianer* was for his audience, but he did feel the need to explain what a *Ranger* was: "a kind of border hunter," which implies that the latter, although technically in existence since 1835, and unofficially since 1823, had not been discussed enough in the German lands to be self-explanatory. When he referred to *Rangers* later, he used the term *Indianertruppen* 'Indian troops,' highlighting that the main purpose of this group was adversarial to Native Americans.

Although he lumped all Native Americans into a single category rather than referring to them by tribe, Eisenlohr seems to have been acutely aware of the dispossession and subordination of Indigenous peoples. He was university educated, a Protestant pastor, and had participated in the failed 1848 Revolution, after which he had fled to the U.S.[64] Due to his liberal, democratic leanings, it is perhaps not surprising that he was critical of larger, potentially manipulative governmental power-structures.

By the mid-1800s, the concept of *Indianer* denoted several meanings for German Texans, including vague and self-interested descriptions, to categorizations with more explicit definitions and criteria to support the success of German colonization. Some voices recognized larger political and economic pressures at play, others echoed more caricatured depictions of Native Americans, both positive and negative. This range in discussions was both influenced by the period when the works were written as well as the genre and the function of the texts, with more personal recollections, such as letters, potentially reflecting more sympathy and nuance than "official" texts, such as handbooks.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Texas Germans also reflected on *Indianer* in art, depicting both the romanticized expulsion of Native Americans, thereby aligning with their Anglo neighbors, and the romanticized melancholy of their loss. In musicals and poetry, the authors distanced themselves from everyday language, using numerous synonyms ("redskins," "red man," "savages," and "red jackals") in place of the term "Indians." In this way, the authors avoided everyday language for poetic effect. The goal was not to inform the reader, but rather to evoke the reader's associations and convey emotions.

In Hermann Seele's *Texas Fahrten*, a Texas German musical which probably dates from the 1880s, he writes about the "Indian Long Grass Fight," a battle between Texas Rangers and an unnamed Native American tribe.[65] This rendition of events follows two Germans who join with the Texas Rangers to attack a Native American group. It contains several derogatory terms for and descriptions of Native Americans: "redskins," "savages," and "red jackals." Given the migration status of Texas Germans, portraying Native Americans as "savages" served to imagine a civilized self, over time joining the "civilized" white Anglo-American U.S. society.

Accordingly, Seele's description of killing Native Americans was bloodthirsty: "Hurrah! Let's go after those red jackals! / We'll slaughter all of them as a feast for the buzzards. Hurrah!" and "Do you see smoke rising up over there, / Moving along like fog? That's a sign / That the redskins hidden over there, / Believe that they're safe. But tomorrow, / Not a trace of them will be found!" When they are not in battle, the imagery surrounding the Texas Rangers is an idyllic nature: "Below, they looked roundabout, / Onto a blossoming prairie, / Which, wreathed in blue by mountains, / Was glistening in the lovely radiance of morning." [66] The musical also likened one of the characters, Ranger Hays, to an eagle, a sharp-eyed apex predator. The fact that the Germans joined Anglo Texan Rangers, and that Native Americans and Rangers were described as such, also reflects how German-Texans had increasing contact with and influence from their Anglo neighbors.

In contrast, the 1895 poem "Eradication of the Buffalo" by noted German Texan poet Fritz Goldbeck, stylized Native Americans as "redskins" but also as victims of the settlers rather than as perpetrators.[67] Goldbeck lamented:

> Once here lived the red man,
> With wife and child he drew near,
> He also followed the buffalo trail,
> But he only sought his nourishment.
> How long will it last,
> The red man has disappeared
> And with him the last game,
> Which still satisfies his hunger.
> Nature gave in abundance,
> Which will be destroyed by culture,
> It advances with a firm step,
> Taking along with it forests, game, and meadows.[68]

Following the trope of the "noble savage", the "red man" is depicted in harmony with nature, using it only as a source of food and not exploiting it. He is portrayed as a so-called child of nature who lives in a symbiosis. The (supposedly cultured) conquerors destroy everything and are sharply differentiated from the Native American, also referencing the dialectic of "good" versus "evil."

Both the musical and the poem can be seen as artistic reflections on the end of the Texas-Indian Wars in 1875, when the last free band of Plain Indians, Comanches, surrendered and moved to the Fort Sill reservation in Oklahoma. Closely related, both sources might also represent a general trend: the farther away the indigenous population was (i.e., no longer in direct competition for land and resources), the easier it was for Native Americans to be idealized. By the end of the 19th century, 70 years after German speakers had begun settling in Texas, most of the Native Americans in Texas had been killed or forcibly (re)moved to reservations.

3.3 Remembering 19th Century Texas German-Indigenous Relations

In the previous sub-section, we looked at discussions around *Indianer* during the time that Germans and Native Americans were in contact in Texas, and shortly thereafter. Throughout the 19th century, however, western expansion had forced Indian tribes out of their homelands. By the end of the century, the American Indians Wars drew to a close as assimilation and Americanization efforts intensified.[69] As we move on chronologically in this

sub-section, we trace the memories of Texas German-Indigenous relations into the 20th and 21st century, passed down and remembered in various formats, such as personal reminiscences, scholarly works, newspaper articles, and oral history recordings.

To this day, one of the most commonly referenced and remembered stories is the successful Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty. Those remembering the treaty usually praise Meusebach without mentioning the role the Comanches played.[70] In his *History of the German Element in Texas, from 1820-1850* (1913), Moritz Tiling recounted the story, focusing on violence by Native Americans:

> We cannot but admire the courage of von Meusebach, who, with a few followers, fearlessly penetrated into the unknown territory, but must also give due credit to the able and skilled manner in which he dealt with the ferocious and warlike Comanches, inducing them to sign a treaty, which opened the hitherto forbidden land to German settlements.[71]

Tiling was an instructor in history at the Houston Academy and his text was intended to inform. Yet, reflective of early 20th century historiography, his language is ridden with vivid and sensational descriptions to evoke heightened emotions in the reader. By focusing on the "civilized" German settlers, conquering the "ferocious" natives, he wanted to pay tribute to the achievements of the first German settlers and portray the dangers and adversities to which they were exposed. It is also telling that, after his synopsis of the treaty, Tiling immediately lists nine instances of Native Americans killing or kidnapping German settlers, with no reflection in the opposite direction. It is as if he was providing additional justification or evidence for the Germans' invasion into Native American lands.

In addition to Tiling's biased historical account, another type of source to consider is the genre of memoirs. In her reminisces written in 1937, Mathilda Doebbler Gruen Wagner, who was born in Fredericksburg in 1856, highlights the regular trade with American Indians. Referring to the 1847 treaty of her hometown, she mentions that friendly relations soon changed once "the settlers started driving them out as though they were cattle. Then they [Indians] became mean and would steal and sometimes kill. […] The whole town was aroused by the Indians then."[72] Although she does not reflect much on white violence against Native Americans, Wagner seemed to have at least noticed it and framed the violence against settlers as having occurred as a reaction to earlier mistreatment rather than being some kind of inherent behavior.

Stories of Meusebach, of peace turned sour, of conflict, and retaliations involving stealing and murder, are also taken up by Texas German descendants several generations later. Texas German speakers interviewed by the TGDP continue to share memories about German-Indigenous relations. In the currently available TGDA Online transcriptions (Version 2.0 / November 2024), containing 495 interviews, *Indianer* are ambiguously presented as "wild," uncivilized perpetrators, friends, and/or victims.[73] About one third of the stories that mention *Indianer* describe them negatively. In 31 interviews, there are reports of murder or theft committed by *Indianer,* for instance, "they killed my great-grandfather and scalped him."[74] There are also reports of the general danger of Native Americans and how to protect oneself from attacks:

> Once, she saw the Indians and immediately brought the children into the house and locked the door. She brought the big pot of beans that was boiling […] and when the Indians came, wanting to come in the house, she threw the beans out of the window and the Indians ran away.[75]

Related, several interviewees discuss white violence. As they refer to the attacks and murders of the tribes by the settlers, some point out that *Indianer* also fought back: "The Indians stole a horse. [...] They went after the Indians and found them. They shot one or two dead. But [...] the Indians shot him dead too."[76]

At the same time, several interviewees mention that their ancestors lived peacefully with the indigenous peoples and coexisted amicably. About one fifth of the interviewees emphasize the friendly relationship between the two groups. For example, a couple of interviewees report that peaceful coexistence prevailed and that both groups benefited from each other: "There were the Germans, the first German colony was in Industry. They were friendly to the Indians."[77] Furthermore, at least five interviewees mention the 1847 peace treaty, for example: "Yes, Meusebach went up […] four miles […] four miles to the west of San Saba. And [he] made peace with the Comanche Indians. And that is the only peace that was kept [...] in the United States."[78]

This suggests that the TGDP interviewees, like their 19th century ancestors discussed in Section 3.2, continue to differentiate between "friendly" and "hostile" Native Americans, but instead of linking the categorization to tribe affiliation, modern Texas Germans make these differentiations on a case by case basis, depending on the story at hand.

While many of the reminiscences shared in the TGDP are personal stories recalled by a single person, some stories achieve a kind of "legend" status, such

as the peace treaty or of the kidnapping and return of Herman Lehmann, which is discussed in more detail below. These more broadly known stories seem to play a larger role in the general Texas German history and identity.

In 1870, a band of Apaches kidnapped 10-year-old Herman and his younger brother Willie from their home on Squaw Creek, located between modern day Cherry Spring and Doss, northwest of Fredericksburg. As one Texas German speaker, who is distantly related to Lehmann, recounts,

> Herman was with the Indians for nine years, first with the Apaches and then with the Comanches. And a Comanche Chief, Quanah Parker [...] adopted him. [...] And strangely enough [....] [Herman] was found after nine years with the Indians on a reservation in Oklahoma. [...] [The person who found him] wanted to bring him back [to his family in Texas] but the Indian, he wanted—Indian Lehmann didn't want to go back. [...] But nevertheless, he went with the soldier. [...] When his mother saw him, she said "No, that is not my son." [...] [He was] dressed as a pure Indian and everything. But he recognized her. [...]. And the Indian then remembered that [...] he had a scar from an injury as a child. [...]. His sister said: "Mama, that is Herman. [...]" And then she knew that he was her son. [...] He had completely forgotten the [German] language. [...] But then later, Herman got married and sometimes he stayed with his family, and sometimes he went up to visit the Indians. He was torn between two worlds. Terrible.[79]

This excerpt is a highly interesting source for linguists and historians alike. While the speaker primarily uses the general term *Indianer*, they also refer to specific tribes, Apache and Comanche, which were central to Lehmann's story. It is unclear where they got the information from. It is possible that the speaker makes a distinction between Apaches and Comanches when recalling Lehmann's story simply because that is 'how the story is told' (i.e., these details are in the story as it has been passed down, and how they themselves heard it). On the other hand, the fact that the speaker made this distinction could potentially be influenced by the times the speaker grew up in, with a rise in tribal awareness, especially since the Red Power movement of the 1970s.

On a cognitive-linguistic level, the term "Indian" evokes a knowledge frame in which domains such as appearance ("dressed like a pure Indian and everything"), language ("had completely forgotten the [German] language"), and places ("Squaw Creek"; "reservation in Oklahoma") are mentioned

in explicit statements. This shows that the interviewee has a multifaceted concept of *Indianer*. At the same time, the speaker also uses *Indian* as a kind of title, "Indianer Lehmann," highlighting Lehmann's transformation and assimilation into Native American life, almost as if he had become a new person.[80] It could also reflect the dichotomy the speaker remarks on later, that Lehmann was split between two worlds (perhaps there was an "Indian Lehmann" and a "German Lehmann"), like two sides of the same coin.

This might reflect a positive use of the term "Indian," regardless by whom exactly, Lehmann himself or generations after. Interestingly, the very site where the Lehmann family lived was called Squaw Creek. "Squaw*"* is a derogatory term for a Native American woman or wife.[81] It is reflective of German-Indigenous contact because this location was likely given this name because of its proximity to Native American territory. Likewise, it is reflective of German-Anglo contact because it is a term that the Germans in Texas most likely borrowed from their Anglo-American neighbors.

If we delve further into the TGDA Online, we find several more (slightly different) recollections of Lehmann's story from distant family members and acquaintances:

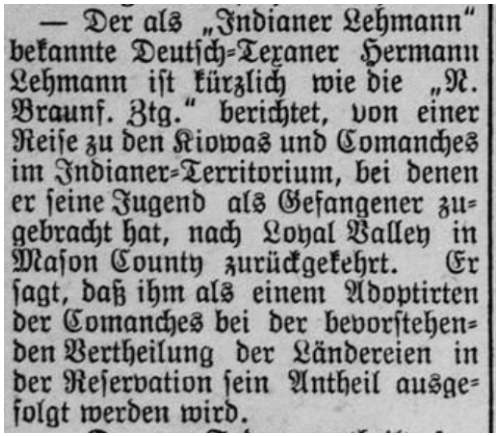
> Her uncle [i.e., the uncle of an acquaintance of the interviewee] was one of the last people who was captured by the Indians out there in the Hill Country. And he published a book—Herman Lehmann, you know, he got captured by the Indians. [...] And she still has his so-called "crown" and everything in her little room there.[82]

Here, the speaker uses both the German term *Indianer* ("war eine von die letzten, das gefang ist geworden von die Indianer") and the English term *Indian* ("ders got captured by die Indians"). It is possible that the speaker's use of *Indian* may have been sparked by their use of the English verb *captured,* which shortly precedes their use of *Indian*, activating their English lexicon. It also appears that Native-American-related vocabulary does not appear to be very active for this speaker as they use the English term "crown" rather than the more specific term *headdress* or *war bonnet*.[83]

On a cognitive-linguistic level, compared to the previous speaker, the domains of the knowledge frames evoked by the term "Indian" are similar, but less extensive and vaguer: appearance ("crown") and spaces ("out there in the Hill Country"). At the pragmatic level, it is also noteworthy that some intra-sentential code-switching takes place, i.e., the speaker switches from German to English within the sentence ("ders got captured by die Indians").

This may be an indication that they lacked vocabulary to express what they wanted to say. The exact function of the code-switching, however, is unclear. That being said, there is a short pause before the code-switching takes place, which could indicate that the interviewee's internal processes of language production are disturbed here (i.e., they were searching for the right word).

Further linguistic and historical research into Lehmann's story should also seek to make connections to other sources. Two examples for further inquiry could be comparisons of the TGDP interviews to his own writings and memoirs[84] as well as to German- and English-language newspapers. For instance, the *Freie Presse für Texas* reported on aspects of his experiences and reintegration in 1901, roughly twenty years after Lehmann had returned to the Fredericksburg area. The article indicates Lehmann's continued closeness with Native American life, while also referring to his time "as a prisoner" of the Native Americans.[85]



— Der als „Indianer Lehmann" bekannte Deutsch-Texaner Hermann Lehmann ist kürzlich wie die „N. Braunf. Ztg." berichtet, von einer Reise zu den Kiowas und Comanches im Indianer-Territorium, bei denen er seine Jugend als Gefangener zugebracht hat, nach Loyal Valley in Mason County zurückgekehrt. Er sagt, daß ihm als einem Adoptirten der Comanches bei der bevorstehenden Vertheilung der Ländereien in der Reservation sein Antheil ausgefolgt werden wird.

As reported by the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*, the German-Texan Herman Lehmann, known as "Indianer Lehmann," recently returned to Loyal Valley in Mason County from a trip to the Kioqas and Comanches in Indian Territory, where he spent his youth as a prisoner. He says that as a Comanche adoptee, he will be given his share in the upcoming distribution of lands on the reservation.

Figure 5: Robert Hanschke, *Freie Presse für Texas,* (San Antonio, Texas), February 4, 1901[86]

Likewise, a Comal County Fair advertisement in the *New Braunfels Herald* in 1928 suggests that his strong connection with Native Americans persisted for his entire life.[87] Even at the age of 70, Lehmann was a main attraction at the county fair, demonstrating Native American sports and dances, as the information under "Indian Exhibition" in Figure 6 suggests.

If one were to look at these materials through the lens of text types, the two newspaper reports from the *Freie Presse für Texas* (1903) and the *New Braunfels Herald* (1928) could be categorized as informative texts. Their primary function is to inform the reader, for instance, about Lehmann's trip back to the reservation or about the Comal County Fair. Accordingly, the

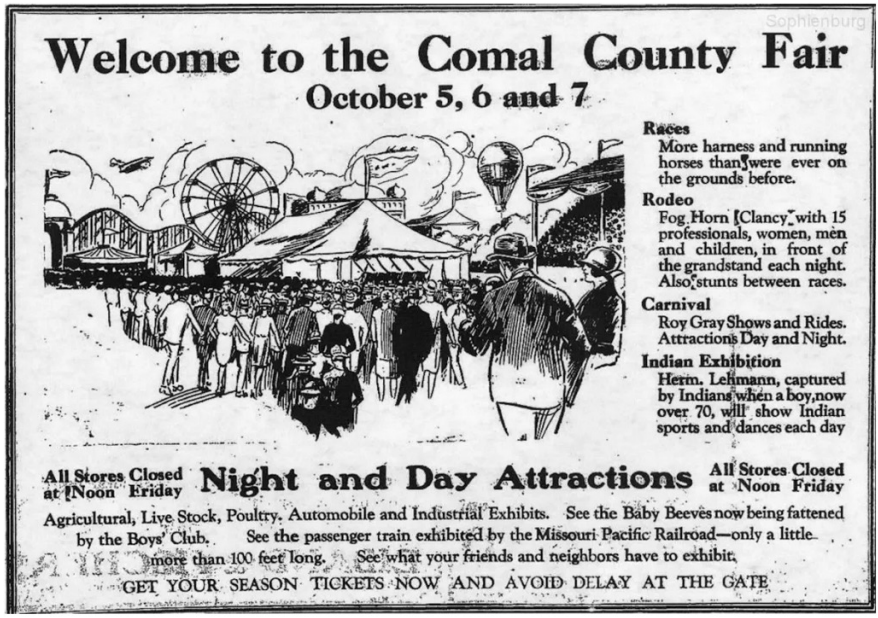


Figure 6: Comal County Fair advertisement, *New Braunfels Herald*, September 28, 1928[88]

in the 1903 article, the tribe ("Comanches") to which Lehmann returned is clearly named. In the 1928 article, on the other hand, the author decided that a territorial designation was not necessary, as the point is simply that Lehmann had learned Native American traditions and methods "from the source," to emphasize the advertised demonstrations' authenticity. The intended audience would presumably not be able to or care to differentiate between Comanche and Apache dances. Or, perhaps Lehmann demonstrated things from both traditions, and in order to save valuable advertising space, the author simply used the hypernym "Indian."

The transition from lived experience to commercialized (educational) show is common for many cultures, especially for Native American tribes.[89] Exploring this transition in Lehmann's life adds an ethnic perspective to further explore the idea of "playing Indian." As Deloria notes, "[p]laying Indian is a persistent tradition in American culture [...]. It is, however, a tradition with limitations. Not surprisingly, these cling tightly to the contours of power."[90] As several scholars have pointed out, the discourse around "the Indian" has been at the heart of defining and imagining U.S. identity. Over the last decade, research has been extended to how this played out abroad, especially in German-speaking Europe. Native Americans became a central part "of the German frame of reference for America [who] appear[ed] alternatively as cavalier, mystical children of nature, as freedom fighters against

colonial oppression, and as racially conscious elite soldiers engaged in a clash of cultures."[91]All of these were not "authentic" but (re)invented, racialized, and gendered images serving the needs of the people invoking them. Thus, analyzing Lehmann's life and the memory surrounding his life addresses a research gap by offering an ethnic and localized perspective.

Analyzing memories such as those around the Meusebach-Comanche Peace Treaty and the capture and release of Herman Lehmann provide fruitful entryways into investigating German-Indigenous relations in the Texas Hill Country over the span of three centuries. How have the retellings of the treaty and captive story changed over time? How does the language surrounding both stories compare to other (multilingual) reports about Native Americans in that area at the time? Are there any (written) records of these events from the Comanche/Apache perspective? More research is needed to support our brief, cursory analysis.

4 Conclusion and Outlook

We seek to inspire further, more elaborate research on Texas German history and language, regarding Texas German-Indigenous relations and beyond. In our conclusion, we reflect on potential avenues for future research as well as on benefits and challenges of interdisciplinary work.

By connecting and comparing written and oral sources such as letters, reports, maps, memoirs, poetry, musical drama, newspapers, and interviews, we gain a more comprehensive picture of the migrant perspective. In addition to making connections across genres, there are also opportunities to explore these themes through the lens of mediality (for example, audio recording vs. written text).

Likewise, there are plenty of opportunities to make comparisons across events, which exemplify Indigenous-European-settler contact. "American social and political policy toward Indians has been a two-hundred-year back-and-forth between assimilation and destruction."[92] As laid out above, since the 1820s, Texas Germans have followed this development, but also stand out in their relations with indigenous tribes. While some of the reasons for the decline in relations were outside of the control of Texas Germans (such as the death of the influential Comanche chiefs and peace advocates Santana and Mopechuopo), we should also pay attention to the collapse of the *Adelsverein* and the changing patterns of German settlement and hunting in the area.

Another fruitful approach might be to examine the experiences and stories of people from various ethnic backgrounds such as Mexicans or Czechs who lived with Native American tribes, as well as to explore other variables, such as age, gender, how long they lived with Native Americans, which tribe(s) they lived with, how they were treated when (and if) they returned

to their original communities and so forth.[93] Related, as already mentioned, including an indigenous perspective is paramount. For example, Lehmann's adoptive Comanche father, Quanah Parker, was also a child of mixed parentage (his mother Cynthia was captured by the Comanches as a child and later married his father, Chief Peta Nocona). Thus, delving into Lehmann's story from the perspective of his adoptive family and culture sheds light on the deep, generations-long contact between Comanches and white settlers.

Lastly, it would also be fruitful to explore how the use and discourse around *Indianer* has changed over time in German-speaking Texas circles, and how this compares to the use and discourse in Anglo-Texan circles as well as in German-speaking central Europe.[94] One of the things that makes investigating German-Indigenous relations in Texas interesting is that there is no standard Texas German definition of *Indianer*, and thus it is challenging to know whether the connotation of *Indianer* aligns more closely with German ideas of Indigenous peoples or with stereotypically Anglo-American ideas of "Indians," or whether the term has a different connotation somewhere in the middle. Notwithstanding, the Texas German perception of *Indianer* has expanded: in the TGDP interviews, indigenous people are also portrayed and categorized as victims, albeit rarely. This usage was not yet widespread in the 19th century and can be seen as the result of a process of reflection of U.S. society at large.

With respect to pinpointing the exact meaning of *Indianer* in the minds of Texas Germans, this task can be rather demanding because Texas Germans did not produce language-standardizing texts such as dictionaries. However, it might be worthwhile exploring how the term *Indianer* evolved in German dictionaries. After all, those traveling to Texas were interested in guidebooks and any other materials which may have helped them in their new home, such as dictionaries, maps, and letters from people who had already made the move. For example, Carl Naubert's 1883 *Langenscheidts Notwörterbücher* collected important information for emigration to the U.S., including key words, phrases, cultural concepts, and information about Native Americans. This *Notwörterbuch* was specifically aimed at "Germans going to America, or any foreigner there who understands German" and was intended to provide information about the "customs and habits that differ from those of other countries."[95] How did definitions and notions of *Indianer* travel across the Atlantic, and how did they change once people stayed in the U.S.?

Interdisciplinary cooperation is important in order to pursue a holistic approach that takes into account multiple perspectives. That being said, connecting historical and linguistic approaches has its difficulties. One of the challenges we faced was the wide difference in available previous research on our case study of Indigenous-German relations. While historians have been discussing Native Americans and the (white) discourse around them for

decades, linguists have barely scratched the surface in Texas German research. Thus, we did not start at the same place with respect to available previous research to pull from.[96]

In addition, the two disciplines have different jargons, and even when the jargon overlaps, the underlying concepts might not. For example, both historians and linguists are familiar with discourse analysis, but the methodology behind it might diverge.[97] As we were writing this paper, it became clear that we followed a slightly different argumentation structure and highlighted different examples. While both disciplines need a large range and number of sources to be able to build strong analysis, sources that might be particularly useful for historians might be of less interest to linguists and vice versa. This underscores the need for a wide variety of source materials to be made available in order to support interdisciplinary research.

In our view, one of the greatest benefits of interdisciplinary work that outweighs the above challenges is becoming aware of different perspectives, methods, and additional sources. In research on Texas German, linguists have primarily focused on using interview and speech recording data, while historians have primarily used written sources. Using both spoken and written sources broadens and deepens the kinds of research possible. For example, from a linguistic perspective, there are audio recordings starting around the 1960s. In order to gain a better understanding of the changes that occurred within Texas German in its first one hundred years of existence, written records are indispensable. From a historical perspective, if one is interested in how certain stories are (dis)remembered and passed down, it is very helpful to have access to oral histories.

Furthermore, a wide variety of materials relevant to a particular question can be hidden in plain sight, just in different fields. For example, if someone was interested in looking at the words people use, how they use them, and the connotations that come with them, both linguists and historians have literature pertaining to this: James Merrell discusses terms used in the context of Native American studies scholarship and how biases can be hidden in common terminology such as *settler* and *wilderness*.[98] From a linguistic perspective, it would be possible to construct a componential analysis, which seeks to break down the semantics of words into individual features (for example, *Indianer* are [+living in North America] [-civilized], etc.).[99] It would also be possible to look at the discussions around *Indianer* from the perspective of conceptual metaphors, which can be used to explore how metaphors "structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do."[100] All of these approaches could be used synchronically (at a single point in time) or diachronically (over a particular stretch of time) and would provide insights into what is associated with the concept of *Indianer* and how that structures and colors our discourse.[101]

Last but not least, another example of overlapping interests in the two disciplines can be seen in discussions around differentiation by particular groups such as Apache and Comanche rather than lumping them together under the umbrella terms "Native Americans" or "Indians." From a linguistic perspective, it could be interesting to apply approaches inspired by perceptual dialectology, which looks at how non-linguists perceive variation in language, and use it to look at how people perceive variation within ethnic groups, for example, if, how, and when people differentiate between Native American groups, and the associations they have for them. It is a common finding that people tend to differentiate more between groups they are more familiar with, and tend to make more generalizations across groups they are less familiar with and have less contact with.

As mentioned in Section 2, one of the challenges of researching Texas German history, culture, and language is that there are so many different sources across dozens of large and small institutions, as well as owned by private individuals. In an effort to preserve the latter, TGDP members have scanned hundreds of Texas German family letters, diaries, and other hand-written notes from Texas Germans over the last six years. Going forward (and given the needed funds and personnel), the TGDP plans on further collecting and digitizing these materials.[102]

Connecting information from the TGDP's oral history interviews with historical Texas German documents allows us to trace the dynamics of the migration and assimilation process, in particular with regard to ethnic memory cultures and the historical development of certain linguistic features of present-day Texas German. Ideally, we envision a transdisciplinary digital archive, which would allow researchers access to a wide variety of primary sources on the Texas German experience. Besides the digitized documents, such a website could also feature short contextualizing essays, work by (under)graduate students, and lesson plans with selected sample documents highlighting how the collection can be used in teaching.[103]

At the same time, we need to be aware that different disciplines require different information, such as transcriptions, linguistic annotations, translations, and subject/topic tagging. Transcriptions can be particularly challenging, as many documents are handwritten in a script that has not been widely taught for almost 100 years. This can only be done as a collaborative endeavor, among scholars, with other institutions, and with citizen scientists.

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Notes

1. We would like to express our gratitude to James Kearney and Patrick Wolf-Farré for providing feedback on our first draft. Kearney, in particular, has provided invaluable advice on what he has arguably rightly called "one of the most dramatic immigration stories in all North America in the 19th century" (personal correspondence July 2024).

2. The focus here is on written and oral sources. Please note that Texas Germans also left behind a visible legacy of, for instance, architecture, art, and food traditions.

3. "Father of German immigration to Texas" is engraved on his tombstone (Hugh E. Meredith, "Ernst, Johann Friedrich," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed July 2, 2024, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ernst-johann-friedrich).

4. By following the guidelines of the *National Museum of the American Indian*, we are using the terms Native American, American Indian, and Indigenous interchangeably (https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/faq/did-you-know, accessed July 2, 2024). Whenever possible, we use the tribal name.

5. The *Mainzer Adelsverein* was also known as the *Mainzer Verein*, the *Texas-Verein*, and the *Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas* ('Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas'). For more information, see Rudolph Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930); Louis E. Brister "Adelsverein," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 18, 2024, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/adelsverein.

6. Terry G. Jordan "Germans," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/germans.

7. Marcus Nicolini, *Deutsch in Texas* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 42; Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1977), as cited by Christa Schwartzkopff, *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten. Teil III: German Americans: Die sprachliche Assimilation der Deutschen in Wisconsin* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden, 1987), 78. For more information on the influence of anti-German sentiments on language, see Joseph C. Salmons "Issues in Texas German Language Maintenance," *Monatshefte* 75, (1983): 187–196; Hans C. Boas, *The Life and Death of Texas German* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009). Other factors contributing to the decline of German in Texas include greater mobility due to better roads built from the 1930s onwards and in- and out-migration of English and German speakers in the areas settled by German immigrants (see Joseph C. Salmons and Felecia A. Lucht, "Standard German in Texas," in *Studies in Contact Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Glenn G. Gilbert,* eds. Linda L. Thornburg and Janet M. Fuller (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 167–188; Boas and Marc Pierce, "Texas German," in *North American Varieties of German,* ed. Mark L. Louden and William D. Keel, Yearbook of German American Studies Supplemental Issue, vol. 6 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 2025): 159-90.

8. Texas German is particularly interesting because it is a unique new world dialect that is different from any other extraterritorial variety of German in the world. It is the result of speakers of different European dialects of German brought to Texas in the 19th century interacting with each other over multiple generations, resulting

in a unique mixture of German dialectal features and regional variation, together with a significant influence from English affecting the vocabulary and structure of Texas German. Note that Texas German is not a single, homogenous dialect—it is an umbrella term for a range of different German varieties spoken by descendants of German-speaking immigrants in Texas. For more details, see Glenn Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1972); Boas, "Texas German Dialect," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, Vol. 3., ed. Thomas Adam (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 1029–1035; Boas and Matthias Fingerhuth, "'I am proud of my language but I speak it less and less!' – Der Einfluss von Spracheinstellungen und Sprachgebrauch auf den Spracherhalt von Heritage-Sprechern des Texasdeutschen," *Linguistische Berichte* 249 (2017): 95–121; Boas 2009. The drastic drop in numbers of Texas German speakers over the past few years is largely due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which led to many elderly speakers passing away.

9. https://txarchives.org.

10. Terry G. Jordan, "The German Element in Texas: An Overview," *Rice Institute Pamphlet - Rice University Studies* 63 (July 1977): 3.

11. Terry G. Jordan, "The German Settlement of Texas after 1865," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73 (October 1969): 200.

12. https://texashistory.unt.edu.

13. See the *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* research guide to "German American Resources," https://briscoecenter.org/research/online-reference-tools/subject-guides/german-american-resources.

14. The "Archiv des Vereins zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas," which accounts for most, but not all, of the SBA, is housed at Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Center. The center also has the "Friedrich Armand Strubberg collection." Another portion of the original documents is held at the *Dolph Briscoe Center for American History* (UT Austin). Typewritten transcripts and a comprehensive index of the SBA are available at the Dolph Briscoe Center, the Texas State Library and Archives (Austin), and the Sophienburg Archives (New Braunfels). These transcripts and the index are much more accessible than the original handwritten documents. Moreover, related materials are available at institutions such as the Texas General Land Office (GLO) Archives and Records (Austin) and Southern Methodist University (Dallas). Since the *Adelsverein* was trying to satisfy the terms of a contract with first the Republic of Texas and then the State of Texas, it was necessary to document what they had accomplished. The result is that the GLO houses an extraordinary amount of detailed information about the immigrants introduced by the society.

15. See https://www.auswandererbriefe.de; https://germanletters.org; https://www.uni-erfurt.de/forschungsbibliothek-gotha/sammlungen/handschriften-und-nachlaesse/auswandererbriefe. Note that analyzing historical letters has the added advantage of giving a more complete picture of all types of members of society (not just educated men), including women, children, less educated, and less wealthy people. For more information, see Stephan Elspaß, *Sprachgeschichte von unten: Untersuchungen zum geschriebenen Alltagsdeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 263 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2005).

16. Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, *Was haben die deutschen Einwanderer und deren Nachkommen in Texas auf dem Gebiet der Dichtkunst geleistet?*, MA Thesis (Austin, University of Texas at Austin, 1922); Metzenthin-Raunick, "A Survey of German Literature in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (October 1929): 134–159; Metzenthin-Raunick, *Deutsche Schriften in Texas*, 2 Volumes (San Antonio: Freie Presse für Texas, 1935, 1936).

17. When Boas began his position as Assistant Professor of Germanic Linguistics at UT Austin in 2001, he first learned of the existence of Texas German, that it was in the process of dying out, and that there had been no significant research conducted on the dialect since the 1970s. The goal of the TGDP interviews is to elicit spoken Texas German (and some English) and to gather biographical information about the speakers' lives. More specifically, TGDP members conduct several types of interviews: (1) sociolinguistic (oral history) interviews in Texas German, (2) translations of English words, phrases, and sentences into Texas German, and (3) biographical interviews (in English), which elicit relevant metadata information about each speaker, such as their language use and attitudes. See Boas 2021. The translations are based on Fred Eikel, "The New Braunfels German Dialect," PhD diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1954); Glenn G. Gilbert, *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972); Susan G. Guion, "The Death of Texas German in Gillespie County," in *Language Contact across the North Atlantic*, ed. Per Sture Ureland and Iaian Clarkson (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), 443–463.

18. https://tgdp.org/dialect-archive. Boas, Pierce, Karen Roesch, Guido Halder, and Hunter Weilbacher, "The Texas German Dialect Archive: A Multimedia Resource for Research, Teaching, and Outreach," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 22 (September 2010): 277–296; Boas, "Zwei Jahrzehnte digitale Dokumentation und Erforschung eines aussterbenden deutschen Auswandererdialekts: Das Texas German Dialect Project (2001-2021)," *Zeitschrift für deutschsprachige Kultur und Literatur* 30 (2021): 229–268.

19. About one third of the oral history audio is currently available online. It is only made public once it has been transcribed and transcription is ongoing. Biographical interviews are not publicly available.

20. See Boas 2009; Roesch, *Language Maintenance and Language Death: The Decline of Texas Alsatian* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011); Pierce, Boas, and Roesch, "The History of Front Rounded Vowels in New Braunfels German," in *Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*, ed. Janne Bondi Johannessen and Salmons (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2015), 118–131; Boas and Fingerhuth 2017.

21. See William Labov, *Principles of Language Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Salmons and Lucht; Boas and Katrin Fuchs, "Zum Einfluss des Standarddeutschen auf das Texasdeutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Empirische und methodologische Probleme," in *Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft um 2020: Variation – Norm – Identitäten*, ed. Alexandra Lenz and Albrecht Plewnia (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 283–304. Copies of Texas German recordings from the 1960s were donated to the TGDP by Glenn Gilbert. These recordings can be used to help paint a picture of what Texas German sounded like 40+ years before

the earliest TGDP recordings.

22. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America: A Concise History* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), esp. 48, 64–65. Unfortunately, reflecting the scarce scholarship, Kamphoefner does not deal with German-Indigenous relationships in his overview on Germans in the U.S. On letters, see also Ursula Lehmkuhl, "Auswandererbriefe als kommunikative Brücken. Wege und Formen der (Selbst-)Verständigung in transatlantischen Netzwerken," *Zeitschrift für Mitteldeutsche Familiengeschichte* 52 (April/June 2011): 65–84; Lehmkuhl, "Reading Immigrant Letters and Bridging the Micro-Macro Divide," *Studia Migracyjne* 40/1 (2014): 9–30; Lehmkuhl, "Das Genre Auswandererbrief," in *De Gruyter-Handbuch Brief*, 2 vols, ed. Marie Isabel Matthews-Schlinzig, Jörg Schuster, Gesa Steinbrink and Jochen Strobel (De Gruyter, 2020), 639–653.

23. Detlef Dunt's *Reise nach Texas* (Bremen: Viehe, 1834), 4–16. Dunt's book is available in translation: *Journey to Texas, 1833*. Translated by James Kearney. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017.

24. Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham, *Comanches, Captives, and Germans: Wilhelm Friedrich's Drawings from the Texas Frontier* (Kerrville: State House Press, 2023), 10. While gaining a strong foothold in the region may not have been the *Adelvserein's* goal from the onset—different *Adelsverein* members had different ideas for how to approach settlement in Texas—it became their main goal within several years. The terms of the grant were to survey and locate 1,000 families. The grant was issued in 1842, renewed in 1843, and the deadline was extended in 1844. That year, Fisher sold an interest in the contract to the *Adelsverein.* In the next year, Fisher and Miller sold their rights in the grant to the society (Rudolph Biesele, "Fisher-Miller Land Grant," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 30, 2024, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/fisher-miller-land-grant).

25. Elberfeld, Germany, University of Texas at Arlington Library, *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed May 20, 2024, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth50370. Native American groups named on the map are additionally highlighted for readability. In the original, "Deutsche Colonie" refers to the Fisher-Miller land grant. Please note that the locations of Fredericksburg and New Braunfels are not entirely accurate on the map, the grant was about 40 miles north of Fredericksburg.

26. Julia A. Brookins, "Immigrant Settlers and Frontier Citizens: German Texas in the American Empire, 1835-1890," PhD diss. (The University of Chicago, 2013), vi. For a chronological narrative of fifty years of continuous frontier conflict, see Gary Clayton Anderson, *The Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land 1820-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

27. This index was not part of the original SBA. It was created by Biesele and his team as part of their transcription efforts in the 1930s.

28. A report of what was said at the treaty negotiations is available in vol. 40 of the SBA, as well as an extensive report by Lt Bené of the trip to San Saba to meet with the Comanches and conclude a treaty. Unfortunately, Meusebach did not leave behind extensive records. The only available material is his "Answer to Interrogatories" (1893), https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Answer_to_Interrogatories. Ferdinand Roemer

left a detailed report in *Texas. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Auswanderung und die physischen Verhältnisse des Landes nach eigener Beobachtung* (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1849), 319–329, with additional observations about Comanches, 330–346 (translated into English by Oswald Mueller, *Texas: With Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country, Described through Personal Observation* (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935, reprinted in 1983)). There is also a report 50 years after the event in the *Fest-Ausgabe zum 50-jährigen Jubiläum der Gründung der Stadt Friedrichsburg* (Fredericksburg: Robert Penniger, 1896), which was also published in translation by Charles L. Wisseman Sr. as *Fredericksburg, Texas … The First Fifty Years* (Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Publishing Co., 1971). On Meusebach, see Biesele; Irene M. King, *John O. Meusebach, German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967).

29. The treaty is accessible online. The original is exhibited at the local *Pioneer Museum*. In 1970, the original document was returned from Europe by Irene Marschall King and Cornelia Marschall Smith, granddaughters of Meusebach (Otto W. Tetzlaff, "Meusebach-Comanche Treaty," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed December 9, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/meusebach-comanche-treaty).

30. Carl Solms-Braunfels, *Texas. Geschildert in Beziehung auf seine geographischen, socialen und übrigen Verhältnisse mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die deutsche Colonisation. Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann David Sauerländer, 1846). See also Brister.

31. Karl Arndt and May Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961). The German-language newspapers' readership and ethnicity of content began to decline in the 1890s as mass migration ended (see Kamphoefner 2021, 129–133).

32. Boas 2009, 49; see also Salmons and Lucht 2007.

33. Fritz Goldbeck, *Seit Fünfzig Jahren. Prosa in Versen. Skizzen aus der Zeit der ersten deutschen Einwanderung in West-Texas in den Jahren 1844, 1845, und 1846*, part 2 (San Antonio: John Schott, 1896), 70–71. Another prominent artistic example is the work of Friedrich Richard Petri, who painted and sketched portraits of Native American life (see William W. Newcomb Jr. "Petri, Friedrich Richard," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed June 18, 2024, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/petri-friedrich-richard); Newcomb Jr., "German Artist on the Pedernales," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (October 1978): 172; Newcomb, Jr. and Mary S. Carnahan, *German Artist on the Texas Frontier: Friedrich Richard Petri* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978). On the more fictional side, the novels by former colonial director of Fredericksburg, Friedrich Strubberg, stand out. After a scandal, he returned to Germany and wrote several historical novels based on his experiences in Texas dealing with the colony's relations with the Comanches. One of his semi-autobiographical novels is *Friedrichsburg* (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1867), which has been edited and translated by Kearney (Friedrich Armand Strubberg, *Friedrichsburg: A Novel* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012]). As Kearney points out, his work suggests his "sympathy for the existential plight of American Indians," recognizing their unjust treatment. Strubberg became a best-selling author in the

German lands. In fact, some have claimed that Strubberg's *Friederichsburg* was one of the first 'westerns' ever written, and it has been argued to have been an inspiration for Karl May's famous works.

34. "Mathilda Doebbler Guen Wagner," in: Crystal Sasse Ragsdale (ed.), *The Golden Free Land: The Reminiscences and Letters of Women on an American Frontier* (Austin: Landmark Press, 1976): 156–188. Ragsdale included an excerpt from Winifred Schuetze Cade, *I think back: being the memoirs of Grandma Gruen* (San Antonio: Winifred Cade, 1937).

35. 48 Texas German speakers mention *Indianer*, 16 mention *Indian*(*s*), 8 mention *Comanche*(*s*), 4 mention *Apaches*. These numbers are likely to grow as more audio files are transcribed (see footnote 19).

36. See also Herman Lehmann, *A New Look at Nine Years with the Indians 1870-1879,* ed. John Marvin Hunter (San Antonio: Lebco Graphics, 1985), as well as A.C. Greene, *The Last Captive: The Lives of Herman Lehmann* (Austin: Encino Press, 1972). The Sophienburg Museum and Archives in New Braunfels has posted several blog posts about Lehmann: Keva Hoffmann Boardman, "Mom's cousin was an Indian captive," *Blog: Around the Sophienburg*, https://sophienburg.com/moms-cousin-was-an-indian-captive; Hoffmann Boardman., "The Herman Lehmann Show," *Blog: Around the Sophienburg*, https://sophienburg.com/the-herman-lehmann-show. See also Hoffmann Boardman, "Herman Lehmann, mother's cousin, was an Indian captive," *New Braunfels Herald-Zeitung* (August 4, 2019), https://herald-zeitung.com/life/herman-lehmann-mother-s-cousin-was-an-indian-captive/article_1fad663e-b566-11e9-a0ba-8bc40700cb3e.html; Phil Houseal, "Esther Lehmann: Herman's Story" (Full House Productions, January 8, 2014 and February 17, 2016); Esther Lehmann and Gerda Lehmann Kothman, "Reflections" #292, Sophienburg Museum & Archives.

37. See Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, Susanne Zantop (eds.), *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Frank Usbeck, "Clash of Cultures? 'Noble Savages' in Germany and America," in *Tecumseh, Keokuk, Black Hawk. Portrayals of Native Americans in Times of Treaties and Removal*, ed. Iris Edenheiser and Astrid Nielsen (Stuttgart, Dresden: Arnoldsche, 2013); H. Glenn Penny, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and American Indians since 1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

38. In 1927, Rudolph Biesele produced one of the first scholarly works on German-Indigenous relations ("The Relations between the German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 31 (October 1927): 116–129). It took nearly 40 years for the next publication (Kenneth F. Neighbors, "The German Comanche Treaty of 1847," *Texana* 2/2 [1964]) and another 30 years for revisions (Klaus Hoerig, "The Relationship between German Immigrants and the Native Peoples of West Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 97/3 [1991]: 423-450; Brian J. Boeck, "'They Contributed Very Much to the Success of Our Colony': A New Source on Early Relations between Germans and Indians at Fredericksburg, Texas," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 105 [July 2001]: 81–91). John H. Brown's *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin: L. E.

Daniell, 1880) and the online *Handbook of Texas* (written in the mid-1970s) provide encyclopedia entries. The most recent works have been published by Gelo and Wickham (see footnotes 39-41), Kearney 2012, and Matthew Babcock, "German-Comanche Diplomacy on the Texas Frontier: Assessing the Meusebach-Comanche Treaty of 1847," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 56 (2021): 57–71.

39. Gelo and Wickham 2023.

40. Gelo and Wickham, *The German Texas Frontier in 1853: Ferdinand Lindheimer's Newspaper Accounts of the Environment, Gold, and Indians* (Denton: UNT Press, 2024).

41. Gelo and Wickham, *Comanches and Germans on the Texas Frontier: The Ethnology of Heinrich Berghaus* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018). Berghaus' article is based on lexical data collected by the Texas German settler Emil Kriewitz, who compiled a list of Comanche words with their German (and English) translations. Kriewitz had immigrated with the *Adelsverein* and lived with Comanches for three months. Fifty years later, Kriewitz wrote "Erinnerungen aus der Indianerzeit," a brief description of interactions between Germans and Indians in the Hill Country, in the *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896.

42. For an overview of the Comanche nation, see Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2009).

43. See Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Dialect Spoken in Kendall and Gillespie Counties, Texas," PhD diss. (Harvard University, 1963); Boas and Pierce "Lexical Developments in Texas German," in *Studies on German Language Islands* ed. Michael Putnam (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 129–150; Ryan Dux "Classifying Language Contact Phenomena: English Verbs in Texas German," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* (December 2017): 379–430.

44. Notably, the Algonquians did not live in Texas, so this was probably an earlier borrowing from contact with Anglos in the U.S.

45. This is probably also true in the other direction as well since Native Americans did not borrow many German words either. For example, Lyle Campbell states that "Native American languages have borrowed words from a number of European languages," and then lists Basque, Russian, Spanish, Dutch, French, Swedish, and English, but not German (*The Indigenous Languages of the Americas: History and Classification* [Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2024], 467).

46. Nancy Shoemaker, "2019 Presidential Address: Sameness and Difference in Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 64/4 (2020): 537–549, 540.

47. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University, 1998), 4.

48. See Usbeck 2013; Penny 2013. Frank Usbeck analyzes the discourse in German-speaking Europe where e.g., Germanic tribes were stylized as "the Indians of Europe," as Teutons resisting the Roman colonizer. This rhetoric was continued during the two World Wars (Germans as the subject of foreign conquerors / Germans as "Naturvolk"). Likewise, Glenn Penny traces the origins of the fascination for Indian life in the transatlantic world of German cultures in the 19th century.

49. "Weiter höher an den Flüssen hinauf sind schöne Gegenden und es ist dort viel Silber gefunden worden, es kommt nur darauf an, einen Indianerstamm zu vertreiben, welcher einzelne Besuche [sic!] zurück weißt. Mehre Indianer=Stämme,

ziehen friedlich umher wie die Cosacken und jagen Hirsche, wovon sie die Felle verkaufen" (Dunt 1834, 13). Originals in German, the following translations were done by the authors.

50. This letter could be classified as a prompt text according to Ernst Große's classification of texts with regard to their communicative function: normative, contact, group-indicating, poetic, self-expressive, prompt, fact-informative, and transitional class texts (see Klaus Brinker, Hermann Cölfen, Steffen Pappert, *Linguistische Textanalyse: Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden* [Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2014]; Ernst Ulrich Große, *Text und Kommunikation: Eine linguistische Einführung in die Funktionen der Texte* [Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1976]).

51. This letter could be classified as an informative text according to Große (1976).

52. Solms-Braunfels 1846, 29–31. This section also includes information about Mexicans, African Americans (enslaved people at the time), and Anglo-Americans.

53. "freundlich" and "feindlich" (Solms-Braunfels 1846, 29). Shortly after, another text by an unknown author added a third category, "semi-civilized" to the dichotomy of "friendly" vs. "hostile." This category included those tribes, who practiced agriculture and were firmly settled, such as the Shawnees ("gehören zu den halbcivilisirten, in Arkansas in großen Ortschaften angesiedelten und Ackerbau treibenden Indianern"), "Texas. Expedition der deutschen Kolonisten nach der San-Saba in Texas, im Januar 1847," *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 101 (Berlin, 24 Aug 1847), 401–402 and *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* 102 (Berlin, 26 Aug 1847), 406–407. This article was later reprinted as "Meusebach's Zug in das Gebiet der Comanche-Indianer im Januar 1847," *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896, 86–107.

54. "Wenn sie eine Ansiedelung mit ihrem angenehmen Besuche erfreuen, so beweisen sie großes Talent im Betteln, und, je mehr man ihnen gibt, desto mehr begehren sie" (Solms-Braunfels 1846, 30) / "Der Indianer gibt es noch ziemlich viele Stämme, die theils feindlich in den Gebirgen des Westens umherziehen, theils freundlich genannt werden, indem sie sich der Regierung unterworfen haben, innerhalb der Grenzen der Ansiedelungen nomadisiren und sich des Schutzes der Gesetze erfreuen" (29) / "Ihre freundlichen Gesinnungen aber bethätigen sie dadurch, daß sie nur da stehlen und nur dann einzelne Reisende morden und plündern, wenn sie sicher sind, daß es Niemand sieht und sie den Frevel auf einen feindlichen Stamm schieben können. Von diesen letzteren sind die gefährlichsten und zahlreichsten die *Comanches*, welche noch bis an 10,000 berittener Krieger mustern sollen" (30).

55. The late 18th century and the 19th centuries in Europe were marked by a heightened interest in gathering and organizing (natural) knowledge, which manifested across a variety of disciplines. On the evolution of the German educational ideal during the 19th century, cp. Bas van Bommel, "'Bildung' and 'Wissenschaft': The 19th-Century German Ideal of Scientific Education," *European History Online* (2015), last accessed April 25, 2025, https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/germanophilia-and-germanophobia/bas-van-bommel-between-bildung-and-wissenschaft-the-19th-century-german-ideal-of-scientific-education.

56. Moreover, Solms-Braunfels devoted a section to the external appearance of the Native Americans. He emphasized their skin color as a special characteristic, from

which the synonymous designation as "Rothaut" results: "The Indian is dark brown in color, about as dark as unpolished walnut wood. But he finds this color nasty, so he rubs his whole body with a clay-like, red earth, which is found on most Texas rivers; hence the name 'redskins'" ("Der Indianer ist von dunkelbrauner Hautfarbe, etwas so dunkel wie unpoliertes Nußbaumöl. Der er diese Farbe aber garstig findet, so reibt er sich den ganzen Körper mit einem lehmartigen, rothen Erde ein, welche man an den meisten Flüssen von Texas findet; daher kömmt wohl die Benennung, Rothhäute') (p. 31).

57. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing off in Early America* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2000).

58. Hoerig 1991, 433.

59. Babcock 2021, 58; see also Boeck 2001. Previously, Meusebach had started regular expeditions into Indian-controlled lands—after all, the Fisher-Miller land grant specified that the land had to be at least partially settled and surveyed by the fall of 1847. He helped to solidify Comanches' trust in the German settlers through his hospitality, a genuine interest in their culture, and peaceful acts of confidence (e.g., he let all rifles be discharged). The treaty was also part of the peace initiative of President Sam Houston (Neighbors 1964). Other factors for the success of the peace treaty were the logistical support by the Nassau Plantation as well as the guidance by the Delaware and Shawnee Indians (see Kearney 2012, 2). In addition, the less intrusive layout of Fredericksburg helped relations (the German village-type settlement pattern was more compact). Also, Germans were not good hunters at first, and trade benefited both sides (Hoerig, 433–436).

60. The 1847 treaty did not save the Penateka from onslaught. By 1855, they had been forced to withdraw towards the Colorado and Brazos headwaters and by 1859, many had been removed to Indian territory in southwest Oklahoma (Gelo and Wickham 2023, 120). "Between 1776 and 1887, the United States seized over 1.5 billion acres from America's indigenous people by treaty and executive order" (Claudio Saunt, interactive map, https://hub.arcgis.com/maps/bc9ff78c9d1d440892fe72cd0d110296/about). See also his *West of the Revolution: An Uncommon History of 1776* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2015).

61. As part of the treaty agreement, Emil Kriewitz served as an in-house intermediary living among the Comanches. To date, his work "Erinnerungen aus der Indianerzeit" (in *Fest-Ausgabe* 1896) has not been analyzed. Furthermore, besides Germans and Comanches, Anglo-Americans and Mexicans were also part of a group of 45, who set out from Fredericksburg in early 1847 and need to be acknowledged.

62. "Die Indianer beunruhigen allerdings die Grenzen gegen Mexiko u. nach Norden, hier aber, wo einst ihr Hauptjagdgebiet war, leben wir so sicher vor ihnen als ihr in Emmendingen unter grossgherzgl badisch-Bürgermeister-berblingschem Schutze". Eisenlohr's letter could also be considered a prompt and a contact text, according to Große. Since *Indianer* could be perceived as a potential threat by the addressees of Ernst's and Eisenlohr's letters, the authors tried to present a rather neutral or positive image to act in accordance with the function of the text (invitation to emigrate). The addressees should not be frightened, but rather motivated to come to Texas.

63. "Es scheint, dass man die Indianer gar nicht ganz los werden will [...] denn es haben gar Viele bei der Indianerfurcht ihren Vortheil. [...] [Die Ranger verdienen] ein schönes Geld [...], ohne Indianer braucht man aber kein Ranger, also liegt es in dieser [sic!] Interesse, dass wenigstens die Indianerfurcht erhalten wird. Sodann braucht die Regierung für die Indianertruppen & Pferde sehr viel Lebensmittel, wodurch der Farmer seine Produkte immer zu guten Preisen an die Regierung [...] verkaufen kann. Braucht die Regierung keine Ranger mehr, so braucht sie kein Korn mehr u. der Farmer kann es nicht mehr so gut verwerthen. [...] Ich habe noch gar keinen Indianer zu Gesicht bekommen". Eisenlohr does, however, mention that outside of the town, the situation might have been different: "Wer nun das Farmen im Grossen treiben will, darf nicht hier in der Stadt oder ihrer nächsten Umgebung weilen. Hier herum sind lauter kleinere Farmen, aber 8–10 Meilen von der Stadt weg ist Land genug zu haben, namentlich schönes die Guadalupe hinauf. Allzuweit in noch gänzlich unbewohnte Gegenden zu ziehen, ist aber auch nicht rathsam wegen der Indianer, u. der Schwierigkeit des Marktes".

64. See *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. 13. Deutscher Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati (1881), 77–78.

65. English translation available: Hermann Seele, *Travels in Texas*, translated by Theodore Gish. Austin: Nortex Press, 1985. Gish added extensive footnotes, stating that he could not identify the "Indian Long Grass Fight," and indicated that this might be a fictional battle (Seele 1985, 109). A 1986 recording of this musical is available at The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

66. "Rothäute" / "Wilden" / "rothen Schakale" / "Hurrah! los auf die rothen Schakale! / Wir schlachten all den Geiern zum Mahle. Hurrah!" / "Seht ihr dort drüben Rauch aufsteigen, / Wie Nebel ziehn, das ist ein Zeichen / das die Rothäute dort geborgen / Sich sicher glauben. Aber morgen / Werd', wie Rauch, wenn er verschwunden, / Von ihnen keine Spur mehr funden!" / "Auf eine grünende Prärie / Die von dem Bergen blau umkränzt / Im Morgenschimmer lieblich glänzt."

67. "Ausrottung der Büffel". Imagery of Native Americans in Texas German poetry was a tradition that continued for decades, see e.g., Gilbert J. Jordan's "Texas, 1845," *German Texan Heritage Society Newsletter* 2 (March 1980), 25.

68. "Einst lebte hier der rothe Mann, / Mit Weib und Kind zog er heran, / Er folgte auch der Büffelspur, / Doch seine Nahrung sucht er nur. / Wie lange wird es währen, dann / Verschwunden ist der rothe Mann / Und mit ihm auch das letzte Wild, / Was heut noch seinen Hunger stillt. / Im Ueberfluß gab die Natur, / Vernichtet wird es durch Cultur, / Die schreitet fort mit festem Schritt, / Nimmt Wälder, Wild und Fluren mit." This excerpt represents three of eight total stanzas (Goldbeck 1895, 70–71).

69. It was not until the late 1960s that the U.S. government changed its policy, allowing tribal self-determination. On how aspects of the U.S. policy towards Native Americans classify as "genocide," see Jeffrey Ostler, "Genocide and American Indian History," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (March 2015), last accessed April 25, 2025, https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-3. In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed, which recognized Indian tribes as sovereign

nations with the federal government. In 1975, the Indian Self-Determination Act sought to restore self-government. See George Pierre Castile, *Taking Charge: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1975–1993* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015).

70. Other frequently mentioned stories are those of peace turned sour, conflict, and retaliations involving stealing and murder.

71. Moritz Tiling, *History of the German Element in Texas, from 1820-1850* (Houston: Moritz Tiling, 1913), 104.

72. "Mathilda Doebbler Gruen Wagner," in Ragsdale 1976, 162.

73. The term *Indianer* is used in 67 of the 495 interviews. About one third of these use it in slightly vaguer contexts (e.g., describing foods as 'Indian', places that Native Americans lived and named). Some interviews also mention the resettlement of Native Americans to Oklahoma and their disappearance. To see the interviews mentioning the term *Indianer*, the interested reader can go to www.tgdp.org/dialect-archive.

74. "die haben mein Urgroßvater ... tot gemacht und hamm gescalped" (TGDA 1-398-2-2-a).

75. "Und die einmal die Indianer, sie hat sie gesehen, und die hat die Kinder in Haus genomm, hat die Tür zugemacht, hat die den große Topf of Bohnen, wo sie kochen, an kochen wah-…, und wenn die Indiane kam, die wollten in Haus gekommen und die hat die Bohnen rausgeschmissen und die Indianer sind...gelaufen" (TGDA 7-313-1-12-a).

76. "Die Indianer ham so ne Pferd gestohl. [...] Sind sie Indianer nach. Haben sie gefunden. Un ... der hat e ein oder zwei dot geschossen un aber die hamm den auch dot geschossen so" (TGDA 115-709-1-18-a).

77. "Da war ne Deutsche da die erste deutsche Colony war in Industry. Un die haben - waren freundlich mit die Indianer" (TGDA 9-122-5-13-a).

78. "Ja, der Meusebach iss raufgegange nach […] four miles [...] vier Meile westlich von San Saba. Un hat Frieden gemacht mit die Comanche Indianer. Un das iss der einsiste Frieden, was gehalten worden ... ist in die Vereinigten Staat" (TGDA 1-57-1-8-a).

79. "Wo die Familie da on Squaw Creek wohnte ... kamen ein Tag ein Bande Apaches und haben die zwei Jungens [Herman und Willie] mitgenommen. Nach ein paar, zwei, drei Wochen is der jingere entkommen ... der Willie. Aber der Herman war neun Jahr bei den Indianern, erst mit die Apaches dann bei den Comanche. Und dieser Comanche, Chief, Chef … Quana Parker […] hat den adoptiert. […] Und durch merkwerdiger Weise […] ist dieser Sohn nach neun Jahre gefunden worden bei den Indianern auf ein reservation in Oklahoma. […] Er wollte ihn dann zurickbringen aber der Indianer der wollte, Indianer Lehmann, der wollte nicht zurick. Der hat gesagt "Meine Eltern sin all tod. Die Indianer haben sie getötet." Das haben sie ihm gesagt. Aber doch ist er gekommen mit dem Soldat. […] Wo die Mutter ihn gesehen hat, sie sagt "Nein, das ist nicht mein Sohn." – War elf Jahre alt dann war er zwanzig oder neunzehn ... und als reiner Indianer gekleidet un alles. Aber er hat sie gekannt. Er hat dann später ein Buch geschrieben […] Und der Indianer hat dann erinnert, irgendwo an seine Kerper hatte er eine Narbe von einer Verletzung

als Kind. Und er hat das dann gezeigt [...]. Die Schwester sagt, "Mama, das ist der Herman, gucke mal, da ist die Narbe, wo er sich geschnitten hat mit der Axe […] wo wir gespielt haben." Und dann wusste sie, dass ist doch der Sohn. […] Der hat die Sprache ganz vergessen. [….] Aber dann als später hat Herman [NAME] geheiratet un ab und zu is er bei die Familie geblieben, alsmal is er bei den Indianer wieder auf Besuch. Er war zwischen zwei Welt gerissen. Furchtbar" (TGDA 1-96-1-10-a, 1-96-1-11-a).

80. This is also how Lehmann was referred to in several newspaper articles (e.g., *The Houston Post*, October 31, 1937). It appears to have been a common way of referring to him after he returned to Texas (German) society.

81. William Bright, "The Sociolinguistics of the 'S-Word': Squaw in American Placenames," *Names* 48 (2000), 207–216.

82. "Die ihr Unkel war eine von die letzten, das gefang ist geworden von die Indianer da in die Hill Country dorte. Und der hat ein Buch raus – Herman Lehmann, you know, ders got captured by die Indians. […] Und die hat noch seine … wie man sagt – "crown" und alles das hat die in ihr kleine Zimmer dort […]" (TGDA 7-313-1-12-a).

83. Besides mentioning things relating to locations (Squaw Creek, "out there in the Hill Country"), appearance ("crown"), and language (needing to re-learn German), another speaker also mentions religion (TGDA 112-500-1-4-a). In addition to these materials, the TGDP also has copies of an oral history interview conducted by Thomas Meinecke with Lehmann's niece, in which she talks about her uncle being abducted by Native Americans.

84. Lehmann published two memoirs: written with the assistance of Jonathan H. Jones, he published the first (*A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes for Amusement and General Knowledg*e (San Antonio: Johnson Bros., 1899). Hunter wrote Lehmann's second autobiography (he may not have been happy with the first one). Moreover, one could compare Lehmann's captive story with those of several others, such as Scott Zesch, *The Captured: A True Story of Abduction by Indians on the Texas Frontier* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Amy Deckard, Alicia Epps, Carrie Fiedler, Julie Cossell, Susan Trizinsky, *Boerne: A Story of Our Town*, ed. Julie Gossell, Tina Little and Bret Bunker (2011), 7–9; Clinton L. Smith, *The Boy Captives* (Hackberry, 1927); Joseph Norman Heard, *The Assimilation of Captives on the American Frontier in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, PhD diss. (Louisiana State University, 1977), 59–109.

85. See also Zesch 2004; J. Marvin Hunter's *Frontier Times Magazine* (July 1954); The *Houston Post*'s front-page article (31 Oct 1937) "Herman Lehmann Never Forgot Lore: White Indian Blood Brother in Two Tribes."

86. *The Portal to Texas History*, accessed April 5, 2024, https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth1085942/

87. Hoffmann Boardman 2019.

88. Printed in: Hoffmann Boardman 2019.

89. E.g., the Sacred Springs Powwow (www.sspowwow.com). This is also happening for many ethnic groups, see e.g., Joy Kristina Adams, "Going *deutsch:*

Heritage Tourism and Identity in German Texas," PhD diss. (University of Texas at Austin, 2006).

90. Deloria 1998, 7.

91. Usbeck 2013, 177–178.

92. Deloria 1998, 5.

93. Besides paying more attention to the female voice, it might be worthwhile to analyze reports and books written by Texas German geologists and naturalists rather than by focusing solely on materials from historians and politicians—not least because the observations of how American Indians treated the land might be a valuable lesson for today. See also Gesa Mackenthun, "Unsettling Colonial Temporalities: Oral Traditions and Indigenous Literature," in *The Cambridge History of Native American Literatur*e, ed. Melanie Benson Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

94. This discussion can be broadened further by investigating the evolution of Indigenous-European contact and the discourse around *Indianer* in other colonization settings, such as in Brazil.

95. Carl Naubert, *Langenscheidts Notwörterbücher für Reise, Lektüre, Konversation. IV: Land und Leute in Amerika* (1883): "nach Amerika gehenden Deutschen, beziehungsweise jede[n] Fremden dort, der Deutsch verstehet" (Notwörterbuch 1883:VII); "von anderen Ländern sich unterscheidenden Sitten und Gewohnheiten" (Notwörterbuch 1883:VII).

96. There is linguistic research on language contact between European descendants and Indigenous peoples in the Americas, e.g., William Bright, "North American Indian Language Contact," *Native Languages of the Americas* ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok (New York, Springer, 1976), 59–72. However, since there seems to have been little borrowing in either direction in Texas (German ↔ Indigenous), the topic has not yet been explored.

97. See Ingo H. Warnke and Jürgen Spitzmüller, "Methoden und Methodologie der Diskurslinguistik – Grundlagen und Verfahren einer Sprachwissenschaft jenseits textueller Grenzen," *Methoden der Diskurslinguistik: Sprachwissenschaftliche Zugänge zur transtextuellen Ebene*, ed. Ingo H. Warnke and Jürgen Spitzmüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008).

98. James H. Merrell, "Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 69 (July 2012), 451–512.

99. Hadumod Bussmann, "Componential Analysis," *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 219–220; Ward H. Goodenough, "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning," *Language* 32 (1956), 195–216.

100. E.g., 'argumentation is war' and 'time is money', George Lakoff and Mark Johnson "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language," *The Journal of Philosophy* 77/8 (August, 1980), 453–486, here: 454; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).

101. See also e.g., prototype theory, Dirk Geeraerts "Prototype Theory: Prospects and Problems of Prototype Theory" *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2006), 141–166.

102. Please note that the materials discussed in this article are not necessarily part of the TGDP's collection, and that the TGDP's digitized materials have not been made public yet. It takes thousands of hours to prepare documents for such an archive, and to upload and maintain such a database. Securing sufficient staffing and (long-term) funding is demanding. Further challenges of online archives are economic and ecological sustainability, copyright, and appreciation in the academe for such projects. In recent years, citizen science has become ever more popular. Arguably, the TGDP is one of the early examples of this approach.

103. For inspiration, see e.g., The Civil War & Reconstruction Governors of Mississippi (https://cwrgm.org); World War I American Immigrant Poetry: A Digital Humanities Project (https://www.europenowjournal.org/2017/04/03/world-war-i-american-immigrant-poetry-a-digital-humanities-project/).

Book Reviews

Edited by Marc Pierce

Mennonite Studies

Eating like a Mennonite: Food and Community across Borders.
By Marlene Epp. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023. 294 pp. 39.95 CAD.

Any potluck at a Mennonite church in the prairie states or southern Canada is not complete without at least one crockpot of borscht—a favorite Russian Mennonite soup—along with the discussion on whether the soup requires meat or no meat, cabbage, or beets. Many Mennonite family recipes favor the meat and cabbage variety over the no-meat, beet-based Ukrainian style, even though the soup's name itself evolved from the Slavic word for beet. An exploration of the soup's admission into Mennonite recipe collections is presented in Marlene Epp's new monograph *Eating like a Mennonite*. The work also reflects on the exploitative relationship that existed between Mennonite landowners and Ukrainian laborers that enabled the adoption of borscht as a signature dish into Russian Mennonite cuisine. Epp, who has written extensively about Canadian Mennonites, Mennonite women, and identities, discusses the formation and transformation of Mennonite culinary practices as the faith group encountered other peoples and cultures in the process of migration, colonialism, and missions, and presents a critical assessment of the relationships between Mennonites and food.

As with other ethnic, religious, or culturally distinct groups, a deep connection between identity and food exists for Mennonites due to their global embrace and the spread of an ethnic culinary tradition as well as their historic marginalization and consequent public attitudes toward their food practices

and customs. In her study of the social history of foodstuffs and foodways, Epp focuses less on what Mennonites have eaten in the past than on what food has meant and means for members of the faith community in diverse places and times. As Epp points out, food serves as memory aid and thus plays a significant role in constructing identity. The author not only observes traditional Russian and Swiss Mennonite food and folkways, but also incorporates the diverse range of cultural practices among all individuals and communities who refer to themselves as Mennonite or Anabaptist.

As such, the first chapter is dedicated to a variety of Mennonite communities and food encounters. It discusses the group's contact with other cultures as part of the historic migration experience and mission work where Mennonites embraced, imposed, appropriated, and modified foodways. It also addresses the crossing of cultural food borders that took place when Mennonite settlers encountered Indigenous peoples. Chapter two examines gendered notions of foodways, particularly the association between food and female natures. Epp illustrates how women's foodwork helped preserve memory in a sensory and practical way and how female self-worth was historically linked to food preparation and preservation. The women's work of building community, reinforcing identity, and celebrating the history of food production plays a role in the following chapter that examines cookbooks. Epp makes clear how these collections of recipes—whether published or not—serve as sources of cultural and historical meaning, bring food-related labor of women into the public sphere, and preserve ethnocultural identity. Chapter four narrates stories of hunger and scarcity in the Mennonite past, particularly the struggle with food insecurity in communities located in the (former) Russian Empire and Soviet Union, as well as today's situation in countries lacking adequate nutrition. Epp provides accounts of Mennonites who survived (or did not) long-term diet inadequacies and extreme hunger and acknowledges the experience of lacking nutrition having significantly impacted bodies and memories. The final chapter brings attention to food as part of Mennonite religious rituals, the importance of commensality, and the centrality of food in Mennonite relief programs. The author also addresses Mennonite practices of food charity and justice as they emerge from values and actions deriving from religious beliefs and historical sojourns.

Each of the five chapters includes recipes and photos illustrating the ways in which Mennonites carry culinary culture across various places and times. Epp draws from a variety of sources for her analysis, including personal memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, oral histories, cookbooks, food and culture blogs, and creative writing. She also acknowledges personalized scholarship as some family history informs her research. Her book is an outstanding study on culinary history in the context of Mennonites' lived experiences.

While the German language has largely been forgotten by many Mennonites whose ancestors migrated to North America, the traditional recipes have been carefully maintained as a signpost of identity. Epp's work reveals that some signature Mennonite recipes are in fact the result of migration that brought Mennonites in cultural environments that they absorbed and appropriated. Their foodways reflect a hybrid cuisine and a collective social memory. *Eating like a Mennonite* offers fascinating facts about Mennonite cuisine and multiple perspectives on the group's culinary history. It is a must read for foodies and those interested in Mennonite food history, cultural identities, and contemporary foodways.

University of Colorado – Boulder *Berit Jany*

Radicals and Reformers: A Survey of Global Anabaptist History.
By Troy Osborne. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2024. 400 pp. $34.99.

As Anabaptists around the world approach the fifth century of their faith movement, several publications and events help observe the 500-year anniversary in 2025. In addition to the launch of the Anabaptist Community Bible and a resource kit consisting of children's books and devotionals, Troy Osborne's monograph *Radicals and Reformers* contributes to the celebration of the movement's half-millennial history. Osborne's book serves as a new authoritative introduction to Anabaptist history. The author was invited by Herald Press to write the survey of the movement's history for use in Mennonite colleges, universities, and seminaries. Additionally, his book is linked in the Anabaptism at 500 tool kit as a resource for the commemoration of the anniversary of Anabaptist beginnings.

Although Osborne starts with an account of the first adult baptism, which took place in Zürich on January 21, 1525, and is celebrated as the symbolic birth of the Anabaptist movement in this year's commemorative events, he does not follow the monogenetic approach of tracing the origins solely to the group of Swiss radicals who baptized one another in a private home as a way of renewing their commitment to scriptural models of faithfulness. Rather, he points out that Anabaptism had separate origins in several European regions. He refers to the legacy of 15th-century Hans Behem and Jan Hus, late medieval Christendom, and humanist writings when explaining the proto-Anabaptist movement. In his narrative, Osborne focuses on ways that faith was lived out more than what theological essentials may have existed during the different periods of faith formation. In addition to notable

early Anabaptist leaders and their diverse theologies, readers will also hear about the lay leadership of females in the early movement and about Anabaptist leaders and groups who followed theological precepts that today's peaceful believers would not find acceptable.

With a chronological commitment and the ambition to create an inclusive Anabaptist history, outlining both the faith and failures of the movement, Osborne does not shy away from addressing the complex and complicated developments and disruptions in the faith group's 500-year history. He points out that Anabaptists have been fallible, at times, whether by building an apocalyptic kingdom in Münster during the early years or by becoming absorbed in political and ideological directions of the surrounding social environment in the twentieth century. As the author gives an honest account of the Anabaptist story that includes troubling episodes of violence, inequality, and patriarchy, he also engages in a discussion on the movement's historiography itself. Through his deconstruction of Harold Bender's "Anabaptist Vision," he proposes a new study of Anabaptist history that acknowledges the movement's diverse, complex, and global character.

In the past 50 years, Anabaptists have transformed from a movement consisting of roughly 600,000 Europeans and North Americans into a global communion of 2.2 million members, many of them living in Africa and Asia and with the fastest growing communities in Latin America. More than one third of Osborne's book is dedicated to the global church, with a particular emphasis on mission work, aspects of continuity and change in Anabaptist congregations in Africa, conversion and adaption among Asian Anabaptists, and mission and migration as driving factors for Latin American Anabaptist groups. Osborne draws from a multitude of current scholarship in the field of Anabaptist history and gains insights into the global movement through histories written by local authors. His work is tightly written, with a range of visual sources, references to foundational documents, and numerous personal stories and outlooks to present-day realities in the global faith community. As the book attempts to tell the remarkable history of the Anabaptist movement, spanning over five centuries and five continents and with increasing complexity and diversity, it is, of course, impossible to include all local and global stories and faith practices. Some groups within the Anabaptist tradition receive little or no attention and evolving Black, Hispanic, and Hmong congregations in North America are largely left out of the chapters dealing with recent history. Nonetheless, *Radicals and Reformers* is an excellent resource for those studying church history at Mennonite colleges and seminaries and for those leaders and laity in Anabaptist churches who are curious about the history of their faith community.

University of Colorado – Boulder *Berit Jany*

History

The Emigration of the Saxon Lutherans in the Year 1838 and Their Settlement in Perry Country, Missouri including an account of the emigration and founding of the Missouri Synod by C.F.W. Walther and a memorial by J.F. Koestering to G.A. Schieferdecker.
By J.F. Koestering. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2022. 245 pp. $39.99.

J. F. Koestering's 1867 monograph documenting the early history of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri was published as the second work in the Concordia Historical Institute Monograph Series to mark the 175th Anniversary of the founding of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS). Although initially translated by Brian Lutz in 1993, it was revised for publication in 2021 by Matthew Carver. The staff at the LCMS's Concordia Historical Institute had first discovered the German monograph in its files some forty years earlier and decided, given its significance as one of the earliest studies of the church body's history, that the anniversary year offered a good opportunity to make it available to a wide audience.

The published work contains a number of documents beyond the study of the emigration to and the settlement in Missouri. Given that Koestering had accepted a position at a controversy-ridden congregation in Altenburg, Missouri, his first-hand account of the controversy is given a substantial place in the book. An Appendix documents more information about the Altenburg congregation following the controversy and a "Memorial," previously printed in *Der Lutheraner* in 1892, provides information about Schieferdecker's life, preaching, errors and last years. Although seemingly a sideline from the broader focus of the book, the attention to Schieferdecker supplements what can be known about how Koestering addressed his challenges as a writer and a theologian. It also provides an expansive study of one of the thornier theological controversies faced by the LCMS.

J.F. Koestering was born in Dohlenshausen, Germany, in 1830. At 19 he immigrated to the U.S. and attended Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN, graduating in 1853. He served a number of congregations in Indiana before he accepted a position at Trinity Lutheran Church in Altenburg, MO. In his first year, he invited C.F. Walther, then a professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, to deliver an address about the settlement of the Saxons in Perry County, something in which Walther had participated and that took place in the congregation's immediate surroundings. Koestering includes Walther's presentation as Part I of his monograph.

In Part II of the monograph, Koestering provides his own analysis of what transpired before, during and after the settlement. It is a relatively brief account (ninety-one pages) in comparison to later studies like Walter Forster's highly regarded 1953 historical study, *Zion on the Mississippi* or Ingerose Paust's well documented 2015 historical novel, *Exodus of the Eight Hundred*. However, it provides the earliest published historical study of the controversies surrounding Martin Stephan, the initial leader of the Saxons, early theological debates on the office of the ministry, views on the nature of the church and on the second coming of Christ. For these reasons alone, this publication provides value to students of church history.

Koestering's 1864 report of the 1839 arrival of the Saxons in Missouri, only 25 years after the actual occurrence, provides a fairly intimate review of the events in St. Louis, Perry County, and prior-to-arrival, on the ship. Objections to these now standard assumptions have been raised by Philip G Stephan, the great-great grandson of Martin Stephan in his 2008 book *In Pursuit of Religious Freedom: Bishop Martin Stephan's Journey*. However, the publication of Koestering's early report on Stephan's behavior now solidifies assumptions about the validity of other reports.

In general, Koestering's writing, and the excellent translation, is both readable and focused. On the one hand, in a substantial 20-page discourse (76ff.) he busies himself with concerns about the heresies of the Buffalo (New York) Synod with names like Grabau, von Rohr and Krause, but his analyses and use of language are easy to follow. Readers do, however, become quickly convinced that his battles, which are many, are mired in historical settings. Koestering, perhaps with many clergy of his day, saw himself fighting with those who strayed from his interpretation of truth.

Given the focus on doctrinal controversy in Koestering's writings, this book appropriately includes his analysis of the challenges faced by his immediate predecessor in Altenburg, Missouri. George Schieferdecker was a capable pastor and leader, but he found himself embroiled in a larger debate addressing the return of Christ. He was not the only Lutheran addressing this issue. Jan Kilian, writing from a log cabin in Serbin, Texas, told the LCMS President, C.F.W. Walther, not to insist that Christ's return could come at any time. From his, perspective, if it came before all the biblical prophecies were fulfilled, he felt, God couldn't be trusted! Surprising to many, all three of the men in Koestering's purview (Walther, Kilian and Schieferdecker) were students at the same time at the University in Leipzig!

For the right historian, exploring the implications of this fact might provide helpful insights for further study into influences that Koestering could not have known.

Concordia University Texas *David J. Zersen*

Trauma and Blessings: Autobiography of a Prussian Immigrant.
By Henning K. Sehmsdorf. Lopez Island, WA: S&S Homestead Press, 2023. 119 pp. $21.10.

"You Can Take the Boy Out of Prussia, but Can You Take Prussia Out of the Man?" is the title chosen by Henning Sehmsdorf for the foreword to this fascinating but complex work. Its author, born in Königsberg, East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia), is a retired University of Washington Professor of Scandinavian Studies and comparative literature who converted his Lopez Island, Washington, property into a self-sufficient farm based on Rudolf Steiner's biodynamic principles.

Trauma and Blessings begins with a detailed history of Prussia, from the early medieval period, when it was inhabited by indigenous *Borussi*, from which it derives its name. Early on, the author introduces and reflects upon the virtues that he considers characteristically Prussian, and later, the flaws that give Prussia its negative reputation in European history. It is significant that Sehmsdorf identifies primarily as Prussian, rather than as German. The author lists the virtues as "justice, obedience, loyalty, fortitude, discipline, and work ethic." The virtues and, to a lesser extent, the virtues' failings, constitute themes to which he repeatedly returns.

Chapter Four comprises the autobiographical portion of *Trauma and Blessings*: his 1937 birth, the war years near Dresden, his parents' postwar divorce, and seven years of boarding school rarely visited by his parents, apprenticeship in his father's business, an opportunity to emigrate to Muncie, Indiana (where he worked in a meatpacking plant), a position in Rochester, New York, again with his father's business, attending University of Rochester and attaining a Bachelor of Science, draftee service in the U.S. Army, followed by a return to Germany and a year of studies at the University of Frankfurt.

In Frankfurt, a year-long course taught by Theodore W. Adorno and exposure to the Frankfurt School, became a major influence on Henning Sehmsdorf's own life and philosophy. A scholarship allowed him to pursue a doctorate in comparative literature at the University of Chicago. Again, he was exposed to major twentieth century thinkers including Paul Tillich, Richard McKeon, and Saul Bellow, and to the cultural diversity of Chicago. Interest in pre-industrial European culture led him to study Norwegian folklore, a Fulbright to the University of Oslo, mastery of the Norwegian language, and a 1968 dissertation on Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's use of folklore and rural dialect in his fiction.

Throughout his autobiographical chronology, the author returns to the Prussian virtues and to the unfolding philosophical and literary influences

that shape his self-perception and self-appraisal. The author lists three significant childhood traumas: witnessing, at age eight, the firebombing of Dresden, his parents' divorce following his father's return from war, and walking in on an intimate moment of his mother's life.

Sehmsdorf's appointment to the faculty of University of Washington's Departments of Scandinavian Studies and Comparative Literature begins to right the ship of his life. Divorce, after a thirteen-year marriage and two children, and his ensuing struggle with the nature of love, finally ends with his marriage to his wife Elizabeth. In the early years of his second marriage, the author begins to construct the life led by his philosophical and literary influences and by the positive Prussian virtues.

A joint vision leads the couple to purchase land on Lopez Island and gradually establish their home and farm. Among many influences leading Sehmsdorf in this direction were the shocking contradiction between the idea of sacredness of food and earth, with which Henning was raised in Germany, versus his experiences in the meatpacking plant and the Nixon-era "Get big or get out" movement in US agriculture. After Sehmsdorf's retirement, the farm became a nonprofit organization with several goals: providing low-cost food for San Juan Islands schools and low-income islanders, bringing public school students to the farm to witness and participate in farm activities, and developing the first federally inspected mobile butchering unit in the US.

Trauma and Blessings is no ordinary autobiography or memoir. It is deeply philosophical but also wide-ranging, and Sehmsdorf ties it together in his resolute Prussian identity. That is what makes this a remarkable work. Adding to the appeal of the volume is its photos. They include family photos (ancestral, author's childhood and early adulthood, and contemporary), and some charming old photos and post cards of locations in Prussia that connect with the storyline.

The narrative of *Trauma and Blessings* can, however, be hard to follow. The events in Henning Sehmsdorf's life are complicated and, for much of it, ever changing. The frequent digressions into philosophical reference and commentary and historical connection can make that even harder to follow. What makes it succeed is the remarkable circumstances in its author's life and how he has organized and made sense of them. He used them to create his vision of a moral and ethical life, albeit one out of economic reach for most Americans. In Sehmsdorf's view, he is the sum of his identities as *Prussian* and *immigrant*, and of the traumas and blessings that have shaped his life.

Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission *Jens Lund*

Enemies Among Us: The Relocation, Internment, and Repatriation of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans During the Second World War. *By John E. Schmitz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021. xxviii, 386 pp. $65 hb, e-book; $35 pb.*

It is not necessarily a bad idea to write on a subject with which one has a personal connection (if it is, *mea culpa*). John E. Schmitz was drawn to his subject as the grandson of a German immigrant and the son of a native-born U.S. citizen interned at Camp Crystal City, Texas, during World War II (xi, xiii-xiv). He claims his study is "the first to address comparatively all three major alien enemy and citizen groups" (6). While this comparative approach has the potential to provide new insights, in his zeal to vindicate his forebears, Schmitz engages in a false equivalency that minimizes the injustice against Japanese Americans and the racism that drove U.S. policies before and during the Second World War and beyond. It starts on page 2 with the assertion that "German Americans and Italian Americans . . . were interned in greater numbers than Japanese Americans." That is true only if one accepts the euphemism of U.S. authorities that "112,700 Japanese American citizens and aliens" were merely removed from the Pacific Coast security zones to relocation centers whose "primary purpose was to help evacuees relocate and continue with their lives" (3). Behind barbed wire, Schmitz neglects to add. Nor does he mention House Resolution #442 (in honor of the highly decorated Nisei Combat Team), which became law as the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, providing a formal apology and compensation to victims of internment. Had Schmitz read the supportive testimony, he might have heard from Congressman Robert Matsui (D-CA), a U.S. native who was interned as child: "Some say internment was for our own protection, but if that was true, why were the machine guns on the towers above the barbed wire pointed in at us?" It takes until five pages from the book's end before Schmitz spells out, in a quote rather than his own words, the fundamental difference from how German and Italian immigrants became enemy aliens: "through no fault of their own, or lack of interest, as alien Japanese have never been extended the privilege of becoming naturalized citizens" (287; cf. 185). Most German and Italian "enemy aliens" (a legal term, not a value judgment), would have qualified for naturalization had they exercised the right, and were at least granted hearings before they were selectively interned, superficial and subjective though these hearings may have been. Moreover, nearly two-thirds of interned Japanese Americans were not aliens, but U.S. citizens by birth whose only offense was their race. By contrast, practically the only natives of German or Italian parentage who were interned were those who voluntarily accompanied alien parents or spouses, as Schmitz's father did.

Although citing naval intelligence officer Kenneth Ringle that "[a]t least 75 percent of Japanese Americans . . . were loyal" (94), Schmitz makes no mention of Ringle's intelligence coup of burglarizing the Japanese consulate in San Francisco months before Pearl Harbor, obtaining a list of all Japanese agents, and more importantly, "repeated evidence that . . . official agents of imperial Japan looked upon most American Japanese . . . not as potential allies but as cultural traitors not to be trusted," as Ringle's son later related (Ken Ringle, "What Did You Do Before The War, Dad?" *Washington Post*, December 6, 1981). Schmitz also missed some important evidence from a book he cites, Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors* (2003). When Ecuadorian Gunter Lasken arrived at Crystal City in 1944, he was greeted with the words: "Listen up, kid. In this camp we're all Nazis and anyone who doesn't agree, we'll break his skull" (Friedman, 136-7). Apparently, Schmitz does not read German; his bibliography is overwhelmingly English, save for Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. If he had read *Das Lager* instead of the English-language camp newspaper, he would have seen that as late as 1944, Hitler's seizure of power and the Führer's birthday were celebrated in the Crystal City camp. But Schmitz's family was probably among the passive majority rather than the active Nazi minority in the camp.

The family was mentioned only in the introduction, thus arousing curiosity, but Ancestry.com offered some answers, and provided a link to a 1997 interview with Schmitz's father by the Ellis Island Oral History project. Grandfather Adolf Schmitz had been in the country since 1927 but was not yet naturalized, perhaps because he had immigrated illegally by jumping ship, although there was at least one amnesty for such persons before World War II. The author's father, who later went by John Adolf, was apparently named Adolf John, a paternal name but also one that was making history in Germany when he was born in 1936. According to him, Grandfather Schmitz had registered for the draft, but told the F.B.I. when interrogated that he was willing to fight the Japanese, but not his brothers in Germany. He was temporarily released from Ellis Island a couple of times to store his furniture and arrange his affairs before he and his family were sent to Crystal City, Texas. His son related they were "treated like gold," and ate better than average Americans. In this family's case, U.S. authorities probably erred on the side of caution, or even paranoia, but they were not interned indiscriminately as Japanese Americans were (among them some U.S. Army veterans from World War I).

The book has a number of other weaknesses besides its false equivalency. Among missed opportunities, it ignores the symbolic significance of revoking the Italian ban from security zones on Columbus Day, 1942. It never mentions cartoonist "Dr. Seuss" Geisel's racist caricatures of the Japanese Americans that he later regretted bitterly. It throws out statistical information with

very little contextualization; interned ship crews, for example, hardly deserve the designation German Americans. The book is poorly organized, repeatedly jumping back and forth in chronology. It includes an excess of blow-by-blow accounts of bureaucratic infighting, although that would be potentially important if more signposts had been set. Moreover, there is an excess of long block quotes, with some pages consisting of almost nothing else (130-31, 140-41, 249, 257, 283).

On the positive side, Schmitz is certainly correct that the internment of U.S. German nationals was less egregious that the indiscriminate deportation of Germans from Latin America (some of them Jewish refugees from Hitler!) for internment in U.S. camps. And last but not least, his warning about people "being treated as less than human, in part because of names and labels, many created and repeated by those with influential voices, including, sadly, the forty-fifth president" (xi), has lost none of its validity.

Texas A&M University *Walter D. Kamphoefner*

The Travel Diaries of Albert Einstein: South America, 1925.
Ed. Ze'ev Rosenkranz. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2023. 265 pp. $30.

That Albert Einstein, the most famous scientist of the twentieth century, was also a world traveler who kept a personal diary is potentially intriguing. The average person who at least knows his name might hope to find in this personal record comments that even a layperson can understand. The binding is attractive, and a lengthy eighty-three-page introduction provides a helpful analysis. However, the relatively brief diary of forty-one pages (accompanied by an English translation) is less interesting than Einstein's reasons for traveling to South America and writing the diary.

While working in the late 1980s at the Albert Einstein Archives at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ze'ev Rosenkranz became fascinated with the travel diaries, largely because they provided "uncensored impressions and reflections" (xvii). One of 42,000 documents in the Archives, the *South America 1925* German diary was kept as a personal record, but also as "subsequent reading matter for his wife, Elsa, and his younger stepdaughter, Margot" (3). That comment seems surprising given that the book later contains letters he wrote to both, yet the diary never mentions them.

The editor's introduction suggests that Einstein's travel intentions are more personal than professional (76). On the one hand, he intends to dis-

seminate his theories to a wider audience and to re-establish international cooperation among scientists that had been severed since World War I. On the other hand, he has an interest in visiting a new continent and, at the same time, in ending a relationship with Betty Neuman that began when he was forty-four. Although Einstein was known to have had affairs with at least five women apart from his two wives, the editor tells us Einstein claimed he wanted to be known as a "conscientious and decent person" (16).

Einstein's comments about Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, reflect a negative view of the Americas (he had visited the U.S. four years earlier) in comparison with his positive view of Europe. He denigrates the outward cultural flourishes and oratory over against a German inwardness, a matter of style in which form superseded substance (42). For example, he resents that the German community of 30,000 in Argentina, had no interest in his presence, largely because he was a pacifist. He regarded them as more nationalist and antisemitic than Germany proper (49).

The letters in another section of the book give a more personal view of Einstein's relationship with family and friends. A careful reading of the diary and the letters provides background information on Einstein's views on Zionism and pacifism. One can also learn some things about the politics, social consciousness, and poetic sensibility of a mathematical genius who often wrote only in numbers and equations.

Concordia University Texas *David Zersen*

Alexander von Humboldt. A Concise Biography.
By Andreas W. Daum. Trans. by Robert Savage. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2024. 208 pp. $24.95.

The Humboldt anniversary year of 2019 marking his 250th birthday led to a spate of renewed interest in the famous polymath, explorer, naturalist, geographer, writer and adherent of Romantic philosophy and science that treated him from a variety of perspectives. This interest included the original German version of the book being reviewed here, published in that same year under the simple title of *Alexander von Humboldt*. The translation has now been expanded to include additional passages, illustrations, endnotes, a selected bibliography and a guide for further reading of English sources to cater to the new reading audience.

As the author states in the introduction, he sets out to view Humboldt "through a refined biographical lens" that "suggest[s] a more nuanced inter-

pretation, portraying a multifaceted Humboldt whose thinking defies simple formulas" (3). Daum is alluding here to seeing Humboldt on the one hand as an overly intellectual mind far advanced for his time who was revolutionary, pre-Darwinian or discovered the interconnectedness of nature, such as he is heroized, for example, in Andrea Wulf's bestseller *The Invention of Nature* (2015). On the other hand., there is also the reduced Humboldt whose import is focused on his America trip of exploration from 1799 to 1804. Gerard Helferich's *Humboldt's Cosmos* (2004) or Lara Dassow Walls' *The Passage to Cosmos* (2009) fall more into that category, as did the 2020 exhibition in the Smithsonian American Art Museum with the corresponding catalogue by Eleonor Jones Harvey, *Alexander von Humboldt and the United States*.

To achieve the broader view, Daum's seven chapters place Humboldt within a large context of practical and economic factors, political expediency, prominent predecessors and collaborators, social relationships, and Humboldt's complex personality not only as a scientist but as human being driven by his senses. That is not to say that others have not done that as well, especially in the German-speaking world. In that regard, Manfred Geier's double biography of *Die Brüder Humboldt* (2009) or Rüdiger Schaper's *Alexander von Humboldt. Der Preußе und die neuen Welten* (2018) are worth mentioning. What ultimately distinguishes Daum's attempt at a differentiated view is that the mere two hundred pages hold true to being "concise" as indicated in the title – and this for the English-speaking world that is less familiar with Humboldt overall.

The author largely succeeds at the task he set himself. He takes us through a number of instances that relativize, yet still give Humboldt his due regarding his contributions to science and his stance on the political developments of the time. Just as he was nearly constantly in movement, so were his ideas on how to process the voluminous nature of the empirical evidence he gathered or how he saw his times evolving. To give a few examples, Daum points out that Humboldt was not just the objective scientist, but through Kant also well aware of the a priori mental constructs that shade our interpretations of the world. Thus, Humboldt, as open to the world as he was, could never completely shed his Eurocentric glasses. These included his romantic view of nature and the desire to unfold a panoramic view of it that runs counter to the objectivity behind the idea of an "Humboldtian Science" that Daum also debunks. Such was Humboldt's desire to unfold that sweeping "Naturgemälde" that he was never really in a position to bore down to the details of a theory of evolution as Darwin did. As much of a Romantic that Humboldt was, he also remained the pragmatist who on the political front was no revolutionary, but probably much more in favor of a reformed constitutional monarchy within a bourgeois legal framework. Yet, these insufficien-

cies and contradictions underlie our continued fascination with Humboldt. Near the end of the book, Daum unravels some of that fascination by harking back to his intention to place Humboldt in a larger context: "The tension experienced between his quest for a grand synthesis and his forced retreats into the fragmentary is evident in the sprawling and confusing character of his published oeuvre. Yet this dilemma was far from an individual problem. It encapsulated the epistemological challenge faced by an age that saw a true explosion of knowledge – a challenge we live with even more intensively in the twenty-first century. Unlike Darwin, Humboldt did not come up with a clearly defined theory that fundamentally changed scientific and social thinking. Humboldt was neither a revolutionary in the scholarly realm nor one in the political world. But he left us with myriad complex thoughts and incentives for further research" (151).

Indeed, the quote is very "concise" at encapsulating the very essence of Humboldt. On the way there, there are also occasions where the text leaves the reader asking for more, particularly when the influences on Humboldt are mentioned. Names are dropped and only briefly elaborated (e.g. the geographer Carl Ritter or the Sinologist Heinrich Julius Klaproth, among others). However, in that regard Daum has provided us with the aforementioned extensive back material (nearly a quarter of the book) that through recommendations for further reading, notes and a selected bibliography can guide us further in our exploration of Humboldt. In that sense, the very "conciseness" of the book is a virtue since it piques our interest in one of the most awe-inspiring figures of the modern world.

Loyola University Chicago *Reinhard Andress*

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 version 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 closer 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 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*

Thunder and Flames: Americans in the Crucible of Combat, 1917-1918. B*y Edward G. Lengel. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2023. 470 pp. $ 32.99.*

Edward G. Lengel, Vice President of Museum Experience at the National Medal of Honor Museum, has written a well-researched and engaging narrative of the American Expeditionary Force's performance on the Western Front while under the command of the French. The author used American, French and German official records and combined them with the personal accounts of soldiers to analyze the evolution of the AEF between November 1917 and September 1918; its arrival in France and the beginning of the Saint-Mihiel offensive.

Individual chapters chronologically delve deeply into the battles that Americans participated in, including Cantigny, Château-Thierry, Belleau Wood, Soissons, and the Aisne-Marne Campaign. In the process, Lengel updates many of the misconceptions associated with the western front in 1918. Traditional scholarship has described a smooth transition from untrained doughboys arriving in France, who gained essential combat experience during spring and early summer to then become the overpowering army that wrapped up the war through concise battles in the fall. Lengel, instead sees a more complex story where individual division, regiments, companies, and squads developed combat cohesion at various rates and at different times. Although soldiers, squads, and companies fought valiantly, common problems such as confusion, disorientation, lack of coordination, intermingling of units, and unwillingness by American officers to learn from the French contributed to unnecessary casualties. As the author points out, some divisions performed better than others during a battle owing to local circumstances and the reliance on improvisation.

Lengel also updates the relationship between French and American leaders and soldiers. He argues that scholars have oversimplified and focused too much on poor interaction, thus ignoring the complex aspects of effective cooperation between American and French soldiers that contributed to victories despite dysfunction at the command and tactical level. Lengel avoids generalizations and argues that although the Franco-American relationship declined over time, several officers from both sides worked well with each other and on occasion soldiers fought effectively alongside each other. Perceptions of each other depended on performance during individual battles and achieved objectives or failures. The French often interpreted American actions as aggressive and hasty while Americans viewed the French as advancing

too cautiously without appreciating the lessons the latter had learned during four years of war. Previous historians argued that the Aisne-Marne Campaign contributed to an improved Franco-American relationship and demonstrated that the American military could be trusted to work on its own. Lengel, instead, points to reports that lamented continued disagreements between military leaders on both sides and persistent problems with distribution of orders, inefficient use of various types of weapons, and insufficient food supply.

One important contribution that Lengel makes is the use of German after-battle and intelligence reports. These reports, for example, recognized that the presence of American soldiers greatly improved the morale of the French. They also revealed the bravery of poorly led American soldiers while battling rapidly advancing German *Stosstruppen* at Seicheprey in April 1918. German intelligence officers rated the soldiers of the 2nd and 3rd Divisions at Belleau Wood as spirited fighters who lacked experience and seemed to ignore high casualty rates. These reports also revealed the miserable situation the Germans were in and the realization that they most likely would not be able to hold off a well-organized attack. Thus, General Ernst Ludendorff developed offensives that aimed to force victory before the Americans could learn effective tactics and have serious impact.

Thunder and Flames will be a fascinating read for academics and general readers alike. It offers detailed descriptions of battles in an almost hour by hour account of developments, which can be tedious at times. Lengthy quotes from personal diaries, officer memoirs, and official histories, however, add the voices of ordinary doughboys, enlighten the gruesome narrative of combat, reveal the gusto with which they wanted to fight the enemy, and tell the impact of constant artillery barrages, gas, and combat on their psyche.

As Lengel suggests, more research, especially through a combination of European documents, is necessary to gain an in-depth understanding of the American Expeditionary Force's experience during the entire Great War, but this monograph is an excellent beginning. The author purposefully ended the narrative with the beginning of the Saint-Mihiel Offensive on September 11 conducted entirely by the newly established US First Army. Americans had finally gained good enough experience to fight under their own leadership, although, as the author suggested, mistakes would still be made and lessons would still be learned.

Missouri University of Science and Technology *Petra DeWitt*

Spymaster: The Memoirs of Gordon M. Stewart, CIA Station Chief in Cold War Germany.
By Gordon M. Stewart, edited by Thomas Boghardt. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2024. 212 pp. $87.99.

From a historical perspective, Gordon M. Stewart's connections with many leading figures of the Cold War era prove even more compelling than his exploits as a spymaster. His role as a station chief in the early years of the CIA were marked not so much by cloak and dagger work as by his working relationships with nearly all of American figures who played an important role during that era: General Walter Bedell ("Beetle") Smith, Eisenhower's chief of staff, the first post-war U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, and later the first Director of the CIA (DCI); Smith's successor, Allen Dulles, whose brother, John Foster, was Eisenhower's Secretary of State; the first two U.S. High Commissioners in postwar Germany, General Lucius D. Clay and John J. McCloy; DCI's Richard Helms and William Colby; and even British intelligence officer David Cornwell, better known by his pen name John Le Carré. Stewart's memoirs give an inside view of how the American intelligence establishment was built from the ground up.

But who was Gordon M. Stewart, and how did an earnest and inquisitive grad student at the University of Chicago end up becoming a member of the OSS and a key player in the postwar evolution of that agency into the CIA? As Boghardt makes clear in his preface, Stewart was hardly an outlier in the OSS as an academic. Even before his college years began, thanks to family resources Stewart was able to spend time in Germany during the dying days of the Weimar Republic, where he studied the language and culture of a nation not long before Hitler rose to power. His impressions, as he later became aware, were somewhat superficial: "We now know that supernationalists, xenophobes, and anti-Semites were well represented…[among] parts of the student population during the days of the Republic. They, however, were not the ones we met at social affairs for foreign students. They lived in a different world. Having little access to them, we underestimated their importance. In one of my letters I mentioned the radicals on the right and on the left, but then went on to dismiss them. I was far off the mark" (80). By the time that Stewart returned to Germany as a grad student in 1934-35, he writes that he "was nonetheless deeply aware of the force of the movement that had Germany in its grip…. Germany had set herself apart from the democratic world; she was marching while we stood complaining in the marketplace" (98-99).

During a break from his doctoral dissertation, he had worked for Montgomery Ward and elsewhere, gotten married, and with the outbreak of war, he soon found himself in the Army, gaining a commission in the artillery.

Luckily, his unique background attracted notice, and he soon found himself directing the research branch in the London office of OSS, gathering and analyzing German intelligence while working alongside fellow academic James Schlesinger, Jr., and German émigrés and later academic luminaries Herbert Marcuse and Hajo Halborn. He quickly adapted to an environment in which the "official language was broken English" (113). Stewart's competence was complemented by a rare lack of ego and an ability to focus on long-range goals. Thus, when he found himself the victim of an internal bureaucratic coup, he accepted a transfer to the secret intelligence branch with equanimity. After his promotion to head of the intelligence branch in Germany, Stewart's value to the service can be seen when he was ordered to fire Sid Hochster, a case officer who Washington feared was a communist. No stranger to political science, Stewart framed a "carefully balanced argument in which we acknowledged the Marxian origins of social democracy while at the same time maintaining that Hochster was solidly anti-communist" (131-32).

The close connection Stewart maintained with the local population and culture contributed to his success. When General Omar Bradley visited Heidelberg, he asked to meet with "a representative and informed German." It became clear that Bradley sought "…some insight into the mood of the German public, on the impact of the occupation, and the direction in which German society was tending" (144). Fortunately, unlike the members of headquarters staff, Stewart knew such a person, the economist Alfred Weber. With Stewart translating, Weber and Bradley engaged in a highly stimulating conversation that gave the general answers to his questions.

A key question in Stewart's mind remained how "people who had shown an almost total lack of social morality build a good society" (146). His own challenge is seen in his work with former Wehrmacht General Richard Gehlen, who with his staff moved almost seamlessly from the Nazis' military intelligence apparatus to serve as independent contractors for the postwar allies, using their files gathered on Germany's eastern front. The integration of the Gehlen team into the newly founded Federal Republic's intelligence service became a major challenge, yet Stewart concluded that a keen knowledge of their common adversary made them "potentially good allies in work against the Russians" (159).

As intelligence collection ramped up in the early 1950s, Stewart never forgot the moral dilemma of a spymaster: "The collector risks little. As an employee of government serving abroad, he is protected by international law. His source has no such protection. He breaks the laws of another country and thereby risks the loss of liberty and sometimes life" (162).

In recounting the latter years of his career, Stewart underplays his role in the firing of the CIA's chief of intelligence, James Jesus Angleton. He rec-

ognized early on that Angleton's obsession with identifying potential Soviet moles was destroying the morale of the organization. While Boghardt covers the Angleton affair lucidly in the preface, Stewart's note in the memoir was typically succinct: "I enjoyed his company and held him in very high esteem. Bill Colby was right to fire him" (182).

With the rebirth of Cold War sentiments in the wake of Russia's 2022 brutal invasion of Ukraine, led by an autocrat who cut his teeth serving as a KGB agent in East Germany, the publication of this memoir is more than timely. Stewart's steady hand and thoughtful, positive demeanor shine through in his writing, making his career and his private life seem in harmony. While he often takes an impressionistic approach to his subject, his editor's notes provide critical background to complete the framework of the narrative. The work is highly recommended for both academic libraries and general collections.

Longwood University *Geoffrey Orth*

Fate unknown. Tracing the Missing after World War II & the Holocaust.
Von Dan Stone. Oxford University Press, 2023, 432 Seiten, $45.00.

Dan Stone, ein Historiker und Direktor des Holocaust Forschungszentrum an einem College der Universität von London, hat sich bereits in älteren, von ihm verfassten Büchern mit den Themen Holocaust, Nazi-Zeit, Konzentrationslagern etc. befasst. Dank eines Stipendiums konnte Stone drei Jahre lang Informationen im Internationalen Zentrum über NS-Opfer im hessischen Kurort Bad Arolsen zusammentragen. Als Nothilfe- und Wiederaufbau-Verwaltung der Vereinten Nationen (UNRRA) 1943 gegründet, wurde 4 Jahre später daraus eine Internationale Flüchtlingsorganisation (IRO) und schließlich, als Teil davon, 1948, der Internationale Suchdienst. Bis 2012 stand diesem Suchdienst, nachfolgend ITS für "International Tracing Service" genannt, das Internationale Komitee des Roten Kreuzes beratend zur Seite. Seit 2019 ist das ITS als das weltweit größte Archiv über die Opfer und Überlebenden des Nationalsozialismus bekannt. Mehr als 30 Millionen Dokumente befinden sich auf Regalen von insgesamt 26 km Länge. Gleich nach Kriegsende versuchten zahlreiche Überlebende von Konzentrationslagern, Zwangsarbeiter und Millionen Flüchtlinge Aufschluss bzw. Gewissheit über das Schicksal ihrer Angehörigen zu erlangen. Gingen Anfang der fünfziger Jahre noch monatlich ca. 4000 Gesuche zwecks Nachforschungen ein, so waren es siebzig Jahre später noch immer 1000 Anfragen pro Monat.

Zweigstellen des Instituts im Ausland sahen sogar einen Anstieg in Ländern wie zum Beispiel Polen, in denen nach dem Fall des Kommunismus nun auch Nachforschungen möglich sind, die es vorher nicht waren. Im Laufe der Jahre wuchs die Sammlung der Namenskarten auf mehr als 50 Millionen an und enthält Informationen über ca. 17.5 Millionen Individuen. Diente das Archiv zunächst nur dem Aufspüren von Individuen, so stellte sich als Begleiteffekt auch die unglaubliche Wichtig- und Ergiebigkeit für die Holocaustforschung heraus - von Aspekten über Zwangsarbeit, Details über Konzentrationslager und Außenlager, Todesmärsche, Exhumierung von Leichen zwecks Identitätsbestimmung, das große Leid von unbegleiteten Kindern und vertriebenen Menschen nach Kriegsende, um nur einige Aspekte zu nennen. Viele Informationen über vermisste Personen sind auch in digitaler Form zugänglich. Photographien, Mappen, Friedhofspläne, Statistiken, Zeichnungen und andere Dokumente sind ebenfalls archiviert. Die Arolsen Archive haben Unterlagen der NS-Bürokratie aus Ghettos, KZs und Gefängnissen zusammengetragen, außerdem Behörden- und Firmendokumente bezüglich Zwangsarbeit und schließlich Alliierten-Akten über den Umgang mit Vertriebenen, den sog. Displaced Persons nach Kriegsende. Bezüglich der Vertriebenen gab es jüdische und nicht jüdische. Die westlichen Alliierten sahen sich gezwungen zu akzeptieren, dass viele dieser Menschen kein Interesse daran hatten, in ihre alte Heimat zurück überstellt zu werden. Landesgrenzen hatten sich kriegsbedingt verschoben, die betroffenen Menschen mögen sich vielleicht nach ihrer alten Heimat gesehnt haben, nicht aber nach einem neuen kommunistischen Regime. Sie befürchteten politische oder gar rassistische Verfolgung. Trotzdem wurden bei Kriegsende zunächst viele in ihre alte Heimat zurückgebracht. Im Laufe der Jahre gelang es einer großen Zahl der Unwilligen, für sich eine neue Heimat in einem aufnahmewilligen Drittland zu finden. Für die jüdischen Überlebenden war die Situation schwieriger. Viele jüdische Gemeinden in Ostgebieten waren ausgelöscht und jüdische Überlebende hatten nicht nur ihr vertrautes Lebensumfeld verloren. Zahlreiche Häuser wurden nun bewohnt von Menschen, die nach Kriegsende ihrerseits gezwungen worden waren, ihre Heimat zu verlassen (z.B. Menschen aus dem bisherigen Osten Polens, der nun an die Ukraine fiel) und nun unter Leugnung jedes vorherigen Eigentumsverhältnisses in den Haushalten lebten, die vor dem Krieg von anderen Menschen bewohnt worden waren, Juden und Nichtjuden. Vereinzelte jüdische Überlebende kehrten zurück, meist, um nach potentiell überlebt habenden Familienangehörigen zu suchen. Besonders für jüdische Überlebende war es schwierig, Aufnahmeländer zu finden, und so übersiedelte die Mehrzahl im Laufe der nächsten Jahre in das Gebiet des heutigen Israel.

In einem Neben-Archiv befinden sich Korrespondenz-Akten, die den Schriftverkehr zwischen dem Suchdienst, NS-Opfern, Familienangehörigen und Behörden dokumentieren.

Dan Stone führt bewegende Beispiele dafür auf, wie bis in die heutige Zeit hinein noch immer Zusammenführungen von Verwandten gelingen.

2013 erklärte die UNESCO die Arolsen Archive zum Welt-Dokumentenerbe. Seine Wichtigkeit, auch Jahrzehnte nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, kann nicht nachdrücklich genug betont werden. Unter diesem Aspekt ist es erstaunlich, dass bis kurz nach der Jahrtausendwende das ITS weder auf dem Radar von Holocaustforschern, noch allgemein bekannt war. Nur durch Druck auf das Rote Kreuz, Details über das ITS und dessen Arbeit preiszugeben, geriet es in einen größeren Blickpunkt. Während des Kalten Krieges ermöglichte das ITS der deutschen Regierung Zugang zu Dokumenten, die dazu beitrugen, dass Kriegsverbrecher besser geschützt werden konnten. Dan Stone spekuliert, dass dies dem Hauptquartier des Roten Kreuzes möglicherweise peinlich war, vielleicht auch, weil es gegen dessen Neutralitätsanspruch verstieß.

Der Fokus dieses Buches liegt auf Individuen, seien es Täter oder Opfer. Das Umschlagfoto zeigt das verträumte, leicht melancholische Gesicht eines der Opfer, einer jungen hübschen Frau, deren Portrait dem Leser später im Buch nicht mehr wiederbegegnet. Es wurde zur Verfügung gestellt von der Wiener Holocaust Bibliothek in London und steht stellvertretend für all die vielen, die entweder im Holocaust ermordet oder jedenfalls nach Kriegsende nicht mehr auffindbar waren. Eine gute Erinnerung daran, dass man zwar vieles in Nummern fassen kann, aber dahinter Leben, Schicksale, Gesichter stehen von Menschen mit Hoffnungen und Träumen.

West Bloomfield, Michigan *Susanna Piontek*

A Tale of Two Fronts: A German Soldier's Journey through World War I. B*y Hans Schiller. Edited by Frederic Krome and Gregory Loving. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2024. 224 pp. $ 34.99.*

A Tale of Two Fronts is the captivating memoir of Hans Schiller, a German soldier who fought during World War I. Karin Wagner, his granddaughter, discovered and translated the handwritten version that Schiller penned in 1928. The memoir encompasses both the Eastern, or often overlooked, Front between 1915 and 1917, and the Western Front during most of 1918, as well as his service in the *Freikorps* during 1919 into 1920. Through Schiller's

eyes and thoughts, the reader learns about the vastness of the Eastern Front, spanning modern-day Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia. Personal experiences reveal the carnage of battle, the lack of supplies, the constant presence of disease and vermin, and the psychological trauma of feeling like the walking dead. Yet, Schiller also reveals the human spirit, including his resolve to not shoot the wounded enemy just because he could, and his willingness to interact with the opponent during the Easter truce in Kurland in spring of 1915.

The memoir confirms several perceptions about German soldiers during the First World War. For example, Schiller wanted to enlist and participate in an important historical event, thus confirming the widespread feelings of patriotism among German university students. The narrative about the Western Front quickly pulls the reader into the excitement of events during May and early June 1918. Schiller had experienced success on the Eastern Front and now sensed the euphoria of rapid advancement and pushing the French beyond the Aisne River. Yet, just as swiftly as events changed, he also began to realize that the Germans had no new reserves to hold and reinforce the advance. Schiller recognized the numerical advantages of the allied opponents and accepted the fact that the war was lost. However, he also insisted that the German soldiers and their military leaders were not to blame. He, instead, insisted that slackers, soldiers in the rear who never experienced combat, socialists, and communists contributed to the country's defeat. Thus, the reader will see Schiller as one of the many soldiers who believed in the stab-in-the-back legend and, like Schiller, joined one of several German para-military groups, collectively known as the *Freikorps*.

The chapter about Schiller's service in the Iron Division makes the most significant contribution to the historiography of World War I. While he was not politically aligned with the *Freikorps*, he joined the division as a mercenary fighter to protect Germany's eastern border, land gained during the war. He participated in a major German-Latvian push against Bolsheviks during spring 1919 and witnessed the unfortunate death of Latvian war hero, Colonel Oskars Kalpaks. He left the Iron Division and Latvia before the *Freikorps* and pro-German Latvians overthrew the Latvian government in May 1919 to serve on the German Polish Armistice border until the implementation of the Treaty of Versailles required the evacuation of German soldiers to a new border. Schiller left military service at the end of May 1920 blaming the treaty for ending his successful career as a soldier.

A Tale of Two Fronts will be a fascinating read for academics and general readers alike. Remembrances outline in detail the events during battle, including the soldier's instinct to load, fire, reload, and fire again without thinking while also intuitively understanding that both sides furiously used

the tools of modern warfare to annihilate the opponent regardless of casualties inflicted on either side. The memoir reveals the human side as well. As an artillery man, Schiller was torn between pride of having destroyed an enemy village and the realization of human beings suffering during and after the destruction. Schiller also explained that the way he dealt with the trauma of warfare was his conviction that his life was planned. If the plan was for him to die, he would do so at some point. If the plan were for him to survive, it would be so. He was sure that he had no control in the matter and this belief gave him a level on contentment, allowed him to survive mentally as well as physically and be proud of his military service. The editors supplemented the manuscript with explanations of places, dates, and events, as well as scholarly references. Several photographs of Schiller in military uniform, with other soldiers, with family, and in police uniform from his post-war career allow the reader to see the whole person and envision his experiences. Thus, *A Tale of Two Fronts* delivers an excellent personal account of the events during World War I and post-war Germany.

Missouri University of Science and Technology *Petra DeWitt*

A Nation Fermented: Beer, Bavaria, and the Making of Modern Germany.
By Robert Shea Terrell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024. 240 pp. $45.

Robert Shea Terrell's book offers an unconventional lens through which to view German history, centering on the role of beer and Bavarian symbols in shaping both national identity and global perceptions of Germany. Challenging the traditional idea of a unified German nation, Terrell explores Germany as a provincial nation, with Bavaria as a distinct cultural and political center that has profoundly influenced Germany's decentralized politics, industries, and cultural evolution.

Terrell examines how Bavarian beer culture and iconography have contributed to global conceptions of the German nation. He situates beer not just as a commodity, but as a powerful cultural and political force, shaped by local traditions and intertwined with the region's economic interests. Through the lens of provincialism, Terrell analyzes how the Bavarian politics, its economic structure, and its traditions of brewing have shaped the German nation from within (such as brewing standards) and from the outside (like stereotypes).

The book traces the complex historical relationship between beer and German identity, beginning with a detailed map of the territorial shifts in southern Germany throughout the 20th century, and a timeline that starts

with the 1516 Beer Purity Law imposed by the Wittelsbach dynasty.

Chapter one explores the rise of lager beer as a dominant style from the turn of the 20th century through the 1930s, highlighting its appeal due to its long shelf life, transportability, and lighter taste. This time period was characterized by significant developments in production standards, taxation, and social reform within the brewing industry. According to Terrell, a pivotal moment came with the 1906 regulations, which shaped the German brewing landscape and set the stage for numerous conflicts over beer throughout the century. While southern brewers remained committed to traditional methods, adhering to the four-ingredient list (water, hops, malted barley, and yeast), northern brewers continued to rally against national regulations. The northern states celebrated when the 1906 ingredient restrictions were relaxed (until the 1920s), allowing the inclusion of additional sugar and malt sources, a necessary adjustment due to the shortages caused by World War I.

In chapter two, Terrell examines how beer became a central battleground for the Nazi regime and brewers, particularly in southern Germany (such as the rejection of the sugar proposal in 1938). The chapter illustrates how the Nazi ideal of the "healthy, strapping, and abstinent German" was often at odds with the pervasive culture of drunken violence that was integral to Nazi expansionism and the race wars. Terrell explores the Third Reich's evolving attitude toward commodities like beer and tobacco—once a focus of public health concern—that ultimately became crucial to sustaining the war effort.

Chapter three, "Liquid Bread," illustrates the evolving political landscape of Bavaria from the postwar Occupation period to the establishment of the Federal Republic. Terrell argues that the ongoing food scarcity and escalating East-West tensions led to greater agricultural dependence on Bavaria, positioning the region as a pivotal force in shaping both Allied and Western German policy. One of the most significant outcomes of this period was Bavaria's success in convincing the government to retain the beer tax as the sole consumption-based tax to remain under the control of the German states—a policy that persists to this day.

In chapter four, Terrell examines how beer was promoted not only as a popular beverage but as a defining characteristic of the (West) German nation. He argues that the West German state encouraged beer consumption as part of a cultural nationalist agenda, reviving Weimar-era plans for *Gemeinschaftswerbung*. As a result, the stereotype of the beer-drinking German emerged as a product of postwar economic and political conditions. Beer served to refresh laborers and to facilitate both private and public sociability, while simultaneously reinforcing social hierarchies—such as the male producer-citizen and female consumer-citizen roles—and helping to silence the Nazi past. Initially, Bavaria participated in both regional and national adver-

tising campaigns, but by the early 1960s, there was a concerted effort across the country to downplay regional differences and present a unified image of beer and German identity.

Terrell's fifth chapter focuses on the *Reinheitsgebot,* both a cultural symbol and a key regulator of the beer market. Terrell identifies two major conflicts between the 1950s and 1970s that led to West Germany's renewed commitment to beer purity. The first, the *Süßbierstreit,* highlighted disagreements over brewing standards, with stricter regulations in Bavaria. The second, the *Europäische Bierkrieg*, prompted West German politicians to recognize the *Reinheitsgebo*t as a distinctly German, rather than merely Bavarian, tradition.

Drawing on the American anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's political economy of taste theory, Terrell argues in chapter six that the exclusivity of claims to Bavarian quality and authenticity is rooted in the legal frameworks of capitalism, including patents, naming rights, and proprietary claims. Terrell uses Munich-based Löwenbräu brewery as a case study for how beer from Bavaria, and especially Löwenbräu, played a significant role in shaping international perceptions of West Germany and in obscuring the Nazi past. Terrell claims that, unlike the versatility of "Pilsner beer," the authenticity of Bavarian beer was intrinsically tied to its place of origin, which in turn was bound up with myths and stereotypes about Bavaria itself.

The final chapter focuses on the transformations from the recession to the Wende (1970-1990s). Terrell argues that as Löwenbräu struggled, the notion of beer authenticity became increasingly exclusive to Munich and Bavaria, despite the region scaling back its efforts to promote cultural approximation after the 1970s. While West Germans maintained their cultural emphasis on the importance of the Reinheitsgebot (with was later embraced by East German brewers), the European Court of Justice (ECJ) undermined it as a market barrier during the 1980s. In 1995, "German Beer" (which has adhered to the national version of the Reinheitsgebot for bottom-fermented lager) became one of nine products officially recognized by the EU Commission.

Terrell offers a fresh perspective on German commodity history by focusing on Bavaria and its international popularity. *A Nation Fermented* is a valuable contribution to the study of modern German history. While Terrell effectively engages readers with a narrative of Germany's modern history through beer, he occasionally oversimplifies and overstates the influence of beer and Bavaria, as seen in his discussion of the beer tax as a factor contributing to the Weimar Republic's collapse. Though Bavaria, as Terrell notes, is often compared to Texas in terms of its size, language, independent spirit, and rural traditions, it is also important to recognize Bavaria's strategic position under American occupation. This status significantly boosted Bavaria's popularity and helped position the region as a leader in export industries like

automobiles, electronics, chemicals, beer, and machinery. Terrell's analysis of Bavarian beer as a tool for rebranding (West) Germany abroad touches only the surface of this complex phenomenon.

Despite focusing on Löwenbräu as a strong case study for how Bavarian beer shaped global perceptions of Germany, *A Nation Fermented* overlooks the role of 19th-century German American immigrants in developing these perceptions, particularly those from states like Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Additionally, while Löwenbräu's global market share has waned, Hofbräu has emerged as a dominant brand with six Hofbräuhaus beer halls across the US. Nevertheless, A Nation Fermented offers important historical insights into Germany's cultural and economic relationship with beer, shedding new light on Bavaria's role in shaping both domestic and international perceptions of the nation.

University of Texas at Austin *Sabine Waas*

The Journals of the Moravian Mission to Georgia, 1734-1737: From Herrnhut to Savannah.
By Achim Kopp and John Thomas Scott, eds. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press & Roman & Littlefield, 2023. vii + 284 pp. $120.00.

For the first time in almost 300 years readers now have access to English translations of the German diaries or journals of the Moravian missionaries who settled in the Georgia Colony around Savannah in 1735. Because they are preserved in the Unity Archives of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, a small village in Saxony, Germany, and written in often miniscule handwriting in difficult-to-decipher eighteenth-century German *Kurrentschrift*, it is understandable that these documents were rarely used by scholars and have remained relatively unknown until now.

In 1734 nine Moravian men left Herrnhut for London, England, to meet up with their leader August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who had made arrangements with the Georgia Trustees for the group, known as the "first party," to sail to Savannah, Georgia, to become part of the Georgia Colony. The group boarded the ship Two Brothers on February 3, 1735, and disembarked in Savannah on April 8. The following year the "second party" of twenty-five more Moravians, including women and children, led by David Nitschmann, the first Moravian bishop of the renewed Moravian Church, set sail on the Symmonds on October 31, 1735, from Gravesend, England, and arrived in Savannah, Georgia, on February 23, 1736. On board were also John and

Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodist Church, and Benjamin Ingham, who established the Moravian Church in England.

Favorably impressed by the sober and industrious Moravians, the Georgia Trustees in January 1735 had granted the Moravians 500 acres in the Georgia Colony in Zinzendorf's name and promised to lend them the money to pay for their passage. The Moravians viewed the land in Georgia as a possible refuge should they ever be expelled from Saxony, Germany, as well as an opportunity to begin missionary work among the Creek and Cherokee Indians in Georgia, although at the time the Trustees had not given the Moravians permission to evangelize the Native Americans living there. Five years after their arrival the Moravians abandoned Georgia mainly because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to take up arms to defend Savannah from the Spanish in Florida.

It was the custom of Moravian missionaries and pastors to keep detailed diaries or journals on their mission expeditions or assignments, not as personal accounts, but as reports which they sent back to Herrnhut to inform church leaders about both spiritual and everyday problems encountered during their mission work, as well as any progress they had made. These reports were read and often annotated by Zinzendorf and other church leaders and then shared with the community at large.

From among a number of journals written by Moravian settlers of the Georgia colony, Achim Kopp and John Thomas Scott selected the diaries of August Gottlieb Spangenberg, David Nitschmann, Johann Töltschig, and Johann Andreas Dober, which constitute the four chapters of this volume. These journals, ranging from 29 to 55 pages in length, were chosen for their interesting content, the relative importance of the four leaders in the Moravian Church, and the fact that all four journals deal primarily with the period from 1735 to 1737, when the colonizing activity of the Moravians in the Georgia was at its height. The Spangenberg journals make up the first chapter and consist of two chronological segments, which are the longest in the volume. Part one begins with the first party's arrival in London on December 27, 1734, and ends when they reach Savannah, while the second part, written in early 1736, looks back to important events in Savannah in the summer of 1735 and up to Governor Oglethorpe's arrival with the second party in Georgia. Chapter Two, the Nitschmann diaries, covers the second party's journey from Herrnhut to England, the voyage across the Atlantic, and their arrival in Georgia in February 1736. Chapter Three, the Töltschig journals, begins shortly after Spangenberg and Nitschmann leave Georgia in spring 1736 and ends abruptly in fall of 1737, even though Töltschig remained in the Georgia until spring of 1738. Not only do the dairies of Töltschig tell us a lot about life in the Georgia Colony and the difficulties the settlers encountered, but

they also cover the Moravians' interactions with John and Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham, the founding of the mission school for the Yamacraw tribe on the island Irene north of Savannah, the Moravians' dispute with the authorities because of their refusal to take up arms to defend the colony, and the start of the dissolution of the Moravian mission in Georgia.

The journal selections are exceptionally well documented with endnotes that identify people and places, explain unusual terms and phrases, provide complete references to all Scripture verses and hymn stanzas mentioned, indicate when a word in the manuscript has been added, crossed out, or is illegible, or when there is a break in the manuscript, and clarify whether dates are in the Julian (Old Style) or Gregorian (New Style) calendar. In addition to these copious endnotes, the editors provide the reader with useful explanatory annotations that help to place these journals in their historical context, including a thorough introduction at the beginning of the volume, a Georgia Moravian timeline, a list of settlers, profiles of the Moravian journal authors, biographical sketches of the Moravian settlers, four pages of maps, two appendices, a comprehensive bibliography, and a complete index. Appendix A is comprised of a reprint of the article "We Have Come to Georgia with Pure Intentions" by George Fenwick Jones and Paul Martin Peucher [sic], originally published in 1998. This article contains the authors' translation of three letters by August Gottlieb Spangenberg from Savannah in 1735, which are held in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut. These three letters, accompanied by six images and a brief account of the Moravians' eventual departure from Georgia in 1740, chronicle the experiences of the first party on their journey to Georgia and complement the Spangenberg journals in Chapter One. Appendix B consists of a list of alternate spellings of names and terms found in the Moravian journals.

These firsthand accounts are a rich source of cultural and historical information, from what life was like on the long voyage across the Atlantic to the everyday problems of survival on the frontier. We learn, for example, how the settlers treated illnesses and dealt with death, how they got along with the civil authorities in Savannah, how they handled internal disputes and conflicts, and how they worked with the Native Americans and tried to learn their language. A theme that runs throughout the journals is the importance that the Moravians attached to their religious beliefs and practices. Some of these distinctive Moravian customs and rituals, for example, were the discussion of and recording of the Daily Text (*Lesung*) for each day, the practice instituted by Zinzendorf in 1728 of providing a Bible verse each morning that would become the watchword to live by for that day; the frequent holding of hymn services (*Singstunden*), a worship service consisting of various hymn

stanzas that formed the message, another custom initiated by Zinzendorf; the celebration of religious holidays or special events with a love feast (*Liebesmahl*) or agape meal, a simple meal that originated with early Christians to demonstrate unity and equality; the use of the lot to seek divine guidance when confronting a difficult decision, a practice that goes back to Old Testament times; the creation of "classes" or small groups (*Banden*) of like-minded members, who would meet informally for prayer and to support each other spiritually; and the conducting of monthly meetings (*Bettag* or *Gemeintag*) devoted to prayer, the discussion of important matters to the congregation, and to the reading of letters or reports from missionaries. Since large parts of the journals deal with the voyage across the Atlantic, readers are also introduced to geography, nautical terms, and how captains of sailing ships dealt with the vagaries of wind and weather.

The journals also cover the interactions between the Moravians and fellow traveler, John Wesley, who often worshiped with them and found their song services (*Singstunden*) especially appealing. He followed their missionary work with the local Indians with great interest and carried on extensive theological discussions with Spangenberg, Nitschmann, and Töltschig, In fact, Wesley began to study German not only so he could converse with the Moravians in their language instead of university Latin, but to translate into English their hymns and chorals. At one point during his sojourn in Georgia, Wesley even considered joining the Moravian Church, but Church elders suggested that he might not be quite ready yet.

The editors are to be commended for overcoming considerable geographical, archival, and linguistic challenges in producing in print for the first time a highly readable English translation of the journals of the Moravian missionaries to Georgia and thereby filling a gap in the otherwise well-documented history of the British Georgia Colony. Not only is this volume exceptionally well edited, but the editors also provide a significant amount of additional information to help readers understand these journals and place them in their historical context. General readers as well as scholars, especially of American Colonial history and religious studies, will find these translations of the firsthand accounts of the Moravian missionaries to Georgia to be a fascinating and important source of cultural and historical information.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

Moravian Soundscapes: A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania.
By Sarah Justina Eyerly. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2020. 269 pp. $80.00.

Moravian Soundscapes is both a personal memoir and a comprehensive history of the Moravian mission effort with Native Americans, primarily the Delaware and Mohicans, in Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1794. It opens with a useful "Note on Naming, Terminology, and Archival Sources" (xv-xvi) and a six-page Prologue, in which the author explains how twenty year ago she learned of a translation of the journal of her ancestor, Johann Jacob Eyerly, Jr., a Moravian missionary from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in which he describes what he observed as he walked across much of Pennsylvania to survey the 5000 acres between Bethlehem and Presqueisle on Lake Erie that the Pennsylvania Legislature had granted the Moravian Church in 1791. Reading Eyerly's description of the fertile soil and the dense forests with its diversity of sounds in what was known as the Erie Triangle in Pennsylvania became the inspiration for the author's research that culminated in this book.

Following the Prologue is an extensive Introduction (7-48) that begins with a recounting of the savage massacre by a militia from Washington County, Pennsylvania, of ninety-six peaceful and defenseless Mohican and Delaware Moravian men, women, and children at the Moravian mission in Gnadenhütten, Ohio, in March of 1782 in retaliation for attacks on Scots-Irish settlers by other Delaware and Wyandot Indians on the Pennsylvania-Ohio border. Two young boys survived this horrific event and reported that the Native Moravians went to their death while singing the hymns and Psalms they had learned from their missionary leaders.

The Moravian ritual of hymn singing was not confined to church services alone, but was part of everyday life. Even the seriously ill and those facing death were sung to, which the Moravians referred to as *Einsingen* (singing at death). For the author the study of sound is essential for an understanding of the interaction between Moravian missionaries and the Native Americans in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Eyerly views Moravian hymnody as a cultural mediator between the Moravian missionaries, for whom the singing of hymns was part of their identity and a fundamental aspect of their daily Christian life, and their Native Christian converts, who appropriated Christian theology and Moravian rituals from the hymns and music and who then adapted their own music and instruments in response.

Much of the Introduction is devoted to a history of Moravian missions to the Native Americans, starting with Christian Heinrich Rauch, the first

Moravian missionary to immigrate to Pennsylvania from the Moravian community of Marienborn, Germany, to work with the Indians. Inspired by the story of Conrad Weiser, a German from the Palatinate, and his encounters with Native peoples, Rauch sailed to New York in 1740 and sought permission to live among the Mohicans in the village Shekomeko, which became the first Moravian mission in New England.

The missions in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut were not the first Moravian missions in the New World. The first Moravian missionaries had arrived on the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1732 to minister to Black enslaved peoples working on the sugar and tobacco plantations. The following year three Moravian missionaries were sent to Greenland to support the mission work there, and in 1735 missionaries travelled to Surinam on the coast of South America to look into establishing a mission there. That same year two groups of Moravian missionaries and their families from Herrnhut, Germany, arrived in Savannah, Georgia, as part of the Georgia Colony headed by Governor Oglethorpe to begin mission work with the Creek and Cherokee Indians. The Moravians, however, abandoned the mission after five years because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to defend the colony from the Spanish.

Moravian Soundscapes consists of four chapters, each of which is preceded by a short prologue of two to five pages in which the author uses her own personal experiences to introduce and help the reader understand the topic of each chapter. Chapter One, "In Penn's Woods," imagines the soundscapes of the dense forests of Pennsylvania that Moravian missionaries encountered while at the same time describing the hunting practices of the Native Americans with whom the missionaries interacted. While the author bases much of this chapter on George Loskiel's history of Moravian missionary work of 1789, she also draws on the accounts of many other Moravian travelogues, diaries, and hymns. Moravian hymnody was often multilingual; with missionaries singing them in German and the Indigenous converts in their own languages during their daily life, travels, and worship.

Chapter Two, titled "Friends and Strangers," concentrates on the organization of the community or *Gemeine* of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with its communal economy or *Oeconomie*, based on the common ownership of property and shared division of labor, and its distinct social order with members of the community divided into choirs according to age, gender, and marital status, that determined how people lived, worked, and worshiped. Especially interesting is the role that music and singing of hymns played in their daily life, often in the form of simultaneous polyglot singing of hymns or the improvisation of hymn singing, a practice first started by Zinzendorf in Germany. The Economy of Bethlehem supported not only the home

community (*Hausgemeine*) and its workers with various trades, but was the main support of the pilgrims' community (*Pilgergemeine*), who carried out the mission effort in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. The second half of the chapter examines the interaction between Moravians and non-Moravians who visited Bethlehem as well as the relationship between the German missionaries and the Indigenous peoples.

Chapter Three, "Sound and Spirit," focuses on Johann Christoph Pyrlaeus, a Moravian convert, who was chosen by lot to become a missionary to North America and who arrived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in fall of 1741. There he met Joshua Sr., a native Mohican converted by Rauch, who had travelled to Bethlehem with Zinzendorf, where he was baptized and where he and Pyrlaeus were members of the same choir. The two traveled together and ministered to such missions as Gnadenhütten. They improvised hymns together in hymn services (*Singstunden)* in the Moravian style that used some twenty basic choral melodies.

Chapter Four, titled "1782," looks at the Moravian missions and communities in Pennsylvania after the Seven Years War, the dissolution of the economy in Bethlehem after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760, and how the Moravians were affected by the Revolutionary War. When the Moravians changed their communal economy to a cash-based one, individuals could now lease a parcel for their own home. With the end of communal life and the change to single family homes came also the end of daily group worship services and a decline in singing hymns by memory and improvising new ones. This period also witnessed an unfortunate increase in violence between settlers and Native Moravians, who were being moved westward. The chapter ends with a graphic recounting of the massacre in 1782 of the peaceful Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, who went to their death singing the Christian hymns they had learned from the missionaries, but that went unrecognized by their executioners.

The volume concludes with a short Epilogue and a glossary of Moravian terms. The Epilogue quotes from a letter that several Moravian brethren wrote to George Washington, the newly installed president of the United State, asking for his protection of the Moravian mission to the Indians in Petquotting on the Huron River. In spite of investigations called for by Washington and Congress, no one was ever held accountable for the worst massacre of the Revolutionary War. However, in 1792 Congress granted the Moravians 2,000 acres, which Johann Jacob Eyerley, Jr., surveyed for the church.

A unique and useful feature of *Moravian Soundscapes* is the companion website (https://doi.org/*10.33009*/moraviansoundscapes_music_fsu). The website follows the book chronologically from 1740 to 1782 and provides

a wealth of interactive maps, timelines, visuals, and sound recordings of Moravian hymns sung in Mohican and Delaware languages that help readers to interact with the sounds and images presented in the book.

Moravian Soundscapes is well written and well documented and concludes with an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources and an index. A few editorial mistakes, such as incorrect syllabications in German, not listing Kenneth G. Hamilton as translator (along with Lothar Madeheim for volume II) of the Bethlehem Diaries, Vols. I-II (1971-2001), not always providing places of publication in book references, and not listing in alphabetical order items in the bibliography under the letter "s," will hopefully be corrected in a second printing. By framing her study of the first Moravian missions in Pennsylvania within her own life story, Sarah J. Eyerly has created a fascinating study that connects the present with the past, but that both the general reader interested in Moravian history and the specialist in early American history, religious studies, or sacred music will find informative and engaging.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

The German Texas Frontier in 1853. Ferdinand Lindheimer's Newspaper Accounts of the Environment, Gold, and Indians.
By Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham. College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 2024. 256 pp. $34.95.

As Carl Wittke succinctly summarizes, the German-language press in the U.S. played an important role in orienting migrants to their new society while simultaneously serving as a vital link to their cultural roots, offering familiarity and a sense of connection to their heritage (1957, p. 8). Despite numerous studies that have examined the peculiarities and influence of the German-language press in the U.S., the archives of German American newspapers are largely unknown, with persistent research gaps and a vast amount of unexplored content. Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham's book seeks to address this gap by examining a two-year period of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* (NBZ), one of the earliest German-language newspapers in Texas. The book offers a glimpse into the experiences and observations of its editor, Ferdinand Lindheimer—a naturalist and journalist—during the mid-nineteenth century. Through a collection of translated newspaper articles, it presents a vivid portrait of Texas from Lindheimer's perspective, exploring themes such as environmental conditions, the lure of gold, and encounters with Indigenous peoples.

Lindheimer, regarded as the "father of Texas botany" (1), was also a keen observer of the social and political transformations unfolding in Texas. As editor of the NBZ, which he began overseeing in 1852, he documented not only the region's landscape and ecological characteristics but also the ambitions and anxieties of German migrants navigating an unfamiliar and often challenging frontier. The book is structured into nine chapters and, in addition to translations of selected newspaper reports, includes illustrations such as maps, portraits, and paintings. Gelo and Wickham provide background on Lindheimer's life and career, as well as the historical circumstances that shaped German migration to Texas. They also engage with questions of translation, discussing the challenges of rendering Lindheimer's nineteenth-century German prose into accessible English while maintaining the original nuances of his expression.

Gelo and Wickham's translation and contextualization of these articles offer valuable insights into Lindheimer's perspective, illustrating how German settlers interpreted and adapted to their new environment. For instance, in his reports on the speculation about mineral wealth and economic prospects in Texas (chapter 3). Lindheimer connects the management of natural resources with prevailing mentalities. He highlights "the clear differences between the Germans and the Anglo-American character" (47), contrasting the American "drive for speculation and risk" (p. 48) with "the German work ethic," which, he argues, helped "keep any impulses for a Texas gold rush to a minimum" (p. 53). Lindheimer's newspaper recurrently explores environmental factors and their effects on both settler and Indigenous populations, offering social, political, and economic insights into frontier life. Among the topics that Gelo and Wickham highlight, Indigenous cultures and relations stand out as particularly significant, encompassing encounters, the role of forts in frontier security (chapter 4), and the nature of peace treaties (chapter 5). Lindheimer's writings reflect a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous needs for trade and the consequences of white encroachment on their lands. Beyond documenting contemporary Texan news, the editor's reports reflect on historical events including (questionable) settlement patterns, providing a broader temporal perspective. However, like the authors, I find it striking that Lindheimer—who demonstrates an affinity for the meticulous classification of plants—exhibits so little curiosity about the tribal affiliations of Native American groups and their interrelations. As Gelo and Wickham note, this raises the question of whether he was able to "distinguish different ethnic communities accurately" (9).

The final parts of the work shift focus to the newspaper's belletristic content, offering readers a glimpse into both the romanticized and derogatory portrayals of Native Americans in poetry and prose. Through a close read-

ing of "The Squatter's Wife" and its intertextual connections, for instance, chapter 7 compellingly illustrates how German and Anglo-American settler myths were embedded in fictional narratives that circulated not only within the United States but also across the Atlantic. In doing so, Gelo and Wickham provide insight into the diversity of newspaper pages, which transgress genre boundaries by blending news reporting, literary storytelling, and cultural commentary.

Despite these strengths, the book has some shortcomings. While the book focuses on newspaper articles and Lindheimer's editorial perspective, it misses a broader discussion of the German American press, particularly in the context of Texas. Additionally, some of the authors' claims about Lindheimer rely more on speculation than textual evidence, making them less convincingly substantiated. A deeper engagement with theoretical frameworks such as frontier theory, migration studies, or environmental history might have further enriched the volume. Additionally, though the editors acknowledge the racial and colonial dynamics present in Lindheimer's writing, a more sustained critical analysis of these aspects could have strengthened the book's engagement with contemporary historiographical debates.

The German Texas Frontier in 1853 is a valuable contribution to the study of German American history and the Texas frontier. By making Lindheimer's writings available to a wider audience, Gelo and Wickham's book deepens our understanding of the cultural and environmental history of the period and highlights the evolving relationship between German settlers, Indigenous peoples, and the frontier landscape. Moreover, it invites further exploration of the German American press as a vital medium for shaping immigrant identity and community cohesion.

German Historical Institute *Jana Keck*

Professing Classics: Between Germanosphere and Anglosphere (mid-19th-21st C.).
Edited by Ward Briggs and Danuta Shanzer, with the collaboration of Sonja Schreiner. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. vi, 334. $109.99.

The Germanophone countries and the Anglophone countries have long been sites of reciprocal scholarly exchanges. This fascinating and readable volume takes up one particularly field, namely Classics, focusing on Classicists who moved between the Germanophone (especially Germany and Austria) world and the Anglophone world (in both directions), starting in the mid-

19th century. Some of these scholars were forced to do so by factors beyond their control (e.g., anti-Semitism under the Third Reich), while others did so for personal or professional reasons. The book contains 13 thematic chapters, as well as an introduction and a conclusion, and grew out of a conference held in 2014 in Vienna. In what follows, I comment briefly on some of the chapters I found the most stimulating, focusing on the chapters involving North America. (Three of the chapters are on scholars who moved to the United Kingdom or Ireland and, while interesting, are left aside here.)

Ward Briggs offers a paper called "Teutonomania: Gildersleeve, Goethe, and the Southern Experience in Germany" (33-52), which focuses on Basil Gildersleeve, the well-known American classicist, who was trained in Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen after completing his undergraduate studies at Princeton. (Several other scholars from the American South are treated in less detail.) Gildersleeve began to read extensively in German literature at Princeton, and his deep love for this literature, especially for Goethe's work, led him to study in Germany. This in turn set him on a career path, as he changed his main field of interest from German literature to Classics; Gildersleeve eventually became Professor of Classics at Johns Hopkins University and founded the *American Journal of Philology*, which remains one of the journals of record in Classics today. It is clear that his time in Germany affected Gildersleeve profoundly, and that Classics in the USA would be radically different, had Gildersleeve never gone to Europe.

Christian Flow discusses an example of international scholarly exchange going from the USA to Europe in "Eduard Wölfflin and his *amerikanische Schule*" (53-85; italics in original). Wölfflin was a professor in Munich, as well as one of, if not the, most important figure in the founding and early years of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*TLL*; for details, see https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/project.html), and the founder of the journal *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*. He also had at least fifteen American students during his time in Munich, some of whom eventually became prominent Classicists (e.g., Edith Hamilton, who was the headmistress at the Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore and published widely on classical topics, including a very popular book on mythology); this group was collectively referred to as Wölfflin's *amerikanische Schule*. Despite various challenges (e.g., lack of funding, struggles with the German language), these Americans contributed considerably to the TLL and the *Archiv*, and then were able to utilize their German training to contribute to the field in North America.

My favorite paper in the volume, "Jochem Schindler: Wien – Harvard – Wien" (249-60), by Franz Römer, actually does not fit the volume's theme (as Römer notes at the beginning of the paper), as Schindler was an Indo-Europeanist, not a Classicist. Schindler (1944-94) was a spectacularly talented

scholar, who went from graduate student in Würzburg to full professor at Harvard in a span of six years, a record that will most likely never be matched, and eventually returned to his native Vienna as a full professor and later dean. Although Schindler published relatively little, what he did publish was brilliant and important. A full study of Schindler's place in the history of linguistics remains a desideratum, but Römer's personal and engaging study is a very nice first step towards that goal.

My list of criticisms is quite short. First, some quotes are given only in translation, while others are given only in the original, and more consistency in this area would have been good. Second, at times a heavier editorial hand would seem to have been called for, as some of the contributions occasionally still read like conference papers, and a few of them should have probably been condensed a bit. But in general the volume offers valuable studies of a number of interesting topics, and the editors and contributors are to be applauded for their efforts. It will be of interest to all those interested in Classics, and to many readers beyond that narrow audience as well.

University of Texas at Austin *Marc Pierce*

Transatlantische Rivalitäten: Deutsche und amerikanische Einstellungen zu Technik, Kultur und Moderne.
By Frank Trommler. Köln: Böhlau, 2024. 216 pp. $33.

"Militarism and science! [*sic*!] these are the keynotes of the German scheme. The one insults our ideals, and the other challenges our inefficiency. … can we ever hope to get the German scientific efficiency of civilization welded into our own philandering, individualistic democracy?" In 1915, the left-wing intellectual Randolph S. Bourne asked how German culture had led to such warlike autocracy. Bourne had visited Germany shortly before the outbreak of World War I, and subsequently developed a strong aversion to German militarism. The war truly showed the abysses of German efficiency and objectivity.

Professor emeritus of German at the University of Pennsylvania, Frank Trommler, traces the development of German "Sachlichkeit", the organizing of modern society and its influences and perceptions on both sides of the Atlantic. *Transatlantische Rivalitäten. Deutsche und amerikanische Einstellungen zu Technik, Kultur und Moderne* is a cultural history of the transatlantic entanglements in the field of technology. In fourteen chapters (each 10 to 22 pages long), Trommler showcases transatlantic similarities and differences in

dealing with and perceiving of technology and culture, leading to rapprochements and distances. As the United States and the German Empire emerged as industrial leaders towards the close of the 19th century, both countries gradually began to compete. As Trommler persuasively demonstrates, this competition was not merely driven by economic factors, but rather by ideological dominance, thus shaping the very concept of modernity.

The author begins his book with the wake-up call of German mechanical engineer and Berlin professor Franz Reuleaux, who had visited the *Centennial International Exhibition of 1876* in Philadelphia. Reuleaux conceded that the quality of goods manufactured in Germany was significantly lower than those of other countries ("billig und schlecht"). Over the next decades, the U.S. continued to display their (new) self-confidence at international exhibitions while German commentators sometimes alarmingly, yet often also rather arrogantly reaffirmed Germany's strong international reputation as a leading technological powerhouse.

Trommler provides the needed nuance in deciphering the multi-layered discourse by offering one of the first extensive studies that exclusively deals with the transatlantic debates on technology and culture. From the founding of the German Empire to the Weimar Republic, U.S.-German rivalries led to creativity and produced images of both, desires and enemies In comparison to the narrower, yet more optimistic understanding of technology in the United States, Europe developed a broader, culturally inclusive, albeit more skeptical technology discourse (41, 203). After 1900, a distinctively German approach to technology emerged, marked by the idealized and pragmatic elevation of objectivity that characterized the aesthetic mobilizations of the period (89-90). Each chapter highlights specific developments and how contemporaries made sense of these, from the impressive displays at World's Fairs to artistic training in European metropoles, from technological euphoria to anxiety, torn between technological functionalism and artistic beauty.

The register of persons at the end of the book testifies to the vibrant (albeit predominantly white male) discourse. Up until chapter 14, female voices are mostly missing and while this does not surprise given the masculine sphere of technology, a reflection on gender and race in technological discourse would have provided important contextualization at the height of German colonialism.

Moreover, a subject index might have enhanced the book's accessibility. For example, the *Deutscher Werkbund* (German Association of Craftsmen), is discussed in several chapters (87-89, 91-102, 107, 122, 156). Established in 1907 with the objective of improving the competitiveness of German enterprises, particularly with England and the United States, the *Wekrbund* emerged as a pivotal catalyst in the development of a new national culture.

This was achieved through the integration of traditional crafts and industrial mass production techniques, ultimately contributing to the emergence of the Bauhaus school of design.

These issues aside, *Transatlantische Rivalitäten* underlines the need to look more closely at the transcultural dialogues at the heart of debates on progress and modernity. The book should be particularly welcomed by historians of intellectual, technology, and immigration history

University of Texas at Austin *Jana Weiß*

Linguistics

Deutsche und weitere germanische Sprachminderheiten in Lateinamerika: Grundlagen, Methoden, Fallstudien.
Edited by Patrick Wolf-Farré, Lucas Löff Machado, Angélica Prediger, and Sebastian Kürschner. MINGLA – Minderheiten Germanischer Sprachen in Lateinamerika / Minorías de lenguas Germánicas en Latinoamérica 1. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2023. 396 pp. $90.95.

This volume is the first in a series devoted to minority languages with Germanic origins in Latin America. This series was conceived at a conference held at the Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt in 2019, and contributions to this volume are largely based on work presented at that conference. A stated goal of the series is to further international and interdisciplinary exchange in the study of all Germanic minority languages spoken in Latin America. While the majority of contributions (ten of thirteen) to this first volume are written in German and present research on varieties of German (twelve of thirteen), the series plans to publish research articles written in German, Spanish, Portuguese, or English addressing any Germanic minority language in Latin America.

The volume begins with an introduction by the editors which discusses the state of research on Germanic minority languages in Latin America, describes the range of work presented at the 2019 conference, and introduces the individual contributions contained in the volume. The articles are grouped into three sections: *Grundlagen* (foundations), *Methoden* (methods), and *Fallstudien* (case studies).

The section devoted to foundations contains two contributions. Peter Rosenberg's chapter "Deutsch in Lateinamerika: Sprachinseln, Archipele, Atolle" is an excellent introduction to the topic of German in Latin America

and is noteworthy as the contribution with the broadest appeal to readers with a general interest in German dialectology and sociolinguistics. It provides an overview of areas where German is spoken as a minority language in Latin America accompanied by maps and relevant statistics, the status of German as a foreign language in the region, and a discussion of relevant sociolinguistic issues including language contact and change in the context of language shift. Danish as a minority language in Argentina is the subject of the other chapter in the first section. This chapter by Karoline Kühl and Jan Heegård Petersen focuses on issues of language contact and the relative stability of Argentine Danish as a minority language.

The section of the volume devoted to methods contains four contributions, beginning with a chapter introducing the MEND corpus (Mennonite Low German in North and South America) by Göz Kaufmann, Jan Gorisch, and Thomas Schmidt. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of techniques used to elicit data from speakers in Mennonite communities in multiple countries and the complexities and decision making involved in compiling those data into a searchable corpus. A second contribution in corpus linguistics by Neubiana Silva Veloso Beilke describes the development of a corpus of Pomeranian Low German in Brazil. Toponyms incorporating "Eck(e)" among the German speaking minority in Southern Brazil is the subject of a chapter by Lucas Löff Machado, Angélica Prediger, Fernando Hélio Tavares de Barros, and Jéferson Schaeffer. The final contribution to this section by Katharina Löschner considers the historical development of the German speaking press in Uruguay and the linguistic characteristics of German language print media over time.

The final section devoted to case studies includes six contributions. Alicia Cipria's chapter presents research on language maintenance and shift in the Volga German community in Valle María, Argentina. Claudia Maria Riehl's chapter considers similar issues in German communities in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina. Karen Pupp Spinassé examines pedagogical issues in the teaching of standard German in communities in which the Hunsrückisch dialect is spoken in Brazil, advocating for strategies that use knowledge of the minority language variety as a bridge to standard German. The history of minority language policies in Brazil with particular emphasis on polices in German speaking communities is the topic of a chapter by Mônica Savedra and Leticia Mazzelli. Luana Cyntia dos Santos Souza compares language maintenance, language shift, and language revitalization efforts in two Brazilian communities in which Pomeranian Low German is spoken. The final contribution in the case studies section by Willian Radünz takes an ethnographic approach to the use of German as a marker of authenticity and local identity in the context of a local festival in southern Brazil.

This is a high-quality volume with many excellent contributions. Despite the goal of the series to consider the full range of Germanic minority languages throughout Latin America, this initial volume focuses heavily on German varieties, and minority language communities in Brazil appear to be somewhat overrepresented. Nevertheless, it is an excellent start to a new series, and readers interested in German speaking minorities in Latin America will obviously find it of great interest. Many of the articles will also be of interest to scholars of German minority communities in the US and Canada as there are many parallels regarding issues of language shift, language maintenance, and contact induced language change.

University of Iowa *Bruce H. Nottingham-Spencer*

Die Rolle sprachlicher Normen für Deutschsprachige in Brasilien - Untersuchungen bei Nachfahren von Eingewanderten in Rio Grande do Sul.
By Lucas Löff Machado. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2024. 384pp. $90.95.

This book is the second volume in the newly founded series on German-speaking minorities in Latin America (*Minderheiten Germanischer Sprachen in Lateinamerika: MINGLA*) and is based on Löff Machado's dissertation. It is organized into nine chapters and offers a detailed account of the history and current status of German-speaking communities in Brazil as well as community members' attitudes towards language norms.

The introduction, preceding Chapter 1, presents the research questions, defines key terminology, and outlines the book's structure. Chapter 1 provides a concise historical overview of German settlements in Brazil, organized chronologically into the early 19th century, the late 19th century to WWII, the language restrictions during WWII, and the post-war years to the present, demonstrating an impressive synthesis of previous studies and historical information. Chapter 2 introduces the linguistic characteristics of German varieties spoken in Brazil - such as *Hunsrückisch, Pommerisch*, or *Plattdeutsch* – and contextualizes them within the seven cities included in the study: Alto Feliz, Arroio do Padre, Colônia Nova, Nova Petrópolis, Imigrante, Sinimbu, and Santa Rosa. The chapter stands out for its clarity of linguistic description and meticulous attention to detail, providing readers with a nuanced understanding of the linguistic diversity in each of these communities.

Chapter 3 introduces a detailed description of the historical development of language norms and standardization for both German and Brazilian Portuguese before discussing their relevance for the German-speaking communi-

ties and potential variation expected in domains such as school, church, print media, and by different types of people (e.g., preachers, teachers, women). The exploration of attitudes and beliefs which may impact language practices in German-speaking communities is exceptionally thorough. In addition to the information that is specific to German in Brazil, the critical discussion of standardization processes and effects of language norms on heritage speakers can easily be transferred to other immigrant communities. Chapter 4 presents a critical introduction to the linguistic jargon and discourse analytic concepts used to interpret participants' responses in the following chapters. In fact, the elaborate discussion of key terms makes this section a valuable resource for researchers considering a discourse analytic methodology in their research.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodology and participants' demographics. The study involved 57 participants (split by age and education level) across 41 interviews (140-41) in seven cities. Participants completed five tasks, including a language background questionnaire, two translation and a reading task as well as an interview part on attitudes towards language norms (see table 5, 144-45, and Appendix 2). A total of 48 hours of interviews were recorded, 40 of which were transcribed by the interviewer, which is particularly notable given the discourse linguistic detail provided in the transcripts. The number of participants and their wide geographical dispersion is remarkable and makes this corpus an invaluable resource in preserving German-speaking communities in Brazil. It would be commendable if the corpus were made openly accessible in the future.

Chapter 6 introduces the participants and their language background and analyzes their phonological realizations of selected lexical items in the local and standard-like variety as elicited in the translation tasks. The combination of quantitative analyses of "distance between local and standard-like pronunciations" (e.g., Table 20, 182) and individualized speaker comments (e.g., Table 24, 195) makes this chapter engaging both from a phonological and sociolinguistic standpoint. Chapter 7 provides a detailed exploration of the terminology used to describe standard-like and dialectal varieties of German, incorporating participants' evaluative attitudes associated with these terms. The chapter compellingly presents participants' notions and beliefs of standardized forms such as *Hochdeutsch*, *Hofdeutsch*, and *Deutsch*, showcasing a wide array of opinions. In some cases, the presentation of data would benefit from greater quantification (e.g. Table 36), as specifying the number or percentage of interviewees who used a particular term would enhance the clarity and interpretability of the findings.

Chapter 8 examines attitudes of study participants toward the use of German across different domains. It stands out for its qualitative analysis, featuring transcript excerpts that illustrate how individuals negotiate their linguistic

knowledge and identity in interaction. Besides the detailed interpretation and discussion of participant's diverse beliefs and attitudes, this chapter is an excellent example of how to apply discourse analytic methodology. Chapter summarizes the main findings of the previous chapters and highlights the results obtained in Chapters 7 and 8.

Overall, this is an engaging and compelling book, including thorough discussions of terminological and methodological background, an impressive amount of data, and rich findings. One point of criticism would be the fragmented structure of some chapters, where very short sections (e.g., *schwierig/dificil*, on 266; *popular* on 286) focus on isolated responses, detracting from broader thematic insights. Similarly, overarching trends such as whether attitudes are consistent within cities or how regional and social factors contribute to variation could be articulated more clearly. Nonetheless, this book is an invaluable resource for researchers interested in German-speaking communities in Brazil, particularly regarding language norms and attitudes. In addition, the thorough introduction to discourse linguistic analysis (Ch. 5) and its application in Chapter 8 are highly useful for scholars interested in employing this approach. Finally, the extensive transcriptions and meticulous analysis make this book a significant contribution to the study of German-speaking contact groups both in Latin America and beyond.

Texas Tech University *Maike Rocker*

Handbuch Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache.
Edited by Michael Szurawitzki und Patrick Wolf-Farré. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2024. 1015pp. $270.

Dieses umfangreiche Nachschlagewerk behandelt theoretische Grundlagen, aktuelle Forschung und didaktische Ansätze für Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache, mit besonderem Fokus auf die Verwendung der Sprache in der beruflichen Kommunikation. Das Buch ist unterteilt in sieben Schwerpunkte: Theoretische Aspekte (5 Kapitel), Historische Dimensionen (4 Kapitel), Allgemeine sprachliche Charakteristika (8 Kapitel), Didaktische Perspektiven (9 Kapitel), Fachsprachliche Textsorten und Kommunikationsformen auf Deutsch (14 Kapitel), Disziplinen (3 Kapitel) und Internationale Perspektiven (16 Kapitel). Die Kapitel sind typischerweise zwischen 15-25 Seiten lang und geben somit eine Fülle an Informationen in relativ kurzer Zeit. Jedes einzelne Kapitel beginnt mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung, Schlagwörtern und einem Inhaltsverzeichnis, das die Gliederung des Textes

zeigt. Dieser Aufbau macht es einfach, innerhalb weniger Sekunden zu erkennen, was der Fokus und die zu erwartenden Unterkapitel des Textes sind. Am Ende jedes Kapitels folgt ein Quellenverzeichnis der im Text verwendeten Literatur, sodass eine Vertiefung anhand dieser Quellen vereinfacht wird. Am Ende des Handbuches gibt es ein Sachregister, das Fachbegriffe und ihre Nennung aufführt (1003-1015). Obwohl jedes einzelne Kapitel lesenswert ist, kann diese Rezension leider nicht jedes der 59 Kapitel (plus Einleitung) zusammenfassen, weshalb hier nur eine Auswahl der für die LeserInnen des Jahrbuchs relevanten Kapitel vorgenommen werden soll.

Die naheliegendste Wahl ist das Kapitel von Per Urlaub, John Benjamin und Alexander Lorenz, welches den aktuellen Stand von Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache in den USA (949-964) behandelt. Die Autoren beschreiben, dass Deutsch in den USA historisch durch Einwanderer als Herkunfts- und Fachsprache etabliert war, diese Rolle jedoch im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts infolge von Assimilation, gesellschaftlicher Marginalisierung und fehlender Förderung zunehmend an Bedeutung verloren hat (p. 950). Auch deshalb hat die amerikanische Germanistik an vielen Universitäten in den letzten Jahrzehnten sowohl an Studierenden als auch an Relevanz verloren. Es wird kritisiert, dass der Deutschunterricht an US-Universitäten häufig noch immer einer literarischen und philosophischen Tradition folgt und wenig berufspraktisch ausgerichtet ist (951). In diesem Zusammenhang werden zwei erfolgreiche Programme vorgestellt, die Deutsch als Fachsprache gezielt in berufsspezifische Kontexte integrieren. Die University of South Carolina Upstate legt dabei den Schwerpunkt auf industrielle Kooperationen und bietet Studierenden die Möglichkeit, Praktika bei deutschen Unternehmen zu absolvieren (956-57). An der United States Military Academy wiederum dient das Deutschstudium der Förderung interkultureller Kompetenz bei Kadetten (958-61). Die Autoren argumentieren überzeugend für eine stärkere Integration von Deutsch als Fachsprache um das Fach insgesamt zu revitalisieren und nennen etwa die IT-Branche, das Gesundheitssystem oder das Finanzwesen als mögliche Anknüpfungspunkte. Solche Verbindungen könnten dazu beitragen, die Germanistik in den USA attraktiver und zukunftsfähiger zu gestalten. Obwohl am Ende des Kapitels mögliche Hürden reflektiert werden (etwa der Mehraufwand für das Lehrpersonal), betonen die Autoren, dass diese Reformen nicht als Minderung, sondern vielmehr als Bereicherung der Qualität der Germanistik zu verstehen seien.

Die Kapitel von Karen Pupp Spinassé (965-72) und Patrick Wolf-Farré (973-86) beschreiben ähnliche Trends für Brasilien und Lateinamerika. Besonders interessant ist hierbei die Tabelle im Anhang von Wolf-Farrés Kapitel (pp. 985-86), welche die Zahlen von Deutschlernenden, Deutschlehrenden

und Schulen mit DaF für 21 lateinamerikanische Länder im Jahr 2020 sowie die Entwicklung von 2015 zu 2020 detailliert aufführt. Sowohl Pupp Spinassé als auch Wolf-Farré betonen das Interesse der Lernenden an Deutsch, da die Sprache als vorteilhaft auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und als Möglichkeit des sozialen Aufstiegs angesehen wird. Folglich plädieren beide für eine stärkere Integration von Deutsch als Fachsprache sowie eine engere Verknüpfung von Sprachlehre und praktischen Anteilen bei deutschen Organisationen.

Da alle drei der bisher beschriebenen Kapitel ähnliche Entwicklungen und Lösungsvorschläge formulieren (nämlich eine stärkere Konzentration auf Deutsch als Fachsprache) sollen im Folgenden das Kapitel von Nikolas Koch und Claudia Maria Riehl zu aktuellen Tendenzen (127-47) und das Kapitel von Paweł Szerszeń, Przemysław Wolski und Christian Efing zur Integration digitaler Technologien (627-43) vorgestellt werden. Koch und Riehl diskutieren zunächst detailliert die Herausforderungen an DaFF im Kontext von Globalisierung, Diversität, Migration und Digitalisierung und verweisen insbesondere auf die Auswirkungen von Entwicklungen bei der Künstlichen Intelligenz (KI) auf den Sprachunterricht. Hierbei wird etwa der Einsatz von KI-gestützter Lernsoftware wie Chatbots und Schreibassistenten als zentraler Trend hervorgehoben (p. 129). Szerszeń, Wolski und Efing vertiefen dieses Thema in ihrem Kapitel und kritisieren, dass Unternehmen digitale Technologien umfassend nutzen, während die Sprachvermittlung im Bereich E-Learning noch Nachholbedarf habe (p. 628). Die Autoren beschreiben das Potenzial von Lernplattformen, Korpuslinguistik, Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality und KI-basierten Tools für den DaFF-Bereich und werben für eine stärkere Integration von digitalen Technologien in den Sprachunterricht als Antwort auf die Anforderungen der globalisierten Welt.

Die hier beschriebenen Kapitel bilden nur einen kleinen Teil des Handbuches, das eine umfangreiche Sammlung von informativen und aufschlussreichen Beiträgen bildet. Es richtet sich demnach nicht nur an Wissenschaftler, die im Bereich DaFF forschen, sondern kann als Inspiration und Ressource für die Modernisierung von Sprachprogrammen verstanden werden. Als Open Access Publikation sollte das Handbuch ein vielgenutztes Referenzwerk für jede Lehrkraft im Bereich DaFF werden. Es bildet somit einen wertvollen Beitrag für die Germanistik weit über die Grenzen von DaFF hinaus.

Texas Tech University *Maike Rocker*

Art, Art History, and Music

Josef Albers: Late Modernism and Pedagogic Form.
By Jeffrey Saletnik. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022. 218 pp. $40.00.

Jeffrey Saletnik is a professor of Art History and the Director of Graduate Studies at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. He has written four books on Modernism and the Bauhaus during its fourteen-year history's continued impact practiced by its teachers and students in the diaspora.

This book provides an Introduction and an Epilogue along with six chapters analyzing Josef Alber's work entitled Linear Constructions, From Object to Process, Progressive Education, Photography, Fold/Manifold, and Color Aid. Seletnik's interest in Alber's work is in demonstrating how his philosophy and technique resulted not from the Bauhaus but from his training to be a primary school teacher in Wilhelmine, Germany. Studying the thought of Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire, Saletnik believes, Albers tried not to impose his ideas on students, but to encourage discovery and innovative solutions to problems. This approach informed his teaching and his practice in which the interrelationships between educational philosophy and artistic practice were paramount.

Albers grew up with a pedagogy that used a prescribed curriculum that sought specified outcomes or products, rather than the future-oriented creative process that Albers developed to help the student discover a personalized result. While some may have seen John Dewey's "learning by doing" in Albers' method, he had not read Dewey but was influenced by Pestalozzi and Froebel who emphasized curiosity as the primary goal of learning.

After immigrating to the U.S. in 1933, at Black Rock College and later at Yale, Albers developed a curriculum with three parts: design, drawing, and color. Ultimately, he believed that a curriculum fostering imagination and promoting discipline could result in "sheer magic" (48). Instruction was meant to develop a student's visual consciousness that would inform the appearance of their work regardless of the media employed. The student, Saletnik assesses, was not to make art. Rather objects were meant to be evidence of a student's creative behavior. Albers created circumstances in which students developed mental flexibility and productive intention.

Albers worked with photography, paper, metal, cardboard, painting, and colors. The material was not the important thing, but a catalyst to help creativity produce solutions. The experimentation at Black Rock and Yale was intended as a "catalyst for creativity". A creative consciousness was to experiment with material mutability. For the observer to see the product that stu-

dents developed is to see only a still image. To imagine the learning process, however, one must consider how the material is folded, manipulated, juxtaposed, photographed, painted, and used productively or creatively.

Saletnik also analyzes the work of two of Albers' students, Erin Hesse and Richard Serra. Both followed the 1958 dictum of Albers that a young artist should "keep off the bandwagon" (91). The goal, Saletnik observes, is not to be fashionably successful but to be an inventive performer of a new seeing. A visionary keeps independent of fashionable trends, not to be different, but to remain based on a lifetime of self-criticism (91). To ape the work of another, Albers believed, is an easy approach to art making, but to develop one's own creative vision is an arduous and lengthy process (92).

Alber's interest in achieving newly experienced visual effects, Saletnik believes, led to the development of his famous nested squares. Restricting himself to a fixed design, he discovered a way to allow the effects of color interaction to achieve aesthetic ends (126). The colored squares no longer appear as distinct elements isolated from one another, but as a mass that moves in an act of visual agreement.

This study is both a profound analysis of modernism as well as a unique analysis of how one influential artist prepared to create something unique to his domain. The vocabulary in the text may be slow reading for a person who lacks the art historian's terminology. However, a disciplined focus on Saletnik's analysis can have significant implications not only for artists, but also for anyone willing to appreciate the advantages that innovation has over imitation.

Concordia University Texas *David J. Zersen*

German Expressionism. Paintings at the Saint Louis Art Museum.
By Melissa Venator with contributions by Simon Kelly, Courtney Books, Molly Moog, and Lacy Murphy. Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 304 pp. 199 color plates. $65.00.

This publication overviews the enduring significance of the Saint Louis Art Museum's (SLAM) internationally renowned collection of more than 700 expressionist artworks. In doing so, it provides a scholarly examination of one of North America's most extensive collections of Modern German paintings. The author, Melissa Venator, is the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Assistant Curator of Modern Art and joined the Missouri Museum in 2019. The volume both captures the essence of the Expressionist movement and its key

contributors (*Die Brücke*, in Dresden in 1905, and *Der Blaue Reiter*, in Munich in 1911), as well as the history and legacy of the Expressionist collection housed in Saint Louis.

In the introduction, the author traces the Saint Louis collection's origins to the influx of modern German art that poured into the United States during the Second World War. Based on new archival findings, she dives into the unique history of the Saint Louis Expressionist collection. In particular, she analyses the acquisition and investment strategies of the Museum's single largest donor: Morton D. May (1914–83). May, a philanthropist, art collector, and businessman, acquired a vast collection of Expressionist artworks between 1950 and 1971, which he bequeathed to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1983. The collector gifted all but ten paintings presented in this volume.

May had grand ambitions for his collection. As Venator points out, as early as 1958, May aspired to endow the Saint Louis Museum with a complete showing of exceptional German Expressionist paintings. He proclaimed himself to be on a "one-man crusade to see that German expressionism was given its rightful position in modern art". His aspiration was to familiarize the American public with a key movement in Modern Art that he felt had not garnered sufficient recognition.

Following the introduction, the subsequent 240 pages are dedicated to the catalogue entries highlighting the span of pictorial techniques and subjects of German Expressionists. Richly illustrated with 199 color plates, the catalogue closely examines a diverse body of 48 works that were made from 1905 to 1939 by 25 of the movement's leading figures (Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Franz Marc, or Oskar Kokoschka). It also covers overlooked artists (Karl Hofer, Walter Gramatté, or Albert Bloch) who enjoyed considerable reputations in the early decades of the 20th century and, as the author argues, deserve greater recognition in today's literature.

Each painting is accompanied by a scholarly entry that calls attention to the unique stories behind each artwork. Along with an analysis of iconographic and socio-historical factors, the catalogue offers a meticulous formal analysis of the individual works and an assessment of the diverse influences of Expressionism (Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Henri Matisse and others).

Overall, the documentation is very rigorous and comprehensive. The catalogue entries are organized alphabetically by artist name and followed by a complete documentation including materials and techniques, list of alternative titles in all languages, inscriptions and marks, provenance lists, related works, catalogues raisonnés, literature, and past exhibitions. This is completed by a selected biography serving as reference for the expansive and growing literature on Expressionism and an index.

The strength of this publication lies in its broad and inclusive definition of Expressionism, as reflected in its careful selection of paintings. Venator's catalogue of works offers a representative overview of this eclectic movement and its many expressions and derivations across time and space. It strings together works from adjacent artists that paved the way for German Modernism like Paula Modersohn-Becker, to expressionist artists at the movement's height on the eve of the First World War, such as Erich Heckel.

Finally, it includes artists like Paul Klee or Lovis Corinth who challenge the movement's formulas.

Morton D. May's ambition was to assemble a representative selection of Expressionist paintings in the United States. This publication, in uniting these works in one volume and offering new and compelling viewpoints and research, follows in his footsteps. It admirably preserves and extends the collector's legacy, as well as his aspiration to do justice to an eclectic artistic movement he held in great affection.

University of Texas at Austin *Jelena Fally*

Otto Piene: Paths to Paradise.
Edited by Museum Tinguely. With contributions by Lauren Hanson, Mary Hale, Barbara Könches, Sandra Beate Reimann, Tina Rivers Ryan and Otto Piene. Germany, Munich: distributed by Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 320 pp. 338 color plates. $57.00.

This monographic exhibition catalog offers a fascinating dive into the creative world of Otto Piene (1928–2014), the German artist and founder of the Zero Group (1958). Piene is known for his intermedial works and innovative synergies of art, technology, and nature. Edited by the Museum Tinguely in Basel, Switzerland, it serves as a comprehensive companion to a major retrospective of Piene's work that has been shown at the museum from Feburary to May 2024. With this retrospective exhibition and its associated publication, the Swiss Museum continues exploring innovative contemporaries of the museum's artist Jean Tinguely (1925-91) who was also associated with the Zero Group and shares Piene's passion about kinetic art and optical perception.

Through six insightful essays, richly illustrated by 338 color plates, the reader is offered a thematic and vibrant visual journey through Piene's most significant works. In a "transmedial" curatorial approach, the authors analyze the artist's body of work across media genres to explore the artist's unique

artistic vision and emphasize recurrent themes and motifs. Through this approach the reader discovers the potential of Piene's public, social, and environmental art from a present-day perspective. The essays are followed by a detailed catalog of Piene's most important works, his biography, and the list of the exhibited works at the Museum Tinguely.

Six notable German-speaking and Anglophone art historians and curators analyse Piene and his works. This is in line with Piene's own biography since his work was nurtured not only in Europe but also in the United States and specifically at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for Advanced Visual Studies (CAVS). The transnational character of this collaboration is also visible in the layout of this bilingual German-English edition. The publication was conceived in close exchange with the Busch-Reisinger Museum, one of Harvard's Art Museums, which, in 2019, was gifted more than seventy Piene sketchbooks dating from 1935 to 2014. These joint efforts have clearly benefitted this publication which examines these unpublished sketchbooks for the first time.

The title, "Otto Piene: Paths to Paradise" is explained and examined in the foreword by the Direktor of the Museum Tinguely, Roland Wetzel, as well as in the introductory essay by the curators Sandra Beate Reimann and Lauren Elizabeth Hanson. The title refers to Piene's text "Wege zum Paradies" published in the magazine ZERO 3 in 1961. This manifesto-like declaration reflects Piene's belief in the beneficial potential of artistic expression. He had a vision for a better, peaceful, and sustainable world embodied by new forms of experimental art liberated from the constraints of artistic convention. His ambition was to shape and design a utopian future through the use of innovative media in his art. This manifesto is printed at the beginning of the volume, following the foreword. The title, "Paths to Paradise" is an allusion to this manifesto and serves as the common thread uniting these essays examining his life and work.

In a novel approach, the essays convincingly combine two periods in Piene's artistic career that have, up until now, not been analyzed in concert. It brings together works from the Zero years in Europe in the 1950s and the technology-based ecological and political Sky Art made in the 1960s after Piene's relocation to the United States. This fresh perspective reveals how the artist's work evolved from a desire for radical abstraction into works that combine art and technology across a wider variety of media. However, the essays also insist on what remains the constant in Piene's work : an uncompromising hopeful outlook for humanity despite the ravages of war, industrialization, and mass consumption.

One of the strengths of this publication and curatorial approach is that it underscores the uninterrupted pertinence of Piene's pioneering approach

of combining art and technology as a result of his utopian ambitions. The authors insist that Piene's work continues to fascinate and to speak to the uncertainties and challenges of the modern world. His art seeks to provoke his viewers into self-examination and to illuminate, dazzle, and fascinate rather than insisting on the negative and obscure aspects of human existence.

This book can be viewed as an inquiry into what today's societies can learn from Piene's artistic and societal vision, while also contextualizing it, providing a broader understanding of related artistic movements and the collaborations of a generation of artists.

University of Texas at Austin *Jelena Fally*

Max Beckmann.
By Christiane Zeiller. With an essay by Bernhard Maaz. Translation by David Sánchez Cano. Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 80 pp. 61 color plates. $15.00.

The work of Max Beckmann (1884-1950) occupies an exceptional place in twentieth-century art. In a context largely dominated by the development of abstraction, his relationship with the European pictorial tradition, and with the avant-gardes of his time, is complex. A privileged witness to an era that saw the disaster of two world wars, he remains an isolated figure in the history of modern art. However, his unique observations of a world in upheaval and of the existential struggles inherent to human existence, remain of unequalled intensity.

This compact publication, part of the *Great Masters in Art Series*, is composed by a first and more substantial essay, followed by a second shorter contribution written by two renown Beckmann scholars. The book is lavishly illustrated by 61 color plates of Beckmann's works, which are peppered throughout. Following these two essays, the volume provides a biography and archive section containing unpublished findings, letters, documents, and photographs as a point of reference.

The first essay, titled "'Art is Bloody Difficult': Beckmann's struggle for a Contemporary Art," is by the renown Beckmann specialist Christiane Zeiller. The art historian has notably edited the complete catalogue of Beckmann's sketchbooks in 2010 and participated in recent Beckmann exhibitions organised by the Pinakothek der Moderne in Munich (2023) and the Neue Galerie in New York (2024). In her essay, Zeiller offers a holistic examination of the unique and unclassifiable character of Beckmann's pictorial style. This

characteristic has affected both his own artistic journey and struggles to create and define himself in relation to the dominant art movements of his time.

Zeiller's essay provides a chronological account of Beckmann's departures and new beginnings, from his early years in Berlin and Frankfurt to his ostracism by the National Socialists and subsequent exile in Amsterdam and America. Narrating Beckmann's biographical challenges, Zeiller discusses the artist's pictorial style, its progressions and transformations over the course of his career. This results in a nuanced analysis of the artist's eclectic style and symbol-laden works.

Zeiller frequently refences contemporaneous sources, convincingly underscoring her central argument about the isolated position of Beckmann's style in the art of the 20th century. For instance, she highlights the famous dispute between Beckmann and the *Blaue Reiter* (Blue Rider group) painter Franz Marc. Marc's artistic vision prioritizes the inner world of the artist and rejects representation of the external world. This view starkly contrasts with Beckmann's conception that art should be objective and embracing of the real world. Zeiller clearly defines Beckmann as a solitary figure in modern art and in relation to the self-proclaimed German avant-garde.

Zeiller also calls our attention to the man behind the artist. She offers the reader insight into the existential interrogations and persistent search for truth that permeate Beckman's oeuvre. Beckmann is depicted as a paradoxical figure, torn between self-confidence bordering on presumption and tremendous ambition on the one hand, and incessant struggles and self-questioning on the other. His large number of self-portraits, like the 1927 "Self-Portrait in Tuxedo" which figures on the cover of the publication, attest to the artist's constant introspection.

Zeiller's analysis is complemented by a brief contribution by Bernhard Maaz, the General Director of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich which house the renown Max Beckmann Archive. Maaz's essay is entitled "Locks Away Vitality". It argues that underneath the artistic density and apparent heterogeneity of Beckmann's work, lays a redundant self-containment that suggest both vitalism and melancholy. In other words, for Maaz, what characterizes Beckmann's oeuvre and life experiences is an unsettling dialogue between vitality and coldness.

With a body of over 800 paintings, it is evident that this compact publication cannot do justice to the magnitude of Beckmann's whole oeuvre. The publication, however, offers in just a few pages, and precisely 140 years after the artist's birth, a refreshing overview of his unclassifiable, intense and eclectic pictorial style. It captures the essence of Beckmann's artistic vision for an art corresponding to his time. Zeiller's and Maaz's expertise and meticulous analysis, paired with the selected source material, make this volume a concise

introduction to a notoriously complex artistic figure, who remains elusive to this day.

University of Texas at Austin *Jelena Fally*

Music of Exile: The Untold Story of the Composers Who Fled Hitler. *By Michael Haas: New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023. 400 pp. $18.35.*

Benjamin Michael Hass was born in 1954 in Charlotte, North Carolina to creative parents, the father, an author of over 100 novels, and the mother, a noted theater costume designer. Using his middle name to distinguish himself from his father, Michael Haas became a recording producer, a historian, an academic, and an exhibition curator. He was a recording artist for many years who produced significant series with artists who won many awards for the productions, one being "Entartete Musik," the first retrospective of major works lost during the Nazi years. In 2016, together with Gerold Gruber, he founded in Viena the Exilarte Center with an exhibition entitled "When I Compose, I'm Back in Vienna" featuring compositions by Austrians who were once Nazi victims. This background led to the publication of two books, "Forbidden Music" in 2013 and "Music of Exile" in 2023. Amid these writing years, he also completed a PhD at London's Middlesex University. In his dissertation, Haas explores the necessity of restoring to audiences and composers cultural goods that have been stolen. Hass is today a citizen of both Vienna and Great Britain and maintains an office at the Exilarte Center in Vienna. His research there continues to be on composers whose works were either forgotten or willfully suppressed.

The first of the two books by Haas focuses on the composers and the works that were forbidden as well as the deaths suffered by the composers themselves. The second work has a psychological dimension in that it asks about the meaning of composing in exile and what resulted from it. Some composers never wrote again. One, Robert Fuerstenthal, later a microbiologist at Harvard, began to compose at the insistence of his girlfriend, and explained, "When I compose, I am back in Vienna". Another, Walter Bricht, continued to compose in Austria until it was discovered (to Bricht's surprise) that he had three grandparents who were Jewish. He immigrated to the U.S. and taught at numerous colleges and universities. Still another, Julius Buerger, composed a cello concerto dedicated to his mother "who was murdered on this day, shot in transit to Auschwitz where five brothers were murdered in

the concentration camp." Other examples of ignored music, lost or composed by those whose exile left them without audiences, contribute to a modern listener's understanding of the musical and historical context of the era.

Few historical analyses have provided a comparison with the sense of loss and perspective given to a culture when human elements are removed from it as in the experience of the holocaust. The gift of this volume is its insight into the losses that books on warfare cannot begin to describe. Students of culture in general, as well as in music, historians and lovers of art, will anguish over the forgotten losses that belong to tragic moments in history. One can only imagine how much beauty, insight, and majesty was never produced because the composer was not there. Readers will want to thank Michael Hass for his gift to our sensibility and wonder.

Concordia University Texas *David Zersen*

Cultural Studies

Staging Blackness: Representations of Race in German-Speaking Drama and Theater.
Edited by Priscilla Dionne Layne and Lily Tonger-Erk. Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan Press, 2024. 342 pp. Hardback $ 80.00; Paperback $ 34.95; Open Access 9780472903566.

Staging Blackness: Representations of Race in German-Speaking Drama and Theater, the proceedings of a 2018 conference held in Tübingen, is a timely contribution to the discourse on the ethics of performance and the theatrical representation of race in German-speaking contexts. Organized into three parts, the volume employs postcolonial, Black feminist, and critical race methodologies to examine the portrayal, interpretation, and contestation of Blackness in German-speaking theater from the 18th century to the present.

The first section, "Black Figures: Race-ing the Canon", comprises six chapters that scrutinize both canonical and non-canonical texts for their engagement with Black characters and themes. Wendy Sutherland's opening chapter about Karl Gotthelf Lessing's little-known play *Die Mätresse* (1780) contributes to the ongoing historical reevaluation of German-speaking territories' complicity in the triangular trade. Drawing on her monograph *Staging Blackness and Performing Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century German Drama* (Routledge, 2016), Sutherland examines how slavery and white privilege are inscribed in the figure of Otto's deceased Black wife and materialized through

stage props like tobacco, chocolate, and coffee. Equally insightful is Sigrid G. Köhler's analysis of radical discourses on human rights, freedom, revolution, equality, and Black resistance in once-popular abolitionist dramas from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which anticipate themes that later emerge in more widely recognized canonical texts. Irmtraud Hnilica's recontextualization of Monostatos in Mozart's *Zauberflöte* (1791) presents a compelling case for reassessing Schikaneder's libretto in the light of racial discourses of the late 18th century, which are intricately linked with humanist and abolitionist debates. Franziska Bergmann's exploration of compassion and skin color in Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genoa* (1783) offers a nuanced re-evaluation of the tragedy's racialized subtexts, while Lily Tonger-Erk analysis of *Die Räuber* (1781) reveals Schiller's construction of a multi-layered black-white dichotomy that contemporary directors, such as Antú Romero Nunes in his 2012 production at the Maxim-Gorki-Theater Berlin, seek to expose and subvert. Norbert Otto Eke concludes this section with an analysis of Heiner Müller's reinterpretations of historical representations of Blackness in *Der Auftrag. Erinnerung an eine Revolution* (1979) and *Anatomie Titus Fall of Rome. Ein Shakespearekommentar* (1983-1984). Eke argues that Müller disrupts the concept of European modernity, rooted in Enlightenment universalism and rationality, by imbuing his racialized protagonists, Sasportas and Aaron, with revolutionary potential. This disruption prompts the reader-spectator to rethink not only the relationship between body and mind but also the broader narrative of Western historiography.

The second part, "Black Performance and Practices of Blackfacing", consists of four chapters that shift the focus to the embodiment of Blackness, particularly through the controversial practice of blackface minstrelsy, which, contrary to common assumptions, was not merely an imported US-American practice. Jeff Bowersox's richly illustrated chapter about blackface on German and Austrian stages between 1847 and 1914 lays the groundwork for a transnational history of the practice in Central Europe, as he demonstrates how blackface served both as a popular form of entertainment and as a potent tool for reinforcing racial hierarchies. Evelyn Annuß further contextualizes blackface practices within the cultural dynamics of the 1920s and 1930s, inviting readers to consider that, when subverted for critical reflection and reinterpretation, "minstrel masks" or blackface in theater, while rooted in racist practices, could also serve as a productive means of engaging with questions of race, identity, and authenticity. Jonathan Wipplinger's chapter on the Biguine, a short-lived yet influential entertainment venue for Black performers, particularly Black women artists, that opened in Berlin-Schöneberg in February 1932, positions this unique bar as an important site of Black agency within Weimar culture, contributing to the transnational reimagin-

ing of cultural dynamics during the interwar period. Andrea Geier's critical examination of blackface in contemporary German media, which includes a discussion of Günther Wallraff's highly controversial use of blackface in his film *Schwarz auf Weiß* (2009) under the guise of artistic freedom, confronts the ethical challenges inherent in the practice, even when explicitly framed as anti-racist.

The final part, "Black Artists: Race, Theater, Institutions", stands out as particularly inspiring as it transitions from the familiar format of scholarly analysis to the lived experiences of contemporary Black German theater practitioners. Azadeh Sharifi challenges the assumption that the leftist tradition of German theater, embodied by figures such as Bertolt Brecht and Heiner Müller, exempts it from antiracist scrutiny. Sharifi argues that this this widely held belief perpetuates the practice of Othering under the guise of critical reflection. Olivia Landry's essay on *Black Bismarck (2013),* produced by the artist collective andcompany&Co., interprets the performance as a "circum-Mediterranean" movement, urging audiences to reconsider history through a subaltern, decolonial lens. Hanna Voss's empirical study documents the systemic underrepresentation of actors of color in state-funded theaters, emphasizing the enduring influence of race, gender, and age in casting decisions. However, recent developments, such as the strong backlash against blackface led by the Bündnis Bühnenwatch in 2011 and the establishment of a "post-migrant theater" at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse Theater in Berlin-Kreuzberg since 2008 by and for people with a migration background, are beginning to transform exclusionary practices within the institution. This transformation is further explored in a roundtable discussion featuring prominent Black German figures in the contemporary German theater scene – Simone Dede Ayivi, Rahel Jankowski, Michael Klammer, Philipp Khabo Köpsell, and Olivia Wenzel – who offer thought-provoking insights into the complexities of navigating race, identity, and artistic expression within a predominantly white theatrical landscape. The volume concludes with a powerful essay by Black German director Anta Helena Recke's on cultural appropriation, legitimacy, and accountability. Recke reflects on the unexpected success of her "Black copy" ("Schwarzkopie") of Anna Sophie Mahler's 2015 production of Josef Bierbichler's novel *Mittelreich* (2011), which premiered in 2017 at Munich Kammerspiele. By casting only Black actors in this Bavarian family drama, she confronts audiences with the presumed universality of whiteness, exposing its deeply embedded yet often invisible influence on cultural narratives.

Staging Blackness offers a rigorous critique of the Eurocentric and "color-blind" repertoires, ensemble policies, and audience dynamics that persist in German state-funded theaters. By combining historical analysis, sociological insight, performance studies, and literary scholarship, this volume makes a

significant contribution to a recent shift in German-speaking theater criticism and history, emphasizing the urgency to address colonialism and its legacies within the broader political and societal project of a more inclusive culture of remembrance ("Erinnerungskultur").

The editorial decision to rethink the traditional scholarly format by providing a platform for Black German theater artists, playwrights, and directors clearly reflects these ongoing processes. This approach positions *Staging Blackness* as an essential read, encouraging theater scholars, practitioners, and cultural institutions to critically re-examine existing hierarchies and actively dismantle discriminatory practices in casting decisions, programming, and production. By advocating for a more inclusive approach to theater, *Staging Blackness* aims to support societal transformation through contemporary stage performances that increasingly align with global movements for racial justice, refugee and migrant rights, and resistance to populism.

University of Picardie Jules Verne *Christine Roger*

Don't Need No Thought Control: Western Culture in East Germany and the Fall of the Berlin Wall.
By Gerd Horten. New York: Berghahn Books, 2024. 256 pp. $34.95.

Originally published in 2020, Gerd Horten's cultural history of the influence of Western consumer culture in late GDR socialism is now also available in paperback. The Emeritus Professor of History and Global Studies at Concordia University argues that the growing westernization of East German consumer culture coupled with the intensifying economic crisis played a decisive role in the collapse of the GDR regime. Driven by public approval and economic profit rather than ideological vision, GDR leadership ultimately disempowered themselves.

Framed by an introduction and an epilogue, Horten's well researched study is divided into five parts, which focus on major mass cultural arenas such as Hollywood movies, home television, rock music, and youth radio. Each chapter follows a similar trajectory of delusional, contradictory, and eventually failing SED policies amidst a deteriorating public mood and a vicious cycle of indebtedness, economic crisis, and lacking technological infrastructure.

Each chapter can be read on its own and provides both the larger context of the power of Western culture in communist countries, in general, and background on Erich Honecker's evolving policies, from the "golden years"

of the GDR with a more tolerant and pragmatic approach in the early 1970s to the increasingly inefficient economy and growing popular opposition, especially among youth in the late 1970s and 1980s. In a compelling narrative Horten follows GDR leadership who reluctantly and desperately accommodated public demand for Western cultural products.

Some of the chapters build on previously published articles, which may explain why Chapter 1 on the GDR's anti-Vietnam War campaigns and athletic successes in the 1972 Olympics seems incongruous to the others chapters, as past reviews have already pointed out. Arguably, likewise, Chapter 5 on Intershops also does not quite fit to the previous analysis of movies, television series, and popular music. In these Western currency stores, GDR citizens of certain means and visitors could buy Western products, essentially creating a three-class shopping culture and thus, an ever more frustrated public. While Horten pervasively highlights what Jonathan Zatlin has called the "fetishization of West German money" as yet another example of how SED officials abandoned their socialist vision, the reader is left wondering how this is linked to consuming, for example, U.S. Western movies or British punk. The author shows how the SED was forced to "appease through consumption" (163) but without differentiating the various forms of Western consumer culture.

The epilogue looks beyond 1989 and offers an interesting comparison between consumer Westernization in the GDR and "Ostalgie," a nostalgic yearning for an idealized past after the fall of the Wall. Both emerged as cultural expressions of resistance against dominant systems though the latter imagined an (albeit selective) return to an actual former home rather than a mere Western fantasy.

Overall, Horten's study fits into the historiography of the past two decades, engaging with a consumerist-cultural perspective to explain the eventual demise of the GDR. The book is particularly useful for teaching (under) graduate courses on the "consumerist turn" in Eastern European counties during the Cold War as well as the local and transatlantic implications of the GDR struggle to meet rising consumer expectations.

University of Texas at Austin *Jana Weiß*

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.
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.

2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the symposium and any other time as may be required to conduct business.

3. A quorum at the annual business meeting of the Society shall consist of a majority of the members present.

Article V. Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.

2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:

2.1. Call to order

2.2. Reading and approval of minutes of the last meeting

2.3. Reports of officers

2.4. Reports of committees

2.5. 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. The annual dues of members are on a calendar-year basis, normally payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in the cancellation of membership.
2. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year of the Society shall run from July 1 to June 30.
4. The operating funds of the Society shall be deposited in a federally-insured financial institution.

   4.1. Operating expenses shall be disbursed according to the budget approved by the Executive Committee.

   4.2. Unbudgeted expenses shall be disbursed upon order of the president subject to review by the Executive Committee.

5. The investment funds of the Society shall be invested with one or more financial institutions by an investment advisor approved by the Executive Committee.

   5.1. Such funds may be disbursed only upon order of the Executive Committee.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections

1. Election of officers will be conducted online and/or by mail ballot following finalization of the nomination process at a general business meeting of the membership.
2. All officers shall take office on 1 July of the year in which they are elected.

Article VIII. Committees

1. Standing Committees

   1.1. Executive Committee

      1.1.1. The Executive Committee consists of 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 2, 2025
Fredericksburg, Virginia

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

Eight 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
JAMES R. DOW
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
WILLIAM E. PETIG
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
2025 William E. Petig, Stanford University