YEARBOOK OF GERMAN AMERICAN STUDIES

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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 Nora Vosburg (*vosbur1@stolaf.edu*). Inquiries regarding the SGAS website *sgas.org* should be addressed to Kathleen Condray (*condray@uark.edu*).

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FROM THE EDITOR

We are pleased to present volume 60 of the *Yearbook of German American Studies* to our membership and to the vast online readership throughout the world. 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 thanks also go to Greg Redding who has contributed his first set of book reviews for our readership. 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.

The editor's sincere thanks go especially to Marianne Reed who recently retired from the KU Library staff. Marianne was the Digital Information Specialist in the Center for Digital Scholarship in the University of Kansas Libraries. She had over 25 years of experience supporting library, teaching or research technologies in library and IT units at the University of Kansas and was instrumental in getting the *Yearbook* into the world of digital publishing and including it in *Journals@KU*, an online repository of, at the present time, over 60 scholarly journals. In her role as Digital Information Specialist, Marianne had the primary responsibility of coordinating the day-to-day operations of the Center for Digital Scholarship (CDS) and to work on a variety of digital projects in imaging, digital publishing, and geo-spatial / numeric data with CDS staff and with faculty and student clients. We also owe our thanks to Marianne for the initiative of not only hosting the publication of our current *Yearbook* with *Journals@KU*, but also digitizing and including all prior regular and special volumes of not only the SGAS *Yearbook* beginning with the 1981 volume, but also all issues of its predecessors, *German-American Studies* (1969-75) and the *Journal of German-American Studies* (1976-80).

For all who work and have worked together as a team in the publication of the Society's scholarly journal, the editor is extremely 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 an in-person 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.

All members are encouraged to submit their scholarly essays for consideration by the Editorial Board for possible publication in a forthcoming *Yearbook*. We request electronic submission of your manuscript to the editor *(wkeel@ku.edu)* or via the online portal for the *Yearbook* at *Journals@KU.* Contact Gregory Redding for possible book reviews *(reddingg@wabash.edu).*

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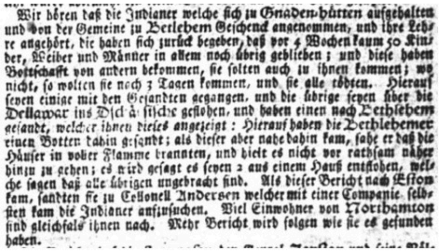
Colonial News, German Words: Christoph Saur's Newspaper and the Linguistic Topographies of News in Early America

In the closing months of 1755, it was reported in colonial newspapers that a familiar instance of backcountry violence had unfolded along the Pennsylvania frontier. Not long after sitting down to their evening meal in their homestead along the Mahoning Creek, so it was reported, a group of Moravian settlers of uncertain number were systematically massacred by a group of French-allied Indians, also of uncertain number (perhaps twelve). Only a few settlers (between two and six) had managed to survive the ambush, having jumped to safety from the upper floors, with one woman hiding herself in a ditch (or behind a tree trump) until the vengeful attackers retreated. The survivors promptly made their way to Bethlehem, the center of the Moravian missions in British North America, where they proceeded to relate their lamentable travails. They described how their homestead had been set ablaze, burning all who remained inside, including a small child, while their grain and livestock, upon which over eight-hundred souls in Bethlehem and Nazareth depended for sustenance, were also committed to the flames. By the time messengers from Bethlehem brought word of the attack to the New Jersey militia stationed near Easton, it was already too late: between ten and fourteen Moravians were killed that November night in Gnadenhütten.

Depending on the newspaper, the nature and extent of the Gnadenhütten massacre were communicated in different ways to local readers in British

***Pensylvanische Berichte*, Dec. 1, 1755**



Wir hören daß die Indianer welche sich zu Gnaden-hütten aufgehalten und von der Gemeine zu Betlehem Geschenck angenommen, und ihre Lehre angehört, die haben sich zurück begeben, daß vor 4 Wochen kaum 50 Kinder, Weiber und Männer in allem noch übrig geblieben; und diese haben Bottschafft von andern bekommen, sie solten auch zu ihnen kommen; wo nicht, so wolten sie nach 3 Tagen kommen, und sie alle tödten. Hierauf seyen einige mit den Gesandten gegangen, und die übrige seyen über die Dellawar ins Dsch à sitsche geflohen, und haben einen nach Bethlehem gesandt, welcher ihnen dieses angezeigt: Hierauf haben die Bethlehemer einen Botten dahin gesandt; als dieser aber nahe dahin kam, sahe er daß die Häuser in voller Flamme brannten, und hielt es nicht vor rathsam näher hinzu zu gehen; es wird gesagt es seyen 2 aus einem Hauß entflohen, welche sagen daß alle übrigen umgebracht sind. Als dieser Bericht nach Esston kam, sandten sie zu Collonell Andersen welcher mit einer Companie selbsten kam die Indianer aufzusuchen. Viel Einwohner von Northamton sind gleichfals ihnen nach. Mehr Bericht wird folgen wie sie es gefunden haben.

***Pensylvanische Berichte*, Dec. 16, 1755**

Philadelphia den 6 November.

Auszug eines Briefs, betreffend die Mordthaten und Schaden, welches geschehen in den Wohnungen der Mährischen Brudern zu Gnaden-Hütten.

Der Verlauf zu Gnaden-Hütten ist in Warheit betrübt und beweglich: Als die Leute (16 an der Zahl) überm Abend-Essen waren, kamen etwa 12 Indianer, wie diejenige sagen, die das Glück hatten zu entgehen. Da die Hunde sehr Belleten, und eine ungewöhnliche Stimme machten, stund ein Knabe (16 jahr alt) vom Tisch auf, und öffnete die Thür. Sogleich schossen etliche Indianer hinein, und tödteten 4 am Tisch: Dem Knaben sträiffte eine Kugel unten am Kinn hin, und verwundete ihn ein wenig; worauf ein sehr lamentabel Geschrey im Hauß entstund. Eine Frau wolte aus dem Hauß lauffen, sie wurde aber wieder zurück gezogen: Einige eyleten die Stege hinauf, biß auf den obersten Boden. Der Knabe der die Thür aufgemacht, lief in eine Stube im 2ten Stockwerck, und da er zum Fenster hinaus sehen wolte, wurde nach ihm geschossen, aber nicht getroffen: Er ging auf die andere Seite, und sprang von oben herab, und kam davon. Eine Weibs-Person sprang auch herab und verbarg sich in einer Kalck-Grube. Und noch eine Manns-Person sprang auch herab und kam davon. Noch ein Student der die Indianische Sprache lernete, sprang auch oben herab; der wurde aber erschossen und gescolpt, hatte auch einige Hiebe im Rücken von einem Beilgen. Die oben auf dem Boden, hatten eine Fall-Thür über der Stege, die beschwereten sie, daß die Indianer nicht hinauf konten; Die Indianer schossen durch den brettернen Boden vielmahl hinauf. Endlich verliessen sie die Oben, und scolpten die die unten im Hauß lagen, holeten Stroh in der Scheuer, und steckten das Hauß in Brand. Also sind verbrandt, 6 Männer, 3 Weiber, und ein kleines Kind 8 Wochen alt. Das Weib in der Kalck Grube hörte das Kind noch eine weile sehr schreyen, da das Dach schon eingefallen war, Also sind 10 im Hause verbrandt, und einer ausser dem Hauß getödtet, und 2 Manns-personen sind sogleich davon gelauffen; die Weibsperson hatte sich vom springen Weh gethan, und hielt sich in der Grube still, biß etwa zu Mitternacht. In währender Zeit hatten sie das Hauß verbrandt, das Stohr-Hauß beraubt, Pulfer und Teppige genommen, und das Versamlungs-Hauß, die Scheuer und Stallung mit der Frucht und Heu in Brand gesteckt, und bey 40 Stück melckend-und fett Rind-Vieh, und 7 Pferde so lebendig verbrandt, und ist nur ein Ochs mit dem Leben davon kommen. Sie satzten sich zum Milch-Hauß, assen, truncken und jauchzeten biß zu Mitternacht, bereiteten einen Teppig über einen Baum-Stumpen, legten einen Hut oben drauf, und steckten 1 blutiges Messer drein, welches so viel bedeuten soll, als sie wollen wieder kommen, oder es sey ein Zeichen ihrer Victorie. Da sie abgezogen waren, suchte die Weibs-Person ihren Weg durch den Busch, und fand 2 Brüder, mit denen sie nach Betlehem ging. Die weiß gebrante Knochen sind auf dem Platz begraben.

Man hört daß in Betlehem 600 Menschen sind, und in Nazareth 200 Waisen-Kinder, welche alle ihr meistes Brod, Butter und Fleisch von Gnaden Hütten bekamen. Die Kinder und ihre getauffte Indianer sind nun auch zu den übrigen nach Betlehem kommen. Der Schaden so geschehen, an Gebäuen, Frucht, und Vieh, rechnen sie auf 1500 Pfund.

Die Jenigen, welche in Gnadenhütten von den Indianern getödtet worden, sind: Gottlieb Anders und seine Frau und Kind. Martin Nitschmann und seine Frau. Catharina Sensemañin, des Joachim Sensemans Frau. Christian Fabricius. Georg Schweigert Leonhard Battermeyer. Friedrich Leßle, und C. E. Presser.

Der Collonel John Andersen welcher auf seinem Marsch war nach Gnaden-Hütten, mit einem theil von der Neu-Jersy Militz, und einer Companie von dem eyrischen Settlement, hätte diesem Uebel können vorkommen, dann er war nur 6 Meilen vom Platz, wann ihm nicht einer begegnet wäre, der ihm gesagt: Es hätten 500 Indianer den Ort Gnaden Hütten schon überfallen; und weil es nachts um 10 uhr war, so dachte er, es sey nicht rathsam einen solchen grossen Hauffen Indianer in der Nacht anzugreiffen, daher zog er sich zurück, um den Eingang in das Gebürge zubewachen, biß er weitern Bericht erhalte.

Wir hören daß auf dieser seite des Gebürges des Quicks Haus verbrennt worden; es war aber niemand drinnen, dann sie waren schon vorher geflohen.

Figure 1: The Gnadenhütten massacre as reported in the *Pensylvanische Berichte* newspaper in 1755. Microfilm images of the Saur newspaper courtesy of the Kellock Library at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture (hereafter OIEAHC).

North America.[1] Readers of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* or the *New-York Mercury* would have learned how this Moravian community located along the banks of the Mahoning Creek, which had been "cut off by the French Indians," had been massacred with guns and tomahawks, their houses and barn set ablaze, leaving only two survivors. Readers of the *New-York Mercury* would have learned the victims' names, but it would be the readers of the German-language *Pensylvanische Berichte* who received the most detailed and graphic account of the events at Gnadenhütten (Figure 1). Unlike the *New-York Mercury* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the German newspaper gave a detailed account of the devastating repercussive effects of the attack outside of Gnadenhütten: "Man hört daß in Betlehem 600 Menschen sind, und in Nazareth 200 Waisen-Kinder, welche alle ihr meistens Brod, Butter und Fleisch von Gnaden Hütten bekamen. Die Kinder und ihre getauffte Indianer sind nun auch zu den übrigen nach Betlehem kommen. Der Schaden so geschehen, an Gebauen, Frucht, und Vieh, rechnen sie auf 1500 Pfund."[2]

At first glance, the massacre of the Moravian community at Gnadenhütten slots easily into standard narratives of spiraling backcountry violence in the years surrounding the French and Indian War and, subsequently, the American Revolution. Just a month prior to the attack at Gnadenhütten (in present-day Lehighton, Pennsylvania), a similarly brutal massacre by French-allied Indians[3] had occurred at Penn's Creek along the western frontier, resulting in the death of German-speaking settlers. These early massacres of the French and Indian War have been pinpointed by scholars as pivotal moments of escalation within the war, when spats of violence and back-and-forth retaliation between backcountry settlers and indigenous groups increasingly characterized life along the British frontier. This violent escalation in the backcountry mirrored political polarization and heightened ethnic tensions within the Pennsylvania assembly, with Benjamin Franklin and the proprietary faction supporting the raising of a militia to defend the frontier, against the protestations of the pacifist Quaker-allied faction. In particular, British colonial administrators blamed the factionalism of Pennsylvania politics on the outspoken printer Christoph Saur in Germantown, "who now prints a News-Paper entirely in the *German* Language, which is universally read and believed by the *Germans* in this Province."[4] Saur's newspaper, the aforementioned *Pensylvanische Berichte*, which had reported the Gnadenhütten massacre most thoroughly of all colonial newspapers, was specifically cited by British administrators as the source of provincial discontent.

While the characterization of these massacres as both partisan and wartime escalations rings true in retrospect, it risks simplifying these massacres to mere preludes of future conflict in the mid-Atlantic. It presupposes an inevitable clash of cultures between German-speaking migrants, who constituted a substantial minority in the province, and the English-speaking majority.[5] In reality, the reception of these dramatic flashpoints of war also depended on the uneven topography of news in colonial America, news which traveled along linguistic lines as much as spatial and temporal ones.[6] To understand the significance of backcountry violence and warfare for colonial contemporaries, we must consider how knowledge about these perceived escalations would have circulated within local and transregional communication channels.

What united the massacres at Penn's Creek and Gnadenhütten was not only the circumstances and perceived brutality of the attacks, but also their transmission and dissemination through the medium of print, both in English and in German. Once news of the massacres had filtered down through local oral and written communication networks (as illustrated in the figure of the Gnadenhütten messenger [*Botte*], who was likely a German-speaker, bringing the news of the massacre to Easton from the Moravian town of Bethlehem), the reports eventually found their way into printed newspapers, usually within a week for local newspapers, but often later if the issuing newspaper was geographically distant or published with lower periodicity. For events that occurred further afield, printers had to rely on letters or other newspapers for information, which delayed the reporting time further. Newspapers connected local readers with imperial news, making them an important refractive lens through which political knowledges were formed. Differences in the timing of reporting, the periodicity of publications, the availability of information, and translation meant that German readers of newspapers would have understood the news differently than readers of English newspapers. Using as a case study the German-language newspaper published by the eldest Christoph Saur, I highlight some of the ways in which the printer Saur used editorial techniques in the composition of his newspaper, and thereby helped shape German reactions to colonial news and imperial conflict throughout the tumultuous 1740s and 1750s.

Christoph Saur and his newspaper

The printer Christoph Saur (1695-1758) was a significant figure in political, social, and religious life in colonial Pennsylvania.[7] After having spent his earliest years in the war-ravaged Palatinate in southwestern Germany, Saur had spent much of his young adulthood in the County of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, a remote region around the Lahn river which, since the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, had provided refuge for radical Pietist groups from across Europe. After migrating to Pennsylvania in 1724, Saur practiced a myriad of craft trades, including clockmaking, farming, and medicine, before settling on printing. By 1738, fourteen years after arriving in British North America, Saur had managed to gather the requisite equipment, labor, and know-how to start his printshop in Germantown, a lively road-side town said by contemporaries to be about a "two-hours walk" from the city of Philadelphia. The output of the Saur press was, at least in the beginning, printed entirely in the German language. The following year, Saur published the first issue of his German newspaper, the *Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*.[8] The *Geschicht-Schreiber* quickly found broad circulation among German readers along the eastern seaboard, with subscriber numbers exceeding 4,000 by 1752.[9] Although the *Geschicht-Schreiber* was not the first German newspaper in the colonies, it was by far the most successful, and it was printed continuously until the events of the American Revolution forced a halt to the activities of the Saur press.

Despite the broad circulation of Saur's newspaper by colonial standards, it remains unclear how this German newspaper fits into the broader news landscape of early America. Traditionally, scholars have neglected in-depth studies of Saur's newspaper in favor of his more explicitly political and religious publications. Excellent studies of Saur's broadsides, pamphlets, and almanacs (which could contain acerbic political commentaries) have sought to reconstruct the political culture of Pennsylvania's German population in the colonial period.[10] Another publication from the Saur press that has traditionally attracted much scholarly attention is the Saur Bible, a theological heavyweight and publishing masterstroke to be sure, but a book that is still touted unreflectively as the first American Bible published in a European language.[11] Together, these genres represent the unique hardships faced by "German" migrants from the founding years of the province. Along with their political content, these works have been mined for answers to questions about cultural continuity, religious pluralism, popular knowledge, and practices of Biblical scholarship among German communities in the New World.[12] However, a critical look at Saur's newspaper reveals two underappreciated insights about the German experience in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania: first, that German news was inevitably filtered through the communication channels of the British Empire, and second, that the printer-publisher Christoph Saur exercised considerable influence in shaping the reception of that news.[13] It was thus in the *Geschicht-Schreiber* and its later iterations that the Saur printing family was arguably at its most influential.

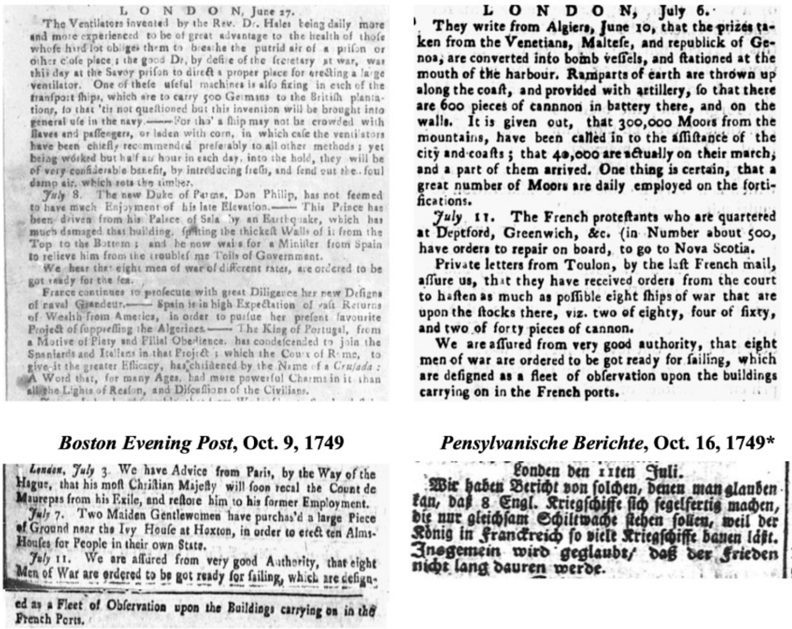
The influence of the Saur family over German newsprint becomes difficult to refute when one considers the relative scarcity of German newspapers for much of the colonial period.[14] Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, there were dozens of English-language newspapers in circulation across the thirteen colonies. The competition over English-language print markets meant that printer-publishers in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia enjoyed far less latitude in transgressing the boundaries of the newspaper genre than their German counterparts. By contrast, although there were some short-lived attempts by other printer-publishers to enter the German news market, Saur's newspaper was the only one to stay in business across multiple decades (between 1739 and 1777).[15] The dominance of the Saur printing house over German newsprint lent a veil of objectivity to the news paragraphs in Saur's newspaper, since they could not be easily cross-checked or reprinted in papers elsewhere. Simply put, Christoph Saur was a powerful newspaper editor in the German Atlantic world.

The transformation of news from English into German

Let us turn to how this editorial hegemony looked in practice. At hand are the processes and strategies of news compilation upon which Saur drew to compose his newspaper. For this we must begin with the building block of the eighteenth-century newspaper: the news paragraph. For colonial contemporaries, the news paragraph constituted what historian Will Slauter has called "information technology" for printers, in that it allowed for the rapid replication of news stories (i.e., paragraphs) compiled from newspapers near and far.[16] While news reports were often copied verbatim from other newspapers, this was not always the case. Printers could exercise simple acts of curation through the omission of information (or conversely, through the addition of previously unpublished information) or through the purposeful arrangement of text on a sheet; translation itself could constitute an act of editorialization. By comparing the news paragraphs from English-language newspapers with the translated ones in Saur's newspaper, I show how the German reading experience curated by Saur—through paragraph arrangement, hidden commentaries, and translation—was marked by eschatological dread and political anxiety, making them qualitatively different from English-language newspapers.

In deciding what to include in his newspaper, Saur borrowed heavily from American colonial newspapers, including the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and papers in New York and Boston. This fact itself is worth pause, as it is a reminder of the ways in which the material realities of life in the colonies shaped German print culture, rather than German sectarian culture developing in isolation from the British majority and the orthodox religious establishment.[17] Once news paragraphs were selected, they then had to be translated into German. A survey of news paragraphs across newspapers reveals that, for the most part, the news was translated faithfully from English into German, but not always. Even with a faithful translation, commentaries or additional information could be added that were not present in the original news paragraph.

The unbidden insertion of commentary was one of Saur's favorite pastimes. Many examples of this editorial practice can be observed within the pages of the *Geschicht-Schreiber* and, later, the *Pensylvanische Berichte*. To take an example from the Oct. 16, 1749 issue of the *Pensylvanische Berichte*, not long after the conclusion of the War of the Austrian Succession, a news paragraph appeared in Saur's newspaper which reported how England had sent warships to monitor shipbuilding on the French coast. Comparisons with contemporary colonial newspapers reveal how this news paragraph was translated into German from an English-language newspaper, likely the



Boston Weekly News-Letter, Sept. 14, 1749

LONDON, June 27.

The Ventilators invented by the Rev. Dr. Hales being daily more and more experienced to be of great advantage to the health of thoſe whoſe hard lot obliges them to breathe the putrid air of a priſon or other cloſe place; the good Dr, by deſire of the ſecretary at war, was this day at the Savoy priſon to direct a proper place for erecting a large ventilator. One of theſe uſeful machines is alſo fixing in each of the tranſport ſhips, which are to carry 500 Germans to the Britiſh plantations, ſo that 'tis not queſtioned but this invention will be brought into general uſe in the navy.——For tho' a ſhip may not be crowded with ſlaves and paſſengers, or laden with corn, in which caſe the ventilators have been chiefly recommended preferably to all other methods; yet being worked but half an hour in each day, into the hold, they will be of very conſiderable benefit, by introducing freſh, and ſend out the foul damp air, which rots the timber.

July 8. The new Duke of Parma, Don Philip, has not ſeemed to have much Enjoyment of his late Elevation.—— This Prince has been driven from his Palace of Sala by an Earthquake, which has much damaged that building, ſplitting the thickeſt Walls of it from the Top to the Bottom; and he now waits for a Miniſter from Spain to relieve him from the troubleſome Toils of Government.

We hear that eight men of war of different rates, are ordered to be got ready for the ſea.

France continues to proſecute with great Diligence her new Deſigns of naval Grandeur.—— Spain is in high Expectation of vaſt Returns of Wealth from America, in order to purſue her preſent favourite Project of ſuppreſſing the Algerines.—— The King of Portugal, from a Motive of Piety and Filial Obedience, has condeſcended to join the Spaniards and Italians in that Project; which the Court of Rome, to give it the greater Efficacy, has chriſtened by the Name of a *Cruſada*: A Word that, for many Ages, had more powerful Charms in it than all the Lights of Reaſon, and Diſcuſſions of the Civilians.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Sept. 21, 1749

LONDON, July 6.

They write from Algiers, June 10, that the prizes taken from the Venetians, Malteſe, and republick of Genoa, are converted into bomb veſſels, and ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour. Ramparts of earth are thrown up along the coaſt, and provided with artillery, ſo that there are 600 pieces of cannnon in battery there, and on the walls. It is given out, that 300,000 Moors from the mountains, have been called in to the aſſiſtance of the city and coaſts; that 40,000 are actually on their march, and a part of them arrived. One thing is certain, that a great number of Moors are daily employed on the fortifications.

July 11. The French proteſtants who are quartered at Deptford, Greenwich, &c. (in Number about 500, have orders to repair on board, to go to Nova Scotia.

Private letters from Toulon, by the laſt French mail, aſſure us, that they have received orders from the court to haſten as much as poſſible eight ſhips of war that are upon the ſtocks there, viz. two of eighty, four of ſixty, and two of forty pieces of cannon.

We are aſſured from very good authority, that eight men of war are ordered to be got ready for ſailing, which are deſigned as a fleet of obſervation upon the buildings carrying on in the French ports.

Boston Evening Post, Oct. 9, 1749

London, July 3. We have Advice from Paris, by the Way of the Hague, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will ſoon recal the Count de Maurepas from his Exile, and reſtore him to his former Employment.

July 7. Two Maiden Gentlewomen have purchas'd a large Piece of Ground near the Ivy Houſe at Hoxton, in order to erect ten Alms-Houſes for People in their own State.

July 11. We are aſſured from very good Authority, that eight Men of War are ordered to be got ready for ſailing, which are deſigned as a Fleet of Obſervation upon the Buildings carrying on in the French Ports.

Pensylvanische Berichte, Oct. 16, 1749*

Londen den 11ten Juli.

Wir haben Bericht von ſolchen, denen man glauben kan, daß 8 Engl. Kriegſchiffe ſich ſegelfertig machen, die nur gleichſam Schiltwache ſtehen ſollen, weil der König in Franckreich ſo viele Kriegſchiffe bauen läßt. Insgemein wird geglaubt, daß der Frieden nicht lang dauren werde.

Figure 2. News migrating between newspapers about English warships patrolling French shores. Note the last two lines of text in the Pensylvanische Berichte, which were added by Saur. Microfilm images of the Saur newspaper courtesy of the Kellock Library at the OIEAHC.

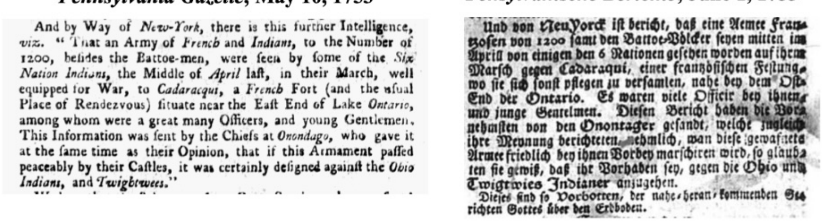
Pennsylvania Gazette, which had printed the same report a few days earlier (Figure 2).[18] In large part, the paragraph was a direct translation of the English-language report. However, a closer look reveals that an additional line of commentary was tacked onto the end: “Insgemein wird geglaubt, daß der Frieden nicht lang dauren werde.”[19] What at first appears to be a natural continuation of the report is revealed to be editorial commentary by the printer Saur, perhaps meant as a summarizing statement, but editorializing nonetheless as the news was translated from English into German. The suggestion that yet another war lay on the horizon would have stoked the fears of German readers, many of whom had fled the war-torn German lands of the 1740s. Among the readers of the *Pensylvanische Berichte* were presumably also many radical Pietists—a capacious category encompassing the Moravians, the Schwarzenau Brethren, the *Inspirierten*, and more—for whom pacifism was non-negotiable.

The news could also become infused with Biblical significance during the translation process from English into German. On May 10, 1753, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on the movement of French troops and

French-allied Indians to a fort on Lake Ontario. Included in the news was a statement by Onondago chiefs, who were said to have supplied the original report, warning that an attack against British-allied Indians was imminent. A few weeks after the paragraph was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Saur printed the translated paragraph in the *Pensylvanische Berichte* and tacked on his own millenarian commentary at the end: "Dieses sind so Vorbotten, der nahe-heran-kommenden Gerichten Gottes über den Erdboden" (Figure 3).[20] The use of martyrological language through the invocation of the Last Judgment was a calculated rhetorical strategy by Christoph Saur throughout his printed *oeuvre*. As Jan Stievermann has pointed out, discourses of Christian martyrological suffering would have resonated with Pennsylvania's German sectarian religious groups, who remained staunchly pacifist during the French and Indian War even after devastating attacks like the Gnadenhütten massacre.[21]

Another example of added commentary can be found in the Sept. 1, 1749 issue of the *Pensylvanische Berichte*. In this issue, Saur reprinted a news paragraph reporting on the French repossession of Louisbourg on Île-Royale in Nova Scotia, which had been ceded by Britain back to France as part of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). The loss of Louisbourg, which also meant the loss of an important maritime fort along the Atlantic seaboard, on July 12th was lamented by the English-language newspapers as a "Black Day" for "our New England Callenders."[22] When Saur translated this paragraph into German, he added four lines of commentary following the main body of text: "Sie verstehen nicht was Salomon sagt: Ein Gedultiger ist besser, als ein Starcker: Und wer seines Muth sein Herr ist, der ist besser als der Städte gewinnet. Noch weniger wissen sie: Wie ein Christen-Hertz die Feinde liebet" (Figure 4).[23] In invoking Solomon and the Old Testament, Saur appealed to the religious sensibilities of radical Pietists. The insertion of this proverb following the news announcing the surrender of Louisbourg was an unambiguous call to disassociate from

Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 10, 1753** | ***Pensylvanische Berichte*, June 1, 1753



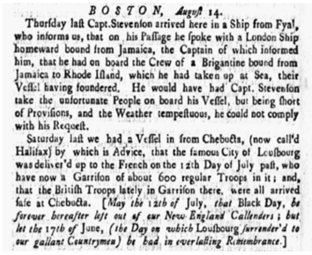
And by Way of *New-York*, there is this further Intelligence, *viz.* "That an Army of *French* and *Indians*, to the Number of 1200, besides the Battoe-men, were seen by some of the *Six Nation Indians*, the Middle of *April* last, in their March, well equipped for War, to *Cadaracqui*, a *French* Fort (and the usual Place of Rendezvous) situate near the East End of Lake *Ontario*, among whom were a great many Officers, and young Gentlemen. This Information was sent by the Chiefs at *Onondago*, who gave it at the same time as their Opinion, that if this Armament passed peaceably by their Castles, it was certainly designed against the *Ohio Indians*, and *Twightwees*."

Und von NeuYorck ist bericht, daß eine Aemee Frantzosen von 1200 samt den Battoe-Völcker seyen mitten im April von einigen den 6 Nationen gesehen worden auf ihrem Marsch gegen Cadaraqui, einer frantzösischen Festung, wo sie sich sonst pflegen zu versamlen, nahe bey dem Ost-End der Ontario. Es waren viele Officir bey ihnen, und junge Gentelmen. Diesen Bericht haben die Vornehmsten von den Onontager gesandt, welche zugleich ihre Meynung berichteten, nehmlich, wan diese gewafnete Armee friedlich bey ihnen Vorbey marschiren wird, so glaubten sie gewiß, daß ihr Vorhaben sey, gegen die Ohio und Twigtwies Indianer anzugehen.

Dieses sind so Vorbotten, der nahe-heran-kommenden Gerichten Gottes über den Erdboden.

Figure 3. Example of Saur's insertion of additional commentary during the translation of news paragraphs from English into German. Here, the additional commentary creates a sense of eschatological urgency consistent with Saur's radical Pietist background. Microfilm images courtesy of the Kellock Library at the OIEAHC.

New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy, Aug. 21, 1749

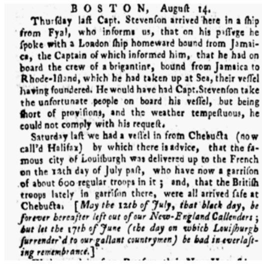


BOSTON, *August* 14.

Thursday last Capt. Stevenson arrived here in a Ship from Fyal, who informs us, that on his Passage he spoke with a London Ship homeward bound from Jamaica, the Captain of which informed him, that he had on board the Crew of a Brigantine bound from Jamaica to Rhode Island, which he had taken up at Sea, their Vessel having foundered. He would have had Capt. Stevenson take the unfortunate People on board his Vessel, but being short of Provisions, and the Weather tempestuous, he could not comply with his Request.

Saturday last we had a Vessel in from Chebucta, (now call'd Halifax) by which is Advice, that the famous City of Lousbourg was deliver'd up to the French on the 12th Day of July past, who have now a Garrison of about 600 regular Troops in it; and, that the British Troops lately in Garrison there, were all arrived safe at Chebucta. [*May the 12th of* July, *that* Black Day, *be forever hereafter left out of our New England Callenders; but let the 17th of* June, *(the Day on which* Lousbourg *surrender'd to our gallant Countrymen) be had in everlasting Remembrance.*]

Pennsylvania Gazette, Aug. 24, 1749



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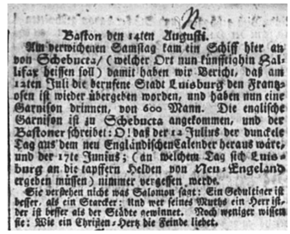
Pensylvanische Berichte, Sep. 1, 1749



Baston den 14ten Augusti.

Am verwichenen Samstag kam ein Schiff hier an von Schebucta/ (welcher Ort nun künfftighin Hallifax heissen soll) damit haben wir Bericht, daß am 12ten Juli die berufene Stadt Luisburg den Frantzosen ist wieder übergeben worden, und haben nun eine Garnison drinnen, von 600 Mann. Die englische Garnison ist zu Schebucta angekommen, und der Bastoner schreibet: O! daß der 12 Julius der denckele Tag aus dem neu Engländischen Calender heraus wäre, und der 17te Junius; (an welchem Tag sich Luisburg an die tapffern Helden von Neu-Engeland ergeben müssen) nimmer vergessen werde.

Sie verstehen nicht was Salomon sagt: Ein Geduldiger ist besser, als ein Starcker: Und wer seines Muths ein Herr ist, der ist besser als der Städte gewinnet. Noch weniger wissen sie: Wie ein Christen-Hertz die Feinde liebet.

Figure 4. The capture of Fort Louisbourg in Nova Scotia was reported differently in Saur's German newspaper compared to English-language reports. When translating the news paragraph into German, Saur added Biblical commentary. Microfilm images of the Saur newspaper courtesy of the Kellock Library at the OIEAHC.

British imperial sentimentality resulting from the loss of the northern fort.

German news was also shaped by the physical properties of the paper on which the newspaper was printed. The spatial limitations of the *Geschicht-Schreiber* and the *Pensylvanische Berichte*, which was smaller and shorter in length than Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, made the selection and juxtaposition of paragraphs as much an exercise in editorial prerogative as logistical planning with the composing stick. The decisions made within Saur's printshop meant that some news reports were given more proverbial airtime than others (if they were not omitted altogether).

The spatial arrangement of paragraphs also mattered. In eighteenth-century newspapers, the reporting of news generally followed an implicit spatial hierarchy, with "world" news reported first, followed by continental and regional news, then local news, and ending with advertisements. The sequential ordering of news meant that foreign news paragraphs could lend color to how local news was subsequently read. In the *Pensylvanische Berichte*, foreign news paragraphs emphasizing disasters (both natural and man-made) were sometimes chosen to fill the entire front page of the newspaper, only to abruptly end with the heading "Germanton," announcing the beginning of the local news section. Exemplative of this is the Oct. 16, 1749 issue of the *Pensylvanische Berichte*, in which the front page (and most of the second page) consists almost exclusively of news about weather disasters and civic unrest. The opening news paragraph about a "tempest" in Rome was likely taken by Saur from either the *Boston Post-Boy* or the *Boston Evening-Post*, both of which had published the story one month prior. The paragraph about the Italian tempest in the *Pensylvanische Berichte* was a faithful translation of the original English paragraph, in that the storm "threatened the return of all the Elements into their first Chaos…in one Word, leaving in every part of this City marks of its Fury, which we shall long feel, and ever remember."[24]

Like the English paragraphs, the German version reports on the flooding of houses and Church of La Rotonda, which "was so fill'd with Water, that the Service was interrupted for two Hours."[25] The only difference in reporting between the German and English versions appears at the end of the German paragraph, when Saur adds his own commentary in smaller type: "Diß scheinet ein Vorspiel zu seyn, auf das, was noch künftig nachfolgen soll, wovon schon so lang und viel prophezeyet ist."[26] News of the hurricane is followed by news about an anti-Jewish riot in Altona, about which Saur may have learned through personal correspondence or from a German periodical, since an equivalent paragraph cannot be found in English-language colonial newspapers. The news from Hamburg is followed by reports about an attempted coup in Bern, the so-called *Burgerlärm* of 1749. Two short paragraphs round out the foreign news section (including one paragraph reporting on the planned siege of Algiers), before the newspaper pivots toward local affairs under the heading "Germantown." In this extended section of local news, Saur reports on a case of highway robbers ("Malificanten" and "Geldmachern") who landed before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and received light sentences for robbing and beating a shopkeeper four miles from Philadelphia.[27] The juxtaposition of societal collapse in Europe with reports about local crime and the corruption of Pennsylvania's judicial system would have contributed to a constrained reading of the news for the province's German readers. These German-speaking communities, left with few options besides English newspapers, would have likely had to rely on Saur's newspaper if they wished to stay abreast of current events at both the local and transregional level. Even if they disagreed with Saur's politics, which was undoubtedly inflected by his radical Pietist background, their options for alternative media sources in the German language remained limited. It would not be until the 1760s and beyond that alternative news sources emerged under printer-publishers like Henrich Miller and Charles Cist. Until then, the Saur family remained the principal distributor of German news.

Conclusion

As suggested by the opening anecdote about the Gnadenhütten massacre, information about backcountry violence and wartime movements in the colonial period could be uncertain and incomplete. Unlike the instantaneous "breaking news" alerts of modern smartphones, the news circuits through which information traveled in the eighteenth century created an uneven topography of news in colonial Pennsylvania. These informational landscapes were fractured not only along geographic and temporal lines, but also linguistic ones.

The importance of linguistic difference for news reporting becomes evident when looking critically at Christoph Saur's newspaper, which ran almost forty years between 1739 and 1777. When the building block of the eighteenth-century newspaper, the news paragraph, is compared across both English and German-language newspapers to trace the circulation of "breaking news," it becomes clear that the reading experience between languages differed in important ways. Knowledge about local crime, backcountry violence, and wartime movements in the 1740s and 1750s were shaped by access to information in the British colonies. The news reports in the German-language *Pensylvanische Berichte,* previously named the *Geschicht-Schreiber*, resulted in a reading experience that was qualitatively different from English-language newspapers. Christoph Saur's editorial prerogative as the printer-publisher meant that he could control paragraph arrangement, insert hidden commentaries, and alter word choice through the English-to-German translation process. The insertion of hidden commentaries was a particularly sneaky slight-of-hand, since these insertions only became undeniable when the German paragraphs are compared to their original counterparts in English-language newspapers. The result of Saur's efforts was a newspaper that was marked by eschatological dread and political anxiety, a qualitative difference that separated the *Pensylvanische Berichte* from other colonial newspapers.

However, even though the *Pensylvanische Berichte* may have contributed to the worsening political climate in colonial Pennsylvania, we cannot ascribe German political behavior in the mid-eighteenth century solely to the eldest Christoph Saur, much less his newspaper. How Saur's readers reacted to the news depended on a confluence of factors, including geographic location, theological convictions, and legal position within the British Empire as naturalized subjects or recently arrived migrants. It is also possible that many of his readers were fluent enough in English to read the English-language newspapers, or that they had access to other sources of German news in the form of letters or periodicals sent from Europe. The addendum of Biblical verses on a news paragraph lent enough ambiguity to the eschatological meaning of the news that readers could craft localized responses out of proscribed political knowledge. It did not matter that Saur, in publishing news of the Gnadenhütten massacre or the loss of Louisbourg, had meant to take aim at jingoist imperial administrators, the political failures of the Proprietary Party, and their supporters in the Pennsylvania government. Once the translated newsprint left his workshop in Germantown, it was left to his subscribers to interpret the news based on local conditions.[28]

Despite the unpredictability of reader behavior, Saur's newspaper was still crucially important in early American life. The mid-eighteenth century, as other scholars have shown, constituted a formative period for the so-called "German element" in colonial Pennsylvania. Imperial warfare combined with frontier violence to create a volatile landscape against which German sectarians attempted to redefine themselves both politically and religiously.[29] Yet what these studies about German sectarian political culture have not sufficiently acknowledged is the extent to which German sectarians—alongside the other approximately 100,000 Germans who had settled in British North America before the Revolutionary War—were irrevocably dependent on the structural realities of the British Empire. The case of Saur's newspaper is an example of this dependency. German settlers' geographic embeddedness in the British colonies meant that any German American newspaper would be forced to copy news paragraphs in large measure from English sources. Even if these news paragraphs were subsequently reinterpreted and reworked by a German editor, like Christoph Saur, their original source remained rooted in British concerns. Perhaps this is where the irony is greatest: as German readers became more aware of colonial news and imperial developments with a periodicity previously unavailable, this subset of the "German element"—those consumers of news both written and oral—became exposed to "British" news with a distinctly "German," if not sectarian, flare. Christoph Saur was an important newspaper editor in the German Atlantic world because he determined, to a non-trivial extent, the availability of political knowledge for the German population in colonial Pennsylvania. And yet this world could not be separated from colonial politics and the British empire. The complexities of these multilingual news topographies will hopefully generate future studies of the Saur newspaper in colonial Pennsylvania.

Notes

1. For both German-language and English-language newspapers, the Gnadenhütten massacre of 1755 was spread out over two newspaper issues. The *Pensylvanische Berichte* reported the massacre on December 1 and December 16; the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported it on November 27 and December 4; the *New-York Mercury* on December 8 and December 15. While the *Pennsylvania Gazette* broke the news first, this was likely because of its weekly periodicity, as opposed to the semimonthly format of the *Pensylvanische Berichte*. The inclusion of extra information in the latter suggests that at least some first-hand information about the massacre had been reported orally in German before, or simultaneous to, English oral reports.

2. English: "We hear that 600 people in Bethlehem and 200 orphans in Nazareth were much dependent on Gnadenhütten for their supply of bread, butter, and meat. The children und their baptized Indians have now joined the others in Bethlehem. The damages incurred to buildings, crops, and cattle are estimated at 1,500 Pounds." "Philadelphia den 6 November," *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Germantown), December 16, 1755.

3. From the accounts, it is unclear to which Native American group(s) these "Indians" belonged. For the sake of consistency with the original newspaper source, I will generally default to the word "Indians" when describing the events of the 1740s and 1750s.

4. William Smith, "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania" (London: Printed for R. Griffiths at the Dunciad, in Pater-Noster-Row, 1755), 29.

5. For example, Steven M. Nolt has described the political behavior of early German settlers as manifestations of "peasant republicanism"; see ibid., *Foreigners in their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002). The temptation to read ethnic identity back onto the eighteenth-century is not helped by the oft-quoted statement by Benjamin Franklin, who asked his friend Peter Collinson in a letter, "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, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion?," which was later published as *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751). The other problem with studies that engage with the ostensible clash of cultures between the British and the German population is that they adopt the premises of British colonial administrators who saw Christoph Saur as the "Pied Piper" thought-leader of the Germans.

6. For recent studies on news networks in early America, see Jordan E. Taylor, *Misinformation Nation: Foreign News and the Politics of Truth in Revolutionary America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022), and Joseph M. Adelman, *Revolutionary Networks: The Business and Politics of Printing the News, 1763-1789* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019).

7. There are many orthographic variations for Saur's name, which also crops up as "Sauer" and "Sower" in the archive. I have chosen Christoph Saur, because this spelling variation was the one preferred by Saur in his print publications. The eldest Christoph Saur is not to be confused with his son (1721-1784) or his grandson (1754-1799), who both carried the same name.

8. The *Geschicht-Schreiber* was renamed to the *Pensylvanische Berichte* in 1745, and in 1762 it was rebranded again as the *Germantowner Zeitung*. When referring to Saur's newspaper, I will use the name that was in use during the given year.

9. This figure derives from Saur's own calculations as printed in the Feb. 1, 1752 issue of the *Pensylvanische Berichte*.

10. Excellent studies of Saur's broadsides, almanacs, and editorials have been conducted by other scholars. These studies demonstrate the ideological and religious discourses which Saur drew upon in his printed output. See Jan Stievermann, "A 'Plain, Rejected Little Flock': The Politics of Martyrological Self-Fashioning among Pennsylvania's German Peace Churches, 1739-65," *William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2009): 287–324; Hermann Wellenreuther, "Pennsylvania Politics and German Political Broadsides, 1730–1830," in *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730-1830* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); and Bethany Wiggin, "Poor Christoph's Almanac: Popular Media and Imperial Education in Colonial Pennsylvania," in *New Perspectives on German-American Educational History: Topics, Trends, Fields of Research*, ed. Anne Overbeck and Jürgen Overhoff (Klinkhardt Verlag, 2017).

11. A fresh study of the Saur Bible is arguably overdue as well.

12. The importance of local practices for German print in the New World is addressed in Benjamin M. Pietrenka, "From Text to Ritual: Radical Pietist Approaches to Scriptural Translation and Protestant Diversity in Early America," *Early American Studies* 23, no. 3 (2025): 295-325.

13. In other words, Christoph Saur represents an important node in the "communications circuit." See Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83.

14. By the 1760s, other printer-publishers had begun breaking down the Saurs' dominance in the German newsprint market. Foremost among these newcomers was the erstwhile Moravian Henrich Miller, whose *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* later became famous for having been the first newspaper to print the Declaration of Independence in German.

15. One example is Benjamin Franklin's *Philadelphische Zeitung*, which had had a very short lifespan in 1732, and was rebooted between 1755 and 1757 under the stewardship of Johann Handschuh. Another example is Joseph Crell's short-lived *Hoch-deutsche Pennsylvanische Journal* from 1743, which ceased operation after a few months.

16. In tracing the movement of news paragraphs between eighteenth-century newspapers, my methodology is indebted to Will Slauter; see ibid., "The Paragraph as Information Technology: How News Traveled in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World," *Annales: histoire, sciences sociales* (English edition) 67, no. 2 (2012): 253–278.

17. In this, I concur with the argument in Pietrenka, "From Text to Ritual," 323-324.

18. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was likely Saur's main source of colonial news, given the influence of the paper and Philadelphia's geographic proximity to Germantown. It is also possible that the original paragraph was taken from the *Boston Evening Post*, since the phraseology resembles that of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The source was not the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, which used different phraseology and cited a different date (July 8 instead of July 11) in reporting the incident.

19. English: "It is thought that the peace will not last long." The paragraph can be found under "London," *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Germantown), no. CXIII, October 16, 1749: [2].

20. English: "These are harbingers of the impending Final Judgement of God upon the Earth." The paragraph can be found under "Baston den 14ten Augusti," *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Germantown), no. CXI, September 1, 1749: [3].

21. Jan Stievermann, "A 'Plain, Rejected Little Flock': The Politics of Martyrological Self-Fashioning among Pennsylvania's German Peace Churches, 1739-65," *William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2009): 287–324.

22. The same news paragraph was printed in both the *New-York Gazette* (August 21) and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (August 24).

23. Here Saur is likely paraphrasing Proverb 15:18 from the Luther Bible: "Ein zorniger Mann richtet Zank an; ein Geduldiger aber stillt den Streit."

24. "Rome, June 14," *Boston Post-Boy*, September 11, 1749: [2]. The same phraseology can be found in the *Boston Evening-Post*.

25. "Rome, July 1," *Boston Evening-Post*, September 18, 1749: [1].

26. English: "This seems to be a prelude to what soon shall follow, about which much has already been prophesied." The article can be found under the heading "Rom den 14ten Juni," *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Germantown), no. CXIII, October 16, 1749: [1].

27. "Germanton," *Pensylvanische Berichte* (Germantown), no. CXIII, October 16, 1749: [2].

28. A number of studies over the past decade have highlighted the diverse reading practices among German migrants in the New World: see Benjamin M. Pietrenka, "From Text to Ritual," as well as Patrick M. Erben, "Wie ein Nimrod/like a nimrod": Babel, confusion, and coercive bilingualism in the eighteenth-century Mid-Atlantic," in *Babel of the Atlantic* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019), and Jan Stievermann "Faithful Translations: New Discoveries on the German Pietist Reception of Jonathan Edwards." *Church History* 83, no. 2 (2014).

29. The mid-eighteenth century has been characterized as a time of "sectarian ecumenicity" for Pennsylvania's radical Pietists. See Steven M. Nolt, "Rethinking German Sectarians: Compound Singularity in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 58 (2025): 7. The participation of German migrants in Pennsylvania politics has been described in detail by Aaron Spencer Fogleman; see ibid., *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

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Invaluable Mediums: The Printed Word of German-American Agents in the Business of Migration to the Midwest, 1869-74

Introduction

In 1859, Michigan's Governor Moses Wisner received a petition from Saginaw—a lumbering town with a large German-speaking population—supporting the placement of agents in Europe to attract more immigrants to the state. They did not believe, however, that just anyone could do the job. Rather, the petitioners argued that "the agent must be a German; a man who cannot speak the language could not affect the least thing."[1] Moreover, he should appeal to all economic backgrounds and lack connection to the Revolutions of 1848-1849 to avoid harassment from authorities from the numerous German states and kingdoms. As such, he would preferably be an immigrant himself, with firsthand experience of residing in a German state and journeying across the Atlantic. Last, this agent could also relay the resources of, and benefits gained, from settling in Michigan. Petitions outlining various qualities of a model candidate for an immigration agent number in the several dozen at the Archives of Michigan. Many continued to be sent to the governor either in support of or in opposition to Maximillian Heinrich Allardt's appointment as Commissioner of Immigration of Michigan in 1869.

Originally from Breslau, Silesia, Allardt felt his upbringing empowered his ability to gain the trust of potential immigrants from Germany. His endeavors in this vein were mainly channeled through the printed word; namely, his newspaper, *Der Michigan Wegweiser* (*The Michigan Guide*), published between 1870 and 1874 as he traveled through Central Europe. Allardt described his newspaper as "a very valuable medium," through which to communicate with those desiring to emigrate.[2] The Oxford English Dictionary defines the term "medium," as "something which is intermediate between two degrees," "exists in a middle state," and "a means or channel of communication or expression."[3] In this article, the description of "medium," is first applied to German American agents who were hired by states and industry to serve as intermediaries and facilitate further immigration to the region based on their presumed "expertise" as former immigrants themselves. Moreover, the term is implemented to describe the print media through which these agents strategically communicated the resources and qualities of their respective states with German readers across Central Europe. The application of "medium" thus encapsulates the rationale behind the employment of immigrants as optimal promoters in their former homelands, and the usage of the printed word to disseminate information about state attributes in ways that would appeal to their readers' wants and desires.

Allardt himself had gone through a vetting process by which Governor Henry Baldwin of Michigan had selected the best "medium" to reach out to prospective immigrants, counseled by those who had already settled in the state and submitted petitions describing the ideal candidate for such a role, as well as the industries that supported the Commissioner of Immigration position. Agents like Allardt were hired to fulfill goals of population growth shared among young states in the mid-nineteenth century. Michigan offered public lands for purchase, railroads like the Flint & Pere Marquette Railway were eager to expand their lines and obtain settlers, and the copper mines and lumber industry in the north desired workers.[4] Furthermore, Allardt and other immigrants-turned-agents knew their worth in addressing the needs of state and industry alike, using these endeavors for their financial gain. These positions, however, also allowed immigrants to better the traveling conditions of their "peer groups," or at least smoothen their journeys.[5]

The appointment of an immigrant to attract more immigrants exemplifies Simone Lässig and Sven Steinberg's definition of "migrant knowledge," or those who utilized their ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or religious backgrounds to familiarize potential immigrants with the states and industries that they represented.[6] Lässig and Steinberg's exploration of the usages of "migrant knowledge" is comprised of individuals who operated "between worlds…in intermediary spaces."[7] Their work calls for further investigation of examples of "migrant knowledge," and its variety of historical usages. The backgrounds of Allardt and his counterparts were weaponized to feed larger aims on the part of the state and local industry. They were chosen specifically because it was believed that they could operate in two "worlds." As such, they exhibit how German Americans were considered crucial allies for facilitating additional immigration to the region.

This article highlights two agents who exercised their "migrant knowledge" as a strong asset for their work in the business of migration, defined here as the cooperation between state and private forces to structurally support immigration to the Midwest. The contributions of private enterprise, such as that of European shipping companies in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, has occupied major studies of the business of migration.[8] The case studies of Allardt and his Minnesota equivalent—Eduard Pelz—demonstrates that the role of public institutions in facilitating immigration to a certain region or state is worthy of further exploration. Presenting their respective states as ideal destinations with the financial aid of private corporations, Allardt and Pelz were thus perceived as invaluable mediums for advancing midwestern interests in Europe *because* of their steep connections to the continent itself. As studies of the "middle area" within migration networks grow in number, this work shows that German Americans' immigrant origins were often leveraged to bridge the gap between immigrants in Europe and public and private structures of control back in the United States.[9]

M. H. Allardt's *Michigan Guide*

Allardt immigrated to the United States as a child in the 1830s. He had assumed many job titles by 1869. He had been a newspaper editor, lawyer and notary public, an insurance agent, musical instrument dealer, and owner of a tobacco store by the time he had settled in East Saginaw, Michigan, in the early 1860s. When he applied for the position of Michigan's Commissioner of Immigration, he was already a well-known figure locally, serving as Alderman for East Saginaw's Second Ward and a trustee for its Germania Society. As such, he enjoyed immense support for his candidacy. The *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* celebrated Allardt's nomination, expressing that he represented the best of both worlds, "he being a native of Germany, but having long been a resident of this State and fully understanding the great inducements it offers to the German emigrant."[10] Petitions supporting other candidates, however, questioned Allardt's immigration as a youth as harmful to facilitation efforts. One letter stated that because Allardt had immigrated as a child, "he consequently really knows but little of the idioms" of his native land.[11] Yet his friend, P.W. Fischer of Detroit, had a different take on Allardt's potential. He wrote to Governor Baldwin in a letter of recommendation that due to Allardt's upbringing in a community where Germans of numerous regional backgrounds resided, "he has made himself acquainted with the different dialects," so that he could establish a good rapport with a variety of "Germans of the Old Country."[12] This perspective ultimately won over the governor.

The press' fascination with Allardt's appointment continued after he set sail from New York City on the *Cambria* by late summer of 1869.[13] He reported back of his travels and updated local papers on progress toward directing those who he described "live and work, and work and live, from infancy to old age, without aim, without ambition" back in their homeland to a more fruitful and free life in Michigan.[14] Here Allardt may have been referring to a lack of opportunity for upward mobility. Land inheritance systems across numerous German states and kingdoms at this time essentially took two forms. In one method, landholdings went to a single heir (often the eldest son), and in another, property was divided among siblings.[15] Both could yield detrimental results, which was either a complete lack or dwindling amount of property over time.[16] For many, the solution was often to go elsewhere, such as the United States. Around 50,000 residents of rural Hesse-Cassel immigrated to the United States from 1832 to 1857.[17] Allardt and fellow agent John Reisig from Bavaria traveled across Central Europe holding lectures and meeting prospective "colonies," as they referred to emigrating groups. The term "colony" was used by agents to describe a large group of immigrants, often from the same town and composed of several families. Allardt's initial headquarters, however, was Frankfurt am Main. The location, explained Allardt, "was a neutral ground where the south and the north…meet." It thus avoided the "local jealousies" between northern and southern Germans that he claimed existed.[18] His prime outlet of communication with the public was *The Michigan Guide.* The masthead of the newspaper is a timeline of Michigan's progress as spurred on by increased immigration to and settlement in the state, and more particularly, its Northern Peninsula (Figure I). Public lands were more widely available in this section of the state, and the illustration of soaring peaks in the background most likely represented the Huron Mountains.

The left side of the masthead depicts the year 1870. A thick, untamed forest surrounds a log cabin. A wooden bridge lays in the foreground, where a man crosses with a hunting rifle. A woman draws water from a well, and in the distance, someone is operating a canoe. The right side of the masthead depicts the year 1880. A decade has passed and most of the trees have been felled. A robust stone bridge leads to a grand estate, where the man no longer must hunt for his own food. He now joins his family on a leisurely stroll. Finally, the canoe has been substituted with several steamships and sailing vessels. Beyond that, a whole community has risen in the distance. The mountains, so clearly seen due to the deforestation that has occurred, tower over the town.

The Huron Mountains are by no means accurately represented in this drawing. It could be considered, however, a more realistic illustration of the

Figure 1: Der Michigan Wegweiser, January 24, 1872, pg. 1, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, RG 44, Box 243, GII Correspondence, Archives of Michigan.

Bavarian Alps. If that is the case, Allardt may have hoped to showcase (if not exaggerate) the geographic similarities between Michigan and Germans' former homelands. This image itself, moreover, encapsulates Michigan government and industry's mission for Allardt. They wished for him to guide people to the state, so that the progress of the right image may soon replace the primitive image on the left. Lastly, it is also a message to the readers of *The Michigan Guide* that they could aid in and experience this progress firsthand should they settle in Michigan.

Allard noted in the first edition of his newspaper that his aim was not to induce Germans to immigrate, but to enlighten those who had already decided to immigrate to the advantages of Michigan.[19] He explained that his "long residence in America, and especially my detailed familiarization with the interests and resources of my state" made him an ideal intermediary.[20] Allardt dedicated much of *The Michigan Guide* to illuminating readers about the state's agricultural strength and industrial qualities. The production and shipment of various fruits had earned the state $875,000 in the season of 1869 alone. Public lands as well as prairie and woodlands that settlers could purchase were in abundance.[21] This was a desirable image for those hoping to avoid primogeniture or partible inheritance systems practiced in many German states and kingdoms.

What is more, copper mining boomed by the time of Allardt's appointment. Michigan's Upper Peninsula produced 95% of the country's copper alone in 1869. It was therefore no coincidence that Allardt's first trip as an agent was through Westphalia's coal mining areas. In a previous letter to the *Saginaw Daily Enterprise,* Allardt had described the living conditions of miners and their families in Westphalia as particularly abysmal. He doubled down on this argument in his newspaper after receiving backlash from a German-language newspaper in Saginaw that his description of working life in Westphalia was too severe. For instance, he argued that laborers in the United

States could enjoy meat with their meals, whereas German laborers learned to go without. Striking workers in the United States did so to attain further recognition, but he argued that a strike was often a matter of life or death in the Prussian province.[22]

In another section of the newspaper, Allardt emphasized the demobilization of the U.S. military after the Civil War. Knowing that military service was required in several German states and generally unpopular, Allardt made sure to highlight this political development.[23] With these inclusions, Allardt appealed to the grievances of many Germans and laid out for them reasons why Michigan was the perfect destination for those wishing to avoid such encumbrances for themselves or their sons. In 1870, Reisig reported to Governor Baldwin that 5,722 immigrants had arrived in Michigan.[24] The next year, the number reported was 6,427 immigrants.[25] By 1872, Allardt cited the numbers of the New York City Commissioners of Emigration at Castle Garden, which stated that 12,340 immigrants were bound for Michigan.[26]

Allardt's effectiveness, however, was up for question. Conflict abounded during his tenure as an agent. The Franco-Prussian War was one such obstacle, disrupting shipping lanes for almost a year. Allardt, however, viewed every reason for vexation toward Prussia as an opportunity. Following Prussia's victory in the war, Allardt moved his headquarters closer to Alsace-Lorraine, as French-speaking Alsatians were anxious to move out of the annexed province. He did the same with Hannover, as the kingdom had lost its independence in the aftermath of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. On both occasions, Allardt took advantage of local disdain for Prussian rule.

Partnered with land manager Julius Davis, Allardt had organized the immigration of a Saxon colony to work for the Munising Iron Company in 1873. By the time of their arrival, however, the company had temporarily shifted from mining to lumbering when their supply of charcoal had dissipated. This resulted in dozens of Saxons resettling in Michigan with little job prospects in the middle of early spring.[27] Much of the German press, including Friedrich Kapp (formerly a Commissioner of Emigration in New York City who moved back to Berlin after German unification), called Davis (a German immigrant who had Americanized his name) a traitor to his own people for this alleged failure.[28] Much of "Colony Saxonia," did not return to Saxony, choosing instead to disperse throughout the more central region of Michigan. The midwestern press, however, largely defended Allardt's reputation. The *Wisconsin State Journal* remarked that his expulsion "shows… that the printing press has been a very effective agent in moving the people," as it claimed that Allardt was only targeted for being too good at his job.[29] Whatever the case, Allardt had proven P.W. Fischer right. Well-attuned to the prejudices and proclivities of those who resided in what became the German

Reich in 1871, Allardt appealed to these attitudes through the medium of his newspaper.

Eduard Pelz and Minnesota as a Multicultural and Agricultural Haven

As Allardt traveled across the region before his ultimate expulsion and departure in 1874, Eduard Pelz maintained headquarters in Gotha. Originally from the Kingdom of Saxony, Pelz was elected to the Preliminary Parliament prior to the Frankfurt National Assembly in 1848. His publication of a workers' rights newspaper earned him an order of expulsion, and he had immigrated to New York City by 1850. He later went to Minnesota in 1858, but by 1866, he returned to Europe to promote the state for the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad. As a well-known author, forty-eighter, and explorer, he exerted significant influence over English- and German-language circles. Minnesota was his main muse, and the governor of the state and its largest railway companies were more than eager to utilize his celebrity for their benefit.

Pelz wrote to friend Hermann Trott, Secretary of the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad's Land Department, that an agent with a reliable and respected reputation was essential for reaching German immigrants.[30] In an age of swindlers constantly vying for people's money during their journey, it was not enough to publish pamphlet after pamphlet. An authentic, trustworthy voice was needed behind the written word. In 1865, one letter to St. Paul's *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* recalled that, after the governor of Wisconsin had employed Pelz to advertise the state, settlement had not fallen under 20,000 newcomers each year, correlating his promotional efforts with population increase.[31] St. Paul's *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* claimed that Pelz was unmatched in his efforts to transfer German culture throughout the world.[32] Pelz' works were supported by the ads provided him by Minnesota railroads, such as the St. Paul & Pacific and Great Northern. As his publications were quite popular, they essentially paid for themselves.[33] Aside from his newspaper, his books shared multiple themes, to the point where it is surprising that each new work did not grow tedious to readers.

Though he, too, dedicated significant coverage to qualities of the state, Pelz was primarily concerned with convincing his audience that Minnesota, and the midwestern region as an extension, was warm and welcoming to German immigrants. Pelz was enthralled by the speech that William Seward delivered in St. Paul in 1860, during which Lincoln's future Secretary of State lauded what he viewed as Minnesota's quality of tolerance. Seward had observed that "while society is convulsed with the jealousies between native and foreign born in our Atlantic cities and on our Pacific coast…here in this central point of the republic…the German, and the Irishman, and the Italian, and the Frenchman, and the Hollander, becomes…an American citizen."[34] Pelz at times quoted this speech in large sections. He did so in *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt (Minnesota, the Central Region of North America: Its Main Conditions Depicted),* published in 1868.

Due to this alleged tolerance, Pelz designated Minnesota as largely immune to the nativist Know-Nothing movement that had gained traction in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states during the 1850s. In *Minnesota, the Central Region,* Pelz argued that Minnesota's cosmopolitan nature—in which practically all nationalities coexisted—prevented nativist movements from gaining popularity.[35] In another book, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen: Emigrations-Monographie* (*Minnesota's Main Conditions: Emigration Monograph)*, Pelz cited one reporter who claimed that settlers in Minnesota no longer belonged to their "fatherlands" or "homelands." They now belonged to the world.[36] This globality of Minnesota was evident even in banal places, such as street names, which honored figures from a variety of national backgrounds.[37] Pelz therefore considered Minnesota "an oasis of tranquility" for what he viewed as the state's embrace of all European nationalities.[38]

The supposed multicultural environment of Minnesota was not its only feature. In his 1864 book, *Über Auswanderung* (*On Emigration),* Pelz referred to Minnesota as the "garden of the Union" and a "farmer's paradise."[39] The weather was much more stable year-round, the climate promoted a healthy lifestyle, and the soil was among the most fertile anywhere. What is more, land was offered on a low-interest contract if purchased from the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad. Pelz' friend, Hermann Trott, was a good, reliable German American who would help his compatriots in their resettlement.[40] He went so far as to compare the Minnesota climate to northern Germany, and conditions in St. Paul to that of Berlin.[41] Included in various works was a list of all the crops grown in Minnesota. Pelz emphasized the production of rye, for this directly tied farming practices back in northern Germany to those of the Midwest. These two regions are one of the only places in the world where rye is grown. He also outlined the large production of wheat throughout the state, another popular crop for Germans.[42] These additions informed readers that Minnesota's climate was not so different than to what they were accustomed back home.

In 1872, the release of Pelz' newspaper, *Der Pfadfinder* (*The Pathfinder*) drew immediate attention. The *Wisconsin State Journal* announced that Pelz, who they called "an authority upon the subject of emigration," had begun this publication to impart guidance to Germans intent on settling in Minnesota.[43] *The Pathfinder* only ran for a few months, but its influence was widespread. Even Allardt, otherwise a competitor, used it as "a corroboration, that my idea of publishing a paper is a good one," if the renowned Pelz had utilized the same method of outreach.[44] Emphasizing the fertility of the soil, Pelz likened the Midwest to ancient Egypt.[45] He proclaimed that there were areas in the Midwest that had become almost entirely German. One could even forget that they were not in Germany.[46] Pelz paired these descriptions with warnings about the unsuitable conditions and nefarious agents in countries like Brazil and Argentina, where Germans were equally desired and could choose to settle instead.[47]

Including several landscape drawings of the state showcasing its natural wonders and industry in his works, Pelz conveyed to readers that Minnesota was the rightful "adopted fatherland." Other lands did not compare in terms of climate, healthfulness, and similarities to German practices.[48] These scenic sketches depicted a majestic environment, plentiful in fresh water, air, and opportunity for growth and development in which immigrants could take part. The most telling example is an illustration of the Falls of St. Anthony in Pelz' *Minnesota: The Central Region,* in which the Falls are front and center (Figure II). Their strength powers the textile, flour, and sawmills that stand in the background.[49] What is not evident in this drawing is that the water of the Falls had by this time become quite polluted by run-off from the nearby mills.[50] What is emphasized in the picture, however, is the seamless pairing of Minnesota's natural wonders with industrial growth. Opportunity by way of farming and industry awaited all who moved there.

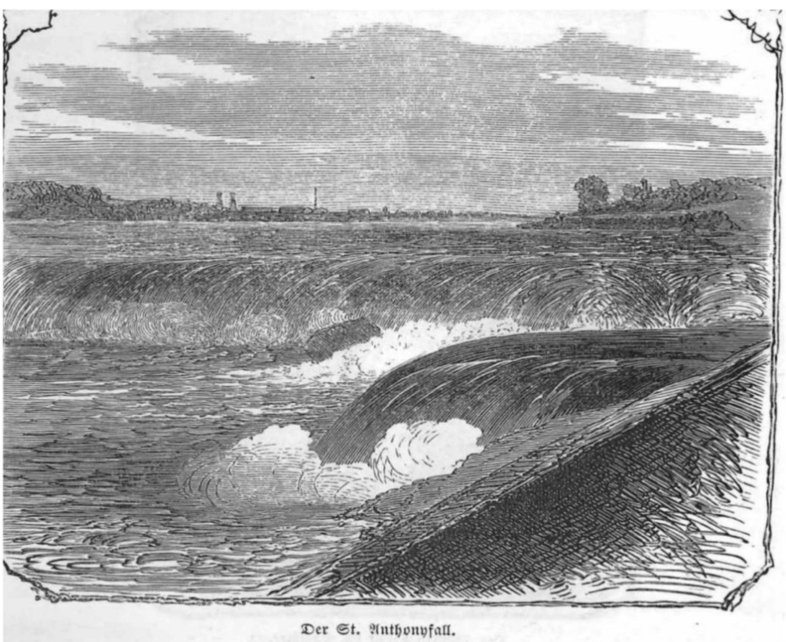

Figure 2: Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1868), 11.

As they conducted their work on the European continent, Pelz and Allardt were aware of the needs and wants of fellow Germans. They used this insight to their advantage and geared their messaging accordingly. Moreover, they understood the conditions and environment to which many Germans were accustomed, as well as the issues in their homeland that they wished to avoid. Examples include accentuating the availability of cheap land and the ability to grow crops like rye, sugar beets, and wheat, or underscoring the lack of military service obligation in the United States. Moreover, Pelz persistently reiterated the Midwest's tolerant, welcoming nature towards immigrations, placing the region in direct contrast to the so-called "nativistic" attitudes of the Northeast and South. Together, these agents advertised the resources and advantages of their respective states in a way that complemented the conventions and concerns of many Germans.

Conclusion

This article has explored the utilization of the term "medium" and its application to the employment of immigrant expertise to attract more immigrants from Central Europe to the Midwest. The printed word was a mechanism through which German American agents like Eduard Pelz and M.H. Allardt reached out and appealed to prospective immigrants. They did so in pointed ways, stressing the desired similarities, as well as the marked differences, of Michigan and Minnesota to make these states more attractive to readers. On the other hand, midwestern states and private enterprises sought to resolve their need for agricultural and industrial labor and spur population growth in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, instrumentalizing the linguistic skillset and linkages of the region's largest immigrant population with their personal connections in Europe. The local press' celebratory comments regarding these agents' work reflect that their mission was widely perceived as a campaign for more people and with that, regional growth and prosperity. Allardt and Pelz viewed their newspapers and publications as "very valuable mediums," but they themselves were also regarded as vital instruments through which midwestern governments and companies could appeal to immigrants.

Allardt and Pelz' printed counsel demonstrates a critical example for how former immigrants utilized what Lässig and Steinberg have referred to as their "migrant knowledge" in service to the states and industries that employed them. Exploring their so-called "expert" contributions uncovers that these state governments and industries made use of former immigrants to establish international notoriety for the region in the nineteenth century, so that midwestern states could compete equally with all the other places across the globe that vied for Germans. These case studies, then, represent a significant strategy in which German Americans were viewed as a lucrative population to advance regional interests on a broader scale.

Notes

1. Emil Anneke, Letter from Emil Anneke to Governor Wisner, January 19, 1859, RG 44, Box 55, F7, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

2. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Henry Baldwin, June 20, 1870, RG 44, Box 243, F2, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910 2, Archives of Michigan.

3. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Medium," accessed May 8, 2026, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/medium_n?tab=meaning_and_use#37558639

4. Horace J. Stevens, *The Copper Handbook*, vol. 8 (Houghton, MI: Horace Stevens, 1909), 1466.

5. Sebastian Jobs and Gisa Mackenthun, *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxman Verlag GmbH, 2013), 20.

6. Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, "Knowledge on the Move: New Approaches Toward a History of Migrant Knowledge," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 326. Additional works related to agents or brokers, are Nicholas Evans, "The Role of Foreign-Born Agents in the Development of Mass Migrant Travel through Britain, 1851-1924," in *Maritime Transport and Migration: The Connections between Maritime and Migration Networks.* Torsten Feys, Lewis R. Fischer, Stephane Hoste, and Stephan Vanfraechem, eds. (St. John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2017), 49-61; Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Angelika Sauer, "A Weak Woman Standing Alone: Home, Nation, and Gender in the Work of German-Canadian Immigration Agent Elise von Koerber, 1872-84," in *Beyond the Nation?: Immigrants' Local Lives in Transnational Cultures*, ed. Alexander Freund (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017); H. Glenn Penny, *German History Unbound: From 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

7. Lässig and Steinberg, "Knowledge on the Move," 326.

8. Drew Keeling, *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900-1914* (Chronos, 2014); Torsten Feys, *The Battle for the Migrants: The Introduction of Steamshipping on the North Atlantic and Its Impact on the European Exodus* (St. John's, International Maritime Economic History Association, 2013); Feys, "Bounding Mass Migration Across the Atlantic: European Shipping Companies between U.S. Border Building and Evasion (1860s-1920s)," *Journal of Modern European History* 14.1 (2016), 78-100; Feys, "Between the Public and the State: The Shipping Lobby's Strategies Against U.S. Immigration Restrictions, 1882-1917," *International Migration Review* 51.2 (2017), 344-374.

9. Dirk Hoerder, "Multiscalar Approaches and Transcultural Societal Studies," in *The Cambridge History of Global Migrations*, ed. Marcelo J. Borges and Madeline Y. Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 48.

10. "Emigration Bill," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Friday, April 2, 1869, 1.

11. C.V. DeSand, Letter from C.V. DeSand to Governor Baldwin, April 20, 1869, Record Group 44, Box 55, File 16, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

12. P.W. Fischer, Letter from P.W. Fischer to Governor Baldwin, March 29, 1869, RG 44, Box 55, File 6, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

13. Before he departed, Allardt spent almost the entire summer of 1869 touring Michigan. Notably, he traveled alongside President E.B. Ward of the Flint & Pere Marquette Railway Company as his entourage surveyed where to lay new lines. "The F&P M.R.R.—Its Western Terminus—Officers of the Road Prospecting on the Western Slope," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Wednesday, May 26, 1869, 1.

14. M.H. Allardt, "Immigration," *Saginaw Daily Enterprise* (Saginaw, MI) Monday, October 4, 1869, 2. In the same letter to the *Saginaw Daily Enterprise,* Allardt recalls that he was received "with lovely embrace!" by the Hamburg America Line.

15. Simone Wegge, "Inheritance Institutions and Landholding Inequality in Nineteenth-Century Germany: Evidence from Hesse-Cassel Villages and Towns," *The Journal of Economic History* 81, 3 (September 2021): 916.

16. Wegge, "Inheritance Institutions and Landholding Inequality in Nineteenth-Century Germany," 933.

17. Ibid.

18. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Baldwin, October 16, 1869, RG 44, Box 179, F7, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

19. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Baldwin, January 24, 1872, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 1, Archives of Michigan.

20. *Der Michigan Wegweiser,* January 8, 1870, 5, Thurinigian University and State Library Jena, Journals@UrMEL Original in German.

21. *Der Michigan Wegweiser,* 2-3.

22. *Der Michigan Wegweiser,* 4.

23. *Der Michigan Wegweiser,* 5.

24. John Reisig, Letter from John Reisig to Governor Baldwin, December 13, 1870, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 3, Archives of Michigan, .

25. John Reisig, Letter from John Reisig to Governor Baldwin, December 4, 1871, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 3, Archives of Michigan.

26. M.H. Allardt, General Report, November 30, 1874, RG 44, Box 243, F3, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, 5, Archives of Michigan.

27. Utz. H. Schmidt, *Michigan's Thumb: A Paradise for Saxonia Settlers* (Self-published, 2019), 69; Ingrid Schöberl dedicates a section of her book that compares the facilitation work of state agencies in Germany. Schöberl,
Amerikanische Einwanderwerbung in Deutschland, 1845-1914 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990).

28. Friedrich Kapp, "Zur Auswanderung nach Michigan," *Meeraner Tageblatt und Anzeiger* (Meerane, Saxony) Friday, March 28, 1873.

29. "Germany Opposing Emigration," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI) Friday, January 2, 1874, 1.

30. Eduard Pelz, Letter from Eduard Pelz to Hermann Trott, September 29, 1866, Records of Governor William R. Marshall: Appointments, Immigration Agents, 1866-1869, 154.J.14.3B, File 185, Minnesota Historical Society.

31. "Immigration," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul, MN) Friday, April 21, 1865, 2.

32. *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* (St. Paul, MN) Saturday, May 12, 1866, 3.

33. Hildegard Binder Johnson, "Eduard Pelz and German Emigration," *Minnesota History* 31, no. 4 (1950): 226.

34. William H. Seward, "Speech Delivered by William H. Seward at St. Paul, September 18, 1860," in *Speeches of W.H. Seward: Lincoln Campaign* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1860), 11.

35. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet Nord-Amerikas: in seinen Hauptverhältnissen dargestellt* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1868), 19.

36. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen: Emigrations-Monographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1868), 54.

37. Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen,* 50.

38. Ibid, 7. Original in German.

39. Eduard Pelz, *Über Auswanderung* (Bremen A.D. Geisler, 1864), 19. Original in German.

40. Eduard Pelz, *Das Centralgebiet Nordamerika's* (Rudolstadt Druck der F.priv. hofbuchdruckerei, 1868), 14.

41. Pelz, *Minnesota in seinen Hauptverhältnissen,* 27-28.

42. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet,* 17.

43. "Immigration," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI) Monday, February 2, 1872, 2.

44. M.H. Allardt, Letter from M.H. Allardt to Governor Baldwin, January 24, 1872, RG 44, Box 243, F4, GII Correspondence, Records of the Executive Office, 1810-1910, Archives of Michigan.

45. Eduard Pelz, John Miller, Alexander Ramsey, Hermann Trott, Robert Watt, and St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Company, First Division, *Pfadfinder Minnesota Articles* (Gotha: Stollbergsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1872), Notebook 1, 3, Minnesota Historical Society.

46. Eduard Pelz et al., *Pfadfinder Minnesota Articles,* 18-19.

47. Ibid, 14-15.

48. Eduard Pelz, *Minnesota, das Central-Gebiet,* 10-14.

49. Ibid*,* 11.

50. Jane Lamm Carroll, "Engineering the Falls: The Corps of Engineers' Role at St. Anthony Falls," October 27, 2015., U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, St. Paul District.

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The Wisconsin Synod Lutherans Print in German

Wisconsin's Lutherans Need to Print in German

The year 2025 marked the 175th anniversary of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS).[1] This paper explores how and why the Wisconsin Synod utilized the German language in its printed materials for more than a century and analyzes some of the cultural, religious, and historical implications of its shift to English. Founded amidst the surge of German immigration to Wisconsin in the mid-19th century, WELS initially served German-speaking Lutheran communities who arrived in America without sufficient religious leadership. From its beginning, the German language was central to the synod's identity. While initially challenged by the regional diversity within the German immigrant community, Wisconsin Synod leaders successfully expressed Lutheran theology through printed materials, such as church papers, liturgies, and hymnals. By examining themes of language as religious identity, assimilation pressures, cultural heritage retention, and theological fidelity, this paper situates the synod's linguistic journey within the broader narrative of immigrant adaptation in America. Utilizing primary sources—including synodical documents, personal writings, and diaries—it traces critical phases, from the era of publisher George Brumder to the significant linguistic transformations sparked by the two world wars. Ultimately, this analysis sheds light on the nuanced interplay of faith, culture, and language, providing insights relevant both historically and in contemporary discourse about religious and immigrant identity in America.

In December 1849, moderate Lutheran Johannes Muehlhaeuser[2] and two other pastors in the Milwaukee area met to organize the "First German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin." It formally adopted its constitution in 1850. The synod was "Evangelical" since it sought to make the proclamation of the gospel (the *euangelion*) its chief endeavor. Yet to some, the term "*Evangelisch"* could signal unionism with other denominations. This issue was one the young synod had to resolve in its first generation. The synod was "Lutheran" because it sought primarily to serve churchless Lutherans (as opposed to those who served German Protestants more generally). It would eventually establish that it subscribed to the Lutheran Confessions because they believed that these documents correctly taught God's Word. Finally, the synod was "German" because its ministers came from Germany and it sought to serve the large population of German immigrants who often had no trained spiritual leaders. The main flow of German immigration from the 1840s to the 1880s meant that for several generations, the German Wisconsin Lutheran Synod would naturally speak, read, sing, and print in German.

Initially, the synods primary focus was on organizing congregations in the rapidly developing frontier and cities in Wisconsin as many thousands of German immigrants settled in the young state. Next came the need to acquire trained and reliable pastors. Therefore, for much of the 1850s, the small synod did not take up any major printing projects of its own. Unique documents, such as synod meeting minutes, were kept in manuscript form for several years. When they were printed in the latter half of the 1850s, local print shops conveniently met the small demand of such minor projects. Yet congregational life and worship regularly required printed materials. It was all-but inevitable that a Lutheran church would both rely on and develop printed materials. After all, the printed word, image, and song was a major tool and feature of Luther's reformation.[3]

Lutheran worship assumes congregational participation and singing. For 500 years this has been largely facilitated by printed songbooks or hymnals. Initially, the Wisconsin Synod congregations relied on the hymnals that the immigrant members brought with them from Europe. However, this method worked well only if people actually brought their hymnals with them (which they often did not) and if the hymnal-toting worshipers had come from the same region. While this occasionally was the case, in both the cosmopolitan centers like Milwaukee and even in many rural areas, German-speaking Lutherans often came from a dozen or more different kingdoms, duchies, and principalities from the German Confederation. Each German nation, through its government-run Church consistory, produced at least one hymnal for its territories—or even multiple ones if the state had inherited historically distinct regions with a strong local sense of identity following the Napoleonic Wars.[4]

The result was that often the pastor would have to announce multiple hymn numbers during the service, corresponding to different hymnals. Inevitably, textual variants and different verses and stanzas often led to frustrating chaos in worship, which the German Lutherans (perhaps even more than most) would have preferred to have been both dignified and orderly. As some WELS historians have put it, "It was like the time of the Judges—everyone did what was right in his own eyes"—worship anarchy.[5]

Furthermore, many of the immigrants who identified as "Lutheran" had officially been part of the newly invented "Evangelisch" or "Union" Church in Prussia and many other Protestant states. This was the forced merger of the Reformed and Lutheran traditions. While it was impossible to force or decree a change of heart or conscience (as Luther himself famously exemplified at the Diet of Worms in 1521), there were many ways the states' church Union could be enforced externally. Chiefly, this took place in the officially sanctioned agendas, orders of worship, and hymnals—many of which were brought into Wisconsin by the "Lutheran" immigrants who made up the new synod.

As the very-much "Lutheran" German synod in Wisconsin embraced the American freedom to be as distinctly Lutheran as it wished, it began to reckon with elements that undermined pure Lutheran theology and worship. It was the need for trustworthy and consistent worship and education materials that compelled the Wisconsin Synod to look into printing its own materials.[6] Of all people, it was Johannes Muehlhaeuser at Grace Lutheran in Milwaukee who came under criticism for using the "United Lutheran and Reformed Hymnal." [7] By 1863, there was a general consensus in the Wisconsin Synod that there was a need to address the agenda issue, but leaders were divided on whether to use a reputable agenda from Germany, adopt an American one, or make its own. Muehlhaeuser pointed out that the German agendas did not contain all the rites one would use in the American context. Others asserted that the Pennsylvania Synod's agenda had many of the theological problems of the Union agendas.[8] The issue was delegated to a committee, whose recommendation to use the Ohio Synod's agenda in 1864 was adopted. However, attempts to work with the Ohio synod in developing a hymnal ultimately came to nothing.[9]

At the same time, the synod resolved to publish a church paper, the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt.*[10] This paper was meant to inform laity and leaders alike in the synod of church news, programs, and mission work. It often included articles on doctrine and church history. In this sense, it was very similar to a large number of church papers in the United States and was one of dozens of German Lutheran periodicals.[11] The paper's motto, "Halte was du hast…," crowned the top of each front page for over 100 years.[12] Its message, "Hold what you have," reflects the conservative concern of the ministers who encouraged Lutheran immigrants to preserve their faith and pass it on to future generations. Initially, the paper was printed in Watertown by local shops, where it was edited by the seminary professors in the same city.

In the meantime, after several years of hymnal committee work looking at the Pennsylvania Synod's hymnal, the Wisconsin Synod, approved a *Liederbuch für christliche Schulen* in 1867—its second major printing project. Finally, the synod approved a heavily revised hymnal the *Evang.-Lutherisches Gesangbuch* in 1870. That same year, the Wisconsin Synod experimented with merging its seminary program with the Missouri Synod in St. Louis and closed the Watertown, Wisconsin seminary (while keeping its Northwestern University in the same locale). The editing was moved to Milwaukee where its two editors, Johannes Bading (synod president) and Adolph Hoenecke (former seminary president) served as pastors.[13] For all these projects, the synod had a convenient connection, ready to put their plans into print and meet the needs of the synod—George Brumder.

The Brumder Era

Brumder was born near Strassburg in Alsace in 1839. He immigrated in 1857 to the United States at the age of 18. In 1864, he opened a bookstore on Water Street in Milwaukee. In 1874, Brumder and two associates acquired *Germania* and *Hausfreund* and organized Germania Publishing Company, publishing daily and weekly newspapers. Brumder became the sole owner of *German*ia (the largest German paper in the United States) in 1880. He built the Germania building in Milwaukee in 1896. [14] After acquiring more papers, Brumder was recognized by Presidents Roosevelt and Taft as a man with significant influence in the country and was a guest in the White House.[15] But before printing his daily German papers and before he was noticed by the presidents of the United States, George Brumder was first a printer of church materials and intimately connected with the presidents of the Wisconsin Synod.[16]

George's sister, Maria, immigrated in 1852 and married Wilhelm Streissguth. They moved to Milwaukee in 1856 where she died the following year. In 1858 Streissguth married sister Magdalena Brumder. In 1857, another sister, Anna Brumder, also immigrated to Milwaukee, where she married Gottlieb Reim.[17] Both Reim and Streissguth were pastors in the Wisconsin Synod, and both served as president of the synod briefly in the mid-1860s. George lived in the parsonage of St. John's where his brother-in-law, Streissguth, was pastor. The two men worked together on one of Brumder's earliest large productions, the weekly *Der Familienfruend.* George remained with the Streissguth family until 1864, when he married Henriette Brandhorst.[18]

George and Henrietta met at Muehlhaeuser's Grace Lutheran Church, where Henrietta had earlier, according to their grandson, "regularly attended the Grace Church Sunday School." She was a sharp student. "In a contest held by the school, she was awarded the first prize, a small bible, for memorizing the greatest number of verses in one week's time.... Grandmother treasured this prize all her lifetime."[19] She was famous for her direct encouragement to her family members to attend worship weekly, "Du gehst zur Kirche."[20]

The Brumders were "extremely religious in their Lutheran faith. They took great interest in building up the Grace Lutheran Church…which remained their church throughout their lives." George helped manage the congregation's finances while Henrietta was the head of the *Frauverein*.[21] The pastors who succeeded Muehlhaeuser at Grace (Theodore Jaekel and Carl Gausewitz) were likewise leaders in the Wisconsin Synod and "intimate friends" with the Brumders.[22] Even when the Wisconsin Synod president was not a resident pastor in Milwaukee, the president would personally meet with Brumder.[23]

In 1869, Brumder signed a contract with the Wisconsin Synod to publish the hymnal. He would have all rights to the book and its publication for 30 years and would pay the synod $.05 for every copy sold.[24] The hymnal would undergo some significant revisions in its first few years. Significantly, some of the major changes, apart from adding or dropping hymns, were the addition of the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Small Catechism, and a rite for emergency baptism. At the same time, the Minnesota Lutheran Synod adopted the hymnal and was consequently served by Brumder.[25]

To help facilitate the adoption of the Wisconsin synod hymnal, Brumder offered to exchange a new Wisconsin Synod hymnal for a used Missouri Synod one in good condition for no extra cost. Evidently, the acceptance of the Wisconsin hymnal by congregations was not widespread in the early years. Perhaps this was due to the plethora of options—even confessional Lutheran ones from the sister Missouri Synod.[26] Brumder felt compelled to write to the synod to urge its pastors to adopt the hymnal and promote it among their members.[27] Eventually, the hymnal would prove to be largely popular and would remain in print through 1960.

In the meantime, Brumder's business grew beyond the needs of the Wisconsin Synod. At times, his broader endeavors would develop tensions with his de facto status as the church's official printer. In 1873, when Brumder joined the German Protestant Printers Association to print the *Germania*, an attempt was made to establish a balance of being principled and flexible when it came to religious content:

> [The *Germania*] shall be edited in a truly Christian Spirit in accordance with positive Christian principles, and shall not contain anything that goes against the fundamental doctrines and truths of the Holy Scriptures. On the contrary, it shall, in general defend Christianity, when and where necessary, but at the same time strictly avoid all confessional controversies.[28]

Yet, the problem among Christians, and even between the various Lutheran synods, was determining what were truly the truths of the Holy Scriptures. Furthermore, Brumder's own Wisconsin Synod had rejected union with Lutherans on the basis of only partial agreement on doctrine. In 1872, it joined with five other synods to form the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America on the grounds of full doctrinal agreement. However, it seems that the *Germania* was not seeking to replace the *Gemeinde-Blatt* or other church papers but was rather establishing a basic standard regarding any incidental religious or moral content. It perhaps was a moot point as Brumder took full control of the paper after a few years.

Indeed, the Wisconsin Synod found Brumder and his *Germania* to be a powerful friend and ally. Brumder came out in full force against the infamous Bennett Law of 1889, which threatened the viability of any non-English language school in Wisconsin—of which the Wisconsin Synod had hundreds. Brumder powerfully advocated for a political change and helped turn the election of 1890 over to the Democrats, who repealed the Bennett Law.[29] The synod's *Gemeinde-Blatt* likewise had urged pastors to "fight the enemy."[30] Upon the political reversal of the Bennet Law, it gave thanks for deliverance from "the fanatic, native-born enemies of the German parochial schools." The enemies of the Church had been defeated, and the victory was given to the side of "freedom and knowledge."[31]

Nevertheless, real tension broke into open conflict when the *Germania* began printing ads for the theatre in 1896. Several Lutheran pastors began advocating for a boycott of the paper in their congregations.[32] It is unclear if these pastors were part of the Wisconsin or Missouri Synods. While the two groups had established fellowship and public agreement, each maintained its own institutions—resulting in unique emphases and doctrinal applications in everyday situations. The Missouri Synod had been more vocally opposed to the corrupting influences of the theatre.[33] While the boycott proved to be a complete failure, by the turn of the century, the Wisconsin Synod had decided to take responsibility for its printing.

The Wisconsin Synod's move away from Brumder was certainly not carried out on bad terms. Already in 1890, Brumder had offered to transfer the printing and sale of the hymnal to the synod, almost ten years before his contract ended.[34] For several years, Brumder had doubled the synod's hymnal royalty.[35] In 1910, seminary student Henry A. Koch reported that Brumder had attended a banquet at Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church[36] on Broadway Avenue in Milwaukee held to benefit the synod's college in Watertown, Wisconsin and had donated $3000 for a new athletic building. When Brumder died a few weeks later, Koch noted that Brumder was a widely respected man in both synod and German American circles.[37]

Self-Sufficient but not Insular

The Wisconsin Synod did not decide to move to one of Brumder's competitors but rather to establish its own publishing house. The synod had already established a "synodical bookstore" in 1876, run by F. Werner and Son on Broadway St. in Milwaukee. In 1891, the synod convention decided that the steady demand, along with the benefits of direct oversight, made establishing a publishing house the logical choice. At first, Northwestern Publishing House (NPH) rented out several spaces in the south 300 block on 3rd Street in Milwaukee. Julius Luening became manager in 1894. He held this position until 1945—becoming a personification of Northwestern Publishing House.[38]

In 1913, Northwestern Publishing House built its own place on 4th Street with rooms for a bookstore, office, and print shop. The stockroom was located in the basement next to the boiler. Employees were in near-constant fear that a fire would break out in the close quarters among the flammable materials. Nevertheless, the publishing house continued operations on 4th Street until the city enacted eminent domain to build a sports arena in 1947.[39]

To serve its laity, pastors, and scholars, the Wisconsin Synod locally produced various printed materials in the German language to meet its high theological standards. Northwestern Publishing House quickly began to fill the needs of the synod for educational, devotional, and worship materials. In addition to taking on the hymnal and the *Gemeinde-Blatt,* it reprinted popular materials, such as the 18th century devotional *Tägliches Hand-Buch* by Johann Friedrich Stark. However, NPH most often printed various materials authored by Wisconsin Synod professors and pastors. For example texbooks like, *Die biblische Geschichte für christliche Schulen* by Northwestern College president August Ernst and *Christenfragen Aus Gottes Wort beantwortet* by Indian missionary Carl Manthey-Zorn.; special worship programs like *Liturgische Weihnachtsfeier für Kinder* by future synod president John O. W. Brenner; an edition of Luther's Small Catechism with additional questions by synodical leader and pastor Carl Gausewitz; and devotionals like *Biblische Hausandachten* by seminary professor August Pieper. In 1911, after decades of borrowing from other synods, the NPH published *Agende* for use in all Wisconsin Synod congregations.

By the turn of the 20th century, the Wisconsin Synod had become a serious producer of Lutheran materials, of all kinds in the German language. It not only had become all but self-sufficient in supplying its own needs but sought to contribute to the Synodical Conference—the largest association of Lutherans in North America. Indeed, some groups like the neighboring Minnesota and Michigan synods made frequent use of Wisconsin Synod materials such as the *Gemeinde-Blatt.* The influence of these materials contributed to their merger into the Wisconsin Synod in 1917.[40] Wisconsin Synod leaders also recognized that as the synod faced new challenges and opportunities in its American and immigrant context, it must also apply theological principles in ways that precluded simplistic repristination of the 16th-century Reformation. The resulting "Wauwatosa Theology" (named after the location of the seminary from 1892-1929) came to life in the German publications of the synod.

This distinct school of thought within the confessional Lutheran tradition led to the expansion of the Wisconsin Synod printing serious academic materials. Adolf Hoenecke's *Ev.-Luth. Dogmatik* was among the first complete and original works of Lutheran systematic theology in North America. Furthermore, in 1904, the seminary professors began an academic journal, the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, and produced scholarly articles covering the four traditional branches of theology: exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical.[41] Even the synods' first full-length history, *Geschichte der Allgemeinden Evangelisch-Luthersichen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten*, by professor John Philipp Koehler, stands out as an analytic and source-based work, in contrast to the often hagiographic style of church histories of that era.

The Linguistic Crossroad

In 1911, the number of subscribers for the *Gemeinde-Blatt* rose to 13,000. Near the eve of WWI, this would prove to be the high watermark of the Wisconsin Synod's German printing endeavors. At the same time, the Wisconsin Synod began printing in English for the first time. By 1911, Northwestern Publishing House had produced two English hymnals, a *Book of Hymns* and a *Church Hymnal for Lutheran Services*. In 1914, the synod approved an English periodical *The Northwestern Lutheran*, to supplement the *Gemeinde-Blatt*. The *Northwestern*'s first number explained that the demand for English was already high in the synod that was almost entirely composed of German immigrants and their descendants:

> Even now our children are daily growing less familiar with the German language, and many of our young people use the English almost exclusively, conversing and thinking in this only, so that if anyone wishes to make himself perfectly understood by them, he must convey his thoughts to them in English.[42]

However, the end of German in the Wisconsin Synod was still nearly 50 years off.

Like other German-American institutions, the Wisconsin Synod faced a major inflection point in the 1910s. Would it find its identity tied to the German language and shrink with the language's decline, or would the meaning of German in the Wisconsin Synod be transformed by a higher sense of purpose? Unsurprisingly, German did not disappear from the Wisconsin Synod without difficulty. WWI was not the sole cause of this decline, but it proved to be a catalyst as it forced Wisconsin Synod laity and leaders to critically analyze the role of language in personal faith and publicly proclaimed theology.

Initially, many voices in the Wisconsin Synod took a defensive stance in the early years of the war. The *Gemeinde-Blatt* joined with secular German papers in the United States to attempt to balance the perceived one-sidedness of information about the war. It went as far as twice publishing dispatches issued under the name of the Kaiser.[43] It repeatedly questioned the exaggerated Allied propaganda in the general American press.[44]

It also consistently considered WWI as an evil that should lead Christians to repent and pray. While Brenner, editor of the English-language *Northwestern Lutheran,* believed that some in the Wisconsin Synod may have crossed the line of being concerned with the matters of state rather than the church,[45] the *Gemeinde-Blatt* was often critical of war-profiteering and considered its vocal criticism as simply boldly expressing the truth that was both patriotic and Christian justice.[46] In his thesis, Stephen Gurgel notes that as late as April 1917, the *Gemeinde-Blatt* advertised pro-Germany books. For example, it gave a positive endorsement for one novel celebrating the journey of a U-Boat captain who brought food through the British blockade to the starving German populace.[47]

After the US declaration of war, the *Gemeinde-Blatt* refrained from the crusade-like language of other Christian groups calling for a literal holy war,[48] but instead expressed its patriotism in more concrete and practical ways, such as urging food conservation.[49] The *Gemeinde-Blatt* and *Northwestern Lutheran* alike, sought to deflect criticism by taking the call to fight for freedom and pointing to the freedom of speech and expression as one that included language itself.[50] Much could be said about the effects of the Espionage and Sedition acts, but thankfully for the Wisconsin Synod, the *Gemeinde-Blatt* did not face the censorship and banning that other papers, such as the *Milwaukee Leader*, faced.[51]

Like millions of other German Americans, Wisconsin Synod Lutherans faced external pressure to drop not only German print, but everything German. The *Quartalschrift* printed in full an editorial in Wisconsin which called for German Americans to "repent" of and "renounce Germanism." The writer continued, "Let us make it as easy as may be for them and their children to forget that they are Germans."[52] The writer added, "By eliminating the German language, discouraging the marriage of Germans with Germans and permitting the transmission of family names through non-German mothers, we may in one generation wipe out Germanism in America, *kultur* will disappear, and the Germans will be exterminated by thoroughly humane methods. They will simply lose their identity." The only editorial comment was, "And this is neither in Prussia, nor in Russia, but in the most enlightened country in the world."[53]

At the end of 1918, Professor August Pieper addressed a looming turning point in a series of articles in the *Quartalschrift*. German was both a precious part of what it meant to be a Wisconsin Synod Lutheran and, at the same time, that very thing, beloved by many, was quickly becoming a liability. Pieper noted that most American-born members were using English for everything apart from worship and religious instruction. "However, when they talk to God they use the language of their mother and their heart." "For most of our Lutheran people today German is still the language of religion and the church."[54]

At first, it seems as if Pieper was directly fighting the sentiments expressed in the first lines of the *Northwestern Lutheran* in 1914.

> There certainly are exceptional adults who understand the sermon, prayer, hymns, and congregational gatherings better in English than in German. The overwhelming majority of our members, however, are German in their religion and want to live in German and die in German. As long as this group makes up the majority of our members, we dare not give up the German worship service.[55]

He went as far to say that for many, "English puts a damper on their faith and makes everything all too incomprehensible and unpalatable to them."[56]

Pieper observed that while most speak broken and passable German, the current youths "will never learn to speak it." As a seminary professor, he noted that only in class did the students speak German and in writing, while their English was good, "they fight an ongoing battle with German grammar."[57] This seemingly inevitable and irreversible trend adds significant nuance to the understanding that while WWI had a severe negative impact on German America, it was already significantly weakening and declining in many ways.

Pieper noted a crossroads and a trying tension in the Wisconsin Synod. While the older, immigrant generations were almost completely "German," the youngest ones were nearing the point of becoming entirely "English." This was a serious challenge to the unity and cohesion of the Wisconsin Synod. Few institutions engage, gather, and interact with people of all ages in settings where it is necessary for everyone to be able to effectively speak and listen with one another other than the Church—especially in corporate worship.

Pieper noted that many pastors were incapable of preaching and catechizing in English. The Koch diary documents this as well.

> While we would not want to try to prevent the transition into English, we must with all our strength strive to retain the blessings that have come down to us in German. The sources of our spiritual life all lie in German, not one in English. The literature of Lutheranism is German; its catechism, its hymns, its Bible are German, and no one can make them English without damaging them.[58]

Yet, despite all the cautions and warnings, Pieper was ultimately a realist and did not deny that the Lutheran Church could learn to use English effectively as a vehicle for sharing the gospel—the ultimate mission and purpose of the Church. "As long as we preach only in German, these people cannot hear the (Lutheran) gospel, because they cannot understand German."[59]

The change was rapid after WWI.[60] The synodical proceedings, perhaps, carry the most weight as an official recognition of language. Until 1923, the synodical proceedings were entirely in German. In 1927 there was a motion to make English the official language, which was rejected. However, that same year, it was resolved to publish the proceedings in both English and German. Rather than fighting for one language over the other, the initial consensus was to print in both English and German. Yet, German was rapidly diminishing. Already in 1935, the proceedings were published only in English in full, with a summary in German.[61] Quickly, the use of German became a matter of nostalgia rather than a serious vehicle for carrying out the work of the church.

In 1948, Pastor Theophil Hoffmann shared anecdotal evidence that when travelers asked locals for directions to the local Wisconsin Synod Lutheran church, they would often have no idea, but when asking for the "German church," they inevitably got the right directions. He reflected, "There was a time when our church was in reality a German church," noting that worship, private school, confirmations, and mission work were done in German among German speakers. Hoffmann noted the shift to English as well as the influx of non-German speakers with last names like "Hill, Norton, O'Leary" and others.[62] Still, Hoffmann was confident that "The nickname German Church for some time to come will stick!"[63] Perhaps Hoffmann was surprised to see that over the next 20 years German all but disappeared in the Wisconsin Synod.

Decline of German

The Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod required German materials for well over a century—despite the erosion of a German-speaking demographic accelerated by two world wars. Nevertheless, in the post-war years, the synod experienced an irreversible transition from needing German materials to holding on to them for personal comfort. Still, the synod continued to print officially in German regularly until 1970.

While the Wisconsin Synod's German-language academic output had reached new heights in the first two decades of the 20th century, it proved to be a short-lived and unsustainable achievement. A major challenge appeared in the source and quality of the German language utilized among the younger generation of pastors who served as the personnel pool to fill professorships. While a handful of American-born Wisconsin Synod seminary graduates attended graduate school in Germany, most entered the parish ministry or attended American institutions.[64] The result was a growing deficiency in the German language in the synod.

By the mid-20th century, the Wisconsin Synod's pastors and theologians discovered that their German inherited from their parents and grandparents had not kept pace with developments in European German. Ernst Wendland, a Wisconsin Synod seminarian studying in 1930s Berlin, recalled, "Getting along in German was my biggest chore to begin with." He explained, "My Luther-Deutsch from America, the German of the Bible, had to become the German of the present-day communication in radio and newspaper." While Wendland eventually became comfortable conversing on the bus or train, people would inevitably ask "what part of Germany" he came from since his language still sounded strange.[65]

Henry A. Koch, the seminarian diarist cited above, was one of the rare Wisconsin Synod pastors who earned a Ph.D. from a German university

(Leipzig). After nearly 25 years in Germany, he returned to the United States and served in the Missouri and Wisconsin synods.[66] In a letter to George Hoyer, a board member of St. John's College in Winfield, Kansas, he explained the language problem, "The German spoken here [in both the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods]…is rather weak to put it mildly." When suggesting a fellow German-American who had spent years in Germany for a professorship, he valued his language ability, saying, "I do not want to belittle any candidate, but this knowledge of the living German language is very rare in our midst."[67]

If anything, WWII only decreased the desire to be publicly known as a "German Church."[68] Already the dominant paper in the Wisconsin Synod flipped from the German *Gemeinde-Blatt* to the English *Northwestern* between 1936 and 1939. In 1946, Northwestern Publishing House advertised a closing-out sale of all German hymnals. In part, this was no doubt in response to the high demand for the popular *The Lutheran Hymnal* produced in 1941, which remained in widespread use into the 1990s. Yet no thought was given to producing a new German hymnal—the demand for printed German materials was quickly disappearing. In 1947 the *Theologische Quartalschrift's* name was changed to *Quartalschrift: Theological Quarterly.* Its last, brief, German article was in 1952. In 1960, the name of the *Quarterly* was finally changed to *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly*. By 1961, the *Gemeinde-Blatt* had 1,176 subscribers to the *Northwestern*'s 19,400.[69]

The *Gemeinde-Blatt* held on to see its 100th anniversary in 1965. Editor and seminary professor Heinrich Vogel noted that while the readership was shrinking each year, he saw continued purpose in the United States by providing, "newly immigrated German-speaking Lutherans with information about our Synod, both in the United States and in Canada." Vogel also shared the words of the synod's president, Oscar Naumann, "We are firmly convinced that the *Gemeinde-Blatt* remains an important part of our proclamation of the written Word. It places broader opportunities and responsibilities before us among immigrants from Germany and other countries."[70] Despite the optimism, when *Gemeinde-Blatt* editor Henry A. Koch retired in 1969 at the age of 80, the synod discontinued the paper.

Conclusion

The history of the Wisconsin Synod's printing in German for over 100 years of its 175-year history likely has many parallels with other German American experiences and institutions. From one angle, it may seem almost tragic that the synod developed the institutions and structure to produce high-quality German-language products after decades of development, but the demand for German would rapidly diminish and disappear. However, it is remarkable that an institution so thoroughly identified with German (being in the first version of its very name) has not only survived but grown since it retired its mother tongue.

The history of Wisconsin Synod's German printing illustrates more than linguistic evolution; it exemplifies a profound negotiation between heritage and integration, identity and adaptation. While the institutional shift from German to English marked a loss of a linguistic heritage and threatened nuanced theological expression, it ultimately underscored the synod's resilience, adaptability, and deeper sense of purpose. The synod's transition, hastened by the world wars yet rooted in generational change, reflects broader patterns in immigrant communities across America. Future research may expand on this interplay between language and identity in other immigrant churches, revealing the broader implications for cultural assimilation and preservation, or it may take existing scholarship and apply it to the Wisconsin Synod's experiences. More specifically, one could investigate the parallel patterns of Americanization in both the Wisconsin and Missouri synods to see if different approaches to the transition from German, such as participation in the uniformed chaplaincy, contributed to their split in 1961. Furthermore, one could take Pieper's fears and anticipations, build on Ziebell's work on the Wisconsin Synod's higher education systems, and analyze how the language transition affected the Wisconsin Synod's academic culture and structure.

It is noteworthy that everything published by Northwestern Publishing House following WWII in German was still in the old Fraktur font through the 1960s. Apart from giving a rapidly dated look, this choice signified two things. First, a purchase of a contemporary font with German characters must have surely seemed like a poor investment. Secondly, the old font signified a time gone by. The use of German by Wisconsin Synod members was practically unnecessary after WWII—almost all had been born in the United States or had been in the country for decades, long enough for everyone to function in English.

As Northwestern Publishing House continued to print in the old Fraktur typeface in the mid-twentieth century, this was less an aesthetic choice than a revealing cultural artifact. Fraktur signaled that German publishing in the Wisconsin Synod had shifted from expansion to preservation. The physical form of the printed page mirrored the sociolinguistic reality of the church: German remained legible, but no longer vital.

For more than a century, however, German printing had been central to the synod's institutional consolidation and identity formation. Through hymnals, agendas, catechisms, newspapers, academic journals, and theological monographs, Wisconsin Lutherans did not merely communicate in German—they standardized worship, clarified doctrine, trained clergy, and forged intergenerational cohesion. Print functioned as an infrastructure. It stabilized a population drawn from disparate German states, disciplined theological boundaries in a competitive religious arena, and connected scattered congregations across a growing Midwestern frontier.

The shift to English, accelerated by the world wars but already underway through generational change, therefore represented more than a pragmatic adjustment. It marked the transformation of a German immigrant church into an American religious institution. Yet the mechanics of that transformation are striking. Rather than dissolving under linguistic pressure, the synod redirected its publishing apparatus. English-language hymnals, periodicals, and theological works took the place of their German predecessors, while striving to inherit their theology. The presses continued to run. Editorial structures remained intact. Distribution networks persisted.

In this sense, the Wisconsin Synod's printing history offers a case study in immigrant adaptation through media. Language loss did not entail institutional collapse—the synod's purpose went far beyond ethnic identity and culture. The synod relinquished the descriptor "German" in practice long before it disappeared from memory, yet it retained the organizational habits formed during its German century: centralized publishing, doctrinal editorial oversight, and a robust commitment to printed theological discourse and materials for the people it served.

Despite the opportunities for regular language use and printed materials, the intergenerational transmission of the German language broke down. From a Christian perspective, this is not surprising. The Church is not about conserving a particular linguistic-cultural identity. While the Church is certainly social (as it is made up of social creatures), its key purpose and focus is on the gospel. While the German identity may have been "exterminated" in the Wisconsin Synod, the once "German Church" found it fairly easy within one generation's time to shed one cultural aspect of its identity and exchange one language for another in which to do its work. Today, the Wisconsin Synod and NPH continue to produce the same sort of materials they did at their high point of German printing a little more than a century ago.

As it celebrates its 175th anniversary, the Wisconsin Synod would say that it has indeed heeded the call of the *Gemeinde-Blatt* "Halte was du hast"—even if its members could not pronounce or translate that phrase. Yet the irony is instructive. What was "held" was not ultimately a language, typeface, or ethnic label, but the higher sense of purpose and calling, whatever language proved necessary. The history of Wisconsin Synod printing in German, then, is not merely a study in linguistic change. It is a case study in how an immigrant church negotiated the tension between heritage and mission, culture and confession, memory and mandate. It demonstrates that language can powerfully shape faith—and that faith, when properly ordered around the gospel, can survive the loss of its native tongue.

Notes

1. While the synod has experienced a few mergers, minor splits, and structural reorganizations, it is recognizable as a continuation of the body formed in 1850. Only the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS), founded in 1847, is older by a few years. Most other current Lutheran bodies, while being able to trace their roots to synods older than Wisconsin, have gone through various mergers and splits that have blurred any sense of a single, continuous, institutional identity. The Wisconsin Synod (as I will refer to WELS throughout this article) was made up of immigrants from the German Lutheran churches in Europe and so is only one step removed from the Reformation-era ecclesiastical reorganizations. See Braun, John and Joel Otto. 2025. Christ Through Us: A Pictorial History of the Wisconsin Synod 1850-2025. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House.

2. He had been trained by the Langenberg Mission Society in Germany before coming to New York in 1837. He heeded the call for ministers among German immigrants in Wisconsin in 1848. He was a “mild” Lutheran in contrast to the zealously conservative “Old Lutherans” and the more ecumenically-minded “New Lutherans.”

3. For example, see Pettegree, Andrew. 2015. Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation. New York: Penguin Books.

4. For example, hymnals from Bremen-Verden within the Kingdom of Hanover which had its own hymnal for the rest of the kingdom.

5. Otto, Joel. 2025. 175 Years of Change in WELS Worship. Podcast episode, The Lutheran History Podcast hosted by Benjamin Phelps.

6. Procuring bibles was not as much of an issue in the early years since there were many Luther Bibles being published both domestically and in Germany. Still, both Brumder and NPH would produce or distribute Luther-Bibles of their own.

7. Lehmann, Arnold O. 1998. "Wisconsin Synod Hymnals and Agendas." WELS Historical Institute Journal 3-37. 5.

8. Lehmann, 5.

9. Lehmann, 6-9.

10. Referenced as “Gemeinde-Blatt” in this article. WELS historians often reference it as “Gemeindeblatt.”

11. I have dealt with other Lutheran papers in two additional articles: Phelps, Benjamin. 2023. "Lutheran Identity in the Early American Republic." Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference 152-166.

Phelps, Benjamin. 2019. "Newspaper War: The Lutheran Observer and the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung." *Journal of the Lutheran Historical Conference* 22-38.

12. „Halte, was du hast, daß niemand deine Krone nehme.“ (Revelation 3:11)

13. Vogel, Heinrich J. 1965. "Das Ev.-Luth. Gemeinde-Blatt feiert seinen hundersten Geburtstag." Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt, August: 140-142. 140.

14. Brumder, Herbert P. 1960. The Life Story of George and Henriette Brumder. Milwaukee: The North American Press.ix.

15. Brumder, xi.

16. Brumder, 36. Herbert Brumder noted that initially nearly all of George Brumder's work was for the Lutheran Church.

17. Brumder, 4.

18. Brumder, 9.

19. Brumder, 14.

20. Brumder, 32. "On other Sundays no one could leave the breakfast table before Grandmother had read a chapter from the Bible, and she insisted that grace be spoken before every meal. The Grandparents sent their children to the German parochial school conducted by the Grace Lutheran Church, which carried them through the sixth grade. All subjects were taught in the German."

21. Brumder, 32.

22. Brumder, 32.

23. Such was the case with synod president Philipp von Rohr of Winona, Minnesota. His son, Hugo von Rohr, became one of Brumder's employees. Brumder, 28.

24. Lehmann,15.

25. Lehman, 19.

26. Lehmann, 21.

27. Lehmann, 22.

28. Brumder, 38.

29. Brumder, 53.

30. Gurgel, Stephen S. 2012. The War to End All Germans: Wisconsin Synod Lutherans and the First World War. Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2.

31. Gurgel, 3.

32. Brumder, 56.

33. See Jensen, Nathaniel S. 2018. "C. F. W. Walther on Dancing and the Theater." Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 33-43.

34. Brumder, 22.

35. Lehmann, 19.

36. This was the congregation founded by Muehlhaueser.

37. Phelps, Benjamin, translator and editor. Wauwatosa Diary: Henry A. Koch (1910–1912). Lulu.com, 2025.. 46.

38. The Northwestern Lutheran. 1949. "History of Northwestern Publishing House." June 19: 196-203. 196

39. Ibid, 197-198.

40. Christ Through Us, 72.

41. This journal continues today as the Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly.

42. J.J. 1914. "Introductory." The Northwestern Lutheran, January 7: 1-2. 1.

43. Gurgel, 22.

44. Gurgel, 25.

45. Gurgel, 31.

46. Gurgel, 67-68.

47. Gurgel, 39.

48. Gurgel, 86.

49. Gurgel, 175.

50. Gurgel, 181.

51. Gurgel, 45.

52. Gillan, S. Y. 1918. "What Shall We Do With the Germans?" Theologische Quartalschrift 299-300. .299

53. Gillan, 300.

54. Pieper, August. 1918;1919. "Unser Ubergang ins Englische." Theologische Quartalschrift 233-259;43-66, 121-138, 179-187, 257-276. 236.

55. Pieper, 237.

56. Peiper, 254. He further elaborated that Luther had "Germanized" the original languages of Scripture (Hebrew and Greek) so well, that the Bible, the word of God, was more effectively communicated in German (a language that many recognize as being shaped by Luther), than other languages.

57. Pieper, 236.

58. Pieper, 266.

59. Pieper, 271.

60. See Ziebell, Thomas Irvin. 1994. "Establishing an educational subculture: The 19th-century German Gymnasium arrangement of Northwestern College in Watertown, Wisconsin to 1915." unpublished dissertation presented to the University of Wisconsin-Madison. This dissertation, while not directly addressing the topic of print media, makes a strong case that the highly academic German education system at Northwestern College underwent a fundamental shift at the same time English became dominant.

61. Reichel, David. 1986. "The WELS Change from German to English: The When and Why." essays.wls.edu. May 19. Accessed April 2025. http://essays.wls.edu:8080/handle/123456789/3972. 22.

62. I would add my own, "Phelps." No doubt, many of these English-only speakers came into the former German synod, like my grandfather, through marriage to a thoroughly American Wisconsin Lutheran woman.

63. Hoffmann, Theophil. 1948. "German Church." Northwestern Lutheran, February 1: 45.

64. See Ziebell.

65. Wendland, Ernst H. 1998. Which Way Lord? Self-published. 34.

66. Koch served in the Lutheran Saxon Free Church from 1914 to 1936. While he had become integrated into German culture and society, he maintained his American citizenship. Koch felt conflicted about his desire to speak out against Nazism, and he feared the consequences of such an action would be severe for both the small Free Church and his family, so he returned to the United States in 1936 with his wife and children.

67. Koch letter, dated March 24, 1938. Private collection.

68. Any hopes within the Wisconsin Synod of maintaining the "German Church" moniker through post-WWII immigration went largely unrealized. For example, the writer's grandfather took a call to be a pastor in Ontario where there was supposedly a German population he could serve with his fluent German, but with little result.

69. Reichel, 35.

70. Vogel, 142.

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Searching for Souls on the Plains: The German Evangelical Association and the German Methodist Episcopal Church in Minnesota

Except as a focus for community life,[1] German-speaking churches are rarely discussed in academic journals other than those devoted to religious studies. References to the German Methodist Episcopal Church (*Deutsche Methodistische Episkopalkirche* or *Deutsche Bischöfliche Methodistenkirche*) and the German Evangelical Association, commonly called just the Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*)[2] are often just in passing.[3] Although never as large as many other religious organizations, their inner workings, beliefs and activities deserve closer study as they maintained themselves as distinct organizations serving the German immigrant community over a period of some 100 years, increasing in numbers and reaching ever further west in the United States as it expanded, and back to Germany as well.

Because of their similarities, these two denominations are often grouped together. Both looked to the Methodist movement founded by John Wesley in England in the 1740s. There were, however, substantial differences that played a significant role as each charted its course. Because of the available documentation for both church entities in the state, Minnesota provides fertile ground for comparison of their similarities and differences as well as their strengths and weaknesses. It also points out that although usually discussed, if discussed at all, in the shadow of the German Methodist Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Association was the relatively stronger of the two organizations.[4]

At the time that the Minnesota Territory was opened to settlement in March of 1849,[5] the Evangelical Association had already been in existence for over forty years and the German Methodist Episcopal Church (German M.E. Church) for some fifteen. Grounded in the pietist movement which had developed in Germany during the late 1600s and which had subsequently greatly influenced John Wesley, largely through his contact with Moravians,[6] each subscribed to the organization and doctrines of the English-language Methodist Episcopal Church, which was formally organized in the United States in the mid-1780s.

In each instance, the church body was composed of conferences based on geographical locations, delegates from which met every four years in a General Conference. Each conference had its own Annual Conference composed of ministers from the districts which made up the conference. The districts, which held Quarterly Meetings, were served by circuit riders, and the districts in turn consisted of Circuits and Missions, the difference being that Missions were not financially self-supporting and involved outreach to individuals who were not familiar with the church. At the very local level there were preaching points where itinerant ministers were allowed to preach in homes, local school houses, and even pastures. The hope was to gather enough adherents to form "classes" which would elect a leader from their midst to preside over prayer meetings during the absence of the preacher making his rounds, which could cover as much as several hundred miles. The members of the classes were not necessarily already "converted," but were at least motivated to seek conversion; the classes were designed to provide mutual support in this effort. Eventually, the further hope was to form an actual congregation and subsequently build a church. This organization of the church bodies was in constant flux; with the westward movement and increase in members, new conferences were created as offshoots of old, and the boundaries of circuits and missions were reconfigured, renamed, and/or abandoned as membership fluctuated.

Each church body preached a religion that was of the heart—emotional not ceremonial, stressing the experience of personal conversion.[7] Allied with specific injunctions against slavery, alcohol, worldly entertainments and the like, this emphasis on emotionalism and personal conversion set these religious institutions apart from Lutheranism. The preaching was intense. Revivals and outdoor camp meetings might last for days and produce "shouting, leaping and praising of God."[8] Austere religions, requiring abstinence from beer, favorite German entertainments such as balls, and the singing of nonreligious songs, they were almost diametrically opposed to the religious life most immigrants had experienced in Germany.[9] Thus, early on their efforts often encountered indifference and even violent opposition.[10]

Although greatly similar, the Evangelical Association particularly was not a carbon copy of the English-speaking Methodist church. It arose as a lay movement during the time of the Great Awakening just after the Revolutionary War. Its founder Jacob Albright, a tile maker, was a second-generation German immigrant who had struggled with a profound sense of sin, and ultimately experienced both conversion and what was called sanctification.[11] The large stream of German immigrants that was to continue throughout the 19th century had not yet begun. The Germans Albright saw in need of redemption were those, largely from the Palatinate, who had settled in Pennsylvania during the late 1600s and 1700s, and whose attitude towards religion at the time was apathetic at best.[12] Albright joined a Methodist class and started to learn English. He was allowed to be an exhorter in German, encouraging members of his class by examples and any other means short of preaching, but Albright wanted to be a minister and was denied the opportunity by Francis Asbury, one of the first bishops of the Methodist Church in America.[13] Asbury believed that the speaking of German would be fast disappearing and thus saw no need for Albright's services.[14] Heeding what he considered God's call, Albright struck out on his own, carrying his message to whomever would afford him a place to preach, and gathering a nucleus of adherents, who eventually formed the German Evangelical Association as a separate denomination.[15]

On the other hand, Wilhelm Nast, considered the founder of the German M.E. Church, was a first-generation German immigrant and considerable scholar, who had learned English and, after experiencing a "rebirth," became an ordained minister in the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church. Recognizing the fast-increasing numbers of Germans in America, the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church called upon him in the 1830s to proselytize this immigrant group in Cincinnati.[16] From a discouraging start, the missionary effort gained momentum and spread with the publication of the German language newspaper *Der Christliche Apologete* (*The Christian Apologist*), of which Nast became editor for the next fifty years, and additional manpower from converts such as John Zwahler and Adam Miller. Mission work and soliciting subscriptions to *Der Christliche Apologete* went hand in hand.[17]

The German M.E. Church which resulted was in fact not a church *per se*, but a group of Conferences within the Methodist Episcopal Church whose mission was strictly to minister to German-speaking immigrants. Minnesota was to become a member of the North German Conference, which included

North Dakota and Northern Wisconsin. There were to be nine other German Conferences within the Methodist Episcopal Church, two specific to the cities of Chicago and St. Louis.[18]

These differences between the Evangelical Association and the German M.E. Church had important consequences. Based in Pennsylvania, the Evangelical Association followed its members as many gradually spread west.[19] Founded in Ohio, the German M.E. Church initially had no base of adherents and sent out ministers west, south and east.[20]

As a separate denomination, the Evangelical Association was free to tailor its organization as its members saw fit. Thus, for example, its bishops were elected for a term of years, not for life, and had less power than in the Methodist Episcopal Church.[21] Itinerant ministers were preferred over those who "located" at a specific church—only the former could participate in the conferences. In addition, early on the Evangelical Association did not place much importance on education for its ministers, although it was eventually to establish schools of theology and colleges of liberal arts, the most prominent of which is North Central College (originally North-Western College) in Naperville, Illinois, and even correspondence courses of study, particularly for Sunday School workers. It was the commitment and preaching ability of an aspirant to the ministry that counted most in his selection. While for about ten years it saw its mission as specifically to convert German speakers, it later discarded this restriction and sought to minister to English-speaking Germans as well.[22]

The Evangelical Association had its own hymn writers and publishing houses, first in the United States and later in Germany. Publications in German for the German M.E. Church were produced by the German Department within the larger Methodist Book Concern in the United States, although it did maintain a publishing house in Germany.

The Evangelical Association publishing houses churned out an extraordinary amount of material, both newly authored theological works, commentaries and a history of the church as well as reprints of major works by pietist predecessors, hymnals, copies of the Church Discipline, Bibles, and subject matter for their Sunday Schools. Its main subscription-based periodical *Der Christliche Botschafter* (1836) was a predecessor of *Der Christliche Apologete* (1838) of the German M.E. Church.

Nast viewed *Der Christliche Apologete* as an aggressive defender of church doctrine and interests against the likes of Roman Catholicism and as a roadmap for conversion.[23] In the early years, he contributed much of the content, ranging from more standard topics relating to conversion to a discussion of Jesus' appearance and what music was heard in heaven.[24] In later years, the periodical included pages devoted to national and foreign news as well as paid advertising, probably to offset the cost of publication. At the height of its popularity in 1890, it had 19,150 subscribers. When it ceased publication in 1941, it had 3,000.[25]

Likewise, *Der Christliche Botschafter* included uplifting religious articles and letters from ministers in the field. It did not, however, take aim at Catholicism or other religions; its focus was more internal. It served as a cauldron where the many points of contention within the church, both procedural and theological, were argued, the most contentious being the Doctrine of Sanctification.[26] When it began serving English-speaking Germans, even before the tide of immigration had ebbed, the Association added English-language publications, often translations from the German, to its spiritual arsenal, including the English equivalent of *Der Christliche Botschafter*, *The Evangelical Messenger* (1848). Exact subscription figures are difficult to come by for these periodicals, but we know at a General Conference in 1859 it was decided that as soon as the aggregate subscription base for the two periodicals reached 15,000, they were to be published weekly.[27] In 1917 in the Minnesota Conference, one of twenty-seven Annual Conferences, there were 1,158 subscribers to *Der Christliche Botschafter* and 698 to *The Evangelical Messenger*.[28] *Der Christliche Botschafter* continued in publication until 1946 when the church merged with the United Brethren in Christ.

The Evangelical publishing house was a money maker for the church, bringing in a sometimes substantial profit annually. In every year between 1912 and 1915 its profit exceeded 69,000 dollars, and in 1915 alone its profit was 73,914.64, which is worth 2,416,603.00 in 2026 dollars.[29] We do not know if the publications of the German M.E. Church ran a profit as only gross receipts are reported, but presumably they did as otherwise it is unlikely they would have been published for long.[30]

Dependent as it was on the parent church's publishing house, the German M.E. Church had nothing quite like the breath of content as the Evangelical Association's publishing houses. Its strength lay particularly in its Sunday School publications and literature for children and youth, as well as hymnals (compilations), Nast's catechism, collections of Wesley's sermons, and numerous tracts, although there were some scholarly works as well.[31] In 1893, its most popular publication by far was *Der Bibelforscher* (*The Bible Student*), which provided Sunday School lesson plans, followed by *Die Glocke* (*The Sunday School Bell*), designed for children. Both sold thousands more than *Der Apologete*.[32]

In terms of doctrine there was a significant difference of emphasis between the Evangelical Association and the Methodist Episcopal Church. This involved the doctrine of Christian Perfection. In a lengthy statement in the 1882 publication of *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Association of North America*, members were instructed that to reach this state an individual[33]

> must be wholly resigned to the will of God; . . . He must stand upon his guard so firmly and immovably that he can parry, and gain the victory over any temptation the moment that it may present itself, without yielding more or less, either voluntarily or negligently, as it does sometimes happen with weak Christians. If his rest, peace and joy in God, are no more interrupted by any such vicissitudes or occurrences, he must indeed be firmly rooted and grounded in God; . . . sin has, as it were, lost all its power against such a one, he being surrounded by the love of God, as with a wall of fire. . .
>
> Experience has moreover taught that ordinarily, this state of Christian perfection is attained gradually by an upright course of life in following the Lamb; however, during this gradation, this work is perfected in the soul, sooner or later, by a sudden and powerful influence of grace and outpouring of the Divine Spirit. . . This grace is called SANCTIFICATION.

So, Christian Perfection involved a second act of grace in addition to the grace of justification at conversion, and rendered the individual not errorless, but in a sinless state.[34] A nebulous concept, it did not lend itself easily to analysis and explanation. John Wesley had written and preached on Christian Perfection.[35] When the Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in America, however, the doctrine was not included in its *Discipline*,[36] and that continued through the subsequent disciplines.[37] Thus it did not play as central role within the denomination in the United States as it did for the Evangelical Association.

Wilhelm Nast, however, wrote about his concept of sanctification in *Der Apologete*. "In endless exchanges with contributors to the *Apologete*, Nast belabored his concept of sanctification and tried to explain it to his fellow religionists."[38] Compared to the controversy within the Evangelical Association over the doctrine, this was a tempest in a teapot, but partly because of his views, Nast himself was not elected the first German bishop of his church.[39]

These two institutions, the German M.E. Church and the Evangelical Association, so similar yet so different, were to scour the same ground for souls in many states and territories, including Minnesota, and it is to activity in this state that we now turn. In 1850, one year after the Minnesota Territory was established, a census was taken based on the nine massive counties in existence at the time. My analysis of the census data shows there were a total of 5,827 white inhabitants, 23 per cent of which were foreign born, most prominently Canadian, Irish, and English. The number of Germans totaled 132, divided among six of the nine counties —Mankahta, where thirteen of the seventeen Germans were soldiers; Dakotah, where all eighteen of the males were soldiers and the lone female born in Germany was married to a soldier; Wabashaw; Benton; Ramsey; and Washington. The largest number was in Ramsey (27) and Washington (58), and thus in what was to be the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.[40]

William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, Vol. 1, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1922), 247.

The numbers certainly were not encouraging for the Evangelical Association and the German M.E. Church. This is even more evident in the demographics. By my count of the census data, there were eighty single males, thirty of whom were soldiers, and four single females. In twenty-two of the thirty-six couples, both spouses were born in Germany; in the remaining fourteen, one of the spouses was born elsewhere. In some instances, there is a probability that the non-German-born spouse was German-speaking, as in the case of those born in Missouri, Pennsylvania and Switzerland, but in others, such as those born in Kentucky and California, this was not likely. Including two widowers and one widow, there were a total of twenty-four families with children and fifteen, childless. This was a small pool from which to draw.

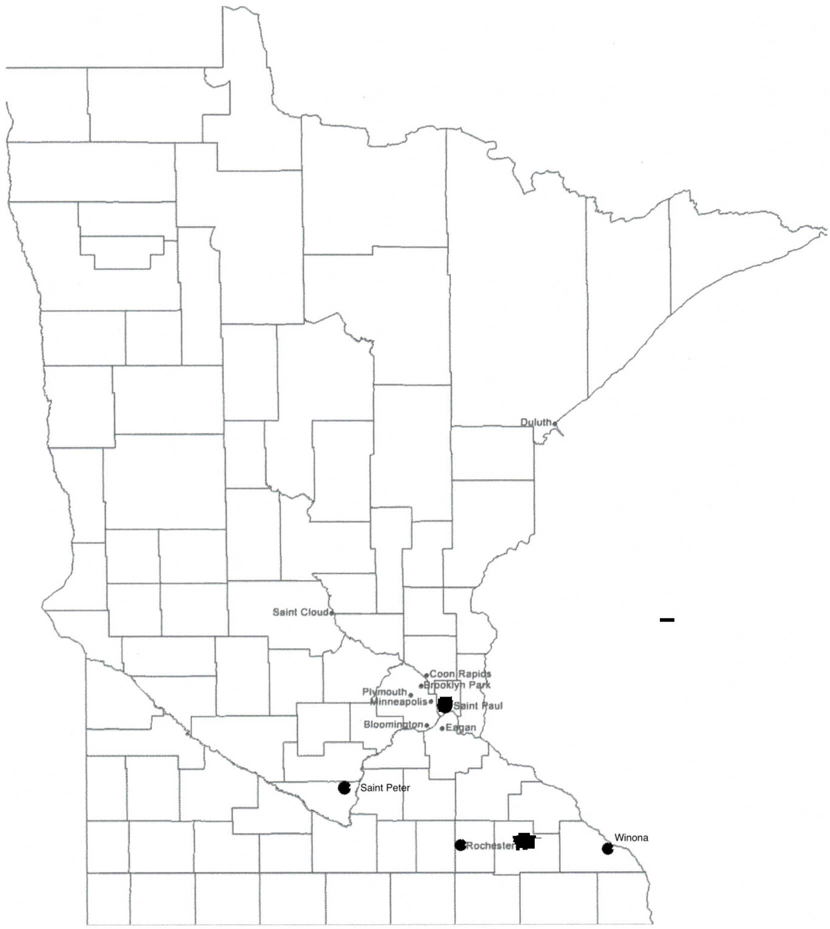
There were already, before missionaries from the two German-speaking institutions arrived, a considerable number of missionaries working to save souls in six of the nine counties. Usually, the denomination is not identified on the census rolls so we cannot know if any of the individuals identified simply as "missionary" were affiliated with the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church. Some missionaries undoubtedly were working among the Native American nations and the Methodist Episcopal Church had already begun work in this field before the territory was created.[41] In Penbina, there were a missionary and a Roman Catholic priest; in Itasca, there was a Methodist preacher, a Catholic clergymen, and three missionaries; in Dakotah, there were six missionaries, one clergyman from France, and a U.S. Army chaplain; in Wabashaw, there were four missionaries and a Catholic Church which seated 100; in Ramsey, there were two Methodist clergymen, one Baptist, and one Presbyterian; in Washington, there was one missionary and a Presbyterian and a Methodist church.[42]

The governing bodies of the Evangelical Association and the German M.E. Church however, would not have had any way of collecting all this information. Their outreach was based on finding a foothold for preaching, perhaps just among one family, and hopefully drawing in more from the surrounding area to form a class and a circuit.

The impetus for creating an Evangelical Association mission in Minnesota came from the Wisconsin Conference. The sum of $131.50 was raised for the purpose and a junior preacher named A. Tarnutzer was sent (1856). He crossed the Mississippi River at Winona, some 100 miles southeast of St. Paul, where lived an individual who was already a member of the church, and who presumably had asked for a minister to be sent.[43] On this first visit to the territory, Tarnutzer worked his way west about forty-five miles to Rochester, preaching and organizing where he had opportunity.[44] The following year the Wisconsin Conference authorized three missions—centered in St. Paul, St. Peter, and Winona.[45]

The record of the German M.E. Church's first penetration of the Minnesota Territory is not as detailed. One John Plank developed a "flourishing circuit" going from Pekin, Illinois to St. Paul,[46] a distance of over 425 miles. And, for ten years, from 1851 to 1861, there was only one district, the St. Paul District, in the German conference that included the Minnesota Territory.[47]

Between 1830 and 1860, however, 4.9 million emigrants had come to the United States, 28 per cent of whom (1.36 million) were German speakers.[48] Between 1860 and 1890 there were only three years in which Germans were not the largest ethnic emigrant group. The total for the 19th century was



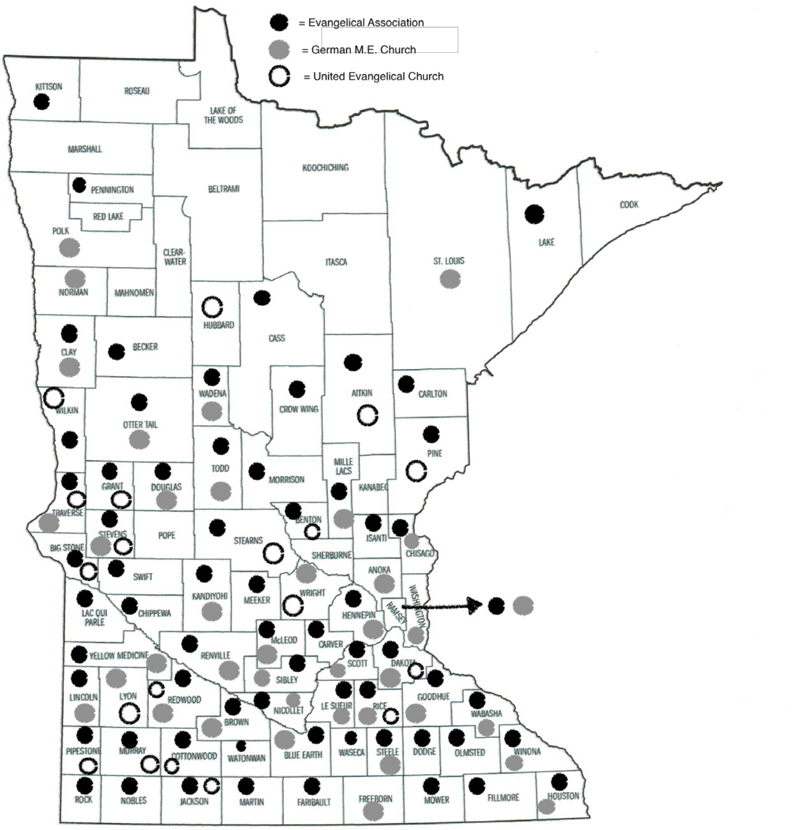
some five million, many of whom came to settle in the Middle Western states such as Minnesota and many of whom, at least at first, did not speak English, and even when they learned the language wanted to hold on to their culture mediated through their native tongue.[49]

The German M.E. Church as well as the Evangelical Association depended upon this steady stream of German immigrants for their memberships. As the first-generation converts aged (and died), their children, more likely to assimilate and prefer to speak English, might leave the institution or push for the greater use of English in its religious services and activities. The hysteria generated during World War I against Germans and the speaking of German also played a role in the adoption of English services.

The introduction of worshipping in English was a major issue in Minnesota congregations of the Evangelical Association between 1891 and 1921. At times, it caused a great deal of tension within congregations between the older and younger members.[50] In the case of the German M.E. Church, there is more information on the possible progression in the use of English, with it first being introduced in those activities which served youth, then adding an English-speaking evening church service. The use of English would subsequently expand to more activities, until finally all of a congregation's activities were carried out in English. By 1924 out of a total of 530 German M.E. churches, only twenty-three had no services in English while 135 held all their services in English, with the remaining churches somewhere in-between.[51]

Surprisingly, both churches got a great deal of coverage in the English-language press, particularly in Minneapolis, but also in communities where they were active. It is highly likely that many of the items were provided by the churches themselves.[52] Usually the publicity was positive, as when the *New Ulm Review* reported on a near-by camp meeting held by the Evangelical Association— "Many have gone from here"[53]—and the considerable coverage given the holding of its General Conference in St. Paul in 1900.[54] Likewise, notices and reports of numerous benefit concerts and other social activities of the German M.E. churches in Minneapolis-St. Paul were covered by the press.[55] *The Saint Paul Globe* reported on one such entertainment entitled "An Evening of German Song": "A large and cultured audience listened attentively to the sweet strains of the great productions of the musical talent of the Fatherland. . ."[56] But, with the good publicity also came the rare, but negative publicity, as when violence broke out between two ministers of the Evangelical Association for possession of the same church,[57] and when the German M.E. Church felt compelled to call before a committee one of its class leaders accused of being "criminally intimate" with his daughter.[58]

The map illustrated below, based on the research of Thelma Ballinger Boeder, archivist and then historian for the Minnesota Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church,[59] shows where there was at least some activity—from a preaching point up to a circuit or mission and eventually a congregation—of the Evangelical Association (in black), the German M.E. Church (in dark gray) and the United Evangelical Church (black-outlined circle), which split off from the Evangelical Association between 1891 and 1922—from the 1850s to approximately 1940.



What is particularly striking is that quite often these church bodies were not in competition with each other. Of the eighty-seven counties in Minnesota, there are thirty-four counties in which only the Evangelical Association was active and eight where only the German Methodist Episcopal Church was active. There was one county in which only the United Evangelical Church was doing missionary work and twelve, mostly in the north, which saw no activity by any of these institutions.[60]

In each of the counties, there may have been several locations being served. Statewide, the Evangelical Association had by the 1900s exclusively served 240, the German M.E. Church ninety-four, and the United Evangelical Church, fifty.[61] There are quite probably more locations as Boeder does not systematically list all the locations on a circuit or mission, perhaps because they changed so often.

Leaving aside the United Evangelical Church, in the thirty-two counties where both the Evangelical Association and the German M.E. Church were active, there were forty-three locations. In two, most prominently Minneapolis, they simply coexisted. In three, neither flourished. In three, they were active at different times. In the remaining thirty-five, they overlapped for a period of years with the Evangelical Association in the end lasting longer in twenty-five locations and the German M. E. Church in ten. This figure, however, is skewed because in the wake of the anti-German hysteria that developed during World War I, the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church basically forced the German Conferences to fold and merge with the English-speaking Conferences.[62]

A closer look at the figures points out the constant challenge the circuit riders of these churches faced. One hundred and seven locations served by the Evangelical Association lasted fewer than ten years—some in fact just one.[63] Among these were fifty-eight whose exact location is unknown, largely because they are associated with individual families as, for example, the Rathlisberger Evangelical Association and the Rathke Evangelical Association.[64] Thirty-one of those served by the German M.E. Church likewise were short-lived.[65]

By the early 1900s German emigration was significantly declining and World War I put a halt to it. The year 1915, just after the outbreak of the war, saw the height of membership in the German M.E. Church, which encompassed ten Annual Conferences, 644 preachers, and a membership of 63,260 nationwide.[66] This was at a time when the English-speaking Methodist M.E. Church had a membership of 3,965,655.[67]

The exact figures for Minnesota are not available for this year, but in 1892 the Census Bureau put out a bulletin that gave the statistics provided by the Methodist Episcopal Church for each of the ten German Conferences. The North German Conference—Minnesota, North Dakota and the northern part of Wisconsin—had a membership of 4,613.[68] In 1924 when the conference was dissolved and merged with its English-speaking counterpart, the total membership was 4,318, obviously evidencing not an increase, but certainly a stability and a strong loyalty.[69]

Larger than the German M.E. Church, in 1915 the Evangelical Association had a nationwide membership figure of 154,564, even with the split with the United Evangelical Church.[70] It had a total of 24 Annual Conferences and 1,707 preachers.[71] In Minnesota in 1914, the reported membership was 7,864, not including the membership of congregations having sided with the United Evangelical Church.[72]

With all the energy poured into seeking converts, the question arises of why these figures for the German M.E. Church and Evangelical Association are not more robust. Some of the possible reasons are common to both institutions, while others are particular to each. Certainly, there was a great deal of competition for the souls of German immigrants, not only from the various shades of Lutheran organizations, but also from newer denominations such as the Congregationalists and Presbyterians. As already mentioned, the strictures of Methodism, particularly the stricture against alcohol consumption, would not have appealed to those many Germans who loved their beer gardens.

Additionally, both institutions extended themselves by supporting missions to Germany and surrounding countries, which necessarily required resources and personnel that might have been devoted to work in the United States.[73] The Evangelical Association went a step further and chose to establish a mission in Japan, whose climate affected the health of the missionaries assigned there, as well as subsequently in China.[74] (The German M.E. Church was a major supporter of the William Nast College of Central China, but there is no evidence of an actual mission there.)[75]

Recruiting enough ministers to meet the demand was also an issue, particularly for the Evangelical Association. As early as 1840, one of its conferences appointed a day of fasting, hoping that God would inspire some of its members to become ministers.[76] As discussed earlier, its missions were often established at the behest of members who had moved west, but preachers were not always readily available to supply them, thus missing opportunities.[77] We do not know whether shortages of ministers was an issue in the German M.E. Church early on, but certainly by the turn of the century each institution was experiencing problems in recruiting replacements for an aging clergy.[78]

The almost exclusive use of itinerant preachers may itself have proved a stumbling block for recruitment. While important for the mission of the two organizations in spreading their message and seeking converts, itineracy was a grueling life for the preachers themselves, and may have deterred less able-bodied and already married men, particularly those with children, from entering the ministry. With the itinerant ministers having to cover large territories, they needed to rely on the fervor, organizational skills and connections of the local class leaders to retain class members and help draw in additional possible converts. Given the variability of human nature, there would have been those class leaders who would have found the task difficult.

As time went on and English began to make its way into the German-speaking churches, the distinctive nature of the institutions faded to some degree. While as a separate denomination the Evangelical Association was able to proselytize among English-speaking Germans, the German M.E. Church was limited in scope. The much larger English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church itself was a potential rival for those members who desired English services.[79]

There were also other circumstances particular to each institution that may have contributed to the relatively low numbers of congregants compared to many other religious institutions. The German M.E. Church had started out in an urban setting, Cincinnati, and had established two conferences in Chicago and in St. Louis. In Minnesota its most successful harvest of souls was in Minneapolis-St. Paul, where the handing out of tracts and canvassing for subscriptions to its periodicals would have been most easily done. The vast majority of the German-speaking population in Minnesota in 1860, as German emigration was reaching its height, lived in rural areas; only 33.3 per cent lived in cities or towns. In 1870, the percentage was even less, 23.6.[80] Thus, in a crucial period of missionary work, the Evangelical Association's concentration on rural areas was favored. In addition, even though there were large numbers of German immigrants in urban areas, there was also more religious competition.

Another contributing factor may have been that the German Conferences were of secondary concern to the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church. While there was enough support for creating a mission to German immigrants, there was from the beginning an indifference, if not hostility on the part of some of the English-speaking Conferences towards the work.[81] While there were efforts at holding joint camp meetings, there is no evidence of any active support by English-speaking Methodist churches in Minnesota for the German-speaking churches when in the same locations.[82]

Concern about membership figures in the Evangelical Association date back to 1845, when despite gaining 2,300 new members, the overall membership for the church increased by less than 100. There was obviously much falling off. This was due, according to one of the bishops at the time, to a lack of follow-up of converts by many of the ministers.[83] Certainly, there was such a great emphasis on the number of conversions secured each year, which were reported in Association records by name of minister and circuit, that undoubtedly this was where the ministers devoted their time and energy.[84]

That the same issue was still occupying the Association at its General Conference in 1915 speaks to the fact that little had been done to address it. This was a serious lapse on the part of its aging hierarchy. In the period between 1912 and 1915 the church had gained 61,437 and lost 47,755 members, leaving a net gain of only 13,682.[85]

Of the 47,755 lost members, the most common reason for their loss to the Association was change of residence (31,645).[86] While the Evangelical Association had risen on a rural base, this base was changing. Although in some instances churches were moved from the country to a near-by town or city, as the years passed the farmers were retiring to places where there was no Association presence.[87]

Basically, what the Association needed was a recruitment source not dependent on emigration. It began turning to its youth. In 1891 the Association had created a young adult outreach, the Young People's Alliance, which had proved popular and which was already seen as a source of membership. With 51,185 members, its numbers equaled approximately one-third of the membership of the Association, and played an important role in making visitations, distributing tracts, and raising funds. Through the Alliance "our young people become acquainted with the doctrines, polity, history and present activities or our denomination. Thus, the spirit of loyalty and devotion of our young people is fostered and a greater interest in our church is created."[88]

One of the most significant suggestions at the 1915 General Conference to further cement the loyalty of its youth was creating a Board of Education to establish its own primary and secondary schools[89] where teachers could foster ties to the Association and knowledge of German beyond the first generation. The Association also had an untapped source in its Sunday Schools, which had many more "scholars" than those operated by the German M.E. Church.[90] The schools were open to the children of church members and non-members alike, and in 1915 the number of "scholars" surpassed the number of Association members by almost 70 per cent.[91] But, of the 207,407 "scholars," only 25,445 had joined the Association.[92] It is highly unlikely, however, that the youth initiatives could be fully implemented and sustained in the hostile atmosphere prevalent in the United States towards Germans and the speaking of German after it entered World War I.

Furthermore, the hierarchy of the Association was historically its own worst enemy. As mentioned earlier, the doctrine of Christian Perfection was particularly contentious, and there was much enmity created among Association bishops and ministers over the issue. However, it is questionable how much this doctrinal dispute actually interested the average Association member. The simmering hostility broke out at the 1859 General Conference in which a minister was tried on the charge of heresy and acquitted, but then charged again at the 1867 General Conference, which definitively rejected his views.[93] At the 1871 General Conference the views of the editor of *The Evangelical Messenger* on the topic were brought into question, and he was ultimately deposed.[94]

Then in 1890-91, largely due to factionalism among the then four bishops, the Association split apart with one group forming the United Evangelical Church and trying *in absentia* one of the opposing bishops on charges of "un-Christian conduct, slander, evil speaking and falsehood, creating dissension and perpetuating and intensifying the agitation in the church, and disturbing her peace by a revival of old and previous adjudicated difficulties and differences."[95] Congregations then had to choose sides and hundreds of churches were lost to the Association.[96] Most damaging was the nationwide publicity produced by the schism as the now two churches fought in court over ownership of church buildings and the publishing house. It even occasioned an article on the front page of *The New York Times*.[97]

In the wake of the 1915 General Conference, much of the Association's attention was taken up with intense negotiations to heal the schism. In 1922 the Evangelical Association and the United Evangelical Church finally reunited and became The Evangelical Church. During the same time, the German Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church were undergoing dissolution and merged with the English-speaking Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Would the Evangelical Association and German M.E. Church have won more converts if they had joined forces in the early days? The German M.E. Church was particularly eager for this. Wilhelm Nast attended the General Conference of the Association in 1843 looking for a closer relationship. In 1867 he made a formal address to the General Conference, but at the General Conference in 1871, the delegates failed to pass a resolution calling for the union.[98] An independent church for so long, the Evangelical Association clearly wanted to maintain its own identity.

Eventually, however, the two did become parts of a whole. In 1946 The Evangelical Church merged with the United Brethren in Christ to become the Evangelical United Brethren. Then, in 1968, this body merged with the Methodist Episcopal Church to form the United Methodist Church. As Thelma Ballinger Boeder has documented for Minnesota, the Evangelical Association and the German M.E. Church brought with them into the various mergers many congregations which are on-going today. Although English finally prevailed, it is significant that their German-speaking members continued to be served through the publication of their major periodicals, *Der Apologete* and *Der Christliche Botschafter*, into the 1940s, and thus these members were kept within the Methodist fold. Their mission activities overseas likewise contributed to the penetration of Methodism there. Educational institutions the two organizations founded still play an important role. Finally, their outreach extended beyond their own membership, through their publications, Sunday Schools, orphanages and hospitals.[99] Relatively small in numbers, the Evangelical Association and German M.E. Church have left legacies of which their founders most likely never anticipated.

Notes

1. See Hildegard Binder Johnson. "Factors Influencing the Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota." *Agricultural History* 19, no. 1 (1945): 39–57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3739700.

2. After the Association began to undertake a mission to Germany and decided to adopt an English version of its name for use in the United States, it was also referred to as the Evangelical Association of North America.

3. See, for example, the one sentence reference to Jacob Albright in John B. Franz, "The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers In 'Greater Pennsylvania': The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 68, no. 1 (2001): 87. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27774312. It categorizes his organization simply as "German Methodism." JSTOR lists twenty-nine journal references to "Jacob Albright," several of which appear in book reviews. Only three journal articles are listed which specifically mention the "German Evangelical Association." JSTOR lists eighteen journal articles and two book chapters which make mention of the "German Methodist Episcopal Church." The number increases to fifty-two journal articles for simply the "German Methodist Church," but again these are mainly in passing.

4. See, for example, W. Harrison Daniel. "Wilhelm Nast (1807-1899): Founder of German-Speaking Methodism in America and Architect of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Europe," *Methodist History* 39, no. 3 (April 2001) in which Daniel erroneously refers to Jacob Albright as a "Methodist preacher" (155) and makes no mention of the considerable proselytizing effort of the Evangelical Association in Germany. Likewise, in Walter D. Kamphoefner. *Germans in America: A Concise History*. (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), the German Methodist Episcopal Church is discussed, but not the Evangelical Association.

5. Initially, the Minnesota Territory was larger than what is now the state. It included parts of North and South Dakota. https://www.mnterritorialpioneers.org/territory-borders. For purposes of this paper, however, the areas in North and South Dakota, where they could be identified, were not included in counts.

6. Jullian E. Pace IV. "Pietist Credentials of John Wesley," September 26, 2020. https://wesleyscholar.com/pietist-credentials-of-john-wesley/

7. ". . .from its very origin our church has been a protest against mere ceremonialism. . . ."

Evangelical Society of North America, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Association, Los Angeles, California.* Cleveland, Ohio: Publishing House of the Evangelical Association, 1915: 27. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435023366305&seq=94.

8. W. W. Orwig. *History of the Evangelical Association,* Vol. I *From the Origin of the Association to the end of the Year 1845, translated from the German* (Cleveland, Ohio, Charles Hammer for the Evangelical Association, 1858):121. https://archive.org/details/EVwmHistoryOfTheEvangelicalAssociationByWWOrwig. In his *History of the Minnesota Conference of the Evangelical Association: 1856 to 1922* (Cleveland, Ohio: Evangelical Press, 1922), Albert Utzinger recounts an anecdote of a recent immigrant from Germany being initially angered by the shouting and "physical demonstrations" at a revival meeting (439).

9. For detailed descriptions of what this was like, see Anna C. Johnson, *Peasant Life in Germany* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1858).

10. For a descriptions of two of the many attacks that occurred, see Ammon Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association of North America and History of the United Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Publishing House of the United Evangelical Church, 1900), 35. https://books.google.com/books?id=_t0xAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA3&source=kp_read_button&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0#v=onepage&q&f=false and Paul F. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism: Biography of an Immigrant Soul* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939), 52-53. https://archive.org/details/storyofgermanmet00doug/page/n8/mode/1up?view=theater.

11. R. Yeakel. *History of the Evangelical* Association, Vol. 1 *1750-1850* (Cleveland, Ohio: Evangelical Publishing House, 1924), 38-41. https://archive.org/details/historyofevangel00yeak/page/12/mode/1up?view=theater

12. Paul Himmel Eller. *These Evangelical United Brethren* (Dayton, Ohio: Otterbein Press, 1963), 31and 33. https://archive.org/details/theseevangelical0000elle/mode/1up

13. Orwig, *History of the Evangelical Association,* 15-16.

14. Yeakel, *History of the Evangelical* Association, 37.

15. Orwig, *History of the Evangelical Association,* 16-35.

16. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 8, 9-10, 11, 13, 17-18, 20.

17. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 33, 39, 40-41.

18. "Statistics of Churches," Census Bureau Bulletin No. 195, June 24, 1892: 1. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1890/bulletins/churches/195-statistics-of-churches.pdf

19. Frank Ross Blakeley, "The Evangelical Association as a Factor in the Development of the West" (master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1914), 22-27. https://archive.org/details/EVwmTheEvangelicalAssociationAsAFactorInTheDevelopmentOfTheWest/mode/2up

20. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 34-56.

21. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 166.

22. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 168-169, 459, 179, 181, 177.

23. Carl Frederick Wittke. *William Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1960), 86. https://archive.org/details/williamnastpatri0000witt/page/86/mode/1up

24. Wittke, *William Nast*, 89, 91.

25. Wittke, *William Nast*, 86-88.

26. For a history of the controversy within the church, see Ralph Kendall Schwab. "The History of the Doctrine of Christian Perfection in the Evangelical Association" (doctor's thesis, Graduate Divinity School, The University of Chicago, 1922). https://dn790002.ca.archive.org/0/items/cu31924031451606/cu31924031451606.pdf

27. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 325.

28. Utzinger, *History of the Minnesota Conference*, 252.

29. https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1915?amount=73915.

30. In fact, two of its periodicals only remained in publication for a few years. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 228.

31. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 225-234.

32. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 228.

33. (Cleveland, Ohio: Publishing House of the Evangelical Association, 1882), 16-17.

34. See Section III, The Doctrine of Christian Perfection in *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Association of North America* (Cleveland, Ohio: Publishing House of the Evangelical Association, 1882), 16-22.

35. "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," https://wesley.nnu.edu/john-wesley/a-plain-account-of-christian-perfection/.

36. *The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Revised and Approved at the General Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in November, 1792 in which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury Presided*, 8th ed. (Philadelphia: Parry Hall, 1892). https://divinityarchive.com/handle/11258/16726

37. Bishop Andrews, ed. *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church:1900* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1900).

38. Wittke, *William Nast, 157.*

39. Wittke, *William Nast, 78.*

40. Minnesota Historical Society, 1977. Microfilm. Reels 1-47 and 107-164.

Minnesota. *Minnesota Territorial Census Schedules, 1849-1855*. St. Paul, MN, USA.

41. See Thelma Balinger Boeder, comp., "Planting United Methodist Roots in Minnesota, 1837-2018: summarizing attempts, successes and outcomes" https://www.minnesotaumc.org/files/websites/www/Planting+UM+roots+in+MN.pdf

42. My count.

43. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 316.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 319.

46. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 81

47. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 88.

48. "Xenophobia: American Nativism" https://library.indianapolis.iu.edu/static/collections/kade/adams/chap9.html#:~:text=The%204.9%20million%20immigrants%20who,waiting%20period%20for%20citizenship%20had.

49. "Destination America: When Did They Come?" https://www.pbs.org/destinationamerica/usim_wn_noflash_2.html#:~:text=Many%20Germans%20were%20fed%20up,ancestry%20than%20any%20other%20group.

50. Lorraine Esterly Pierce. *Marching Through Immanuel's Ground: The Evangelical Church on the Minnesota Prairie* (East Lansing, Michigan: RLE Press, 1999), 195-196.

51. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 208-209.

52. At the Evangelical Association's 1915 General Conference, two delegates were appointed as "reporters for the local press," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 22.

53. July 4, 1883, 3. Database and images: Newspapers.com

54. News of these was featured in numerous newspapers such as "A World's Convention," *The Minneapolis Journal*, April 17, 1899, 7 and "A World's Convention," *Willmer Tribune*, April 26, 1899, 11. Database and images: Newspapers.com.

55. See for example, the *Star Tribune*, September 19, 1885, 5 and *The Saint Paul Globe*, June 15, 1886, 2. Database and images: Newspapers.com.

56. "The Sociable Oxfords," May 29, 1889, 2. Database and images: Newspapers.com

57. "Rev. August Lutz Excommunication," *The Duluth News Tribune*, April 29, 1910, 2. Database and images: Newspapers.com

58. *The Minneapolis Journal*, September 2, 1887, 3. Database and images: Newspapers.com

59. Boeder, "Planting United Methodist Roots."

60. My count.

61. My count.

62. Joshua Hollingsead, "Prejudice and Purging: World War I and the Demise of the German Methodist Church in America," "https://www.mckendree.edu/academics/scholars/issue7/hollingsead.htm#:~:text=The%20German%20Methodist%20Church%2C%20a,to%20the%20missions%20of%20Methodism.

63. Boeder, "Planting United Methodist Roots."

64. Boeder, "Planting United Methodist Roots."

65. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 242.

66. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, xiii.

67. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 165-166.

68. "Statistics of Churches," Census Bureau Bulletin No. 195, 1.

69. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 224.

70. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 43.

71. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 157.

72. Utzinger, *History of the Minnesota Conference*, 240.

73. Yeakel, *History of the Evangelical* Association, 475; Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 74.

74. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 482-484. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 47.

75. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 172.

76. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 260.

77. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 330, 347.

78. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism,* 211; *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 27.

79. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 207-211.

80. Johnson. "Factors Influencing the Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," 40-41.

81. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 22, 33.

82. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism*, 94.

83. Orwig, *History of the Evangelical Association,* 393-394.

84. See, for example, Utzinger, *History of the Minnesota Conference*, 121.

85. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 157.

86. *Ibid*.

87. See, for example, the listing for Hay Creek Evangelical Association in Boeder, "Planting United Methodist Roots."

88. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 143-144.

89. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 54.

90. See "Vital Statistics of German Methodism by Decades: 1858-1928," Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 221-224. The statistics are given by Conference. In many Conferences the number of "scholars" was less than the number of members, and in others the number of "scholars" only marginally exceeded those of members.

91. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 38-39.

92. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference*, 157.

93. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 360. At the 1915 General Conference the presiding bishop stated "The session of 1867 was a memorable one.—a man of great influence had for years systematically labored to change the doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Association.—However, the General Conference of 1867 reiterated the doctrine of our Discipline as the biblical doctrine of the Church and stood firm as a rock, and we remained Evangelical instead of becoming Lutherans."

94. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 379.

95. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 448.

96. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 601.

97. "The Escher-Dubbs Fight: Big Evangelical Row in Court at Des Moines," 1. Database and images: Newspapers.com.

98. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association*, 270, 362, 376.

99. Precise figures for the Deaconess Hospital operated by the Evangelical Association are available in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth General Conference* (110). Individuals of twenty-three different nationalities and thirty-two different religious persuasions were served. Of the latter, Lutherans and Catholics were the most numerous, but patients included 102 Jews and 192 of no religion.

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"Not a Finer Body of Men": The Turners of Madison, Wisconsin, and their Irish Drill Instructor at the Start of the Civil War

On St. Patrick's Day 1868 the local chapter of the Fenian Brotherhood hosted a "grand ball" at the Turner Hall in Madison, Wisconsin.[1] Founded in New York City in 1858 to support the Irish Republican Brotherhood in its violent struggles against Great Britain, the Fenians had quickly become the leading Irish American nationalist movement in the United States.[2] Just as over time the turner movement in America became less radical as turners themselves Americanized, a similar phenomenon happened with Irish immigrants so that by the 1860s, "many native-born Americans went so far as to tolerate, even embrace Fenianism."[3] The Turner Hall was Madison's largest "public" venue, so it is obviously possible the Fenians simply paid rent to use the space. But this belies a decade of interaction between Madison's Irish and German immigrant communities.

This essay will show how Madison's turners, and its German-speakers generally, were very integrated into the social and economic life of Madison. This was a function of Madison's small population and the high proportion in Madison of both German-speaking and Irish immigrants. The *Turnverein* was one of many organizations formed in Madison by its growing German community, and after they founded it in 1855, its members soon left a lasting imprint on the developing city. Madison's turners were generally conservative and less politically radical than turners in other American cities.

This is illustrated herein by their interactions with other Madison residents, especially Irish immigrants.

Scholars tend to assume that nineteenth-century American *Turnvereine* were politically radical and that members of such organizations were political activists who brought socialist ideas from Europe after the failed revolutions of 1848.[4] "Political liberalism and radicalism have long been recognized as important elements in [the] history of the German-American Turner movement," wrote Charles Reitz in 2010, "though much of this radical heritage tends to be played down in our contemporary historical understanding of the Turners."[5] Recent scholarship has continued to generalize American turners as politically radical and to conflate the movement with the so-called Forty-Eighters: "like their counterparts back home, the paramilitary *Turnvereine* never served simply as gymnastic societies," writes Mischa Honeck, "especially the newer ones advocated a variety of controversial causes including socialism and free thought."[6] Certainly many Forty-Eighters facilitated the movement of liberal, even socialist ideas through turner organizations, but it is a bit hyperbolic to say that "the Turners never met for recreational purposes only."[7] Not all turners were Forty-Eighters and not all turner societies promoted radical ideas. For example, the *Turnverein* in Marysville, Kansas, was, according to Roberta Reb Allen, "strictly devoted to physical education and cultural events."[8] Such was the case with the *Turnverein* of Madison, Wisconsin. Anthropologist Cynthia Rolling has shown that the turners in Madison were more focused on physical training and athleticism than political issues and ideological advocacy.[9] The Madison turners were not politically radical or activist. "In contrast," Rolling writes, "they downplayed political agitation in favor of two other elements of their German heritage: love of exercise and high culture."[10] Location and personal networks played a part in individual immigrants' political identifications.[11]

Indeed, as Frank Baron reminds us, "the devil is in the details."[12] Scholarly consensus refutes early assumptions about the influence of Germans, especially in Wisconsin, on the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln.[13] In fact, most of the Madison turners were Democrats (as were most Wisconsin Germans). Unfortunately, as Jennifer L. Weber points out in *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*, "although a great many studies link ethnic and religious background to Copperhead beliefs, there is no broad scholarship on a link between class identity and the propensity to become a Peace Democrat."[14] Furthermore, Diana L. Dretske notes that "although most Northerners, whether native or foreign born, enlisted for the same reason—to preserve the Union—the stories of immigrant soldiers are largely unexamined."[15] This is particularly important when we look for immigrants' motivations to volunteer to fight. Walter D. Kamphoefner wrote of Germans in the Civil War that "in fact their record varied widely from place to place and among various subgroups of immigrants."[16] Damian Shiels, in *Green and Blue: Irish Americans in the Union Military, 1861-1865*, observes the same for Irish immigrants' disposition toward the war: "the practical often held over the ideological when it came to life choices, and it complicates our understanding of who these people were and how they viewed themselves."[17] Local studies can help break assumptions and clarify misunderstandings.[18] In response to President Lincoln's first call for troops in April 1861 William Helm and five other Madison turners volunteered their service with the Madison Guard as Company E in the First Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry.[19] But this was not a newly formed turner unit. Rather, it was one of two militia units formed in Madison during the winter of 1857-1858. Moreover, the Madison Guard was a group of mostly Irish men. Helm was one of the founders of the Madison *Turnverein*, which became the center of Madison's German-speaking immigrant community. Members of the Madison turners joined a variety of civic organizations, and when the time came many volunteered to serve their new country. But most did not espouse anti-slavery ideas or support Lincoln and the Republican party. They served out of a sense of American patriotism, however, and served alongside their neighbors. Because of Madison's small size German immigrants interacted regularly with native-born Americans and other ethnic groups, especially the Irish. A brief look at that interaction will provide a fresh perspective on an important organization in German American history.

As in other cities throughout the United States, the Madison *Turnverein* formed once a critical mass of German speakers had settled in the area. Madison's population was diverse and largely immigrant. Though there were proportionally fewer Germans in Madison than Milwaukee, the trend in Madison between 1850 and 1860 was the opposite of that in Milwaukee. Whereas Milwaukee's native-to-foreign-born population stabilized to roughly 50/50 during this period, Madison's foreign population grew to surpass a previously numerically dominant native-born population. Of roughly 6,600 residents of Madison in 1860, 15.4% were German and 13.5% were Irish.[20] By 1865, sixty-four percent were foreign-born or children of parents who were. Of those, forty percent were German and thirty-four percent were Irish.[21] Because of this large influx of immigrants during the period, "the impact of nativism was limited," according to historian Ryan W. Keating.[22] In fact, "expressions of nativism appeared hand-in-hand with public support of the immigrant population."[23] Of course it is also evident that Madison's native-born residents dealt with immigrants because "merchants sought their dollars and politicians their votes."[24] Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson makes the interesting assertion that "the fact that Wisconsin was advertising for immigrants in both New York and in Europe also meant that nativists had no political clout in the state's politics."[25] Wisconsin actively promoted immigration to the state between 1852 and 1855 through its emigration commissioner, and the largest group of immigrants were those from German states.[26]

During this period, Madison Germans established a variety of ethnic organizations and German language churches. But the *Vereinsleben* of Madison's Germans was more than a "counterresponse to the Madison cold shoulder," that is, of the native-born residents in the city, as suggested by Madison historian David V. Mollenhoff.[27] Madison's German residents were more integrated than Mollenhoff suggests. They were also regularly involved in other local civic organizations. As individuals and as an organization, Madison's turners were important contributors to the growth of Madison; they were so integrated into Madison's social, cultural, and political milieu as to be recognized as leaders of it.

Before the major influx of German-speakers later in the decade, some early arrivals began to form a German community in the early 1850s. Some formed a German Methodist church in 1850.[28] As in other cities across the United States, the first non-religious German organization in Madison was the *Gesang-Verein*, founded by Alfred P. Doerschlag, John G. Ott, Frederick Sauthoff, and Samuel Klauber in 1852.[29] In February 1855, Doerschlag, Ott, Sauthoff, and Klauber, with Leopold R. Roeder, Christian Hinrichs, William Helm, F. B. Huchting, and others founded the Madison *Turnverein*. By this time, German immigrants, in part led by Forty-Eighters, had established *Turnvereine* in dozens of American cities.[30] By April 1855, the Madison organization had around thirty members, "mostly men with very moderate means."[31] These included grocers, brewers, saloon owners, clerks, merchants and wholesalers, newspaper editors, and book binders. F. B. Huchting opened a dry goods store with his brother in 1855. Fred Mohr was register of deeds. Simon Sekles ran the *Madison Demokrat*. Dominick Hastreiter was a silversmith.[32] As in other cities like Milwaukee, whose "young merchants… were to play important political and economic roles in the growing settlement," these same men established a variety of organizations.[33]

Though the group was "organized along the most democratic lines, ignoring all differences of faith and party politics" for some reason by October 1855 half of the now nearly fifty members either withdrew their membership or were expelled "on account of some difficulties among themselves," probably linked to abolitionism.[34] In March 1856, the original group voted against supporting Governor Barstow by force of arms in a disputed gubernatorial election: "We repel a union with the social Turn-Verein for said purpose with indignation."[35] The schism was apparently healed by 1857 when the reunified organization participated in the national *Turnfest* held in Milwaukee.[36]

The Madison turners required their members to have declared their intent to naturalize, and they held classes instructing the English language. They also encouraged native-born Americans to seek membership early on. The editorial staff of the *Wisconsin State Journal* saw the potential benefits of such membership, hoping that by joining, Americans would "by judicious exercise develop their shriveled limbs into the robust proportions of genuine manhood."[37]

Over the next few years, as many more German-speaking immigrants came to Madison, they established St. John's Lutheran church, Holy Redeemer Roman Catholic Church, and Gates of Heaven Synagogue. For the first few years, Jews in Madison, including turners Simon Sekles and Marcus Kohner, met in the home of fellow turner Samuel Klauber.[38] Kohner and Klauber, with Caspar Zwicky, Leopold Roeder, Christian Hinrichs and sixty-five other "leading Germans" founded Madison Engine Company No. 2, a volunteer fire company, in the summer of 1856.[39] The following year, some of the same men began Concordia Lodge No. 83, a German-language Masonic lodge.[40] Some of these organizations were in parallel and in response to those of the native born.[41] But turners also participated in organizations that were not specifically German. For example, John G. Ott and Samuel Klauber, who both arrived in the early 1850s, were active members of Madison Lodge No. 5 and in 1854 Leopold Roeder was one of the founders of Hiram Lodge No. 50.[42] In 1859 Madison turners John Rodermund, William Voight, and Dominick Hastreiter, along with W. H. Miller, were elected officers of the newly established Robert Macoy Commandery No. 3 of Masonic Knights Templar.[43]

Madison turners participated in the creation of Madison's two militia units in the winter of 1857-1858.[44] These were the Governor's Guard, led by Lucius Fairchild, future governor and son of Madison's first mayor, and the Madison Guard, a group of mostly Irish immigrants, including George E. Bryant, Michael J. Cantwell, John B. Hyland, and Thomas Reynolds. Turners Fred Mohr and William Helm were among the founding members of the Madison Guard. Most of the Governor's Guard had prior military experience. Bryant and W. H. Miller, who had served in the British Army, first participated in the organization of the Governor's Guard before taking leadership positions in the Madison Guard.[45] Like native-born Americans, German immigrants joined these groups for social reasons and for business or political networking.[46] According to Frank L. Klement, in *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, "after the initial organization, the typical militia company seldom met for drill."[47] But over the next couple years, and as the possibility of war drew closer, both of the Madison guard companies would drill more frequently. The Madison *Turnverein*, though not an official militia unit, drilled as well, as was typical of turner organizations across the country.[48] All three organizations maintained visibility in public civic events through the start of the war in 1861.

Since 1855, when the Madison turners first met on lots owned by a relative of Fred Mohr, the group had discussed erecting a building.[49] In the fall of 1858, now numbering over fifty members, they decided to build a hall under the supervision of August Kutzbock, architect of the Wisconsin capitol building.[50] The turners started the first free library in Madison and held classes and public lectures. The group's theater and gymnasium were used by German musical groups and other local organizations, and their own "performances won great favor with the German population of the town."[51] By the time they incorporated in 1859, the Madison turners had amassed about one hundred members and were advertising their "Gymnastic School for Boys" to the public.[52] From the beginning they sought to engage the wider public, for example by open invitation to their anniversary celebration in 1859.[53]

Not only was their substantial building important for public events and social gatherings, but the turners themselves were integral to the city's social and cultural fabric. Some served on committees of the annual State Fair Ball with prominent men like Lucius Fairchild and John B. Hyland.[54] Other organizations were also interconnected at this time. For example, the Governor's Guard Band provided music at a festival for St. Raphael's Roman Catholic Church held at City Hall in January 1859 and at the Madison Guards' 1859 St. Patrick's Day ball.[55] Perhaps surprising is a "picnic and festival" held in June by the Madison Turners in conjunction with the *Maennerchor* at the farm of Irish immigrant Thomas Reynolds.[56] What's more, the *Wisconsin State Journal* advertisement for the picnic mentioned a hop by the (mostly Irish) Madison Guard to happen the same evening, "at which of course everyone will be present."[57] Turners played prominent roles in Madison's 1859 and 1860 Fourth of July celebrations, parading with both guard units, the Knights Templar, fire companies, Odd Fellows, and the *Maennerchor*. These events included a sailing match, fireworks, and a military ball.[58] This level of participation was a far cry from Columbus, Ohio's "Bloody Fourth" of 1855, which ended with twenty four Germans arrested and one American-born resident killed after a riot including members of the local turner society.[59] Though German and Irish immigrants cordially interacted in militia units and during city holiday celebrations, periods of conflict still arose, however, as when a fight broke out at William Voight's saloon after "some three or four Irishmen…got into some kind of political debate."[60]

In another incident a fight broke out at the First Ward Democratic caucus that divided American-born and German Democrats against Irish Democrats.

Simon Sekles, editor of the *Demokrat* and Madison turner who was involved in the affair described it as "a screeching and tumult." A few days later he received a nomination for alderman.[61] Turners John Rodermund, Martin Hinrichs, Ernest Doerschlag, and F. B. Huchting were among the Democrats who formed the Douglas Club of Madison, created to protect "the States of the Union and the union of the States." John G. Ott served on the executive committee with Lucius Fairchild.[62] Other Democrats among the Madison turners included William Voight, Fred Mohr, Frederick Sauthoff.

Meanwhile, local Republican and Madison turner Leopold Roeder delivered campaign speeches with Lincoln in 1860.[63] He and other Republicans Samuel Klauber, Christian Hinrichs, and Dominick Hastreiter probably met with Carl Schurz on his visit in July 1859 to give the opening address at commencement on behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin.[64] Two months later, in September 1860, the Madison turners participated with the Madison Guard and the Governor's Guard and the fire companies in the reception of Republican Senator Seward during his visit to Madison in support of Lincoln's nomination.[65]

The turners and the two militia companies remained sociable throughout the rest of 1860 with public balls and thanksgiving parties. For example, in the first week of November, the "Turners had a very pleasant ball the other night in their new Hall."[66] Turner Fred Mohr served on the committee on arrangements for the Madison Guard's Thanksgiving party, which was "free to military and firemen in uniform."[67] But all three groups also increased their drilling, especially after Lincoln's election. The Madison Guard and Governor's Guard met monthly and drilled twice a month. But they followed their drills with dances, "to which friends of the company are respectfully invited."[68] Other evenings, "citizens and strangers" were "respectfully invited to attend."[69] Meanwhile, throughout January and February, the turners were evidently quite busy hosting two masquerade balls, to which "friends of the company are cordially invited."[70] Those who were members of the fire company participated in festivities organized by that organization.[71] Friends of the Madison Guard were "cordially invited" to a St. Valentine's Ball and both guard units participated in the city's observation of Washington's birthday.[72]

Early in January 1861, both guard companies pledged their services to Governor Randall, "in case their services may be required for the preservation of the American Union."[73] The Madison Guard, for example, "resolved at once to put the company under the strictest drill and discipline."[74] Governor Randall visited President Lincoln in Washington after his inauguration on March 4, 1861, to "to pledge his personal support of a policy of coercion."[75]

In addition to relating social events, newspapers also "whipped up public emotion" about the possibility of war.[76] They collectively changed their tone upon news of the surrender of Fort Sumter. Even the Democratic *Patriot* declared: "We now stand by the Government – right or wrong."[77] As the editors put it, "party is lost in the urgency of the times."[78] This change at the *Patriot* office "reflected more a rejection of secession" by Democrats throughout Wisconsin, writes Ryan W. Keating, "than an abandonment of party principles."[79] The *Patriot* apparently voiced the opinion of many when it declared that "it behooves every good citizen to stand firmly by the Union."[80]

Madison residents learned of the surrender of Fort Sumter by telegraph on Sunday, April 14, and, as elsewhere, Madison residents held war meetings which "featured patriotic speeches, martial music, cheers for the Union, and resolutions which expressed the indignation of the people."[81] On Monday morning Captain Bryant of the Madison Guard went to the armory instead of his office, noting that "Madison was alive that day with loyal men and brave women, many people coming in from the surrounding country."[82] That afternoon both guard units paraded through town and toward the Capitol, where people had assembled to hear Governor Randall speak.[83] He called for "all good citizens and patriots" to "unite together in putting down rebels and traitors," declaring that "the time had come when parties and platforms must be forgotten."[84] That day, Madison residents read in the newspapers President Lincoln's proclamation that state governors were to supply 75,000 men for three months to put down what was considered a mere "insurrection."[85] Evidently, during their meeting that evening, the turners sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" in English.[86]

On Tuesday, April 16, Governor Randall called on existing militia companies to supply ninety-day recruits: "All good citizens, everywhere, join in making common cause against a common enemy."[87] Wisconsin's share was one regiment of ten companies of seventy-eight men.[88] When the Madison Guard met that night to consider the governor's call, 2nd Lieutenant John B. Hyland, a carpenter, decided not to go, since he "had a wife and family who were depending on his support. He did not wish them to be left paupers."[89] However, Sergeant W. H. Miller, who had been drilling the Madison Guards "to the top notch of military precision and promptness," was "ready to go," so Hyland took over as "drill-master."[90] At a public meeting later that week, turners Fred Mohr, Marcus Kohner, and Samuel Klauber were among a crowd who collectively pledged over $7,500 to support volunteers' dependents.[91]

By the end of the first week both the Governor's Guard and the Madison Guard were full. Both guard units raised more than the number of men required to meet the quota. In fact, leaders of so many militia units throughout the state communicated their readiness to Governor Randall that he asked Secretary of War Simon Cameron to allow him to send more.[92] He was not the only northern governor to do so.[93] Randall lamented the fact that

Wisconsin was "not permitted to increase largely her quota, but her loyal citizens must increase patience till called for."[94] The *Wisconsin State Journal* stated that the problem was not in lack of recruits but deciding "who shall be compelled to remain at home."[95] Madison, in particular, put forth more volunteer recruits than other Wisconsin cities.[96]

A week later the Madison Guard met for a dinner party at the St. Julien saloon to send off some of their members who would serve in Company E of the First Wisconsin, including turners H. Anschutz, A. Bartsch, F. E. Dietrich, William Helm, Rubrecht, and F. B. Huchting, who would be the regimental color bearer.[97] John B. Hyland and others who were to remain gave speeches and resolved to "drill for service, so that they can be prepared to follow their brave comrades at the call of their country."[98] The following day, April 24, the turners and the fire companies escorted the First Wisconsin to the train depot as they set off for Camp Scott at Milwaukee.[99]

Wisconsin Germans generally supported Lincoln's early call for troops. This quotation from the Milwaukee *Banner und Volksfreund* sums it up well: "The Union above all! We must help the president as long as he does not act against the Constitution, even though he was elected by a party we don't approve of."[100] But an exchange in the newspaper reveals that the Madison turners were disappointed in Governor Randall for not appointing a German officer to lead a Wisconsin regiment.[101] Their resolution, proposed by Christian Hinrichs, appeared in the Madison *Argus & Democrat* on June 5, 1861.[102] An anonymous German going by the pseudonym "Justice" responded, saying that "had the Germans of this city or county formed themselves a German Regiment, we have no reason to doubt that the Governor would have appointed only Germans as regimental officers."[103] Justice argued that an immigrant must "show himself worthy of being a citizen of a free country." In his response, Hinrichs criticized Justice for waiting for a German regiment to form.[104]

Regardless how they felt, the Madison turners were nonetheless prepared for war. Though turners themselves provided gymnastic training, they hired Lieutenant John B. Hyland of the Madison Guard to lead them in their drill instruction: "the Turners of this city, than whom there is not a finer body of men, are undergoing a course of drill under the instructions of Lieut. Highland. They frequently meet at their Hall, and they are making rapid progress in the tactics."[105] That year's Fourth of July celebration was understandably a complex production. Christian Hinrichs and Samuel Klauber served on the committee of arrangements and F. B. Huchting's brother Arnold was the Assistant Marshal.[106] Two dozen militia units from across the state "made a very respectable show," while the Madison turners "looked as well as they always do," accompanied by "25 Turner friends, commanded as a military company by Lieut. Hyland."[107]

When the First Wisconsin Volunteer regiment returned the next month, on August 7th, they were the subject of a grand celebration and the "gallant Huchting," who had been shot in the leg at the Battle of Falling Waters was considered a hero. The men of Company K, made of the Governor's Guard which included Samuel Klauber's brother and fellow turner Charles Klauber, presented their Lieutenant Wood with a sash and sword in appreciation for his leadership.[108] The *turners* also presented Lieutenant Hyland with a silk sash as a token of their appreciation "for his assiduity in forwarding and perfecting them in the drill."[109]

Most of those who had fought in the First Wisconsin re-enlisted.[110] At the next meeting of the turners, Marcus Kohner and F. B. Hutching, were appointed to a recruitment committee.[111] Ultimately, half of the sixty members joined the Union army.[112] Dominick Hastreiter, Alfred P. Doerschlag, and other members of the Madison *Schuetzenclub* formed the Madison Sharp Shooters and went as Company F in the Ninth Regiment.[113] The Sauthoff brothers joined the First Wisconsin Artillery.[114] John Rodermund went with the Dane County Cavalry. Undoubtedly other Madison turners joined other units, like the Fifth Wisconsin, Company C, Turner Rifles, or the all-German Ninth and Twenty-sixth Infantry regiments.[115] Some may have joined the mostly Irish Seventeenth, known as the Irish Brigade.[116] Many of the Madison Guard, including now 1st Lieutenant Fred Mohr, joined the Twelfth Regiment after they petitioned Governor Randall to allow them to follow George Bryant when he was commissioned colonel of that regiment. [117]

The Madison turners were in some ways different from other American turner groups. As a group more conservative, their membership included avowed Democrats. They did not have a member who became famous as a Union general, though they did express their desire to have one of their rank as leader of a regiment. Most of them did not immediately serve in an all-German unit. But they were patriotic nonetheless and supported the Union effort. The conclusion that Wisconsin's Germans "did not elect Lincoln, they did not support him, and they did not follow Carl Schurz and his liberal cohorts in fighting the war" is to general.[118] One reason why the Madison turners did not create a turner unit was because there were more than enough volunteers at first. Indeed, Madison turned out proportionally higher numbers of voluntary recruits than other Wisconsin cities. Madison turners also supported the city's two militia units. Because of their proportion of the population of Madison, German-speaking residents were well integrated with the larger populace. This is exhibited in their choice of Irish immigrant Lieutenant Hyland as their drill leader early in the war. They were also vocal in local and state politics and their interactions with native-born and Irish American residents contributed positively to the city's development.

Notes

1. *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin), March 14, 1868. "Proceeds are to be forwarded for the benefit of political prisoners in Ireland."

2. Timothy Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History* (Columbia University Press, 2005), 90, 250.

3. Christian G. Samito., *Becoming American Under Fire: Irish Americans, African Americans, and the Politics of Citizenship during the Civil War Era*, paperback ed. (Cornell University Press, 2011), 120.

4. La Vern J. Rippley writes that the turners were "liberal in the extreme." *The German-Americans* (Twayne, 1976), 118.

5. Charles Reitz, "Socialist Turners of New York City, 1853: Archival Materials Warrant Further Research," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 45 (2010): 95.

6. Micha Honeck, *We are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (University of Georgia Press, 2011), 21.

7. Mischa Honeck, "Men of Principle: Gender and the American War for the Union," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 1 (March 2015): 43.

8. Roberta Reb Allen, *Once We Were Strangers: A German Immigrant Family in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (University Press of Kansas, 2024), 325n29.

9. Cynthia Rolling, "The Madison Turners and the German Immigrant Community in the 19th Century," *Journal of Historic Madison* 9 (1985-1986): 19-30.

10. Rolling, "The Madison Turners," 20.

11. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37, no. 3 (1991): 232-246.

12. Frank Baron, *Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants: Turners and Forty-Eighters*, *Yearbook of German-American Studies* Supplemental Issue, vol. 4 (2012): 7.

13. Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln?" In Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 46-61; Baron, *Abraham Lincoln and the German Immigrants*, 6-7.

14. Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 237n7. Likewise, "Fenianism has inexplicably been understudied," writes Timothy J. Meagher, for "there is little or no probing of the social or economic backgrounds and social status of its members or donors at even a local, much less national, level." Meagher, *Irish American History*, 205, 204.

15. Diana L. Dretske, *The Bonds of War: A Story of Immigrants and Esprit de Corps in Company C, 96th Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2021), 2.

16. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America: A Concise History* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 183.

17. Damien Shiels, *Green and Blue: Irish Americans in the Union Military, 1861-1865* (Louisiana State University Press, 2025), 8.

18. For example, the long-perceived separation between club Germans and church Germans was not as distinct as historians have thought. Walter D. Kamphoefner shows that in some cases "*Vereinsdeutsche* and *Kirchendeutsche* were not mutually exclusive." Kamphoefner, "La Bahia *Turnverein*: *Vereinsdeutsche* in *Kirchendeutsch* Territory," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 57 (2022): 78. So also, among the Madison turners, there were protestant Christians and Jewish members.

19. At least six Madison turners served with Company E. There may have been more.

20. Cathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Harvard University Press, 1976), 14, table 1; Peter N. Laugesen, "The Immigrants of Madison, Wisconsin, 1860-1880," master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1966, 39, table 2.

21. David V. Mollenhoff, *Madison: A History of the Formative Years*, 2nd ed. (University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 79, Figure 3.3.

22. Ryan W. Keating, *Shades of Green: Irish Regiments, American Soldiers, and Local Communities in the Civil War Era* (Fordham University Press, 2017), 73.

23. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 73.

24. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 63.

25. Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson, *Selling America: Immigration Promotion and the Settlement of the American Continent* (Praeger, 2017), 26.

26. Ziegler-McPherson, *Selling America*, 23-26; Johannes Stroschänk and William G. Thiel, *The Wisconsin Office of Emigration, 1852-1855, and its Impact on German Immigrant to the State* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2005).

27. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 63. Rolling supports Mollenhoff's counterresponse idea (Rolling, 23).

28. Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 26.

29. Kamphoefner, *Germans in America*, 125.

30. Henry Metzner, *A Brief History of the American Turnerbund*, trans. Theodore Stempfel, Jr., rev. ed. (American Turnerbund, 1924), 10.

31. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 27, 1855; "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.

32. "Handsome Badge," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 30, 1861.

33. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 167.

34. "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68; "A Correction," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 15, 1856; "The Germans of Madison Refuse to Sustain Usurpation, Forgery and Treason," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 14, 1856; Rolling, "Madison Turners," 20.

35. "Meeting of the Madison Turn-Verein," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 14, 1856.

36. Carl O. Gebhardt, "Brief History of the Madison Turnverein, 1855-1930," in *Diamond Jubilee of the Madison Turnverein*, 8. Madison Turnverein Records, 1855-1950, Wis Mss QQ/M94-374, Wisconsin Historical Society.

37. "Madison Turn-Verein," *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 11, 1855.

38. Sheila Terman Cohen, *Jews in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016), 15-16

39. John B. Heim, "Relief Ass'n, Madison No. 2," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 69.

40. 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): 26.

41. cf. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 167.

42. Chariton, "Some Ceremony," 25; "Final Rites to Be on Saturday, L.R. Roeder, Pioneer and Scholar Much Loved," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 12, 1903; Allan E. Iding, ed. *Forward Freemasonry: A History of Freemasonry in Wisconsin*, vol. 1 (Grand Lodge F. & A. M. of Wisconsin, 1996), 116.

43. "Knights Templar," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 27, 1859.

44. Bryant, "Minute Men," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 62.

45. *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 20, 1858.

46. Sam Ross, *The Empty Sleeve: A Biography of Lucius Fairchild* (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964), 23-24; Richard N. Current, *The History of Wisconsin: Volume II: The Civil War Era, 1848-1873* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), 336; Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War: The Home Front and the Battle Front, 1861-1865* (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1977), 9.

47. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9.

48. Annette R. Hofmann, *The American Turner Movement: A History from its Beginnings to 2000* (Indianapolis: IUPUI Max Kade German-American Center, 2010), 86

49. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 27, 1855; "Madison Turn-Verein," *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 11, 1855.

50. Gebhardt, "Brief History," 6; "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.

51. Gebhardt, "Brief History," 7.

52. "The Turn Verein Association," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 1, 1859; *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 17, 1857.

53. *Wisconsin State Journal,* February 16, 1859. "The Turn Verein Association," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 1, 1859.

54. *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 1, 1858; "State Fair Ball," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 24, 1860.

55. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 19, 1859; "Anniversary of Saint Patrick," *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 2, 1859.

56. "A Pic-Nic and Festival," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 9, 1859.

57. "Arrangements for Monday," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 10, 1859.

58. "Celebration of the Eighty-Third Anniversary of American Independence," *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 2, 1859; "The Fourth of July in Madison," *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 5, 1859; "Eighty-Fourth Anniversary of American Independence!!" *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 30, 1860.

59. Adam Criblez, *Parading Patriotism: Independence Day Celebrations in the Urban Midwest, 1826-1876* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2013), 50, 66-67.

60. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 30, 1858.

61. *Daily State Journal*, February 23, 1858.

62. "Douglas Club," *Wisconsin Patriot*, July 14, 1860.

63. "Final Rites to Be on Saturday, L.R. Roeder, Pioneer and Scholar Much Loved," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 12, 1903.

64. *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 29, 1861; "University Commencement," *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 23, 1859.

65. "The Reception of Sen. Seward Yesterday," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 12, 1860.

66. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, November 7, 1860.

67. "Thanksgiving Party," *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 28, 1860.

68. e.g., "Drill and Hop," *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 26, 1860; "Thanksgiving Party," *Wisconsin State Journal*, November 28, 1860; *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 8, 1861.

69. "Governor's Guard," *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 15, 1861.

70. "Madison Turn-Verein Masquerade Ball!," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861.

71. "Firemen's Masquerade Ball," *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 18, 1861; "Firemen's Masquerade Ball," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861.

72. "St. Valentine's Ball by the Madison Guard," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 5, 1861; "The Birthday of Washington," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 21, 1861.

73. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 10, 1861; Bryant, "Minute Men," 62.

74. *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 10, 1861.

75. Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 294; Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9.

76. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 10.

77. April 18, 1861, quoted in Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 86.

78. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 18, 1861.

79. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 74, 73.

80. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, January 5, 1861, quoted in Keating, *Shades of Green*, 73.

81. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 10-11.

82. Bryant, "Minute Men," 62.

83. "The Military Spirit of the People Aroused," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Monday, April 15, 1861.

84. "The Military Spirit of the People Aroused," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Monday, April 15, 1861.

85. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 9-10; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, paperback ed. (Oxford University Press, 2003), 274.

86. Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 85.

87. Quoted in Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 93; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 296; "Services Accepted," *Wisconsin State Journal*, Tuesday, April 16, 1861.

88. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 11.

89. Minutes of Madison Guard, April 16, 1861, WIS MSS 2Bx Frank H. Bryant Papers 1792-1905, Box 1, Folder 1. Wisconsin Historical Society; Walter S. Glazer, "Wisconsin Goes to War: April 1861," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 50, no. 2 (Winter 1867): 160.

90. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 20, 1861; Minutes of Madison Guard, April 16, 1861, WIS MSS 2Bx Frank H. Bryant Papers 1792-1905, Box 1, Folder 1. Wisconsin Historical Society.

91. "$7,500 Contributed to Support Families of Volunteers," *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 19, 1861; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 297.

92. Klement, *Wisconsin in the Civil War*, 12.

93. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, 275.

94. Alexander Randall, quoted in William DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion; A History of All Regiments and Batteries* (Church and Goodman, 1866), 211.

95. *Wisconsin State Journal*, April 17, 1861, quoted in Mollenhoff, 86.

96. "On the basis of population Madison had turned out more than three times as many men as Milwaukee, almost twice as many as Fond du Lac, about 20 percent more than Kenosha and Beloit. Moreover, there were cities much larger than Madison, such as Racine and Janesville, that did not turn out a single company at this early stage of the war." Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 87.

97. "The Madison Volunteers," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 26, 1861.

98. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 26, 1861.

99. Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9, no. 2 (Dec. 1925), 132n5; Mollenhoff, *Madison*, 86; "The Departure," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, April 24, 1861.

100. *Banner und Volksfreund*, April 16, 1861, translated in Mary Demetria Meyer, "The Germans in Wisconsin and the Civil War: Their Attitude Toward the Union, the Republicans, Slavery, and Lincoln," MA diss., Catholic University of America, 1937, 28.

101. At one point, Randall explained his view that Wisconsin residents were "very sensitive as to being placed under the command of foreigners." Quoted in Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 363.

102. The resolution passed unanimously. Minutes of the Madison Turnverein, June 3, 1861, Wis MSS QQ B7 Vol2 Part 1, Wisconsin Historical Society.

103. "Letter from a German," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 6, 1861.

104. *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 7, 1861; Meyer, "The Germans in Wisconsin and the Civil War," 45.

105. Minutes of the Madison Turnverein, June-September 1861, Wis MSS QQ B7 Vol2 Part 1, Wisconsin Historical Society; "Turners Drill," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, May 18, 1861.

106. "Fourth of July Meeting," *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 11, 1861.

107. "Celebration of the 4th in Madison," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, July 5, 1861.

108. "The Reception and Welcome of the Madison Companies," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, July 5, 1861.

109. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, September 4, 1861.

110. W. G. Pitman, "Co. K in the Civil War," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 61.

111. "Turn Verein Enlistments," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, August 12, 1862.

112. "Turn Verein," in *Madison Past and Present* (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 1902), 68.

113. *Wisconsin State Journal*, October 7, 1861; Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 10.

114. Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," 132.

115. Metzner, "Brief History," 21.

116. Keating, *Shades of Green*, 78-84; Laugesen, "Immigrants of Madison," 12; Current, *History of Wisconsin*, 308n16.

117. "The Madison Guard," *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, October 5, 1861.

118. La Vern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston, Twayne, 1985), 42.

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The Vanishing Indian, Nativity, and Anti-Nativism in *Der Deutsche Pionier*

The transnational turn in German studies has led to a proliferation of scholarship examining German speakers' interactions with colonized peoples, among them North American Indians.[1] Despite Christian Feest's well-advised caution that German speakers' pretension to a "special relationship" with Native Americans has always been a one-sided construct, a historical German fascination with Native peoples and attendant claim that this sentiment is mutual seems to influence scholarship on German-Native American relations.[2] Even when scholars do not explicitly argue a bidirectional, positive relationship between German-speaking settlers and Indigenous Americans, the well-documented German interest in and avowed respect for Native peoples raises a thorny question: how can modern scholars square widespread nineteenth-century German revulsion at the dispossession and murder of Native Americans with the reality that German immigrants in the United States were often central actors in that process? If condemnations of US Indian policy originated solely in Europe, the answer would be simple enough, but much recent work has revealed that (with the notable exception of Karl May) the writers who shaped attitudes towards Native Americans in the German-speaking world tended to have direct experience with American Indians, if they were not themselves part of the US settler colonial project.[3]

This irony is not confined to the German American experience. Studies of Swedish and Norwegian immigrants in the Midwest, for example, evince, in Orm Øverland's words, "troubling silences" about the process of "land-taking."[4] Explanations for these silences include a desire of non-Anglo immigrants to demonstrate their moral superiority over their Anglo-American neighbors, a sense of entitlement to western lands, a reflexive embarrassment at what a recognition of their own complicity in the settler colonial project would require, or an instinct that Indians' "inevitable" disappearance rendered the conversation moot.[5] There is certainly some amount of truth in all of these, and given the wild diversity even among European immigrants from the same countries of origin, different individuals probably took solace in different combinations of these explanations – if, indeed, they felt that they needed to salve their consciences at all.

This article takes a new approach in explaining German Americans' simultaneous participation in and discomfort with US treatment of Native Americans. Rather than viewing German-language depictions of American Indians through the lenses of settler colonialism and modern perceptions of indigeneity, it focuses on the mid-nineteenth-century question of nativity.[6] German Americans' depictions of American Indians make sense when they are viewed not in light of German-Native relations, but in the light of German immigrants' relationship with those nativist Americans who often adopted the political label "Native American."[7] This article contends that when German-language writers depicted American Indians, they frequently did so to undermine Anglo-American nativists' pretensions to being the rightful heirs of the North American continent. The stories they told about German-Indian interactions also served to justify a permanent German-American presence by emphasizing both the early arrival of German settlers and the relative recency of Euro-American colonialism. That these stories could sometimes serve to ease German Americans' consciences over the displacement and murder of Native Americans was an added bonus, but not the primary aim. The tension between German speakers' frequent moral revulsion at Euro-American violence and continued seizure of Native lands could never be satisfactorily resolved because this anti-nativist line of attack required that a modified version of the "Vanishing Indian" trope be true, one in which Indigenous peoples' vanishing specifically be native-born Anglo-Americans' fault.[8] Of course, because this dialogue was held in German, it did not cross over to Anglophone Americans. It did, however, function within the German-speaking community to bolster their current and future place in American society.

In evaluating nineteenth-century German Americans' depictions of Native Americans, this article turns to *Der Deutsche Pionier*, a Cincinnati-based periodical that sought to document German contributions to the United States' expansion and development, raise ethnic consciousness, and combat nativism.[9] It recommends itself as a source base not simply because of its name, but also because in its efforts to catalogue early German-American presence it suggested contingent paths for past and future American expansion. Its location in Cincinnati is also significant, both because the Euro-American conquest of the region was a living, if fading, memory, and because German Americans in the Ohio River Valley could point to more recent and raw outbreaks of anti-German nativist violence.[10] Despite its local character, however, the *Pionier* drew subscribers and contributors from throughout German America. It became one of the most important clearinghouses for German-American intellectuals and its prominence made it, in Rainer Sell's words, "an indispensable source for the history of Germans in the United States."[11]

The three articles analyzed here appear in the *Pionier's* first volume, in 1869-70. They are confined to this time frame first, because the *Pionier* as yet lacked a unified editorial voice, so its contributions reflected a greater heterogeneity of German American intellectuals, and second, because despite the relative decline in anti-German nativism after the Civil War, contributors remained wary of its shadow.[12] "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio" (Gustav Brühl, pseudonym Kara Giorg), "Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern" (anonymous), and "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf" (written and edited by L.A. Wollenweber) respectively reflect three of the *Pionier's* common genres: apparently good-faith efforts at historical chronicling; putatively true stories of early German American settlers, which may or may not have been intended to be taken seriously; and historical fiction.[13] Despite their differences in genre, the articles share four key commonalities. First, they establish that German speakers were present at the earliest stages of Euro-American settlement in various American spaces. Second, those Germans are depicted as adhering to a normative standard of respectable behavior and benevolence, acting as agents of cultural elevation and using violence only when provoked. Third, native-born Americans, who are most frequently of British descent, are depicted as untrustworthy, rapacious, and often barbaric. Finally, Native Americans themselves have little or no agency in these stories. They are foils for Euro-Americans, and their future existence is circumscribed – but, crucially, not by the inscrutable hand of destiny or biology. Instead, Anglo-Americans are specifically responsible for their destruction.

These features cumulatively suggested that if Anglo-Americans had a right to the future of the North American continent, it was not solely theirs. More importantly, Anglo-Americans' pretensions to being "native" themselves were framed as both morally bankrupt and logically inconsistent. If the descendants of British immigrants owed their preeminence in the

United States to right of conquest, German-American writers emphatically rejected that as an illegitimate basis for claiming land. If Anglo settlers grounded their claim in having preceded other European immigrant groups in settlement, stories of early German settlers put the lie to that narrative. And if they claimed to be the "natives" of the soil, accounts of their violent dispossession of Indigenous peoples underscored both the recency of their claims and ridiculed their assertions of nativity. This was an anthropogenic version of the Vanishing Indian used to censure nativist Americans, and to establish a coequal German American claim to Native lands.

Praying Indians and Paxton Boys

Inaugural editor Gustav Brühl's serialized article on the first Euro-American settlements in Ohio is an early attempt at writing a history of the first German colonists with a degree of academic rigor, occasionally citing sources and taking other chroniclers to task over differences of interpretation.[14] But in important ways his account of the Moravian Missionary Indians – the so-called "Praying Indians" – sets the tone for a formulaic depiction of German-Indian interactions that would become the norm for subsequent *Pionier* contributors. Brühl's recounting of the Moravian "Herrnhuter" and their early experiences in North America basically conforms to accepted historical fact, and he is not entirely blinded by filial piety, depicting the Moravians as noble missionaries, but naïve to the dangers of the frontier and North America's racial alchemy.[15] This pacifist sect sought to evangelize among various Native American groups, provoking legal and social persecution in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and the pays d'en haut that culminated in the infamous 1782 Gnadenhütten Massacre at the hands of Pennsylvania militia. Brühl was not alone in his interest in the Moravians and their Native American converts; James Fenimore Cooper largely based his archetype of the "noble savage" on stories about them current in the early nineteenth century.[16] But Brühl's goal was fundamentally different from Cooper's. Rather than a romantic lament that absolved Euro-Americans from the sins of Native dispossession, "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio" blamed the murders on non-German settlers to attack nativist pretensions and recast a narrative of Euro-American western conquest that was intrinsically barbaric.

This recasting immediately becomes clear in Brühl's juxtaposition between the Moravian missionaries and settlers of British descent. Moravians were "animated by the same devotion and energy as the Puritans of New England," but were "free of their revolting fanaticism," and "proved to be a more amiable, if less successful, cultivating element."[17] Uniquely suited to tame both the wilderness and purportedly wild people, "From the quarreling hunter and rough warrior, they made a peace-loving farmer, and they taught him to use the plow and tools instead of the tomahawk and rifle." Enduring persecution was also to the Moravians' credit. After settling in Georgia in the early eighteenth century, they were driven to Pennsylvania because of their opposition to slavery and aversion to physical force.[18] In a description calculated to appeal to midcentury German American intellectuals, Brühl wrote that "reason should rule by them, not violence."[19] Except in their stout pacificism, Brühl's Moravians bore striking resemblance to what Alison Clark Efford has termed the "freedom-loving German" of the Civil War era.[20]

The Moravians' admirable qualities stood in stark contrast to the brutality regularly inflicted by Anglo and Scotch-Irish settlers of Pennsylvania and Ohio, collectively designated the "borderers" (*Grenzler*). These individuals were animated by an "inimical spirit" against "all who had a red skin, regardless if they were friend or foe," a distinction that the borderers, blinded by a prejudice that the Moravians supposedly lacked, could not register across racial lines.[21] Rather than "civilize" or "elevate" the Native Americans around them, the borderers exercised "a pernicious effect on the practices and character of the converted," whose "honorable customs and laws were ridiculed and trampled underfoot," particularly when they saw "alcohol insidiously smuggled into their villages, and the scourge of drunkenness run rampant."[22] And if this deleterious influence was not bad enough, residence on the frontier dulled the borderers' own basic humanity; Brühl insisted that for white settlers, "the killing of an Indian was to them no more sinful than the killing of a buffalo."[23] Thanks to the brutal activities of the Paxton Boys (a Pennsylvania militia consisting of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians) and later the multi-sided character that the American Revolution took on in Ohio, Moravian Indians found themselves caught between "the raw violence of the wild barbarians and the cold greed [*Gewinnsucht*] of self-interested whites," with the result that "the fruits of years of diligence [were] destroyed."[24] In this framing, borderers were both regressing on their own civilizational level and actively undermining the noble work of German missionaries.

This trend culminated in the massacre of nearly one hundred Moravian Indians at the mission village of Gnadenhütten, Ohio.[25] The *Pionier* article seems to draw most directly from the testimony of Moravians Johann Heckewelder, Georg Heinrich Loskiel, and David Zeisberger, and lays the blame mostly at the feet of militia Colonel David Williamson, "an ambitious wimp."[26] In a manner as cowardly as it was appalling, upon entering Gnadenhütten the militiamen divided the Moravian Indian men and women into two houses and informed them that they would be executed the next morning. The "innocent victims spent the long, terrible night amid songs and prayer."[27] Rather than actively resisting, "with the stoic equanimity of savages [*Wilden*] and the faithful heroism of the Christian martyrs simultaneously, they awaited their irrevocable fate." The next morning, the militiamen took sixty-two adults and thirty-four children from their huts one by one and murdered each with a copper hammer. The militiamen burned the huts before departing, completing the destruction of the German missionaries' work and their alternative vision of Native-white relations.[28]

The Gnadenhütten Massacre – the "darkest page in the history of the American frontier," as Brühl put it – is an episode onto which writers have projected their own visions of westward settlement and white-Native relations.[29] In Brühl's morality play, Native Americans themselves are passive objects. Their extermination is due, however, not to the inscrutable hand of destiny, but to the specific actions of British-descended settlers who could not bear the Moravians' contingent colonial path. The *Pionier* article depicts the militiamen as so close to unanimous in their decision to massacre the converts as to make no difference: "from one and hundred forty-four throats rang out the call for their scalps. What use was it, that sixteen of the humanely-minded energetically protested against it?"[30] Yet the decision to kill the Moravian Indians was more drawn out than Brühl let on, and the number of militiamen who did the actual killing more limited than he described – and given that both of those facts were available from widely circulated accounts of the massacre in the nineteenth century, it is quite likely that Brühl himself knew that.[31] In order for the moral of the story to come across as Brühl intended, however, he needed to depict the militia's decision as essentially single-minded, and needed to maintain that German Americans were not among the murderers. This is why he took aim at Cincinnati chronicler Emil Klauprecht for attributing the opening murder at Gnadenhütten to a German settler named Charles Builderback. While Klauprecht was normally a diligent historian, Brühl groused that "We owe him little thanks… that he suggested the despicable murderer was the offspring of a German, merely being misled by the sound of his name. In history mere conjecture should never be elevated to the level of positive certainty."[32]

Of course, in order to undermine the uniqueness of British-descended claims to the continent, Brühl needed to argue that German settlers were among the first Europeans in Ohio, and here he demonstrated no reservation about conjecture, or with qualifying definitions to establish a qualitative difference in German settlement. Thus while it was undeniable that French and English adventurers had been in Ohio for centuries, "it was precisely Germans who founded the first *lasting settlements* in Ohio."[33] He contradicts himself at the end of the article's final installment, eulogizing Gnadenhütten by writing that "Only the stone foundations of the houses, a few fruit trees planted by the diligent hands of the murdered brothers, and hardly visible traces of the burned slaughterhouses in which the unfortunates fell victim to the fanaticism of the borderers are the only, meager traces of the first settlements of Ohio," hardly a description of a "lasting" settlement.[34] But this only underscores his broader argument that Anglo-American colonization was fundamentally destructive, while German colonization was fundamentally generative. For this reason, too, he advances as fact the unverifiable claim that Johanna Maria Heckewelder was the first white female child, and perhaps the first white child of either sex, born in Ohio.[35] Her gender perhaps represented a domestication of the rough-and-tumble male world of the frontier, an interpretation bolstered by Brühl's summary of her later life. After having survived the Moravian dislocations as a small child, she was sent to school in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and after completing her own education spent over fifty years teaching at a girl's school, passing away less than a year before the article was published.[36]

At first glance, the disparate elements of "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio" – stories of the Moravians in Europe and Georgia, the Gnadenhütten Massacre, assorted English and Anglo-American barbarities, and the account of Johanna Maria Heckewelder's life – are a disorganized grab bag of anecdotes that do not actually add up to permanent Euro-American settlement in Ohio. However, they combine into a coherent argument about the nature of German American settlement and the relative brutality and coarseness of Anglo-American colonization. Brühl's narrative does not neatly map onto the famous and almost-contemporaneous depiction of Manifest Destiny, John Gast's painting *American Progress*. Instead, he uses depictions of Native Americans and their interactions with different groups of Euro-American settlers to stake a temporal, geographical, and moral claim for German settlement in the post-Civil War era. That the Moravians were a tiny minority of German-speaking settlers, or that there were certainly German colonists among the white militias that killed and dispossessed Native peoples in Ohio, is entirely beside the point because Brühl's narrative is grounded in the anti-nativist campaign of the mid-nineteenth century, not, as it purports to be, a faithful account of "the first settlements in Ohio."

"Laßt uns nicht rappelköpfig sein!"

In contrast to Gustav Brühl's nominally true account of the Moravians in Ohio, "Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern," written anonymously but pretending to be based on the experiences of an apparently well-known German Ohioan, makes little claim to believability.[37] The brief article takes the form of an oral history interview with Karl Dominique, a Palatinate-born doctor who settled in Columbus after stops at various medical institutions in

Europe and the United States. That his stories are not to be taken seriously is implied by their sheer absurdity (for example, getting out of his lease while a medical student in Heidelberg by falsely telling his landlady that he had given her human flesh from a medical cadaver for dinner) and frequently relating them in barely comprehensible Pfälzisch.[38] But read with an eye for argument about German American colonization relative to other Euro-American settlement, it, too, makes a serious, if not literal, argument for the relative moral bankruptcy of non-German colonization, as well as inserting Germans into early settlement. Much as in the story of the Moravian missionaries and their converts, German speakers are also suggested to have a special relationship with Native peoples that enables them to exert a civilizing influence over both Indians and their non-German neighbors.

In the article, Dominique claims to have served a stint in the French Foreign Legion, before joining the United States Army and serving against the Seminole in Florida. The army is depicted as utterly hapless, accidentally fighting a pitched battle among itself in the dark after a false alarm and nervously mistaking a wandering cow for a raiding party. Dominique himself somehow loses his gunpowder in a boiling pot of coffee, ruining the taste for his messmates and earning disciplinary sanction. It is at this point that "Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern" takes a turn for the fantastical. One evening while standing watch at an isolated outpost as part of his punishment, he is captured by a Seminole war band and taken to their encampment. Unlike the noble depiction of the Moravian Indians, Dominique's Native Americans are barbaric caricatures, and "danced as if possessed in circles with terrible caprioles and leapfroggings, and with jubilant grimaces."[39] Tied to a spit and prepared to be cooked and eaten, Dominique is shocked when he hears the Seminoles break into the first verse of the old German student song "Cą Cą, Geschmauset."[40] As they are about to set him alight, Dominique, resigned to his fate, joins in, and stuns the Indians by continuing with later verses that the Seminole do not know.[41] Concluding that Dominique must be kin to the person who had taught them the song, his captors fetch a young white man who appears wearing a student cap of the Corps Franconia Jena.

Astonishingly for the narrator, but predictably for the story, this is an old friend of Dominique's by the name of Grube. Grube's backstory quickly establishes his middle-class, German-American liberal credentials. As Grube relates to Dominique upon freeing him, after besting a Prussian Guards lieutenant in a duel over an affair of honor, the young student was pressured to flee the country.[42] He leveraged his fencing skills into a position as an instructor for a Georgia plantation owner of Spanish descent, but was so appalled by the institution of slavery and the owner's particular cruelty that he helped enslaved people flee the plantation and accompanied them to Florida, where one continued to serve him voluntarily as his batman. Falling in with a group of Seminole, the band made him their chief.

In this story, Grube has an almost mystical ability to calm the agitated Seminole with simple commands that they instantaneously obey. There is an implication that this is through sheer force of a particularly German moral authority, although there are no details given about how Grube supposedly came to earn his position. It is clear that German identity could be a foundation for solidarity with Native Americans in a way that a generic white American identity could not be, however; Grube reports sadly that he had only taught the Seminole the beginning of "Cą Cą, Geschmauset" because upon singing it "the chaps *got too wild* – and if they got their hands on a Yankee, they would always burn him at the stake."[43] Grube finds the practice so distasteful that he retires to his tent when he senses the Seminole are going to cannibalize another victim. That tent, too, reflects the limits of German-Native integration, for although it is "decorated with weapons of all sorts," it also includs "student association ribbons hanging around a small mirror, which the Indians acquired from a trader."[44]

Thus surrounding himself with mementoes of his *Bildung* and able to reaffirm his white identity daily in the mirror, Grube does not slide into barbaric practices. Consciously or unconsciously, Grube makes a point to maintain the color line, enjoying a position of power relative to the Seminoles, keeping the formerly enslaved black man as his personal servant, and, most importantly, rejecting miscegenation: as Dominique reports, "A squaw was not to be found in the tent. Grube had vowed his faithfulness to a beautiful girl in Thuringia and had maintained his promise."[45] Final confirmation of Grube's durable Germanness comes from the article's postscript, which claims that he did eventually manage to return to white society, but unfortunately died en route back from the Baltimore Sängerfest in 1868. Although unwilling to return to Euro-American society before the abolition of slavery for fear of legal prosecution, he did what he could to maintain his civilized character – a uniquely German ability, if compared to the brutality of the Spanish-descended slaveowner and the uncouthness of the soldiers Dominique served alongside, who over the first half of the nineteenth century repeatedly failed to subdue the Seminole. It is worth emphasizing that the Native Americans depicted in this story are obviously caricatures, but function to illustrate the supremacy of a specifically German form of colonization in North America. This was one that employed moral force and, if not able to convert Native Americans, was at least able to tame them in a way that the armed force of the federal government could not.

Revolutionary Memories

The first installments of L.A. Wollenweber's serialized novella on Peter Mühlenberg and German American participation in the Revolutionary War begin by examining the career of the historical Indian interpreter Conrad Weiser. A Württemberger whose family fled war in Germany to Britain, and then poverty in Britain to the American colonies, his story best exemplifies the ways alleged differences in German-Indian versus Anglo-Indian relations could be leveraged to argue for German belonging in the mid-nineteenth-century United States. In Wollenweber's mythologized account of his life, the chief obstacles are English callousness and duplicity directed at German settlers and Native Americans alike. Once again, Native peoples themselves are objects, rather than subjects, whose interactions with German speakers simultaneously serve to demonstrate German virtue and normalize their presence in North America.

English unfaithfulness dominates the narrative. Weiser's widowed father and thousands of other German refugees flee to London at the invitation of Queen Anne, but find themselves crammed into wretched suburban quarters, where "sickness, hunger, and homelessness decimated the Germans terribly, and many gave themselves up to death in despair."[46] Despite this, Weiser's father manages to cobble together meager savings, until one day "There appeared, as if sent from heaven, Colonel Nicholson, Peter Schuyler, and six Indian chiefs from New York," who had traveled to London to strategize against French Canada in the ongoing War of Spanish Succession. In this telling, Weiser and his fellow German refugees are invited to settle in modern upstate New York at the specific invitation of Native peoples, who "were very eager to see all portions of London… and so came also to the quarter in which the poor Germans resided." The Indians are so moved with sympathy that they petition Queen Anne to grant the Germans a tract of land in the Schoharie Valley "as a gift, if they [the government] would transport the needy Germans there, [and] the country should remain a homeland [*Heimath*] for the same in perpetuity." Thus framed, the Weiser family and one hundred fifty others had a unique and unimpeachable claim to settle in upstate New York, given that it came at the initiative of Native Americans who were not under duress and went through the proper legal channels.

In Wollenweber's telling, the newly arrived Germans immediately grasp the importance of open and honest communication with Native Americans, and locate fruitful tracts of land by sending an advance delegation upstate to meet with Native leaders. Now a young man, Conrad Weiser learns English, and after encountering a veteran German-speaking trader named Meyderten realizes the benefits of fair trading with Indians. Through Meyerdten, Weiser meets a Mohawk chief named Quagnant and lives with him while learning Iroquoian languages and customs.[47] A diligent and respectful student, Weiser also soon discovers that despite being shown great hospitality "the savages [*Wilden*] frequently were not to be trusted and that in the nearby villages lived many who bore an implacable hatred for the whites." Weiser was consequently "many times in danger of coming into closer acquaintance with the tomahawk, or more than once of becoming the target of their arrows," but is protected by his acquaintance with Quagnant. The mutual respect he engendered "were of great usefulness to his new fatherland and certainly sometimes prevented against murder, burning, and plundering" on the Indian side. For years, Weiser's work as an interpreter keeps the peace and provides the German settlers with material security, particularly during times of bad harvest.

Wollenweber's Native Americans bear a distrust of white settlers that is not entirely unreasonable, but is misdirected towards Germans, rather than British colonial authorities. The Germans' and Iroquois' mutual enemies are New York colonial officials, who reveal their perfidy by unilaterally claiming possession of the German settlements. "Like a bolt from the blue" comes the news that the governor had sold the Schoharie lands to seven prominent merchants under the pretense that the settlers had not paid their required taxes, and as the merchants had paid the tax instead, they were entitled to the land, its improvements, and the settlers' property thereon.[48] The colonists send a delegation, among them Weiser's father, to petition London. But they are set upon by pirates soon after sailing from Philadelphia, robbed of the funds collected to support their stay and lobbying efforts in London, and arrive to find Queen Anne deceased and that "they were slandered by the New York land-stealers as base rebels and no heed would be paid to their petitions."[49] The elder Weiser and another of the deputies are thrown into an English debtors' prison for four years before the Schoharie colonists manage to secure their release.[50] The injustice and dishonesty of this land seizure was, in Wollenweber's telling, on par with any dispossession Native Americans faced.

Meanwhile, Conrad Weiser's skills as an interpreter remain in great demand. Many of the German settlers move to Pennsylvania "and met there with peaceful Indians, with whom they lived for a long time without discord."[51] Weiser belatedly follows this group, learns the local Indians' language, and soon "came many red skins [*Rothhäute*] to him and bade him to be a mediating judge in difficulties with the pale faces [*Bleichgesichtern*]."[52] This practically lays the basis of an alternative colonial government, because "since he mostly settled them to the satisfaction of both parties, it was natural that he soon received visits from various savage [*Wilden*] chiefs and gained their friendship and confidence." In addition to prominent Native American leaders, "influential whites, who partially lived in Reading, partially in Philadelphia, and had heard of Weiser's good reputation," come to his residence along Tuplehocken Creek. In Wollenweber's narrative, Weiser's reputed ability to straddle two worlds in the borderlands – a process and a physical space that Richard White famously dubbed the "middle ground" – offers, however fleetingly, an alternative mode of colonization in which "the critical element is mediation" that the German settlers, by virtue of their liminal status in an English colony, are uniquely equipped to pursue.[53] Realizing this, the Pennsylvania government employs Weiser as an interpreter, but his loyalties remain, in order, to the German settler community, Native allies, and the colonial government.

If Weiser is not himself a formally educated and cultivated individual, Wollenweber at least depicts him as lending his talents to those who are, crediting him with aiding local Lutheran pastors and the Moravian missionaries whose deeds are celebrated in "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio."[54] This, in the novella's telling, was a lasting and honorable form of colonialism, commemorated by the fact that in Heidelberg, Pennsylvania, "Even today stands a church on the same spot but instead of wood, it is built of stone."[55] When a group of German Jews also attempted to create a community nearby, "Weiser shared with them the best advice and assured them of his sincerest friendship, because he was far from being bigoted." And like Grube in "Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern," Weiser is depicted as being able to adopt enough of the trappings of Indian culture to facilitate intercultural communication without transgressing racial boundaries, especially sexual ones.[56] While Weiser is employed as a translator in the negotiations of multiple treaties that resulted in land cessions, Wollenweber depicts his participation as upright and honest.[57] And according to the novella, if Native Americans were forced to leave their land, that was the fault of land-hungry Anglo-American governors, rather than the German settlers who were given Native lands freely, happily lived alongside them, and earned their trust as honest brokers. In Wollenweber's literary reconstruction, the disappearance of Native peoples was neither inevitable nor especially desirable. Unlike in the previous two accounts, they do have agency, but just enough agency to surrender it, and to once again underscore the moral superiority of German settlers over British ones. Wollenweber's account of Weiser's life is not bound by the requirements of factual and interpretive accuracy, being avowedly a work of historical fiction. But it carries with it the tone and many of the trappings of contemporaneous historical writing, and in its contrasting of virtuous German settlers with perfidious Anglo-Americans, grounding of long claims to German presence in North America, and depictions of flat Native American characters, it is of a piece with other works in the *Pionier*.

Conclusion

In the articles discussed above, each of the authors engage to a greater or lesser degree in common literary tropes and stereotypes common to the mid-nineteenth century.[58] Their writing was surely influenced by the standards of the time, and each author exhibits a certain amount of racism, even as they decry native dispossession, slavery, and antisemitism. They condemn Anglo-American greed and uncouthness and hold up German and German-American culture as worthy of celebration and emulation. But their condemnations of Anglo-Americans' violence and praise for German speakers eschewing the same are not nostalgic whitewashing or laments for the modern world, as several scholars investigating "Indianthusiasm" have concluded of many manifestations of German interest in Native Americans.[59] *Pionier* authors depicted American Indians to make a contemporary argument about nativism and nativity, not about Native Americans or indigeneity. Insofar as they believed Germans and Indians had a "special relationship," it was to demonstrate the inferiority or unworthiness of other Euro-Americans.

In the mid-nineteenth century, nativist claims to the North American continent asserted a specific Anglo-Saxon right to inherit the land, one that depended on casting newer immigrants as foreign and on Indians as disappearing. German Americans responded by saying, in essence, that these claims relied on a process that was not natural, but man-made. If the Vanishing Indian was anthropogenic, then Anglo-American conceptions of Manifest Destiny were morally bankrupt. There was no contradiction in German Americans simultaneously decrying the dispossession and murder of Native peoples while occupying their lands because their argument was never about settler colonialism in and of itself being a bad thing. Rather, they rejected right of conquest when that conquest was clearly secured by murder and duplicity, and when the conquerors backslid into what they considered barbarism, rather than advancing civilization. They countered with a vision of settler colonialism that argued – from a modern perspective, perhaps more insidiously – that Germans would have been more humane and civilized colonizers, and therefore had earned their permanent place in the ongoing expansion of the United States.

Notes

1. For the transnational turn in relation to formal and informal German colonial relationships, see Susanne Zantop, Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Sebastian Conrad and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., Das Kaiserreich transnational: Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

2004); and Eric Ames et al., eds., Germany's Colonial Pasts (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005). On German-Native American interactions, see among others Colin G. Calloway et al., eds., Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); and H. Glenn Penny, Kindred by Choice: Germans and Indians since 1800 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

2. Christian F. Feest, "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," in Calloway et al., Germans and Indians, 25-46. For examples of the latter phenomenon, see Rowena McClinton, "Converging Spiritualities: Observations of Anna Rosina Gambold, Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, 1805 to 1821," Yearbook of German-American Studies 45 (2010): 61-76; Corinna Dally-Starna and William A. Starna, "American Indians and Moravians in Southern New England" in Calloway et al., Germans and Indians, 83-96; Penny, Kindred by Choice, chps. 4-8; and H. Glenn Penny, "Not Playing Indian: Surrogate Indigeneity and the German Hobbyist Scene," in Laura R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny, eds., Performing Indigeneity: Global Histories and Contemporary Experiences (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 169-205.

3. This paradox is frequently noted in studies of German speakers' interactions with Native Americans, among many other places Bernd Fischer, "Baumwolle und Indianer: Zu Charles Sealsfields Der Legitime und die Republikaner," Yearbook of German-American Studies 19 (1984): 85-96; George Newtown, "James Fenimore Cooper, Frontier Mythology, and the New Ulm Apologists," Yearbook of German-American Studies 21 (1986): 97-106; Irene S. Di Maio, "Borders of Culture: The Native American in Friedrich Gerstäcker's North American Narratives," Yearbook of German-American Studies 28 (1993): 53-75; Penny, Kindred By Choice, 20, 43, 56, and especially 69-95; Kaisa Philippa Niehusen, "Scharmann's Overland Journey to California: A German-American Travelogue," Yearbook of German-American Studies 54 (2019): 15-36; and Matthew Babcok, "German-Comanche Diplomacy on the Texas Frontier: Assessing the Meusebach-Comanche Treaty of 1847," Yearbook of German-American Studies 56 (2021): 57-71.

4. Orm Øverland, "Intruders on Native Ground: Troubling Silences and Memories of the Land-Taking in Norwegian Immigrant Letters," in Udo Hebel, ed., Transnational American Memories (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2009), 79-104; and Gunlög Fur, "Colonial Fantasies: American Indians, Indigenous Peoples, and a Swedish Discourse of Innocence, National Identities 18 (2016): 11-33.

5. See respectively Penny, Kindred by Choice, 69-95; Newtown, "James Fenimore Cooper," 104; and Øverland, "Intruders on Native Ground," 79 & 84.

6. Patrick Wolfe, Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event (New York: Cassell, 1999); A. Dirk Moses, ed., Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History (New York: Berghahn, 2008); Bernard Perley, "Living Traditions: A Manifesto for Critical Indigeneity," in Graham & Penny, Performing Indigeneity, 22-54; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "A Structure, Not an Event: Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," Lateral 5.1 (Spring 2016): n.p.

7. Tyler Anbinder, Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 59 fn 18.

8. Brian W. Dippie, The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), particularly chapters 1-4.

9. Rainer Sell, "Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati, Heinrich Armin Rattermann, and Der Deutsche Pionier: A Nucleus of Nineteenth-Century German-America," Yearbook of German-American Studies 20 (1985): 49-50.

10. Most infamously in 1855 in both Louisville and Cincinnati. Charles E. Deusner, "The Know Nothing Riots in Louisville," Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 61 no. 2 (April 1963): 122-147.

11. Sell, "Der Deutsche Pionier," 49.

12. Sell, "Der Deutsche Pionier," 54-58. This was also a period of increasing German American self-confidence, but was not yet complicated by German unification. Alison Clark Efford, German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship in the Civil War Era (New York: Cambridge, 2013), 115-142.

13. Brühl's pseudonym per Sell, "Der Deutsche Pionier," 52. Kara Giorg [Gustav Brühl], "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio," Deutsche Pionier vol 1 no. 3 (May 1869): 65-74; Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio," Deutsche Pionier vol 1 no. 4 (June 1869): 102-108; Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen in Ohio," Deutsche Pionier vol 1 no. 5 (July 1869): 133-138; "Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern," vol 1 no 5 (July 1869): 152-159; L.A. Wollenweber, ed., "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf," vol 1 no. 11 (Jan 1870): 343-347; L.A. Wollenweber, ed., "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf," vol 1 no. 12 (Feb 1870) 378-383.

14. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 65-66.

15. William E. Petig, "The First Moravian Missions in the Midwest," Yearbook of German-American Studies 42 (2007): 39-52.

16. Newtown, "James Fenimore Cooper," 97-98.

17. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 65-66.

18. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 67.

19. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 66.

20. Efford, German Immigrants, Race, and Citizenship, 54.

21. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 102.

22. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 138.

23. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 66.

24. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 68-69 & 104.

25. Gregory Dowd, A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 85-88. Dowd and Brühl both put the death toll at 96.

26. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 105.

27. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 106.

28. Giorg, "Die ersten Niederlassungen," 106.

29. Rob Harper, "Looking the Other Way: The Gnadenhutten Massacre and the Contextual Interpretation of Violence," William and Mary Quarterly 64 no. 3 (July 2007): 622-624. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 105.

30. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 106.

31. Harper, “Looking the Other Way,” 629-632.

32. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 106-107.

33. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 65. Emphasis original.

34. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 139.

35. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 73-74.

36. Giorg, “Die ersten Niederlassungen,” 74.

37. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” vol 1 no 5 (July 1869): 152-159.

38. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 153.

39. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 155.

40. The author has found no evidence of any such practices among the Seminole.

41. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 155-156.

42. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 156-157.

43. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 156.

44. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 157.

45. “Deutsche Studenten unter den Indianern,” 157.

46. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 344.

47. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 344-345.

48. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 346.

49. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 379.

50. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 380.

51. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 380. Wollenweber’s novella “reproduces” the text of a letter sent to Weiser inviting him to join the new settlement. As this serialized story is avowedly a work of historical fiction, it is unclear if he ever meant for it to be taken as a genuine historical document, or if he claimed otherwise elsewhere, but at least one researcher made the effort to debunk its authenticity. Frank E. Lichtenthaeler, “The Unaccountable Weiser Letter,” Berks History Center, accessed July 29, 2025, https://berkshistory.org/article/the-unaccountable-weiser-letter/.

52. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 380.

53. Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815, rev. ed. (New York: Cambridge, 2011), XII.

54. Wollenweber, ed., “General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf,” 381 & 383.

55. Wollenweber, ed., "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf," 381.

56. Wollenweber, ed., "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf," 343-344.

57. Wollenweber, ed., "General Peter Mühlenberg und seine deutsche Soldaten im amerkianischen Freiheitskampf," 382.

58. Philip Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), especially 38-94.

59. See especially H. Glenn Penny's criticism of this body of literature in Penny, "Not Playing Indian."

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The Nonferrous "Octopus" in the Metal Trades in Australia and the United States: *Metallgesellschaft* and the Reaction to German Dominance in Metal Trades during World War I

Introduction

Conscientious businessmen involved in international trade in the early twentieth century should not have been surprised when government officials in both the United States and Australia realized during World War I that German firms dominated various sectors of the countries' economies. German entrepreneurs had taken advantage of the absence of regulations regarding foreign involvement in local economies and entered niche markets such as chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and metal trades where there was little local competition. Few American or Australian workers were concerned that the company that employed them was a subsidiary of a corporation headquartered in the German Empire. During World War I, however, Americans and Australians experienced, created or had created for them, a fear of all things German. As governments passed legislation that limited the activities of German immigrants living in either country, there was a "sudden" awareness of the extent of German dominance over business in their midst.

Our study focuses on German metal traders, examines how they had established their businesses, analyzes how they were treated by Americans and Australians during the Great War, and explores the long-term impact. Our study reveals that although both countries confiscated property held by German immigrants, required immigrants from the Central Powers to register with authorities, excluded them from sensitive areas, interned those suspected of being dangerous, Australian measures were more severe in both the short and long-term. Proportionately in economic and demographic terms, Australians confiscated more property and sold it to Australian or British businessmen than did Americans in the United States. Australia also revoked naturalized citizenship and deported German businessmen. By contrast, Americans were more likely to briefly hold German-owned businesses in trust to then turn over these businesses to Americans, including naturalized citizens who had proven their loyalty to the United States during the war. And none of the naturalized businessmen were deported.

One reason for this variance is the drafting of legislation, the *Trading with the Enemy Act*. It may have had the same title and intent in both countries, but enforcement affected groups of people differently. Australians interned and then deported many German immigrants, including naturalized citizens, whereas Americans tried to focus only on immigrants who had not yet become citizens and allegedly posed a serious threat. Another reason was the differences in leadership in the respective countries. William "Billy" Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, was aggressively anti-German and more pro-British than American President Woodrow Wilson or the American Alien Property Custodian (APC), A. Mitchell Palmer. For example, Wilson's policy distinguished the German people from the autocratic and militaristic government of Germany. Palmer enforced the *Trading with the Enemy Act* to benefit the American economy. While he confiscated property directly owned by foreigners, and transferred patents to American hands, he also believed in property rights for American citizens, including naturalized citizens.[1]

Other factors included the intensity of the anti-German sentiment and the length of direct involvement in the war. Anti-German sentiment had been festering much longer in Australia and thousands of Australian men had given their lives before the United States entered the conflict. These factors contributed to the harsher treatment of German metal traders in Australia when compared to the experience by German traders in the United States. Anti-German sentiment in the United States did not result in universal harassment of German Americans; instead, it varied state by state and repression occurred often at the local rather than the federal level.[2]

Historians from both countries have made significant contributions to scholarship on World War I. How both countries addressed Germany's control of non-ferrous metals – copper, lead, and zinc – in wartime is part of that work.[3] While there are differences in how each country navigated Germany's dominance, there are also many similarities. We argue that historians have largely ignored these similarities and the connections between the two countries. It is relatively easy for historians to trace how and what American and Australian governments did to remove German control of American and Australia's non-ferrous metal industries during wartime. They passed laws, prosecuted offenders, and confiscated property. What is more challenging is to identify possible links to similar actions in both countries, and perhaps most challenging, to see how these actions were secondary to a larger purpose.

History of Metallgesellschaft and other German Firms

Germany's economy boomed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by 1913, it was challenging Great Britain's share of world trade. As German businesses looked for investment overseas, they became major investors in Central and South America along with Australia.[4] Australia, which had become a federated nation in 1901, also pursued overseas investment to drive its economy. By 1914, 477 multinational companies operated in Australia, of which 25 were German and more than 350 from the United Kingdom.[5] Ville and Merrett argue that while "Mining and finance absorbed three quarters of private borrowing from Britain between 1865 and 1914," German investment in Australia, especially in base metals, also increased.[6]

Several trading companies dominated the movement of commodities in world trade and foreign direct investments. This was not unlike companies of centuries earlier, including the famed Dutch East India Company. At its most basic, these trading companies functioned as intermediaries to link buyers and sellers. They brokered, resold, or both and usually owned "assets in more than one country and often became involved in business activities beyond trade."[7] One of these trading companies was Metallgesellschaft, headquartered in Frankfurt, Germany.

In 1860, the three sons of British-born Ralph Merton - Henry, Emile and Zachary - founded Henry R. Merton & Company in London. Rudolf Zunz, a manager with Henry Merton & Co., was one of the founding members of the London Metal Exchange where this British owned company could freely purchase and sell stocks from other companies within the British empire. They also turned the business into one of the most successful non-ferrous trading companies because they understood that copper mines in the Harz Mountain region in north central Germany could no longer supply the needs of Germany's rapidly developing electric and munitions industries. Acquiring and trading across Europe and the Atlantic Ocean was simply sound business. Ralph Merton, who had married the daughter of German metal trader, Philipp Abraham Cohen, moved to Frankfurt and managed his father-in-law's company. His fourth son, Wilhelm, was involved in both companies. He understood that technological developments, such as changes in copper-refining and expansion of electricity, would require massive amounts of non-ferrous metals. It was under his intellectual guidance that the company grew.[8]

In 1881, the Merton family turned one of its companies, Philipp Abraham Cohen & Co., into a joint-stock company, called Metallgesellschaft, and maintained a "joint business venture" with Henry R. Merton & Company in London by each purchasing stock from the other and sharing dividends.[9] Working with two other German owned metal trading companies - Aron Hirsch und Sohn of Halberstadt and Beer, Sondheimer & Company of Frankfurt - Metallgesellschaft became the "German metal triumvirate" that controlled the purchase of non-ferrous ores - copper, zinc, lead, nickel, and molybdenum - by eliminating "nearly all competition." By buying large surplus in metals at low prices, controlling smelting and refining processes through long-term contracts, and then withholding large quantities from the market, this vertically integrated syndicate also manipulated prices. These three trading companies owned smelting and refining companies in Germany that needed ore and they supplied 80 percent of Europe's zinc market. Although there were more than 550 non-ferrous trading companies in Germany in 1913, these three were the most powerful. [10] These concerns also had competitive advantages owing to knowledge of the market, well-established trade routes, and technological expertise. They could offer long-term contracts beneficial to extractors and provided essential services to both sellers and buyers.[11] Delaney has noted that Wilhelm Merton used long-term contracts with producers and consumers to create the "octopus" empire of Metallgesellschaft. Merton also founded a research institution and a commercial banking division, thus connecting trade with the latest technological knowledge and the ability to finance new projects.[12]

The extent to which the German government held influence over these three privately owned companies is unknown, although British and American authorities suggested that the government must have been behind their ability to control the market. It is more likely that these wealthy individuals held political sway over members of the Reichstag during a time when many German owned companies combined into concentrated corporations or cartels to "minimize competition" and to build "capacity to plan investment on a long-term basis." Creation of such large corporations or cartels was legal under German law, but their expansion into the United States would soon encounter opposition and during the war, antitrust legislation could become the pretext to regulate these German businesses.[13]

Merton also understood that the United States was becoming the world's largest supplier of raw materials to western Europe. As the triumvirate branched out internationally, its leaders had to decide on an approach to compete with American companies while trading in the US. They could appoint American agents or representatives with ties to the German company or they could establish legally independent joint stock companies with founders of Metallgesellschaft holding majority of shares. Metallgesellschaft and its associates took the latter approach in the United States. Merton decided to establish two subsidiaries in the United States – the American Smelting & Refining Company and the American Metal Company (AMCo) in 1887. AMCo had headquarters in New York City under the management of German-born Jacob Langeloth and Berthold Hochschild.[14]

During the 1890s, AMCo strengthened Metallgesellschaft's foothold in the American metal industry by signing contracts and bargaining with burgeoning mines and refiners, such as Phelps Dodge mines in Arizona and Balbach Smelting and Refining Company in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. AMCo then sold most of their metal products and commodities directly to European manufacturing clients. In addition to signing contracts with American companies, AMCo also established relationships with Canadian, Mexican and South American producers of nonferrous metals, bought and sold metals on the open market, as well as contracted with various mines, smelters, and refineries in the US, Canada, Mexico, and South American to take their output. Thus, on the eve of the Great War, AMCo supplied a large customer base in Germany, primarily brass and copper manufacturers such as Heddenheimer Kupferwerke in Frankfurt that needed ore.[15]

Ten years after Metallgesellschaft established AMCo, Aron Hirsch und Sohn founded its own branch in the United States - L. Vogelstein & Co. in 1907 - with headquarters in New York City led by Ludwig Vogelstein in partnership with Ernest G. Hothorn. It focused on trading metals for import and export, particularly importing copper ore to the US. Vogelstein remained a co-partner with Hirsch until 1916 when he bought out Hothorn, established the independent firm, L. Vogelstein & Co., Inc., and transferred all assets from Germany to the American company.[16] This approach to "Americanize" the company would influence how its property would be treated during the war.

Beer, Sondheimer & Co. set up a branch office in New York City in 1906 - Beer, Sondheimer & Co., American Agency. It was run by Benno Elkan and Otto Frohnknecht.[17] It dealt primarily in zinc and in 1907 acquired controlling interest in National Zinc, Company in Bartelsville, Oklahoma.

In 1908 it acquired El Cobre Copper Mine in Santiago, Cuba and organized the Norfolk Smelting Company in West Norfolk, Virginia where ore from El Cobre was processed. As it expanded, the company also applied for several patents related to mineral separation processes.[18]

This approach to running a business was not that different from vertically and horizontally integrated monopolies during the late 1800s, including Standard Oil and US Steel. The major difference was its foreign character. American metal producers like Amalgamated Copper Mining Company (headed by Henry H. Rogers and William Rockefeller of Standard Oil) did not want to deal with traders like Metallgesellschaft. They wanted to sell directly to European manufacturers, but could not establish control or effective competition through monopolies because the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) limited their abilities and thus could not overcome the influence of the German cartel. Consequently, AMCo, by 1911, remained the primary seller for mid-sized mining companies like Old Dominion, Shannon, Granby Copper, and East Butte Mining Company, and it was the "exclusive dealer" for Balbach Smelting & Refining and Nichols Copper Company.[19] When war broke out in Europe in 1914, this dynamic quickly changed.

Metallgesellschaft in Australia

In 1905, Metallgesellschaft and Beer, Sondheimer & Company signed a joint-account agreement to purchase Australian copper ore. This arrangement eventually included Aron Hirsch and all three acted as a "buying combination" by signing long-term purchasing contracts with individual mining companies. By 1914 many Australian companies had a contract with one of these German-owned firms and the ore purchased was such that no single company would have been able to handle the resources needed for this commitment.[20] While company owners wanted more money for the ore, they were unable to achieve that because the Germans controlled the refining process (i.e. Australians did not have the capacity or technology to efficiently refine the ore).[21]

German investment in and/or ownership of Australian base metal resources was widely known before World War I. More than known, it was welcomed! Four examples illustrate this knowledge**.** In May 1898, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald* in Tasmania congratulated the Deutsche Bank's "progressive policy" and being "indebted to (its) establishment of the Tasmanian Smelting Company."[22] In February 1899, a prominent Adelaide metals broker acting for Aron Hirsch und Sohn, secured the entire output of the South Australian Wallaroo and Moonta Mines' output of refined copper for three years.[23] In 1907, the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company, one of the world's largest mines, announced the establishment of its refinery, the Electrolytic Refining & Smelting Company to process its copper ores with Aron Hirsch und Sohn owning 30 percent. And by 1913, Metallgesellschaft, through its local subsidiary, the Australian Metal Company, controlled lead and zinc output from Broken Hill mines in western New South Wales, one of the largest lead mines in Australia.[24] Metallgesellschaft, Aron Hirsch und Sohn, together with Beer Sondheimer were well known locally as "The Trio."[25]

Were Australians aware of this German dominance in metal trades? In Volume XI of *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Sir Ernest Scott notes that Hughes was made aware of German control when given a copy of Professor Robert Liefmann's 1913 article in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*.[26] Liefmann argued that Frankfurt-based metal had secured effective control of the international base metal market largely through Metallgesellschaft. Whatever concerns or thoughts Hughes had about this German control, he did little if anything, about it. If Hughes was concerned about German dominance before the war, he gave no indication. He made no public comments prior to 1914 and as Australia's Attorney General, he did not introduce legislation in parliament to limit German control. If he had private reservations about the extent of German investment in and ownership of mines and smelters, neither his diaries, notebooks nor recollections by friends, colleagues or family can provide confirmation.[27] We know, however, that Hughes had detailed knowledge of Liefmann's analysis because he drew heavily on the work, repeating several words from it in several speeches in July 1915.[28]

Readers might ask: why learn about German traders in Australia? We argue that legislation passed in the United Kingdom and Australia that aimed to eliminate the German dominance contributed to or influenced actions in the United States three years later.

The impact of the Great War: Anti-German Legislation, Britain and Australia

German immigration to Australia can be traced to the First Fleet of 1788 and from 1838 large numbers of Prussian immigrants, many religious refugees began arriving in South Australia.[29] As in other wars, it was not unusual that belligerent countries realized that persons of enemy nationality or residence owned real estate and personal property within their borders. Both Australia and the United States, experienced a growing anti-German sentiment during the Great War and reacted by limiting the business activities of foreigners who could support the enemy. While legislation appears very similar, enforcement differed.

Britain and Australia experienced widespread loathing of all things German, in part driven by a popular press that published many unsubstantiated allegations of German spy and sabotage activities. Britain reacted by passing the *Trading with the Enemy Amendment Act* in September 1914. The act authorized a Controller to take on the position of receiver or manager of any company identified as enemy owned. An additional amendment to the Act in January 1916 gave the controller additional power as a "liquidator, including the power to pay debts, distribute assets, etc." The Board of Trade also received the power "whenever it appeared that the business of any person, firm or company was by reason of its enemy nationality or the nationality of its members being carried on wholly or mainly for the benefit of or was under the control of enemy subjects, to prohibit or wind up such business."[30] The Board of Trade used this power to close "hundreds of enemy companies and business enterprises" and to sell "large quantities of German-owned property … at auction." One historian noted, it "eliminated any remaining German businesses in Britain, from butcher and bakers to the London branches of the Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank."[31]

This legislation saw Henry R. Merton & Company of London being transformed into Henry Gardner and Company, which continued to do business in the UK but under British ownership and control. [32] In 1918, the British parliament aimed to eliminate German influence even further by passing an act requiring all persons engaged in nonferrous metal industry to obtain a license from the Board of Trade. This was an attempt to further diminish German influence and forced Merton Metallurgical Co. Ltd to "go into liquidation." Richard Merton, however, remained connected to the successor, British Metal Corporation, after the war.[33] Since Metallgesellschaft's industrial holdings were not that significant in England, the loss of physical property there was less painful than it would be in Australia and in the United States.

That was not the only approach to limiting the potentially dangerous impact of enemy aliens living in the United Kingdom. On August 5, 1914, Parliament also passed the *Aliens Restriction Act* calling for the arrest and internment of German men of military age (17-42 years old) or those who posed an immediate threat and demanding the closure of German language newspapers. When rioters attacked Germans after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Prime Minister Asquith called for the internment of enemy aliens in part to protect them from rioters but also called for women, children, and men over 55 to be repatriated to Germany.[34] This set precedent for actions taken in Australia.[35]

When examining the response of Australian government and evaluating the factors underpinning the response, it is clear that Hughes[36] wanted more than the mere elimination of a commercial competitor – he wanted to restate the supremacy of the British Empire in its Australian Dominion. Conventional narrative argues that Hughes lifted the veil of economic reality about German control of the nation's non-ferrous metals ONLY with the outbreak of war.[37] Another assertion suggests that Hughes "invented" the specter of the "metal octopus." But it is also important to understand how each strategy fed into and reinforced each other. It is not just the individual strategy that matters – it is their collective value.

Hughes knew through Liefmann's article the extent of German involvement in the metal trades. Even more alarming for him and others in the Australian government, if Germany won the war, was the prospect of its control continuing and even expanding. Within this context and concern, the war became for Hughes an opportunistic political moment to defeat German metal firms economically and increase Australia's economic power.

With war prompting his "new found knowledge" about German companies in Australia, Hughes developed five inter-connected strategies to eliminate their control – 1) legislation, 2) the setting up of the Australian Metal Exchange, 3) developing networks with prominent mining business people and financiers, 4) developing an "enemy within" campaign to advantage the other goals, and 5) understanding that Australia alone could not win this economic fight and seeing the strength of international co-operation.

Hughes set about the first part of his plan – legislation.[38] On 15 October 1914, Hughes introduced the *Trading with the Enemy Bill* and 13 days later, he introduced the *War Precautions Bill 1914*, saying it was legislation "that the present circumstances call for." The "present circumstances" included potential threats in Australia by those perceived as being sympathetic to Germany's cause. It made trade with Germany illegal retrospective to 4 August 1914, the date of the outbreak of the war. Hughes said: "…there are in our midst companies that masquerade under the guise of Australian companies, but are controlled and influenced very largely by enemy subjects, existing and carrying on their operations … for the benefit of enemy subjects."[39]

Hughes, however, had more than those companies and individuals who traded with Germany in his sights. The legislation gave the federal government unprecedented powers to "restrict civil liberties," censor the press, and limit freedom of speech. German-Australians became increasingly concerned about government surveillance.[40]

Hughes followed the United Kingdom parliament which had passed its *Trading with the Enemy Act 1914* in September. Other legislation followed – the *Crimes Act 1915* (adding "to defraud the Commonwealth" as a criminal offense), the *Unlawful Associations Act 1917* (outlawing socialist groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World and making membership of such organizations illegal), the *Defense Act 1917* as well as various amendments to the *Trading with the Enemy* and *War Precautions* Acts.[41]

Hughes justified this legislation by referring to Metallgesellschaft as "the metal octopus." His use of this phrase was deliberate and reinforced widely held views in Australia about race and whiteness similar to a cartoon published in 1886 entitled "The Mongolian Octopus – His Grip on Australia."[42] Hughes drew on a deep-seated xenophobia, knowing that describing German firms as a "metal octopus" would have resonance with this earlier anti-Chinese drawing.

Hughes second approach was the establishment of the Australian Metal Exchange. Metallgesellschaft had organized the sale of raw and refined ores through its local subsidiary agency known as the Australian Metal Company (AMC). There were similar agencies in America – such as AMCo. Hughes understood the efficiency of this arrangement and terminated the AMC and substituted the Australian Metal Exchange (AME).[43] Most importantly for Hughes, the AME controlled the export of metals by not only requiring registration of contracts with the exchange but also being able to refuse contracts with German traders. The AME quickly and efficiently marketed Australian metals within the British Empire.[44]

Hughes third strategy was networking. He understood that although Australian companies extracted metals, the German companies controlled the smelting and refining process. Hughes also understood that captains of industry, such as W. S. Robinson and W. L. Baillieu, in particular the former's connection to Herbert Hoover, were well placed with their international connections to help create business links that transformed the metals industry to exclude German companies.[45] With a functioning AME, German contracts were terminated and the most powerful and influential group of Australian companies dealing in base metals – the Collins House group – acquired controlling interests in Port Pirie lead smelter and Electrolytic Refining & Smelting copper refinery at Port Kembla. With Hughes' political acumen and the collective business resources of Robinson, Baillieu and others, the Broken Hill mines were under Australian control by the end of 1915 and the British Ministry of Munitions became their primary customer.[46]

Hughes' fourth approach was to define German businessmen as the "enemy within." At the outbreak of war, there were at least 38,000 German-born Australians and many more of German descent. German nationals were the largest non-British ethnic group in Australia.[47] Initial goodwill quickly turned into anti-German hysteria when newspapers published stories critical of German Australians and reported on German companies in Australia, the formation of Anti-German Leagues and refusals by workers to work with German Australians. In January 1915, the German Club in Broken Hill, was burned to the ground. In separate cases involving German Australians, a Sydney bakery owned by Otto Pfafflin was bombed in 1916, and a year later, "Bangoola," the Sydney residence of Paul Schreiterer was bombed and destroyed.[48] No arrests were made.

As Martin Crotty writes:

> The use of the German language was progressively banned throughout Australia, German schools, newspapers and clubs were closed, German place names were changed, and Germans were prevented from voting or for standing for public office, in effect a removal of one of the most basic rights of citizenship – the right to participate in democratic politics. They were also excluded from owning shares, selling land or operating companies.[49]

This hysteria transformed German Australians from citizens to people treated as criminals as the war progressed. Sir Ernest Scott later wrote that "All Germans and persons of German origin were looked upon with suspicion."[50] For example, the aforementioned Schreiterer had taken an oath of neutrality ten days after the declaration of war and was not a naturalized Australian. Consequently, authorities considered him an "enemy alien" and subjected him to intense surveillance which continued long after the end of the war.[51]

In 1918, Parliament passed the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act that limited citizenship to loyal people and authorized the denaturalization of disloyal persons. In Australia, Hughes used the legislation to finally remove German interests from the empire as he believed that naturalization was a disguise "to infiltrate Australia's economy in the interest of the German government." As a result of legislation and anti-German sentiment, German-Australians lost their civil rights, properties and jobs, were "attacked by enraged street mobs," were "interned without trial" and "repatriated," or deported,[52] "without a chance to protest or to state their case and prove their loyalty." [53] Losing British or Australian citizenship assured "that there was no possibility of the person ever returning."[54]

Hughes' fifth strategy relied on international cooperation. While it is clear that Australia and the United Kingdom discussed Trading with the Enemy legislation, and in Australia's case, openly copied large parts of the English work, it is not clear if British or Australian and American authorities discussed their Trading with the Enemy legislation. However, what is clear is the cooperation between Australia and America on forms of "the other." The *War Precautions Act* afforded the government powers to look at not only so-called "enemy aliens" but any individual and/or groups loosely fitting the definition of a dissident. And here we see Australian and American authorities openly cooperating.

The legislation required a surveillance network with information used for domestic purposes. Hughes established the Counter Espionage Bureau in 1915 and the Commonwealth Police in 1917 both of which liaised with Military Intelligence agencies in each state.[55] With the International Workers of the World (IWW) allegedly threatening Australia's economy, Australian governments worked with American officials to deport IWW members and to share information about their activities.[56]

While outside the scope of this article, it is clear that Australian and American surveillance apparatus became vital after the war in addressing the so-called "Red Scare." What is important is that the origins of these responses begin largely in part in response to Germany's base metal control.

The Impact of the Great War: Anti-German Legislation, Metal Traders United States

As war was raging in Europe, the American economy and society were being impacted, despite efforts to remain neutral. One focus by the Wilson administration was to expand the American economy through international trade. But the country lacked adequate shipping vessels. The *Ship Registry Act* (1914) brought hundreds of foreign-built ships to American registry. Opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 also offered better access to Latin American markets. During the Neutrality Period, however, British and French opposition denied the United States the opportunity to purchase German ships stranded in American, Central, or South American harbors. Complicating American expansion into the international economy was that Great Britain controlled the majority of the Atlantic trade. At the Paris Economic Conference in 1916, Britain announced plans for an exclusive economic union in a postwar world and later in the year lengthened its list of American companies blocked from trade. This created a problem for the US. It wanted to expand trade and economy and be a partner in world trade, and recognize that Germany, even if defeated, should have a participatory role, but the Paris conference committed to an exclusionary postwar world. Partly in retaliation to the British, but also informed by the need to be prepared for possible war and fear of trade isolation, American businessmen supported the Shipping Act of 1916 that established a shipping board to buy, own, and operate a commercial fleet. In other words, American businessmen, including naturalized citizens of foreign birth, traditionally insistent on as few regulations as possible, now accepted the greatly expanded power of the federal government to promote foreign trade and provide an economic stimulus.[57]

At the same time, anti-immigrant sentiment was also rising, especially since the arrival of non-traditional migrants from southern and eastern Europe in the 1890s, but no particular ethnic group was excluded from coming to the United States prior to 1914. During the 1916 presidential election, however, all the candidates expressed their opposition to the hyphenated American, who in the candidates' opinions help dual identities and were not one hundred percent American.[58] When the US entered the war in April 1917, this anti-hyphen sentiment focused specifically on German Americans who still spoke German, heard German sermons, and read German language newspapers. German Americans were the second largest ethnic group in the United States and proportion wise – the second generation represented over 11 percent of the American population – represented a larger potential threat than in Australia.[59] Laws, including the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act (1917),[60] required that foreign language newspapers file with authorities translations of any article related to the war and the country's war effort. Publishers who did not abide by the regulation, lost second class franking privileges and closed down. Individuals, who expressed their personal opinions in opposition to the government or the country's involvement in the war, could experience harassment, loss of employment, tarring and feathering, or being charged under the *Espionage Act* or the *Sedition Act.* German immigrants who were not yet naturalized citizens, had to register with authorities as enemy aliens, could not own firearms or use wireless communication devices. They had to stay out of restricted zones and be at least one-half miles away from any government buildings, forts, arsenals, airports, naval vessels and munitions factories. If caught expressing thoughts in opposition to the American government, or conducting acts that could be interpreted as aiding the enemy, could be sent to internment camps.[61]

US Attorney General Thomas Gregory and Secretary of War Newton Baker did not think it was necessary or feasible to intern all registered enemy aliens. After all, the US could denaturalize residents if there was real evidence of disloyalty or if a person became a citizen under fraudulent circumstances, according to the US Naturalization Law of 1906. But in contrast to Australia where naturalized Germans were included in the definition of enemy aliens, the US did not do so.[62]

The United States interned 2,062 of the 254,038 registered male enemy aliens from Germany, or .8 percent. Men of wealth and economic or political influence had American supporters or attorneys who forced the Department of Justice to provide real evidence and legal procedures before internment. Consequently, the majority of those interned for more than 10 months were labor activists, socialists, radicals, and members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Of those who were still in the camps in early 1919, over 40 percent were released and given the opportunity to remain in the United States. A nearly equal percentage took advantage of the offer to be repatriated to Germany.[63] In other words, internment did not automatically result in deportation.

Although legislation aimed to regulate the lives of German Americans who had lived in the United States for generations or who had recently become naturalized citizens, the enforcement of legislation varied by locality. One reason is that German speakers born in the United States were assimilated, were more American than German, and were not seen as a threatening group. When individuals expressed disloyal thoughts, then the existing laws were used to address these individuals.[64] German immigrants who conducted business in the US also had a much more tolerant experience than their counterparts in Australia.

Once the war began in Europe, it brought about a debt reversal from the United States owing European bankers billions of dollars, to the Allies owing money to the United States as massive amounts of goods crossed the Atlantic.[65] The United States had been one of the world's greatest debtor nations despite immense industrial production and exports outnumbering imports. Foreign investments in traded securities and direct investments by multinational enterprises exceeded US investments abroad. According to Mira Wilkins, German investments in the US on July 1, 1914, amounted to 575 million US dollars in portfolio investments (stocks, bonds) and 525 million US dollars in direct investments (business ownership, affiliates, subsidiaries, branches).[66] In the metal trades, American producers sent 70 percent of their copper to Europe, of which about one-third had gone to Germany through the assistance of the subsidiaries that Metallgesellschaft had set up in the US. Great Britain had experienced exhaustion of domestic ore by 1914 as demand continued to increase owing to technological and military advancements and had to import non-ferrous metals, including from the United States through AMCo.[67]

To mitigate the shortages, the UK declared metals connected to munitions and arms, especially copper, "absolute contraband" and placed a blockade on the trade with rest of Europe, even though Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan protested this interference with the American economy. Now, AMCo could no longer ship directly to Germany because most American trade was "rerouted to London." Instead, German owned firms initially redirected their trade through Scandinavian countries with the approval of Secretary of State Bryan. American producers and managers of AMCo, then redirected their focus to American producers of war materials, including Frankford Arsenal, Cleveland Metal Products Company, and American Brass Company. As profits soared during the American neutrality period, the owners aimed to protect and preserve their own business in the US, not the parent company in Germany.[68] In other words, their business loyalty was with the United States.

When the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917, it established the Emergency Fleet Corporation that "confiscated several hundred thousand tons of German shipping in American ports" and permanently transferred them into American ownership.[69] Members of Congress also "followed in the footsteps of the British" by passing the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act on October 6, 1917.[70] This legislation not only shared the name of the British law but also followed a similar structure. The Act gave the president the authority to regulate or prohibit any trade between the United States with the enemy or ally of the enemy, or between residents in the United States and the enemy country. To fulfill that task, the Act created the office of the Alien Property Custodian (APC), similar to the British Custodian of Enemy Property. The APC had the power to appropriate, or confiscate and hold in trust until the war ended, property belonging to the enemy, be it a corporation or person living in the United States or living abroad. President Wilson appointed A. Mitchell Palmer as the custodian, who, according to historian David Kennedy, had no problem selling "unfriendly" or "large scale German corporate investments in major industries," such as chemicals, textiles, or metals, prior to hostilities ending. Palmer argued that such assets should be "separated from their former owners forever" and thus completely eradicate German enterprises and thoroughly Americanize them.[71] Complicating this task was the physical location of incorporation. If a business was incorporated in the United States, it was considered an American company or corporation even if stockholders were of foreign birth. Thus, only the shares, not the business itself, could be confiscated or taken over.[72]

Palmer received the appointment to the APC because he had been active in Woodrow Wilson's presidential campaign. According to Stanley Coben who wrote the only existing biography of Palmer, the APC was a political "enigma." As a member of the House of Representatives, the Pennsylvanian had been a champion of child labor legislation, protection of workers, women's rights, advocate for lowering protective tariffs, and a supporter of free trade. However, as the APC and later as the Attorney General, he violated civil liberties, refused to intervene in strikes because he viewed them as a worldwide communist conspiracy, and suggested pardons for convicted violators of the *Espionage Act*. As a devout Quaker, he had been opposed to American participation in the European conflict, but his patriotism came into question when an article in the *New York World* suggested that he had supplied information to German agents about President Wilson's intentions toward Germany after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Perhaps that incident may have inspired him to act more harshly toward German businessmen to erase any public doubt about his own patriotism. As Coben suggests, Palmer became "one of the most aggressive belligerents" on the home front during American participation in the Great War.[73] Another historian suggested that "Palmer unleashed a veritable crusade against German economic influence" in the United States.[74] Perhaps political ambitions also played a role.

Palmer selected as the head of the APC's Bureau of Investigation Francis P. Garvin, son of Irish immigrants and ardent antagonist of Germans. Both Palmer and Garvin "shared an aversion to certain types of foreigners" and "a feeling that dangerous internal enemies were plotting against the country." They viewed the extent of German investments in the US economy as evidence of a conspiracy by a "great industrial and commercial army which Germany planted here with hostile intent." They believed that American style of capitalism was under foreign attack. Consequently, when Palmer presented his first report to Congress in early 1918, he successfully urged the legislators to give him the power to "Americanize" foreign owned companies by selling them, rather than holding them in trust in perpetuity.[75] The custodian initially targeted German nationals living in the United States but then extended the search to American-born women who were married to German or Austrian citizens because under the principle of coverture her property was her husband's, and according to the 1907 Naturalization Law she had also taken on her husband's citizenship. By the end of the conflict, the custodian had confiscated, placed in trust, and sold German or Austrian- owned property worth an estimated $700 million.[76]

The activities of the APC revealed to Congress and the American public the extent to which German businesses had entered the American economy, most notably in the chemical and metal industries, but also in manufacturing of machines, transportation, textiles, and communication technology.[77] Palmer asserted in his final report in 1919 that although the "German metal combine controlled the metal markets of Europe and Australia – especially in zinc and lead – it is not the fact that they controlled the metal market of the United States." Their "influence here was potent" but not strong enough to influence production or prices. He was confident that disbanding some German-owned metal firms and by "Americanizing others," that the "German influences in our metal market have been completely eliminated."[78] Another amendment to the *Trading with the Enemy Act* on November 4, 1918, allowed the APC to sell patents that German individuals or companies held in the US. The sale of these approximate 4,500 patents to Americans contributed to American innovations that had been previously stifled and boosted the chemical and medicinal industries.[79] In other words, the legislation and the APC's activities used the war crisis for long-term American advantage.

Palmer justified his actions by arguing that the Metallgesellschaft triumvirate posed "a standing menace to the security of our domestic metal industry" and possessed an "obvious potential power for evil." He viewed them as "outposts of German commercial aggression" that were "gradually spreading into Mexico and South America, which are legitimate fields for our own commercial development" and thus "have been a menace to this country."[80] Palmer saw the war as an opportunity for American companies to grow and become internationally influential, especially in the western hemisphere.

Palmer, however, could do little with companies like Vogelstein because its owner had been a naturalized citizen since 1903 and the company had separated from the German held Hirsch concern in 1916. It was thus a legitimate American owned enterprise. After the passage of the *Trading with the Enemy Act*, the APC nevertheless took over and held in trust all 50,000 shares of Vogelstein and set up a unique relationship. The company would remain in trust for up to five years and the Custodian would appoint twenty of the twenty-three trustees. Vogelstein committed himself to no longer trade with Germans but trade only with Americans. Vogelstein would also pay to the Custodian any profits owed to Hirsch after account reconciliation 6 months after peace. While Vogelstein still owned his company, the Custodian's interests were also represented on the Board of Directors.[81]

In contrast to Vogelstein, Palmer viewed Elkan and Frohnknecht of Beer, Sondheimer & Co. with more suspicion because "they were late converts to citizenship." Their naturalization ceremonies had taken place in 1917 and Palmer viewed this action as "a war measure."[82] Perhaps the war contributed to the decision to take the final step toward naturalization, but one must also take into consideration that it usually took at least one year between applying for first papers to becoming a naturalized citizen. Elkan, who arrived in 1906, filed his Declaration of Intent in February 1915 and became a citizen within two years. Frohnknecht declared his intent on August 4, 1914, petitioned for naturalization on October 10, 1916, and took the oath on February 6, 1917.[83] While the timing may have been suspicious to Palmer, the numbers of applications for citizenship did rise markedly during the American neutrality period.

It is difficult to know what level of foresight Elkan and Frohnknecht had and to what degree that shaped their decisions to become naturalized citizens, but Palmer asserted that they had created Beer, Sondheimer Company, Inc. in 1915 for the simple purpose of evading any potential belligerent rights by the United States should it enter the war against Germany. He saw such action as attempting to avoid prosecution, thus justifying the takeover of the firm. [84] The APC held in trust all of Beer, Sondheimer Company throughout the war. By 1920, the APC's office was in the process of liquidating all of Beer Sondheimer, including its subsidiaries National Zinc Company, Norfolk Smelting Company, and Cuba Copper Leasing Company. Once all aspects of the company had been sold, the company was dissolved and Elkan and Frohnknecht gave up legal challenges. [85]

Dealing with American Metal Company was more complex. AMCo, "officered by Americans who have shaped the policy of that powerful organization," cooperated with authorities, but this did not prevent temporary takeover of its stock.[86] American citizens held 18,620 of the 70,000 shares and the Board of Directors were all Americans, including several naturalized citizens. These Americans in control of the company immediately and "heartily" cooperated with the custodian upon passage with the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act and eliminated all German influence. This friendly cooperative relationship resulted in the custodian appointing only 5 of the 15 members of the board of directors to "represent him in the conduct of the affairs of the corporation." The APC sold $6 million of shares to only American members of the syndicate, including the naturalized Berthold Hochschild, one of the founders of the company, and Carl M. Loeb, also a naturalized citizen and formerly of Metallgesellschaft, who had been AMCo's president in 1917, when the APC placed the company into trust.[87] After shares held by H. R. Merton were confiscated, AMCo became an independent company managed by German-born but naturalized American citizens.

Postwar Strategies

The anti-German hysteria which dominated the war years abated after 1919. German investment slowly returned, German immigration resumed, internees were released and governments keen to identify "the other" as a political strategy turned to other groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World, Irish "revolutionaires" and Communists.[88]

Sales of German owned properties in the US accelerated after 1918, first under APC A. Mitchell Palmer, then his successor Francis Garvin, but "German business leaders regrouped and formulated their postwar strategies." Garvin had been the head of the APC's Bureau of Investigation and fervently believed that "Germans should never be permitted to resume their prewar importance in American industry." But Congress had also amended the *Trading-with-the-Enemy Act* in 1919 and 1920 to allow affected US citizens, including naturalized, to sue the APC.[89]

In 1921, Thomas W. Miller, became the new APC; he was critical of Palmer and Garvin's activities. He decided that 30,368 APC trusts valued at $10,000 or less should be returned to their owners. These small amounts made no difference in the US economy nor gave Germans an entry into the economy. Patents, however, were not returned to their former owners; they remained in American hands.[90]

AMCo, under Loeb's leadership, remained an American owned business run by the friends of the Merton family and reestablished its trade relationship with Metallgesellschaft. In 1923, Metallgesellschaft established another subsidiary American Lurgs Corporation. Ludwig Vogelstein of Vogelstein & Co., also part of the Hochschild syndicate, merged his company with the "American" AMCo. Thus these naturalized citizens maintained their wealth and dominance in ferrous metal industry.[91] Evidently, American government leaders like APC Miller had no problem selling German properties to naturalized citizens of German birth who had demonstrated loyalty to their adopted country during the war. It is, however, unclear whether these men were passionate Americans or whether their patriotism was based on economic benefit.

Long-term Impact on the Men and Companies

While the impact of World War I had a more far reaching impact on the lives of German immigrants in Australia, the mistakes of the past were nevertheless recognized. On September 26, 1999, the Australian Governor-General, Sir William Deane, apologized to German-Australians. Addressing the inaugural Australian Conference on Lutheran Education, he said:

> The tragic, and often shameful, discrimination against Australians of German origin fostered during the world wars had many consequences. No doubt, some of you carry the emotional scars of injustice during those times as part of your backgrounds or family histories. Let me as Governor-General say to all who do how profoundly sorry I am that such things happened in our country.[92]

In the United States, individuals like Benno Elkan remained in the country, did not suffer economically, according to the US Census continued to buy and sell metals, was elected a member of the National Metal Exchange, and received an invitation to serve on the non-ferrous metal industry advising committee by the Army-Navy Munitions Board.[93]

Otto Frohnknecht was remembered as the chairman of the board of International Minerals and Metals Corporation in 1968 when he passed away at the age of 82. He had also founded the National Multiple Sclerosis Society with a large gift to honor his late daughter who had suffered from the disease.[94] By 1925, both Elkan and Frohnknecht had built a new company, International Minerals and Metals Corporation, a zinc trading company.[95]

In similar fashion, Berthold Hochschild continued work in the metal trades and served as "a director of the Miami Copper Co.; the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting – Power Company; and the Chino Copper Company."[96]

When Ludwig Vogelstein passed away in 1934, obituaries praised his contributions to the American economy, his activities in Jewish religious organizations, and his philanthropy. Although born in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), he allegedly "understood and appreciated the best values of American life" and "his knowledge of metals soon won him recognition as a foremost authority in that industry."[97]

AMCo corporation survived because it continued to secure non-ferrous ore, ore concentrate and scrap through their foreign offices in Mexico, Peru, and Chile in a market that demanded ore for war production. It also continued wire production by smaller manufacturers who had no government contracts. Thus, AMCo's two principle refining clients, Nichols Copper Co. and Balbach Smelting & Refining also remained open.[98]

Complaints by American metal producers about unfair business practices by Europeans through such factors as cartels, finally received the attention of legislators and resulted in the passage of the *Webb-Pomerene Act* of 1918. It authorized small companies with low trade volume "to cooperate" and distribute "overhead charges over their combined foreign sales" to reduce costs "to a reasonable figure." Entrepreneurs also created the US Copper Export Association in December 1918 for the purpose of stabilizing prices and to eliminate middlemen.[99]

Conclusion

Comparative studies can help us understand the varying degrees of anti-German sentiment and treatment during conflicts, such as World War I. Even though legislation like the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act was first implement in Great Britain and quickly adopted in Australia, its doubleganger law in the United States was not as impactful as it was in the United Kingdom. Length of participation in the war and number of casualties may have contributed to a stronger sense of punishment for Germans, including German businessmen, for Britons and Australians. By contrast, the United States was a latecomer to the conflict, did not experience the horrendous casualty numbers, and physically contributed to the defeat of the German military. In addition, the strong affinity with the concept of private property and its protection from government seizure without due process may have also limited American zeal to confiscate the possessions of naturalized American citizens.

The experience of German-Australians was worse than the treatment of German-Americans for a variety of reasons. The drafting of legislation, although similar in intent, affected groups of people differently. Australians, for example, attempted to intern and then deport all German immigrants, including naturalized citizens, whereas Americans tried to focus only on immigrants who had not yet become citizens or who posed a serious threat. There were no attempts to denaturalize citizens of German birth in the US. Indeed, naturalized citizens of German or Austrian birth had legal protections when it came to confiscated property, including the use of the legal system to regain possession. The process usually involved the separation of property from German ownership and establishment of independent American-owned businesses run by naturalized citizens.

It is also necessary to look at differences in leadership in the respective countries. The Prime Minister of Australia was much more anti-German and pro-British than the American President or the American Alien Property Custodian. Wilson had run on an anti-hyphen platform in 1916 when it was electorally advantageous to attack the "other" or hyphenated, but he also made clear in his speeches to the American people that the war was not against the German people but their autocratic and militaristic government. Palmer, who had presidential ambitions during a time when everyone had to appear patriotic, harshly enforced the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act because he aimed for the legislation to benefit the American economy and American businessmen. While he confiscated property directly owned by foreigners, and unscrupulously transferred patents to American hands, he also believed in the sanctity of property rights for American citizens. Thus, the office of the APC worked with naturalized citizens, especially if they had or were willing to establish independent companies in the US.

The intensity of the anti-German sentiment also played a role. Both countries experienced paranoia fueled by persistent press propaganda. Outrageous and inaccurate media coverage offered no apologies after the war. And the 'suspicions' levelled at the 'other' continued and in Australia still continue to this day. In the US, many German immigrants and German Americans fell into line with conformity demands, such as not speaking German in public and keeping their personal thoughts to themselves, and survived the war with several aspects of their German culture preserved. They were already more American than German and the war only accelerated their acculturation further.[100]

Length of direct involvement in the war, including casualty numbers, also deepened willingness to confiscate property from, intern, and deport residents of German or Austrian birth. Australia, as a member of the Commonwealth, was in the war since 1914 and had sacrificed hundreds of thousands of men in battles such as Gallipoli well before the United States entered the conflict in April 1917. Thus, the anti-German sentiment had been festering much longer in Australia than in the United States. The combinations of these factors contributed to the harsher treatment of German metal traders in Australia when compared to the experience of German traders in the United States.

This study is significant because it not only focuses on the differences in the treatment of German immigrants, the confiscation of their property, and their internment during the war crisis, but is also addresses many of the similarities. Defining immigrants as "enemy aliens," as a serious threat to the survival of the country, justified their surveillance, restrictions of their basic civil rights, and confiscation of their property. We can only speculate whether the United States would have denaturalized citizens of German birth and deported them, as Australia did, if the war had lasted longer, casualties would have reached millions, and the anti-German sentiment had intensified. Perhaps similar comparative studies of the German experience in other countries could shed further light. What is also of interest, is the cooperation between the United Kingdom, including Australia, and the United States in regard to drafting legislation that not only dealt with the war emergency itself, but also with the perceived enemy or "other" within, despite America's long-standing tradition of not becoming involved in European affairs.

This study is but a beginning. Our historians' guess is that the response by American and Australian governments to German dominance of non-ferrous metals markets was a prelude to and/or provided the opportunity for serious surveillance of and legal proceedings involving another group of 'others' – political dissidents, Communists and those who did not adhere to the tenets of Team America and Team Australia. Put simply, what we have found is that after World War I, the reactions of both governments to 'others' was too similar to be happenstance. Governments developed techniques, political positions and legal mechanisms that did not disappear at war's end. They simply moved to other targets.

Notes

1. David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 12, 24. Stanley Coben, A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 67.

2. For reassessment of intensity in anti-German sentiment see Walter Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment," Yearbook of German-American Studies 49 (2014): 3-30; and Walter Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Reassessment," in Rootedness and Acculturation: Experiences from German Immigrant Communities in the USA, 1883-1918, ed. Tristan Coignard and Pierre-Yves Modicom (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2024), 87-107.

3. See, for example, Simon Ball, "The German Octopus: The British Metal Corporation and the Next War, 1914-1939," Enterprise & Society 5, no. 3 (September 2004): 455-456. Adam Hochschild, American Midnight: The Great War, a Violent Peace, and Democracy's Forgotten Crisis (New York: Harper Collins, 2022).

4. Erik Grimmer-Solem, Learning Empire: Globalization and the German Quest for World Status, 1875-1919 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2029), 310-311. Steven Press, "Buying Sovereignty: German 'Weltpolitik' and Private Enterprise, 1884-1914," Central European History 55, no. 1 (March 2022): 15-33. A. G. Kenwood, A. L. Loughheed and Michael Graff, The Growth of the International Economy, 1820-1990, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), figure 1(a), 27.

5. Simon Ville and David T. Merrett, "Investing in a Wealthy Resource-Based Colonial Economy: Internationals Business in Australia before World War One," Business History Review 94, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 321-346.

6. Simon Ville and David T. Merrett, International Business in Australia before World War One (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024), 27.

7. Geoffrey Jones, "Multinational Trading Companies in History and Theory," in The Multinational Traders, ed. Geoffrey Jones (London: Routledge, 1998), 2.

8. Nathan Delaney, "Copper Capitalism: The Making of a Transatlantic Market in Metals, 1870-1930" (Ph. Diss, Case Western Reserve University, 2018), 41, 71. Ball, "The German Octopus," 455-456.

9. Delaney, "Copper Capitalism," 1, 37, 53-54. Jones, "Multinational Trading Companies," 8. Ball, "The German Octopus," 456.

10. Susan Becker, "The German Metal Traders before 1914," in The Multinational Traders, ed. Geoffrey Jones (London: Routledge, 1998), 66. Robert V. Turrell and Jean Jacques Van-Helten, "The Investment Group: The Missing Link in British Overseas Expansion before 1914?" Economic History Review 40, no. 2 (May 1987): 271-272. United States Alien Property Custodian, Report of All Proceedings under the Trading with the Enemy Act during 1918 and to Feb. 15, 1919 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 65, 70.

11. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 78-79.

12. Delaney, 118-141.

13. David Blackbourn, History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century, 2nd ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 243-244.

14. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 70-71, 77; Delaney, 82; APC Report, 68. Berthold Hochschild, one of the founders of American Metal Company and eventually its president and chairman, was born in Dieblis (Biblis)-on-the-Rhine, in the Grand Duchy of Hessen, now Germany, in 1860. He came to the United States in 1885 and became a naturalized citizen in 1908. "Berthold Hochschild," obituary, New York Times, January 25, 1928. U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943, Southern District, New York, Roll 0075, Petition 2363, NARA.

15. APC Report, 73-83. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 78-79. Delaney, 83.

16. APC report 85, 86, 97. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 71. Vogelstein, born in Pilsen, the Czech region within the Austro-Hungarian empire, arrived in the United States in 1896, applied for his first papers, or intent to become an American citizen, in 1898 and was naturalized five years later. Although of foreign birth, "he understood and appreciated the best values of American life," and served in several religious and charitable organizations, including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies. "Obituaries: Ludwig Vogelstein," Daily News (New York City), September 24, 1934; "His Activities Praised," New York Times, September 24, 1934. U.S. Index to Petitions for Naturalization filed in New York City, 1792-1989, Vol. 219, Record 41, May 14, 1903, NARA.

17. Benno Elkan, born in 1876 in Frankfurt, Germany, came to the US in June 1906 and was naturalized in July 1917. U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943, Southern District, New York, roll 0146, petition 37024, NARA. Otto Frohnknecht, born

in 1886 in Frankfurt, Germany, arrived in the US in June 1906, filed his intent to become a citizen on August 4, 1914 and took the oath on February 6, 1917. U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943, Southern District, New York, roll 0142, Declaration of Intention No. 29313, and Petition 20139, NARA.

18. APC Report, 88-92. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 70.

19. Delaney, 144-146, 149.

20. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 71, 78.

21. Ball, "The German Octopus," 457.

22. Zeehan and Dundas Herald, 14 May 1898, 2.

23. The Critic, 18 February 1899, 18.

24. F. Carrigan, "The Imperial Struggle for Control of the Broken Hill Base-Metal Industry, 1914-1915," in Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Vol. 5, ed. E. L. Wheelwright and Ken Buckley (Sydney: Australian and New Zealand Book Company, 1983), 164-186

25. See "Australian Lead and Zinc Production," The Mining Magazine, 13 (August 1915): 107.

26. Robert Liefmann, "Die internationale Organisation des Frankfurter Metallhandels," Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv 1 (1913): 108-122.

27. See Hughes personal papers, National Library of Australia (MS1528) and National Archives of Australia (CP290).

28. "The Day" – And After, War Speeches of the Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes, arranged by Keith A. Murdoch (London: Cassell & Company, 1916).

29. See Gordon Young, "Early German Settlement in South Australia," Australian Journal of Historical Archaeology, 3 (1985): 43-55.

30. France, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Germany passed similar legislation that authorized the supervision and in some cases confiscation of enemy owned property. James W. Garner, "Treatment of Enemy Aliens," American Journal of International Law 12, no. 4 (October 1918): 744, 746, 747, 753, 768.

31. Garner, "Treatment of Enemy Aliens," 746. Panikos Panayi, Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2012), 2.

32. Delaney, 158. Wilkins, 18. Nicholas Mulder, "The Trading with the Enemy Acts in the Age of Expropriation, 1914-49," Journal of Global History 15 (2020): 84.

33. Edward J. Cocks and Bernhardt Walters, A History of the Zinc Smelting Industry in Britain (London: George G. Harrap, 1968), 19, 46, 189.

34. Panayi, Prisoners of Britain, 47, 51. Panikos Panayi, "Dominant Societies and Minorities in the Two World Wars," in Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars, ed. Panikos Panayi (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), 6, 15.

35. Australia was in a unique political situation within the United Kingdom during World War I. It had entered Federation status in 1901 through the union of the six provinces into the Commonwealth of Australia but it was not yet truly independent at that point. Additional diplomatic, executive, and legislative autonomy came through the 1923 Imperial Conference, the 1926 Balfour Declaration, and the 1931 Statue of Westminster. It is unclear at this point whether the Parliament in Canberra could refuse legislation passed by Parliament in London. Deborah Gare, "Dating Australia's Independence: National Sovereignty and the 1986 Australia Acts," Australian Historical Studies 113 (1999): 251, 253.

36. Hughes served three terms as Federal Attorney-General: 13 November 1908-2June 1909, 29 April 1910-24 June 1913, and 17 September 1914-9 February 1915. He served as

Prime Minister 1915-1923."Biography of Hughes the RT. Hon. William (Billy) Morris, CH," Parliamentary Handbook, Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia.

37. See W. S. Robinson, If I Remember Rightly: The Memoirs of W. S. Robinson, ed. Geoffrey Blainey (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire Publishing, 1967).

38. Catherine Bond, Law in War: Freedom and Restrictions in Australia during the Great War (Sydney: New South Publishing, 2020).

39. Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 28 October 1914, 369, and 26 November 1914, 1127.

40. Joan Beaumont, "The Politics of a Divided Society," in Australia's War 1914-1918, ed. Joan Beaumont (Sydney: Routledge 1995), 38; Ernest Scott, Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918 – Volume XI. Australia During the War, 2nd edition (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 64.

41. Gerhard Fischer, Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920 (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 72.

42. See "Mongolian Octopus – His Grip on Australia," The Bulletin (1886),National Museum of Australian, https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/the-bulletin .

43. Kalgoorlie Miner, 18 October 1915, 4.

44. Peter Yule, "'Providence has indeed been good to us': The Collins House Group in the First World War," 8, https://apebh2014.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/yule2.pdf.

45. See W. S. Robinson, If I Remember Rightly; and Peter Yule, William Lawrence Baillieu: Founder of Australia's Greatest Business Empire (Melbourne: Hardie Grant, 2012).

46. Yule, "'Providence has indeed been good to us'," 8-12; and Peter Richardson, "The Origins and Development of the Collins House Group, 1915-1951," Australian Economic History Review 27, no. 1 (1987): 3-29.

47. People born in Germany were the largest ethnic group in Australia in the Australian Census 1911. There were 38,353 or 1.025% of the total population of 4.4 million people. See Commonwealth Year Book of Australia, 1912, 121, https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/ED453454A83D1B58CA257AEE0013637B/$File/13010_1901_1911%20section%204.pdf.

48. The Age, 14 January 1915, 9; "Supposed Bomb. Explosion at Mosman. Shop Wrecked," Sydney Morning Herald, 29 February 1916, 10; https://mhnsw.au/stories/ww1/bombing-bangoola/.

49. Martin Crotty, "Anti-German Hysteria," Social Conflict and Control, Protest and Repression (Australia), 1914-1918, International Encyclopedia of the First World War https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/social-conflict-and-control-protest-and-repression-australia/.

50. Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, vol XI, Australia during the War, 106.

51. National Archives of Australia: Special Intelligence Bureau, New South Wales, ST 1233/1, Investigation Files, "N" Series, N45339, Paul Schreiterer (Box 158), 1915-1932.

52. A comprehensive list of all German traders interned or deported is beyond the scope of this essay, but a sampling includes the following prominent businessmen were each interned: Franz Wallach and Walter Schmidt of the Australian Metal Company (subsidiary of a German company) in Melbourne; Oskar Plate of the Norddeutscher Lloyd Steamship Company in Sydney; Edmund Resch, the Sydney brewer (who had been in Australia for 50 years); Carl Zoeller, a successful and popular member of the Brisbane German-Australian community and importer and maker of medical and surgical equipment; Frederick Monzel, publisher and printer of the Queenslander Herald. "The First World War: Internment," German

Australia, accessed August 26, 2025, https://www.germanaustralia.com/e/internment.htm. Also, Hugo Muecke, chairman of BHP, Australia's largest company, was systemically vilified and subsequently interned. "Hugo Carl Emil Muecke," Australian Dictionary of Biography, accessed August 26, 2025, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/muecke-hugo-carl-emil-7674.

53. Gerhard Fischer, "Fighting the War at Home: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens in Australia during the First World War," in Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars, ed. Panikos Panayi (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), 281-86.

54. Panayi, "Dominant Societies and Minorities," 7. See Scott, Official History of Australia in the War, 105-144 and Fischer, Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, for a more expansive overview of anti-German policies between 1914-1918.

55. See Frank Cain, The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1983); and Ian Turner, Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1965).

56. National Archives of Australia, A432, International Industrial Workers (IIW) and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and B741 IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in Melbourne.

57. Kennedy, Over Here, 299-305. Mira Wilkins, The History of Foreign Investment in the United States 1914-1945 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), 45.

58. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, 2nd ed. (New Brunwick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 175-193. Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 84. Petra DeWitt, Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 34-36, 44-48.

59. German Americans were the second largest ethnic group after the British. The 1910 census revealed 2.5% of the population hailing from Germany, while in 1920 that had declined to 1.6 percent. If one added children born to German immigrants, then the numbers rose to 11.2 percent and 8.3 percent, respectively. DeWitt, Degrees of Allegiance, 12.

60. 50 USC, Chapter 53 https://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?path=/prelim@title50/chapter53&edition=prelim.

61. DeWitt, Degrees of Allegiance, 56, 61-63, 97, 104. Walter Kamphoefner, Germans in America: A Concise History (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 243-261. For a study of internment camps, see Jörg Nagler, National Minoritäten im Krieg: Feindliche Ausländer und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs (Hamburg, Germany: Hamburger Edition HIS Verlagsges. mbH, 2000).

62. Jörg Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front: Enemy Aliens in the United States during the First World War," in Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America and Australia during the Two World Wars, ed. Panikos Panayi (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), 197. 199, 201-203, 208-209.

63. Nagler, "Victims of the Home Front," 211-215. Nagler, Nationale Minoritäten, 539-540, 640.

64. Kamphoefner, Germans in America, 252-256.

65. Kennedy, Over Here, 306.

66. Mira Wilkins, The History of Foreign Investment in the United States 1914-1945 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), 9. Multiply by 30.67 to calculate in 2024 dollars https://www.amortization.org/inflation/amount.php?year=1914&amount=1 .

67. Becker, "German Metal Traders," 67

68. Delaney, 152-54. Wilkins, 17, 30-32.

69. Kennedy, Over Here, 311. Wilkins, 46.

70. Delaney, 158.

71. Kennedy, Over Here, 311; APC Report, 14; Mulder, "The Trading with the Enemy Acts," 87.

72. C. H. Hand, Jr., "The Trading with the Enemy Act," Columbia Law Review 19, no. 2 (April 1919): 118-121.

73. Stanley Coben, A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 15-20, 45-50, 62-67, 84-88, 119-122.

74. Mulder, "The Trading with the Enemy Acts," 87.

75. Coben, A. Mitchell Palmer, 130, 135-137.

76. Nancy F. Cott, "Marriage and Women's Citizenship in the United States, 1830-1934," American Historical Review 103, no. 5 (December 1998): 1461-64. Mulder, "The Trading with the Enemy Acts," 88.

77. APC Report, 23, 63.

78. APC Report, 63.

79. Kennedy, Over Here, 312-313. For transfer of German drug or chemical patents see for example, Dale Cooper, "The Licensing of German Drug Patents Confiscated during World War I: Federal and Private Efforts to Maintain Control, Promote Production, and Protect Public Health," Pharmacy in History 54, no. 1 (January 2012): 3-32; and Kathryn Steen, "Patents, Patriotism, and 'Skilled in the Art': USA v. The Chemical Foundation, Inc., 1923-1926," Isis 92, no. 1 (March 2001): 91-122.

80. APC Report, 92-93.

81. APC Report 97-100.

82. APC Report, 92.

83. U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, Southern District, New York, roll 0146, petition 37024, NARA; U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1943, Southern District, New York, Roll 0142, Declaration of Intention No. 29313, and Petition 20139, NARA.

84. APC report 97.

85. APC Report, 97, 99.

86. APC report 97.

87. APC Report 98, 100. Wilkins, 113. "American Metal Co. under American Trustees," New York Tribune, December 17, 1918. "The American Metal Company, Ltd.," New York Tribune, November 12, 1919. Hochschild, who had arrived in 1885, first petitioned for citizenship in 1903 and became naturalized in 1908. U.S. State and Federal Naturalization Records, Southern District, New York, Roll 75,, Petition 2363, NARA. He died in 1928. "Berthold Hochschild," obituary, New York Times, January 25, 1928. Carl Morris Loeb was born in 1875 in Frankfurt, Germany. In chain migration fashion, he came to the United States in 1893 to work with his older brother who was employed at AMCo. He became a naturalized citizen in 1898. E Stack, "Carl Morris Loeb," Immigrant Entrepreneurship, German Historical Institute, accessed June 15, 2023, https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/carl-morris-loeb/. The 1920 Census suggests naturalization in 1897. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920-Population, New York, New York City, Manhattan, District 0665, sheet 1 B.

88. See Ian Turner, Industrial Labour and Politics. The Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921(Canberra: Australian National University, 1963).

89. Wilkins, 112.

90. Wilkins, 113.

91. Wilkins, 114.

92. G Fischer, "German Experience in Australia during WW1: Damaged Road to Multiculturism," https://theconversation.com/german-experience-in-australia-during-ww1-damaged-road-to-multiculturalism-38594

93. Elkan, Benno, "Wholesale Merchant, Metals," Fourteenth Census of the United States: !920-Population, Mamaroneck, New York, Sheet 7 A; Elkan, Benno, "Merchant Metals," Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930-Population, Larchmont, New York, sheet 2 A. "Benno Elkan," New York Daily News, January 7, 1961. "Young Renamed Zinc Institute Head; Other Officers and Directors Chosen," Joplin Globe, April 30, 1941; "Bilharz is Named to ANMB Committee," Joplin Sun Globe, April 27, 1947.

94. "Otto Frohnknecht of Metals Concern," New York Times, November 7, 1968.

95. "Explains How the Slab Zinc and Lead Quotations are Compiled," Joplin Globe, August 9, 1925.

96. "Berthold Hochschild," obituary, New York Times, January 25, 1928.

97. "Ludwig Vogelstein" obituary, Daily News (New York), September 24, 1934; "His Activities Praised," New York Times, September 24, 1934.

98. Delaney, 165.

99. Delaney, 166-69.

100. For recent studies on the impact of World War I on the survival of German culture in the United States, see Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson, The Great Disappearing Act: Germans in New York City, 1880-1930 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2022); Richard N. Juliani, Philadelphia's Germans: From Colonial Settlers to Enemy Aliens (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2021); Kamphoefner, Germans in America; and DeWitt, Degrees of Allegiance.

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Exiled European Jewish Artists in a Caribbean Dictatorship: Navigating Trujillo's Dominican Republic

Introduction: Artistic Survival in the Shadow of Trujillo

Fleeing Nazi Germany, several European Jewish refugees sought sanctuary in an unlikely haven: the Caribbean dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic that lasted from 1930 to 1961. Their arrival was facilitated not by humanitarian idealism, but by a dictator's calculated strategy to rehabilitate his international image and to pursue a eugenic vision of national "blanqueamiento" (whitening). Within this authoritarian context, a community of artists found themselves navigating a difficult tension: how to sustain creative practice and personal integrity under a regime that offered physical safety yet often implicated artists in state propaganda and the cultural legitimation of its rule. This article explores the lives, works, and survival strategies of three such exiled artists—German-Jewish ballerina Herta Brauer, painter George Hausdorf, and Austrian-Jewish photographer Kurt Schnitzer—to illuminate the fraught intersection of art, exile, and authoritarianism.

Methodologically, this study employs a tripartite approach: First, it reconstructs the artists' biographies through archival research, personal correspondence, and oral histories to trace their migration, professional trajectories, and lived experiences of exile. Given the fragmented nature of transit documentation and the ephemerality of certain performance mediums like dance, this biographical reconstruction occasionally relies on local commemorative records and digital community archives, particularly regarding Brauer. While these unconventional sources require cautious critical evaluation, they serve as vital repositories that preserve marginalized exile narratives where formal institutional state archives remain silent. Second, it conducts critical analysis of their Dominican-era works to discern how displacement and dictatorship shaped their creative expression. Third, it comparatively analyzes the distinct strategies of cooperation, neutrality, and resilience each artist adopted to navigate Trujillo's regime, moving beyond simplistic resistance/collaboration binaries.

Through this multifaceted lens, we argue the varied modes of engagement adopted by Brauer, Hausdorf, and Schnitzer allowed them to endure and create within Trujillo's Dominican Republic. Their stories reveal profound ironies: artists escaping one authoritarian regime found refuge within another; their artistic contributions, sometimes initially serving regime propaganda, ultimately contributed to enduring Dominican cultural institutions; and their presence, used by Trujillo to advance demographic and international political objectives, left legacies that transcend and complicate the dictator's intentions. By examining Brauer's founding of Dominican ballet under Trujillo patronage, Hausdorf's transformation into a painter of the Caribbean landscape while teaching at the state art academy, and Schnitzer's dual role as regime photographer and subversive documentarian, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of exile art as a vital site of adaptation, subtle subversion, and cultural survival. Furthermore, it places their individual experiences within the broader context of Trujillo's racialized dictatorship and its instrumental refugee policies, challenging celebratory narratives by foregrounding the regime's anti-Black racial policies and the enduring contradictions these artists embodied within Dominican identity formation. To contextualize these exiled artists' biographies and the strategies they employed in Trujillo's Dominican Republic, this article begins with a brief introduction to the Trujillo system and the role of European refugees therein.

Trujillo's Dominican Republic and its Refugee Policies

Rafael Trujillo's dictatorship between 1930 and 1961 rested on a fusion of political repression, extensive propaganda, and carefully cultivated political alliances. Trujillo constructed a personality cult as the "Benefactor" and "Father of the New Fatherland," saturating schools, media, and public spaces with his image to legitimize his rule. Alongside this public image, Trujillo and his circle amassed fortunes by monopolizing sugar, tobacco, and manufacturing. U.S. backing—secured through favorable trade agreements, low corporate taxes, and mutual anti-Communist positions in the Cold War—provided both a model via his early training in the American-established National Guard and a shield against international censure.[1]

Central to Trujillo's rule was an anti-Haitian ideology drawn from Eurocentric and U.S. Jim Crow–influenced racial hierarchies.[2] Despite centuries of intertwined border communities on Hispaniola, the island shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, Trujillo's regime sought to more rigidly define national boundaries through a racial doctrine enforced by state-sponsored violence and legal exclusion.[3] Trujillo bound Haitians discursively to African ancestry and portrayed Blackness as an obstacle to national "modernization," prompting widespread adoption of the term *indio* (literally, Indian, in a sense of Indigenous) among Dominicans to deny their own African roots. The regime institutionalized anti-Black racial ideologies as a cornerstone of Dominican identity and governance under his absolutist regime.[4] As a result, Haitians were targeted both for mass exploitation as plantation labor and, in its most extreme form, for mass violence.[5] In October 1937, Trujillo's military carried out the Parsley Massacre along the Haitian border—using a simple linguistic test (pronouncing the Spanish word for parsley, *perejil*, is challenging for Creole-speakers) to identify and kill an estimated 10,000–30,000 men, women, and children.[6] Many of the victims were Dominicans of Haitian descent, a testimony to the historic cultural hybridity of the borderlands' region.[7]

Following the Parsley Massacre, the Dominican Republic's international image was significantly damaged. Trujillo introduced an open border policy to refugees to avoid further isolation.[8] This message of tolerance was also meant to hide Trujillo's authoritarianism; as with the growing influence of Nazism and then Communism, it became clear that the US became increasingly sensitive to overt authoritarianism.[9] When the 1938 Évian Conference was convened, attended by thirty-two nations, Germany pressed other countries to accept German and Austrian Jewish refugees; the Dominican Republic emerged as the only participating country to publicly offer large-scale resettlement for them.[10] Beyond German and Austrian Jews, the regime extended asylum to approximately 5,000 to 6,000 Spanish Republican exiles between 1939 and 1942, comprising artists, intellectuals, and political dissidents fleeing Francisco Franco's regime. Furthermore, following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution against Soviet control, Trujillo offered refuge to non-communist Hungarians, providing housing, medical assistance, and employment in agriculture and arms manufacturing.[11]

Together, these successive programs underscore how Trujillo instrumentalized humanitarian immigration to secure international standing. The European immigration also served to further Trujillo's vision of a "civilized," racially "improved" populace—a deliberate project of racial engineering, a systematic effort to reshape a population's ethnic composition for ideological ends. His regime sought to "whiten" the population through a policy of *blanqueamiento*, a policy practiced also elsewhere in Latin America,[12] whereby preferentially white European migrants—men under thirty-five and women under thirty—were admitted, precisely to ensure their reproductive potential and accelerate racial "improvement" of the citizenry.[13] The most famous case study for a European Jewish settlement in the Dominican Republic was the settlement of Sosúa.

Sosúa and the German-Jewish refugees

In the aftermath of the Évian Conference, the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (DORSA) was created to recruit up to 100,000 European refugees into a designated settlement at Sosúa.[14] Although a preliminary survey by agricultural experts rejected the site for its poor soil and limited rainfall,[15] DORSA leaders Lawrence Rosen and Isaac Rosenberg selected it for its vast available territory and existing United Fruit Company infrastructure—houses, running water, and electricity—that would simplify initial settlement.[16] To underwrite the project, the United States provided an initial $200,000 grant, reflecting diplomatic alignment with Trujillo's development goals.[17]

The centerpiece was the 26,000-acre Sosúa settlement on the northern coast, while an adjacent 50,000-acre mountain tract stood ready to accommodate future expansion.[18] Homesteads were offered on loan with the stipulation that settlers engage in productive economic activity and eventually repay their grants. DORSA's recruitment efforts focused on younger, physically fit agricultural workers, but wartime travel restrictions and neutrality laws severely limited arrivals; most incoming settlers were professionals—artists, merchants, and academics—who viewed Sosúa as a last resort. Ultimately, only about 800 Jewish refugees arrived, far below the original proposal.[19]

This emphasis on youth, whiteness, and peasant labor underscored a broader vision of social engineering by encouraging intermarriage to cultivate a "civilized" populace that would bolster both Trujillo's domestic authority and international prestige.[20] In practice, these preferential entry rules and pronatalist criteria aligned the Dominican Republic with Euro-American standards of beauty and progress,[21] even as they coexisted uneasily alongside contemporary intellectual appeals to "mestizaje" or racial mixing, which some argued might dialectically transcend rigid categories of race.[22] Both approaches, however, rested on the same foundational conviction—that the country's social and political advancement required direct manipulation of its demographic makeup, a premise firmly rooted in the era's prevailing eugenic and scientific-racist discourses.[23]

Early operations adopted a communal, kibbutz-inspired farming model, pooling labor to cultivate crops and livestock.[24] After successive harvest failures, settlers pivoted to mechanized dairy and meat production, which fostered a self-sustaining local economy but did little to ease broader discontent. Many refugees struggled with the tropical climate, social isolation, and a heavily skewed male-to-female ratio.[25] Promises of rapid population growth and interracial marriage proved hollow. Nevertheless, those who remained established an active communal and cultural life—founding synagogues, schools, concert halls, and choral societies—that became essential to their collective identity. This isolation and subsequent community-building forged a unique linguistic and social ecosystem within the broader Dominican context, adding a vital layer to the region's complex migrant history.[26] Contemporary reports—most notably Rosenberg's 1940 *New York Times* article lauding 20 to 30 acres of cultivated homesteads and contented young settlers—also functioned as promotional material for the settlement project, masking the difficult living conditions of poor soil quality, inadequate infrastructure, and social isolation.[27]

By the mid-1940s, many Sosúa settlers had departed—some for the United States, others to Santo Domingo, known as Ciudad Trujillo (Trujillo City) at the time, in search of urban employment—yet those who remained forged a vibrant communal life. [28] Although Trujillo's agricultural experiment served his own demographic and political aims, the refugees' entrepreneurial ventures, academic initiatives, and cultural institutions outlasted his regime. Arriving with considerable personal wealth and taking advantage of state-sponsored incentives, many became among the country's most prosperous citizens, underwriting local industry, patronizing the arts, and establishing charitable organizations. In doing so, they not only diversified the Dominican Republic's demographic landscape but laid enduring foundations for post-war economic and cultural modernization.[29] The following sections will introduce German-Jewish artists who arrived in the Dominican Republic fleeing the German persecution of Jews and ended up having three different strategies in handling the dictatorial context.

Embodied Resistance in Herta Brauer's Ballet

Herta Leonore Brauer, née Stadach (1904–1983), was a German-Jewish artist who transplanted ballet to Dominican soil under Trujillo. Born in Neumünster, Prussia, Brauer trained in ballet before marrying Jewish Egyptologist Ernst Hanns Brauer (1902–1971) in Berlin in 1932. Facing Nazi persecution, they escaped to the Dominican Republic in 1941, where they settled in the town of Jarabacoa in the Dominican central highlands, but soon relocated to Santo Domingo for labor opportunities.[30]

Initially, Brauer taught ballet classes in her living room,[31] using what former student Lavi Fiallo recalled as "strict European methods."[32] Her work gained institutional support when Flor de Oro Trujillo (1915–1978)—the dictator's daughter and a prominent socialite—started supporting her work. Flor de Oro provided scholarships, costumes, and pianists, while also securing a converted gymnasium in Parque Ramfis (named after Trujillo's son) to serve as a dedicated studio. In 1943, Brauer's ballet school formally opened in this space, adopting its sponsor's name as the *Academia de Ballet Flor de Oro* (Flor de Oro Ballet Academy). The sponsorship typified the regime's pervasive influence: just as cities, institutions, and public spaces bore the Trujillo family's names, even cultural projects became entwined with the dictatorship's iconography.[33]

Trujillo mobilized culture for both propaganda and distraction, forcibly elevating merengue, the traditional music and dance originating in the Dominican Republic, to national dance status. The regime even spawned a genre of sycophantic merengues composed to glorify the dictator. Brauer, too, participated in this glorification of the regime. In her 1944 recital, she premiered a ballet adaptation of the merengue "El general llegó" (The general has arrived), Trujillo's personal anthem.[34] While ostensibly conforming to regime propaganda, this fusion of European technique with Afro-Caribbean rhythm laid the groundwork for a distinctly Dominican neoclassical vocabulary. Thus, Brauer helped institutionalize a Dominican neoclassical ballet vocabulary, planting seeds for future Dominican choreographers like Carlos Veitía and Marily Gallardo.

According to oral history records, Brauer's artistic compromise became untenable when Trujillo's interest shifted from cultural sponsorship to sexual predation.[35] Facing Trujillo's documented pattern of sexual coercion—a serious personal threat to women who refused him[36]—Brauer abandoned her academy and left the country for Puerto Rico in 1947. This departure, motivated by the threat of gendered violence and coercion, was arguably her clearest form of refusal. Family testimonies from Kamali Chandler, whose grandmother sheltered Brauer's children till they reunited with their parents in San Juan two years later, confirm Brauer fled the Dominican Republic because of Trujillo's advances.

In San Juan, Brauer co-founded the *Ballet Universitario de Puerto Rico* at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras,[37] where she and her husband supported the local theater,[38] directing community performances in smaller towns and mentoring future stars like Velda González and Sandra Rivera.[39] The Brauers were also involved in a ballet school in Mallorca, where Ernst Brauer died in 1971. Herta Brauer died in San Juan in 1983—according to some sources in Mallorca.[40] The uncertainties about the later life of Brauer underscore how dance's ephemerality obscures women's contributions.

Brauer's legacy, however, remains visible in Dominican dance, and her ballet school became foundational, as it was taken over by Hungarian émigré Magda Corbett after Brauer's departure in 1948. In the 1960s, Clara Elena Ramírez's Cuban-style classical repertoire extended the ballet education in the country.[41] The *Ballet Nacional Dominicano*, founded in 1981, traces its lineage to the school that Brauer established and Corbett and Ramírez carried on. A 2018 communication proposal for the Palace of Fine Arts mentions Brauer as a pioneer of Dominican dance.[42] Brauer is also featured in Óliver Olivo's 2025 performative documentary *Los Pasos del Tiempo* (The Steps of Time), hosted by choreographer Carlos Veitía, showing her ongoing influence on the island.[43]

The Artistic Transformation of George Hausdorf

The second case study examined here is the painter George Hausdorf. Born in 1894, in Breslau, Germany—now Wrocław, Poland—into a Jewish family, Hausdorf studied painting for five years at the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts, and later furthered his skills in the Netherlands, gaining exposure to modernist influences. Before the electoral victory of the Nazi Party, he worked as a painter and art educator, even founding and directing a private painting academy in Berlin, which he led for twenty years. His early works, such as *Dom St. Marien Havelberg* (1913), reveal a classical approach grounded in German landscape and architectural painting.[44]

In 1939, fleeing the German persecution of Jews, Hausdorf went into exile in the Dominican Republic. In 1942, when the Dominican government opened the National School of Fine Arts (*Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes*, ENBA) in Ciudad Trujillo, Hausdorf was invited to join its founding faculty. The original faculty of four included three European refugees—alongside Hausdorf, two refugees from Spain, Manolo Pascual and José Gausachs.[45] Hausdorf taught drawing and painting to a generation of Dominican students. Notable pupils include Aquiles Azar García, Ada Balcácer, Gilberto Hernández Ortega, Marianela Jiménez, Clara Ledesma, Tomás López Ramos, and Eligio Pichardo, many of whom became leading Dominican modernists, went on to win prizes and join the faculty themselves.[46]

Hausdorf was not just a professor, but also a practicing artist. In exile, his style shifted to local subjects and colors. Both contemporaries and later accounts note that his Dominican-period paintings feature beaches, rural huts, tropical flowers and jungle foliage in bright, contrasting hues. Hausdorf's "naturalistic paintings" of his Dominican period show "beaches, huts and tropical flowers in brilliant colors."[47] Similarly, biographical sketches emphasize that in the Dominican Republic his palette became "tropical": vivid blues, greens and yellows depicting everyday rural scenes. This reflects how Hausdorf adapted to Caribbean light and culture, moving beyond his European landscapes to capture Dominican life.[48] Notable works include *Conversation on the Dominican Shore* and *Dominican Countryside*, both of which express a deep engagement with his surroundings.[49] Dominican art historian Danilo de los Santos notes how Hausdorf's style changed in exile: "Hausdorf is recognized for a body of work deeply rooted in Dominican reality—both its landscapes and its social fabric. There is a vast difference between his work referencing the European milieu and this other work, which captures the gaze and style of a somewhat rigid master."[50]

The tropical light and the blue of the Dominican sea and sky, de los Santos argues, "liberated" Hausdorf's gaze from the preceding norms of German realist tactility, and thus he gradually became an Impressionist Dominican painter. Hausdorf exhibited regularly in Santo Domingo and elsewhere. Archive catalogs record solo shows, e.g. Dec 1945–Jan 1946 in the Galería Nacional de Bellas Artes.[51] He also joined the biennale art exhibitions, winning prizes in both 1944 and 1946. In these shows he presented the landscapes, still life paintings, and village scenes characteristic of his Dominican period. Thus, primary sources and press of the 1940s confirm the shift: Hausdorf's Dominican oeuvre is dominated by colorful oil and watercolor landscapes and genre scenes of the Caribbean setting. Hausdorf also exhibited internationally, for instance, in 1948 in New York, where he was presented as a "Hispano-American painter" from Santo Domingo.[52]

Yet, refugee professors like Hausdorf played a complicated role: the ENBA and its European faculty were respected but also used by the regime's propaganda to boast about Dominican cultural progress.[53] In addition, the government commissioned numerous portraits and busts of the dictator from the school's artists. Hausdorf's colleague, Manolo Pascual, for example, cast dozens of bronze busts of Trujillo.[54] Hausdorf, too, contributed to the cultural prestige of the regime as the designer of the official centennial poster celebrating the Dominican Republic's 100th anniversary of independence from Haitian occupation. The image is highly propagandistic and reveals layers of authoritarian symbolism, nationalist myth-making, and strategic visual rhetoric, reinforcing Trujillo's anti-Haitian narrative of the Dominican Republic as racially and culturally distinct from Haiti. On the poster, central and fluttering dominantly, the Dominican flag is illuminated, glorified, and heroic. The structure beneath the flag resembles the Puerta del Conde, the site of the first raising of the Dominican flag in 1844; the flag, flame, and fortress imply that the state's authority is sacred and timeless.[55]

Notwithstanding Hausdorf's compliance with the regime, he immigrated to the United States in 1948, although detailed records are scarce, where he died in 1959.[56] Despite spending only around **a** decade in the Dominican Republic, his impact was profound. He influenced numerous Dominican artists, shaped the institutional development of the national arts curriculum. Even after he left, his paintings were prominently featured and continue to be seen in several public offices in the Dominican Republic, including in the Central Bank, the Chamber of the Deputies, and the Jewish Museum of Sosúa.[57] In 2005 the Museo Bellapart in Santo Domingo staged a retrospective of his work; the exhibition guide observed that Hausdorf's work and teaching left a lasting mark on 1940s Dominican art. The press notes recall that he is "forgotten" in Germany but remembered in the Dominican Republic.[58] The 2021 international traveling exhibit "The Republic of Color" sponsored by the Dominican government also featured Hausdorf's work, showing the German painter's ongoing legacy.[59]

Kurt "Conrado" Schnitzer, Doctor-Turned-Photographer in Exile

Kurt Schnitzer (1908–1972) was an Austrian-Jewish physician who escaped the German persecution of Jews and arrived in the Dominican Republic in October 1938, bringing only his Rolleicord twin-lens reflex camera made by the German manufacturer Franke & Heidecke. Unable to practice medicine due to bureaucratic obstacles and language barriers—he spoke little Spanish—he turned to photography to earn a living.[60] Locals nicknamed him Conrado, Kurt being a short form of the Germanic Konrad, first popularized by cartoonist and intellectual Bienvenido Gimbernard in the magazine *Cosmopolita* (1938) when it published one of Schnitzer's early photos.[61] It was also around Schnitzer's arrival that the first photography exhibitions and competitions were hosted in the Dominican Republic, as the genre was promoted by Trujillo in his attempt of creating a "new homeland," which further elevated his role.[62]

Schnitzer developed a distinctive visual style characterized by black-and-white 6×6 medium-format compositions. His camera produced square negatives that lent themselves to strong geometric framing, which was common among German photojournalists of the period.[63] Beyond format, his technical innovations set him apart from conventional Caribbean photography of the era, including dramatic aerial views and expansive urban panoramas that broke from the prevailing tradition of static portraiture. This technical mastery extended to the darkroom, where his medical training informed a rigorous approach to chemical processing; he personally supervised the fixing and washing of negatives—a meticulous process that ensured the longevity of his archive.[64]

Schnitzer's photographic approach captured the full spectrum of Dominican society under Trujillo. His images eschewed staged poses in favor of dynamic slices of life, creating a vivid photo-reportage of the era. Thematically, his work encompassed both the regime's official pageantry—military parades, political rallies, diplomatic events—and the Trujillo personality cult, while documenting everyday Dominican realities: market scenes, church gatherings, field laborers, and children at play.[65] Significantly, he did not shy away from social truths often suppressed under dictatorship, photographing poverty, rural hardships, illness, and crime scenes - including his famous documentation of a suicide and police investigation. This unflinching approach extended to his coverage of fellow Jewish exiles, with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee preserving several of his Sosúa refugee photos credited to "Dr. Kurt Schnitzer, Photo Conrado" from the 1940s.[66]

In 1941, Schnitzer joined the pro-regime[67] newspaper *La Nación* as graphic editor and studio director. From his studio in Santo Domingo's Colonial Zone, he became the go-to photographer for Dominican high society, politicians, artists, and even the Trujillo family. In fact, he eventually served as the dictator's personal photographer. Internationally, he sold images to *Harper's Bazaar*, *National Geographic*, *The Saturday Evening Post* and the *New York Times.*[68] During his Dominican years, he exhibited alongside artists and attended intellectual salons; he even captured fellow refugee artists like Hausdorf, contributing to visual documentation of the artist community in exile. For Dominican visual culture, Schnitzer became *the* chronicler of the Trujillo era.[69] He also sparked debates about photography as art: At one show, he reportedly answered "Conrado is an artist" when asked if photography is art.[70]

Schnitzer's career unfolded under the authoritarian regime of Trujillo. Paradoxically, the dictator both empowered and restrained him. On one hand, Trujillo's government sponsored Jewish refugee settlement—leading to Schnitzer's visa—and made Schnitzer the personal photographer to the president's family.[71] Schnitzer, too, contributed to propaganda images celebrating the dictator, as manifested for example by his 1942 photo montage with Trujillo on a horse entitled *Y seguiré a caballo* ("I will keep riding"), making use of the dictator's slogan.[72] On the other hand, Schnitzer maintained a discreet distance from regime ideology. His images reportedly discomforted Trujillo's inner circle because Schnitzer often turned his lens to marginalized social realities. Historian Nurys Abreu observes that Trujillo "hid" Schnitzer's work from the public, fearing the candid portrayal. Schnitzer's photos became a kind of an alternative visual record to official propaganda." In fact, Abreu notes, Schnitzer's most valuable archival images were discovered decades later, illustrating how he straddled both roles of propagandist and documentarian.[73]Art historian Jeannette Miller, too, noted that Schnitzer's juxtaposing depictions of state propaganda with the harsh realities of everyday people "projected a high level of irony."[74]

By 1944, Schnitzer immigrated to Los Angeles, California, with his wife Lilli Ried and son George. His approximately 30,000–40,000 negatives taken from 1939 to 1943 were donated to the General Archive of the Nation of the Dominican Republic (*Archivo General de la Nación*, AGN). He remained a member of professional associations, and the American Medical Writers Association noted his death from a heart attack on September 21, 1972, thus he spent roughly three decades in Southern California as Dr. Kurt Schnitzer.[75] His American years are less documented, but Dominican journalists and scholars continue to reconstruct that period.[76]

Schnitzer's photographic archive has been extensively preserved and exhibited, most notably through the Spanish Cultural Center (CCE)'s 2004 exhibition *Archivo Conrado: Fotografía histórica dominicana 1939–1943*. Javier Aiguabella of the CCE called Schnitzer an "avant-gardist" who brought European modern photography to the Caribbean.[77] The exhibition's accompanying catalog catalyzed public and institutional interest in his work, and led to the AGN cataloguing over 35,000 of his negatives, later showcased in a second major CCE exhibition in 2007. By 2023, roughly 15,700 of these glass-plate and film negatives had been digitized as part of the Fondo Conrado collection, accessible online through AGN catalogs organized by subject.[78] His images remain influential in contemporary art, as seen in José Morbán's 2018 painting *Güibia (c.1943)*, derived from a Schnitzer photograph.[79] Morbán selected Schnitzer's work because it "eludes the misery and violence of those years."[80] While Dominican media have published retrospectives contextualizing his work locally, international coverage often frames him within Jewish diaspora narratives, as exemplified by reports on the Sosúa museum featuring his prints.[81]

Schnitzer's legacy endures on multiple levels. In the history of photography, he is recognized as a pioneering Caribbean photojournalist who blended European techniques with Caribbean subjects. Culturally, he is remembered both in Dominican history as the perceptive observer of Trujillo's Republic and in Jewish-Caribbean history as part of the diaspora story around Sosúa. Analyses emphasize how his exile identity informed his vision: a refugee documenting another authoritarian regime, often with empathy for the marginalized.[82] In sum, Schnitzer/Conrado occupies a unique place in the Caribbean visual history as a transplanted European whose photographic archive is "an exceptional witness of an era,"[83] bridging the worlds of exile, art, and the harsh realities of dictatorship.

Artistic Adaptation as Survival and Subversion

The experiences of Herta Brauer, George Hausdorf, and Kurt Schnitzer reveal the complex negotiations required of artists operating within oppressive systems. This paper identifies five strategies they employed—artistic adaptation, strategic collaboration, performative conformity, embedded subversion, and ultimate flight—demonstrating how refugee artists navigated the dual pressures of survival and creative integrity under dictatorship. By examining their biographies, we can illuminate broader patterns of cultural production under dictatorship and the ways in which art both served and exceeded the ideological boundaries of official cultural production.

For refugee artists, adapting their work to the host country's cultural and political landscape was a necessity for survival. Hausdorf, a classically trained German painter, shifted from European realism to vibrant tropical impressionism, capturing Dominican rural life. Similarly, Brauer fused European ballet technique with merengue, laying the groundwork for an independent Dominican ballet tradition. Schnitzer brought a geometric composition to Dominican photography, but his real contribution was the archive that he left behind documenting Dominican life.

All three artists relied on regime-affiliated patronage, illustrating the compromises required to sustain artistic practice under authoritarianism. Brauer secured the support of Flor de Oro Trujillo, whose sponsorship provided her academy with resources. Hausdorf became a founding professor at the state-sponsored ENBA, where his European credentials lent prestige to the regime's cultural projects. Schnitzer, employed by the pro-regime *La Nación*, gained access to elite circles. But patronage entangled the artists in regime propaganda: Brauer choreographed Trujillo's anthem, Hausdorf designed nationalist posters, and Schnitzer photographed state spectacles.

While the artists fulfilled the regime's expectations, their broader contributions subtly undermined Trujillo. Hausdorf's landscapes, though apolitical, centered on everyday Dominican life rather than regime mythology, while his teaching nurtured a generation of modernist artists who later helped diversify Dominican modernist aesthetics. Schnitzer's case is particularly revealing. His official photography served the regime's propaganda needs, but his lens also captured the social realities Trujillo sought to erase—poverty, police brutality, and the lives of fellow refugees. His work can be read through James C. Scott's concept of "hidden transcripts"—seemingly compliant acts that contain subtle defiance.[84]

Despite their complicated relationships with the Trujillo regime, all three artists left enduring legacies in Dominican culture. Their work, initially enabled by the regime, ultimately transcended it—demonstrating how art can outlive its political instrumentalization. The experiences of Brauer, Hausdorf, and Schnitzer reveal the precarity of arts under authoritarianism. Their strategies reflect the limited agency available to those navigating oppressive systems. Yet their stories also highlight the resilience of artistic expression: even when co-opted by power, art can preserve alternative narratives, nurture future artistic traditions, and ultimately outlast the regimes that sought to control it. As refugees who fled one dictatorship only to confront another, their lives underscore the recurring tensions between survival, complicity, and the enduring power of creative dissent.

Discussion: Exile, Memory, and the Enduring Contradictions of *Dominicanidad*

This study, while centered on the experiences and contributions of three Jewish refugee artists, illuminates a broader phenomenon: the complex navigation of European exiled artists within Trujillo's authoritarian and racially motivated regime. Their stories, alongside figures not examined here, such as the painter Ernest Lothar, a Sosúa settler who became an ENBA professor, historian Erwin Walter Palm, whose foundational surveys of colonial architecture shaped Dominican cultural preservation, and educator Kurt Luis Hess, whose lifelong commitment to Sosúa was remarkable, reveal a multifaceted exile experience. Artists employed diverse strategies to sustain their practice and identity amidst political constraint, and left a legacy celebrated in the country.

However, this celebratory narrative often exists in a state of selective historical memory. The commemoration of European exiles, particularly visible in Sosúa's transformation into a tourist destination marketing its "European-Jewish past," frequently elides the regime's instrumental motives. Trujillo's welcome was inextricably linked to "blanqueamiento" and a strategic effort to rehabilitate his international image after the Parsley Massacre. The artists' integration and success, facilitated by state support, served this agenda, projecting an image of European-aligned modernity while obscuring the regime's foundational anti-Black racism and anti-Haitian discrimination. This selective memory creates an ethically fraught contrast: the veneration of white

European refugees coexists with the systemic exclusion and discrimination of Haitians and darker-skinned Dominicans.

This dichotomy is not merely historical, but actively reproduced in contemporary Dominican society, demonstrating the profound and lasting impact of the racial hierarchies institutionalized under Trujillo. The concept of *dominicanidad* (Dominicanness), emphasizing a mixed-race national identity rooted in heritage rather than discrete racial categories, functions as a powerful unifying force.[85] Yet, as scholar Silvio Torres-Saillant and others argue, *dominicanidad* has historically been constructed in opposition to Haitian identity and blackness, a legacy directly traceable to Trujillo's manipulation of racial categories (e.g., promoting the racial category of *indio* to deny African heritage, as mentioned before).[86]

This historical lineage of structural exclusion also manifests legally: The 2013 Constitutional Tribunal ruling, *La Sentencia* retroactively stripped citizenship from approximately 245,000 Dominicans of Haitian descent, rendering them stateless, which is the most potent modern manifestation of this exclusionary logic. Framed as migration policy but widely criticized as discriminatory as it did not apply to descendants of other immigrant groups, *La Sentencia* exemplifies how "racial citizenship" persists.[87] Access to fundamental rights remains contingent on perceived distance from Haitian ancestry, perpetuating legal marginalization and pervasive social prejudice against the very group constituting around 85 percent of the country's essential foreign labor force.[88] Contemporary expressions of Afro-Dominican identity and resistance, particularly within global diaspora narratives, frequently address this systematic erasure and the enduring socio-political parameters of racialized citizenship to redefine belonging within the Dominican national fabric.[89]

The experiences of the European exiled artists, therefore, offer more than compelling individual stories of cultural adaptation; they serve as a critical lens through which to examine the enduring contradictions of Dominican identity politics and historical memory. Sosúa's tourist economy celebrates European refugees while ignoring the racist statecraft that brought them. *Dominicanidad* embraces a fluid mestizo identity, while structurally excluding those deemed "too Haitian" (and thus "too Black"). Future research must delve deeper into the strategies of the larger exile community in Santo Domingo and expand the focus on other German-Jewish figures like Palm and Hess to further illuminate the spectrum of exile experiences. Crucially, scholarship must continue to challenge the selective memory that celebrates European contributions while marginalizing the Haitian experience and Trujillo's racist motives. Understanding these artists' legacies necessitates confronting the uncomfortable reality that their sanctuary was part of a regime project predicated on anti-Blackness, a project whose legacies—embodied in policies like *La Sentencia* and the concept of *dominicanidad*—continue to shape the Dominican Republic's contested social landscape. A fuller understanding of this artistic heritage demands acknowledging this complex and often contradictory history.

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Book Reviews

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History

Encounters in the Rubble: American Interactions with German Children and Youth in Postwar Germany.
By Erica J. Lansberg. De Gruyter Studies in Military History, vol. 12. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2025. 366 pp. $117.99.

Just over eighty years ago, as World War II entered its final phase with large American armies breaching Germany's western border, most Germans didn't quite know what to expect. Would U.S. forces, which had helped render large parts of most German cities into piles of rubble, prove merciful, or as Nazi propaganda had it, would they seek to slaughter and rape the civilians in their path and pillage what was still left standing?

On the other hand, the invading American forces also did not know what lay in their paths. As Lt. Melvin Lasky noted in his diary: "The trucks were setting a fierce pace. Children were still around waving at the convoy going by, but this time there was no response. Were we still in France? Wasn't this German territory? No one would risk a gesture of fraternization, and the new coldness was a little bewildering" (56).

Much of the civilian population was by this point homeless and undernourished. Robert Baird, another American soldier, described how his truck was met at a local dump by bands of hungry older adults and children scrounging for discarded scraps of food (62). Youth competed in collecting used American cigarette butts, which they reprocessed for cash. The ban on fraternization was largely ignored as children sitting on heaps of rubble pled for candy and chewing gum. In Lansberg's view, "these soldiers saw the children as innocent of the Nazi crimes, despite their Germanness. GIs had to navigate their own personal views of Germans and opinions on their guilt for the Nazi past and the war when coming face to face with young Germans' needs" (62). Many of them concluded that these were not the enemy, but hapless victims of the war which they had no part in starting.

Lansberg's study, an update of her dissertation, lays out clearly how individual American soldiers among the occupying forces often led the way in rehabilitating German youth, seeing their fate as representing the hope of a future democratic nation. Through the actions they took, often at odds with official policy, "GIs remained in the occupation role as the best possible models of the democratic, American way of life to average German citizens" (89).

As a case in point, German Youth Activities (GYA) programs fostered in the American Occupation Zone had their beginnings in Bremen in 1946 and initially grew largely through the energy and enthusiasm of Sergeant Patrick J. Moriarty. What had started as an off-duty initiative soon became a staple of the occupation government, and as it spread throughout the zone, it was assigned a full-time staff. When coupled with the CARE package program, which sent over ten million packages to German families in five years, the school meal program, the so-called *Schulspeisung* provided by the American government, fed thousands of young Germans and provided an essential part of their nourishment. In many ways, American GIs became surrogate parents for German youth whose fathers had died in the war or were imprisoned in allied or Soviet POW camps. Significantly, the activities of the GYA included not only sports and recreation, but schooling in the basics of democracy, such as working out an organizational constitution and expressing opinions in forums and newsletters, activities that formed a contrast with Nazi youth counterparts of the *Hitler Jugend* and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel*. Unsurprisingly, there were limits, as when *Die Brücke*, the student newspaper, was suspended for publishing articles critical of America's Soviet allies (198).

As lines between the western and the Soviet allies began to harden into the Cold War, interactions between occupying forces and local youth became part of the competition between East and West. While Russian soldiers stationed in Berlin were often also seen as friendly, their lack of chocolate and chewing gum to share—or any products of a consumer society—placed them at a marked disadvantage.

Clearly, in the Cold War battle for hearts and minds, spontaneous actions led by individual soldiers played a major role. Moreover, food aid, from candy bars and CARE packages to school meals, became a key to soft power (233). No single development underlined this fact more than Lt. Gail Halvorson's efforts during the Berlin Airlift of 1949. In July of the previous year, Halvorson had made an independent decision to share homemade parachutes of candy with German youths after meeting a few dozen waifs along a fenceline at West Berlin's Tempelhof airport. His spontaneous decision to begin dropping airborne treats soon became an official part of the Airlift and the public face of that effort (286). This helped form the propaganda narrative that the Soviets, in trying to starve West Berlin through their Blockade, were clearly a "destructive force," while Americans could be seen as a "benevolent source of liberation, freeing Germans from fascism (and the new enemy, communism)" (289).

The strengths of Lansberg's study include the introduction of direct sources from children's diaries and other first-person testimony to bolster her thesis. Other valuable sidelights include describing the role of African-American soldiers in their positive interactions with German youth, providing many with inter-racial freedoms denied them in their own country.

There is abundant bibliographical support for her arguments in the text. It is a fluently written account, accessible for both historians and the general reading public, and would prove a worthy addition to academic and public libraries seeking to bolster their readings of post-war history.

Longwood University *Geoffrey Orth*

Nazis in the New World: German Students in the United States, 1933–1941.
By Aaron Gillette. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2025. 305 pp. $54.95.

This is an important book with implications extending beyond its narrow topic. It examines the experiences of some 270 German exchange students sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for study in the United States. Exhaustively researched, a good 200 pages of text are backed by 40 pages of footnotes and 50 pages of bibliography. The introductory chapter on the contentious historiography of Nazism shows the difficulty in assessing the true motives and degree of complicity of people operating in totalitarian systems. Although the author never uses the term *Gleichschaltung*, he demonstrates that the degree of Nazi control was not as total as often imagined. The student exchange administration was never fully coopted for Nazi purposes. As was the case in much of the Third Reich bureaucracy, administrative competence was at odds with ideological purity, often resulting in "organized chaos" (74). Thus the selection process of exchange students included many who were not particularly interested in promoting a benevolent view of the "New Germany," which was the official goal of the DAAD after the Nazi takeover.

Even those students sympathetic to Nazism had little success in spreading their views abroad, and they found that "German Americans were no more willing to assist the Third Reich than other Americans were" (149). Instead, the "cognitive dissonance" that most exchange students experienced left their U.S. images "changed substantially, if not profoundly" (122). Some "left Germany for their exchange year as Nazis, but ended their exchange year as culturally American" (146), in one case leaving $10 with a friend to send care packages of breakfast cereal. What anti-Americanism remained owed more to the arrogance of the pre-Nazi *Bildungsbürgertum* from whom most exchange students continued to be recruited, than to Nazi ideology (200).

Gillette categorizes the exchange students after 1938 as an "espionage" cohort (148), whose efforts, however, he finds "reminiscent of the Keystone Cops" (168). The "true beneficiaries" of their fifth column efforts were FDR and J. Edgar Hoover, who exaggerated their threats in order to combat isolationism and fatten the FBI's budget. The traditional German diplomatic corps was nearly as outraged, seeing their attempts at preserving U.S. neutrality undermined by these clumsy amateurs.

The roster of DAAD students includes some familiar names. Among them was Sigismund von Braun, elder brother of the rocket scientist, who later was distantly linked to the opposition Kreisauer Kreis; Elisabeth Noelle [Naumann], the "founding mother" of German survey research despite her continuing Nazi sympathies; and the distinguished Yale historian Hans Gatzke, who came under suspicion of the Gestapo upon his return to Germany and managed to emigrate permanently in 1937. Of the exchange students mentioned by name, only the more prominent ones such as those above are included in the index, a minor annoyance.

Gatzke's return was not an isolated case; well over fifty, or about one-fifth of the exchange students in that era, stayed on or returned permanently to the United States. In the years of 1933-34, half of those who left Germany never came back, and even in the late 1930s when the selection process was most stringent, the same was true of 10 to 15 percent. Because of their bilingual facility and democratic convictions, former exchange students, whether U.S. or German based, played a disproportionate role in the postwar occupation and founding of a democratic West Germany.

The examples in this book also offer contemporary parallels and lessons. Then as now, there were people desperately struggling to avoid being sent back to their homeland to face danger and possible death. This study also demonstrates the effectiveness of American "soft power." The example of our open, egalitarian political system impressed and made converts even among guest students chosen to promote the image of Nazi Germany abroad. Foreign exchanges have been an effective tool of American diplomacy up to the very recent present. But now an investment in the future is being mindlessly stripped away through cuts in the Fulbright Exchange program. When asked about the benefit of hosting foreign scholars, I always say, "Too soon to tell." Forty-two Fulbright alumni are serving or have served as heads of state or government of their home countries. They are continuing the legacy of (former) Nazis in the New World.

Texas A&M University *Walter D. Kamphoefner*

Thomas Mann's Antifascist Radio Addresses, 1940-1945: Listen, Germany!

Translated by Jeffrey L. High and Elaine Chen. Edited by Jeffrey L. High, Elaine Chen, and Hans Rudolf Vaget. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2025. lxvi + 157 pp. $120.00.

Thomas Mann chose exile when the Nazi regime gained power in 1933. Just four years removed from winning the Nobel Prize for Literature, his fierce criticism of fascism in general and Nazism in particular made him a liability to the new German state. At the outbreak of World War Two, Mann left Switzerland for the United States, eventually settling in Los Angeles, where he would remain until 1952.

As a powerful and credible voice for Germany's humanistic and cultural traditions, Mann began recording a series of monthly radio messages to the people of Germany. He would ultimately record 59 radio broadcasts, 58 of them addressed to "Deutsche Hörer" back in his country of birth, and one directed specifically to Americans of German descent in his adopted homeland. All are published here in translation for the first time.

His first message was broadcast by the BBC in October 1940. By this point of the war, Germany had conquered and occupied most of Western Europe. Allied forces had been evacuated from the continent at Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain was underway, and of course the United States was over a year away from entering the conflict. Although in exile, he speaks to the people of Germany as one of them: "German Listeners! A German author speaks to you…," (1) he begins. But his adopted perspective as a German American is already evident in this first broadcast, as he describes the response to Germany's aggression that he is seeing "in America, the great and free nation in which I have found a home" (1). He describes America as a nation of immigrants, with strong ties to people and nations who are suffering under the Nazis, and he anticipates America's involvement in the war.

Long before the Allies began reversing the trend of German victories, Mann sees the defeat of Germany's Nazi regime as inevitable, thanks to the bankruptcy of their ideas and their inability to offer anything of real human value. His vitriol for Hitler and his henchmen is unrestrained throughout his five years of radio address, and while he is sympathetic to his fellow Germans living under authoritarian rule, he does not exculpate them. "[Y]our obedience knows no limits," he says in his Christmas address of 1940, "and, I just want you to know, with each passing day, your obedience becomes more unforgivable" (7). He calls on them to stand up: "Germans, save yourselves! Save your souls by renouncing your oppressors…" (9).

In each address, Mann shows detailed knowledge of events in Germany and the broader theaters of war. He offers his *deutsche Hörer* truths about Germany's crimes that were concealed by Nazi propaganda. For example, already in September 1942 he shared with them reports on the wholesale murder of Polish Jews and the stated goals of the *Endlösung* (61-63). And as the end of the war approaches in 1945, he makes it clear to his listeners that any eventual German reconciliation with the world will require their "complete and uncompromising recognition of abominable crimes" committed by Germany, crimes which were either hidden from them or which they chose to ignore as an act of self-preservation (117). Germany can and will be great again, says Mann, but only through a rigorous personal and public coming to terms with the past.

Of special interest here is Mann's October 1942 address to Americans of German descent. Mann was on the path to U.S. citizenship at that time, and so he speaks to them "as one of your own" (64). He targets any conflicted loyalties that German Americans might feel as inhabitants of two cultures. "It would be a grave misapprehension to confuse the heinously seduced and disfigured Germany of today with that country that you envision when you reminisce about the homeland of your ancestors," he says (64). In Mann's view, all Americans of German descent should understand that "the evil demon who presently reigns over Germany … must be annihilated so that Germany, which has strayed from itself, might be restored to its former self again, and so that you too, German-Americans, could love it again with a clear conscience" (65).

Each of Mann's addresses are of the moment, with references that were readily clear to his contemporary listeners but less so to today's readers. To that end, the editors of this volume have annotated each address with copious footnotes that clarify Mann's comments. The collection is prefaced by a thoughtful foreword by Frido Mann, an introduction by Hans Rudolf Vaget on "Thomas Mann's War on Fascism," and Mann's own foreword to the 1943 book edition that published 25 of these radio addresses.

Frido Mann's foreword outlines the timeliness of renewed study of Thomas Mann's antifascist addresses, as global democracy is increasingly stressed by authoritarian and fascist threats. Without overstating his case, he draws parallels to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the plight of Middle Eastern and Central American refugees, and violence toward minorities in the United States. He holds his grandfather's 1940s addresses up as a call to action for today's readers: "I plead fervently that [these addresses] not be read and marveled at today as historical museum pieces, but that they instead be understood as an urgent appeal to the world of the present" (xiv).

This important publication will be of interest to a wide range of interests and academic disciplines. It is worth noting that a handful of the original broadcasts read by Thomas Mann can be found on YouTube by searching "Thomas Mann Deutsche Hörer" or "Thomas Mann German Listeners."

Wabash College *J. Gregory Redding*

The Invention of Humboldt: On the Geopolitics of Knowledge.
Edited by Mark Thurner and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra. New York: Routledge, 2022. 342 pp. $144.00 (hardback) $43.99 (paperback).

In recent years, especially around Humboldt's 250th anniversary, hagiographic portrayals of the world-renowned Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt have gained popularity through books, exhibitions, and documentaries. These portrayals often depict him as an isolated hero of science, the first ecologist, or a global thinker. However, this interpretation exaggerates his achievements by ignoring the historical sources he relied on and the work of his contemporary scholars with whom he collaborated closely. From a History of Science perspective, this is inaccurate and hinders diplomatic endeavors among the involved countries. Therefore, a critical rebuttal of this narrative, these "inventions of Humboldt," is very much needed.

This collection of essays, edited by Mark Thurner and Jorge Cañizares-Esquerra, describes itself as a "game-changing volume" that "dispels many myths" about Humboldt and "reshapes the landscape of scholarship" by uncovering the "real sources" of Humboldtian knowledge. It is based on 12 contributions by authors mainly from Spain and Ibero-America, including Leoncio López-Ocón, Alberto Gómez Guttiérez, Neil Safier, Juan Pimentel, José Enrique Covarrubias, and Irina Podgorny. Combining approaches that analyze his work from different regional perspectives, academic disciplines, periods, or in connection with specific personalities, these scholars elaborate what they see as Humboldt's errors, his silencing and suppression of knowledge, his appropriations, and his misreadings. *The Invention of Humboldt* argues that Humboldt benefited from knowledge communities and archives in Spanish America, and that these sources have been erased from history by the powerful "Humboldt cult."

The heroization of Humboldt, built at the expense of others and at the cost of scientific accuracy, certainly warrants an insightful response, and this collective work contributes to the much-needed reflection. However, in the methodological realm, it lacks a crucial distinction: separating criticism of Humboldt himself and the methodology he used from criticism of the appropriation and heroization of his person, created over generations and across nations. While academic and societal discussions always benefit from a critical and nuanced assessment of historical figures, these personalities should not be blamed for their instrumentalization by others.

Humboldt certainly did not "invent nature," nor was he a "pioneer of global science" or the first to promote interdisciplinary research combining the arts and sciences. However, he neither claimed to be a pioneer in those areas nor saw himself as a "second Columbus," as the volume implies. These labels have been assigned to him for commercial or ideological reasons, among others, even as he repeatedly criticized this practice. Additionally, the volume claims to reveal Humboldt's sources; yet, Humboldt himself provides this information in detail, citing the works that informed his texts, maps, or illustrations. He does so extensively in the *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* or in his renowned *Cosmos*. Humboldt viewed himself as part of a "chain of ideas," embedded in a long tradition of incremental knowledge creation, connecting him to figures like Aristotle, Eratosthenes, and Strabo. Furthermore, in his *Examen Critique*, he describes this "continuity of ideas" linking his work to sixteenth-century Spanish writers such as Acosta, Oviedo, and Barcia. Beyond his historical sources, Humboldt consistently acknowledged the Spanish and Hispanic naturalists he met personally and from whom he benefited. Through his widely circulated publications, translated into many languages, he shared those studies on an international stage. Although recent research has identified instances in which Humboldt may not have fully acknowledged his sources, he should not be blamed for concealing the foundational knowledge behind his works. Nor should Humboldt be criticized for using those sources, as the volume suggests. Quite the opposite: in this context, Humboldt followed the standard approach to modern knowledge development, beginning with a thorough analysis of the field's current state. It would have been noteworthy if he had ignored significant work by both prior and contemporary scholars.

Several contributions in this volume focus on errors identified in Humboldt's descriptions, measurements, or calculations, evaluated from today's perspective. While it is certainly valuable for science to correct his work, it should always be understood within its historical context. Although Humboldt revised his predecessors' studies, his own work is subject to the same process. Another common criticism in this volume concerns Humboldt's local sources, who are claimed to have greater expertise in their specific areas. This is very likely to be true. However, at this point, it is important to understand Humboldtian Science, which was based on a methodology that effectively connected data and bodies of knowledge across different disciplines and experts in those fields. Humboldt coherently integrated insights from various specialists and elevated the combined, revised, and updated information to a higher level.

The united response from Hispanic academic circles to the "Humboldt cult," as published in this volume, adds a valuable perspective to the discussion. However, overall, it remains unclear what specific "game-changing" contribution this collective volume makes to scholarship and which myths about Humboldt have not been addressed before. Over the past decades, the involvement of Hispanic science with Humboldt's scientific project has been thoroughly examined, and there are publications that openly criticize the existing "invention of Humboldt," although these are unfortunately not mentioned in this volume. Therefore, the claim that such a critical approach has "passed over in Eurocentric narrative and historiography" is unjustified. Hopefully, this volume will pave the way for future studies that offer a more balanced analysis of the reasons behind the appropriation and heroization of Humboldt, which have occurred on both sides of the Atlantic from his time to the present.

University of California San Diego / University of San Diego *Sandra Rebok*

Facing Washington's Crossing: The Hessians and the Battle of Trenton.
By Steven Bier. Westholme Publishing: Yardley, PA, 2025. 333 pp. $32.50.

As the United States celebrates the 250th anniversary of its *Declaration of Independence*, few events of that period of the American Revolution could be more significant than George Washington's decisive victory over the armies arrayed against the Colonial forces in December 1776 in Trenton, New Jersey, and in January 1777 at nearby Princeton, New Jersey. Following a series of defeats and retreats from New York City though New Jersey to Pennsylvania, Washington was able to turn the tide by his surprise attack first on the three German regiments from Hessen-Kassel stationed at Trenton on December 26 and then on the British forces at Princeton in a second engagement in early January. While not viewed by the British as significant, these two Colonial victories after a series of defeats and retreats reinvigorated the cause for American independence, saved Washington's Continental Army to continue the fight and destroyed the reputation of the German auxiliaries—known broadly nowadays as "Hessian mercenaries"—in the British forces as an invincible force.

Steven Bier creates a narrative of the recruitment, training and deployment of German auxiliaries to the fighting in the American Colonies by relying heavily on the published translations of diaries of three individual soldiers in units from the *Landgrafschaft Hessen-Kassel* in the then Holy Roman Empire. The ruler of this *Landgrafschaft* at the time of the American Revolution was Friedrich II, connected to the British royal family through marriage—his wife Mary was the aunt of George III. Friedrich was by far the most eager German ruler to provide soldiers to his uncle—at a price—to pursue the demise of the American Revolution and at the same time to fill his coffers with hard currency. Thus for better or for worse, we get the bad reputation of the word "Hessian" as one typically hears in modern English usage.

With chapters devoted to the recruitment and deployment of the regiments from Hessen-Kassel, Bier paints a detailed picture of both the poor bedraggled peasant as well as the adventuresome professional soldier in these Hessian regiments as they prepare to deploy for service under the British flag. A terrifying account of their ocean voyage from the mouth of the Weser River to the American Colonies reveals the extreme hardships they endured. But with their arrival on Staten Island in the late summer of 1776, the march to success for these Hessian soldiers begins with early victories in the battles for New York, leading to Washington's abandoning New York and eventual retreat across the Hudson River through New Jersey to Pennsylvania in the fall of 1776—just a few short months after the Declaration of Independence. With matters seeming to be collapsing for the cause of American independence, Washington then strikes the Hessian garrison at Trenton on the day after Christmas and literally changes the course of the American Revolution. Bier follows the daily life of these Hessian soldiers through the ups and eventual downs of that fall 1776 campaign and then follows the aftermath of their captivity, parole and eventual continued service in the British army for many of these Hessians.

Bier's narrative begins and ends with Emanuel Leutze's famous painting *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851): In the preface, Bier states he wants to tell the story of those Washington intends to attack—the Hessian regiments whom most Americans regard “as convenient villains” *(x*). In his epilogue, Bier describes the origins of the original painting in Düsseldorf and attempts to link the display of the painting in the United States in 1851 as well as the visit of Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth to the U.S. as an attempt to gain support for the Democratic revolutions of 1848-49 in Europe. For this reader that connection was not clear since the revolutions in the German states and Hungary were essentially over by the summer of 1849 and Kossuth’s visit to the U.S. did not begin until December 1851.

For the interested reader of our *Yearbook*, please check the following related items: *Wahrheit und Guter Rath, an die Einwohner Deutschlands, besonders in Hessen* (1783) by Karl Friedrich Führer (YGAS Supplemental Issue 1 [2003] edited and translated by Christoph E. Schweitzer) which was an appeal by a Hessian officer to his comrades in America to not return to Europe but to remain in the newly independent United States and also “’The Hessians and Who?’: A Look at the Other Germans in the American War of Independence” by Albert R. Schmitt (*YGAS* 18 (1983): 41-61), which examines the role of Germans in the war beyond the Hessian auxiliaries, especially the soldiers of the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of the French army at the Battle of Yorktown largely from the Palatinate (Zweibrücken). Both items available online at *Journals@KU*.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Immigration / Emigration

Rootedness and Acculturation: Experiences from German Immigrant Communities in the USA, 1883-1918.

Edited by Tristan Coignard and Pierre-Yves Modicom. Wetzlar, Germany: transcript Verlag, 2024. 216 pp. $55.00.

Rootedness and Acculturation is a collection of essays authored by historians and linguists from Germany, France, and the United States, that address the German American experience between 1883, the bicentennial celebration of the first German settlement in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and 1918, the end of the First World War when Americans questioned the loyalty of German Americans to the United States. Collectively, these essays evaluate the differences between cultural pluralism and cultural assimilation, as well as update several of the myths and misperceptions about German immigrants.

Individual chapters in the first section of the book address how German Americans viewed themselves within American society. For example, idealistic Forty-Eighters, who had fled their German states after the failed 1848/1849 revolutions, were very disappointed with the reality of the political and social conditions in the United States, especially the threat that slavery posed to the survival of the American republic. Their perceptions of the United States as an ethnic melting pot and as a country built by ordinary people informed their insistence that they should learn American culture and language as well as preserve German culture and language in order to protect ideals of democracy and advance human rights. As experienced freedom fighters and displaced exiles, Forty-Eighters saw themselves as uniquely positioned to fight for the abolition of slavery not just in the United States, but in more abstract terms as abolishing slavery in all its iterations globally. Evidence, however, also demonstrates that antislavery Germans held ideals that were contrary to the principle of emancipation, such as supporting the forced assimilation of Native Americans through boarding schools and opposing true racial equality.

The two remaining chapters in the first section examine the question of loyalty from both the American and German perspective. Americans recognized the importance of economic and political contributions by German Americans, but viewed persistent cultural traits, such as speaking in German and maintaining ties with Germany, with suspicion. The editors assert that historian Walter Kamphoefner's conclusions about German Americans and their experience during the First World War were "quite unexpected and refute some deeply anchored assumptions" (11). Kamphoefner's extensive evaluation of letters written by German Americans revealed that World War I had a much lower impact on the decline of German culture and language than previously thought. Descendants of German immigrants served in the US military at nearly the same rate as Americans, yet their tombstones also contained German inscriptions. While the immigrant generation still wrote letters to relatives in Germany and expressed support for the German people—not the Kaiser—the second generation no longer maintained these ties with Germany. Nevertheless, if this second or even third generation served overseas, they could still write letters home to their immigrant parents in German. As Kamphoefner convincingly argues, writing in German had nothing to do with loyalty to America.

The second section of *Rootedness and Acculturation* focuses on the debate within the German community to what degree they had acculturated to the American way of life, what their contributions were to the United States, and how they could reconcile a dual identity of being German as well as American. According to Tristan Coignard, the publications of renowned historians of German Americans, Heinrich Armin Rattermann and Julius Goebel, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century show that Germans felt ignored despite their contributions to American society, economy, and politics. At the same time, these historians also laid blame for the lack of recognition within the ethnic group. Goebel, in particular, suggested that Germans were too passive and insisted that combatting assimilation required the teaching of German culture and language in school. Only then could German ideals contribute to not only the success of the ethnic group, but to the prosperity of the United States, as well.

The remaining chapters in this section discuss historian and linguist Heinz Kloss, who published several books during the 1930s that aimed to understand the adjustment by German Americans to the United States. He argued that teaching language by itself did not contribute to the preservation of culture (or the lack thereof to the demise of culture). Instead, the lived context of history, economics, politics, and dialect spoken at home that each individual German immigrant experienced also factored into the conscious or unwitting construction of personal identity. At the same time, he also blamed German immigrants for failing to maintain a united German community to combat assimilation and thus they were responsible for the decline of *Deutschtum*.

This collection of essays will be of interest to anyone who studies the German American experience in North America, ranging from scholars of the ethnic groups and its language to ordinary family historians who want to understand how their ancestors adjusted to and interacted with a new environment. Together, these essays demonstrate that German immigrants constructed various degrees of identities based on size of community and ability to combine old cultural traits with new ones. Along their own pathway of becoming Americans, they reconciled internal, personal, and external tensions to decide on their own whether to remain partially rooted in the old country or to acculturate to the new one.

Missouri University of Science and Technology *Petra DeWitt*

Exil im Paradies: Von Marta Feuchtwanger bis Helene Weigel.
Von Ursel Braun. Berlin: ebersbach & simon, 2025. 144 Seiten. €20.00.

Als “klug und kurzweilig” preist der Verlag ebersbach und simon das Buch von Ursel Braun an. Um es gleich vorwegzunehmen: Es ist eine treffende Einschätzung. Leicht und unterhaltsam, ist es die passende Lektüre für einen ersten, eher oberflächlichen Eindruck zum Thema. Der Inhalt: Wie sechs

Ehefrauen, die ihren berühmten Männern vor oder während des zweiten Weltkriegs ins kalifornische Exil folgten, das Alltagsleben gestalteten, mit welchen Problemen und Schwierigkeiten sie konfrontiert wurden, und auch, ob und in welchem Umfang sie anderen Exilanten helfen konnten.

Mit Kalifornien verbindet man zunächst Sonnenschein, Wärme und Pazifik—positive Aspekte, kombiniert mit der Tatsache, dass man sich nun, teils nach einer furchtbaren Odyssee, in Sicherheit und weit weg von den Kriegsschrecken ein neues Leben aufbauen kann und muss.

Die Voraussetzungen dafür waren für die jeweiligen Frauen recht unterschiedlich. Da ist z.B. Katia Mann, die Frau des berühmten Nobelpreisträgers Thomas Mann, der auch im Exil über finanzielle Reserven und Einkünfte verfügt, von denen sein ebenfalls in Kalifornien lebender Bruder Heinrich nur träumen kann. Katia ist die große Organisatorin, wie zuvor und auch anschließend wieder in Europa: umsichtig, klug wirtschaftend und zuverlässig. Ein Glücksfall für den erfolgreichen Autor, dem sie komplett den Rücken freihält. Wie anders hingegen ihre Schwägerin Nelly Mann, der 1940 gemeinsam mit ihrem 27 Jahre älteren Mann Heinrich, dessen Neffen Golo und dem Ehepaar Werfel, die Flucht in die USA gelingt. Zwar unterstützte Thomas Mann seinen älteren Bruder finanziell, aber Nelly Mann hatte in der Familie einen schweren Stand, wurde als psychisch labile Alkoholikerin verachtet und erfuhr trotz ihrer vielfältigen Bemühungen, dem völlig unselbständigen Heinrich Mann ein erträgliches Leben zu gestalten, nichts als Feindseligkeit von Seiten der Familie. 1944 nahm sie sich nach mehreren missglückten Versuchen das Leben.

Helene Weigel, hochtalentierte Schauspielerin und Ehefrau des Frauenhelden Bertolt Brecht, leidet sehr darunter, aufgrund ihrer mangelnden englischen Sprachkenntnisse und ihres starken Dialekts in Hollywood keine Arbeitsmöglichkeiten zu haben. Mit zusammengebissenen Zähnen und viel Geschick hält sie die Familie zusammen, zu der auch zwei Kinder gehören. Zu Weihnachten kommen jedes Jahr die Feuchtwangers zu Besuch. Nach ihrer Europa-Rückkehr 1947 ist Weigel dann noch einmal eine große schauspielerische Karriere beschieden.

Erstaunlich, wie auch andere Betrogene, wie z.B. Martha Feuchtwanger, die Liebschaften ihrer Männer zu tolerieren in der Lage sind. Die starke sportliche Martha stürzt sich in die Renovierung einer völlig maroden Villa und schafft daraus in jahrelanger Arbeit das Schmuckstück der 22-Zimmer Villa Aurora, wie sie noch heute Stipendiaten und Besucher beeindruckt. Ein guter Ort für Empfänge und gesellige Emigranten-Zusammenkünfte mit mehr als nur einem Hauch Europa-Atmosphäre. Anders als die Manns werden Feuchtwangers in den USA bleiben. Auch Alma Mahler-Werfel, deren dritter

Ehemann der weltberühmte Schriftsteller Franz Werfel ist, bleibt nach einem kurzen Abstecher nach Wien in den USA—allerdings an der Ostküste, wo sie bequem von den Tantiemen der Arbeit ihrer bekannten Promi-Ehemänner leben kann. Salka Viertel, die Ehefrau des Autors und Regisseurs Berthold Viertel, wird im Exil zur Drehbuchautorin und freundet sich mit Greta Garbo an. In großem Umfang setzt sie sich für andere Emigranten ein. Gemeinsam mit Brecht schreibt sie ein Drehbuch, das allerdings nicht zur Verfilmung kommt. Schlimmer noch, nach Kriegsende gerät sie—wie viele andere auch—ins Visier des FBI und wird unamerikanischer kommunistischer Umtriebe beschuldigt. Weder kann sie arbeiten noch ihren Exilanten-Salon weiterführen. Finanziell kann sich die Geschiedene kaum noch über Wasser halten. 1953 siedelt sie in die Schweiz über.

Die Quintessenz: Generell scheinen Frauen stärker, belastbarer, kreativer als ihre Ehemänner zu sein, wenn es um Lebensgestaltung unter neuen widrigen Umständen geht. Die meisten portraitierten Frauen versuchten mit großem Enthusiasmus, ihren begabten, oft aber alltagsuntauglichen Männern das Arbeiten in der neuen Heimat so einfach wie möglich zu gestalten, ohne sie mit Problemen zu konfrontieren.

Man liest diese so unterschiedlichen Portraits mit einer Mischung aus Bewunderung und Mitleid. Der flotte Schreibstil, das abwechslungsreiche Hin-und Herspringen zwischen den sechs Protagonistinnen und ja, auch die Skandälchen und Nähkästchen-Plaudereien sind spannend genug, um über gewisse Ungereimtheiten hinwegzusehen, die einem aber nur auffallen, wenn man sich intensiver mit dieser Thematik auseinandersetzt. So schreibt Braun beispielsweise bezüglich Katia Mann: “Das Vermögen der Familie hat sie von Anfang an klug angelegt; ein Teil des Nobelpreisgeldes von 1929 in Höhe von 200.000 Reichsmark liegt auf ausländischen Konten, sodass es der Familie auch im Exil an nichts fehlt und das Ehepaar Privilegien genießen kann, die anderen verwehrt bleiben.” Im Literaturverzeichnis werden auch Katia Manns “Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren” anfgeführt. In denen schreibt sie, dass sie im Anschluss an die Nobelpreisverleihung in Stockholm von einem Journalisten den Rat erhielt, das Geld im Ausland zu belassen. Diesen Rat hat sie anscheinend nicht befolgt, denn: “Wir haben es natürlich restlos mit allem übrigen verloren, als wir 1933 emigrierten” (S.65). Verwunderlich.

In einem Epilog wird in Kurzform das Leben der sechs Frauen weiterbeschrieben bis zu deren Tod—man erfährt dadurch auch, wer in den USA geblieben ist (die Witwen Martha Feuchtwanger und Alma Mahler Werfel), und wer zurückgekehrt ist nach Europa (Katia Mann, Helene Weigel und Salka Viertel). Schmales Büchlein, große Unterhaltung.

West Bloomfield, Michigan *Susanna Piontek*

Unity Is Strength: German Immigrant Associations in New York, 1890s-1930s.
By Markus Bierkoch. Migrations in History, Vol. 6. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2025. 377 pp. $76.99.

This comprehensive study of German immigrant associations in New York is focused on two main areas: German organizations as providers of social and economic services and as proponents of ethnic politics. The author chose New York as the research object given that the city had one of the largest populations of people of German origin in the world for the period under investigation, which spans the 1890s to the 1930s. In 1900, German-speaking immigrants accounted for nearly 20 percent of the city's population. Previous similar studies, most notably Heike Bungert's outstanding work on German American festival culture (*Festkultur und Gedächtnis. Die Konstruktion einer deutschamerikanischen Ethnizität 1848–1914*, 2016), have centered on assimilation processes and the construction of a German American ethnicity. Bierkoch, however, aims at bringing "the social, economic, and political facets of German immigrant associations into communication with each other," thus addressing a research gap (15).

In chapter 2, the author concentrates on the social, physical, and economic infrastructure, clearly showing that the German-speaking community of New York was heterogeneous. The formation of associations was characterized by differences regarding class, occupations, and regionality. Bierkoch argues for example that "middle-class associations had strained relationships with organizations that identified with the working class and sympathized with socialist politics" (36). However, social mobility was possible, and the socially constructed borders were fluid, meaning that some associations also had a mixed membership. The chapter investigates both well-known German American economic areas, including the brewing industry, as well as other niches like the grocery stores run by German immigrants. Unsurprisingly, several associations had members directly involved in alcohol and liquor trade, which bound them together both economically and socially. German brewers had an interest in financially supporting the buildings of the *Vereine* (clubs) since these served as social spaces for networking. The second half of the chapter is devoted to the mutual aid these organizations provided. German immigrants sought out these associations to help get a start in the New World and often found jobs through these connections. In addition, New York's German immigrant associations offered benefits and health care. *The United German Societies of the City of New York*, an umbrella organization founded in 1902, "contained a great number of member associations whose primary purpose was to provide sickness and death benefits in 1904" (142).

In addition, around the turn of the century, organizations such as the Low German *Plattduetscher Volksfest-Verein von New York und Umgebung* (PVVNY) founded homes for the aged, such as the *Fritz Reuter Altenheim*.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to German organizations as proponents of local and domestic politics, as well as international politics and transatlantic crossings. In it, Bierkoch shows that the shared economic interests were not only often combined with membership in immigrant associations, as demonstrated in chapter 2, but also led to collective political action. Sociopolitical networks enabled and drove the German immigrant association's political mobilization in New York. The Democratic Party in particular, which dominated New York City politics between the 1890s and 1930s, depended on votes from immigrants. One major aspect that led to German American political involvement was their discontent over the Sunday laws and later Prohibition, which hurt their businesses. In this context, the *Steuben Society of America* (SSA) and the predominant German American political organization in the city, the *German Democracy* (GD), which was founded by leaders of the PVVNY, are analyzed. Bierkoch's investigations also extend to economic interests in the transatlantic sphere and the influence of the National Socialists on German immigrant associations in New York City in the 1930s.

Overall, the author successfully highlights the connections between the social and economic dynamics of German immigrant associations, and how, in line with their widely embraced slogan "unity is strength," these associations furthered political mobilization. Among the many clubs that are part of the study are singing societies (*Gesangvereine*), festival associations (*Volksfest-Vereine*), gymnastics clubs (*Turnvereine*), and many political and social organizations. The work largely excludes religious associations, which also were significant, but that could be the topic of another related study. This excellent book will be very interesting to students and scholars in the fields of German American history, immigration history, and social history.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee *Viktorija Bilić*

Moravian Studies / Amish Studies

Herrnhut: The Formation of a Moravian Community, 1722-1732.

By Paul Peucker. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022. 299 pp. $54.95.

In June of 1722 Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf gave permission for three families who had fled Moravia because of religious persecution to settle on his estate in Berthelsdorf, Saxony, Germany, and to establish the settlement of Herrnhut, which was to become the home of the renewed Moravian Church (*Unitas Fratrum* or Unity of the Brethren) or Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine or Brüder-Unität, as it is known in German. On the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Herrnhut, Paul Peucker, archivist of the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, published a reassessment of the formation and first decade of this Moravian settlement and how with Zinzendorf's help it was able to survive outside of the Lutheran Church. The author's thesis for this study is that when Zinzendorf discovered the similarities between the rules and practices of Herrnhut with the constitution of the Unity of the Brethren, he convinced the Moravians and other pietistic settlers who had joined them to organize Herrnhut as a Philadelphian group of believers outside of the Lutheran Church, thereby protecting the Herrnhuter community from government intervention and preserving the group's distinctiveness.

The focus of this study is on the ecclesiastical foundation of Herrnhut during its first decade of existence and not on its social organization, its industries, and its division of labor. The introduction reviews the latest research on the relationship of the Moravians with the Lutheran Church, locates the Moravians within the period of German Pietism, and shows how they were influenced by ideas of the Philadelphian movement that came to the Continent from England. Chapter 1 acquaints readers with Zinzendorf's three collaborators in founding Herrnhut, namely, Andreas Rothe, pastor of the Lutheran church in Berthelsdorf, Melchior Scheffer, pastor and member of the Pietistic circle in Görlitz, and Christian David, a carpenter who brought many refugees to Herrnhut from Moravia. Chapter 2 focuses on the early development of the Herrnhut community under the direction of the Brotherhood of Four, i.e., Zinzendorf, Rothe, Scheffer, and Friedrich von Watteville, a close friend of Zinzendorf, as well as on Zinzendorf's relationship with his former teacher in Halle, August Hermann Francke, who viewed Herrnhut's institutions, e.g., print shop, schools, orphanage, as "counter-institutions," and some of Zinzendorf's theological discussions with the Herrnhuter, e.g., the abolishment of confession, as worrisome. Chapter 3 covers the background and history of the crypto-Protestant settlers who emigrated to Herrnhut from Moravia and Bohemia, many of whom still identified with the Unity of the Brethren and practiced their faith in secret, and a group of persecuted Schwenkfelder, who were forced to leave Silesia in 1725. Chapter 4 surveys the major conflicts that arose among the Herrnhuter, their separation from the Lutheran congregation in Berthelsdorf, and the Herrnhut statutes, i.e., the rules regulating life in the community and the Brotherly Agreement, which controlled its spiritual life. The author references an unpublished article of 1937 by German Moravian historian, Joseph Theodor Müller, found in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, that shows that Zinzendorf intentionally added details or left out any material that did not fit his purpose in his free paraphrase or adaption of Comenius's history of the Unitas Fratrum in order to convince the Herrnhuter that their statutes resembled the constitution of the Unity of the Brethren (126-29). In fact, Müller goes so far as to call Zinzendorf's summary of Comenius's history a falsification, since he altered the text to suit his intent. Chapter 5 examines the beliefs of the Herrnhut community, where laypeople formed the spiritual leadership with women often playing a leading role, the establishment of communal households, and Zinzendorf's concept of a marital theology (*Ehereligion*), in which sexuality within marriage was considered free of sin. Chapter 6 looks at everyday life in Herrnhut, when and where religious services and prayer meetings took place, the importance of music in the community, the system of choirs (*Banden*), in which secular and spiritual life merged, distinctive Moravian worship traditions such as song services (*Singstunden*) and love feasts, and the use of the lot as a way to ask for God's guidance, all of which were unknown to the Bohemian Brethren. Chapter 7, the final chapter, entitled "The Herrnhut Model," examines how Herrnhut became the center of a religious movement that not only set up similar Moravian communities in Europe, but that also developed a successful mission program, especially to the New World. It again summarizes the author's thesis that Zinzendorf prevented Saxon authorities from interfering with Herrnhut's development or even threatening its existence by creating for it an identity as the reestablished Unity of the Brethren and the impression that it was affiliated with the Lutheran Church. To oppose both accusations of separatism and heretical beliefs, Zinzendorf came up with a Moravian heritage with Lutheran features, including Luther's views on private religious meetings and acceptance of the Augsburg Confession, thus making it more acceptable to the authorities.

This study is well documented from archival and published sources, includes three maps, two tables of offices in Herrnhut and of population and number of homes in the settlement, numerous portraits or images, many of which are found in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, or in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut, and copious endnotes. While the endnotes provide much useful additional information, students or non-specialists, however, will find many endnotes rather bothersome since they do not follow the conventional footnote style of providing a complete reference to author, title, and publication information the first time an article or book is mentioned in a chapter, but they give only the author's last name, a shortened title if the author has more than one work referenced, and page number. The reader is then forced to go to the bibliography for the complete reference, and if it is an article in a journal or chapter in a book, it may require a third step to find the complete reference.

This study of Herrnhut's formation and survival during its first decade, based on the author's extensive knowledge of primary and secondary sources, is an important addition to the history of the Moravian Church; it offers not only new and provocative insights, but also points out areas that still need further research.

A German version of this book with a slightly different title, *Herrnhut 1722-1732: Entstehung und Entwicklung einer philadelphischen Gemeinschaft*, was published by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen, Germany, in September of 2021, but was not available for this review.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

All About the Amish: Answers to Common Questions.
By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2020. 119 pp. $14.99.

What the Amish Teach Us: Plain Living in a Busy World.
By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. vii + 182 pp. $14.95.

These small-format books provide introductions to Amish life and culture, written by experts. Karen Johnson-Weiner, Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology Emerita at the State University of New York-Potsdam, is a recognized authority on Amish and Mennonite language and culture. Donald Kraybill, Distinguished College Professor and Professor of Sociology Emeritus at Elizabethtown College, also served as director and Senior Fellow at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. Both authors have published well-received books on Amish life and culture.

Johnson-Weiner divides her book into seven parts that address general questions about the Amish. Part 1, "Who are the Amish?" presents Amish history, characteristics, demographics, and geographical spread. The second part, "What are Amish communities like?" introduces the primary sociocultural units of Amish life, the family, and the church-community (*Gmay*). In parts 3 and 4, "What does it mean to be 'Plain'?" and "What is it like to grow up Amish?", Johnson-Weiner describes how the Amish differentiate themselves from mainstream society, including religion, dress, language, education, recreation, and technology. Amish young adulthood is covered in part 5, "What are Amish courtship and weddings like?". The descriptive portion of the book ends with part 6, "What is life like for Amish adults?", which explains male-female relations, work, ageing, retirement, death, and funerals.

Johnson-Weiner depicts a culture that is not nearly as strict and homogeneous as mainstream people might assume. For one thing, the Amish embrace individual free will; for instance, membership in the church results from voluntary adult baptism. Additionally, because important decisions tend to be made by autonomous *Gmays*, there is a spectrum of responses to challenges presented by the secular mainstream. Twice-yearly negotiation of individual communities' rules (*Ordnungs*) by all baptized members ensures a variety of rules that reflect acceptance, accommodation, or rejection in response to changing economic, legal, and social circumstances in mainstream society.

Part 7, "What Will Amish life be like in the future?", considers the potential effects on the Amish of largescale internal shifts, for instance, the increasing abandonment of farming in order to pursue more financially rewarding work, as well as external influences, for example, the growing ability to access the mainstream via smart phones. Johnson-Weiner notes that the Amish manage these threats to their way of life skillfully, "redraw[ing] the lines that separate [them] from the world" (102). The book concludes with the author's observation that, as the Amish continue to thrive by defining themselves against mainstream society, this rejection enables them to remain cohesive and present a "visible alternative to modern society" (103-104).

Kraybill's book also espouses the notion that the Amish lifestyle represents a positive and healthy option to modernity, offering readers a "critique of modern culture" with the Amish playing the role of "silent social critics" (x). The author derives the book's twenty-three short essays from lessons learned over forty years of research, including fieldnotes, conversations with hundreds of Amish people, and introspection about his research experiences and encounters (xii-xiii). He focuses his musings on the Amish present, covering many of the same sociocultural topics as Johnson-Weiner: family life, the church-community, religion, education, technology, childhood, adulthood, ageing, retirement, and death. Kraybill enhances these discussions with thoughts about the role of dense personal ties in ensuring "an identity, a secure place, and a sense of personal dignity" for all community members (25). These ties within small communities, enforced by shunning (*Meidung*) and excommunication (*Bann*), bind the Amish to their communal lifestyle and reinforce separation from the mainstream. Kraybill praises Amish religious and cultural values such as modesty, humility, tolerance, patience, forgiveness, nonviolence, free will, and submission (*Gelassenheit*). Especially compelling are discussions reflecting on the interplay between free will and *Gelassenheit*. For instance, young adults are free to join the church through adult baptism, and 85% of them do so. *Gelassenheit* requires that they then submit to their *Gmay*'s *Ordnung* for the rest of their lives.

Kraybill concludes his book with a longer essay on negotiations within and outside the Amish community, indicating the tension that exists between individuals' choices and their *Gmays'* rules as the Amish react to the many complications inherent in their dealings with the modern secular world. He illustrates this tension and negotiation through the group's creative response to the telephone, whereby all but the most conservative church-communities prohibit ownership of telephones yet tolerate their use outside the home. He contrasts this reception of "solid technology" with the acceptance of "liquid technology" such as smart phones into Amish life. Most communities have reacted to smart phones with acceptance, rejection (shunning or even excommunicating owners of smart phones), or negotiation (limiting their use to mobile telephones without smart applications). However, some Amish have persevered in using smart phones, which are small, portable, and concealable, in spite of the rules imposed by their *Gmays* (146-149).

Both Johnson-Weiner and Kraybill present the Amish in a very positive light as a viable alternative to mainstream lifestyle and values. While Kraybill provides more scholarly depth than Johnson-Weiner, his essays are tinged with a palpable negativism regarding mainstream society, presenting it as a "self-first," "speed at all cost," and "hate-filled world" (17, 94-95, 138). While readers can discover much to admire in the small Amish communities and their dense ties, neither author mentions the constraints under which individuals participate in Amish communal life. For example, James A. Cates, a psychologist who serves the Amish, has written about the problems of Amish homosexuals in *Serpent in the Garden: Amish Sexuality in a Changing World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020). Individuals who deviate from Amish heteronormative values must either suppress their desires or leave the *Gmay*, which functions as a source of identity, acceptance, and security. Similar costs are borne by victims of familial sexual abuse who must submit to the community's requirement that they forgive and continue to live with offenders. A more balanced description of the Amish ought to encompass both the benefits and the costs of communal life for communities and individuals in order to accurately and fairly shed light on both Amish and mainstream culture.

University of South Dakota *Carol A. Leibiger*

Literature and Art

The Master of Contradictions: Thomas Mann and the Making of *The Magic Mountain*.

By Morten Høi Jensen. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2025. 248 pp. $28.00.

Since the unsealing of Thomas Mann's papers and diaries in 1975, scholarship devoted to Mann has more often than not focused on biographical, psychological, and philosophical aspects of his life and work rather than on a literary analysis of a specific work. There have been studies of his politics, focusing most often on the break with his brother Heinrich and the publication of *Reflections of a Non-Political Man* (*Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, 1918), and studies of his relationship with his children and his wife. Jensen's relatively slender volume may well be the first "biography" (dust cover) of one of Thomas Mann's novels, indeed of his most revered, yet problematic and somewhat mysterious work. As such, *The Master of Contradictions* is a unique contribution to Mann scholarship.

In 192 pages of text, consisting of seven chapters averaging thirty pages each, preceded and followed by a prologue and epilogue of approximately the same length, Jensen narrates the genesis and development of *The Magic Mountain* within a framework which mirrors the structure of the novel but tracks the development of Mann's thought rather than the sojourn of Hans Castorp at Berghof. In doing so, Jensen provides the historical, political, philosophical, and personal context for Mann's work on the novel over more than a decade marked by extreme disruptions and changes in Europe and the world more broadly (1912–1924).

Jensen's volume is both a compelling read and an adroit assemblage of a wide variety of sources, ranging from contemporary authors of the pre-war and Weimar periods to today's historians and scholars, as well as excerpts from Mann's diaries and correspondence. The various sources are woven together in a narrative which is almost seamless. As a narrator, Jensen is well spoken but not intrusive. Although it is apparent in the pro- and epilogue that Jensen sees in the novel many parallels to today's political issues, his narrative voice rarely intercedes in the debates which Mann and the novel undertake. In the later chapters, as he details the "snow" subchapter (VI, 7) and the introduction of Mynheer Peeperkorn, Jensen's commentary reveals a personal sense of the importance or significance of a scene, but aside from an occasional valuative adjective (e.g., naïve), Jensen is generally able to assemble a remarkable number of sources to tell the story of the development of Thomas Mann's greatest work without prejudice or polemics. The whole is a worthwhile and rewarding experience.

Loyola University Maryland *Randall P. Donaldson*

Comanches, Captives, and Germans: Wilhelm Friedrich's Drawings from The Texas Frontier.
By Daniel J. Gelo, C.B. Hopkins, Christopher J. Wickham, and Bryden E. Moon Jr. Kerrville, TX: State House Press, 2023. 162 pp. $29.95.

The accomplished authors of this publication combine once again their areas of expertise in Cultural History, Indian Ethnography, and the Texan Hill Country to write on German immigrants in the borderlands on the Texas frontier and their encounter with the indigenous Comanche population. While others of their books focus on the ethnological studies carried out by Heinrich Berghaus (2023), or Ferdinand Lindheimer's newspaper accounts (2024), *Comanches, Captives, and Germans* offers in-depth analyses of three drawings prepared by Wilhelm Friedrich, a young German immigrant to Texas, in the year 1848. Friedrich´s sketches offer insightful glimpses into life on the frontier by featuring the people, the landscape, and the wildlife of the Texas Hill Country. They illustrate a large meeting of Indians and white men, including a little girl, capturing unique details of the interaction between Comanches and Germans as well as the surroundings in which this took place. It is a form of narration of this cultural encounter by artistic means and through the lens of an insightful observer, published by State House Press, whose mission is to make history accessible. In this case it partnered with the Texas Center at Schreiner University in Kerrville, an educational system offering opportunities for students and the general population to learn about Texas history, civilization, and society.

Daniel Gelo (Professor of Anthropology), Christopher J. Wickham (Professor of German), C.B. Hopkins (Architectural and Cultural Historian), and Bryden E. Moon Jr. (Communications Executive) use their profound knowledge to discuss the three drawings from multiple angles, taking into account every little detail and their different layers of meaning. The questions they seek to answer through these analyses are: Who was Wilhelm Friedrich? How did he come to Texas? What information does he pack into his drawing? How can we understand his work as art, as data about Comanche life and customs, and as a record of German values and priorities in the New World? Who is the captive girl? And why is her portrayal important today?

The authors' answers to these questions and their in-depth analyses of Wilhelm Friedrich´s artistic work in this book led it to be selected as the winner of the 2025 Conservation Society of San Antonio Publication Award. This speaks in favor of their achieved collaborative effort to make the scholarly community aware of the three closely related and until then unpublished drawings that have come to the attention of these scholars. Let's have a closer look at the drawings and see in what specific ways the authors have extracted insights concerning the early days of German-Comanche interaction on the Texas frontier in 1847: The first drawing, D1, is a pencil sketch of a large meeting of Indians and white men with details of their interaction and surroundings; D2 is a pen and ink rendering of the same scene, elaborated by the same artist; and D3 depicts a different scene in a similar setting: a train of ox-drawn wagons proceeding on a trail, with mounted Indians watching from above in the foreground, again undertaken by the same artist.

The book is divided into 12 brief chapters, each of them offering insightful information from a different angle, all of them helpful to obtaining a deeper understanding of the artistic work elaborated by Friedrich. Chapter 1 ("The History") provides an overview of German colonization of Central Texas during the 1840s and 1850s; chapter 2 ("The Artist") presents biographical information on Wilhelm Friedrich; chapter 3 gives insights on the materials, techniques, and composition used for the drawings; chapter 4 talks briefly about the Germans in the Texas Hill Country; chapter 5 expands more in-depth on the Comanches and their horses; chapter 6 provides helpful insights by discussing the foreground and background of the drawings; chapter 7 does so by describing the main action, while chapter 8 focuses on the setting and explains details regarding the date and place of the encounter depicted in the drawings. The following two chapters focus on the people involved: chapter 9 talks about the "Comanche Captive" and chapter 10 gathers all information about the girl in the drawings. Based on all these insights elaborated on in different layers and from different perspectives, drawing together different areas of knowledge, chapter 11 ("Where?") sets the lens on the specific locations depicted, before the conclusion in chapter 12 brings all those strings of information together and presents the information obtained. With the same thoroughness, the authors also point to those aspects that require further examination, doubts that have been raised, and to the remaining vagaries where a final answer could not yet be presented.

A clear achievement of this scholarly work is to provide a successful example of interdisciplinary research endeavors and their usefulness. The book is well researched and combines convincingly the respective areas of expertise in order to extract all insights on German-Comanche cultural encounters on the Texas borderland that can be obtained from those drawings. While the book seems to have mostly a scholarly audience in mind, it can also be of interest for the general reader intrigued by the broader topics it touches. The authors are well familiar with the literature in the field, as proved by numerous bibliographic references. They went to great effort to identify and explain all sorts of little details in these drawings that might be useful for the interpretation of the setting and the context of the encounter. The work is well structured, it is both analytical and descriptive, and it discusses the methodology used and the insights obtained. It furthermore includes a solid bibliography on the various topics it touches, as well as a useful index, and illustrations of similar or related artistic works that help to understand the broader context. Some of these illustrations are extracts from the larger drawing that depict details that might have escaped the attention of the observer. Bringing all those insights together, the book succeeds in its aim to recreate life in the Texas borderlands during this period of time through the three drawings. By embedding the depicted cultural encounter in its historic context, it provides much insight about the history of both Germans and Comanche Indians in the Texas frontier region.

University of California San Diego / University of San Diego *Sandra Rebok*

Biography

Edward A. Tenenbaum and the Deutschmark: How an American Jew Became the Father of Germany's Postwar Economic Revival.
By Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2024. xiii + 780 pp. $59.99.

There are thick books on German history that one reads again and again. Peter Watson's *The German Genius* comes to mind. But the reviewer is not likely to read again the 630 pages of text of the book under review. Although this is an important piece of historical research and writing, it nevertheless makes substantial demands on the reader. It is repetitive. Moreover, one needs to know banking terms not usually at the command of the general reader. The author is a most diligent researcher, but he cannot resist including in his text all the information in his notes, even if that information has the most marginal relevance to the book's thesis.

And a most important thesis it is! Prof. Dr. Holtfrerich of the Free University of Berlin maintains it was not Ludwig Erhard who in 1948 fathered the *Deutschmark* which provided the financial stability on which the west Germans built their *Wirtschaftswunder* of the 1950s and 1960s, but rather, Edward A. Tenenbaum, a Jewish Lieutenant in the American Army and currency advisor to Jack Bennett, financial advisor to General Lucius Clay, commander of the American Office of Military Government for Germany. The author devotes pages 11-93 to disparaging Erhard, the *Bundeskanzler* who followed Konrad Adenauer, as a man quick to change his economic advice to please whatever group was in power (including the Nazis and even the SS) and equally quick to take credit for the efforts of others.

Edward Tenenbaum was born in New York City in 1921 to Jewish parents recently arrived from Vienna but originally from Lemberg (Lviv), Galicia. Both parents had doctoral degrees—the father in medicine and the mother in botany and zoology. It is important for the reader to know that Edward grew up fluent in German (and became fluent in French), but giving the reader a page and a half of information on the German-speaking maid his parents hired when Edward was a boy seems a bit much.

Tenenbaum graduated from Yale in 1942, having been elected to Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year. His BA thesis, entitled "National Socialism vs. International Capitalism," was judged the best of the year and was immediately published as a Yale University Press book. He went to work for the Office of Strategic Services' Research and Analysis branch in Washington. He was drafted into the Army in December, 1942, but all through the war he remained on the OSS roster, even while in OCS back at Yale. The author includes 20 pages on the history of the OSS and its commander, "Wild Bill" Donovan.

Sent to London in July, 1944, Tenenbaum worked for the Research and Analysis division of the OSS, planning the economic objectives of the American bombing campaign. He was soon sent to Normandy, where he was also attached to the Psychological Warfare Division of General Patton's Third Army. (Do we really need details about General Patton's bull terrier?) Tenenbaum led a small intelligence-gathering patrol into the city of Coblenz *before* the city was captured by the Americans. On April 11,1945, he was the first American officer inside the Buchenwald concentration camp. Within two weeks, he had "coauthored the famous Buchenwald Report on the internal inmate governing structure of the camp" (238).

In July 1945, Tenenbaum was assigned to the Foreign Exchange and Blocking Control branch of the Finance division of the (American) Office of Military Government for Germany. He interviewed non-Nazi Germany financial and currency experts. The German economy was at a low point not only owing to physical destruction of the war but also because the money supply was much too large in proportion to the goods and services being produced. Rather than leading to inflation, with fixed prices for goods and services, this situation led to weak incentives to work and produce as well as a vigorous black market. To prevent starvation in their zones of occupation, both the Americans and the British had to send a great deal of food and raw materials to Germany.

The purpose of the German currency reform of June 20, 1948, was to reduce that oversupply of money and give Germans incentive to work and to produce. Tenenbaum was in the thick of the planning. In December 1946, he chaired a session of the Allied Control Commission's Financial Regulations Committee. It was Tenenbaum who chaired the seven-week conclave of eleven German monetary and financial experts from April 20 to June 8, 1948, in preparation for introduction of the new Mark on June 20th. Currency reform reduced the money supply in the western zones to 9.1 per cent of the old figure. With a secure currency, goods and services immediately appeared on the market. There was 20 per cent inflation of the new DM in the first six months, but this would likely have been less had all Tenenbaum's recommendations been followed. As was anticipated, the western currency reform did solidify the division of Germany, which was not repaired until 1990. With the agreement of General Clay, it was Erhard who lifted price controls on some 400 consumer items, thus moving western zones toward a free market economy.

Returning to Washington, Tenenbaum worked for the European Cooperation Administration (Marshall Plan). Later, he worked for the Mutual Security Agency on Greek Currency Reform. He advocated many of the measures taken in Germany, but it is not clear to the reviewer why 36 pages of information about the work in Greece are necessary. Returning from Greece in 1954, he founded his own international currency consulting company. This company occupied him until he was killed in a car wreck in 1975.

Altogether, Prof. Holtfrerich sets the record straight by presenting a great deal of information and informed opinion for the highly motivated reader.

Fort Smith, Arkansas *Robert W. Frizzell*

Franz Boas: Shaping Anthropology and Fostering Social Justice.
By Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2022. 648 pp. $39.95.

At nearly 600 pages, *Franz Boas: Shaping Anthropology and Fostering Social Justice* is, in more ways than one, a sizable contribution to the already substantial existing corpus of Franz Boas studies. Yet, Rosemary Lévy Zuwalt's ambitious book sets itself apart from the sweeping canonical biographies of George W. Stocking, Jr., Douglas Cole, Regna Darnell, and Ludger Müller-Wille if not through its scope, then through its archival method and integrative framing of Boas's personal and professional life. As a follow-up to *Franz Boas: The Emergence of an Anthropologist* (2019), which covers the early life and career of the father of American anthropology, the present volume draws on an extensive corpus of archival materials—business correspondence and personal letters, above all—to open a new view onto Boas's ascent in the academy and as a public intellectual. The author's stated intention is to let readers encounter Boas's life via his "passionate center," where his love of family, loyalty to colleagues and students, and commitments to science and justice were joined and drove him through life and work. To be clear, the volume is not a portrait of Boas's private life or professional passions, but rather a chronology of works and achievements that centers his various and deep emotional ties to people and causes. Its subject is not Franz Boas, the private person, but Franz Boas, the feeling person.

Zumwalt opens her book with a Preface and Introduction that summarize the high points of Boas's earlier life up to the period of focus and outlines Boas's core contributions and commitments that laid the foundation for American anthropology as he envisioned and practiced it. The following ten substantive chapters are framed with chronological sections, beginning with academic program building (ch. 1) and his early student cohorts (ch. 2). As a life's progress resists neat chronologizing, the central chapters are organized rather thematically according to certain chief concerns: Boas's thought on race and devotion to social justice (ch. 3), his actions to internationalize anthropology (ch. 4), his reactions and actions during the first world war (ch. 5), and the progression of his thinking about, and promotion of, women in anthropology (ch. 6). The book rounds out the chronology with chapters on Boas's loss and loneliness in facing personal crises late in life (ch. 7), his final student cohort (ch. 8), his work to rescue refugee scientists at the rise of National Socialism (ch. 9), and, finally, Boas's activity following retirement (ch. 10). From the start, Zumwalt's narrative is rich with quotations, from Boas himself and from family members, students, collaborators, and colleagues, substantiating with original voices what the author sees as the core substance of Boas's personal life and his life's work. Even alone, the substantial notes section and bibliography that close the book provide a rich resource for scholars hoping to take a deeper look into any of the issues or moments that Zumwalt thoroughly catalogs.

A reader entering into the chapters directly after absorbing the Introduction's promise of a view into Boas's "passionate center" may at first be disappointed to find an at times dry, repetitive or loosely connected chronological narrative, plotted with lists of courses, students, institutions, or publications that would seem in direct contrast to the volume's aim to reveal Franz Boas, the feeling person. Yet, in order to contextualize the image of Boas as a person deeply connected to others, the author chooses to first establish the breadth and strength of his network and the deliberateness with which he built it, relationally and institutionally. Chapters 1 and 2 firmly anchor our view of Franz Boas as an adept and eager networker to support his professional and ethical aims and as an educator-mentor whose students reflected his devotion back to him. By the time the reader reaches chapter 3, the internal conflicts that can arise for a person of great scientific mind and principled passion finally come to center the narrative. For instance, Zumwalt borrows the frame of the "Boasian paradox," coined by Vernon Wililams, to direct the reader's attention to the tension between the nineteenth-century racial paradigm and Boas's liberal egalitarianism (97) that informed the progression of his thought and feeling about racism and justice. Further, in chapter 5, the reader becomes privy to the forces that shaped and pulled Boas's identity as a German immigrant, a father, an academic, a pacifist, and a public and private advocate for those threatened in wartime.

The role of direct quotation in shaping the biographical narrative is perhaps the most remarkable formal feature of this volume. To uphold its purpose of revealing Franz Boas's emotional substrate, the book homes in on utterances that convey feeling and affective response. *Franz Boas* is not an explicit contribution to the field of emotion studies, yet it holds promise for scholars of that interdisciplinary field, not by offering a theoretical framing for reading the Boas archive for emotion, but by selecting and ordering relevant archival content, and, through publication, making it accessible for future scholarship. For anthropologists and historians of anthropology, Zumwalt's volume covers much familiar ground, but its novel focus on emotion may ultimately transport the biography of Franz Boas to further scholarly audiences.

St. Olaf College *Amanda Z. Randall*

Franz Boas: In Praise of Open Minds.

By Noga Arikha. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2025. 261 pp. $28.00.

Franz Boas (1858-1942) is an iconic figure in anthropology, often referred to as the "Father" of American Anthropology. He is viewed as one of the founding proponents of "participant-observation," the method of understanding a group of people by immersing oneself into their lives for an extended period of time, and he is known for his lifelong dedication to combatting racism in all its forms. For members of SGAS, he might hold special interest as a German immigrant to the US, who had strong ties with Germany, was strongly influenced by nineteenth century German scholarship and, after immigration to the US, was initially not comfortable speaking in English, continued to speak German in his household and participated in German American organizations.

Noga Arikha's book is a short and good introduction, providing useful descriptions of his personal life and covering his major scholarly contributions. Arikha covers his education in Germany and the influences of German philosophers, geographers, and proto-anthropologists in shaping Boas's thinking. The distinction between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*, and Boas's intellectual movement towards the latter, is important. He matured in a progressive, secular Jewish background that emphasized education, a liberal approach to politics, and he also experienced the growing tensions of having Jewish ancestry in nineteenth century Germany. I found her also very good at describing Boas's ethnographic field work and the impact of getting to know people from a very different culture, both in learning their cultural traditions but perhaps more importantly in a human encounter: *Herzensbildung* is the term she uses. She covers his recognition of phonology (a language's sound system) as being systematic and also perceived, laying groundwork for an understanding that all aspects of life are the results of learned and shared cultural shaping. Boas also argued for examining material artifacts and immaterial cultural behavior in their broader cultural relational contexts, which became fundamental in anthropology and is inherent in our "holistic" approach to human behavior. He set examples for scholarship in his systematic descriptions of language, art, folklore, and supernatural practices, among many other cultural practices.

Arikha does refer to a darker side to Boas's research. She describes how he somewhat reluctantly collected Indigenous skeletal remains in order to finance his research, and also with some reluctance he participated in some commercial presentations of Indigenous peoples to popular audiences, which he in frustration described as a "circus." As a curator at the American Museum of Natural History, Boas had a role in the very troubling staging of a funeral and burial to trick a bereaving Inuit/Inuk son, Minik Wallace, in order to attain the bones of Minik's father for study and display at the museum.

Arikha's book also describes the many challenges in Boas's life. Indeed, as I was reading the book, I kept thinking of the term that has become widespread today, "precarity." For years, Boas had trouble finding employment and there were constant issues with funding and finances. There was growing antisemitism in his homeland and some in the US. His finding that humans everywhere shared the same emotional and intellectual potentials found strong and widespread opposition from academics and the public that had entrenched eugenicist and racist theories about differing innate abilities between various "races." At Columbia University, he was often at odds with the administration and there were professional jealousies with powerful people in other institutions and museums. He was a committed pacifist, not a good position for a German American during World War I, and in 1919 was censored by the American Anthropological Association for publicly objecting to our government's use of anthropologists as spies in Mexico for political and military aims. That censorship was not officially rescinded until 2005. He suffered personal tragedies within his own family.

The book is a good introduction to his life and work, but I find some shortcomings, mainly resulting from a lack of examining Boas in broader historical and present-day contexts. SGAS readers may wish for more detailed analysis of what it meant for Boas to be a German American. From my perspective as an anthropologist, there could have been a broader discussion and contextualization of developments in anthropology as a whole in the twentieth century. It wasn't all Boas. British anthropologists were moving in similar directions in emphasizing ethnographic field work, and respecting and relativizing cultural diversity. There also could have been more discussion of the influence of his students within the discipline, across other disciplines, and in the broader public.

The book would have benefitted from a consideration of how Boas fits into contemporary anthropological thinking. Of all the nineteenth century Germans who influenced Boas, it does not appear that Karl Marx had much, if any, influence. Marx was an evolutionist who was not a racist, and starting in the 1960s he came to have a very strong impact on many anthropologists. Notably and perhaps related to a lack of interest in Marx's critical approach, Boas appears to have seen the cultures he was studying as on the brink of being "lost" as the result of contact with Western societies and technology. In their search for recording these fading traditional practices, he and his students often ignored the contemporaneous contexts of oppression and marginalization, and also preservation and revitalization. These Indigenous peoples, like all of us, continually created new cultural responses that are worthy of respect and understanding. After his death, Boas came to be criticized for developing a static, non-theoretical "historical particularism." At present, moreover, there are very deep criticisms of the anthropology that Boas helped develop for being part of a colonialist, exploitative narrative that positions anthropologists as self-serving interpreters of the less powerful. I don't agree with these criticisms, but they should be recognized and perhaps addressed to provide a more contextualized understanding of Boas and his impact.

Despite its shortcomings, Arikha's book does an admirable job of showing how, through all the trials and challenges, Franz Boas developed and made significant contributions as a scholar and as a model for other scholars. And the book shows how throughout his life, in fact to his very last breath, he was relentless as a strong advocate of understanding and respect for all cultures and peoples.

Kutztown University *William W. Donner*

Thomas Mann: Ein Leben.
Von Tilmann Lahme. München: dtv, 2025 (2.Aufl.). 592 Seiten. €28.00.

So viel ist über Deutschlands berühmten Schriftsteller bereits geschrieben worden, dass man meint, ihn recht gut zu kennen: seine großen literarischen Erfolge von den *Buddenbrooks* über den *Zauberberg*, Nobelpreis für Literatur, jüngerer Bruder des Schriftstellers Heinrich Mann, Ehemann von Katia Pringsheim, Vater von sechs Kindern, Exilant in verschiedenen europäischen und schließlich zwei amerikanischen Staaten, Mahner gegen das Dritte Reich, Schrankschwester—oder weniger salopp ausgedrückt, ein Homosexueller, der seine Sexualität nicht offen ausgelebt und sich um ein "normales," gesellschaftlich respektiertes Leben bemüht hat.

Man meint also ungefähr zu wissen, was einen von einer neuen Mann-Biographie erwartet. Und dann liest man Tilmann Lahmes Buch, nein, verschlingt es, und kommt aus dem Staunen nicht mehr heraus. Wie viel Neues hat dieser Mensch ausgegraben und entdeckt, wie spannend und klug er alles zusammengestellt hat! Dazu die vielen Fotos, amüsanten, teils leicht spöttischen und doch verständnisvollen Kommentare—beim Lesen ist der Gedanke, dass dieses Buch einmal zu Ende geht, bedrückend.

Thomas Mann wird vor 150 Jahren in Lübeck geboren als Sohn eines Kaufmanns und einer brasilianischen Schönheit, hat 4 Geschwister und ist ein lausiger Schüler. Insgesamt 3 Klassen muss er wiederholen—wie auch sein Freund Otto Grautoff. Beide schwul, beide damit hadernd, beide später Ehemänner und Väter. Die mittlere Reife schafft er knapp 19-jährig mit Ach und Krach, um, wie es im abgedruckten Zeugnis heißt, Versicherungs-Beamter zu werden. Das ist aber nicht sein Wunsch. Thomas Mann will schreiben, malt sich Ruhm und Anerkennung aus, und trotz eines eher schwierigen

Starts wird er diesen Weg unbeirrt verfolgen. In den Briefen an seinen Freund strotzt es von Grandiosität, Kritik an des Freundes Schreibversuchen und gegenseitigen Ratschlägen bezüglich dessen, wie die fehlgeleitete Sexualiät, die "Hunde im Souterrain" am besten zu bekämpfen seien. Überhaupt ist letzteres der rote Faden, der sich durch die gesamte Biographie zieht. Homosexuell sind im Familienkreis, auch später dem angeheirateten, so einige. Auf drei seiner Kinder trifft es ebenfalls zu. Man schaudert, wenn man erfährt, wie verliebt der von seiner Familie liebevoll "Zauberer" Genannte in seinen eigenen pubertierenden Sohn Klaus war. Zum Glück war er in diesem Fall ein Zauderer, der Sohn blieb verschont, wenn auch nur knapp….

Sprung nach vorn: Im Jahr 1929 erhält Thomas Mann den Nobelpreis für Literatur. Endlich, ist man versucht zu sagen, denn Mann hat schon mehrere Jahre darauf spekuliert. Zu seiner Verblüffung wird ihm der hochdotierte Preis zuerkannt für seinen Roman *Die Buddenbrooks*, und keinesfalls, wie von ihm erhofft, für sein Gesamtwerk, inklusive den *Zauberberg*. Ehefrau Katia hält Thomas Mann den Rücken frei, organisiert, nimmt ihm alles ab, damit er sich sowohl in Deutschland, als auch später in den Exil-Ländern an seine unumstößliche Routine halten kann. Der Erfolg ist kometenhaft, Thomas Mann wird nicht nur gelesen, er wird gehört, er hat etwas zu sagen, und auch, wenn der Leser ihn als arroganten Schnösel, treulosen Freund und großen Narzisst ansehen kann—er hat zu Beginn des Dritten Reiches zumindest gelegentlich das Rückgrat, auf die Gefahren desselben hinzuweisen. Harsche Kritik, wie es sich für jemanden mit einem solch großen Publikum gehört, wechselt sich ab mit ängstlicher Zurückhaltung und Schweigen, und dem Tagebuch anvertrauten, durchaus antisemitischen Gedanken und Zweifeln an seiner Einschätzung der neuen Regierung, bis Thomas Mann später endlich eindeutig Position beziehen wird. 1938, nach zunächst europäischen Exil-Aufenthalten, leben er und seine Frau in Princeton an der Ostküste, bewundert und finanziell äußerst großzügig unterstützt, vor allem von der Mäzenin Agnes Meyer, die für ihn extrem lukrative Verträge aushandelt, in denen ihm viel Geld für wenig Tätigkeit zugesichert wird. Doch den Nobelpreisträger zieht es an die Westküste, wohin es schon viele andere schreibende Emigranten verschlagen hat. Der Bau eines 20-Zimmer-Hauses mit 400 qm Wohnfläche wird in Auftrag gegeben, von dem Thomas Mann aus weiter schreibt. Aber nicht nur schreibt—berühmt geworden sind auch seine sich über 5 Jahre erstreckenden wöchentlichen BBC Radioansprachen, die "deutsche-Hörer-Reden," in denen er Hitler auf schärfste Weise verurteilt und vor den Folgen von dessen Handlungsweisen warnt.

Sieben Jahre nach Kriegsende kehren die Manns mit ihrer Tochter Erika nach Europa zurück und lassen sich in der Schweiz nieder, wo der Schriftsteller 1955 achtzigjährig an einer geplatzten Bauchschlagader stirbt.

Einen überraschenden literarischen Leckerbissen findet der Leser im Anhang der Biographie: Dort sind erstmals die Aufzeichnungen der jungen Susan Sontag abgedruckt, die ihren Besuch bei Thomas Mann Ende 1949 beschreibt. Jedes Buch von Thomas Mann wird in Zusammenfassung wiedergegeben, auch die Kontroversen um seine Tagebücher und deren Freigabe erfährt der Leser. Das Buch platzt geradezu vor spannenden Informationen, die häufig die charakterlichen Schwächen Thomas Manns offenbaren, was ihn bei aller Bewunderung für sein literarisches Erbe und seinen Einsatz gegen die Nationalsozialisten doch in seiner Selbstherrlichkeit, seinem Egoismus und Arroganz, seiner Unzuverlässigkeit als Freund unsympathisch erscheinen lässt. Oder sollte man besser sagen: extrem vielschichtig zum Schlechten wie zum Guten hin?

Thomas Mann sagte einmal über Bertolt Brecht: Das Scheusal hat Talent. Man ist nach der Lektüre dieser Biographie versucht, dies auch über Thomas Mann zu denken.

West Bloomfield, Michigan — *Susanna Piontek*

Edgar G. Ulmer: A Filmmaker at the Margins.
By Noah Isenberg. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014. xiv + 314. $27.95

This paperback reprint completes the UC Press series "Weimar and Now," which now numbers 48 volumes. This title, and others in the series, examines the German diaspora from Babelsberg in the 1920s and 1930s, and captures the importance of Film Studies for SGAS members. Isenberg has tackled a difficult topic in sharing his research about a key individual in that very overlooked area of influence in the interaction of both German filmmakers and the context of Hollywood in those decades. The bottom line is someone who directed fifty-five films over a span of thirty years, and managed to create five classic films. Ulmer's method was rare in those two decades of work, but typical of film today. Isenberg traces his escape from *Leopoldstadt,* the Jewish district of Vienna, and how he eventually received his movie-making education in the atmosphere of Max Reinhart, Fritz Lang, and Otto Preminger. But even with five classic productions, "Ulmer remains something of a phantom figure, a *Phantombild,* as the Austrian film critic Stefan Grissman referred to him" (22). The facts surrounding his life from 1904-1972 remain sketchy at times, but he got his start by moving to Hollywood and getting an entry level job from Carl Laemmle, who eventually became head of Universal Studios.

Laemmle was famous for hiring German speaking staff, since he came from Laupheim, located west of Munich. Ulmer was in production, and worked on twenty-four two-reeler westerns from 1924-1928.

His crucial life decision was to return to Berlin, where he collaborated with Richard Siodmak in co-directing *Menschen am Sonntag* (*People on Sunday*). Billy Wilder wrote a very informal script, and the three filmed ordinary life for the youth of Berlin with only 28,000 Reichsmarks (equivalent to just under $7,000!). Their loose, naturalistic style cast a very long shadow on Ulmer's career, and the sub-genre known as *cinema verite* in later decades, as seen for example in Robert Altman's 1975 film *Nashville*. Critics proclaimed *Menschen am Sonntag* an innovative film, free of any studio influence, and incidentally a great deal of money for the trio. A century later, "the film cannily blends avant-garde documentary and narrative cinema into something that is less abstract and far more improvised, natural, and romantic than its predecessors" (37). But what do you do at age 25, when you have co-created a masterpiece? Ulmer's decision was to return to Hollywood and the Studio System.

He returned to Laemmle and Universal and became a close friend of "Uncle Carl" Laemmle's son, Junior. The son was ready to start climbing out of his father's shadow and he hired Ulmer to direct *The Black Cat* in 1934 with staff who were professionals. Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi starred, and the result was the template for a generation of horror films. It was the biggest box office hit of the year for the studio. But after the release of his second classic film, Uncle Carl discovered that Ulmer had fallen in love with Shirley Kassler, who was married to Uncle Carl's nephew. Ulmer himself was still married at the time. Each divorced their spouses and married each other, but the affair cost Ulmer his studio contract and forced him to become a freelancer who was essentially "blackballed" for the rest of his life. He worked for anyone, anywhere, and occasionally got lucky. But his shortcomings and imperfections always showed up as an independent operator.

In the 1940s he had his last brush with luck. With the war ending, the cycle of noir films began and he was in on one of the most famous. His film *Detour* (1945) fit the definition of noir very well by being both cynical and dark, with moral ambiguity. This film is his only recognizable work which has appeared regularly on television. It was an "independent" director's dream: it cost only $117,000 (or about $2 million today) and took only six days for the crew to shoot. Ulmer produced a darkly cynical vision by filming action centered on a dusty highway in the middle of the desert. The film sounds harsh and shrill, and has a raw, tawdry feel to the sad, lost characters (117-118). The next year, Hedy Lamarr (1914-2000), originally from Vienna, insisted on Ulmer as her director for her next movie. The production had financial backing from Samuel Goldwyn Studios, and another seasoned crew of professionals. In the 1940s Lamarr was known "for her intoxicating beauty and the sparkling elegance of a European diva" (164). She also had been trained by Max Reinhardt. But she lived a secret life as she used her intelligence to focus on experimental technology, leading to a U.S. Patent for what led to vastly improved radar in World War II. Ulmer signed his last year-long contract at $1,000 a week (or $14,000 a week in 2026 dollars), to direct *The Strange Woman*, starring Lamarr and George Sanders. The movie was a hit as a stylish noir. There were a few sunrays to come, but the next quarter century was barren of any fame, or recognition for Ulmer. And yet his classic films show the continued influence of the Weimar movie experiment on the future of Hollywood's American values.

Scott Community College *William Roba*

The Mushroom Girl: From Hitler's Germany to Today's Texas. *By Dagmar Grieder. Wimberley, TX: Stoney Creek Publishing, 2024. 140 pp. $16.95.*

Dagmar Grieder, born near the town of Zabrze (then called Hindenburg) in Upper Silesia, has written a short and engaging memoir that focuses primarily on her childhood. She recounts her early years, her family's flight through Czechoslovakia at the end of World War II, and her life as a German refugee in rural Bavaria during the postwar period. She chose the title *The Mushroom Girl* because of the crucial role mushroom foraging played in sustaining her family during their years in southern Germany. As Grieder proudly notes, "I got good at finding more and better mushrooms … than anyone else, and I jealously kept my places secret" (70).

At the beginning of chapter one, "First Home," Grieder openly acknowledges the limits of her memory concerning her earliest years. Some events, she concedes, may stem from family stories rather than direct experience. Born in 1937 in Upper Silesia near the Polish-Czechoslovak border, she grew up in a middle-class German household. Her father, Georg Janiel, an engineer by training, owned a growing business that manufactured and repaired steel structures. As a member of the Nazi Party, he initially benefited from the war economy. Her mother, Edeltraud Janiel (née Widawski), was partially of Polish descent. After the birth of her brother Michael in 1942, the war increasingly shaped the family's daily life. Grieder spent considerable time in school preparing for air raids, and the scarcity of essential goods—especially food—became more pronounced. Several older male relatives, including her father, served at the front, and some did not return.

Chapter two, "Fleeing from the Russians," along with the opening pages of chapter three, centers on the family's flight westward beginning in the winter of 1944. They eventually reached the area near Terezín (then Theresienstadt), where some Soviet soldiers, unexpectedly, treated them with relative kindness. However, women in the family witnessed and suffered sexual violence perpetrated by Soviet troops later. Grieder's mother ultimately decided to register the immediate family as ethnically German, a choice that resulted in harsher treatment by the local Czech population, including a months-long internment in a camp for Sudeten Germans. She later resolved to accept resettlement in the American zone of occupation in southern Germany.

Chapter three, "Deportation and Resettlement," at roughly fifty pages, is by far the longest section and forms the core of the memoir. It provides a detailed account of Grieder's life as a refugee from the east in a small Bavarian village in the Allgäu region southwest of Munich. One of her earliest impressions was the lack of welcome from the local family which was compelled to house them. Viewed as a burden, the refugees were subjected to insults and frequently labeled "Russians" (57). When another farmer offered to take them in, the family accepted, and their circumstances improved considerably. Nevertheless, life in the immediate postwar years remained difficult. Food continued to be rationed, making foraging for berries, nuts, and mushrooms a necessity. All family members worked on the host farm, performing tasks such as harvesting hay, milking cows, and picking fruit. The strong Catholicism of the local population manifested itself in regular church attendance and the celebration of name days, which locals often considered more important than birthdays. Over time, however, Grieder and her family relinquished hopes of returning east and accepted what she describes as a "change to a new kind of normal" (85).

The remaining four chapters are comparatively brief and outline Grieder's later life only in broad strokes. After completing her education, she accepted a position as a secretary for a German organization in Istanbul, Turkey, where she met her future husband, a U.S. serviceman. The couple had two children before relocating—following military transfer orders—to South Carolina and later Texas. After their divorce in 1970, Grieder remarried. Looking back, she expresses little regret about her life choices and emphasizes her enjoyment of extensive international travel.

Within the broader body of memoirs by German refugees from Central and Eastern Europe, Grieder's account offers few novel perspectives. Compared with works such as Irene Nickelburg's *Remembering Volhynia* or Philomena Baker's *Flight to Freedom*, her narrative is notably restrained in its depiction of violence and trauma and conveys relatively little of the devastation experienced by many Germans from the east after 1944. Her time in a Czechoslovak camp, for instance, occupies only a few pages, and she characterizes local German attitudes in the postwar years as largely indifferent rather than overtly hostile. This tone may partly reflect the fact that her family originated in western Poland and therefore had to undertake a comparatively short westward flight. However, it could also be a function of retrospective distance. Readers might nonetheless wish for a more detailed discussion of her early years in the United States, particularly concerning reactions to her identity as a German woman within her husband's social circle. Despite these limitations, Grieder's memoir remains a worthwhile contribution, especially for scholars researching displacement, postwar German society, or personal narratives of flight and resettlement.

University of Missouri–St. Louis *Christoph Schiessl*

Ein deutscher Revolutionär im Amt: Carl Schurz und der Niedergang der Minderheitenrechte in den USA der 1870er Jahre.
By Julius Wilm. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2024. 78 pp. $27.99.

The focus of this short monograph is on the years that Carl Schurz spent in Congress as the first German American senator from the State of Missouri (1869-75) and as the first German American cabinet officer, i.e., as secretary of the interior, in the administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-81). Although Schurz was hailed as a champion of abolition and a defender of democracy and human rights, the author feels that the hagiographic view of Schurz that developed on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1880s, and to some extent may even exist today, fails to take into account statements Schurz made with regard to the rights of Black Americans during Reconstruction after the Civil War and his words and actions regarding Indian affairs while secretary of the interior.

Organized into seven short chapters, the book begins with an overview of Schurz's views on giving Black Americans in the South the vote and the democratic integration of Native Americans into American society. Chapters 2 and 3 cover the time period Schurz serves as U.S. senator from Missouri, during which the author claims Schurz often seems to side with white Southerners with regard to Reconstruction, when he opposed the use of federal troops to protect Blacks in the South and when he voted against the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 as an overreach of federal authority and tried to gain Southern support. Chapters 4 through 6 deal with the years that Schurz served as secretary of the interior and focus on his handling of Indian affairs, his belief in a policy of forced assimilation through the allotment of parcels of reservation land and sale of surplus reservation land and the founding of boarding schools for Native American children. While many of his policies were criticized at the time, Schurz felt they were a better alternative than military intervention. The author examines in detail Schurz's handling of the conflicts with the Ute tribe in Colorado, where he withheld food rations in order to compel the tribe to hand over those who had murdered the Indian agent, and the relocation and eventual compensation of the Ponco tribe on the Dakota-Nebraska border. It must be remembered that supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was only one of Schurz's many responsibilities as secretary of the interior and that there were serious problems in the Bureau when Schurz took office, and that he made considerable headway by firing corrupt Indian agents. The concluding chapter examines how Schurz as one of the foremost German American politicians has been viewed in Germany from the time of his death in 1906 up to the present day.

To help his German readers, the author translated all quotations into German instead of providing quotations in both the original and translation as is often preferred. In so doing, however, he does not let the reader hear Schurz in his own words and expressions; after all, Schurz had developed a remarkable fluency and distinctive style in English after arriving in the New World knowing virtually no English.

The book provides additional insight into the stands Schurz took and the policies that he implemented as U.S. senator and secretary of the interior, which could have improved the lot of Black Americans as well as Native Americans, and thus presents a more balanced portrayal of Schurz as a politician, who over time not only changed his ideas, but was sometimes inconsistent for political reasons. This study is well researched, and the inclusion of more reference material from Black Americans and Native Americans is especially welcomed. Not mentioned, of course are Schurz's major accomplishments as secretary of the interior, e.g., the badly needed reform of the federal civil service, establishment of the Geological Survey, and his efforts to protect the nation's natural resources, especially its national forests, which would have given readers a more complete picture of Schurz, but then those aspects were outside the parameters of this narrowly focused study.

Stanford University *William E. Petig*

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 *Yearboo*k, 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
CHRISTIANE BAUER
BYRON D. BECHLER
ALLEN W. BERNARD
TYLER CARRINGTON
KATHLEEN NEILS CONZEN
PETRA DEWITT
GABY DIVAY
DALE DOERHOFF
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
URSULA LEHMKUHL
BRUCE LESLIE
MARK L. LOUDEN
PAUL MICHAEL LÜTZELER
ROWENA MCCLINTON
DAVID CONLEY NELSON
NICHOLE NEUMANN
BARBARA PARSONS-SCHAUPP
WILLIAM E. PETIG
ANTJE PETTY
BENJAMIN PHELPS
KAREN K. RIDGEWAY
KAREN ROESCH
KARYL ROMMELFANGER
HELMUT SCHMAHL
SUSAN SCHÜRER
MICHAEL SHAUGHNESSY
WERNER SOLLORS
ALBERT SPENGLER
BECKY THORNTON
SUSAN S. TILTON
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
2026	Antje Petty, University of Wisconsin-Madison