

Book Reviews

Edited by Susan M. Schürer

Immigration

Glarners in America: Stories of Immigrants and Their Descendants from Canton Glarus, Switzerland. Glarner in Amerika: Geschichten glarnerischer Einwanderer und ihrer Nachkommen.

By Robert A. Elmer. Glarus und Schwanden: Historical Society of Canton Glarus, and Gukum (Historical and Cultural Society Schwanden), 2015. Pp. 264. \$29.00

Glarners in America offers some one hundred brief portraits of emigrants from Canton Glarus, a small Swiss canton marked by a main valley traversed by the Linth River called the *Grosstal*, and a branch valley named the *Kleintal* or *Sernftal*. The canton is marked by towering mountains, among them the *Tödi* of 11,857, the *Hausstock* of 10,361 and the *Glärnisch* of 9,550 feet. Canton Glarus is also known for its enterprising people whose livelihood was based since the 18th century not only on subsistence farming, but also on the textile home industry that in the 1840s industrialization replaced by textile factories. Glarnese printed cloth that in part imitated East African patterns and had wide distribution in Europe and beyond. This book documents the openness of the people of Canton Glarus to the wider world as illustrated by their presence in the United States.

The short biographies are given side by side in English and in German, a polished translation made by Monika Kubli-Peter. The book presents first some 18th century portraits that include the patriot Swiss Reformed pastor Abraham Blumer (1736–1822) who during the American Revolution buried the liberty bell in his church in Allentown, Pennsylvania. The Episcopal priest John Jacob

Tschudi (1778–1834) served as pastor of St. John's Church of Berkeley, South Carolina and told slaves that their status was ordained by God. The next chapters of the book feature Western pioneers, some localities named after Glarnese immigrants, and Glarnese men who had served in the military. Then some men and women in art and architecture are portrayed as well as some authors and scientists, people active in business, in sports, and in government. A final chapter portrays some personalities of doubtful or even criminal character.

The immigrants portrayed were widely dispersed over the United States, from Pennsylvania and Maryland to Georgia and Mississippi, from Ohio and Wisconsin to Nebraska, Texas, Arizona, Alaska, and Hawaii. A few of them achieved prominence. Among them was Heinrich Lienhard (1822–1903) who first settled in Highland, Illinois, then made the laborious trek from St. Louis to Sutter's Fort New Helvetia in California where he was present when gold was discovered; he then returned to Switzerland, but after two years moved to Nauvoo in Illinois. [Parts of Lienhard's 1000-page manuscript have been published as: *New Worlds to Seek*, edited by John C. Abbot (Southern Illinois University Press, 2000) about his stay in the Midwest; *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort*, translated and edited by Erwin G. and Elizabeth K. Gudde (Oklahoma University Press 1961) covers the trek; *Wenn Du unbedingt nach Amerika willst . . .* Transcribed and edited by Christa Landert (Zürich: Limmat Verlag, 2010), a 762-page scholarly edition of the German text about the trek and the years in California.] In the art world the abstract paintings of Fritz Glarner (1899–1972), akin to those of Piet Mondrian (1872–1944), are well known. Born in Zurich, he was the son of Rudolf Glarner, a textile entrepreneur in Naples of Glarnese descent. After studies in Naples and Paris Fritz Glarner moved to New York where among other noted works he created the 40 by 15 feet mural at the corporate headquarters of the Time-Life Corporation in Manhattan. In the history of American education Hermann Krüsi (1817–1903) and William N. Hailmann (1836–1920) are known as leading proponents of the educational approach of the Swiss Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) and the German Friedrich Fröbel (1782–1852).

The Missouri businessman Jacob L. Babler (1870–1945) endowed the Babler Memorial Park near St. Louis where he is honored by a life-sized bronze statue, while Henry Rosenberg (1824–1893) is remembered as a major benefactor of Galveston, Texas. The passionate skier and physician Rudi Schmid (1922–2007) became noted for his research dealing with liver disease and for his approach to medical education that stressed problem solving rather than memorization. He taught at the universities of Harvard and Chicago, was a member of the American Academy of Science, and served as Dean of the University of San Francisco Medical School from 1983 to 1989. [The University of San Francisco Oral History Program published a 220-

page "Interview with Rudi Schmid," with an added large number of relevant documents, Archival Series No. 21, 1998, prepared by Nancy M. Rockafellar Ph.D.] Other Glarnese immigrants presented in the book were farmers, entrepreneurs, architects, or business people, and many met with success. Those who were victims of misfortune or ineptitude are mainly absent from the book's gallery of portraits since their records are less accessible and their lives less remembered.

Some unique detail of the stories may be listed. Samuel Blumer (1835–1917), a Union soldier, had been severely wounded on September 17, 1862 at the battle of Antietam but was helped by a Confederate soldier, and when Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson rode by he kindly encouraged the stricken man. Adam Blumer (1839–1915) in turn was a Confederate soldier captured at Fort Donelson and imprisoned in Chicago. With a comrade he tunneled himself out, and the two fugitives walked home for over a thousand miles to Mississippi where Adam Blumer rejoined the Confederate troops. Caspar Knobel (1844–1919) was among the 14 Union soldiers present at the capture of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy. Knobel reported that when the flaps of Davis' tent opened, his wife threw her shawl around him due to the draft. This was probably the origin of the fable that on his flight Davis had worn women's clothes. In World War II the pilot and bombardier Herbert C. Freuler (1907–1983), although badly wounded, escaped the Japanese attack on Wake Island in late December 1941 and later served as Brigadier General of the US Marine Corps.

In civilian pursuits Henry E. Legler (1860–1917), a librarian and author, as head of the Chicago library system developed a master plan that projected 5 regional and 70 local branches, 60 deposit stations, 100 commercial and industrial sites, 22 High School and 3000 classroom libraries. Peter Britt (1819–1905), Adolph Daniel Edward Elmer (1870–1942), and Jacob Corwin Blumer (1872–1948) were botanists, the latter two creating plant collections, Elmer of Southeast Asia and Blumer of the Rincon and Chiricahua Mountains. The entrepreneur John Trumpy (1879–1963) established the Trumpy Yacht Company that built the presidential yacht USS Sequoia on which President Truman made the decision to use the atom bomb, John F. Kennedy celebrated his last birthday, and Richard M. Nixon made the decision to resign. President Jimmy Carter, however, had the yacht sold in 1977 as an unbecoming imperial trapping of the presidency.

Although most people featured in *Glarners in America* are men, some women portraits are included. Most were spouses of farmers such as Regula Laager, born in 1857, one of the first settlers of the Swiss settlement of Grütli, Tennessee, now called Guetli-Laager. Katharina Hefti (1843–1929) who first had worked in the Glarus cotton mills, went to New York State where she

married Andreas Knobel and in 1880 moved to Odessa in Buffalo County, Nebraska. Catherine Baumgartner (1852–1916) moved from Glarus to New Glarus in the 1850s, then to Berne, Minnesota, where she and her husband Gottfried Andrist managed a general store, owned several farms, a cheese factory, and over 100 Brown Swiss cows. Anna Balsiger, born Marty (1889–2001) of New Glarus, whose parents were Wisconsin cheese makers, reached in 2001 as the oldest woman of Wisconsin the age of 112 years and 215 days. Until the age of 109 she had been seen picking raspberries and working in her flower garden.

The career of Betty Schlittler (1868–1965) who married into the Ludington family is unique. In 1920 already she owned three airplanes and did aerial stunts, perhaps the first American woman to do so. Margaret Burgi (1887–1973), whose great-grandparents were among the early New Glarus settlers, did some technological study at the University of Wisconsin, then worked for the Monroe Telephone Company and rose through the ranks to the position of president. Alice Kundert (1920–2013), daughter of German immigrants from Russia, lived in Mound City, South Dakota, was active in Republican politics, served as secretary of state from 1979 to 1987, and in 1986 unsuccessfully ran for governor.

In sum, this book offers life stories without claiming comprehensiveness or in-depth research and highlights the varieties of pursuits and special achievements of a sample of immigrants. It shows that the Glarnese people coming from a small polity varied greatly in their occupations and that their immigration was not driven by crises at home but rather by personal bonds and the search for opportunities abroad. A comparison of the lives of the immigrants with their siblings who stayed in Switzerland would probably yield similar stories. It seems that migration mainly enlarges the range of possibilities that people face on their varied life paths.

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Leo Schelbert

Württemberg in Nordamerika: Migration von der Schwäbischen Alb im 19. Jahrhundert.

By Jochen Krebber. Vol. 50 of Transatlantische Historische Studien edited by Hartmut Berghoff, Mischa Honeck and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. 317 pp. €52.00.

Württemberg in Nordamerika studies the migration patterns of over three thousand migrants who left forty-four communities within the Oberamt

Tuttlingen and Spaichingen in the Schwäbische Alb region of Württemberg between 1830 and 1880 to settle in hundreds of different localities in North America. Jochen Krebber evaluated not only the social, economic, and cultural characteristics of migration from a region that historians had previously overlooked, but also the geographic or spatial aspects upon arrival in the destination country, including interregional movement and resettlement in the old country. This approach allowed the author to trace the movement and adaptation processes of one specific group of migrants who came from one small region and settled in the United States and Canada. Krebber, thus, is able to offer the reader a well analyzed study that addresses in greater detail than previous migration studies the system of chain migration and the factors that influenced geographic and social mobility as well as community building.

This book follows a very precise and readable structure. Krebber begins his work by addressing the many agrarian, political, demographic, and economic reasons for people to leave Württemberg. He evaluates the existing patterns of migration, of which emigration to North America was but one way for Swabians to adjust to changing circumstances; although between 1845 and 1875, it became the preferred process. Krebber examines the various settlement patterns in rural regions, small towns, larger cities, and industrial areas and demonstrates that although the immigrants came from a small geographic region less than half of them established ethnic or religiously homogeneous communities. In most cases, personal settlement choices were influenced by wealth and availability of job skills, jobs, and land, and the presence of family members or co-religious individuals. For example, 122 unskilled farm laborers followed advertisements for good paying mining jobs to settle in Copper County, Michigan. Several communities, like Madison, Indiana; Cincinnati, Ohio; and Utica, New York served as temporary stopping points until migrants could earn enough money to purchase land further west.

Krebber is at his best as he analyzes the complex cultural, economic, social, and political adjustment processes through which Swabians adjusted to a new environment, including different production processes, crowded apartments in immigrant communities, homes on isolated farmsteads, and new weather phenomena such as blizzards or tornadoes. Of particular interest is the discovery that single men and women, who had been denied the opportunity to wed in Württemberg owing to strict economic regulations, married upon arrival in the United States, and married at a much earlier age once in North America than their counterparts in the home country. Marriage in the destination country and opportunity to work also liberated many women from traditional field work or the loom. The migration process, according to Krebber, also contributed to redefinition of gender roles and a weakened patriarchal family structure for these Swabians. The author concludes his de-

tailed study with an analysis of socioeconomic changes for the migrants. Most had immigrated to improve their lives and indeed achieved the American Dream by purchasing land, establishing businesses, or finding reliable work.

The author based his study on impressive research in primary sources including letters, memoirs, church records in both Württemberg and North America, the manuscripts of the United States population, agricultural, and industrial census, ship passenger lists, American county histories as well as *Ortschroniken* and *Heimatbücher* from Württemberg, emigration registers, and countless newspapers. Detailed maps, tables, and graphs, effectively interspersed with personal anecdotes, help the reader to see trends and feel experiences.

Serious scholars of migration history will very much appreciate the detailed nuance of this work, and its reinforcement of the work of previous immigration historians on chain migration networks, settlement patterns, and acculturation processes. Yet, this work also offers much new material. The size of the sample and the spread of settlement allowed Krebber to tease out the many distinctions and complexities of patterns based on personal choices. This well supported research demonstrates beyond doubt that “migration chains were often unstable and short lived” (272). Readers and future scholars should certainly take to heart Krebber’s suggestion that they take advantage of technological developments, including ever increasing electronic access to older books and genealogical collections, to write more in-depth migration studies that span over longer time periods and take into consideration settlement over larger space.

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Petra DeWitt

Celtic Germans: The Rise and Fall of Ann Arbor’s Swabians.

By George F. Wieland. Ann Arbor: George F. Wieland, 2014. 406 pp. \$ 14.85.

George F. Wieland, who holds degrees in psychology and sociology, has written an interesting cultural history of immigrants from the Swabian region in southwestern Germany who settled in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He traces the lives of Swabians who arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, examines their interaction with Americans, outlines successes as farmers and business owners, explains cultural adjustments during two world wars, and evaluates the community’s decline owing to social and economic changes during the second half of the twentieth century.

The author based his study on many primary sources including letters, memoirs, account books, school reports, and church histories. Most valuable are the interviews he conducted with descendants of long-settled or recently-arrived Swabians, although Wieland could have cited these conversations more efficiently. These personal accounts are invaluable to understand the cultural traits of Swabians, their farming practices, holiday traditions, the importance of music, their success as farmers or heads of business, the complex acculturation process including the difficulties to navigate between German and American identity, and life in general. Consequently, this is an important study of an ethnic community.

Wieland begins his study by explaining the unique cultural traits of Swabians that developed during the cultural exchange between Celtic and Germanic peoples living together at the fringes of the Roman Empire in what is now Württemberg. These Swabian traits, according to the author, include a constant search for deeper spirituality, a strong sense of unfettered individualism, and excessive “conscientiousness,” or dedication more than most Germans to hard work, punctuality, thrift, honesty, and perfectionism (42). Wieland explains how these cultural norms contributed to the success of Swabian immigrants in and around Ann Arbor, their eventual dominance in the city’s businesses and growing influence in municipal politics, their taking over most of the farmland west of the city by turning poor soil into prosperous farms, and their ability to preserve religious, social, and recreational practices beyond World War II.

Cultural traits, however, also contributed to conflicts with American society and within the ethnic group itself and contributed to the eventual decline of the Swabian community. Individualistic spirituality helped spur splintering into various faiths and prevented unified political power. The Swabian consumption of beer, especially on Sunday afternoon, clashed with the American push for temperance and subsequent prohibition. During World War I, nationalistic Americans pressured Swabians to end their obvious expressions of German culture such as reading and speaking German. Divisions based on individualism between earlier and later arrivals as well as between town folk and rural inhabitants led to a lack of social cooperation. The social and political changes during the Sixties and Seventies clashed with Swabian conservatism and widened rifts between Germans and Americans in Ann Arbor. Persistent preservation of traditional business practices, younger generations preferring a life of affluence and leisure over the hard working monotony on the farm, and individualism encouraging job acceptance away from Ann Arbor also contributed to the decline of the ethnic community. Wieland, however, sees the world as a glass half full and concludes by intro-

ducing several individuals who have retained their Swabian traits and pointing out the architectural and social legacies of the Swabians in Ann Arbor.

Wieland chose to self-publish this book and thus did not take advantage of an editor's proof reading abilities, resulting in a few typographical errors. An editor may have also convincingly argued that although World War I was indeed one of the factors that hastened acculturation, the phrase "ethnic cleansing" would be far too strong an expression to describe the events on the home front during the Great War. It also would have been helpful for the serious scholar to see a population or occupation distribution map based on census information.

These problems, however, do not take away from the overall quality of this well researched work that will be of interest to general readers, genealogists, and those interested in the history of German Americans. Indeed, this study should encourage historians to write more comparative studies that contrast the regional and cultural origins of German immigrants and evaluate their various experiences as well as acculturation processes in the United States because Wieland clearly demonstrates that all Germans were not alike.

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Swiss Immigration to Canada: Achievements, Testimonies, Relations.

By Ilona Shulman Spaar. Vancouver, BC: Consulate General of Switzerland, 2013. 221 pp. \$55.00.

This work was written and published under the auspices of the Swiss Consulate in Vancouver to mark the hundredth anniversary of official relations between Switzerland and Western Canada. As author Shulman Spaar points out, Swiss immigration began as early as the late sixteenth century with the appearance of Swiss mercenary soldiers in the ranks of the colonial army in New France, and not many years later in New Britain. By the following century, many soldiers were joined by their families and determined to settle permanently in Eastern and Central Canada. Not surprisingly, French-speaking Swiss tended to settle in francophone areas, such as Quebec, where many established farms or served in the colonial administration. Others moved further west to engage in farming, trapping, and trading.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, German-speaking Protestant pacifists, such as the Mennonites and Amish, who had originally emigrated from Switzerland to Pennsylvania, moved onward to central Canada in order to avoid the threat of conflict at the time of the American Revolution.

Even with the onset of industrialization in the nineteenth century, the largest number of Swiss immigrating to Canada continued to be farmers. At the time of the founding of the Swiss Confederation in 1848, during a period of economic turbulence, the availability of land and employment in Canada led even larger numbers of Swiss to abandon their homeland, often with the encouragement of their government.

It was not until the wave of immigration after World War I that cities became the preferred destination and skilled professionals seeking jobs in technical and mechanical fields began to predominate. While 38,959 individuals of Swiss origin were living in Canada in 2012, which marked an all-time high in that category, finding accurate figures for net immigration remains elusive. Indeed, about two thirds of those who arrived between 1958 and 1986 eventually returned to their European home. Nor was this a twentieth century anomaly. In the 1820s, the Red River Colony near Lake Winnipeg ultimately failed because Swiss watchmakers and musicians proved ill-suited for farming in a harsh prairie environment. In the 1870s, even the better organized efforts of German born Baroness Elise von Koerber, who became a special immigration agent for the Canadian government, to establish both German-speaking and French-speaking colonies in Northern Ontario met with limited success as climatic challenges drove many of the colonists further south. Such state-aided efforts continued well into the twentieth century before ending with the outbreak of World War II.

By and large, those who stayed have tended to assimilate by the second generation, which is, of course, a consequence of a relatively small population of Swiss dispersing themselves over a vast land area. While there were individual communities where Swiss culture remained dominant—from Kitchener, Ontario, to the Edelweiss Village in Golden, British Columbia—these were certainly the exception, which makes the author's task of finding a focal point much more difficult than tracing the cultural influence, say, of German immigrants to central Pennsylvania, Milwaukee, or St. Louis.

Shulman Spaar covers a wide range of material in chapters devoted to Swiss pioneers in early Canada; Swiss humanitarian work, especially in the prisoner-of-war camps during the World Wars; Swiss clubs and community life; agriculture; economic life; the sciences, arts, and humanities; the arts and artists; and sports and the outdoors. However, the impression is largely an overview of disparate points of light across hundreds of miles of Canadian territory. Thus, the author decides to focus on notable personalities by creating dozens of vignettes of exemplary Swiss Canadians. The picture that emerges is of solid and well respected Canadian citizens who excelled in their various walks of life, whether it be a successful cattle breeder in Alberta, a leading businessman in Vancouver, professors of German and French in To-

ronto, or a surprising cluster of graphic designers who rose to prominence in Canadian urban centers in more recent years.

One of the more remarkable subjects covered in depth is the community of Swiss born mountaineers who helped open the Canadian Rockies to its current status as a leading area for international tourism. In the early twentieth century, Swiss mountain guides, centered in Edelweiss Village, led parties of climbers in the initial ascents of 50 major mountain peaks. Their descendants continue this work in the current century. The Swiss who settled in this area helped recreate the alpine culture of their homeland by exploiting the natural beauty they found. Numerous hunting lodges and ski resorts are a product of their efforts.

What this reader found lacking was more of an effort to draw all of the elements of this interesting account together. What made Canada such a powerful attraction for Swiss immigrants over such a very long period of time? What were the unique circumstances that influenced hundreds of brave Swiss to immigrate to a vast and rugged territory in the middle of the nineteenth century? What factors enabled some to succeed and many to choose to return to their homeland? The author touches on these questions without going into sufficient depth to answer them completely.

This volume is well written, handsomely bound, and replete with engaging photographs and illustrations covering a range of historical and cultural subjects. It is especially recommended for libraries with strong collections in genealogical studies and European immigration to North America.

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Geoffrey Orth

Conrad Kain: Letters from a Wandering Mountain Guide, 1906–1933.

Edited with an Introduction by Zac Robinson. Translated by Maria and John Koch. Calgary: The University of Alberta Press, 2014. 468 pp. C\$34.95.

“It was always the delight in new experience and the longing for the new wonders and beauties of nature that drew him to faraway foreign lands. . . . The splendid colors of the sinking sun moved him most powerfully: the magnificent sunset in the Dauphiné, the rich colors of the setting sun in the Red Sea, and the subterranean splendor of ice domes in the Canadian Rockies.” Thus the Viennese Amalie Malek (1871–1941) characterized her lifelong friend, the Austrian-Canadian mountain guide Conrad Kain, in a 1934 obituary of the *Deutsch-Österreichische Alpen Verein*. He was born on August 10, 1883, in Nasswald in Lower Austria, and died on February 2, 1934, in Cranbrook

in British Columbia. Malek's assessment is reflected manifold in Zac Robinson's expert edition of Kain's letters to her. They are rich in detail not only about his travels and climbs in the European, Siberian, Canadian, and New Zealand mountain ranges that involved staggering heights, immense walls of rock, steep glacier fields, icy crests, as well as sudden storms, rockslides, and avalanches. The letters also reflect the inner experience and yearnings of this mountain guide and are testimony to a lasting friendship that was dedicated but not meddling, loving but not intimate, trusting but without demands. The edition of these letters complements Kain's autobiography *Where the Clouds Can Go*, edited by J. Monroe Thorington and first published in 1935 and again in 1979 by the American Alpine Club of New York, in 1954 reissued by the Charles T. Branford Company of Boston and in 2011 by the Rocky Mountain Books of Calgary.

The book under review that presents Kain's letters to Malek—hers seem out of reach—opens with an elegant foreword by Chic Scott that profiles Kain as “a master of rock and a master of ice” and views him as “one of the world's greatest guides in the early decades of the twentieth century” (ix). The mountaineer was not only a gifted climber and masterful guide, Scott asserts, but also personable, dedicated, and serene as well as committed to the safety and wellbeing of those in his charge. Kain wondered in a letter of 12 March 1909, “How hundreds of people entrusted me their lives” and further observed that “among them, there were so many good ones, and also ungrateful ones, who estimated their life in millions and mine in only a few pennies. But I will nevertheless remain true to my profession” (43).

After Scott's Foreword, editor Zac Robinson offers an “Introduction. Letters from the Archives” (xxi–xxxvii) that describes their provenance. He stresses that these documents are more than simply immigrant letters, reflecting not only an unusual and lasting friendship between an upper class Viennese woman and a working class mountain guide, stone cutter, woodsman, hunter, and farmer, but also highlighting an important phase of the human ascent of some of the highest and most challenging peaks on the planet.

The book is enriched by fifty archival photographs mainly of mountains and people as well as by three helpful maps (xvi–xix). The 143 letters are amply annotated and date from November 8, 1906 to June 13, 1933. They are divided into four parts: “A Young Guide in Europe, 1906–1909,” presenting the letters 1 to 30 (1–54); “Your Friend in the Western [Canadian] Woods,” with the letters 31 to 63 (56–171); “The Wanderer,” containing the letters 64a to 124 (172–352), and “With Greetings from Wilmer, 1920–1933,” giving the letters numbered 125 to 142 (354–420). Finally, Don Bourdon, archivist at the Archives and Library at White Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff, details in an epilogue how Kain's letters had finally surfaced and

found their way to their proper depository. A rich bibliography and (perhaps a too detailed) index conclude this valuable source edition. As is proper for a documentary, the Koch's translation seems to have intended faithfulness to the letters' prose rather than striving for stylistic elegance.

Conrad Kain stands in a long line of mountaineers. Perhaps one of his oldest precursors was "Ötzi, the Iceman" of some five thousand years ago, whose well preserved skeleton was discovered in 1991 north of Bolzano in the South Tyrol at a height of 10,350 feet or 3,210 meters. Throughout the ages, it seems, people have scaled some of the highest mountains as is documented for the Andes or the Pyrenees. In Western culture, mountaineering as a sport that was supported by professional guides had come to its own in the second part of the nineteenth century and lasted in its personality-based form, as Conrad Kain's letters document, into the twentieth. Alpinism had also become global as highlighted by his journeys and climbs in Siberia, North America, Western Europe, and New Zealand. Reading these letters puts a wonderfully human face on an Austrian mountain guide's achievements and reveals as well his craft's challenges, defeats, and glories.

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Leo Schelbert

Das deutsche New York: Eine Spurensuche.

Von Ilona Stölken. Leipzig: Lehmanns Verlag, 2013. 320 Seiten. Großformat. €30.90.

Drei Jahre nach Veröffentlichung ihres mit Thomas Fitschen herausgegebenen Stadtführers *New York's German Past* (siehe *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, vol. 45) hat Ilona Stölken in eigener Regie ihren großformatigen Bildband zur Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderer und ihrer New Yorker Nachfahren vorgelegt. Obwohl reich und sinnvoll illustriert, ist dieser Band mehr als ein *coffee table book*. Bewusst wurden für den jeweiligen Zeitabschnitt zeitgenössische Abbildungen gewählt, häufig aus *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* für das 19. Jahrhundert, den zahlenmäßig stärksten Abschnitt der Einwanderung aus Deutschland.

Beginnend im südöstlichen Teil Manttans, der Lower East Side (früher auch: *Kleindeutschland*), folgt die historische Darstellung der Abwanderung des deutschen Elements in nördlichere Umgebungen und andere Stadtteile (boroughs) wie Brooklyn und Queens. Die Bewältigung des umfangreichen Materials und der oft bewegten Geschichte der Deutschamerikaner in New York trägt sowohl der soziologischen Zusammenhänge als auch zahlreicher

individueller Biografien Rechnung, zumal wenn es sich um eindrucksvolle Erfolgsgeschichten handelt. Während jüdische Einwanderer aus Deutschland im Finanzwesen (Joseph Seligmann, Heinrich Lehmann, Mark Goldmann, Joseph Sachs, Salomon Loeb, Jacob Schiff, August Belmont, d.h. Schönberg, et al.) und als Kaufhausbesitzer (die Gebrüder Altman, Stern, Ehrlich, Straus, et al.) erfolgreich waren, erreichten nichtjüdische Immigranten aus deutschen Landen vorwiegend (aber nicht ausschließlich) als Bierbrauer Millionärstatus (Friedrich und Maximilian Schaefer, George Ehret, Jacob Ruppert, George Ringler, Samuel Liebmann, et al.). Besondere Verdienste um die Verbreitung und Pflege der klassischen Musik erlangten sowohl Klavierbauer (Steinway & Söhne, Gebrüder Decker, Ernst Gabler, et al.) als auch ausübende Musiker und Dirigenten wie Theodore Thomas und Leopold Damrosch.

Da dieser Band rechtzeitig zum 100. Jahrestag des Ausbruchs des Ersten Weltkriegs vorlag und dieser gigantische Konflikt einschneidende Konsequenzen für alle Deutschamerikaner, nicht nur in New York, hatte, sei an dieser Stelle kurz auf das weitere Schicksal dieser ethnischen Gruppe hingewiesen. Der deutsche Militär-Erfolg gegen Frankreich (1871) und die Reichsgründung mit dem König von Preußen als deutschem Kaiser waren offenbar den Machern der auf Bismarck folgenden neuen Außenpolitik zu Kopf gestiegen, was Befremden und Missfallen auf amerikanischer Seite zur Folge hatte—obgleich Preußen zu den ersten europäischen Ländern gehört, welche die Vereinigten Staaten anerkannt hatten (unter Friedrich dem Großen war 1785 ein Freundschafts- und Handelsvertrag mit den USA abgeschlossen worden).

Zwar erklärte Präsident Woodrow Wilson bei Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs die USA für neutral, versorgte aber heimlich England mit Kriegsmaterial. Der Vorwand der Regierung Wilson für den Eintritt in den Krieg gegen Deutschland war das von den Engländern abgefangene sog. Zimmermann-Telegramm, in welchem 1917 der deutsche Botschafter in Mexiko von Berlin aus angewiesen wurde, sich bei der mexikanischen Regierung wegen eines Bündnisses mit Deutschland zu erkundigen für den Fall, dass die USA in den Krieg gegen Deutschland eintreten sollte. Sollte es zu einem Sieg der auf diese Weise Verbündeten kommen, würde Mexiko seine einst an die USA verlorenen Gebiete zurückerhalten. Nun ist solch eine *Démarche* bzw. diplomatische Anfrage eigentlich kein Grund für eine Kriegserklärung, aber der Regierung Wilson kam diese Initiative gerade recht, zumal 1915 bei der Versenkung des englischen Ozeandampfers *Lusitania* durch ein deutsches U-Boot über 1000 Passagiere ihr Leben lassen mussten, darunter 128 Amerikaner. Die Stimmung im Lande war somit alles andere als deutschfreundlich. Der weitere Verlauf der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts ist weitgehend bekannt. Dass der Zweite Weltkrieg und

die bis dahin unvorstellbaren Verbrechen des NS-Regimes dem Image des deutschen Elements in Amerika irreparablen Schaden zugefügt haben, bedarf keiner weiteren Erklärung.

Die Herausgeberin dieses Bands, der als Lesebuch ebenso faszinierend ist wie als Bilderbuch, trägt denn auch des Schicksals der deutschjüdischen Emigranten Rechnung, die als Verfolgte des NS-Regimes den schwierigen Weg nach New York schafften. Vertreter der Exilliteratur fanden ebenso wie die Exilzeitschrift *Aufbau* Berücksichtigung in Stölkens Untersuchung. Rund 70 Jahre nach Ende des Zweiten, über 100 Jahre nach Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs ist der Autorin nicht nur eine wichtige Spurensicherung gelungen, sondern in ihrem Resümee auch ein vorsichtig hoffnungsvoller, leicht nostalgischer Ausblick auf die Zukunft des ehemals *Kleindeutschland* genannten New Yorker Stadtviertels.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Religion and Theology

Latino Mennonites: Civil Rights, Faith, and Evangelical Culture.

By Felipe Hinojosa. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. 297 pp. \$45.00.

At a pre-membership class hosted by a Midwestern Mennonite church, prospective members learn about Mennonite history and its Anabaptist origins in sixteenth-century Europe. Stories about the early radical believers and their persecution as religious and political nonconformists are shared in these classes, perhaps in an attempt to generate a cathartic experience and a sense of unity among those who are or will be affiliated with the church community. In tracing the genealogy of the Mennonite faith group, the class focus is clearly on the harassment and ostracism of these early European Brethren, which inadvertently perpetuates the notion of a white monopoly on Mennonite identity. In truth, however, about two thirds of the baptized believers in the worldwide Mennonite faith family today do not come from traditional European white backgrounds at all and have their own stories of harassment and discrimination to tell. African, Asian, and Latino Americans have stories of powerful faith journeys to share. In his publication *Latino Mennonites*, Felipe Hinojosa tells the story of Mexican Americans and other Latinos and Latinas who have struggled to find their voice, identity, and lead-

ership in the twentieth-century Mennonite church and who challenged white predominance along the way.

Hinojosa has a personal connection to his research subject; his parents first encountered Mennonite families while working as migrant farm helpers in the tomato fields of northwestern Ohio. They later founded a Mennonite Church in southern Texas, and Felipe, having grown up as a Mexican American *evangélico*, began to question his own religious identity from the time he was in high school. It was at this point of his life that he became fully aware of the fact that his family's faith traditions were different from those of his many Catholic friends. Soon his questions encompassed broader issues of faith, identity, race, civil rights, and the politics of belonging.

Following a chronological order, *Latino Mennonites* is divided into three main parts. The first section, "Missions and Race," documents the development of Mennonite missions in urban centers such as Chicago and New York as well as in the borderlands of Texas in the twentieth century from the Thirties to the Sixties. It also examines the missionary motives that prompted white Mennonites to engage in issues of racism within the church in the Fifties. The second section of the book, "Black, Brown, and Mennonite," traces the establishment of the Minority Ministries Council (MMC) and the church's interethnic politics in the Sixties and Seventies. As part of this section, Hinojosa investigates the coalition between "black and brown" Mennonites in 1968, after James Forman's "Black Manifesto" had ignited debates over money and race politics. Furthermore, the author explores the contested politics that emerged during the Mennonite Cross-Cultural Youth Convention in 1972 and the conflicted relationship between the Mennonite Church and the farmworker movement in central California. In the last section of the book, "Becoming *Evangélicos*," Hinojosa focuses on the rise of Latino evangelical politics in the Seventies, in particular the role of Latinas in the Mennonite Church and the inspiration Latinos received from the civil rights movement to mobilize their own initiative for inclusion in the church.

Hinojosa explores the dimensions of Latino Mennonite identity by weaving church history with social history and examining the impact of the African American civil rights struggle, its relations with Latin Americans, and the developments in evangelical religion on the faith and activism of US Latino Mennonites. He describes how Latinos who, lured by the "Kool-Aid and cookies" and the many social programs such as vacation bible school, health care, and Christian book drives, initially viewed Mennonites as models for how to live a Christian life but later revolted against the paternalistic patterns of Mennonite missionaries. The author also sheds light on the mixed history of missions and race relations of the church and the irony of the (non)conformist attitude of past leaders who promoted non-conformity to the ways

of the world, while they slavishly and silently conformed to the American attitudes on race and segregation. Hinojosa furthermore notes the courage of other white church leaders who spoke out against racism, quoting Guy Hershberger who, in the Fifties, claimed that “to take part in any form of race discrimination . . . is a contribution to war.” Drawing from a multitude of primary sources, including Spanish and English church newspapers, audio recordings, interviews, and meeting minutes, Hinojosa creates a vivid account of the formation of the Latino Mennonite identity, thereby illuminating an important chapter of recent Mennonite history that will surely find greater presence in historical discussions of inquirer’s classes as well as academic discourse on the intersections of faith, race, and identity.

University of Colorado Boulder

Berit Jany

California Mennonites.

By Brian Froese. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. 366 pp. \$49.95.

In *California Mennonites*, Brian Froese examines the Mennonite experience in California during the twentieth century, an experience which, he contends, is usually overlooked by historians of California. Froese argues that while “Mennonites generally play the role of ethno-religious pacifist agrarians for American religious historians,” attention to Mennonites in California reveals a completely different perspective. Mennonites, Froese observes, “embraced modernity, marked by urbanization and professionalization, often sooner than elsewhere” (xv) and responded to modernity in complex ways. Thus, Froese finds California Mennonites, taken as a whole, “a dynamic people who did not simply become modern but who actively shaped their experience to do so on their own terms” (xxiii).

Froese opens with a discussion of Mennonite migrations to California. California has historically been a powerfully attractive force to many groups of people and Mennonites were no exception. Like other migrants, Mennonites moved to California in search of health benefits and economic opportunities. Rather than seeking gold, Mennonites established themselves in agriculture. Froese discusses the Mennonite view of California as both a terrestrial paradise and forbidden fruit, thus fusing images of paradise and sin. California, in other words, both beckoned and repelled Mennonites. Froese asserts that Mennonite interpretations of California and the process of migration through positive and negative religious images denoted “an early strategy of becoming part of California society” (44). Mennonites, Froese argues,

wanted to establish centers of persistent Mennonite identity while navigating the surrounding society.

Froese then discusses Mennonite identity, observing that the definitions of Mennonite were numerous and changing and that Mennonite identity shifted in both cultural and religious terms. Put simply, “the cultural aspect stressed accommodation with the surrounding California society” while “the religious aspect stressed identification and approval from conservative evangelicals while remaining distinct from Pentecostalism” (67). Froese also analyzes the ethno-religious element of Mennonite identity. If Mennonites migrated to California, in part, due to evangelical mission, they faced challenges in their mission efforts because of California’s pluralistic society. As Mennonites focused on outsiders, they confronted racial issues and, Froese contends, had become insiders in California themselves who saw new immigrants as outsiders.

Froese addresses other important themes throughout the book, for instance, the treatment of women. Froese notes that while women were often denied formal leadership roles, they “exercised their influence through missions” (111), created their own organizations, and made their own choices regarding their work. Thus, Froese argues, “women did not abandon Mennonite identity; they shaped Mennonite identity in the context of social outreach and mission activity” (132). Froese also devotes significant time to analyzing pacifism and World War II, which, he posits, was a watershed experience that facilitated both modernization and integration into American life. In Civilian Public Service camps, Mennonite men embraced “a sense of mission, even destiny, in the protection of democracy and the advancement of American ideals” (137). The creation of these camps was important not only for Mennonites who embraced pacifism, but it had another important effect: it drew Mennonites into a close relationship with the federal government. Similarly, Mennonite hospitals also demonstrated that Mennonites were increasingly becoming integrated into mainstream life in California. Froese concludes, “after World War II, Mennonites in California largely assimilated into California’s religious and secular culture and bore many resemblances to their evangelical conservative Protestant neighbors” (210).

In sum, this is an interesting and enlightening book about an understudied topic. Froese provides a wealth of information about the Mennonite experience in twentieth century California and demonstrates that, despite their small numbers, historians would do well to pay closer attention to this neglected group. There were two issues, though, that might have merited further analysis. For one, in his discussion of pacifism, Froese himself acknowledges the need for more attention to the theme of Mennonites who rejected pacifism and went to war. In addition, Froese does not really consider

Mennonites and electoral politics aside from a few brief mentions of their increasing conservatism. Given that many recent studies of conservative politics, Lisa McGirr's *Suburban Warriors*, for instance, focus on California, this lack of attention is somewhat puzzling, but perhaps Froese will address it in his subsequent scholarship. These two points aside, *California Mennonites* will certainly appeal to anyone interested in Mennonites, California history, and religious history, and should spark some lively discussion in graduate seminars.

The Pennsylvania State University

Evan C. Rothera

Moroni and the Swastika: Mormons in Nazi Germany.

By David Conley Nelson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. 416 pp. \$29.95.

After having suffered persecutions in mid-nineteenth century America that forced their trek into the West, Mormons might have anticipated a worse fate in mid-twentieth century Germany. After all, Hitler's National Socialists were exterminating Jews, persecuting Jehovah's Witnesses, and driving forty-two smaller religious sects underground. That the Church of Jesus Christ Latter-day Saints numbering about fourteen thousand, instead, continued more or less unhindered, even thrived in Nazi Germany, is rarely mentioned and little known.

With skilled collaboration underpinned by doctrinal guidance from the "render unto Caesar" clauses in Mormonism's covenants, and leaders who adapted their beliefs to the commonalities of the Nazi state, the Mormons like good Nazis extolled their devotion to genealogy, a passion for sports, and attentiveness under duress. Husbands joined the *Wehrmacht* and sons went into the Hitler Youth, just as hymnals, liturgies and instructional materials were purged of Jewish references. Likewise, missionaries from the United States schooled the German Olympic team in their basketball skills for the 1936 Berlin games as described in chapter six, which describes how readers of the *Salt Lake City Desert News* were treated to a large photograph in the church section depicting both groups of athletes, American and German, posing in the Hitler salute (146). Mormons in Germany were invited to help the German team achieve a Nordic victory, whilst Americans at home debated whether to attend the games at all. No foes of National Socialism, four Mormon missionaries, after helping the German team in 1936, kept the official score books for the first round of Olympic basketball. A returning missionary in 1940 spoke to the New York Times, "Mormons have never been molested in Germany . . . we couldn't ask for better

treatment. The only way Nazis have affected our work is that our Boy Scout movement has been curtailed by the Hitler Youth movement” (123). Girls were less affected by the Bund Deutscher Mädel. As a result of these activities, Mormon historical records today assiduously avoid documenting Mormon enrollment statistics for Nazi organizations.

It seems that the Mormons had figured out how to survive in Nazi Germany, and that was their goal. No matter the issue, “the Mormons were not afraid to interact with the Gestapo, military authorities and local police whenever the government imposed a policy that disrupted their ecclesial activities, nor were they afraid to disobey Nazi requirements in carefully calculated situations (173). Occasionally if Mormons were served e.g. with delinquent tax bills, they usually paid subsequent to lawyer-mitigated settlements. Some Mormons theorize that Hitler’s *Winterhilfswerk* was modeled on the Mormon prophet Joseph F. Smith who initiated the Mormon first Sunday fast for donations. On the occasion of an article in the Nazi paper *Völkischer Beobachter* condemning polygamy, German Mission President Alfred C. Rees protested and secured permission to write a rebuttal in which he linked the persecution of 1846 in Nauvoo, Illinois to German suffering under the World War I blockade. Similarly, Rees compared the Mormon health code to Nazi Germany’s “bold declaration of war against the use of alcohol and tobacco,” on April 14, 1939, a defense that filled an entire page in the *Beobachter* (205). Rees then seized the opportunity to create a brochure out of clipped newspaper features that included photographs of Salt Lake City, the Mormon temple, LDS headquarters and the like.

The Second World War began September 1, 1939 for Europe but for the Mormons in Germany it began a week earlier with the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 23. On this day, J. Reuben Clark from his office in Salt Lake City ordered the evacuation of all American missionaries in Europe (with some to Copenhagen, the Netherlands, London and Switzerland). The entire effort for American Mormons was a success but many converted German Mormons served fascist military campaigns, some with honors.

Part III, “Beacons of Memory,” features episodes of honor both on the battlefield and on the home front. Some members collected and distributed clothing, others found or offered alternative shelter when mission centers in the cities were bombed. Refugee German Latter-Day Saints (LDS) fled from Germany’s eastern provinces and found refuge in their Berlin way station en route to the beacon hostel of Wolfsgrün near Saxon Eibenstock–Chemnitz. There, the victorious Soviet authorities were more helpful than the locals who were already taxed by the shrinking food supply. The Mormons made do (with this alleged former *Lebensborn* facility). A better solution arose when American troops arrived in occupied Berlin, which allowed the migration of

many German Mormons, 4,200 in all, to their American Zion sponsored by American LDS members.

Documented in the book, as well, are vicious Nazi torture maniacs who were German Mormons, e.g., *Obergruppenführer* Erich Krause, as revealed in a book by Wall Street journalist Frederick Kempe, a distant family member. Pleas to the Mormons by Jews for assistance to escape Germany, sometimes only of a veiled nature, met with deaf ears (287). In the second decade of the twenty-first century, therefore, Mormon history in Nazi Germany is sensitive. Faith-filled Mormon authors struggle with their own accounts of their history, some critical, some reluctant, others defensive, ask if they had been less accommodating to the Nazis, would their membership have been persecuted and their organization crushed? No one knows. In this reviewer's judgment there were more than enough parallels between the Mormons and other religious groups, not the least of them Catholics including Pope Pius XII (der Stellvertreter by Hochhuth) and Lutherans (e.g. Bishop August Mahrrens of Hannover).

Thus, we conclude by affirming this excellent study by history scholar from Texas A&M University, David Conley Nelson, who was married to an LDS member and wrote the book to answer questions posed by his own son. With excellent, detailed chapter notes, a comprehensive bibliography and index, it is a decidedly important addition to German-American Studies.

St. Olaf College

LaVern J. Rippley

Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance Theology and an Ethic of Resistance.

By Reggie L. Williams. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014. 196 pp. \$39.95.

The central theme of this book is captured in a subheading: "The Results of Harlem in Germany," succinctly summarized by a sentence in the introduction: "Experiences of spiritual growth in Harlem gave Bonhoeffer a healthier encounter with Jesus by way of a connection between Jesus and suffering within an ethic of resistance that identifies Jesus with the oppressed, rather than the oppressors." The book is a revised version of the doctoral dissertation in Christian ethics that Williams earned in 2011 at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA. As its LC classification indicates, it is more theology than history.

Bonhoeffer's exposure to Harlem came in the course of a Sloan Fellowship to Union Theological Seminary in New York for the 1930-31 academic year, which ironically came about in part because this brilliant overachiever had completed his Habilitation (second dissertation) at age twenty-four, a

year too young for ordination in Germany. At a public lecture a year earlier, Bonhoeffer had expressed a nationalism that would not have set him apart from his more conservative allies in the Confessing Church, or even the “German Christians” subverted by Nazism: “God creates youth in individuals as well as in nations. . . . Should not a Volk experiencing God’s call on its own life in its own youth and its own strength, should not such a people be allowed to follow that call, even if it disregards the lives of other people? God is the Lord of history” (12).

The starkly contrasting theological insights and the moral compass that Bonhoeffer returned home with, Williams argues, were primarily the result of his encounter with black Christianity in Harlem: “It was a different Bonhoeffer, in the year following his encounter with black Baptists” (106). He was first led there through his friendship with Albert Fisher, whose father had been pastor of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham sixty-five years before a racist bombing would place it in national headlines. Fisher introduced him to the Abyssinian Baptist Church of Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., where Bonhoeffer taught Sunday school and was exposed to Powell’s two sermons, “A Naked God” and “A Hungry God,” which launched a relief effort that served thirty thousand meals in its first year. Bonhoeffer also became acquainted with Powell Jr., then a fellow student at Union Seminary and the administrator of his father’s food program. Another influential friend and fellow seminarian was Myles Horton, who would go on to found the interracial Highlander Folk School, the training ground for the nonviolent Civil Rights movement.

Williams also provides evidence of Bonhoeffer’s awareness of brutal lynchings and his fruitless appeal to the German church to join in protesting the Scottsboro Boys’ verdict, as well as his exposure to the protest literature and Christian imagery of the Harlem Renaissance. The book’s title references a Countee Cullen poem, “The Black Christ,” which is reflected years later in a passage in Bonhoeffer’s *Ethics*, his practical application of Matthew 25: “In Christ we see God in the form of our poorest brothers and sisters” (72). Back in Germany, “the least of these” took the form first of Jewish Christians excluded by the Aryan Clause, and then of Jews generally “even if they do not belong to the Christian Community” (124). Although not mentioned by Williams, Bonhoeffer’s Harlem experience goes a long way toward explaining why he chose to return to Germany after his 1939 visit, as he wrote to another of his mentors, Reinhold Niebuhr: “I have to live through the difficult period of our national history with the Christians in Germany. I will have no right to assist with the restoration of Christian life after the war in Germany if I do not share the tests of this period with my people.”

Renegade Amish: Beard Cutting, Hate Crimes, and the Trial of the Bergholz Barbers.

By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. 224 pp. \$24.95.

From September through November, 2011, members of a “maverick” Amish community near Bergholz, Ohio, perpetrated attacks against other Amish. Male victims had their beards shorn, and one female victim’s long hair was cut (ix). Since beards and long hair have religious and cultural significance for the Amish (17-19), the attacks were understood as religiously motivated, and local law enforcement invoked the Shepard-Byrd Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009 to bring federal authorities into both the investigation and subsequent prosecution of the perpetrators (92). The trial, which in late 2013 returned guilty verdicts on multiple counts conspiracy, assault, lying, and obstructing justice, set a precedent for its “first-time conviction of assailants for religion-driven hate crimes” and as the “first religion-driven hate crime within the same faith community” (x). In order to prosecute the “barbers,” federal lawyers “stretched” the definition of bodily injury to include beard and hair cutting and broadened the evidence necessary to prove use of interstate commerce by the low-tech Amish (x).

Donald B. Kraybill, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at Elizabethtown College and Senior Fellow at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies, served as expert witness for the prosecution of the Bergholz Barbers. His expertise in Amish religion and culture, participation in the preparation of and testimony for the trial, and unique access to participants in both the trial and the communities involved in the attacks augment the discussion of the trial and its significance. Kraybill illuminates the sociocultural factors contributing to “cultlike practices,” an “inverted moral order,” and “moral collapse” in Bergholz that eventually led to acts of violence against Amish of other communities (xi, 143). Kraybill traces the history of the Bergholz community, organized around Bishop Samuel Mullet and bearing the strong stamp of his overbearing personality, and the deviant practices that grew out of—and reinforced—that community’s isolation from other Amish. He demonstrates how concerns about the community’s dwindling population led to acts of remorse like beard cutting, paddling, and finally voluntary incarceration as efforts to cleanse the community and purify its faith. Beard and hair cutting were then extended to Amish who had left the Bergholz community or had encouraged their relatives to do so. Kraybill demonstrates that the attacks were motivated by a “Bergholz ‘narrative’ [that] offered a meaningful albeit alternative worldview” oriented to strict, conservative Amish tradition and Old-Testament views, claiming Christian

love as justification, yet meting out violence, atypical of Amish belief. According to this narrative, Bergholz perpetrated the beard cuttings to help outside “hypocrites” become righteous. However, Kraybill reveals the dark underbelly of the Bergholz narrative, namely an “ideology of malice . . . legitimated by religious belief to exact vengeance on those [the perpetrators] thought had treated them unfairly” that validated acts of revenge (xi, 79-80).

Kraybill’s analysis of the Bergholz case is well written and insightful. However, the book will not teach lay readers enough about Amish history, beliefs, culture, and language to allow them to understand fully the context in which the beard-cutting attacks occurred. Books written about religious minorities generally contain much more historical, cultural, and religious background information than Kraybill provides in a seven-page appendix. Lay readers might also be confused by Kraybill’s terminology. For instance, he consistently calls the German dialect spoken by the Amish “Dutch” (e.g., 8, 87), and he refers to the beliefs of the Christian Anabaptist Amish denomination as the “Amish religion” (16, 141).

As the author points out in his conclusion, the prosecution of the Bergholz Barbers under the Shepard-Byrd Act was not a challenge to religious freedom; rather, it upheld First-Amendment freedom of religion by prosecuting perpetrators of religiously motivated violence. However, this book is not the last word on this case, since it was published after the defendants had appealed their guilty verdicts in February 2014, but before the adjudication of the appeal. In September 2014 the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld counts of conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and lying, but ruled that the attacks did not amount to hate crimes. Time will tell how this case develops in the light of the appellate court’s ruling. Interested readers can find updates at Kraybill’s “Amish Beard-Cutting Attacks and Hate Crimes Convictions” site (<http://www.press.jhu.edu/books/supplemental/AmishHateCrimesResearchNotes.pdf>).

The University of South Dakota

Carol A. Leibiger

Growing Up Amish: The Rumspringa Years, 2d ed.

By Richard A. Stevick. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. 400 pp. \$24.95.

The popular perception of the Amish is that they don’t change; they remain isolated from modern society, living today as they have for generations. This revised version of *Growing Up Amish* offers overwhelming evidence to

the contrary. The cover photo of the first edition shows a traditionally dressed young couple driving a buggy; the cover of the second features a photo of a swaggering young man, vest blowing open, smoking a cigarette. The frontispiece photo of the first edition features Amish youth engaged in a traditional game of “eck” or corner ball, while that of the second shows girls—without their traditional prayer caps—playing softball. More importantly, while the first edition of *Growing Up Amish*, published in 2007, barely mentioned the digital world, author Richard A. Stevick now asserts that “thousands” of Amish young people, particularly in larger settlements, are at home on social network sites and in touch with Amish and non-Amish peers well beyond the boundaries of their communities (x). The new subtitle, *The Rumspringa Years*, highlights Stevick’s particular focus in this revised edition on the growing impact of smart phones, computers, and the internet on Amish youth. As this book makes clear, many of today’s potential Amish church members have an access to mainstream society that was unknown a decade ago. What is the impact, Stevick asks, of this evolving digital technology, and how does it vary across Amish settlements? This clearly written and very accessible work provides a thought provoking response.

In changing the subtitle from “The Teenage Years” to “The Rumspringa Years,” Stevick more clearly focuses on that key period of Amish life, between age 16 or 17 and marriage, when each Amish youth must decide whether to be baptized and join the Amish church. Nevertheless, this work is a far more in-depth study of Amish youth than the subtitle suggests, and this revised edition makes it evident that raising Amish children has become much more challenging. Stevick has changed the title of the first chapter from “Amish Life: Plain and Perplexing” to “Amish Life: Plain and Not so Simple,” an acknowledgement that the current mainstream focus on Amish youth—including so-called reality shows that are certainly misleading if not fraudulent—has helped to render this period of Amish life more complicated for both Amish parents and their offspring. In this first chapter, Stevick also discusses several factors contributing to important differences in youth behavior in diverse Amish groups, including the size of the community, the number of families engaged in non-farming occupations, and the “peer-centered” vs. “adult-centered” nature of young folk activities.

Stevick has also revised the title of the second chapter, from “Socialization: Passing on the Faith” to “Religion: Transmitting the Faith.” The change highlights the importance of Amish religious beliefs in responding to social change, while, at the same time, suggesting that the influence is not always from the older generation to the younger within a single church community or even within a single affiliation. As he points out, there is “relatively little formal religious instruction” except for the preparatory class for those con-

templating church membership (26), yet the majority of Amish young folk opt to become baptized. But to do so, they must reconcile competing notions of what it means to be Amish. That becoming Amish is a process is clearly asserted in the revised title of the third chapter, "Adolescence: Building [no longer "Testing"] an Amish Identity." As Stevick points out, Amish youth are in charge of their destiny, and yet, if all goes well, young Amish individuals will subordinate individual autonomy to become church members and abide by the rules of the community. Ultimately, they will achieve their uniqueness as members of a group rather than as individuals.

Of course, Stevick notes, Amish youth have grown up with a knowledge of their gendered roles and community expectations as encoded in dress, language, and behavior, and, as he illustrates in chapter four, "Schooling: Read'n, Rite'n, 'Rithmetic—but Shunning Darwin," these have been reinforced in Amish schools. In the first edition of *Growing Up Amish*, the subtitle for this chapter was "Learning the Basics," yet clearly, as the revised title suggests, schooling is also about rejecting other lessons. Stevick suggests that Amish schools have remained largely impervious to the growing acceptance of technology in a number of settlements, insisting on basic studies and rejecting science. At the same time, however, he notes that a number of Amish parents continue to send their children to public schools, and Amish children have varying degrees of access to mainstream reading materials as well as Amish publications. In chapter five, "Parenting: Holding on and Letting Go," Stevick argues that Amish parents are challenged to lay down a firm base of values in the schools, home and community, hoping that, as children join young folk peers, they will continue to heed parental advice. Particularly in large settlements in which the peer group enjoys enormous influence, Amish parents must ensure that Rumspringa youth remain committed to the values of family and church while not pushing them, through overzealous parenting, into more liberal groups or even the world. Stevick's discussion of attempts in different communities to exert more parental control over their children is important, for it reveals both a changing role for parents and church in guiding the behavior of the young folk and an evolving understanding of the religious nature of traditional youth activities.

Stevick explores the young folk years in much greater depth in chapters six through eight ("Teen Culture: Working Hard and Having Fun," "Singsings: The First Step to Independence," and "Rumspringa: Stepping Out and Running About"). These chapters reveal an Amish world largely unknown to the mainstream yet full of activities shared by teenagers across North America: parties (and drinking), sporting events, hunting trips, and spring break vacations. Importantly, as Stevick demonstrates how traditional activities, such as the singsings, have evolved in a variety of ways to meet the concerns of, and

changes in, different Amish communities, he also explores how smart phones, the internet, and social media, make the young folk period far more challenging for parents and church community. Perhaps the most important of the changes in this second edition, this new material sheds much light on the way in which many Amish teenagers are able to explore the world far beyond their community borders. Stevick presents Amish youth for whom being stylish in a worldly way is important and whose social activities take them far into the world, even if only digitally.

Rumspringa ends with marriage, and the final chapters of this work (“Courtship: Looking for Love” and “Weddings: High Times in Plain Places”) focus on what is the ideal end to the tumultuous teen-age years. Yet here too, Stevick observes, traditions are changing. In his discussion of differing courtship practices, the disappearance of bundling or bed courtship in more progressive groups, and even the changing wedding schedules in large communities, Stevick makes it clear that Amish teens today do not live the same Amish life as their predecessors. In chapter eleven, “The Future: Keeping Faith in a World of Change,” Stevick suggests that the Amish walk a tightrope, needing to change in order to survive yet fearing that too much change will destroy them. The majority of young folk fulfill parental hopes and become baptized, he notes, yet most of them will not make their living in the agrarian world that sustained their forebears. Nor will they enjoy the isolation from mainstream society that helped in the past to minimize worldly influence. Further, those joining the church may be motivated by a variety of non-spiritual factors, including economic as well as social benefits, the need to be a church member to marry, the benefits of being a conscientious objector, the lack of educational preparation for life in the mainstream, and even inertia. He adds, however, that many Amish are finding hope in signs of moral renewal in increased attendance at supervised youth activities, particularly in large settlements.

In his “Epilogue,” new to the revised edition, Stevick notes that his interest in the viability of the Amish way of life intensified as he studied changes occurring in other traditional cultures. The important question, he argues, is whether, someday, Amishness will exist only in fragmentary form as reenactments for tourists. Acknowledging that the Amish have “several things in their favor” (304), he expresses hope that today’s young folk will have internalized Amish values in such a way that they can use new technologies in responsible ways.

This edition, like the first, is limited in that much of Stevick’s focus has been on young folks in the three largest Amish communities. He acknowledges this and repeatedly reminds readers that life is different in smaller communities; moreover, he has drawn on interviews with informants from

a variety of Amish affiliations, helping to give important depth to this study of Amish young folk. The “large” versus “small” settlement distinction is important, and I wish Stevick had explored it more. Further, while Stevick talks about “the most conservative affiliations” (104), he is seldom explicit about which these are and why and how they differ from other groups. Nor does he explore in any depth the intersection between the different typologies he proposes: large/small, conservative/progressive, and “adult-centered” versus “peer-centered.” Are all large settlements the same or does diversity within a large settlement have an influence on young folk behavior? A closer study of community difference might also have led to deeper discussion of superficially similar behaviors. Do conservative young folk traveling by bus experience the same independence as a load of young folk in a taxi (e.g. 104)? How might interaction among young folk in groups that are geographically determined differ from that in groups whose membership is rooted in personal choice (e.g. 181)? Are pranks played on courting couples in plainer settlements truly analogous to the gatherings of youth in large settlements (made possible by smart phones and Facebook) that attract police and press attention (150-151)? These are all issues perhaps for a third edition!

Growing Up Amish: The Rumspringa Years (2nd edition) makes an important contribution to Amish studies. A gifted and sensitive researcher, Richard A. Stevick’s first edition opened a window into a little studied, and too often misunderstood, part of Amish life. In doing so, he helped us understand and appreciate how the Amish have maintained their distinct identity for so long. In discussing the impact of new digital technology on Amish values and traditions, this second edition suggests how quickly change can come and how new generations of Amish may renew or reshape the commitment of their forebears to the plain life.

SUNY Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Chasing the Amish Dream: My Life as a Young Amish Bachelor.

By Loren Beachy. *Harrisonburg: Herald Press, 2014. 191 pp. \$12.99.*

Chasing the Amish Dream tells the story of Amish life from the perspective of a member of an Old Order Amish community in Northern Indiana, where the author Loren Beachy is an elementary schoolteacher and auctioneer. He describes himself as a “young Amish bachelor.” From this perspective Beachy narrates first-hand accounts of himself and others in the Amish community. His stories cover a variety of topics such as baseball games involving students and

teachers, students who “know it all,” horse auctions, and cross country trips with friends. His stories are humorous, the characters he presents such as Bouncy Belinda, Chipper Chester, and Wisecrack Wanda are delightful and unique, and his writing style is lively. At the same time, Beachy consistently includes his observations on the deeply rooted faith at the heart of Amish life.

Chasing the Amish Dream was released in the Plainspoken series from Herald Press, which, according to its introduction in this book, gives accounts of “Real-Life Stories of Amish and Mennonites” (11). The introduction is followed by a brief note by the author, and includes a vivid and detailed description of his typical work day as a teacher and auctioneer, beginning at 3:50 a.m. He provides a valuable description of a normal Amish school day and his auctioneering work that ends at 9:30 p.m. with a “quiet bike ride home through the dark” (19). This brief note is complemented by a section of answers to frequently asked questions about the Amish, such as “Do the Amish pay taxes?” (185) and a short biography of the author at the end of the table of contents.

The main body of book consists of forty stories that unfolded over a year, and are divided roughly equally into four parts and seasons. In Part I: *Autumn*, Beachy introduces the reader to an Amish church service in late fall, details the service, and describes some of its members and their function in the church. Social gatherings strengthen the sense of community, for example in the story “Box Social” (37-39), where young men from the community bid for meal boxes prepared by young women anonymously and then share the meal with them. He introduces the reader to unique personalities at his school, such as “Bouncy Belinda” (30-32), “The Defeat of Chipper Chester” (33-36), and a witty neighbor, who attends a horse auction with him, in “The Gifted Lloyd Yoder” (52-54). Above all, humor, pranks, and fun are central to his stories, as in “The Kansas Andy Boys’ Good Deed” (58-60), when a prank pulled on a farmer and his wife rewards the pranksters with a delicious snack.

The stories in Part II: *Winter*, take the reader right into the midst of events, as in “If You Get Out of Your Buggy, Get Ready to Run” (63-66), when a man tries in vain to fight his fatigue by running next to his horse and buggy on a cold morning. Social gatherings, fun, and fellowship are paramount at every occasion, be it at a spelling bee held for eighth grade students and their parents, in “Spelling Bee Jitters” (67-69), or by an auctioneer whose success can be credited to the neighbors’ help in “The Children of Israel Enter Rural Topeka” (97-101).

In Part III, *Spring*, a number of stories about spring softball games between Beachy’s school and neighboring schools capture the fellowship of this Amish community once again. These include a bad day for a funny and smart student by the name of Wanda who is an excellent athlete, and a challeng-

ing game where teachers and pupils play against fathers on a muddy field in “Mudville Madness” (115-117). Other stories recall a prank played on a boastful man by filling his backpack with rocks when climbing a mountain and by giving him a big rock as a souvenir on his wedding day, “Murder Mountain” (121-124). A train trip to Pennsylvania to see a friend describes an unforgettable landscape as well as a visit, “My Friend, the Legend” (125-129).

In the last sequence of stories in Part IV: *Summer*, Beachy and a few friends travel by train across the country to the American West. He describes their reactions to landmarks such as the Golden Gate Bridge and Yosemite Falls as well as baseball games and Sunday service in an Anabaptist community in Modesto, California. Whether baling hay with a family in his “Hay Bales” (170-173), playing board games on the train trip to Denver, or praying together with friends before saying goodbye (161), fellowship and spirituality are constant themes in these stories.

Each story in *Chasing the Amish Dream: My Life as a Young Amish Bachelor* by Loren Beachy conveys the charm, humor, delight, and spirit of unique personalities in his Old Order Amish community. It is a great read for anyone with an interest in the contemporary Amish and their daily lives and beliefs.

Washburn University

Gabi Lunte

The Arts

The Language of the Enemy.

By Stuart Friebert. Asheville, North Carolina: The Black Mountain Press, 2015. 228 pp. \$ 12.50.

Stuart Friebert has been for many years an expert on German as well as American literature: he has been creatively writing in both languages and, in addition to that, has made a name for himself as a translator of German poetry into his native English. For more than 20 years, he has been the head of the Creative Writing Program at Oberlin College, where he had also taught German. His latest prose publication bears in its title the word “language,” and it is a special language and a special relationship to this language and the people who speak it which become the underlying theme of this book. The narrative consists of nineteen texts which can be read both as independent short stories and as connected chapters of a novel. Nine of these texts have already been published separately in various literary magazines. Much of the material has deep autobiographical roots. The esthetic concept includes the description of

the human nature, of human behavior in various, often difficult life situations, but presented with an abstinence from quick moral judgement.

There are two major themes which make up the contents of this book: life in a German-American community in Wisconsin before and during World War Two and life in Postwar Germany as experienced by a Jewish exchange student in Darmstadt. The two historic periods are represented by two generations: Father Eddie Hahn, son Howie (Howard) Hahn. Eddie studies pharmacology and eventually takes over a drugstore in Lodi near Madison, Wisconsin. The Hahn family is Jewish, of Hungarian and Czech background. However, it does not become clear if Howie's mother Gertie née Meister is Jewish (her main characterization tells us that she smokes, drinks, and drives a sports car—certainly not a religious identification). In any event, it is confirmed that Howie is Jewish. For the Hahn family German is “the language of the enemy” as the grandmother is quoted by Howie's mother (140). This quotation from the wisdom of the grandmother became the title of the book and was printed on the cover above a drawing by the famous exile artist Max Beckmann. The reference to German as “the language of the enemy” comes up again later in the book as a quotation by the student advisor Emerson Watt who tries to teach Howie the tricks of the academic trade (206). Of course this classification of German is justified in more than one sense: it is the language of the enemy at the battle front during World War Two and of the anti-Semitic criminals who are responsible for the Holocaust. However, and this is the special act of reconciliation which took place long before the book was written: the author, who in real life was one of the early American exchange students after 1945, used his time in Germany to familiarize himself with the works of the leading German poets of the time, met quite a few of them in person, and during the following years translated many of their works into English. His leading character Howie becomes friends with German fellow students who served in the *Wehrmacht* (149 ff.).

At least four well designed, representative characters from the German postwar scenario should be mentioned: Hedwig Braunfels, a peasant woman who hid on her farm a Jewish woman by the name of Sybille Riemann; Sybille's non-Jewish husband Walter, who wound up sabotaging the final German war effort; and Heinrich Georg Geissler, a pompous *Germanistik* professor with a dubious past.

Of special value is the description of German-American community life, a German-American *Seldwyla*, a social microcosm: wonderful stories of a time gone by, preserved in a literary time capsule finally opened by a professional. We are introduced to basically simple characters—their human dimension, their shadow of grandeur does not come from what these people did but rather from what they suffered. The reader may feel tempted to view

Friebert's fascinating work as a counterpart to Hans Sahl's *Die Wenigen und die Vielen*: while Sahl describes the life of a German-Jewish newcomer/refugee in America, Friebert describes—also from his own experience—his encounter with Germany and Germans soon after World War Two. One may even feel compelled to compare Friebert's experiences in Postwar Germany with the third part of the second novel by Günter Grass, *Hundejahre*. A rather symbolic gesture has been saved until the end—the moral peak is a rather emotional reconciliation: the German professor who participated in the book-burning organized by the Nazis in 1938 recognizes his failure when he is questioned by the young Jewish student. Geissler gives Howie a special edition of *Heine: Gesammelte Gedichte*, and the two of them part as friends (225). It seems that the professor has learned something from his student. Thanks to Friebert's skills as a story-teller, the narrative in nineteen chapters fits together as if it had been designed from the start according to one well-balanced concept. The result is a masterwork.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania.

By Patrick M. Erben. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 352 pp. \$50.00.

According to a United Nations report, the United States of America continues to welcome more immigrants to its shores than any other country. In 2013, the US had an immigrant population of over 45 million, which accounted for nearly 20% of the total number of immigrants across the globe. Russia occupied a distant second place, with 11 million immigrants, which was just under 5% of the world total. While a number of immigrants to the US have some proficiency in English, the great majority are native speakers of other languages. New York, for example, has for generations been the most linguistically diverse city on the planet: it is estimated that as many as 800 languages are spoken in the Big Apple today. Despite the polyglot character of America, which extends back into the colonial era, multilingualism has in most cases been transitory. The classic “three-generation model” of bilingualism described by the eminent linguist Joshua Fishman has held true in many if not most non-English speaking immigrant communities in the US, according to which the shift to English monolingualism is typically complete among the grandchildren of immigrants. Many Americans, especially Eng-

lish monolinguals, view this shift as a positive sign of assimilation into the social mainstream. Others, especially linguists, regret the widespread lack of respect and support for minority languages, which underlies what is a global problem of language endangerment: fully half of the world's estimated 7,000 languages are predicted to lose their native speakers by the end of this century.

The dominance of English in America for generations underscores the importance of studies such as the book under review here. Authored by Patrick M. Erben, an associate professor of English at the University of West Georgia, this elegantly written volume sheds light on diverse and fascinating examples of multilingualism in early Pennsylvania. Not surprisingly, given the substantial presence of German speakers in Penn's Woods from the late seventeenth century onward, the German language occupies a prominent position in Erben's analysis of the contacts, both tangible and spiritual, across communities speakers of differing languages in early Pennsylvania.

When one thinks of the history of the German element in colonial Pennsylvania, conservative Anabaptist and Pietist sectarians often come to mind, which is not surprising, given the high visibility today of the Old Order Amish and similar groups who live out their strong Christian faith in a distinctive way. Part of the uniqueness of the Old Orders is their maintenance of a German-descended language, known popularly as Pennsylvania Dutch, as well as a form of standard German for use in worship. While Erben's study is indeed focused on the linguistic situation of religious groups in early Pennsylvania, it is not a sociolinguistic investigation of the emergence of vernacular Pennsylvania Dutch, nor do the Amish figure into his narrative in any substantial way. Rather, Erben discusses situations involving the use of standard, especially written, German, and in communities where knowledge of German was largely lost already by the nineteenth century.

Erben begins his book with a fascinating discussion of widespread views on language and spiritual renewal among Christian, mainly Pietist, sectarians in seventeenth-century Europe. Prominent here are the writings of the mystic Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), which linked spiritual poor health with the linguistic barriers dividing believers from one another in the post-Babel world. Taking their cue from the thought of Boehme and others, a number of reform-minded Central European Pietists, but also Quakers and other sectarian groups in England, saw in translation and the learning of multiple languages a path toward a radical Christian unity. An important expression of this yearning for spiritual renewal was "Philadelphianism," which inspired many of the English and German settlers who accepted invitation to participate in the Quaker William Penn's (1644–1718) Holy Experiment in North America.

Central to the utopian ideals of Penn and his coreligionists was the notion that the indigenous people with whom they were to come in contact in America would be treated fairly. In the second, lengthiest chapter in his book, Erben analyzes the multilingual character of promotional literature directed at readers of English and German, both in terms of form and substance. One particularly fascinating section of this chapter discusses how Penn represented what he understood of the language of the Delaware (Lenape) people who lived in what became southeastern Pennsylvania. Penn compared the Delaware language favorably to Hebrew, which many associated with a pre-Babel state of being closer to God. Quoting Erben (p. 108), “For Quaker and Pietist readers in Germany, therefore, the Delaware language and people would be both strange and familiar; in spite of a strange lexicon and grammar, the ‘sweetness’ of their words promised the spiritual familiarity desired by those contemplating immigration to Pennsylvania and subscribing to its Philadelphian vision.”

In a later chapter (four), Erben focuses in more detail on the multilingual work of William Penn’s friend and close associate, Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1720?), who oversaw the founding of the first German settlement in Pennsylvania, at Germantown in 1683. Among many other activities Pastorius aimed to promote brotherly love across Pennsylvanians who spoke different languages, especially German and English speakers. This was not a difficult task for Pastorius, as a highly educated polyglot and prolific writer of prose and especially poetry. One wonderful example cited by Erben (pp. 166–67) is the conclusion of poem written by Pastorius welcoming his friend Penn back to Pennsylvania in 1699, which includes a clever reference to the homonyms for “Penn” in Welsh and Low German, namely *pen* ‘head’ and *Penn* ‘feather, quill. Pastorius links these words to the shared Philadelphian ideals he shared with Penn: “No, if I had one wish, I would that my feather had such an impact that everyone would become a submissive part of Jesus Christ, who is the only head of the true church. Then, there would be no heathen, no Jew, and no Papist.”

Other fascinating topics discussed by Erben relate to multilingualism and the Ephrata Community and the Moravians. Of special interest here is his discussion of polyglot singing among the latter group, whereby speakers of perhaps as many as twenty-five different languages would sing hymns in those languages simultaneously, thereby promoting the missionary work of the Moravian Church especially to Native Americans, but also embodying the vision of transcending the linguistic barriers of Babel.

An important turning point in the history of early Pennsylvania was the French and Indian War (1754–1763), which most historians see as signaling the end of Penn’s Holy Experiment. In this era, the Quakers retreated from

involvement in politics so as not to compromise the pacifist ideals they shared with most German sectarians, including Mennonites. Erben discusses the important linguistic-spiritual connections between Quakers and Mennonites at mid-century as they sought to express themselves publicly in a shared language of peace, an increasingly difficult undertaking as the American colonies moved toward a violent break from Great Britain.

By the early nineteenth century, multilingualism in Pennsylvania looked very different than it had a century earlier, in the time discussed by Erben. Most Native Americans had been killed or driven out of southeastern Pennsylvania, and radical sectarians, both German- and English-speaking, came to be outnumbered by more mainstream Protestant churches that were not pacifistic. Even some historic peace churches, notably the Moravians, eventually gave up pacifism and moved closer to the American mainstream, including linguistically, shifting to the use of English. While the use of Pennsylvania Dutch and German endured in the rural hinterlands of southeastern Pennsylvania among both sectarians and nonsectarians (mainly Lutherans and Reformed), the sociolinguistic situation was characterized less by multilingualism and more by parallel monolingualism. Pacifist and non-pacifist Pennsylvania Germans alike were bound closely to one another through a shared language and rural values that separated them from their English-monolingual neighbors, including Quakers. The ideals of a common Philadelphian vision that both celebrated and transcended linguistic diversity were no longer a part of the fabric of Pennsylvania life.

Erben's masterful study is one that adds much to our understanding of the cultural and spiritual energy that characterized early Pennsylvania. Historians and others who have often viewed speakers of differing languages in colonial America generally—especially English and German—more as coexisting in parallel to one another rather than interacting in diverse multilingual ways will gain much from Erben's book, as will scholars more broadly interested in the sociolinguistic and multicultural history of America.

University of Wisconsin–Madison

Mark L. Loudon

Catholic Boy Blues: A Poet's Journal of Healing.

By Norbert Krapf. Introduction by Matthew Fox. Chicago: ACTA Publications/ In Extenso imprint, 2015. 251 pp. \$14.95.

Norbert Krapf's latest poetry collection is quite an unusual publication, not only within his own oeuvre of German American poetry, but also in re-

gard to the subject in general, the sexual abuse of children by Catholic clergymen. The book was fifty years in the making, fifty years of introspection, doubts, hopes, pain, confusion, and sometimes also suppression of memory. In addition to its subtitle as a *Journal of Healing*, I would also classify this publication as a book of protest, a protest not only against child-abuse per se (that goes without saying), but also against a culture and society that make such horrendous crimes possible. The events of this autobiographical retrospection took place during the Fifties in the small, mainly Catholic German-American community of Jasper, Indiana.

As a didactic and dramaturgical tool, the author presents his case through four different speakers or voices: the grown-up man; the boy as a victim; a certain Mr. Blues who knows what suffering is and who expresses his advice in a melancholic blues tone; and the priest as the perpetrator who cannot be convinced easily of his wrongdoing. The book is divided into four parts, but the various voices are not confined to one specific part, they rather wander around. Finally, in the fourth part, the priest shows something like a conscience, although he still looks for excuses. A theatrical trick is successfully practiced by the author at public readings of his collection: he puts on a different hat for each of the four voices. In closing his poetry collection, the author, poet laureate of Indiana 2008-2010, dedicates an epilog to a priest who is obviously the opposite of Krapf's childhood priest. The good priest is also identified by his name: Father Michael O'Mara.

The author begins his volume with a scenario of abuse; he comes right to the point. The style of these texts follows contemporary narrative poetry and is often organized according to dramatic effect. As far as a literary theory or philosophical concept of writing is concerned, Krapf's poems move between symbolism and realism; the reader does not need a veristic account of the events. The author is not looking for revenge, but more for a justified, long overdue clearing of the facts. The poems reflect the painful contradiction between the practical side of religion and the claim of high moral and spiritual values. After the betrayal and abuse of his childhood, the author still remained a member of the Catholic Church. "If My Poor Parents" (40-41) reflects upon the close relationship between Church and congregation, which makes the child abuse even more despicable. Sometimes the author imitates or recreates the speech of the young boy, thereby giving the text more authenticity. The writing of the poetry collection might as well be considered an exorcism of the Satanic priest: "I must . . . exorcise" (45). Two German mystics, Hildegard of Bingen (56) and Mechthild of Magdeburg (57), are called upon to help the abused boy understand the contradiction between the high duty of God's official servant and the servant's abominable fall from grace. Relief from suffering comes through the blues, which are experienced as "my

old buddy” in the poem called “Catholic Boy Blues II” (60). In this poem, the blues is a song of healing and liberation, and Mr. Blues is an allegory of healing and liberation.

I find the following poems particularly striking. They are the highlights of this collection: “I Saw My Father” (62-63) is dedicated to the author’s real father who suffered from bouts of depression, which at that time (during the 1950s) was treated with painful electric shocks. The poem “Numbers in the Wind” (105) explains the impossibility of giving the exact count of the priest’s victims. The title reminds me of the refrain of Bob Dylan’s song “Blowin’ in the Wind.” The relatively long poem “The Dirty Little Secret” (107-109, eight strophes) is basically an exercise in rhetoric. The speaking voice takes the role of the enemy, of a critic who is opposed to reopening the case of a dirty old man who is long gone. “What the Boy in the Pastor’s Photo Says” (118-120): An in-depth description of the photo on the book cover. The photo was taken by the priest who abused the author many years ago. “Double Confession?” (148-150) contains in the third strophe a reference to the ethnic background of the perpetrator: “You came from the same culture, / same German Catholic background” (148). To overcome the pain of the abuse in early life, the author (the poetic voice) resorts to heavy drinking and moves away from home.

The author asks the priest to give a confession of his unholy deeds. Of course the confession of guilt never comes. “I Ain’t a Kid No More” (158): The poetic voice, which can be assumed to be identical with the voice of the author, refuses to remain silent as far as the crimes of the priest are concerned. The predator is urged to speak up and to confess his crimes. When the poem is published, the priest is long dead. Therefore, the poem can only reflect a previous state of mind in which the victim found himself. “Who Needs Dante?” (176-177): A reference to Dante Alighieri’s “Inferno,” the first part of his *Divine Comedy* (14th century). The priest speaks again for himself, pleading for leniency. “Photo Postscript from the Priest” (178-179): the afore-mentioned book cover photo showing the author as a child. It was taken by the infamous priest himself. The author lets his abuser speak. The result is the priest’s first admittance of guilt: “. . . I am haunted / by that photo I took” (178). “Alternative Our Father” (184-185): The essential Christian prayer calling upon God’s help in various situations of life also asks God to make the priest aware of the seriousness of his crimes so that his victims would be able to heal. That means: only if the priest admits his responsibility a healing of the victims can begin. “The Boy Shoves Back” (197-198): The boy refuses the service and support of the priest (in retrospect). It becomes clear that the priest was also a friend of the parents and sponsored various community activities. “Pedophile Priest Confession” (202-203): The priest

reviews his sexual preference. No admission of guilt, but no claim of innocence either.

The author does not identify his abuser by name. This means that the negative character is no longer bound to a real person, but to the *idea* of a child-abuser. The predator loses his identity as an individual and becomes an example for all others, past, present, and future criminals of this genre. Of course this procedure also spares the relatives of the real person additional embarrassment. However, there was a time when such consideration did not appear necessary. In his prose memoir *The Ripest Moments. A Southern Indiana Childhood* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2008) Norbert Krapf mentioned various chores he did for the priest, like the counting of the money from the collection (174), which later became the subject of the first poem in *Catholic Boy Blues* (31-32). In *The Ripest Moments*, a wonderful account of American country life during the Fifties, the local priest is identified by name: Othmar Schroeder (173). He lived from 1914 until 1988. In its issue of August 10, 2007, the *New York Times* reported about the Schroeder case and the measures taken by the Bishop from the Diocese of Evansville to dismantle the honors of the dubious Monsignor.

In the meantime, *Catholic Boy Blues* has not only proven its therapeutic value for the author himself but also for other victims. It appears to this reviewer that literature, especially poetry, is at its best when it fights injustice and any kind of abuse. Is such *littérature engagée* in the strict, formalistic sense? That probably has to be decided from case to case. Norbert Krapf has certainly shown courage by fighting a well-established, abusive regime of silence and by giving the world an account of growing pains that one does not wish on any child.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Albert Bloch and the Blue Rider: The Munich Years.

By Frank Baron and Jon Blumb. Lawrence, Kansas: Jayhawk Ink at the University of Kansas, 2014. 216 pp. \$26.28.

University of Kansas German professor emeritus Frank Baron's third book in collaboration with Jon Blumb, a local Lawrence photographer, about the artist and author Albert Bloch (1882-1961), the only American painter to be associated with the Blue Rider, explores in a visually intriguing manner and in engaging detail the modernist's years from 1909 to 1921 during which the painter and his family predominantly resided in Munich. *Albert Bloch and*

the Blue Rider: The Munich Years elegantly bridges the gap between the American artist and his extensively researched counterparts, such as Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky, while contextualizing Bloch's work and the Blue Rider as well as the NKVM, *Neue Künstlervereinigung München*, and supplying "previously overlooked details about the tensions within the NKVM" (2).

The foundations for Baron and Blumb's paperback, which includes 140 black and white photographic reproductions of images captured by Bloch himself and 8 color plates of his work, are the painter's own "Record Books:" Album I (1911-1917) and II (1916-1919). In an effort to maintain and preserve a chronological and detailed record of his artwork, Bloch created these two albums in the fashion of logbooks or journals, which include photographs of his artwork, dates, and other valuable notes. Baron points out the interesting fact that Bloch titled the photographs of his artwork in Album I only in German and Album II solely in English, possibly because he was preparing for his and his family's return to the United States at the end of World War I (vii).

Albert Bloch, born 1882 in St. Louis, Missouri, was of German-Jewish and Czechoslovakian descent. After studying at the St. Louis School of Fine Arts from 1905 to 1908, he worked as a freelance draftsman first for the *St. Louis Star* and the *St. Louis Post* before being discovered by William Reedy and employed for his *Mirror* (1). Having received financial support from Reedy, Bloch, his wife Hortense, and their son relocated in 1909 to Munich's Schwabing art district.

At this time of dramatic changes in literature, art, music, and film, Munich served as one of the principal cradles of Modernism. Members of the Schwabinger bohemian coterie would come together, discuss their ideas and visions, play chess, and rack up a tab with the waiter Arthur at the Café Stefanie, "sometimes referred to sarcastically as Café *Größenwahn* [Café Megalomania]" (9). Among the café's patrons were names like Frank Wedekind, Paul Klee, Erich Mühsam, Emmy Hennings, and Bertolt Brecht. The modernists followed their theme of shifting away "from the outside material world to the inner, spiritualized world" (9) and marked by psychoanalysis and the unconscious, also influenced Bloch's work and his new and revolutionary way of employing color. He became friends with Kandinsky, Marc, Klee, McCouch, Gollob and numerous others immortalizing many of them in the form of sonnets and portraits. On December 8, 1911, the exhibition of the Blue Rider opened at Heinrich Thannhauser's *Moderne Galerie* in Munich and toured Europe until 1914 and included six of Bloch's paintings. The second exhibition of the Blue Rider featured eight of his drawings and "numerous exhibitions followed, primarily in Berlin at the Sturm Gallery but also in Cologne, Dresden, Braunschweig, Frankfurt, Jena, Munich, and Chicago" (5).

In order to achieve some form of financial independence, Bloch began teaching in 1916, the same year his second son was born and the year of Franz Marc's death and Bloch's joint exhibition with Paul Klee. Baron suspects that Bloch would have remained in Germany, "if conditions had allowed" it and notes that "strict restrictions did not allow renting residences to foreigners, and the usual financial difficulties only exacerbated the crisis" (28).

Having contributed to at least forty European exhibitions, Bloch and his family returned to the United States in 1920. Once in the United States, the selling of his paintings did not generate sufficient income and Bloch began working briefly for the Chicago Art Institute and finally began teaching art and art history at the University of Kansas in 1923. Bloch remained in Lawrence, Kansas, and passed away in 1961.

Albert Bloch and the Blue Rider: The Munich Years analyzes and preserves Bloch's American brush strokes in a predominantly German modernist painting and offers valuable insight into the inner workings of the Blue Rider, the NKVM, and the contemporary Munich Zeitgeist while expanding and deepening our understanding of the expressionistic context.

Northern Kentucky University

Andrea Fieler

Mehr als Rock 'n' Roll: Der Radiosender AFN bis Mitte der sechziger Jahre.

By Anja Schäfers. Vol. 52 of *Transatlantische Historische Studien* edited by Hartmut Berghoff, Mischa Honeck and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. 454 pp. €68.00.

Anja Schäfers's *Mehr als Rock 'n' Roll: Der Radiosender AFN bis Mitte der sechziger Jahre* is an ambitious undertaking that attempts to examine the history, institutional structures, programming, and reception of the American military radio station *American Forces Network (AFN)*. After Patrick Morley's 2001 publication about the *AFN*, "*This is the American Forces Network: The Anglo-American Battle of the Air Waves in World War II*, which mainly concentrated on *AFN*'s relation to Great Britain, Schäfers's book offers a geographically broader overview of the first twenty years of *AFN* until the nineteen sixties, and evaluates the success of the military radio station in fulfilling the expectations of its American and German audiences.

Chapters one to three cover the '40s and the beginning of *AFN* in Europe. Many American GIs who were overseas during the Second World War and who were listening to European radio found the program of the Brit-

ish station *BBC* unattractive because it was lacking entertainment as well as American news and sports coverage. Consequently, they wanted to have their own broadcasting station, and as a result of their efforts, *AFRS* (*Armed Forces Radio Service*) was founded in 1942. In 1943, *AFN* (*American Forces Network*) went on air in the *BBC* studios in London before it expanded onto the European continent—first to France and Belgium, later to Germany. Schäfers leaves it unclear for the uninformed reader, however, how *AFRS* and *AFN* differ from each other, which makes further references to these terms confusing. The reader may also find it difficult to understand Schäfers's remark that *AFN* was not an official institution of the American armed forces even though it was subject to the Department of Information and Education of the US military (242). A clearer distinction between these institutions and their fields of activity would be desirable.

The mission of all American media stations abroad during the nineteen forties was to keep up the spirits of their troops that were not yet allowed to return home. Unlike the radio station *RIAS* (*Broadcasting in the American Sector*), *AFN* did not want to broadcast propaganda, however. It rather aimed at fulfilling its task of being a secret *Notfallkommunikationsmittel* (103) of the American military that was also used to discipline the troops, to provide music for leisure activities, to entertain women and children at home, and to practice *Völkerverständigung* (75). Therefore, *AFN* offered a high percentage of entertainment programs paired with informational and educational content. Schäfers points out that in the Forties the station's informational and educational programs focused on, among others, the Nuremberg Trials, the general order against fraternization, and warnings against black market trade. In 1946, *AFN* owned six stations with studios in Frankfurt am Main, München, and Berlin, as well as transmitter stations in Stuttgart, Bayreuth, and Bremen.

Chapters four to six investigate the Fifties and Sixties when *AFN* took part in the *Kopenhagener Wellenplan* (Kopenhagen Wave Project), which aimed at controlling radio frequencies in Europe. *AFN* needed to participate in the project to receive enough frequencies so that the radio would remain available for its troops to fulfill the task of being the main means of communication during an emergency. Schäfers argues that *AFN* had to remain on the sidelines of the *Propagandakrieg* (121) and Ätherkrieg (war of the airwaves) (129) between Eastern and Western propaganda stations in order to fulfill that task. Nevertheless, the conflict between the political systems was still a topic of *AFN*'s informational and educational program. In the early Fifties, *AFN* increased its in-house productions and the number of its stations. In 1963, sixty-three stations were on air in France and Germany, which turned

AFN into the largest broadcasting group of the US military (180). According to Schäfers, many scholars consider both the Fifties and the Sixties as the Golden Age of *AFN*, but Schäfers only regards the latter as the true heyday of the radio (147).

In chapters seven to nine, Schäfers provides additional information on the station's program, which was composed of material from *AFRS* in the United States and in-house productions of the *AFN* headquarters and the individual local radio stations. The latter amounted to up to seventy percent of the entire program in the Fifties. Schäfers offers the reader selected examples of the musical program, live shows, news, documentaries about state acts, sports competitions, quiz shows, and also features about political, economic, cultural, and historical aspects of the United States and Germany. Musical shows covered styles such as Classical, Country, or Rock 'n' Roll. With her examples, Schäfers gives the reader many anecdotes to visualize *AFN*'s day-to-day business but she misses out on opportunities to interpret the findings in depth. What does it mean, for example, when Günter Kunert remarks that Swing music had turned the European listener into "Hörige" (a wordplay with the term "listeners" and "servants/slaves")? Surely, this comment must have meant more than merely showing how caught up some Germans were with a new musical trend (316).

The last chapters, ten to twelve, provide more information about the program and also analyze the station's audience. First and foremost, *AFN* was meant for members of the US military in Europe as well as their relatives who lived with them. Special programs were provided for Spanish speakers, African-Americans, women, and children. If a show targeted a certain audience, the host usually came from that group as well. In the early years, *AFN* aimed at educating their German audience to more democracy and to reject communism, while, in the later years, a rather friendly relationship was fostered. Especially the younger generation of German listeners had a positive image of the United States with preconceptions such as democracy and freedom, modern life, an intact and free world (353). The older generation feared a negative influence of *AFN* on Germany with prejudices about the United States such as a lacking of civilization, mass culture, materialism, or decadence (353–354).

Despite the numerous repetitions of information and missed opportunities for a profound interpretation of her findings, Schäfers presents her reader with an interesting and informative overview of the history of *AFN* over a span of more than twenty years. She shows that *AFN* was not only a music station but offered its listeners informational content as well. Schäfers received the Franz Steiner Prize for German-American Studies 2012 for her

dissertation about *AFN*, which allowed her to publish her manuscript in the Transatlantic Historical Studies Series.

Carleton College

Juliane Schicker

After the Silents: Hollywood Film Music in the Early Sound Era, 1926-1934.

By Michael Slowik. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014. 384 pp. \$30.00.

A comprehensive examination of largely overlooked scores from the era just preceding the Golden Age of Hollywood film music fills a void in the literature and provides a compelling argument for a re-assessment of the groundbreaking contributions customarily attributed to Max Steiner's score for *King Kong* (1933). Michael Slowik's impressive book decenters *King Kong* and argues that the film's score was a culmination of already existing tendencies in film music composition rather than an undeniable demarcation of an era. Throughout the book, Slowik makes musical and filmmaking terms easy to understand for readers who may not be well versed in the language of both disciplines. For anyone interested in the work of Max Steiner, the book is a must. Germanists and Austrianists who study the Hollywood émigré community will find some of its predecessors discussed so that the book will provide a new lens through which to examine the work of those artists.

Slowik builds up to his *King-Kong*-argument in chapter six by tracing the transition from silent film to "talkies," offering thorough examinations along the way of early synchronized-sound films, part-talkies, musicals and nonmusicals, in addition to an opening chapter exploring early influences on film music, such as opera, radio and the Broadway musical. His meticulous scrutiny of the distinction between diegetic (sound sources appearing on screen) and nondiegetic (sounds not appearing on screen) music as practiced by filmmakers of this early period yields an especially persuasive argument for a reconsideration of a large body of work. Detailed analyses of *Lights of New York* (1928) and *The Squall* (1929), for instance, illuminate the complex terrain navigated by the makers of early sound pictures as they struggled to create a sound space composed of diegetic and non-diegetic sources that audiences could accept as logical.

Slowik carefully traces the industry's rapid progression from an extensive use of nondiegetic musical cues, as in *The Squall*, which according to Slowik contains nondiegetic music for almost seventy percent of its running time, to a comparatively sparse use of music, as in *Liliom* (1930 version). These

sections set up Slowik's first major argument that revolutionary contributions attributed to Steiner should be re-examined. The Steiner score in question here is for *Cimarron* (1931), often considered to have forged new territory in the use of nondiegetic music, but Slowik convincingly asserts that *Cimarron's* score, however excellent, was merely an example of common practice in the period that preceded it.

Chapters on early Hollywood musicals and the use of music to characterize exotic, unfamiliar environments on film prepare readers for the book's comparatively brief but most significant chapter, namely the dissection of the merits ascribed by other film scholars to Steiner's score for *King Kong*. Slowik asserts that, with rare exceptions, scholars who assign historical importance to *King Kong's* score display "little or no awareness" of the earlier scores that Slowik has analyzed. Slowik ably refutes a variety of claims of *King Kong's* unique significance and makes a convincing case for a more properly reconsidered placement of *King Kong* within an already rich tradition, one that includes earlier film scores by Steiner himself.

Susquehanna University

David Steinau

American Cinematographers in the Great War, 1914-1918.

By James W. Castellan, Ron van Dopperen, and Cooper C. Graham. New Barnet, Herts (UK): John Libbey Publishing Ltd, 2014. 320 pp. £25.00.

Film historians James W. Castellan, Ron van Dopperen, and Cooper C. Graham have taken on the formidable task of tracing the lives and experiences of the American cinematographers who recorded the Great War in Europe on behalf of the Central Powers, the Allied Powers, or, after April 1917, the United States. The result is a fascinating yet overly detailed study of previously unknown photographers who overcame military opposition, government censorship, and the dangers of battle to record still and moving images of the war and in the process revolutionized journalism.

The authors expertly outline the lives and adventures of American cameramen including Albert K. Dawson, Wilbur H. Durborough, Nelson Elisha Edwards, Frank Kleinschmidt, Edward Steichen, Donald C. Thompson, Ansel Earle Wallace, and Edwin F. Weigle. Most had gained invaluable experience photographing or filming the Mexican rebellions during 1913 and 1914. In 1914, German propagandists established the German Information System in New York City and hired several of these photographers to document the war from a pro-German perspective and to counter Britain's domi-

nance in the propaganda war for American public opinion. Films, such as *The Warring Millions*, *On the Firing Line with the Germans*, and *The Battle and Fall of Przemysl*, offered American viewers exciting images from several German fronts. The German High Command, fearful that cameramen were spies, however, strictly controlled access to its military, thus limiting Germany's ability to turn American sentiment in favor of the Central Powers.

Several cinematographers also reported on the Allied Power despite firm opposition to foreign correspondents in most countries. Cameramen, such as Ariel Varges and Merl La Voy, overcame restrictions by associating with private charity organizations and establishing personal connections with influential persons. Such persistence resulted in the filming and production of well-received documentaries like *Victorious Serbia*, *Heroic France*, and *With the Russians at the Front*.

Once the United States entered the global conflict in 1917, American cinematographers gained new opportunities to record the war. The Committee on Public Information (CPI), a government propaganda agency established through executive order, and the Photographic Division of the United States Army Signal Corps, recruited these experienced photographers to document American participation in the war. As commissioned officers, they had virtually unrestricted access to training facilities and the battlefield. Military officials in both Europe and the United States, nevertheless, heavily censored all footage before submitting it to the CPI. The agency then edited films into propaganda movies such as *Pershing's Crusaders* and *America's Answer* to instill public patriotism and support for the war.

Of particular interest is the underlying theme of publishing tycoon William Randolph Hearst and his role in sending American cameramen to wartime Europe for the purpose of bringing back newsreels and images that would attract paying customers to movie theaters and subscribers to his newspapers. He understood that war was not only profitable for big business, but that it could fuel the media and movie industry as well. People hungered for news about the war and flocked to movie theaters to watch newsreels or full-length documentaries from the battlefield in Europe. As the authors convincingly demonstrate, Hearst was pro-German at the beginning of the war and worked with German ambassador Count von Bernstorff to arrange passage for cinematographers through Germany and access to military leaders. Realizing the profitability of war documentaries, however, soon convinced Hearst to send cameramen to all fronts. Once the United States entered the conflict, he also became very quickly involved in and, as the authors suggest, may have deeply influenced the distribution of newsreels and movies through the CPI.

The authors conducted impressive research in primary documents including a wide array of European and American newspapers, memoirs or scrapbooks by cinematographers, documents from the German *Bundesarchiv*, movie trade papers, and newsreel footage from *Hearst-Selig News* and *New York Times Pictorials*. These sources helped supplement the text with a wide array of images, including photos of the individuals under study, snapshots from the battlefield, and posters advertising war documentaries.

This study is a must-read for journalism majors and historians of photography or film. The general reader, however, may at times have difficulties following the detailed biographical information interwoven into descriptions of events and evaluations of movies. This work, nevertheless, contributes greatly to the history of propaganda during World War I.

Missouri University of Science and Technology

Petra DeWitt

Amish Quilts: Crafting an American Icon.

By Janneken Smucker. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2013. 270 pp. \$34.95.

In recent decades, Amish quilt scholarship has received attention and appreciation in the art world. One of the latest publications to add to this development is Janneke Smucker's new book *Amish Quilts*, a remarkable publication on an American icon. Smucker's "cultural heritage as a fifth-generation Mennonite quiltmaker, her experience as an assistant curator at the International Quilt Study Center & Museum at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln," and her historical knowledge provide multidirectional insights into the evolution of Amish quilting in American society (xi). The book's 270 pages offer a wide selection of illustrated artworks and accompanying captions, bearing resemblance to an art catalog. Notwithstanding the abundance of full-color illustrations, the essays take priority. They weave a strong narrative throughout a delightful array of visual elements.

In the introduction, Smucker poses an obvious but necessary question, namely, "How did objects [Amish quilts] made in a fairly closed, conservative religious culture, in which the ideals of modernity and fashion are anathema, become ubiquitous parts of late twentieth- and twenty-first century visual culture?" (xiii). Moreover, she aims to "break down the generalizations and stereotypes about Amish quilts that have emerged in the decades since outsiders first became enamored with these old bedcoverings" (18). Throughout the twelve chapters of the book, Smucker never loses sight of what she has set out to do, namely, to provide coherent answers to a set of multi-faceted

questions. By doing so, her approach becomes holistic as she integrates ideas and insights from the fields of history, art, economics, religion, and science.

Under the title "Made in America," Smucker dismantles the quiltmaking myths and the stereotypes associated with seeing Amish quiltmaking "through a lens of nostalgia" (22). The chapter serves as a reminder that quiltmaking in the United States had its origins in wealthy colonial urbanity rather than rural America. And that the beginnings of Amish quilting in the 1880s paralleled the Industrial Revolution and its surplus textiles. Similarly, her thoughts revolve around Amish quilts and their religious, economic, and historical significance within the close-knit Amish community. While Smucker minimizes the notion of static Amish quilt patterns and designs, she accentuates the symbolic value of quiltmaking as a reinforcement of *Gelassenheit*, a detachment from the material world and "a resignation to God's will" (33).

In the next chapter, the author shifts her attention to the Sixties and Seventies when Amish quilts were discovered by outsiders and "a larger cultural conversation about tradition, craft making, and aesthetics occur[ed] among both urban and rural people both inside and outside of academic and art world circles" (65). The discovery of Amish quilts as trailblazers of abstract modern art by Jonathan Holstein and his partner Gail van der Hoof in the Sixties reads like a detective novel. In dramatic fashion, Holstein's and van der Hoof's autobiographical quotes alternate with Smucker's analysis of quilts from beds to museum walls. By the end of the chapter, Smucker convincingly comes to legitimize quilts as a high art form.

The next chapters link the revival of crafts in the Sixties with feminist issues and quilts as fashion and art objects; the special role of Amish sales intermediaries; the desirability of particular patterns and textiles; and methods to assess the quality of quilts. According to Smucker the evaluation process of what constitutes an Amish quilt ultimately lay in the hands of the connoisseur and curator.

The remaining chapters compellingly document the development of a new Amish quiltmaking industry as a logical response to the shrinking availability of old Amish quilts, the rise in Amish population, increases in land prices, and the influx of Hmong immigrants. While some outsiders argued that the establishment of a quiltmaking industry signified "a degradation of tradition," Smucker sees it in a more positive light. She argues that the new industry also "prompted women once again [to] make quilts for their own children," and find "new creativity by using a variety of fabrics and patterns" (189). Smucker understands the changes in the quilt production as a response to global changes as in other industries. One of Smucker's examples comes from the Eighties when Amish women solicited the help of Hmong seam-

stresses. As the Amish began to outsource delicate needlework to Hmong immigrant women they incorporated appliqué patterns into their own quilts. By doing so, they once again revitalized quilt desirability and income. The interdependent relationship that followed, however, was put to the test when the Hmong established their own quilting businesses. The change created competition for the Amish but never brought the anticipated economic success for the Hmong people. As Lo Mao Moua, a Hmong businesswoman commented, “[b]ecause I am Asian, they think I sell cheap imports” (210). Nevertheless, Smucker reveals that in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, so-called Harmony quilts that combined elements of Hmong and Amish quilting styles were sold with success.

In keeping with her earlier arguments, Smucker concludes that by the late Nineties quilts made by the Amish and Hmong and factory-made quilts had flooded the market and had caused a drop in quilt prices as well as their emotional value. During the same period, the author documents that museums purchased large collections of old Amish quilts for large sums. In other words, old quilts are now more valuable.

In summation, Smucker’s exceptional contribution to Amish quilting rests on her rejection of a linear development. She weaves the transformations introduced by the outside world and adaptations within the Amish community into one history. Her study brilliantly highlights the intersections of two parallel worlds, one defined by tight communalism and self-imposed minimalism and one by globalization and consumerism with the collector as go-between. This book should have extensive appeal not only in artistic circles but in general libraries.

University of Southern Indiana

Silvia Rode

Science

Letters from an American Botanist: The Correspondences of Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst Mühlenberg (1753–1815).

By Matthias Schönhofer. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. 604 pp. €84.00.

Few German American families contributed more to the birth and development of the United States than the Mühlenbergs. The patriarch of the family in America was Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the German pastor who established the Lutheran Church in the colonies, starting in 1742. His three sons began careers as clergymen but made their names elsewhere. Peter, the

oldest, famously left the pulpit to fight in the American Revolution, eventually rising to the rank of Major General and serving in Congress after the war. Frederick was a delegate to the Continental Congress and became the first US Speaker of the House in 1789. The youngest brother Gotthilf Heinrich Ernst (anglicized as Henry) was a botanist and key figure in the establishment of a serious scientific community in the nascent United States. Until today, Henry has been overshadowed by his better known father and brothers. This study seeks to bring him more fully into the spotlight.

Schönhofer uses the principles of Network Theory to position Mühlenberg within the Enlightenment-era intellectual community known the “Republic of Letters.” The years in the book title are Henry’s life dates, while his correspondence network ranged from 1771 to 1815. Schönhofer located or reconstructed 998 letters to 109 unique contacts during those years and identified distinct phases that reflect the changing circumstances of Mühlenberg’s life.

The elder Mühlenberg sent his sons from Pennsylvania to Germany to be educated in theology at the Frankesche Stiftung and the University of Halle. When Henry returned to America in 1770 he was ordained as a pastor and began service in Philadelphia, moving later to Lancaster. Schönhofer explores Henry’s early professional years primarily through the correspondence with his father. Family connections and Lutheran Church contacts, both domestically and abroad, were most important during this period. Henry’s passion for botany developed gradually throughout the 1770s and would eventually benefit from the networking principles he had developed through his studies and his pastoral work. Unlike his brothers, however, Henry would not abandon his career in the church in favor of other interests.

In late 1783 Mühlenberg hosted German naturalist Johann David Schöpf, who had remained in America to study after serving as a surgeon to Hessian troops during the Revolutionary War. Schöpf’s return to Germany in 1784 marks the beginning of Mühlenberg’s correspondence with the European scientific community. Mühlenberg and Schöpf exchanged letters for the next seven years, and the amateur American botanist ultimately provided his German colleague with botanical evidence essential to Schöpf’s landmark *Materia medica Americana potissimum regni vegetabilis*, for which Mühlenberg received no published acknowledgement.

Through Schöpf’s introduction Mühlenberg established a correspondence with Johann Christian von Schreber, who since 1770 held the title of Professor of Botany at the University of Erlangen and was considered the German authority on Linnaean taxonomy. Why this established scientist would care to correspond with an obscure botanical layman is revealed through his first letter to Mühlenberg in 1785: “Would you please be so kind as to collect

the plants of your immediate surroundings and possibly of other American regions, and to ship to me both dried specimens and seeds of the same; here, we will conduct our inquiries about these and let you know about our discoveries" (130). Thus began a relationship that for Mühlenberg would serve as a sort of university course on botany and provide him with access to a wider network of scholars.

Mühlenberg's European network grew throughout the 1790s; so too did his reputation as an independent scholar of botany. As a result, he steadily established himself within the growing scientific community in the United States. In the last two decades of his life Mühlenberg was firmly rooted in an American network of botanists. Today, the suggestion by his contemporary William Baldwin that Mühlenberg was the "Linnaeus of our Country" seems oversold, and yet he certainly was what Schönhofer calls "a careful multiplier of the botanical knowledge" (471) thanks to his considerable observational abilities and to the communication networks that he fostered. Mühlenberg helped build the American scientific infrastructure of the nineteenth century.

Despite the seemingly narrow focus on the correspondences of a pastor-botanist, this study should appeal to a broad spectrum of readers. Schönhofer prefaces this study with a useful introduction to the growing discipline of Network Studies, and the nearly five hundred pages of well-organized text are supplemented by a number of charts that graphically represent Mühlenberg's correspondence networks. The exploration of those transatlantic networks should be fascinating to anyone interested in the exchange of ideas during the eighteenth century. The background chapter on Mühlenberg's family context, with its revealing insights into his relationship with his father and two brothers, may have the broadest appeal to scholars of German Americana.

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

To Pass On a Good Earth: The Life and Work of Carl O. Sauer.

By Michael Williams with David Lowenthal and William M. Denevan. University of Virginia Press, 2014. 252pp. \$45.00.

Carl Ortwin Sauer is generally acclaimed to be the most eminent American geographer of the twentieth century and the founder of modern cultural geography at the University of California at Berkeley in the Twenties. Sauer was born in 1889 into a German-speaking family in Warrenton, Missouri where he grew up. His maternal grandparents were German immigrants; his grandfather being a German Methodist clergyman in America. His father

immigrated from Württemberg in 1865, after which he taught music and botany at Central Methodist College in Warrenton, a German Methodist institution. The family returned to Württemberg from 1899 to 1901 so that Carl could attend a German gymnasium.

Once back in Missouri, Sauer attended Central Wesleyan College but spent his senior year at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois before graduate school in geography at the University of Chicago. After marriage and a doctoral dissertation on the geography of the Missouri Ozarks, Sauer began a professorship at the University of Michigan in January, 1916. During America's participation in the First World War, Sauer endured a campaign against him launched by a departmental colleague for being too Germanic. But with an outstanding publishing record, he was promoted to full Professor in 1921. Two years later, when offered the position of department chair at Berkeley, California, he accepted. He would die in Berkeley more than half a century later in 1975.

At the University of California, Sauer built a "distinctive school of geography grounded in biophysical, cultural, and historical approaches" ("Berkeley School," *Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. by B. Warf, Sage Publications, 2006). Sauer was an eclectic scholar who used insights and approaches from a broad spectrum of academic disciplines. He worked closely at Berkeley with the cultural anthropologist Alfred Kroeber and the ethnologist of Native America Robert Lowie. Both had been among the first generation of Franz Boas's graduate students at Columbia University. Kroeber was a second generation German American; Lowie emigrated from Vienna at the age of ten; Boas emigrated from Germany in 1887, after obtaining a thorough German education. Sauer always respected German scholarship and learning. He was influenced by German geographers, especially Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1900). Yet, not all Sauer's intellectual influences and collaborations were German. At Berkeley he worked closely with the historian of Spanish America Herbert E. Bolton who had been a student of Frederick Jackson Turner. He claimed inspiration from the Englishman Vaughan Cornish and the American George Perkins Marsh.

From the Twenties into the Fifties, Sauer made a great number of research trips to Mexico. He worked on such questions as the number of Native Americans at first contact, the domestication and bio-diversity of native crops, the development and spread of Native cultures, and human origins in the Americas. He came to despise social science reformers and coercive social engineering projects, especially those of the New Deal. He became a champion of cultural diversity, bio-diversity, and respect for the environment. Thus, in many ways, while seemingly an old fashioned man out of touch with the modern quantitative geography in his later years, today he can be seen as

a man ahead of his time—respectful of the Native American cultures developed over eons and a harsh critic of environmental destruction. He opposed Western commodity fetishism and the death of natural and cultural diversity.

Sauer retired in 1957, but he remained active as a scholar well into the Seventies. His last books were about the early settlement of Spanish America and even a book about seafaring from Europe in the Medieval Period. Surely he could have been more influential off the Berkeley campus if he had learned better people skills. He did not suffer fools lightly. A long-time friend and ally said of Sauer, “no one is so dumb in dealing with people” (141) and the author claims, “Sauer’s backward-looking aloofness was almost paranoid” (141). But it is difficult for the reader not to like such an insightful, honest, and forthright man. Sauer researched and wrote on so many not closely related topics that this reviewer, on first reading, found it difficult to formulate a cohesive view of his career and legacy. The late author, a British geographer at Oxford, used Sauer’s preserved letters to his parents, written not only in German, but often in Sütterlin *Handschrift*, to good effect. This is why, perhaps, more insight shines through in the account of Sauer’s early life than of his later years. Another mild disappointment is that the author is quite innocent of understanding about the breadth and impact of German-American Protestant denominationalism. The topic is so much broader than just Sauer’s German Methodist background. In fact, when Sauer was a child in Warrenton in the eighteen-nineties, just seven miles down the road in Wright City was another German American boy who would grow up to be twentieth-century America’s greatest Christian moralist—Reinhold Niebuhr.

University of Arkansas Fort Smith

Robert W. Frizzell

The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love’s Prophet.

By Lawrence J. Friedman. Assisted by Anke M. Schreiber. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013. 410 pp. \$29.95.

This substantial biography of the psychoanalyst Erich Fromm (1900-1980) is thoroughly researched and engagingly written. Fromm is perhaps best known for his immensely popular book *The Art of Loving* (1956). But his influence goes far beyond this bestseller, with culturally critical books like *Escape from Freedom* (1941), *Man for Himself* (1947), *The Sane Society* (1955), *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (1973), and *To Have or to Be* (1976). The author, Lawrence J. Friedman, a professor emeritus of American history, has published two related books: in 1990 on the psychiatrist Karl Menninger

(1893-1992) and his clinic in Topeka, Kansas, and in 1999 on the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson (1902-1994), whose concepts of identity have impacted American child rearing practices through Dr. B. Spock's manuals since the 1940s.

At first glance, the title of Friedman's book seems misleading in two respects: the plural *lives* conjures up parallel existences, with a connotation of a double life; and *love* could be understood in too narrow a sense of the word. In the prolog, *Writing Love*, Friedman clarifies, that Fromm's lives are his varying roles as political activist, social commentator, practicing psychoanalyst and personality theorist. That *love* must be read in the widest sense possible is obvious throughout the text, from self-love, to object love, to the love of God, and, indeed, the love of all beings.

Also in the prolog, Friedman explains why he has been keenly interested in Fromm since the Sixties, and proceeds to give a sketch of Fromm as an activist within the context of the Cold War, nuclear threats, antiwar-, peace- and human rights movements, his contacts with high-placed US government officials, his generosity in supporting Amnesty International and SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), who count him amongst their cofounders.

The book is divided into three parts and twelve chapters, each being further subdivided into numerous sub-chapters of uneven length. In the Part I, *Germany*, Friedman explores Fromm's life and work during the formative years up to his emigration in 1934 in two chapters. Part II (63-211), entitled *The Americas*, has five chapters dealing with Fromm's activities in the United States and Mexico, where he moved with his second wife Henny Gurland in 1950 (141). Part III, *Global Citizenship* (215-337) is less biographical in nature, and provides, also in five chapters, a detailed analysis of Fromm's philosophical thought.

Some readers may be disappointed that Fromm's early years, abounding in contacts with influential Freudian and Marxist intellectuals, receive such scant attention. But then, Friedman trains his focus deliberately on the American scene. Less excusable is the lack of a proper bibliography. The psychoanalyst and Fromm scholar Rainer Funk, who became Fromm's assistant in 1974 and the custodian of his papers in 1980, seems grossly underrepresented though Friedman acknowledges Funk's Fromm Archive in Tübingen as the principal source his book (339) as well as Funk's twelve-volume collection in German of Fromm's published works (340). Friedman fails to give due credit to Funk's remarkable scholarly contribution, starting with his 1977 dissertation published in 1982 as *Erich Fromm: the Courage to be Human* (xvi, 424), or editions like the 1994 *On being Human: Selections from Fromm's*

Unpublished Writings and *The Essential Fromm: Life between Having and Being* (1995).

University of Manitoba

Gaby Divay

Pathologist of the Mind: Adolf Meyer and the Origins of American Psychiatry.

By S. D. Lamb. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. 299 pp. \$44.95.

Adolf Meyer was a Swiss American psychiatrist whose contributions to the development of his field in the United States were groundbreaking. His education and his early years as a practitioner and researcher in the US, 1892-1917, are the focus of S. D. Lamb's 2014 biography. Unlike other examinations of Meyer's contributions, Lamb uses Meyer's personal and professional writings as well as the medical records of his patients at the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic to elucidate Meyer's concept of psychobiology, its role in mental disorders, and his method for treating mental illnesses.

Adolf Meyer was born in 1866 in Niederweningen, Switzerland, to Rudolf Meyer, a Zwingli minister, and his wife, Anna Walder Meyer. He attended the *Universität Zürich*, and after earning his medical degree in 1890, pursued post-graduate studies in France and Britain that exposed him to a model of neurology focusing on physiology rather than anatomy. This, combined with the British emphasis on evolutionary biology and empirical observation, led him to spend his career studying the brain. Following the completion of his dissertation, Meyer decided at age twenty-six to embark for the United States and commence a career in neurological research.

Meyer's first position was an unpaid fellowship at the University of Chicago, but in 1893 he became the pathologist at the Illinois Eastern Hospital for the Insane. There, he encountered initial roadblocks to performing his duties because of the lack of patient histories and detailed charts of observations and care, which was at that time characteristic of most American mental hospitals. He, therefore, instituted the collection of this information and even began visiting patients on the wards himself. His time at this hospital, along with his mother's own episode of depression, led him to study living patients as he came to believe that the scientific study of mental illness must begin well in advance of autopsy.

In 1895, Meyer moved on to the Worcester State Lunatic Asylum in Massachusetts, where he could further his work in developing the field of

psychiatry into one grounded in scientific investigation. In Worcester, he instituted his method of performing physical, neurological, and mental examinations on every patient and recording of his findings in standardized terminology. Meyer found the physicians working under him to be receptive to these changes, willing to develop them further, and to make their own contributions.

When Meyer then became the director of the New York Pathological Institute in 1901, his chief concern was standardizing procedures for the thirteen state asylums. While there, he also formulated psychobiology, the term he coined in 1908 for his understanding of the nervous system. The core principle is that mental activity develops evolutionarily, and that mental disorders are, therefore, a failed adaptation. In this model, the anatomical, neural, mental, and behavioral aspects of a mental reaction are all one adaptive response. Further, what he termed the “common sense consensus” referred to the human tendency to choose self-interested goals and then to determine which mental reactions were most likely to achieve them, leading to a psychobiological habit. A mental illness was the result of an adaptation that was counter to the common sense consensus, but it was malleable and, therefore, treatable.

In 1913, Meyer became the first director of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic in Baltimore, where he helped design his vision of a clinic where research, teaching, and clinical work would take place side-by-side. A central tenet was that mental disorders should be treated in a manner analogous to a physical disorder and with the same level of scientific rigor. Treatment at the clinic began with an initial period of bedrest meant to encourage the patient to view his hospitalization in the same light as one for a physical ailment, a period of treatment and cure. The case history became the basis of the patient’s treatment so that causal relationships could be established through discussion and observation. The goal of therapy was to restore psychobiological equilibrium through “habit-training” during the routine of the hospital day. Patients were encouraged to partake in physical exercise, activities, hydrotherapy, and hand-work such as basket weaving to restore a sense of self-interest and satisfaction.

Through his research at the Phipps, Meyer established six “reaction types,” as opposed to distinct categories of diagnosis, which became the foundation for the first edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*, the professional standard used today, underscoring Meyer’s contributions to the field of mental illness. American psychiatry took shape and gained scientific legitimacy as a medical field through Meyer’s clinical work and research efforts, and his influence remains visible today, albeit largely unrecognized by most.

Lamb does a thorough job of explaining Meyer's place in American psychiatry, his methods, and his research. The two case studies included to illuminate the clinical work are particularly helpful, and provide a more concrete view into his practices. The chapter on the development of psychobiology could be a challenge for a lay reader to understand, but otherwise, the work is wholly comprehensible and well-researched. Lamb convincingly argues for the importance of this man whose name is known only to a few outside of the field of psychiatry.

Doane College

Kristen M. Herrick

German Rocketeers in the Heart of Dixie: Making Sense of the Nazi Past during the Civil Rights Era.

By Monique Laney. New Haven: Yale, 2015. 320 pp. \$35.00.

Spoiler Alert, Warning! The culturally and emotionally charged phrases *Heart of Dixie* and *Civil Rights* in this title may prompt readers to expect the German rocket scientists of mid-twentieth-century America to parallel their German 48er counterparts of the mid-nineteenth, to stand up as leaders for a just, free, and enlightened society. We might anticipate a wholly new story of rocket scientists joining organizations in the Civil Rights Movement, of their leadership roles, of Werner von Braun marching on Washington with Dr. Martin Luther King. But, no! This is not that story at all. In fact, while there *is some* mention of the Civil Rights Movement in the oral histories and discussion that make up the heart of this study, there is little to no evidence of German involvement. Laney refers *once only* to "local black community leaders [being] joined by members of the Unitarian Church and a few scientists in their fight for desegregation" without providing numbers of participants or names (55). We cannot know if these scientists were even Germans. The author concludes herself then that "overall, the relationship between Huntsville's African American and German communities was nonexistent or cordial at best, but mostly dictated by the realities of Jim Crow-style legislation" (144). For this reader, the title is a bit misleading.

In her defense, Laney's title refers to the Civil Rights *Era*, not the movement itself. Yet, as a matter of fact, the time period she describes extends far beyond the fifties and sixties. According to the author, the inspiration for the book was a desire to explain the intense loyalty expressed by the Huntsville community in support of "their German" scientist, Arthur Rudolph, when he was accused of war crimes committed during World War II, during which

time he had been the production manager of the V-2 rocket (4). But these events, which make up an entire chapter of the book, unfolded in the Eighties (145-63) and the discussion that ensues in the next chapter, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, includes much of the Nineties. Primary material used to pursue the thread of public opinion leads right up to the trial of John Demjanjuk in 2011 (162). In other words, the time period implied in the title, the fifties and sixties, might also confuse a reader.

Nevertheless, this is an important book from an important scholarly press. The work is an impeccable chronological tracking of regional, national and international public opinion and legal maneuverings surrounding von Braun's German rocket scientists and other Nazi criminals after World War II and into the twenty-first century, and an analysis of the forces that changed them subtly and dramatically. For this undertaking, Laney was uniquely qualified. She herself is German (mother) American (father), was raised in Tuscaloosa, Alabama and Frankfurt, Germany (5) and was educated primarily in Germany with an M.A. in *Amerikanistik* from the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt (1995) and a Ph.D. from the University of Kansas (2009). Her step-mother, a daughter of one of the German rocketeers of Huntsville, actively encouraged contact with the extended family over many years (19). One can hardly imagine a better base for this project.

Laney conducted oral histories with seventy-three people ranging in age between forty-five and ninety-three from the American, German, Jewish, and African American communities between 2005 and 2007 (11). Sixty-nine of the interviews were conducted in Huntsville; the others elsewhere or on the phone. A few interviewees had not been residents of Huntsville: Eli Rosenbaum, lead investigator for the Rudolph case for the US Department of Justice's Office of Special Investigations, and Andrew J. Dunar, co-author of a book on the Marshall Space Flight Center where von Braun and most of his team had worked for NASA since 1960 (11). The author presents a cogent and interesting discussion of the value and particularities of interviews as historical evidence and her methodology. Her investigation, however, goes far beyond the interviews themselves to set them into their larger context as she makes use of a plethora of print media, newspapers, magazines, radio, film, and television (the endnotes and index make up ninety-five pages of this three-hundred page book). In short, this story of the Rocketeers relies heavily on national and international views as well, not merely those in Huntsville, Alabama, all of which together played a part in the forming, retarding, and reforming of public opinion. The study actually extends, then, far beyond the *Heart of Dixie*.

For those unfamiliar with the details of the story, it begins in Peenemünde on the island of Usedom in the Baltic Sea where a German Army

Research Center was erected for the secret production of the V-2 (V for vengeance) rocket. This was a massive undertaking with twelve thousand employees and was a nasty business from start to finish. In addition to army and civilian employees, the center used POWs and slave laborers from the concentration camps at Ravensbrück, Karlshagen, and Trassenheide, later Dora, Buchenwald, and Mittelbau who were treated no better than in any other work camps, and who died ignominiously by the thousands. When the Royal Air Force bombed the site in 1943, most of the 735 casualties were forced laborers but the facility itself was left largely undamaged; the death toll at Mittelbau by the end of the war was twenty thousand (147). Werner von Braun's brother, Magnus von Braun, being the best English speaker in the group, initiated the first contact with the American Army that, ultimately, resulted in their emigration in a program named "Project Paper Clip" that brought five hundred specialists to the United States between 1945 and 1952. The V-2 rocket team was sent from New York to Fort Bliss (Texas) and then later to the Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama where they developed the Saturn V "moon rocket" that transported astronauts to the moon. In Huntsville, the team was understandably held in high esteem by the community that relied on the Flight Center for permanent, high-paying jobs. It was not until 1984 that accusations of war crimes were first formally lodged against one of the scientists, Arthur Rudolph, who, having lost his job but significantly *not* his retirement pension, decided to return to Germany to save the expense and humiliation of a trial for himself and his family.

What Laney has added to the bare bones of this story is a word for word, painstakingly precise dissection of the views of many dozens of persons of various ethnic, educational, and social backgrounds. She puts before the reader, first, an enormous array of verifiable facts along with, second, an astonishing mosaic of observations, impressions, personal experiences, opinions, prejudices, rumors, defenses and offenses. She elucidates these for the tiniest of micro-communities and then for ever larger groups at national and international levels. In addition, she presents these waves of sentiment as they change within groups over time, a kind of chrono-micro-analysis that really only can be accomplished by oral history and interview. She concludes her work by identifying not separate clusters of opinion (as I think of it) but rather "mnemonic communities with uniquely shared memories and identities" that, in this instance, become transnational (202).

My criticism of this book is limited to the size of the font, a tad too small for me, and the title, which I suspect was perfect before the project outgrew it. I confess that my own replacement titles, as in *Transnational Mnemonic Communities resulting from V-2 and Saturn V Rocket Development*, fall somewhat flat. Otherwise, *German Rocketeers in the Heart of Dixie* is an impressive

achievement and a truly fascinating read. I recommend it to anyone interested in the history of the German rocket scientists, especially their stories before and after their work with NASA, those interested in the vagaries of international law, in the scores of factors that influence large and small scale public opinion, and in the judicious use of oral histories as a tool for scholarly inquiry.

Susquehanna University

Susan M. Schürer

War and Anti-Fascism

Once Upon a Time in War: The 99th Division in World War II.

By Robert E. Humphrey. Vol. 18 in Campaigns and Commanders Series edited by Gregory J.W. Urwin. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 376 pp. \$19.95.

In another excellent work in the Campaign and Commanders series, Robert E. Humphrey constructs an outstanding oral history of soldiers, officers and commanders that takes the reader through their formation, deployment, and eventual return home from World War II in Europe. "This narrative history focuses on the physical and psychological hardships these men endured and how they coped with stress, fear, killing, capture, death, and the miserable conditions of infantry combat (xv)." Humphrey's work constructs a vivid account of what it was like to be in a combat infantry unit.

The work is well researched and documented. The selective bibliography, while short, is adequate in providing both the major works and a list of unpublished memoirs and essays. The real strength of the work lies in Humphrey's extensive interview collection of over three hundred division veterans. Unfortunately, the author has either not made arrangements for such records to be deposited in an archive for future examination or simply did not include that information. Hopefully, this important material will be made accessible in the future.

The work is divided into ten chapters of roughly equal length that explore three main themes: organization and training, deployment and combat, and, finally, POWs and the return home. The work begins with an examination of the unique composition of the 99th Infantry, which, due to a shortage of manpower, used Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) recruits. These were university students who had been promised commissions but were then recalled from their universities to be placed back into the infantry as enlisted

men (19). Understandably, this led to friction between ASTP recruits and the others within the division, friction that had to be dealt with before the unit could be deployed.

The 99th Infantry began deployment to mainland Europe on November 3, 1944, and as an inexperienced unit was sent to a quiet sector of the front on the German-Belgian border (53–59). Unfortunately and unexpectedly, this put the Division in the path of Hitler's last desperate offensive, which would become known to Americans as the Battle of the Bulge. From this point forward the work takes the reader on a rollercoaster of emotions as Humphrey relays the experiences of the 99ers as they fight or are captured during the final months of the war. These narratives are shocking in their vivid retelling of combat and its horrors of injury, terror, death, and grief but also in the sheer number of war crimes committed by Americans. Humphrey's work removes the red, white, and blue glasses through which America's involvement in World War II has been predominantly viewed. Veterans relate horrors inflicted not only on surrendering or wounded German military personnel but on civilians as well. The number and severity of atrocities increases as the reader is led through the offensive operations that took the 99th into Germany itself. Problems of food and looting were the most prevalent. "Soldiers 'appropriated' food, clothing, weapons, gasoline, and liquor wherever they could find it . . . Souvenirs included watches, silverware, jewelry, cameras and weapons" (150–151). These activities were not limited to ranks as veterans describe the actions of officers who were perhaps even worse in their pursuit of booty. Frederick Maxwell hitched a wagon to his jeep, which he loaded with plunder (151). Maj. Thomas Sams Bishop wrote in his diary on March 6, 1945: "We are not the liberators we thought we were. We loot, burn, and pillage like the rest" (153). While several veterans expressed regret about some of their actions, many did not, and none were ever charged for their conduct.

Another disturbing insight provided by Humphrey deals with the inclusion of African American soldiers into the 99th. According to Richard Ralston (the white lieutenant who commanded the 5th platoon, King Company 394), "They had a lust to kill Germans and unlike other troops they did not hunker down in combat" (181). Shooting surrendering Germans and looting their bodies seemingly became commonplace as the 99th moved across Germany. With so many recollections of such horrific events, and their growing severity, a reader begins to wonder if the unit was in fact American or Soviet. For instance, in relating the experiences of the Division crossing the Danube Humphrey describes the actions of Company Commander Harold Hill. ". . . Hill ordered the tank destroyers to blast away, and they moved down the main street and literally blew the town apart . . . Similarly a soldier

from the extra rifle platoon shot a fifteen year old girl who had taken shelter in a hole that served as an air raid shelter (286–87).” “When Paul Weesner reached the town, ‘some of our company’ (including the 5th Platoon) decided not to take prisoners . . . Weesner found this behavior reprehensible: scores of young prisoners” were shot while crawling out of their holes or walking down the road with their hands up (287). “The remaining prisoners, including one youth who had his left arm blown off, were beaten severely with rifle butts” (287–88).

The work continues with the experiences of 99ers who were POWs and their final liberation. The narratives of POW experiences paints a vivid picture of the devastation of the Allied bombing campaign, showing a German civil society that was literally on the verge of collapse where transportation, power, and civil order no longer functioned. Unfortunately for Allied POWs, allied fighter bomber and strategic bombing raids proved more deadly than their captors and prevented Red Cross parcels from getting through (265). “. . . even though large POW signs had been painted on the roofs, an American fighter suddenly dove out of the sun and with machine guns blazing, made two passes over the camp barracks, killing five prisoners and three Germans” (270–71).

The work concludes with the veterans’ experiences returning home. This is a poignant part of the study as the subject of veteran re-integration into society is absent in many histories. Many soldiers felt that their families and others appreciated them and genuinely cared; yet many did not want to discuss their war experiences and were never asked. “Once you are in combat, you are never the same. Flashbacks of what you saw come back all the time” (309). Humphrey’s work and other oral histories like it are filling an important hole in the historical record and providing greater insight into the human costs of war.

Temple University

David M. Longenbach

The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War.

By Udi Greenberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. 288 pp. \$35.00.

In this work Greenberg follows five émigrés from the Weimar Republic through their exile in the United States, into the Cold War era, and finally into the new West German democracy. The focus of his study is not on the people themselves, but on their political theories. In so doing, Greenberg emphasizes the continuity of democratic thought from Weimar to Bonn, which

is well known among students of West Germany's constitutional history. However, his study also chronicles the major *achievements* of the five émigrés between the time of their departure from Weimar and return to Germany: as a group they influenced US politics and academia, shaped Cold War ideologies, and helped to implement Cold War policies in Asia and Latin America.

Each of the book's five chapters portrays one émigré and his concept of democracy; a short conclusion explains why the described concepts are little known today. The five émigrés in the center of the book share several characteristics. They had intimate knowledge of Europe and the United States, did not perceive democracy as foreign to Germany, and promoted democratic reforms. All were fierce anti-communists with at times inflexible thinking (17). They served with the American government and supported an alliance between Germany and the United States. Greenberg describes them as "intellectuals in power" (19) and the personification of a "German-American symbiosis" (11). However, the five émigrés represent diverse political and religious leanings, and each developed a distinct idea as to how a democracy can succeed. The Protestant Carl J. Friedrich promoted "responsible elites" (25) as the stabilizing element of democracies. Building on his work in Heidelberg before his emigration, he helped to establish institutions at Harvard that educated government officials. Later, he exported these concepts back to Germany. The Socialist Ernst Fraenkel imagined a democracy built on "cross-class cooperation," the rule of law, and social programs (85). Fraenkel promoted cooperation between German social democrats and the United States and served as a US official in Korea. The conservative Catholic Waldemar Gurian saw a "personalist democracy" (120) as protection against totalitarianism and framed the Cold War as a Christian crusade (159). Karl Loewenstein, a liberal who developed the concept of "militant democracy" (168), which legitimizes suspending rights of those threatening democracy, implemented the concept as a US official in Latin America where he led an international campaign to detain and deport civilians during World War II. The concept was later invoked in the young Federal Republic of Germany to justify a ban of the communist party and, in a moderated form, is still discussed today. The last émigré described is the father of the Realist School of foreign policy, Hans J. Morgenthau. Greenberg describes him as one of the most famous émigrés and "the intellectual father of Cold War diplomacy" (212). He concludes: "Morgenthau's path from Weimar to the Cold War thus marked both the apex and the disintegration of the German-American symbiosis" (213).

Greenberg does an excellent job of describing the theoretical concepts in question as well as their influence on political discourse and academia. Greenberg's descriptions are detailed and well organized. The book provides interesting insights into three other areas: first, the role of some universities

(Harvard, Heidelberg, the Free University in Berlin) in promoting democratic and Cold War thinking; second, the importance of the Rockefeller Foundation and other foundations in rebuilding German universities and establishing democracy; third, the American influence on German higher education and its internationalization.

The book has some limitations: we do not learn much about the people behind the political philosophies or the influence of other scholars, politicians, or institutions on the five émigrés and their thinking. The chapter on Gurian delivers the most details about the factors influencing him while the chapter on Friedrich mentions many scholars who were involved in Friedrich's projects without analyzing how their input changed Friedrich's thinking.

Overall, the book is a fascinating and readable study of five thinkers who are mainly forgotten but were influential in the early Cold War era and post-war Germany. The study sheds light on the diversity of democratic thinking in the Weimar Republic, the impact of émigrés on postwar politics, and also the manner in which policies intended to protect against communism instead contributed to Korea's partition as well as undemocratic policies in Latin America. The book illuminates the great significance of connections established by émigrés in the United States for the establishment of democracy and higher education in West Germany.

Lebanon Valley College

Jörg Meindl

Es lebe die Freiheit!: Traute Lafrenz und die Weiße Rose.

By Peter Normann Waage. Translated from Norwegian into German by Antje Subey-Cramer. Stuttgart: Verlag Freies Geistesleben & Urachhaus, 2012. 320 pp. €19.90.

Traute Lafrenz (born May 3, 1919) was a member of the White Rose, the Nazi resistance circle that produced and distributed thousands of copies of six leaflets throughout Germany in 1942–43. The six core members, five university students and their philosophy professor at the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich, were arrested by the *Gestapo* and executed by guillotine for high treason in 1943. Lafrenz was arrested on March 15, 1943, and stood trial on April 19, 1943, alongside three of the core members, Willi Graf, Alexander Schmorell, and Professor Kurt Huber. Among the fourteen accused, four were women (122). Lafrenz, however, lied about her connection to the leaflets and was spared the death penalty. She served one year in prison and was released, but was arrested again in March 1944. After having been trans-

ferred to various *Gestapo* prisons, she was liberated by the American Third Army on April 15, 1945. This is where Lafrenz's story typically ends, at age 26 and in Germany at the end of the World War II. Yet, she went on to lead a long, productive life as a physician, school director, mother, and wife. She moved to the United States in 1947 and became a US citizen in 1948 when she married. Few know of her contributions as a German American and in this regard, Waage has made a significant contribution to White Rose scholarship for which he received the Norwegian *Riksmålforbundets* literary prize in 2010.

His book affords Lafrenz the opportunity to share her personal memories and to tell the story the White Rose from her perspective, with the benefits of the passage of time, years of reflection, and distance from Germany. From the start, he assumes that his readers are already familiar with the group and its members. For example, in the first sentence of the inside front cover he states that Lafrenz met Hans Scholl in 1941 in Munich when she was a medical student. (Actually, she was his girlfriend for a brief period of time and remained close to his family in Ulm even after their relationship ended and he had been executed.) This presumes the reader knows who Hans Scholl was and what he had done. Waage wastes no time, however, in providing a brief explanation of the White Rose in his opening chapter entitled, "*Donnerstag, der 18. Februar 1943*," which is the day the first members of the White Rose were arrested.

Waage chronicles the history of the White Rose including a preface, eleven chapters, photographs from Lafrenz's personal collection, endnotes, references, index, and an appendix. The appendix includes the text of the six leaflets, as well as the draft of the seventh. His preface is of particular interest because he first explains how Lafrenz's efforts were often overlooked even though she played a central role in the White Rose. He begins his monograph by first emphasizing her contribution to the White Rose and then discussing her life after the war. She finished her medical studies in Germany, emigrated to America, married, ran a small practice as a physician, and had a daughter and three sons. In 1971, she became the Director of the Esperanza School in Chicago, a school for developmentally challenged and emotionally disturbed children from the poorer sections of the city. Instruction and social training were based on Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophy, a twentieth century spiritual philosophy that focuses on human development, nurturing of the soul, and respect for others. Lafrenz led the school until 1992 and then practiced more therapeutic work, retiring in 1994.

Waage's preface continues with an explanation as to how he met Lafrenz and credits filmmaker Katrin Seybold (1943–2012) with providing invaluable resources and material for his book. He first met Lafrenz during a visit to Evanston, Illinois in 1984. However, it was not until 2007, when Lafrenz was

in Switzerland, that he had the opportunity to continue their conversations and to meet Seybold who was working on a documentary about Lafrenz and the other witnesses and family members who knew the White Rose students (11). (The film is entitled *Die Widerständigen: Zeugen der Weißen Rose* and part one was released in 2008. Part two, *Die Widerständigen: "also machen wir das weiter,"* was released in May 2015.) Waage also consulted the most commonly referenced White Rose sources available at the time including three in which Lafrenz was interviewed: a report or *Bericht* she gave to the Allies in 1947, *Studenten aufs Schafott: Die Weiße Rose und ihr Scheitern* (1968) by Christian Petry, and *Die Weiße Rose: Zeitzeugen erinnern sich* (2006) by Sibylle Bassler. Further, he cites the *Gestapo* interrogation transcripts of the White Rose members after they were arrested. His research and discussion go beyond the White Rose in that he explains their attempts to connect with other individuals and resistance circles such as the Red Orchestra in Berlin, thus demonstrating their idealism and desire to impact Germans of conscience beyond Munich.

Waage is quick to point out that Lafrenz never considered herself a heroine even though she was the one who initiated the evening book discussions (literary evenings or *Leseabende*) among a loose circle of like-minded individuals that became the White Rose (256). For example, in chapter six he explores Russia as a source of inspiration because many of the students, including Lafrenz, shared an interest in all things Russian. She preferred to be known as a contemporary witness or *Zeitzeugin* out of respect for those who had done more than she had (9). Still, she had initiated and taken part in the discussions, prepared and distributed the leaflets. Of her own volition, she brought the third White Rose leaflet as well as a leaflet by Churchill to students in Hamburg in November 1942 for redistribution, thereby cultivating a White Rose branch among former classmates (171).

Waage maintains that the history of the White Rose and the character formation of the students began long before the first few members were arrested on February 18, 1943 (20). For this reason, he begins chapter two with a description of Lafrenz's upbringing and school days in Hamburg where she was born, the youngest of three daughters. The White Rose students had mentors, favorite authors, and individuals who influenced their orientation, and for the most part these persons are discussed at length in the current scholarship, except for Lafrenz's mentor, Erna Stahl (1900–1980). Stahl was her teacher at the Lichtwark School in Hamburg. She had a profound influence on her, which led to Lafrenz's involvement with the White Rose, her life-long interest in anthroposophy, and her work with disabled children at the Esperanza School (21). Lafrenz considered her instruction to be a "gift for life" (25). Stahl had a way of engaging her students, teaching them how

to be independent thinkers, and encouraging them to take an interest in art, history, and literature. Lafrenz credits Stahl with the manner in which she initiated and conducted the literary evenings with the White Rose (32).

In chapter three, Waage dedicates a few pages to each of the core members of the White Rose in the order in which Lafrenz met them: Alexander Schmorell, Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl, Kurt Huber, Christoph Probst, and Willi Graf. Most of the details he relays about their childhoods and youth can be found in the extant literature and/or online; however, Lafrenz's perspective, which is indicated in italics and in first person narrative throughout the book, adds another dimension to their relationships. The reader learns about her thought process, impressions, what she did or did not know at the time, why, when, and how she resisted, how she tried to warn others after the Scholls were arrested and removed incriminating evidence. In this study, her resistance receives the recognition it deserves and is not overshadowed by that of her martyred classmates.

In chapters four, five, and seven, Waage explains how the Nazis came to power and how the initial literary and intellectual discussions of the White Rose led to political action in the form of passive resistance. Their worldview, moral courage, and sense of empathy for the victims not only differed from the National Socialists but also from war-weary and traumatized fellow Germans who had lost fathers, brothers, and sons during the war. For example, the White Rose students believed in individual responsibility and that everyone is responsible for world outcomes (135). Lafrenz's commentaries in these chapters are of notable interest and less commonly known, particularly in chapter nine, "*Versuche und Verrat in Hamburg*," where she recalls the circumstances of her denunciation and second arrest in connection with the Hamburg branch of the White Rose. Waage brings her story and life's journey full circle when, at the end of the book, he explains how in 1947 Lafrenz accepted the invitation of a Jewish friend from her school days to join her in America where she had moved before the war (251). During her medical residency, she soon met her future husband, Vernon Page, who was also a physician and hailed from the American South.

Given that there was no large scale, organized, and/or unified resistance movement in Nazi Germany, the stories of the pockets of resistance such as the White Rose are for the most part known to most Europeans because they attest to the courage of the few ordinary Germans who opposed Hitler and did something about it. One can only wonder why the only biography about Lafrenz was first published in Norwegian as opposed to German (*Leve Friheten! Traute Lafrenz og Den hvite rose. Oslo: Schibsted Forlag, 2010*). Numerous books, plays, articles, and films, as well as the travelling White Rose exhibit sponsored by the White Rose Foundation in Munich, have brought

their stories and portraits to American audiences. In the past few years, high school and university students studying German and/or Holocaust studies have been introduced to the White Rose story and the notion that young people can make a difference in the world.

What they might not know is that as of this writing, one of the White Rose students is now ninety-six years old, living in South Carolina, and goes by the name Traute Page, MD. Traute Lafrenz Page is a German American who serves as an inspirational role model for Germans and Americans alike. She confronted the National Socialists and survived the terror of lengthy and prolonged interrogations, prison, and the loss of her friends. And throughout it all, she denounced not one single one. Hans Scholl's last words were, "*Es lebe die Freiheit!*" (*Long Live Freedom!*), and the iconic photograph of him and his sister, Sophie Scholl, is next to that of Lafrenz on the book cover, emphasizing their common sacrifice and yet diverging fates. Waage's book is a welcome contribution to elevating Lafrenz's efforts, specifically the critical part she played within the inner circle of the White Rose and her subsequent work in Chicago to help others as a physician and humanitarian. She offered hope to the most vulnerable. Yet, her memoir remains untold in the English language.

Claremont Lincoln University

Stephani Richards-Wilson

Haunted by Hitler: Liberals, the Left, and the Fight against Fascism in the United States.

By Christopher Vials. Amherst & Boston, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 2014. 296 pp. \$26.95.

Christopher Vials is an associate professor of English at the University of Connecticut. That fact is important for an understanding of the title of his monograph for he is neither an historian nor a Germanist, and the Hitler referred to is not the Hitler with whom many in German-American Studies have had to contend. There are quotes from *Mein Kampf* and considerable evidence that Vials is intimately familiar with the history of fascism in Europe in general and in Germany specifically, yet the Hitler of the title is more an image or a symbol than an historical figure. As the subtitle indicates the focus of Vials' argument is the antifascist tradition in American culture, particularly as it expressed itself initially in the 1930s and 1940s in the arts.

What Vials calls "my book" consists of a relatively lengthy introduction, seven chapters, and a short epilogue. It is illustrative of the tone of the discus-

sion that the introduction begins with a reference to Sarah Palin's candidacy for Vice President of the United States and the epilogue starts with a 2009 report from the Department of Homeland Security on rightwing extremism. The seven chapters handle topics as diverse as the Black Panthers and *Faschismustheorie* and quote individuals as different as Betty Friedan and Pat Buchanan. Vials focuses on antifascist sentiment in the United States, particularly as expressed by those he calls "culture producers," i.e., working artists in a variety of media from literature to television and film. The discussion ranges from attacks mounted against Joseph McCarthy in the fifties to the civil rights protests of the 1960s, the women's movement of the latter part of the twentieth century, and the fight for the rights of gay, lesbian, and transgendered individuals even today.

Vials has set himself a complex and difficult task, one at which he largely succeeds. As a practical matter, he begins by developing a working definition of fascism—something, he admits, about which scholars argue fiercely. In doing so, he is at pains to establish the basis for a scholarly discussion of a very contentious topic by first clearing away some common but nonetheless banal and misleading misconceptions, like the tendency to conflate communism and fascism because the political manifestations of both have been totalitarian regimes or the inclination to see fascism as the incarnation of evil and the avatar for all which one opposes. All such oversimplifications or generalizations mask the nature of fascism as it has existed in America, particularly in the postwar era, and, therefore, fail to appreciate the work of those in the various antifascist movements of the last seventy-five-plus years.

For Vials fascism is a "militarist, anti-Marxist, racist, symbol-laden cultural project of national rebirth" (13) arising out of political movements on the far right. A hardening of social hierarchies is also a characteristic of fascism, preserving the privileged position of the various social, economic, political, and religious elites. Understood in this fashion, fascism, and therefore antifascist efforts, becomes relevant to the cultural debates of the present and is not simply an outdated reaction to the specter of Hitler and the National Socialists. Each of the seven chapters can be read for itself. With the exception of the first chapter, each presents a study of specific antifascist movements against extremist tendencies in the American body politic at various points in time from the 1930s to the twenty-first century. The first chapter traces the parallels between antifascism in Europe and various analogous trends in the United States.

In each instance Vials has much to offer. His sources are many and varied, ranging from interviews with some of those engaged in antifascist efforts in the earliest days to material culled from the electronic databases of American newspapers and the recent work of other scholars. He has insightful

commentary and a cogent argument for recognizing the value of antifascist movements of the past eight decades and understanding their relevance today. Yet this reviewer, at least, cannot escape the feeling that the volume doesn't realize its full potential. The introduction and the first chapter don't provide a smooth transition into the heart of the discussion. The style of the introduction in particular seems stilted. The predominance of the first-person in the introduction and in the first chapter is jarring, and the delineation of the content and purpose of each chapter at the end of the introduction is more appropriate for an edited collection of essays than a monograph by a single author. Vials seems determined to emphasize the importance of recognizing the contribution of the many who have undertaken to blunt the impact of various fascistic tendencies in the United States, but the reiteration of the assertion throughout the introduction and much of the first chapter takes the focus away from the real value of the volume—an erudite and insightful investigation of efforts to stifle racism, intolerance, and bigotry in general in the United States over the last three-quarters of a century.

Loyola University Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Miscellaneous

Leo Strauss and the Crisis of Rationalism: Another Reason, Another Enlightenment.

By Corine Pelluchon. Trans. by Robert Howse, Albany: SUNY Press, 2014. 309 pp. \$90.00. Pbk. \$29.95.

After Leo Strauss: New Directions in Platonic Political Philosophy.

By Tucker Landy. Albany: SUNY Press, 2014. 229 pp. \$80.00. Pbk. \$24.95.

The renowned political philosopher Leo Strauss was born near Marburg in 1899. In 1921, he received a doctorate in philosophy at University of Hamburg under Ernst Cassirer, having studied also with Husserl and Heidegger. As a Jew, he left Germany in 1932 for years in Paris and London. In 1937, he came to the United States where he spent a decade at the New School for Social Research in New York. But Strauss is most closely associated with the University of Chicago where he taught for twenty years, 1949–1969.

Strauss thought that modern democracy, stemming from the rationalism of the Enlightenment, had been called into question because it could not prevent the rise of Communism or Fascism. Some scholars, including Shadia

Drury in *Leo Strauss and the American Right* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), see Strauss as an enemy of liberal democracy and responsible for the emphasis on executive authority among contemporary neoconservatives.

Corine Pelluchon, a well-regarded contemporary French philosopher, believes, on the other hand, that Strauss sought not to invalidate the Enlightenment but to put it on a firmer philosophical foundation. She holds that Strauss's thought "cannot serve, except by being distorted in nonsensical ways, to council a politics of intervention and empire like that directed by the advisers of George W. Bush in justifying the war in Iraq in 2003" (165).

Strauss condemned Spinoza, Hobbes, and Locke for what he sees as their implied atheism and their lack of concern to lead human beings in the direction of a higher state of being—a *telos* toward which humans are meant to find their way. This *telos* is to be discovered through education, laws, and philosophy. The state, rather than just protecting persons or property, or allowing citizens maximum personal freedom, should be helping people reflect on the meaning of the good life. The state should teach and provide the means for excellence rather than try to guarantee happiness. Strauss wanted humanity to return to the philosophical knowledge and the philosophical doubt of Socrates as revealed in the dialogues of Plato. He especially admired the writings on Plato of the Moslem scholar Al-Farabi (872–950) and the Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). They accepted both rationalism and religious revelation without trying to reconcile these very different ways of knowing. Combining rationalism and revelation, Strauss thought, was true Enlightenment and could serve as a model for modern thought. Civilization requires the creative tension which exists between Athens and Jerusalem.

Pelluchon has nothing to say about how Strauss's circumstances as a German-American may have shaped his views other than to note that he had doubts about American democracy. Readers without substantial training in philosophy are likely to find Pelluchon's account hard going in spots, although part of the problem may have to do with a translation that does not always flow well. Sometimes she seems to assert points rather than to demonstrate them. One does not always know whether a given sentence is from someone who influenced Strauss, from Strauss himself, or from Pelluchon. The reader is left with questions. Does Strauss believe that all serious philosophers have to accept some sort of divine revelation? Why exactly is it that the acceptance of revelation need not compromise rationalism? What more does philosophy have to say if its chief insight is Socratic doubt? If so little progress has been made in the 2300 years since Plato in discovering what constitutes the good life (beyond improving material welfare) for humanity, is any such progress likely to be made in the future?

If Pelluchon's study is rather far afield of the usual concerns of German-American Studies, Tucker Landy's is even more so. Landy studied with Strauss at the University of Chicago, and now after a lifetime of contemplation, believes he can discern flaws in Strauss's position and can make a modest advance beyond the great teacher he admires so much. Landy believes that Strauss, in his great regard for Socrates, failed to detect Plato's implied criticism of the philosophic gadfly about whom he wrote in the dialogues. Plato's dialogues are works of literature and should be studied for all they reveal about Socrates and not just for the reasoning and opinions Socrates stated. To fully understand what Plato thinks about Socrates, one must be open to "literary wisdom" and not reject insights about people and society "that cannot be pinned down with causal reasoning" (192). Plato embraced literary wisdom as Socrates did not in his famous condemnation of the poets. We, too, must be open to both if we are to search the writings of the ancients for help with our modern disasters.

This reviewer is a historian, and to him there is no obvious way to "operationalize" (as the political scientists say) the philosophic insights that we must be open to find revelation and literary wisdom. We are perhaps not so very far along in formulating effective means to assure that there will be no repeat of the political disasters of the twentieth century, including that which brought Leo Strauss to America.

University of Arkansas Fort Smith

Robert W. Frizzell

Von den Anfängen zum Milliardengeschäft: Die Unternehmensentwicklung von Siemens in den USA zwischen 1845 und 2001.

Von Ulrich Kreutzer. Vol. 33, Beiträge zur Unternehmensgeschichte. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013. 376 Seiten. \$58.00.

Als Werner von Siemens 1854 die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika als einer der wichtigsten Märkte für die „Telegraphen-Bauanstalt von Siemens & Halske (S&H) erkannte, konnte er nicht ahnen, was für ein langer, beschwerlicher Weg vor seiner Firma lag. In seiner Arbeit führt Ulrich Kreutzer den Leser durch 150 Jahre Firmengeschichte in den USA.: vom unbedeutenden Spezialartikelexporteur zum grössten ausländischen Investor im Bereich der Elektrotechnik und Elektronik in den USA. und schliesslich zum Gang an die New Yorker Börse im Jahr 2001.

Der Umfang der Arbeit erlaubt es dem Autor auf besondere Probleme für eine deutsche Firma hinzuweisen, die durch politische und weltwirtschaft-

liche Umstände entstanden. Abgesehen von der US Wirtschaftskrise 1893 und dem weltweiten Crash 1929 fallen beide Weltkriege in die beschriebene Zeitspanne. In der Zwischenkriegszeit machten sich die Vorbehalte amerikanischer Käufer gegenüber den Produkten deutscher Firmen negativ bemerkbar. Auch kulturelle Differenzen galt es zu überwinden. Nach dem Ende des Ersten wie dem des Zweiten Weltkriegs verlor Siemens allen Besitz im gesamten Ausland und 25,000 der weltweiten Patentrechte. Produkte konnten nun von ausländischen Herstellern hergestellt werden. Durch die Bestimmungen der Alliierten war der Wiederaufbau bis in die 1960er Jahre begrenzt und schwierig.

Zum besseren Verständnis der überwältigenden Einzelheiten sind die Schwerpunkte der Studie bereits aus dem detaillierten Inhaltsverzeichnis, dem Personen- und Firmenregister zu erkennen. Eingehende Erklärungen werden auch für die Prinzipal-Agenten-Theorie gegeben, die gerade für Siemens wichtig und problematisch war. In der Einleitung wird dieses Thema, wie auch der Stand der Forschung, die Quellenlage in Deutschland und den USA, mit Sorgfalt erarbeitet. Es macht das Buch auch für einen Laien lehrreich und sehr lesbar.

Obwohl sich diese Studie hauptsächlich mit der Erschließung des US-Marktes befasst, wird in dem Kapitel „Der Aufstieg zum Global Player“ (52) auf die weltweiten Aktivitäten der Siemens-Firma bis 1900 und auf die Auslandserfahrungen anderer deutscher Firmen hingewiesen, wie z.B. Bosch, Henkel, Deutsche Bank, VW, Aldi, Mercedes, Bayer, BMW.

1851 gelang Siemens der Einstieg in den russischen Markt mit der Lieferung von 75 Zeigertelegraphen für die Telegraphenlinie St. Petersburg nach Moskau. Später entwickelte sich das Tiefseekabelgeschäft mit Grossbritannien und zwar durch die Legung der Indo-Europäischen Telegrafienlinie von London nach Kalkutta im Jahr 1870. Abgesehen von diesen beiden Ländern war Siemens bereits 1860 in der Ukraine, Oesterreich und Frankreich und bis 1900 in 33 anderen Ländern in Europa, Südamerika und Asien vertreten.

Bis in die Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs hat Siemens immer wieder versucht, über Vertreter (Agenten) in den US-Markt einzudringen, obwohl die Wahl eines Firmenvertreters mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden war. So entschloss man sich 1892 die Firma Siemens & Halske Electric Company of America in Chicago als Aktiengesellschaft zu gründen, um auf dem US-Markt präsent zu sein. Nun sollten auch Produkte, für die hohe Transport- und Zollkosten anfielen in einer eigenen Fabrik vor Ort hergestellt werden. Leider kam es im August 1894 zu einem Brand, der auf die unterversicherte Fabrik übergriff und sie total zerstörte. So endeten die Bemühungen für S&H America vorerst Mitte 1904. Erst 1908 wurde durch die Entsendung des Physikers Karl

Georg Frank ein Repräsentationsbüro in New York eröffnet, das 25 Jahre Bestand hatte.

Erstaunlich ist die ständige Umstrukturierung und Umbenennung der Firma, um sich neuen Bedingungen anzupassen. So kennt man Siemens Corp. als Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, Siemens Medical Systems, Siemens New York, Inc., Siemens Nuclear Power Services, Siemens-Reiniger-Werke AG oder Siemens Communication Systems, Inc., um nur einige zu nennen. Beindruckend ist auch die weit gefächerte Produktpalette, vom Wassermesser und Zeigertelegraphen über elektrische Lokomotiven und Strassenbahnen und Bleikabel zu elektrischen Mess- und Kontrollgeräten, zur Medizintechnik, elektrischen Bauelementen, Energie- und Kommunikationstechnik wie zu aktuellen Daten- und Informationssystemen ebenso wie die Zusammenarbeit mit Konkurrenzfirmen wie General Electric, Westinghouse, Western Electric, Allis-Chalmers und AEG, die Handhabung von Lizenzen und Patenten. Überraschend ist die Entwicklung seit 1970, die zu den Milliardenengeschäften im Titel des Buches führte. Als Beispiele seien erwähnt: das vollautomatische Post-ablagesystem des US Postal Service, Gebäudetechnik im Rockefeller Centre, und dem Guggenheim Museum in New York, der Transamerica Pyramid in San Francisco, dem US Capitol in Washington D.C. oder dem Bau diverser Stadtbahn-systeme.

Ulrich Kreuzer verdient Anerkennung für die Studie und dem Franz Steiner Verlag sei Dank für diesen Beitrag zur Unternehmensgeschichte.

Covington, Louisiana

Brigitta L. Malm

Pabst Farms: The History of a Model Farm

John C. Eastberg. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014. 351pp. \$49.95.

“The story of Pabst Farms,” John C. Eastberg writes, “is far more than a history of the breeding and maintaining of prized Holstein livestock” (30). Frederick Pabst Jr., the creator of Pabst Farm, intended to create a model farm sustained by what it produced. Certainly the prizewinning herd of Holstein cattle and the resulting international fame they brought Pabst Farm are important and worthy of attention, but Eastberg insists that there is more to the story than cattle breeding. Eastberg offers the reader an engaging microhistory of a farm and a family and uses their story as a lens through which to study the late nineteenth and twentieth century United States.

As the senior historian and director of development at the Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion in Milwaukee and the author of books on the Pabst

Mansion and Frederick Layton's art collection, Eastberg opens the story of Pabst Farm with a discussion of the Pabst Family, particularly Captain Frederick Pabst, who "turned a small local brewing concern into the world's largest brewer of lager beer" (37). Captain Pabst, who was born on March 28, 1836, in the village of Nikolausrieth, Saxony; and immigrated with his parents to Milwaukee in 1848, not only groomed his son to succeed him in the brewing business in Wisconsin, but also encouraged his interests in agriculture and livestock breeding. Shortly after the death of his father, Frederick Pabst resigned his position as Vice President of the Pabst Brewing Company, largely because he did not want to play a subordinate role to his brother Gustave, and decided to pursue scientific agriculture. Eastberg notes that Pabst did not play the role of gentleman farmer, but rather applied "the skill and discipline he had learned from the brewing industry to his vision of creating a substantial farm in Waukesha County" (75). Thus was born Pabst Farms.

Eastberg's wide-ranging discussion of the realization of Pabst's vision of his model farm as well as the day to day workings of the farm offers a variety of interesting details. The buildings on the farm, for instance, were designed by Max Fernekes and were made out of poured concrete, a style that was gaining in popularity at the time. Of course, poured concrete, while more economical, was rather austere and Eastberg discusses the work that went into making the houses habitable and welcoming. As the Pabst family was sprucing up their buildings and grounds, they were also involved in the life of the community and, as Eastberg explains, built and outfitted a school for the community. Pabst Farm quickly became not only a model farm, but also a laboratory for students and anyone interested in agriculture and livestock breeding. Eastberg's discussion of Pabst Farm is greatly enhanced by the nearly 350 illustrations, photographs, maps, and drawings, throughout the book.

One of the most interesting elements of this story concerns the activities of Fred Pabst during Prohibition. Unwilling to see Pabst Brewing Company fail, Frederick Pabst became president of the Pabst Corporation and had to determine a course of action that would allow the brewery to survive until the repeal of Prohibition. While he did not know that the experiment would be abandoned in 1933, Pabst reasoned that Prohibition would not last forever and that it was his task to save the company until such point as Prohibition was repealed. To do this, he leased space in the brewery, produced near beers and soft-drinks, and, critically, processed cheese. The processed cheese, called Pabst-ett, was immensely popular, in part due to a strategic advertising campaign, and helped the company survive the lean years. Nevertheless, Pabst "never lost sight of the real goal: the return of beer" (193) and, after the repeal of Prohibition, Pabst returned to brewing beer.

There is much to enjoy about this book. Eastberg has an interesting story and he tells it well. At certain points, additional engagement with the secondary literature would have been in order, for instance, in the discussions of the back-to-nature movement, model farms, and Prohibition. This would have provided additional information for readers unfamiliar with these subjects. In addition, Eastberg conducted some interviews and used them in the text, but at times the book felt overly focused on the family and the narrative might have been diversified by additional non-family voices. But these are small quibbles. This is a book that will interest anyone who is curious about the history of brewing, livestock breeding, or agriculture in Wisconsin in the twentieth century United States.

The Pennsylvania State University

Evan C. Rothera

Weltatlas der Schweizer Orte: Zurich - Berna - Locarno Spring ... 15 Reportagen rund um den Globus.

Von Petra Koci. Zürich: Limmat Verlag, 2013. 288 Seiten. €33.00.

Petra Koci hat quer über den Globus Städte und Dörfer mit Schweizer Ortsnamen bereist und sich mit der geschichtlichen Entwicklung und dem heutigen Erscheinungsbild befasst. Herausgekommen ist eine faszinierende Mischung aus Neuanfang, Geschäftssinn, Verfall und Heimattümelei. Die Schweizer Ortsnamen sind allen drei Sprachgebieten der Eidgenossenschaft entnommen, also Deutsch, Französisch und Italienisch.

Was hat Menschen zwischen dem Ende des achtzehnten und dem Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts bewogen, ihrer Heimat den Rücken zu kehren und ihr Glück im Ausland zu suchen? Die überwiegenden Motive ähneln denen von Auswanderern anderer Länder: Hungersnöte (etwa als Folge eines Vulkanausbruchs in Indonesien, dessen Auswirkungen zu katastrophalen Missernten in Mitteleuropa führten), religiöse Verfolgung, Armut, Abenteuerlust (Goldfunde in Australien und Kalifornien lockten Glücksritter an), Perspektivlosigkeit. Die Auswanderungswelle erreichte ihren höchsten Stand gegen Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, als über achtzigtausend Schweizer den Atlantik Richtung Amerika überquerten, um sich ein besseres Leben in der neuen Welt aufzubauen. Aus Verbundenheit mit dem verlassenen Heimatort wurden die neu gegründeten Ortschaften dann mit deren Namen versehen, immer wieder wurde noch das Wörtchen "Neu" vorangestellt.

Das "Schweizerische" zieht sich manchmal durch die gesamte Beschreibung, z.B. bei Zurich in Ontario/Kanada oder Berne in Indiana, wo viele

Amishe leben; an anderen Orten, wie etwa Villa Lugano südlich von Buenos Aires, Argentinien, spielt es nur bei der Gründung eine Rolle und verliert sich dann immer mehr.

Bereits der Vorspann zu jeder Ortsbeschreibung gibt neben Lage, Einwohnerzahl und Gründungsjahr eine interessante kleine Übersicht zu dem, was den Ort ausmacht, z.B. erfährt der Leser, dass das 800 Einwohner zählende Zurich in Ontario/Kanada jeweils Ende August ein Bohnen-Festival veranstaltet und der größte Arbeitgeber ein Alters- und Pflegeheim ist. New Geneva in Pennsylvania/USA hat nur ca. 140 Einwohner, weder Geschäfte, Restaurants noch eine Poststelle, kann sich aber mit seinem hohen Alter von 218 Jahren rühmen. Villa Lugano in Argentinien ist erst etwas über 100 Jahre alt und hat knapp 115.000 Einwohner, von denen gut 1/3 in Slums lebt. Die Anzahl der Elendsviertel beträgt 10, die der Industriestätten in dieser Ortschaft 544.

Ein anderer von Schweizern gegründeter Ort, nämlich Nova Friburgo im Bundesstaat Rio de Janeiro, Brasilien, ist die Hauptstadt der Unterwäsche und zählt stolze 900 Lingeriegeschäfte. Auch Schokolade wird hier reichlich produziert. Bei Unwettern vor 4 Jahren starben 918 Menschen und mehr als 200 werden noch vermisst. Mit all diesen verschiedenen stichwortartig aufgeführten Informationen vor jedem Kapitel kann man sich bereits auf die nachfolgende Lektüre einstellen. Die Stärke des Buches liegt in der Originalität des Themas und der einfühlsamen Weise, mit der die Autorin den Spuren ihrer Landsleute gefolgt ist. Besonders hervorzuheben sind die farbenprächtigen Fotografien von Benno Gut, der Landschaften, Gebäude, Industriemaschinen, Wahrzeichen und vor allem immer wieder Menschen in verschiedenen Situationen verewigt hat. Bilder und Texte sind gelungen aufeinander abgestimmt und bringen dem Leser die beschriebenen Ortschaften noch näher.

Von den 15 vorgestellten Orten befinden sich 6 auf dem nord- und 3 auf dem südamerikanischen Kontinent, ferner sind vertreten Irland, Holland, Russland, die Ukraine, Algerien und Australien. Abgerundet wird das Buch mit einem gedankenvollen und sehr informativen Nachwort des emeritierten Professors Leo Schelbert von der University of Chicago. Er teilt in gewisser Weise das Schicksal der in diesem Buch entweder detailliert oder allgemein beschriebenen Schweizer Auswanderer. Nach langer Lehrtätigkeit in den USA hat er nun seinen Wohnsitz aber wieder in der Schweiz.

West Bloomfield, Michigan

Susanna Piontek

Serious Nonsense: Groundhog Lodges, Versammlinge, and Pennsylvania German Heritage.

William W. Donner. *University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016. 208 pp. \$29.95.*

Nearly everyone has heard of Groundhog Day (February 2) and the proverbial prediction of the groundhog named Punxsutawney Phil (of Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania) on the length of winter (officially since 1887), and made famous by the popular film of 1993 *Groundhog Day*. The tradition of predicting the length of winter on February 2, among the Pennsylvania Germans in any event, can likely be traced back to the widespread German tradition of predicting the course of a particular winter by the weather on Candlemas Day—also February 2. To celebrate this event and to also support the use of the Pennsylvania German dialect, the first Groundhog Lodge was called into being in 1933 in Allentown, Pennsylvania, where a *Fersommling* (meeting) was held the following year (1934) at which Pennsylvania Dutch food, dialect, humor and the like were the focal point. In the following years, the number of lodges increased to eighteen and also one lodge for women and another in Delaware.

William Donner, a professor of anthropology at Kutztown University, introduces the reader to these popular meetings that celebrate the Pennsylvania Dutch culture and heritage. Following an introductory chapter on the Pennsylvania Germans and their particular language, popularly known as Pennsylvania Dutch or *Deutsch*, Donner describes the origins of the Groundhog Day get-togethers back in the 1930s, at a time when some feared the loss of the language and culture of the Pennsylvania Germans and desired to find a means of celebrating and to some degree preserving the two.

Donner then details the salient parts of a Groundhog Day *Fersommling*: opening ceremonies, prayer especially for members who died in the preceding year, a sumptuous banquet featuring Pennsylvania German specialties, a business meeting for the lodge holding the event, humorous skits in Pennsylvania German, the weather prediction by the groundhog, and all of the above interspersed with songs in the dialect, in most instances including the ubiquitous *Schnitzelbank* song (a favorite of this reviewer). A full chapter is devoted to a discussion of the dialect skits performed at these meetings, often with the weather prediction of the groundhog as the focal point. Another chapter treats the main speaker's speech or message whose philosophical underpinning is described as "sensible nonsense" or as in the title of the book "serious nonsense"—in the rustic humor of the speech there is a serious message about life for the listener. In conclusion, Donner elucidates the meaning of the *Fersommling* within the context of Pennsylvania German folklife and culture.

Book Reviews

The book, however, ends on a somewhat sadder note. With an aging membership and a declining ability in the Pennsylvania German dialect among the participants, the proverbial writing is on the wall. Donner does not see these meetings continuing in their current form beyond the current generation.

Donner's study is a highly detailed description and analysis of a very significant aspect of Pennsylvania German culture. The text is enhanced with numerous photographs and illustrations—many taken directly from *Fersommling* programs. The book concludes with notes, a bibliography, an index and a glossary of Pennsylvania German terms. Donner's book is an open window that offers the reader an insider's glimpse into the history, life, culture and language of the Pennsylvania Germans.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Theses and Dissertations in German-American Studies, 2015

We have again used the *ProQuest* database to glean doctoral dissertations and master's theses which seem pertinent to German-American Studies published during the calendar year 2015 as well as any from the years 2000-2014 not included in previous lists. In some instances the connection to German-American Studies may not be indicated in the title, but the subject matter includes groups associated with the German-American element such as the Amish, Mennonites, Volga Germans and the like.

The dissertations and theses in this compilation are listed alphabetically by author's last name, followed by the title of the dissertation/thesis and the name of the degree-granting university. If not otherwise indicated, the entry is for a doctoral dissertation (Ph.D.).

Please contact the editor, if you have additional items that should be included for the year 2014 or any previous year since 2000. In the subsequent issue of the *Yearbook* we will include any additional items through 2015 as well as all new dissertations and theses for the calendar year 2016.

2011

Schlegel, Lisa. "Meditations on Place and Spirit." University of Kansas.

2015

Bluma, Jacquelyn Irene. "Incorporating the Skeletal Remains of Two German Lutheran Cemeteries into the Surrounding Immigrant Population of Mequon, Wisconsin." The University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee.

Brewer, Bradley J. "Disorderly and Inhumane: The United States and the Expulsion of Germans after World War II." Mississippi State University.

Cantor, Anthony Jay. "Our Conservatories? Music Education, Social Identities and Cultural Politics in Germany and Austria, 1840-1933." University of Toronto (Canada).

Cassidy, Eugene S. "Germanness, Civilization, and Slavery: Southern Brazil as German Colonial Space (1819-1888)." University of Michigan.

Church, Lucy Claire. "Music, Morality, and the Great War: How World War I Molded American Musical Ethics." The Florida State University.

Cowan, Mimi. "Immigrants, Nativists, and the Making of Chicago, 1835-1893." Boston College.

Eicher, John. "Now Too Much for Us: German and Mennonite Transnationalisms, 1874-1944." University of Iowa.

Elledge, Zachary Lynn. "Defeat and Memory at the Arkansas State Capitol: The Little Rock Monument to the Women of the Confederacy, 1896-1914." Arkansas State University. M.A. thesis.

Ems, Lindsay. "Divine Design: Configuring Amish Communication in a High-Tech World." Indiana University.

Friedlander, Joshua Hermann. "The Cultural Influences of Ernest Bloch's Violin Concerto." The Florida State University. D.M.

Gavande, Gabriela A. "*The Halfbreed*: A Translation of Balduin Moellhausen's *Der Halbindianer*." University of California, Santa Cruz.

Holdt, Justus. "*Braceros* and *die Herrenrasse*: Mexican Laborers and German Prisoners of War in mid-20th Century America." California State University, Fullerton. M.A. thesis.

Krehbiel, Stephanie. "Pacifist Battlegrounds: Violence, Community, and the Struggle for LGBTQ Justice in the Mennonite Church USA." University of Kansas.

Kuehner, Ryan Matthew. "Sociocultural Factors Affecting Cognitive Performance: Neuropsychological Profiles in the Old Order Amish." Fielding Graduate University.

Kurland, Jayme Michael. "The Refugee Musician Is Now a Part of Us: Musical Exiles and Mark Brunswick's National Committee for Refugee Musicians (1938-1943)." Arizona State University. M.A. thesis.

Louis, Barbara. "A Second Chance in Exile? German-Speaking Women Refugees in American Social Work After 1933." University of Minnesota.

Malherek, Joseph. "Émigré Scientists of the Quotidian: Market Research and the American Consumer Unconscious, 1933-1976." The George Washington University.

McCarthy, Megan Kathleen. "The Empire on Display: Exhibitions of Germanic Art & Design in America, 1890 – 1914." Columbia University.

Moore, Alice Rebecca. "When Can We Be American?: Texas Germans and the Identity Project." Yale University.

Ortega, Eric. "The Golden State of Brewing: California's Economic and Cultural Influence in the American Brewing Industry." California State University, Fullerton. M.A. thesis.

Paley, Ann Marie. "The Effectiveness of Teaching Methods in Traditional Amish Schoolhouses in Lawrence County, TN." The University of Mississippi. M.A. thesis.

Pearlstein, Kristen E. "Health and the Huddled Masses: An Analysis of Immigrant and Euro-American Skeletal Health in 19th-Century New York City." American University.

Pyle, Victoria Anne. "Modest Apparel Mennonite Clothing in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania 1800-1900." University of Delaware. M.A. thesis.

Russell, David Wayne. "A History of Maico Motorcycles and American Sport Motorcycle Culture, 1955-1983." The Pennsylvania State University.

Shafer, Kenneth Allen. "The German Immigrants of Missouri and the Presidential Election of 1860." The Claremont Graduate University .

Shields, Brittany Anne. "A Mathematical Life: Richard Courant, New York University and Scientific Diplomacy in Twentieth Century America." University of Pennsylvania.

Staidum, Frederick Charles, Jr. "Locating New Orleans: Race, Sexuality, and Geographies of Difference in the American Imaginary, 1803-1903." Northwestern University.

Timmers, Michele L. "A Healthy Spirit in a Healthy Body: The Transformation of the Polish Falcons of America as an Athletics Organization." University of Nebraska at Kearney. M.A. thesis.

Uchill, Rebecca K. "Developing Experience: Alexander Dorner's Exhibitions, from Weimar Republic Germany to the Cold War United States." Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Villarreal, Rosanna Lee. "An Architectural Study of Ethnicity of Historic Households in San Antonio, Texas." The University of Texas at San Antonio.

Werner, Sarah R. "Caring for the Land: An analysis of North American Mennonite Environmental Initiatives." University of Florida.

Wilson, Jonathan M. "Switching Sides: A Hessian Chaplain in the Pennsylvania Ministerium." Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago.