

Book Reviews

*Edited by Susan M. Schürer
Susquehanna University*

Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America.

*By Katherine Carté Engel. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
313 pp. \$55.00.*

Religion and Profit is a comprehensive study of the economic system developed by the Moravians in their communitarian settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from its founding in 1741 until the 1790s. To accomplish the goals of founding a viable settlement on the frontier that could immediately support an ambitious missionary endeavor, the Moravians developed not only a unique communal structure, but their own distinctive economic system called the "Oeconomy." Established on a 500-acre tract on the Lehigh River, Bethlehem was organized into a "pilgrim congregation" (*Pilgergemeinde*) whose express purpose was to carry out mission work among Native Americans and in the Caribbean and Surinam, as opposed to a "congregation town" (*Ortsgemeinde*) such as Herrnhut, the primary Moravian settlement in Germany in the eighteenth century, where the spiritual life of the congregation and the life of the town with its artisan shops were fully merged. All residents of Bethlehem were members of the pilgrim congregation as well as members of bands or choirs organized according to age, sex, marital or social position, whose purpose it was to minister to physical and spiritual needs of its members, but some were also members of the "house congregation" (*Hausgemeinde*) and worked primarily in artisanal occupations at home to support their coworkers in the mission fields. The primary focus of this study is the evolution of the Oeconomy or communal household with its shared labor to generate the necessary finances to provide for shelter, food, and clothing of the settlers as

well as the funds to carry out the missionary work of the Church. The author examines not only how the Oeconomy in Bethlehem functioned during its official existence for a little more than two decades, but the factors that led to its abrogation and how the economic attitudes of the settlement adapted and changed during the subsequent three decades. Similar Oeconomies existed in the Salem settlement in North Carolina at the same time and in the early nineteenth century in the Moravian mission settlement in Hope, Indiana, but they are outside the parameters of this study. The author also shows how the attitudes of the Moravians of Bethlehem and their missionary work, especially with regard to the Native Americans, evolved as the Oeconomy changed and eventually was transformed into a market economy, and the impact of regional and world events such as the Seven Year's War and the Revolutionary War on the community.

The book provides a detailed account of the three economic systems that developed in Bethlehem: 1) business or trade within the community itself; 2) its regional or Mid-Atlantic commerce and international trade with Europe, including its own shipping company that not only generated funds for mission work, but also transported entire congregations from Europe to the New World; and 3) trade with Native Americans, where the primary goal was the promulgation of the Gospel and the profit motive did not even come into consideration.

The author has made extensive use of original documents in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in Herrnhut, Germany, to illustrate how Bethlehem's distinctive economic structure developed directly from its missionary zeal and the interplay between the Moravians' religious principals and motives for commercial profit over time. The use of these documents, from official Church records, reports, letters, diaries, autobiographies, business ledgers to newspaper articles, constitutes the major strength of this study, and the inclusion of fascinating personal accounts of the settlers enlivens what could otherwise be a compilation of dry statistics.

The book could have benefited from careful editing with regard to the correct spelling and syllabication of words in German as well as of some factual misstatements. Problematic are the author's references to Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf as the "founder" of the Moravian sect on his estate in 1722 since Moravians actually trace their origins to the *Unitas Fratrum*, organized in 1457 by the followers of the Czech reformer, John Hus, thus pre-dating the Lutheran Reformation by six decades. By providing the persecuted Bohemian Brethren, as the followers of Hus came to be known, with refuge on his estate in Saxony, Zinzendorf certainly assisted in the reorganization of the Moravians into what he hoped would become a "church within a church" (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*). Similarly, the author states incorrectly

that the famous church service of August 13, 1727, in Berthelsdorf, at which the Moravian brethren overcame serious internal dissent, was "a moving baptismal service;" in fact, it was a Holy Communion service during which the Moravians experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and felt as if they had been figuratively baptized. While acknowledging the Moravians ecumenical feelings towards other denominations, the author inaccurately describes Moravian mission work as "proselytizing," as if they viewed it their mission to convert others to their faith. However, Moravians always insisted that their mission was solely to bring the Gospel to the unchurched, which accounts for the relatively slow growth of the Moravian Church and the fact that its membership today is concentrated in former mission fields.

Despite these shortcomings, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* represents a significant contribution to the history of the Moravians in the New World and to the history of early American church life on the frontier before the founding of the United States.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1820.

By Mark Häberlein. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. 276 pp. \$79.00.

While in many colonial settlements in North America only one creed or faith was represented, the Pennsylvania community of Lancaster displayed an unusual religious diversity. Founded in 1730, Lancaster became the administrative seat for the county as well as a thriving commercial center between Philadelphia and the frontier. By 1770 its population had reached about twenty-eight hundred, and according to tax records of 1773 forty percent of its households were Lutheran, twenty percent Reformed, ten percent Moravian, about ten percent Anglicans or Presbyterians, five percent Quakers, Catholics and Jews, and about fifteen percent had no religious affiliation. The focus of this study is the interaction between the residents of this city who came from different national and religious backgrounds and the development of their congregational life. It was in organizing congregations, purchasing property, constructing churches and schools, drawing up charters and bylaws, and managing funds that most of these immigrants experienced self-governance for the first time. The size and religious diversity of its community, together with its wealth of archival sources, make Lancaster an

ideal subject to illustrate the pluralism of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

The first three chapters examine the development of the five major Protestant churches in Lancaster: first the German Reformed, second the Lutherans and Moravians, and third the Anglicans and Presbyterians. The author begins with the German Reformed church because most of the research in the past has focused on the Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterians, and the Moravians, and yet the German Reformed contributed significantly to the diversity of Lancaster. In fact, an analysis of their church life provides the model for the examination of the other religious groups in the city. The common themes that run through all the German and English churches are: formation of a congregation, raising funds to build a church, a parsonage, and often a school; calling a pastor and providing for him and his family; questions regarding church doctrine and governance; conflicts between the pastor and the church council dealing with questions of authority and church discipline; dissatisfaction with the pastor's sermons or the way in which he carried out his duties; and control of church finances and the institution of pew rent as a source of income. As a result of conflict with pastors, the German Reformed congregations changed pastors frequently and for long periods went without a regular pastor. During those intervals "irregular" pastors who had little formal training and were not ordained often ministered to them. As a result the German Reformed frequently asked Lutheran pastors to officiate at marriages and baptisms, and a number of families changed their church affiliation and joined the Moravians or Lutherans. The author also shows that as laymen prospered and became important civic leaders in the community, they assumed leadership positions in the church, such as trustees, elders, and deacons. The German Reformed congregation was the first church in Lancaster to receive a charter in 1771 from the Penn family, thus ensuring both its legal and economic status in Pennsylvania.

In spite of the schism that developed between the Lutheran and Moravian congregations of Lancaster, the search for church growth and stability of these two groups follows the same course as the German Reformed churches. The main difference between them, however, is that they reflect the two different branches of German Pietism emanating from Halle and Herrnhut. Helped by the steady influx of immigrants, Trinity Lutheran Church by the 1770s had become the largest congregation in Lancaster and was second in size only to St. Michael's in Philadelphia. After the break with the Lutherans a large number of the German Reformed and a steady flow of new immigrants joined the Moravians. Since St. Andrew's, the Moravian congregation, was viewed as a missionary church, it experienced a succession of pastors and was never organized into communal choirs or bands like the Bethlehem settlement. However, like their fellow Moravians in Bethlehem, those in

Lancaster continued to practice the drawing of lots to seek God's help in making decisions and required members to consult the church council before purchasing property or founding a business.

The English congregations, whether Anglican or Presbyterian, were much smaller than the Lutheran and Moravian congregations, but their members tended to be well to do and politically better connected than those of the German Reformed, Lutherans, or Moravians. To a large extent the English-speaking churches depended on itinerant pastors trained in England, and as a result the laity had to assume a central role in organizing; they also experienced the same conflicts between clergy and laity as their German neighbors.

Chapter Four focuses on the interactions between the various religious groups of Lancaster as a result of social and economic ties and intermarriage across denominational lines. While their views of each other basically reflected their confessional backgrounds, there was considerable interdenominational contact and cooperation, especially between the German Reformed, Lutherans, and Moravians when their churches were without a pastor, and there are frequent references of pastors of one church performing baptisms, marriages, and funerals for members of the other confessions, and there were even German Reformed who rented pews in the Lutheran church. Clearly leading a pious and God-pleasing life was more important to many Lancaster residents than doctrinal differences. Roman Catholics and Jews constituted only a small minority in Lancaster. Members of all religious groups in the city, including Quakers and Jews, owned slaves, and although church records list marriages and baptisms of slaves, they apparently were not considered official members of any church.

Chapter Five looks at how the American Revolution affected the religious groups of Lancaster. Unlike the churches of New England and New York, the congregations of Lancaster, except for the Anglicans whose pastors remained loyal to England, displayed a great degree of stability and continuity during the war. The postwar years saw a time of growth for the Presbyterians and the first appearance of Methodists. The last chapter examines the charitable and educational organizations that were founded in Lancaster between 1815 and 1818, e.g., the Lancaster Bible Society, the Lancaster Sunday School Society, the Female Benevolent Society, and the German Society of Lancaster, an immigrant aid society, and the establishment of permanent church endowments through bequests. These voluntary societies were interdenominational and enjoyed broad ecumenical support, and the leading clergy and elite of the city served as officers and trustees. As the author points out, these societies followed the long-established tradition of congregational contributions and bequests for building, furnishing, and repairing churches and providing for the poor. The residents of Lancaster not only supported

interdenominational philanthropic projects within their own city, but also in other communities, e.g., missions among the Indians, fledgling frontier communities, relief efforts, and educational projects, such as the founding of Franklin College.

Although based on the analysis of only one community in colonial Pennsylvania, *The Practice of Pluralism* offers a detailed picture of congregational life, the role of laity in providing order and stability in church life, and the interaction of various confessions that is representative of many similar communities at the time this country was founded. The social profiles of the leading members of the Lancaster congregations are one of the most interesting features of this study. These profiles of a member's family and regional background, profession, and social standing in the community provide valuable insight into congregational composition and church polity as well as into the political scene of the time. The author makes extensive use of both archival and printed documents in his research, e.g., church membership lists, diaries, minutes, reports, financial records, subscription or donation lists, baptismal and burial books, communion records, court records of property purchases, wills, estate inventories (including family library holdings), bequests, tax lists, and newspapers. This highly informative book is well written and represents a major contribution to the scholarship of early American church history.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

Moravian Beginnings in Labrador: Papers from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale.

Edited by Hans Rollmann. Newfoundland and Labrador Studies. Occasional Publication No. 2. St. John's, NL: Faculty of Arts Publications, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2009. 173 pp. Can. \$ 20.00.

The Moravian Beginnings of Canadian Inuit Literature: An Exhibition of Special Collections from McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections.

Edited by Henrik Wilhjelm et al. Montreal/Hanover, NH: IPI Press, 2009. 111 pp. \$15.00.

These two publications are of a complementary nature, documenting the early interaction between the Moravians and the Inuit (better known until recently by the name of Eskimo) in Labrador. It is advisable to start

by examining the catalogue accompanying the exhibition of the materials in the McGill University Library holdings donated by the late Lawrence Montague Lande. The illustrations in the catalogue are interpreted by texts in Inuktitut, German, English and French. Few, if any readers will master all of these languages, especially Inuktitut, which existed only in oral form before the arrival of the Moravians. The linguistic situation is indicative of the difficulties the missionaries faced when they started their work in Greenland in 1733. Since they were not allowed to preach to the Inuit until fluent in their language, they had to develop a way to spell Inuktitut words in order to compile an Inuktitut-German dictionary, and later a grammar of the language.

The brief history of the Moravian Church in Labrador in the catalogue serves as a good overview for their efforts there from 1752 to the present. Specific topics such as the first contacts, the failure of the first expedition, the establishment of a permanent colony in 1770, the relationship between mission and trade, and most of all the interaction between the Moravians and the Inuit are touched upon but then discussed in greater detail in the papers from the Symposium. It is especially noteworthy that the Inuit were among the most literate people in Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Once scriptural and other church related texts had been translated and printed, first in Inuktitut roman orthography and later in syllabic orthography, they were avidly read in missions and homes. In schools established by the missionaries children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, scripture and singing, all in their own language. The enlightened attitude of the Moravians stands in sharp contrast to the treatment of Native American children by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs which insisted on the exclusive use of English and punished the children for any use of their native tongue. Again, and it cannot be stressed enough, thanks to the efforts of these early Moravian pioneers and missionaries in Labrador, the Inuit can be ranked among the most literate, educated groups in all of Canada in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

The Inuit were also very musical, and hymn books were among their favorite readings. The "Eskimo Hymn Book" contained no fewer than 800 hymns in translation but were all sung to the original tunes. Thin paper-bound volumes with the most popular hymns sported a red binding and were taken along by the Inuit on their yearly migrations.

In 1902 a newspaper was launched by the Inuit as a small folded sheet that by 1915 had been expanded to a magazine with pictures and illustrations. By then, it also carried articles about Moravian mission work all over the world. During the past century over a hundred different Inuit magazines were published that appeared for longer or shorter periods of time, and the

Inuit have also contributed to a growing body of diaries, poetry and song books, as well as autobiographies and autobiographical novels. Professor Marianne Stenbaek summarizes: "Canadian Inuit literature is multifaceted as it encompasses traditional oral literature/history, collaborative life histories, legends, songs, fiction, and now political commentaries, documentaries and television/film scripts" (107). She highly praises the Moravians for their belief in education and in preserving the local language to the extent of developing a written language for the Inuit who originally were limited exclusively to an oral tradition. This has resulted in a rich cultural heritage, and the flourishing of their writing, as well as their participation in television and film production, and even in popular music.

In his introduction to *Moravian Beginnings in Labrador* the editor, Hans Rollmann, presents a summary of the work of the Moravians as missionaries in the Americas, initially in the West Indies, and then on the west coast of Greenland. The extension of their work to Labrador was welcomed by the English governor of Newfoundland for political and economic reasons. In 1749, the English Parliament had recognized the Moravians as an "ancient Protestant episcopal church," which meant that she could not be prosecuted as a sect. The governor, reassured by this seal of approval and impressed by the ability of individual missionaries to speak Inuktitut, desired their help in establishing trade relations with the Inuit. The Moravians, on the other hand, wanted land for their missions and were successful in securing land grants, on which the first permanent settlement was established in 1771. During the next decades and into the nineteenth century more settlements were added, not all successful, but in time the Moravian faith with its liturgical celebrations and especially its music was adapted and became part of Inuit life. Today there are four congregations and three fellowships with a few thousand members run by native Labradoreans.

Of the nine papers presented by leading international scholars in Moravian studies at the Symposium in 2002 (commemorating the 250th anniversary of Johann Christian Erhardt's visit and death) and revised for publication after being discussed there, all focus on the early period except the essay by Paul Peucker who was the seventeenth Unity Archivist in Herrnhut from 1996-2004. He presents a lively history of the holdings there, which houses the largest collection of materials about Labrador besides those in the Moravian archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and in London. The Archives are a treasure trove since they not only contain official records and personal letters, but also linguistic studies, letters by Inuit, surveys of the land, maps and charts of land and sea routes, as well as drawings and construction plans, among them drawings of the Hoffnungsthal mission house that were essential during its excavation.

John C. Kennedy and James K. Hiller present detailed and precise accounts of the world of the Inuit in eighteenth-century Labrador and the European perspective with regard to the land. Kennedy's study is based on archaeological evidence and historical accounts, and he delineates the society of the Southern Inuit who still hunted but also served as traders and middlemen between the Northern hunters and the Europeans. Their previous experience, positive or negative, might have contributed to the fatal clash between them and Erhardt and his party in 1752, and might also have played a role in the destruction of the abandoned mission house. The Inuit might have looked upon it as a trading post that would compete with their own trade. With the presence of the Moravians in the north and the arrival of more European settlers in the south after 1763, the old cultural and economic patterns began to change, and mission stations became the new centers of social life for the Inuit.

Hiller describes the manner in which the political and mercantile interests of England and France conflicted with regard to Labrador. The Hudson's Bay Company had been successful in the Canadian Northwest, and French settlements proliferated in southern Labrador, but the northern coast had not been claimed. In the 1760s the newly appointed governor of Newfoundland, Hugh Palliser, was, therefore and as already mentioned, strongly interested in establishing good relations with the Inuit not only for economic reasons but also to thwart the designs of the French. Count Zinzendorf and his successor Spangenberg were well aware of the English territorial ambitions and economic considerations pursued by officials, individual merchants and trading companies. While Zinzendorf demanded a total separation of mission and trade no matter what the consequences, Spangenberg tried to enlist captains and corporations in the service of the mission. Zinzendorf did not desire the conversion of entire tribes or nations, but only of individuals who were drawn to Christ. He wanted to establish communities of believers in locations away from European influences and vices. As David Schattschneider observes, Zinzendorf, a highly educated nobleman of independent means, saw the missionary activities in purely religious terms along Pietistic lines, and for him success could only be achieved with the help of Christ and the Holy Ghost. As far as he was concerned the Inuit should respond to the gospel message on their own terms and guided by their own cultural experiences. Spangenberg on the other hand used the missions in Labrador to establish closer relations with the British government and mercantile companies. For the good of the Mission, he felt himself under pressure to repair the Moravian reputation in England, where it was under attack by strong opponents, as well as to pay back the huge debts the Church had incurred there.

J. Garth Taylor's article on the journey of the Danish carpenter, Jens Haven, one year after the end of the Seven Year's War and the Treaty of

Paris in 1763 reads like an adventure story. Haven had been an apprentice in Copenhagen, had become a Moravian convert and walked to Herrnhut. From there he travelled to Greenland and lived among the Inuit. He learned to speak Inuktitut, and dreamed that he should go to Labrador and convert the Inuit there. He learned that he could communicate with the Labrador Inuit and that it was possible to establish peaceful relations with the "savages" as they were maligned by European trade competitors. To establish missions the Moravians needed land, and in the long run English government support materialized through land grants on which Nain, Oak and Hopedale were founded. In his essay "The Labrador Land Grants of 1769 and 1774" Hans Rollmann outlines the diverse motives and the intricate and involved process of securing these grants as well as privileges needed for success. Rollmann identifies the individuals and the church and secular organizations involved as the "local Labrador missionaries; the regional English leadership; the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG), the missionary organization in England that obtained the land grants and later regulated trade and supplies in Labrador; the mission and legal departments of the church in Saxony; the Directory or United Elders conference; and the United Synods of the world-wide church" (104). Just like William Penn in Pennsylvania who made every effort to secure lands directly from the Indians although it had been already granted to him by the English king, the Moravians tried to obtain permission from the Inuit before settling on the land. Only just recently in 1996—after more than 200 years—the land grants were revoked unilaterally by the Newfoundland government. Though this decision was challenged by the Moravian Church and finally settled out of court in 2005, it demonstrates clearly the link between the earliest beginnings of the Moravians in Labrador and their present status.

Linda Sabathy-Judd makes good use of the wealth of records in the different archives to document the first decade from 1771-1781 at the Nain mission. From the beginning the location caused problems because the Inuit had to travel long distances to go on hunting trips. Once away from the personal influence of the missionaries, the Inuit reverted to their old spiritual universe and listened to the shaman who pointed to Torngak and not Jesus as their guiding spirit. The knowledge of Inuktitut by the missionaries during these early years was not extensive and deep enough to convey key concepts of their faith to the Inuit. It took several more decades, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, before the Inuit in Nain internalized Moravian spirituality and values.

A relic of the earliest day of contact between the Inuit and the Moravians are the ruins of the first mission house constructed during the visit of Erhardt in 1752 in Nisbet Harbor. When his party of seven did not return, the house

was abandoned and destroyed. Now Henry Cary has excavated the ruins, and on the basis of his excavation, of drawings and sketches on maps, and of reports by earlier visitors, he was able to construct a model, which he defines as a "Flurkuchenhaus." Quite a number of this type of house with a central wall and a fireplace and chimney can be found in Pennsylvania and in Germany. The live-in kitchen with the fireplace occupies one half of the house while the other half is usually divided into two rooms. While this house was constructed of logs like most of this type in Pennsylvania, in Germany it probably would not be a *Blockhaus*, but half-timbered because logs would have been too expensive. In most cases the builders used readily available local materials.

It is very hard to do justice to these well written articles, which are all based on extensive research. Since the reviewer is not an expert on the subject despite his enthusiasm for the Moravian settlements in his home state of Pennsylvania and his visits to Moravian sites in North Carolina and Greenland, he cannot really evaluate the scholarship and expertise on which they are based. Suffice it to say that he is inspired and gives the articles the highest recommendation possible. He himself plans to learn more about the Moravians in Labrador through continued reading and traveling to the settlements on the coast. While Rollmann's edition can be classified as a "must read" for Moravian enthusiasts and SGAS members, reader beware: the edition seems only to be available through interlibrary loan.

The Pennsylvania State University

Ernst Schürer

A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians.

By Gunlög Fur. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 259 pp. \$79.00.

A young Delaware Indian male, who in 1738 encountered a visiting delegation from the Pennsylvania colonial government, proclaimed, "We are but a women nation" (1). Ten years later, a group of Moravians visited a "Women's Town," occupied by unmarried Delaware Indian women. Fur's two portraits, one of Delaware men who referred to themselves as "women," and the other of single women, offer the reader an "astonishing and challenging world of gender metaphors and practices . . ." (1). Fur argues that European concepts of gender, which assumed male hierarchy and domination, clashed with the gender roles of the eighteenth century Lenape/Delaware. (Fur uses

both tribal names Lenape and Delaware interchangeably.) According to the author, previous studies have skewed written records to perpetuate the myth of the Delaware Nation as feminine. Fur, however, questions the European definition of the Delaware as feminized in the Western sense. While European society adhered to a patriarchal standard, matriarchy was the norm for many tribes east of the Mississippi River, which allowed females to have extensive economic and political powers. In general, Europeans found Indian societies incompatible with their world view.

The author structures her investigations of the Lenape as a unique study of subtle but significant gender roles. She emphasizes that both males and females interacted in the production and distribution of goods, and that Lenape men and women held varying responsibilities within their religious and spiritual practices. Fur describes further the manners in which historians have misunderstood Delaware metaphors and discourse. Among the most misunderstood were issues of property and authority, which led to complex cultural misunderstandings in the fight for land. Fur's book opens with a discussion of the Lenape homeland on the shores of the Delaware River, which gave them access to small numbers of European settlers who looked to inland tribes for help with the fur trade. Because of their location, the Lenape developed strategies to co-exist peacefully with strangers, exchanging produce as well as furs. Women were mainly the gatherers of berries and fruits and sold these products in neighboring settlements. Because of their commercial activities, Europeans viewed Delaware women as having more power than men, and that power did not resonate with what settlers regarded as "normal" for any society. However, to cite one example, Europeans did not witness first hand the Delaware religious ceremonies in which they celebrated the harvest. In those spiritual ceremonies men and women shared positions of spiritual power and guidance. As a result, Europeans were often in the dark about the power structure of Delaware society.

In chapter two, Fur uses Moravian missionary diaries to explain how women's roles were compromised in one small Delaware town, *Menioglamekah*. This town was changing as encroachment onto land and resources, violence, and disease caused the Moravian mission and Indian village to disperse. Consequently, the women no longer had the ready access to the colonial market that had supported them or the land that they had already cultivated. She goes on, in the next chapter, to discuss the depiction of Delaware women in the written record. They were often described as disruptive, even by the Moravians, who initially allowed women to convert to Christianity and to hold positions of power in their missions. However, later, Moravians expelled the new female Christian converts from their missions due to their "wanton" behavior, attributing this fall from grace to Satan's

manipulations. As a result, Delaware women became pariahs, according to Fur, and faced more uncertainty and displacement.

Chapter four elucidates the manner in which Delaware women strengthened their authority in their own communities through their connections with missionaries. Because most Delawares found Christianity lacking in concreteness and because many resisted conversion, females were able to become influential in preserving traditional spirituality. They encouraged their tribal members to follow visionaries such as Neolin, who advised the Delaware to disregard the white man's influence. Nevertheless, in the final chapter, Fur argues that increasing contact and settler expansion on the frontier played havoc with gender roles. Eventually, Delaware women ceased to hold prominent roles in political and diplomatic circles.

Fur concludes that colonial history cannot be told without the story of gender in Indian societies and the significance of gender in the Early Republic. Impeccably researched, *A Nation of Women* has opened vistas to refresh the study of gender in Native societies. This reader highly recommends the text to scholarly and academic communities. For a general audience, a thorough knowledge of Native peoples would be necessary to fully appreciate Fur's themes.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Rowena McClinton

Records of the Moravians among the Cherokees, Volume 3: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 1, Success in School and Mission, 1805-1810.

Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. Talequah: Cherokee National Press, 2011. 577 Pages. \$50.00.

This book consists of translations of letters, diaries, and reports that tell the story of the Springplace Mission, located in present day northwestern Georgia, designed to educate Cherokee children and supported by the Moravians in Salem, North Carolina. This third of five volumes covers six years and offers the reader intriguing insights into the physical structures of this frontier outpost, the foodways of the mission residents, the great difficulty faced in learning the Cherokee language, and that of truly educating the children in the Christian faith.

The physical structures of the mission at Springplace consisted of a dwelling for Brother and Sister Gambold, a dwelling for Gottlieb and Dorothea Byhan, both with plastered walls, a house for the school children that on average housed three to four Cherokee youth, and a kitchen. A growing collection

of agricultural buildings including an old stable, a smokehouse, a coop for chickens and ducks, a fodder shack twenty feet long, a weaving workshop measuring sixteen by twenty feet, a pigsty, a kiln for drying fruit, and a log barn and stable on either side of a threshing floor--all under one roof. In 1810, the house of the children, both dwelling houses, and the old stable received new thatched roofs. Another improvement was the replacement of wooden window panes with glass panes.

Food required a constant effort and generated concern among the mission leaders. Much of the food was grown at Springplace including garden fare such as peas, large leafed lettuce, groats, onions, beans, squash, cucumbers, potatoes, pumpkins, turnips, asparagus, melons, okra, kohlrabi, cabbage used to make sauerkraut, and various flowers. There was a large cornfield, and rice, wheat, barley, oats, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and flax were cultivated. Apple and peach trees provided fruit that was dried and bee hives helped in pollination. The pigs, cows, calves and an ox lived in the bush and foraged for their own food but were also subject to theft, wolf attack, and drowning in crossing rain soaked rivers. Over time the mission staff worked to shelter and grow feed for the livestock to stabilize their meat, milk, cheese and butter supply. Animal hides were tanned and used for horse harnesses and shoe repair and construction, and lard was collected during slaughtering. Walnuts, hazelnuts, peanuts, and chestnuts were gathered. Thirty-two medicinal plants were grown. Two German travelers from Manheim visiting in March 1806 feasted on fresh sausage, pickles, and welschcorn bread.

The single greatest impediment to the missionary goal of Christianizing Cherokee children was the inability of the missionaries to understand and learn the difficult tongue. The usual approach is to learn the language and translate the bible for instruction, but at Springplace that proved impossible for several reasons. While it was possible to learn some individual words facilitating trade, the connecting words consisted of tones that can neither be written down nor imitated by those unfamiliar with the language. Sometimes a syllable was a single sound or was spoken as a grunting sound in the throat, and these sounds proved incomprehensible to Europeans. Even the natives often did not understand each other and there was a range of dialects among the various tribes. Many words common for missionaries such as the word *forgiveness* did not exist in the Cherokee language. The failure to clearly communicate with the Cherokee children did not deter the missionaries, however, who believed that God had sent them on this journey.

This collection of primary source material is fascinating to read because the combined sources provide a window into the world the missionaries created to serve their church and spread the word. In coming into this series at volume three I found the introduction useful for the contents at hand, but

a brief summary of what happened in the previous volumes was missing. The transcribed letters identified the authors only at the end of each, making it more difficult to sort out than if the authors had been identified at the start of the translation. This book offered insights into the social history of life on a frontier mission that made this reader more aware of the gradual nature of slow improvement to make life better and to minimize deprivation.

Kutztown University

Robert W. Reynolds

Teaching that Transforms: Why Anabaptist-Mennonite Education Matters.

By John D. Roth. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2011. 233 pp. \$12.99.

This little book offers us a timely *tour de force* of rhetoric on important issues in education world-wide, not merely in Mennonite nooks and crannies. It has something to say to all advocates of K-12 education in the United States, to all who believe in the value of private education, to all who believe that it is our civic duty to support public schools, to all who question the dollar value of private versus public education, all who believe in the unique role of Christian and Anabaptist-Mennonite education, as well as to all who worry about the presentation of the sciences in faith-based schools. All of these constituents should be interested in this book because Roth, a product of Anabaptist-Mennonite education, himself, who has spent his career in the field, addresses with surgical precision and clarity each of these issues, and because, in the end, anyone who cares about education believes that education can and should transform students. Finally, this book should be read by all teachers who are feeling disillusioned or burnt out with their professions because its passion and focus on meaningful, engaged learning can reignite the convictions that brought us into teaching in the first place.

In a nutshell, Roth proposes an educational philosophy for Anabaptist-Mennonite education to carry it through the next century, a plan needed because these schools, like so many private schools facing the stresses and strains in American society, have broadened in the types of communities and students they serve and the cultures they have come to embody. As a result, they need to be overtly connected to a core identity and purpose. Roth begins with a look at the history of Anabaptist-Mennonite schools, from their first efforts in small communities in Russia and in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania, to the Greenwood Mennonite School in Greenwood, Delaware that came into existence in 1925 when students refused to pledge allegiance to the flag, and,

finally, to the current situation of Anabaptist-Mennonite schools competing for students and funding like so many others. The pedagogical practices that he proposes include, charmingly: curiosity, reason, joy, patience, and love; and his argumentation for each of these is both solid and solidly based on the incarnation of God as Jesus. He then presents the outcomes or goals of Anabaptist-Mennonite education, distinctive from standardized test scores: "Gifts of Sight and Perception," which allow details to be seen in a larger context; "Touch," meaning practical, engaged, and embodied learning; "Taste," meaning discernment; "Hearing," listening to others and to God; "Voice" for discovering vocations; and "Smell," as in attentiveness to the "Presence of the Unseen" (131-53). Roth concludes by addressing the tough questions that will arise in the pursuit of these outcomes for teachers, parents, pastors, congregations, administrations, and board members.

This book wrestles with a number of important concepts but let me choose just one for comment, "the embarrassment of particularity," which Roth defines as the "fear that claiming a distinctive theological identity too explicitly will be perceived by others as inhospitable or arrogant" (68). This, in my opinion, is a rich concept. First, it is significant that Mennonite students and educators might be *embarrassed* of all things, a confirmation of their commitment to personal humility and fairness to others. After all, the students of Phillips Exeter Academy, Harrow or Eton are not embarrassed by their distinction. No, the embarrassment itself is a signifier of the values of the Anabaptist-Mennonites. Most importantly, though, is the fact, as Roth makes beautifully clear, that ALL schools have a distinction, their own culture and identity whether they want to or not. Who among us in higher education today could argue? Though all institutions of higher education have similar missions, it is impossible to ignore that each, even within the clusters of small colleges, has its own unique culture. Roth argues that schools need to own their identity, embrace, or change it, if necessary—but not sweep it under the rug. This reminds me of a friend who teaches in a Steiner School in Germany who explained that they do not mention Steiner or his philosophy to the students because they do not want to "brainwash" them. Brainwash? Why? How sad. These students are being educated according to a philosophy based on a man's work about whom they know nothing. Exactly this is what Roth argues against.

There is a subtle ironic twist in the publication of this book for me because I have been interested in questions of educational philosophy in Germany and the United States for some time. The irony here springs from the results of the first Pisa study of 2000, a comparative study of the learning levels of fifteen-year-olds internationally in the areas of math, science, and reading. The results caused a culture shock in Germany referred to as "Pisa

Shock” because Germany, contrary to all expectations, did not come out on top. Surprisingly, Finland came out on top—in the world—and for some significant reasons: Finnish schools are small and community-based, children are highly likely to know their teachers from their own families or communities, and, most importantly, students are not separated in any way based on family background or abilities. As a result of the Pisa study, the educational debate raging in Germany today concerns the question of separating or not separating the wheat from the chaff, the privileged from the underprivileged, the super stars from the struggling. Not a week goes by without a mention of this issue in some German paper as normal schools are dissolving into “Gesamtschulen” but only in a few locations. Yet Anabaptist-Mennonite schools in their American and international localities, with their distinct German-Swiss origins have already been and continue to operate along the Finnish principle, a goal that German schools will most probably never fully achieve, and this books lays the foundation for them to continue doing so into the next century.

Susquehanna University

Susan M. Schürer

Mennonite Women in Canada: A History.

By Marlene Epp. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008. 408 pp. \$50.00.

In *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History*, social historian Marlene Epp explores the manner in which the interaction of Mennonite faith and church, immigration, settlement, social trends, and historical events shaped the lives of Canadian Mennonite women, from the arrival of the first Mennonite settlers at the end of the eighteenth century until the latter decades of the twentieth. Her narrative ends shortly after the first Mennonite woman was ordained to the ministry in 1979, a remarkable event for a religious tradition in which women had historically lacked a voice in the formal structures of church governance. In this valuable study, Epp makes it clear that the core notions of Mennonite faith and practice have had particular meaning for women, limiting their options for social interaction but also offering a framework within which to challenge the status quo.

Epp organizes each of the five principal chapters of this work (between introduction and conclusion) around “triads of activity” that she considers “central to the historic lives of Canadian Mennonite women” (19). Each chapter begins with three illustrative vignettes from women of different times, affiliations, and circumstances. The first chapter, “Pioneers, Refugees, and

Transnationals,” focuses on the historical fact that Mennonite women came to Canada in different periods and social circumstances. Whether they came in the nineteenth century, as families fled conscription in Europe, or in the twentieth, fleeing global conflict, their lives as women and Mennonites were shaped by their migration and the cultures that nurtured them before they became Canadian. Epp points out, for example, that Mennonites who came from Russia to settle in Manitoba had a tradition of dividing inheritance equally among sons and daughters, a practice that gave Russian Mennonite women more economic security than that enjoyed by Swiss Mennonite women, whose families were likely to pass on land and other economic goods to sons alone.

In the second chapter, “Wives, Mothers, and ‘Others,’” Epp makes it clear that Mennonite women derived self-worth and identity from their roles within the family. To marry, support one’s husband, and raise a family within the church was the norm; women who did not marry, did not have children, or worked outside the home challenged gendered norms. Epp explores both the importance of traditional patriarchy in shaping community expectations for women, as well as the impact of changing notions of family in the broader society.

Chapter three explores Canadian Mennonite women as “Preachers, Prophets, and Missionaries.” Although Mennonite churches traditionally excluded women from formal positions of leadership, expecting them to be submissive, not only to God, but also to fathers, husbands, and male ministry, Epp shows that women were able to live out fulfilling religious identities as ministers’ wives, members of women’s organizations, missionaries, social workers, or educators. Thus, while men might “preach,” women have spoken in ways that have influenced church attitudes and practice. Chapter four, “Nonconformists, Nonresistors, and Citizens,” focuses on the lives of Mennonite women who explicitly challenged the gender norms. As Epp makes clear, women were differently constrained by core Mennonite values. Non-resistance meant one thing to Mennonite men subject to conscription laws, but something entirely different to Mennonite wives, who, supporting families while husbands did alternative service, necessarily usurped the traditional male role and so redefined themselves within the family and church. Even such every day activities as driving a car came to have new meaning as Mennonite women responded to changing social conditions. The fifth chapter, “Quilters, Canners, and Writers,” explores the material and creative productivity of Mennonite women. Within the limits of religious identity, Epp shows, Mennonite women have expressed themselves in a variety of ways.

This book is an important addition to Mennonite studies and the research

on gender and identity. It has its limitations, however, for it is not a work that explores the diversity of the Mennonite world. Epp notes the importance of examining women's lives "within their local and national communities" (7) so that we can understand how their lives are shaped by forces beyond their particular ethnic or religious affiliation. For this reason, she has focused on Mennonite women as Canadian women, exploring how Mennonite women, like other Canadian women, have been affected by broader social, political, cultural, and economic forces. In both the structure of this work and its content, Epps highlights the commonality of their experience. Although acknowledging historical divisions (e.g., Swiss vs. Russian), Epp does not explore gendered identity in specific groups.

This is problematic, for, although Mennonite church communities may share core values, they have not been uniform in how these have been put into practice, and so there are many ways of being a "Mennonite woman." Simply put, gender is constructed differently in a church community that encourages young women to use service in the Canadian Women's Army Corps as an opportunity to "bear a good testimony to our Christian faith" (213) than it is in one that removes women who entered the Corps from membership. That dress standards were challenged in some groups but not others—indeed, that women have been able to enter the ministry in some Mennonite churches but not others—suggests that there are important differences in what it means to be female in the Mennonite church. Epp herself acknowledges that there is much more to be done to understand the "commonalities, divergences, and dichotomies" (282) characterizing the history of Mennonite women in Canada. This work is an excellent start.

State University of New York at Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

How Books Came to America: The Rise of the American Book Trade.

By John Hruschka. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. 248 pp. \$74.95.

While other scholars, such as William Charvat and Frank Luther Mott, have addressed the histories of literary publishing and newspapers in the United States, respectively, a comprehensive account of the rise of the American publishing trade has been lacking. This is what Hruschka sets out to do. In the first six chapters of his work, he focuses on the technology and organization of bookmaking from Gutenberg through the mid-nineteenth century, laying the groundwork for the primary interest of his study, which

is not solely the American book trade, but a person whose contributions to it certainly deserve more recognition.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the book trade in the United States was, much like the young nation itself, marked by both fierce competition and seemingly boundless energy, but reflective of its democratic nature, more characterized by sheer chaos than any kind of natural orderliness. That the individual who accomplished the most to establish order in this chaotic field hailed from Germany is not surprising. After all, where else has a thought like *Ordnung muss sein* become proverbial? The man in question was one Frederick Leyboldt, the German immigrant who began his career as a Philadelphia bookstore clerk in 1854. Before his death three decades later he had become the founding editor and publisher of both *Publishers' Weekly* and the *American Library Journal*, which became the two most influential periodicals in their field. As Hruschka points out, Leyboldt, who had completed an apprenticeship in a country where bookselling was considered a profession, was horrified that books in his adopted homeland were sold not by professionals in shops designated for that purpose, but by a variety of merchants in stores offering a broad range of wares. Literature was offered alongside of stationery and sundries, squeezed in among brooms, liniment, and liverwurst.

In fact, as Leyboldt and his obsession to make order out of the chaotic American book trade of his times are clearly the focus of Hruschka's study, it could well have been entitled *Frederick Leyboldt and the Rise of the American Book Trade*. This is not to deny that Hruschka does cover other related areas quite well. For example, his emphasis on the American book trade *as a business* earns this piece a unique place among existing studies, and his explanation of the technological advances from the wooden press still common in Benjamin Franklin's day to its modern counterpart at the dawn of the twentieth century is exceptionally well done. Nonetheless, when Hruschka hits upon the real focus of his study some seven chapters in, it's evident that this book could have begun and ended with his investigation of Leyboldt's accomplishments.

Who, then, was Frederick Leyboldt and what made him such a key figure in the development of the publishing industry? In Hruschka's account, he is a stubborn crusader for the professionalization of the book industry, who worked tirelessly to make it more like a medieval guild than a barroom brawl. Inspired by the aims of the German *Boersenverein* with which he was quite familiar, Leyboldt continually urged the leading houses of the American book trade—the Putnams, the Harpers, the Holts, the Scribners, and their contemporaries—towards more cooperation and collegiality, a reliance on the power of mutual interest completely alien to the business practices of the Gilded Age. Such cooperation might have established a needed policy of

publishers' discounts to booksellers, and not only furthered the protection of intellectual property, for example, but also made possible a needed staple of the American book trade: an annual listing of available books in print. Unfortunately, Leyboldt's lack of business acumen and attention to detail allowed him to be duped by, among others, the noted librarian Melvil Dewey, Leyboldt's trusted editor of the *American Library Journal*, who diverted revenue from the firm to his own pet schemes. Through all this, Leyboldt's wife Augusta, the daughter of Rudolph Garrigue, another German-born pioneer in the American book trade and former partner of bookseller William Christern, in whose shop Leyboldt familiarized himself with the unique nature of the American book trade, proved to have the practical business sense that helped sustain the family operations during her spouse's life and after his passing. Hrushka's account also makes clear that the intervention of R.R. Bowker saved Leyboldt's legacy, through his ability to translate Leyboldt's "new ideas and sanguine hopes" into a profitable business" (180). It was due to Bowker's efforts that *Publishers' Weekly*, *Publishers' Trade List*, the *American Catalogue*, and the *Library Journal* lived on. While Leyboldt did not live to see the full success of his efforts, it is hard to imagine the development of the American publishing industry without his accomplishments.

Hrushka's work is well written and carefully documented throughout and is recommended as a worthy addition to general and collegiate library collections.

Longwood University

Geoffrey C. Orth

Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Atlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650-1750.

By Rosalind Beiler. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press. 2008. 208 pp. \$55.00.

Carefully researched, Rosalind Beiler's study contends that an understanding of trade networks in the Atlantic World is crucial to colonial historiography. To prove her point she has examined in detail the life and times of Caspar Wistar, who grew up in the Palatinate and came to the colonies in 1717. As a newly arrived immigrant in Quaker-dominated Philadelphia, he joined the Friends and gained a position as a cultural broker among the increasing number of German-speaking immigrants crossing the Atlantic and their English speaking neighbors in the colonies. Beiler traces Wistar's use of his religious identity plus his bureaucratic Palatine-based politics to maneuver

in British North America. His skills as an entrepreneur and political lobbyist caught the attention of dominant social and business groups on both sides of the Atlantic. He used his German origin, his business sense, and his political skills as "capital" to create international commercial networks. Wistar's ethnic identity allowed him to import and then sell specific types of merchandise to fellow settlers, and, with rather astonishing profits from land speculations, he invested his capital in new ventures.

A close observer of daily life, Wistar had learned his political and economic acumen in his ancestral home in Waldhilsbach, near present-day Heidelberg, Germany. His father, a forester, was a government official, appointed by the Elector of the Palatine to help manage the state's natural resources. Therefore, Wistar had learned at his father's knee the rudiments of bureaucratic mazes endemic in state dominated agencies. In Waldhilsbach, Wistar had also absolved a hunting apprenticeship and he had made the acquaintance of many hunters who could assist him in importing European rifles modified for his American customers. He also accumulated enough capital to establish his own button factory. In addition, he patronized customers who demanded glass wares. He established the colony's first long-lived, flourishing glass factory in Wistarburg, New Jersey, later named the United Glass Company. The British colonial government allowed him unlimited access to timber and sand—and low taxes until the outbreak of the American Revolution. His enterprises were unique because he partnered with other Germans, who could supply him with artisans' tools and raw materials, including potash, clay, and sand. Meanwhile, the British colonial government allowed Wistar to make contractual agreements with his German partners overseas, who also established a glassworks factory at Petersal, outside of Heidelberg.

Beiler translated Wistar's autobiography and was granted extensive access to Palatine archives. Her well-organized account of Wistar's life and his personal and financial success is detailed as well as extensive, and her writing style is clear. This book should be required reading for scholars and students of immigration to British Colonial America. It is highly recommended as one of the best sources on a successful German immigrant, Caspar Wistar.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Rowena McClinton

Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920.

Edited by Sally McMurry and Nancy Van Dolsen. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 272 pp. \$49.95.

This volume brings together ten authors from a variety of disciplines for a contemporary appraisal of a subject that has captured the imagination of countless scholars and writers for at least two centuries—the material culture impress of the Pennsylvania German ethnic group in the American landscape. One of the most commonly cited problems with edited scholarly books is a lack of continuity from chapter to chapter with regard to style and substance. How refreshing it is, then, to encounter this handsome volume that flows from one chapter to the next as if authored by a single writer. This must certainly reflect great care, effort, and attention to detail in the production of the book on the part of the editors and the publisher, for which they are to be commended. Skillfully written and edited, and lavishly illustrated with 120 photographs and drawings, in the words of the editors in the Introduction, “[This] volume assembles contemporary scholarly insights about the Pennsylvania German contributions to American architectural expression . . . [drawing] both from previous generations’ interpretations and from current intellectual perspectives” (1). If this was the overall goal of the editors and authors then they have succeeded superbly.

In the Introduction, editors McMurry (a historian at Penn State) and Van Dolsen (a historian and historic preservationist at Barton College) provide a brief but rather comprehensive review of the multi-disciplinary literature relating to Pennsylvania-German material culture. Drawing out and delineating major themes that have been addressed over time, they are careful in comparing and contrasting “traditional” approaches that focused heavily on distinctive house and barn styles with more contemporary studies that ask more complex questions about these landscape features: how does form and function reflect the ideals and traditions of the subculture? How have changing social and economic realities affected Pennsylvania-German architecture and material culture?

The book is comprised of seven chapters, five of which focus almost exclusively on various building traditions: rural houses (Sally McMurry); barns and agricultural outbuildings (McMurry and J. Ritchie Garrison); commercial vernacular agriculture (Diane Wenger and Garrison); domestic outbuildings (Philip Pendleton); and urban building traditions (Bernard Herman, Thomas Ryan, and David Schuyler). The two remaining chapters are devoted to landscapes associated with Pennsylvania-German religious traditions (Jerry Clouse) and the Pennsylvania-German landscape as a whole (Gabrielle Lanier). Each of the five chapters dealing with architectural

traditions does a fine job of balancing thorough descriptions of characteristic, iconic forms and styles with more nuanced analyses of how these traditions have been modified over time in response to shifting economic and social norms. The chapters on domestic outbuildings and urban building traditions are especially welcome given that both of these subjects have been relatively understudied, especially in the contemporary era.

In perhaps the book's most eloquently written essay, "Landscapes," Gabrielle Lanier uses broad strokes to paint a picture of how perceptions of the southeastern-Pennsylvanian landscape by scholars and lay observers have changed over time. She is particularly adept at documenting the apparent contradictions in this landscape today: the region's rural, agricultural past remains firmly entrenched in the rural landscape, dominated by iconic house and barn forms; this landscape has long captured the American imagination, with its nostalgic penchant for romanticizing the country's rural, agricultural ideals. Yet the Pennsylvania-German subculture area is but a stone's throw from one of the most urban, industrial-oriented regions in the world and the region's economy, in tune with the rest of the country, has rapidly evolved into one dominated by service and manufacturing. As Lanier accurately describes this situation ". . . it is this interplay between history and physical attributes of the landscape itself, and between past and present perceptions of it, that actually define the Pennsylvania German landscape for us today" (11-12).

Taken as a whole, the book is successful on many levels indeed. Its greatest accomplishment may very well be that it presents a modern appraisal of the Pennsylvania-German cultural landscape and its various iconic elements, a subject that occupies a seemingly constant place in the American fascination with the country's rural past (this is particularly true of the subculture's Amish and Mennonite elements). The bibliography alone is worth the price of admission, representing as it does a thorough, updated assessment of the scholarship associated with the subject. It will surely be of interest to the academic and the layperson alike and deserves a place on the shelf of anyone with an interest in Pennsylvania-German history and the subculture's iconic cultural landscapes.

Ohio University

Timothy G. Anderson

Many Identities, One Nation: The Revolution and Its Legacy in the Mid-Atlantic.

By Liam Riordan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. 392 pp. \$49.95.

In an ambitious undertaking, Liam Riordan examines the peoples of three Delaware River Valley towns, using their ethno-religious cultures and affiliations, their colonial, revolutionary, and early national experiences, their political choices from the Revolution through the beginnings of the Jacksonian era, and their changing civic identities from 1770 to 1830 to analyze local power struggles and their impact on American politics and national identity. The three towns along a 130-mile stretch of the Delaware River showed striking differences from their founding through the early Jacksonian era, providing Riordan with a means of comparing the development of civic identities and participation. New Castle, Delaware, was a mixture of Scots Irish Presbyterians, English Anglicans, and African Americans. Burlington, New Jersey, was predominately Anglican and Quaker, while Easton, Pennsylvania, was a frontier town, home to German Reformed and Lutheran church members and some Anglos who experienced the tensions of living on the frontier with Native Americans.

The American Revolution allowed colonial outsiders to claim a more central place in their communities. In New Castle, Scots Irish Presbyterians and in Easton, Lutheran and Reformed Pennsylvania Germans generally became patriots, while Quakers and Anglicans in Burlington were either neutral or loyalist. African Americans in New Castle also pressed for a larger public role, only to be denied by patriots who ironically feared English enslavement. In the period following the Revolution, Quakers, African Americans, and Pennsylvania Germans fought for a more central role in both local and national society. In the end, Quakers remained marginalized, African Americans increasingly gained freedom but found a progressively circumscribed public role, while Pennsylvania Germans would be the most successful.

Riordan employs the concepts of "localism" and "cosmopolitanism" to define political and economic views. For example, he examines the impact of evangelical Protestantism, explaining that conservative cosmopolitans sought an overarching American Christianity to support and unify a new social order over localist practices. New Castle African Americans found an opportunity to create their own churches, while whites viewed their religious services as inferior. Quakers eventually split between the Orthodox, who were prepared to participate in conservative cosmopolitan evangelicalism, while the Hicksites stuck to traditional ways. Pennsylvania Germans rejected the

new evangelicalism, though the Lutherans were more willing to associate with Anglo-American society than the Reformed.

Paralleling the movement toward an all-inclusive American Christianity were campaigns for political unity. Generally, New Castle was mixed Federalist and Republican in a Federalist state, Burlington was Federalist in a Republican state, while Easton and Pennsylvania were Republican. Riordan asserts that the ethnic and religious dimensions that were a part of the Revolution now shaped political parties and issues, including the Missouri Controversy and the election of Jackson. Riordan concludes by pointing to the persistence of local diversity and interests in the wake of partisan politics and cosmopolitan evangelical attempts to shape national unity. A national identity would eventually emerge. According to Riordan, "This national identity rested upon values of respectability, whiteness, partisanship, and evangelical Protestantism that were broadly but not universally shared throughout the region and the nation" (272).

Overall, this is a nuanced sophisticated analysis of ethno-cultural and religious identities that reveals the tensions that existed between ethnicity, religion, race, class, gender, and popular sovereignty. Yet, some of the early elements that played a significant local role disappear without explanation. The impact of the Scots Irish and Native Americans on Easton's Pennsylvania Germans largely ends with the Revolution. The observation that lower class whites and African Americans in New Castle shared ties is not fully explored. Moreover, even though the dynamics of national and international events are viewed through a local lens, Riordan conveys a static socioeconomic and population environment in these towns. Only with the 1828 election do we learn that canals had an enormous impact on Easton, bringing in new workers and an expanding tavern culture.

Riordan's work relies on an impressive array of sources, including census, tax, and church records, personal correspondence, private journals, folk art (including *Fraktur* and *Taufscheine*), and newspaper accounts, often using individuals to illustrate some of the subtleties of his analysis. Fittingly, Riordan concludes his book looking at three generations of George Wolf's family, which came from Alsace-Lorraine, experienced conflict with Native Americans and lived largely among Scots Irish. Wolf himself eventually joined the Republican party, was elected governor of Pennsylvania, baptized seven children in a Reformed congregation, had a Lutheran funeral with a eulogy delivered by a Presbyterian minister, demonstrating that the Pennsylvania Germans were indeed the most successful in carving out a public role for themselves.

Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement.

By Diana Selig. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008. 367 pp. \$29.95.

In this volume Diana Selig, Associate Professor of History at Claremont McKenna College, presents a comprehensive and critical analysis of the "Cultural Gifts Movement," a complex and conflicted educational and cultural reform effort that flourished between 1920-1945. The goal of this movement was to eliminate religious and racial prejudice. Its proponents included social scientists, educators, religious leaders, school-age and university students as well as parents from across the nation. The movement emerged in an era of violent social upheaval. After the First World War the nation was convulsed by outbreaks of nativism and xenophobia manifested in the resurgence of the Klu-Klux Klan and the violent race riots that erupted during and after the war. Since the government seemed unable or unwilling to deal with lynching and ethnic intimidation, the backers of this movement sought to create a harmonious and multicultural society.

Selig is to be congratulated for her discovery and critical examination of this fascinating movement. She has accomplished essentially an exercise in intellectual archaeology. The 'Cultural Gifts Movement' is largely forgotten today in part because of the erroneous assumption that efforts to create a pluralistic society originated after the Second World War. By analyzing behaviorism and its impact on entities such as the Child Study Association, *Parents Magazine*, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the National Council of Jews and Christians (later changed from NCJC to NCCJ), and the work of Rachel Davis DuBois (1892-1993), Selig argues convincingly for the contributions of these groups to the struggle to counter narrow notions of group identity and resistance to Protestant hegemony.

Selig's analysis is more critical than laudatory. She notes the disconnect between analyses of prejudice formulated by social scientists and intellectuals such as Franz Boas, Horace Kallen, John Broadus Watson, and Bruno Lasker and their application by well-intentioned groups such the Child Study Association or the *Parents Magazine* that assumed that re-educating children and parents would eliminate prejudice and racism. Overlooked were the socio-economic causes of racism and prejudice. Trying to change the individual without changing the society was a strategy preordained to fail as was the case with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an Atlanta-based effort to fight racial prejudice without altering the status quo. The result would be a more genteel Jim Crow but still Jim Crow.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of *Americans All* is devoted to the career of Rachel Davis DuBois, a Quaker born in New Jersey and a college graduate who had participated in the peace movement during the

war. Her determination and zeal for changing society led her to create the Woodbury Plan named after the high school in New Jersey in which she was a history teacher. Her approach was simple but flawed. Students researched and developed assembly programs that featured the valuable traits and achievements of ethnic groups and African Americans. Interestingly for us, among the groups which Rachel Davis DuBois selected to emphasize for their contributions were Germans, and she even wrote a substantial monograph about them, *The Germans in American Life*, in 1936. This occurred at a time when 34 states required English to be the language of instruction and 22 states banned the instruction of foreign languages, notably German.

As Selig notes, the approach DuBois chose can create new stereotypes. Not every African American is George Washington Carver nor every Italian a Marconi. Troubling is also the question as to who decides what qualities or achievements are 'valuable' or contribute to American character. DuBois' intentions were undoubtedly honorable and her zeal unquestioned: she sought out, befriended, and studied individuals who could contribute to the materials which she used to change the attitudes of young Americans. She corresponded with W.E.B. DuBois and apparently supported him as a board member when he had difficulties with the NAACP. Alain Locke, William Pickens, and A. Philip Randolph also belonged to her circle of contacts but her best efforts ran afoul both of the times and the compromises which she made to gain support for her organization.

When she began her work in the 1920s, groups such as the DAR, the American Legion, and the Klu-Klux Klan attacked her programs declaring them part of a Bolshevik plot, un-American or just subversive. Her later work to instill pride in the second generation of ethnic immigrants ignored the needs of African Americans. Indeed as Selig astutely points out, DuBois' presentation of the Negro Spirituals ignored the horrors of slavery which had created them. Likewise, she ran afoul of Jewish philanthropists who had supported her early work but who objected to her representation of Jews as an ethnic rather than a religious group. Finally, after years of struggle and persistence DuBois was shunted aside and forgotten. As for the movement in which she played a key role, it too ran afoul of the times: the rise of fascism in Europe made any effort to expound on ethnic achievements smack of nationalism. Also the inconsequential approach taken towards the problem of race made it irrelevant.

Millersville University

Leroy T. Hopkins

Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange.

Edited by Larry A. Greene and Anke Ortlepp. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010. 304 pp. \$55.00.

We are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848.

By Misha Honeck. Athens: University of Georgia Press, March 2011. 244 pp. \$24.95.

These two works examine the cultural interactions and exchanges between African Americans and Germans before and after the founding of the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. The impact of German immigration to the United States prior to the American Civil War, specifically, is examined by Mischa Honeck. Honeck's work focuses on the role played by German revolutionaries; who, after the failed 1848 revolutions, immigrated to the United States and continued their pro-democratic fervor by uniting with American abolitionists. The book is broken into six chapters, four of which examine German immigrant communities in different geographic regions, specifically: Texas, Cincinnati, Wisconsin, and Boston. For each location Honeck focuses primarily on a pair of individuals who worked together through the print industry, focusing their efforts on the abolitionist cause and attempting to garner support for the emancipation movement. In Texas, Honeck examines the duo of Frederick Law Olmstead, a Connecticut abolitionist and Adolf Douai, a German revolutionary turned newspaper editor, who combined their talents to espouse a multiethnic free-labor message that challenged the institution of slavery. This model is repeated in the discussion of Cincinnati's German community with the pair of August Willich and Mocre Daniel Conway, in Wisconsin with Mathilde Franziska Anneke and Mary Booth, and finally in Boston with Karl Heinzen and Wendel Phillips. The relationship between Anneke and Booth is the most intimate of the reviews and provides the reader with an understanding of the revolutionary fervor from a female perspective.

Honeck uses a wide variety of sources including: twenty-four German-American newspapers, five German newspapers, and the manuscripts of six of the eight main subjects as well as over ninety primary sources to support his work. While narrow in focus, Honeck's work is an excellent read and demonstrates the fervor of German immigrant involvement in the abolitionist cause and the value of German language sources to American history.

In *Germans and African Americans: Two Centuries of Exchange*, editors, Larry A. Green and Anke Ortlepp, provide an overview of the cultural, political, and social exchanges between Germans and African Americans.

Building on earlier works such as: *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany*, edited by Hanna Schissler, the work explores many issues of race, gender, and identity, and particularly interracial relations within Germany. The work is composed of thirteen separate essays with a primary focus on twentieth century African American experiences in Germany and the cross cultural issues derived from these experiences. The work also contains two excellent chapters on the German immigrant impact on African Americans, Misha Honeck's previously described analysis, "An Unexpected Alliance," and Jeffrey Strickland's, "German Immigrants and African Americans In Charleston, South Carolina, 1850-1880." Strickland's work is interesting in that he provides the reader with an individual examination of the economic, social, historical, and political interactions of these groups. Strickland details the shift in the German American community away from one of initial understanding and acceptance of the African American community to one of intolerance and open conflict after the failure of Reconstruction. The essay is well researched and exposes the reader to previously unpublished sources such as the Jacob Schirmer Diary.

The examination of the Weimar era is covered in Leroy Hopkins, "Louis Douglas and the Weimar Reception of Harlemania." Hopkins analyzes the remarkable career of Louis W. Douglas, an African entertainer from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania who achieved icon status in Weimar Germany and toured successfully throughout Europe, Africa, and South America during the 1920's. As Hopkins explains, Douglas's career was symptomatic of Harlemania ". . . a receptivity for the cultural productions of African Americans connected to the movement known as the Harlem Renaissance" (50). He traces Douglas's career from its inception until his untimely death in 1939 exploring his, as well as other African American performers' impact on European societal views of Africans and African Americans. In a well-researched essay, Hopkins draws attention to the arts as a mode of creating, supporting, and challenging societal views on complex issues such as race and the arts.

One of the particular strengths exhibited in this work are the assembled essays on African American views of Nazi Germany. These are detailed in three articles: Larry A. Greene's, "Race in the Reich," Berndt Ostendorf's, "Field Trip into the Twilight," and Frank Mehring's, "Nazi Jim Crow." Greene provides the reader with an excellent narrative of the arguments put forth by the African American Press to illustrate the similarities between Nazi racism, attacked by American propaganda, and the ever present American racism found in "Jim Crow" laws throughout the American south. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Nazi Germany continued to be the foil for the African American Press to attack America's racial hypocrisy. In contrast to this view,

Greene notes the African American Press' view of Imperial Japan which was portrayed "as an anticolonial liberator" (71) until Pearl Harbor. Further review of this material and its impact on the American war effort would be a contribution to this line of inquiry.

The theme of American hypocrisy is further examined by Frank Mehring's analysis of Hans Massaquoi's biography. As a mixed race German African who lived within the Third Reich and then resettled in the United States after the war, Massaquoi's insights are exceptional and Mehring's review provides the reader with the link between personal and national transformations as Massaquoi navigates through the turmoil of the American civil rights movement. This personal transformation is also reflected in Berndt Ostendorf's work where he examines a unique cultural exchange in his study of Professor Julius Lips' emigration from East German academia to Howard University, a traditional black college in the United States where his Africanist and socialist views bring him into conflict with his African American colleagues forcing his dismissal after only two years. Ostendorf's review of Lips and his work clearly show that the issue of race could be easily subsumed by class conscience.

The work concludes with three essays dealing with the German Democratic Republic and four essays examining African American experiences within the Federal Republic of Germany. These essays provide an excellent opportunity for the reader to compare and contrast African American experiences in postwar Germany and the influences of American and Soviet occupation on German views of race and political equality. In "Prologue", Victor Grossman presents a fascinating narrative on the African American soldiers who crossed over into East Germany and were sent to the city of Bautzen in Saxony by the communist authorities. According to Grossman, these soldiers, both black and white, assimilated well into East German society, with each of the African Americans discussed overcoming the language barrier, learning new trades, and having intimate relationships with German women, many having children. That African Americans found greater racial acceptance and democracy in post war East Germany than in the United States brings attention to the failure of the United States to provide civil rights to all of its citizens.

This theme continues in Astrid Haas's essay, "A Raisin in the East." Haas examines two popular African American plays *A Raisin in the Sun* and *Blues for Mr. Charlie* as viewed by East German socialism. This excellent examination of the critiques demonstrates that while East German critics appreciated the playwrights' stance against white American racial dominance, they had not yet reached the level of Marxist-Leninist dialectics. This focus on the East German arts is continued by Aribert Schroeder in his essay, "Ollie Harrington," which explores Mr. Harrington's interactions with African American communist

party members who visited East Germany and his frequent criticism of the cultural policies restricting the travel of intellectuals and artists. Composed from extensive research in East German secret police files, Schroeder provides an interesting perspective on the limits of official East German views of race as well as of African American communists.

In "Love Across the Color Line," Maria Hohn tackles the issue of interracial relationships between African American soldiers and German women and the collaboration between the American military and conservative German authorities who worked to prevent them. Hohn challenges these policies as a freedom of choice issue for both German women and African American soldiers. Interracial relationships are further explored by Damani Partridge in, "Exploding Hitler and Americanizing Germany" by challenging the widely held beliefs that these relationships were instigated by either practical economics or romantic naivety. Partridge provides a much more complex view of these relationships for German women and then places them within the context of the allure of Americanization with its vibrant popular culture, consumerism, and gender relations. To Partridge, these women were actively rebelling against the previous conservative, male dominant, hierarchy that controlled German society.

This change in view toward African American stereotypes is further reflected in Sabine Broeck's essay, "The Erotics of African American Endurance, Or: On the Right Side of History?" Broeck examines the romanticized West German public view of African American endurance in the quest for civil rights during the 1950s and 1960s. As argued by Broeck this empathy for the civil rights movement and the paternalism it fostered needs to be replaced with a factual paradigm that will allow for contributions to the current discourse on diversification in contemporary Europe.

The work concludes with Eva Boesenberg's, "Reconstructing 'America,'" which examines German academia's formation of African American Studies programs in West Germany with a focus on the Collegium of African American Research and the academics that helped moved it forward as a distinct field. In a well-researched essay, Boesenberg reconstructs the development of African American Studies within German Universities, paying particular attention to those scholars that pioneered these fields. Scholars such as: Charles H. Nichols, Kenneth Stamp, and Edward Clark who all came to Germany during the 1950s and taught courses in the field. These academics sparked further research and further development of programs within German Universities that have continued to grow in popularity as fields of study and research to the present day. A well edited work, these essays are certain to challenge many preconceived notions of German and African American cultural exchanges.

The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans During the Civil War Period, 1850-1870: A Study and Research Compendium.

By Andrea Mehrländer. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2011. 442 pp. \$182.00.

The American Civil War is a fertile field for researchers, particularly now, during its sesquicentennial. Much has been written about ethnic German units in the Federal service, and names like Sigel and Schurz are familiar to Civil War historians. The same cannot be said for ethnic Germans living in the Southern states. It is this substantial gap in the story of Germans in the United States that Mehrländer seeks to fill. This volume may well be considered to be the culmination of a lifelong fascination with the Old South, a fascination kindled by the author's viewing of *Gone With the Wind* at the age of nine. *The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans* is a revised version of her doctoral dissertation from the University of the Ruhr at Bochum. In her introduction, Mehrländer states that, "This book examines the socio-economic situation, the political behavior, and the military participation of the ethnic German minority population in the Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1865." Mehrländer's basic premise is that the contributions of ethnic Germans in the Confederacy were more significant than their raw numbers would indicate; there were less than 72,000 German in the future Confederate States in 1860. The choice of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans for her study was a logical one for several reasons: 1) they were the largest urban centers in the South, 2) they would have extreme significance to the Confederacy—Charleston, the cradle of Secession, Richmond, the Capital, New Orleans, the largest port and trading center, and 3) these cities had the largest populations of ethnic Germans in the future Confederacy.

The book is organized in a simple, straightforward fashion: Mehrländer established several criteria by which to analyze her chosen communities. To begin with, she sets the stage by documenting pre-1850 German immigration and settlement patterns in the South, including what has been referred to as the "avoidance of the South syndrome." Writings in the German language press often painted a gloomy portrait of southern life, and radical Turners, socialists, abolitionists and 48ers used their influence to steer German immigrants away from what would be the Confederacy. Using census documents, tax rolls and other sources, Mehrländer shows that the German immigrants who did settle in the South, tended to do so in urban areas, particularly if they were skilled tradesmen, particularly shoemakers or bakers. Her documentation shows how local circumstances affected immigration patterns, varying the degree of cohesiveness, which in turn affected the local prospects for suc-

cess.

Another of Mehrländer's windows on the German communities was their experience in confronting the rise of nativism. The rise of the American Party in the decade of the 1850s was of great import to immigrant communities. As Andrea Mehrländer's research shows, the three cities had greatly varied experiences with nativism, which often not only threatened them from the outside, but created divisions within the German communities, compelling them to decide with whom they would stand politically. They by and large chose to stand with the Democratic Party, and to defend the society of which they had become a part.

Since the book deals largely with Confederate German military service, Mehrländer's research methodology bears a brief examination. She identifies twelve ethnic German units in the Confederate service, and subjects them to, to use her own phrase, "socio-military analysis." To begin with, she addresses the pre-war militia units, which would largely seem to be an extension of *Ver-insleben*, and analyzes their relationships, if any, with their wartime counterparts. She does this by documenting membership, leadership, social position (trade or occupation, property owned, including slaves, etc.)

Her overall portrait is brought into focus by biographical sketches of prominent civil and military leaders within the community. The biographies are quite well documented by material from the local press and personal correspondence, as well as a goodly number of photographs. It should be noted, that Mehrländer devotes some research to the special case of New Orleans as a Union city, after it was captured in 1862. Following that occupation, Mehrländer discusses the anomaly of General Butler's recruiting of German troops for the Union army in the heart of the Confederacy.

One extremely important contribution to the southern economy and war effort was a number of successful entrepreneurs and overseas investors, backed by a large quantity of equally successful sea captains and blockade runners. Some of the considerable fortunes made during the war by German investors were turned toward rebuilding the devastated South after the war, as well as efforts by former German Confederates to recruit new immigrants to build up and increase the German communities in the South. These efforts, as Mehrländer shows, were largely unsuccessful.

The Germans of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans during the Civil War Period contains excellent appendices, detailing the military units by city, gleaned from their service records and other official sources. Another includes several population tables, which break down German settlement in all of the Confederate states by numbers and province of origin, as well as by immigrants as a percentage of the overall southern population. The extensive bibliography provides a great many starting points for further research in the

social, military and ethnographic history of the South.

In her conclusions, Mehrländer states her belief that her study has “demonstrated the deficiency of earlier theories that maintained that the ethnic German minority of the South was all but insignificant, politically, militarily, and economically before, during, and after the Civil War.” She has shown that the Germans in the South adapted themselves to “southern distinctiveness,” and adopted the societal mores of their new home. Furthermore, she has shown that they significantly aided the war efforts of the Southern Confederacy, efforts particularly noteworthy when balanced against their somewhat limited numbers. Her careful quantitative documentation of the political, military and economic contributions of the Germans in Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans during the two decades studied, would certainly lead one to conclude that she has made her case. I have heard it said that whenever you drink the water, you should thank the one who dug the well. In this case, thanks are certainly in order to Andrea Mehrländer.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz

Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution.

By Paul Douglas Newman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. 259 pp. \$49.95

Historians have placed Fries's Rebellion in the same category as the Shays and Whiskey Rebellions as popular insurrections against federal authority during the formative years of the United States because on March 7, 1799, John Fries led a militia unit into Bethlehem, Pennsylvania to free prisoners who had refused to pay the country's first national property tax. Paul Douglas Newman, however, convincingly argues that unlike the previous rebellions and despite Federalist efforts to define resistance to national legislation as insurrection, Fries's Rebellion was not a violent attempt to overthrow state or federal government. Instead, evaluation of ethnic, economic and political tensions in eastern Pennsylvania revealed to Newman the very complex reality of peaceful public protest against perceived oppressive and unconstitutional Federalist legislation that limited prosperity, denied basic human rights, and empowered Quaker and Moravian tax collectors over German Lutheran and Reformed farmers. Opponents to the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Direct Tax Act of 1798 used the same popular symbols of resistance they had used during the American Revolution, including liberty poles, petitions, and voluntary associations to demonstrate their legitimacy as supporters of

the democratic process that they feared was under attack by the Federalist government. Fries's use of the militia was merely the culmination of months of resistance, not the initiation of an insurrection.

Newman took on an ambitious task and succeeded in explaining how existing local ethnic and political tensions related to Federalist legislation, how rebels and Federalists differed in their interpretation of liberty, what type of resistance dissenters used, and why Federalists interpreted opposition as insurrection. Preexisting conflicts in eastern Pennsylvania intensified with the political debates over the relationship between citizens and their government following the passage of Federalist laws in 1798. Second and third generation German Lutherans and German Reformed farmers perceived themselves as *Kirchenleute* or Church People and quite different from German *Sektenleute* or sectarian Moravians, Annabaptists, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders, and politically powerful English-speaking Quakers. *Kirchenleute* prospered in farming communities, took pride in their patriotic service during the Revolution, strongly believed in defense of individual liberties and active participation in local government, supported Jeffersonian-Republicans, and maintained a tradition of successful opposition to unfair taxation and foreclosures. *Sektenleute*, in contrast, had been disfranchised for several years owing to test oath requirements for citizenship in Pennsylvania, had been loyalists during the Revolution (or *Kirchenleute* had labeled their neutrality based on faith as supporting the Tories), and several Federalist Moravians and Quakers had received appointments as tax assessors and collectors.

German Lutheran and Reformed farmers interpreted the Direct Tax as a threat to their economic liberty and the Alien and Seditions Acts as endangering their civil liberties. Believing that as American citizens they had the inherent obligation to protect American liberties as well as local economic and political rights from repressive Federalists, *Kirchenleute* asserted what they thought were their legal and democratic rights by organizing an intentionally nonviolent opposition movement. In their opinion people exercising their constitutional rights could indeed change or repeal what they deemed as unconstitutional laws. Federalists, by contrast, believed in a central government that maintained order and liberty by protecting citizens from their own anarchistic tendencies and from Europeans. The Alien and Sedition Acts and Direct Tax Act were necessary to fend off French threats to American liberty. Individuals had to sacrifice civil rights in the name of liberty for all and the property tax financed the defense against French attacks on the high seas. Resistance, according to this ideology was sedition, insurrection, or treason and military force had to be used to crush any rebellion and to prevent it from spreading.

Of particular interest are chapters three and four which outline the type

and location of resistance, the biographies of tax assessors and opponents, their business and social relationships, and the manner in which John Fries and his followers freed the prisoners. Here depositions and trial transcripts demonstrate beyond doubt the nonviolent nature of the resistance movement. A few women doused tax assessors with water and verbal threats encouraged several Federalist assessors to abandon their task but no effigies, tarring and feathering, or other violent acts appeared and no shot was fired during the rescue mission.

Editorial oversights, such as John Fries entering a tavern unarmed and then disarming himself on page 138, do not detract from the overall quality of this well-researched and convincingly-argued work. It is a must read for historians of the early years of the Republic and the German-American experience.

Missouri University of Science & Technology

Petra DeWitt

Los Brazos de Dios: A Plantation Society in the Texas Borderlands, 1821-1865.

By Sean M. Kelley. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010. 296 pp. \$42.50

Sean M. Kelley has authored a compelling ethnic history that situates the experiences of Anglos, Germans, Mexicans, Native Americans, and African in Brazos, a slave society in central Texas. Kelley writes lucidly and engages multiple historiographies, including those of immigration, the Atlantic World, Mexico, the borderlands, and the United States South. The social, economic, and political interaction between Germans, Anglos, Mexicans, Africans, and African Americans shaped the *Los Brazos* borderlands. Kelley promises to emphasize the unique and the exceptional—he does not disappoint. Kelly demonstrates that Los Brazos was a typical slave society but atypical in that Germans, Mexicans, and African slaves occupied the same space and worked the same plantations. Texas maintained the distinction of being the only plantation slave society established under Mexican rule, and that “influenced the demographic structure of the Brazos, its land distribution, its marriage and property laws, and its labor relations, particularly the master-slave relationship” (2-3).

Throughout the book’s five chapters, Kelley depicts the transition of the Brazos “a classic southwestern borderland” to bordered lands with clearly defined political boundaries. Chapter one depicts four migrations that made

the Brazos one of the most demographically complex areas of the American South, each "in some way connected to the expansion of the Atlantic economy" (21). First, Anglos and African Americans arrived from the southern United States beginning in 1820s. Second, six thousand additional African Americans were sold to the Brazos on the interregional slave market from slave-exporting states of the upper and the seaboard South. Third, three thousand German-speakers migrated from Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Hannover, Nassau, Saxony, Westphalia, Baden, Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Silesia, Switzerland and the Austrian Empire beginning in the 1830s but accelerating in the 1850s. In the fourth migration, between 600 and 1000 African slaves, primarily Yoruba speakers from the Bight of Benin, were sold from Cuba to Texas between 1833 and 1840.

In chapter two, Kelley focuses on the relationships between husbands and wives. Variation in family structure depended on ethnic diversity that "fostered multiple understandings of marriage" (59). Anglos, Africans, creoles, and Germans each had different cultural norms when it came to marriage and family and that had social and political connotations. Kelley reveals the contested relations between masters and slaves in chapter three. The author focuses on the boundaries that Anglos attempted to erect between them and their slaves, but the boundaries were always contested space. In a compelling revelation, Kelley writes, "The space where the demands of the slave owners met the acquiescences of the people they owned constituted a middle ground or borderland, bridging the two worlds" (92). Kelley moves his attention to the West Central African influences on the slave population and their Anglo slave owners.

Chapter four deals with Germans, Anglos, and the politics of slavery. The Brazos borderland was unusual among antebellum plantation regions in its ability to attract a significant number of immigrants. In the 1830s and 1840s, Germans and Anglos enjoyed positive relations, but those relations declined as the sectional crisis unfolded. As the German population increased in the 1850s, slaveholders "obsessed" about the Germans' stance on the slavery question. Although most Germans declined to speak out against slavery, they rarely owned slaves and a few Germans made their antislavery feelings known. In the face of Anglo nativism, Germans increasingly found themselves in political opposition to slavery (130-31). The most significant result of neighborhood politics in the 1850s was the construction of Germanness as an oppositional identity (161). Chapter five analyzes tensions during the Civil War. When the war began, Mexicans, runaway slaves, and Germans migrated from the Brazos southward and crossed the Mexican border (163), but most were German Unionists who faced persecution and military conscription. The meanings of German ethnicity were altered in the wartime context and

"German ethnicity struck a dissonant note in Anglo efforts to harmonize race and class" (174).

The epilogue on "Bordered Lands" discusses what transpired in the region in the two decades following the end of the Civil War. German Unionists joined African Americans in the Republican Party (194) and, while some shifted to the Democratic Party beginning in 1869, many stuck with the Republicans until the mid-1880s. *Los Brazos de Dios* has much to offer historians working in several different fields, including immigration, slavery, and borderlands. Members of the Society for German American Studies and readers of this *Yearbook* will enjoy Kelley's research model, which provides equal consideration to German immigrants and their neighbors, including slaves and slaveowners.

Montclair State University

Jeffery Strickland

We Were Berliners: From Weimar to the Wall.

By Helmut and Charlotte Jacobitz and Douglas Niles. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 1012. 191 pp. \$32.95.

In the summer of 1963, two years after the Berlin Wall went up, U.S. President John F. Kennedy came to the old German capital to show his support for the beleaguered citizens. To express his solidarity and to assure them that they had not been forgotten by the outside world, he told them, in German, "Ich bin ein Berliner!" This historic event is recounted in the "Epilogue" of the book under discussion since by this time its protagonists had emigrated to Canada in 1956, returned to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1960, and then finally opted to settle in California in 1961. There they were successful in every respect and in the end became U.S. citizens. They returned for a visit to their home town of Berlin only after 30 years, in 1991, when with the end of the Cold War the Wall had fallen, and West and East Germany were reunited.

In the meantime a new generation had grown up, and it was the grandson of Helmut and Charlotte, Jason Jacobitz, who is actually responsible for the genesis of the book. In the "Preface" the author, Douglas Niles, explains that he was contacted by Jason who inquired about the feasibility of turning his grandfather's oral recollections into a book. After reading some of Jason's recordings, Niles was convinced and enthusiastic about turning the interviews into a narrative. Jason then spent many weekends with his grandparents recording their experiences; they both had to tell much about their lives in

the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, World War II, and the postwar years.

Niles, a self-confessed history buff realized that the "German" personal reminiscences, told after half a century in English, needed to be placed into their historical context. He started by framing the biographical sections and introduction by a history of the times. Beginning with the First World War and the postwar years, he gives the reader an account of the happenings in Europe and the United States, with a focus on Germany. While using different fonts to distinguish the historical excurses from the autobiographical sections, the author manages to paint the historical background in such a way that it allows for a smooth reading. At the same time Niles does his best to give an unbiased historical account and refrains from imposing his own ethical and moral judgments.

Following the historical summary of World War I, and the Treaty of Versailles (which was actually signed in 1919 and not on November 11, 1918, when the armistice went into effect), Helmut and Charlotte recount of their births and childhood years in their Berlin homes at Prenzlauer Berg and in the Wedding district of Berlin, respectively. The apartments the families lived in were small but workers in general had substandard housing since they could not afford larger apartments. The children remember that the Nazis were intent on eliminating Jews from German society according to their philosophy of "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer!" which extolled the *Volksgemeinschaft* of pure Aryan stock, the expansion of Germany to include all German-speaking people in a *Großdeutschland*, and the absolute authority of Adolf Hitler. The families of Helmut and Charlotte were not inclined toward the Nazis since they lived in working class areas in Berlin characterized predominantly by Communist leanings. Therefore, the reader learns little about the religious beliefs of the families except for that of Charlotte's mother who was a Jehovah's Witness. She was able to conceal her religious beliefs when the Nazis came to power. Helmut tells us that he was a member of the Hitler Youth at the time of the famous Berlin Olympics in 1936 when he was ten years old, but he probably was in the *Jungvolk* which was compulsory from age ten to fourteen, at which time a boy became eligible for the *Hitlerjugend*. He then did his *Arbeitsdienst*, the next step in the education for a young man in the Nazi state. He avoided being drafted into the army, the navy and the SS, but then was called upon to join the *Fallschirmjäger*, the German paratroopers, and fought with them till the end of the war. Charlotte lived with her family in Berlin and survived the air raids on the city and its conquest by the Soviet army. She met Helmut in the hunger years after the end of the war, and they married in 1949.

A photo section with pictures of Helmut and Charlotte and their families, as well as of the Nazi leaders and U.S planes attacking Berlin, and finally

of the Wall, help the reader visualize the people and events that make up this extremely interesting account. It is highly recommended to anyone interested in the history of Germany and emigration during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Pennsylvania State University

Ernst Schürer

Briefe zwischen Deutschland und Amerika.

By Helmut Liedloff. Berlin: Frieling-Verlag, 2011. 536pp. \$27.65.

Dass einst Briefe zwischen Freunden und Verwandten fast wie Geschenke wirkten ist vielen von uns bekannt, auch wenn wir das in diesen multimedialen Zeiten leicht vergessen könnten. Im Vergleich zu unseren heutigen SMS-Gesprächen, dachte der Absender eines handgeschriebenen Briefes vergangener Jahrzehnte bestimmt lange über den Inhalt, die Themen und die Events seines Berichtes nach. Zwischen den Briefen sind immer viele Wochen vergangen, in den meisten Fällen waren es sogar Monate. Der Empfänger eines transatlantischen Briefes im frühen 20. Jahrhundert, wenigstens bis zur Zeit des Ferngesprächs oder Telegramms, freute sich bestimmt nach dem langen Warten auf die gewünschten Neuigkeiten.

Helmut Liedloff, 1930 in Bremen geboren und bis 1992 Professor für Deutsch an der Southern Illinois University Carbondale, erzählt in seinen Briefen an seine Familie von seinen Stationen in Deutschland und in den USA. Liedloff, dessen Namen unter US-Germanisten als Beiträger des wohlbekannten Lehrbuches *Kaleidoskop* bekannt ist, hat unbewusst durch seine Briefe an seine Eltern viel zum Fach US-Germanistik beigetragen. Als Zeitzeuge des Nationalsozialismus in Deutschland und zugleich als Einwanderer in das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten in den fünfziger Jahren berichtet Helmut Liedloff über sein Leben zwischen zwei Welten.

Eine ganze Reihe von Fragen werfen sich auf, sobald man einst private Briefe veröffentlicht. Sollten wir auch heute noch diese Form von Kommunikation als Kulturgut immer wieder bewundern, fragt man sich heute. Sollten wir vielleicht Liedloffs Sammlung nicht etwa beneiden? Eine bejahende Antwort auf beide Fragen fällt vielen Menschen leicht, denn wie oft schreiben wir Freunden und Familienmitgliedern in einem solchen Medium und auf so eine Art und Weise, dass sie unsere Zeilen aufheben dürften, damit jemand in sechzig Jahren viel Freude daran haben könnte?

Ein Beispiel für den Sinn für ethnographische Bemerkungen des jungen Liedloffs im Land seiner Geburt sind die Zeilen auf Seite 86 aus einem Brief

aus dem Jahr 1943: „Wir seien in einem der schönsten, aber auch der ärmsten Teile Sachsens . . . Über eins allerdings wunderten sich die Neundorfter sehr, daß die Bremer Jungs so still seien. Ja, der Niedersachse ist schweigsamer als der Obersachse.“

Der etwas ältere Liedloff bemerkt 1960 auf Seite 363 ganz kühn wie interessant die Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Einwanderer nach Amerika auch für junge Deutsche sein kann, indem er vom Druck von der Außenwelt auf die Amanariter nah Cedar Rapids, Iowa, berichtet: „Möglicherweise werden dann die Amanas amerikanische Dörfer wie alle anderen in der Umgebung, nur daß man vielleicht an den Bauten noch etwas eigene Vergangenheit ablesen kann.“

Für den US-Deutschunterricht auf dem College-Niveau könnte man Liedloffs Erinnerungen sehr leicht einbauen. Eine der größten Herausforderungen an Lernende im Sprachunterricht ist die Einsammlung von Fakten von den verschiedensten Quellenmaterialien. Beiträge, die nicht für den Sprachunterricht gemacht sind, die aus der Ich-Perspektive erzählen, werden verstärkt neben elektronischen Nachrichten und Tabellen verlangt.

In der von Christian Groh verfassten Einleitung gibt es zahlreiche Informationen, die einen ausführlichen Überblick über Liedloffs Lebenslauf geben. Somit bekommt man das Gefühl, den Professor Emeritus zu kennen, zumindest als ehemaliger Student auf dem Graduate-Niveau. Das Buch verfügt über 500 Seiten aber lässt sich leicht lesen. Auf Seite 21 ist tatsächlich ein Druckfehler (zweimal 'in' mitten in der 6. Zeile des zweiten Absatzes) aber kaum ein Buch heute, trotz zuverlässiger Software, kann diesem entkommen.

Wer beim Lesen das Zeiträdchen gerne mal zurückdreht, der kann sich freuen, dass eine weitere Geschichte in dieser Form existiert und zwar aus einer Zeit stammend, in der Gefühle von Heimat ein heikles aber auch äußerst persönliches Thema unter Deutsch-Amerikanern waren.

Hofstra University

Dean Guarnaschelli

Paths Crossing: Essays in German-American Studies.

Edited by Cora Lee Kluge. New York: Peter Lang, 2011. 183 pp. \$64.95.

Compiled of ten essays by distinguished scholars of German-Americana, this book results from a conference held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in April 2009. It is both global and parochial. In the first essay Mark Loudon and Cora Lee Kluge survey the field of German-American studies nationally, articulating the manner in which it wavered between

special interest and waning fashion. In many respects, by contrast, Madison established a more sophisticated tone. Because of the state's large German population and because the university hired men like Alexander R. Hohlfeld, who taught there from 1901–36 and shaped the "Wisconsin Project in Anglo-German Literary relations," it yielded scholars like Harold Jantz and B. Q. Morgan. In the field of American literature, stemming from German was Henry A. Pochmann in the English department at Madison from 1938–1971, famous for his *Bibliography of German Culture in America* and others. A third figure at the University in Madison was historian Fredrick Jackson Turner. Turner became a magnet not just for his frontier thesis but also for his grasp on immigration, yielding among other scholars, Marcus Lee Hansen, a Wisconsin native. Finally, there was Wisconsin rural sociologist George W. Hill, acknowledged as a pioneer of immigration studies for his 1942 map "The People of Wisconsin According to Ethnic Stock."

The lead article by Jost Hermand recounts the stories of five émigrés to Madison from Hitler's Third Reich, *Beiunskis* (those famous for prefacing everything with "bei uns in Berlin, bei uns in Wien," etc.), who discovered in Madison not the uncultured Americans they might have expected, but rather those of the *Bildungsbourgeoisie*. The first is Rudolf (Rudi) Kolisch in the Madison Music Education Department, the Viennese student of Arnold Schönberg who had married Kolisch's sister Gertrud in the 1920s. The second such German was Werner Vordtriede in 1958, who had followed his Jewish-Marxist mother to the United States to pursue a doctorate on Stefan George at Northwestern in Chicago. Third was Felix Pollak, another Jew forced out of Vienna in 1938, who like others forever considered himself a European intellectual in a foreign setting. His crowning achievement following the "meaningless" awards he had received in America were trumped when, finally, in 1979 he received his first in-Germany publication "New York, ein Schiff, ein Emigrant," setting him at last in the "land of culture." The fourth émigré was Hans Gerth, a student under Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, and an acquaintance of Erich Fromm, Max Horkheimer, Hanna Arendt, Theodor Adorno and others. A non-Jew, Gerth taught sociology at Madison, introducing students to German Leftists like Marx Weber, Rosa Luxemburg and others. The fifth belonged to the famous family heads of the Berliner *Tageblatt*, historian-scholar George L. Mosse who became a distinguished professor at Madison and prolific scholar-publisher-editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*. But as he tells it in his memoir *Confronting History*, Mosse never overcame "being uprooted." Despite their tendency toward arrogance and the "Monday-morning righteousness" of these émigrés, we can remember them as "better Germans" not bound by mass conformity.

Walter D. Kamphoefner writes his reflections and proposals on German-

American ethnicity, insisting among other things on strategies using the censuses, German-language newspapers, publishing statistics, and religious denominations to target Germanness in the United States. Bilingual Americans like Reinhold Niebuhr, Theodore Geisel (Dr. Seuss), Admiral Chester Nimitz, and Leon Jaworski of Watergate fame are worthy of study for their respective ethnicity. Too, there were the importers of German technology- John Roebling (bridges), Henry Steinweg (Steinway pianos), Christian Martin (Martin guitars), William Boeing (airplanes), Adolphus Busch (brewing), as well as butchers, bakers and more. All of this leads to the conclusion that we must first contextualize German ethnicity and subsequently apply all records and data uniformly to define ethnicity.

In his article "That Species of Property" Hartmut Keil agonizes about the liberal Francis Lieber, a professor in South Carolina and editor of *Encyclopedia Americana*, who owned slaves. Like others described in this volume, Lieber seemingly was fully Americanized but longed for the richness of European culture. Eventually he could not stand the contradictions he was living with in the South, electing escape to the North. From his northern perch, Lieber condemned the notion of a superior white race, "We forget that this proud (white European) race has lived for the greater parts of its existence in ignominious barbarity" (67). But in correspondence Lieber sounded like any other southern chattel trader: "I have seen a boy here, who from mere appearance pleases me exceedingly, about 14 or 15 years old, lively etc. But the man, a small tavern keeper, asks \$700; of course I would not give more than \$500 (69)." His slave cook, Betsy, Lieber characterized as a "very good woman with some very bad manners . . . gruff. As a woman she could not possibly excite much my imagination, even were you to change her black into the softest white of Grecian marble." Given Lieber's abhorrence of the institution of slavery one would expect that when he left the south he would have freed all his slaves but he never did nor even hinted at it, which is explainable given South Carolina's laws forbidding manumission. Arriving in New York for a professorship at Columbia, Lieber in 1848 rushed back to Germany for the revolution in the course of which he received an offer to teach at the Humboldt in Berlin but declined, returning to Columbia for the next twelve years. During the Civil War, each of his sons would fight, one for the North one the Confederacy.

In his essay about "Sealsfield's *Das Kajütenbuch*: The Half-Unfolded Spring of German and American Literature," Hugh Ridley engages readers in the characteristics of a novel of *dépaysment*, sensing the family affinity between the literature of our two countries and their culture. Lorie A. Vanchena with "Taking Stock: The Disappearance of German-American Literature?" offers a deep and thorough investigation of both the history

and status of German-American literature as a genre by itself. The article serves as a summary of the many scholars who of late have tackled this field: Sollors, Herminhouse, Trommler, Gilman, Sammons, Conzen, Tatlock, to name a few. Interdisciplinary transnationalism using sociolinguistics, cultural geography, film and literary studies await the efforts of these and new scholars. Daniel Nützel in "German-American Dialects on Different Paths to Extinction" sheds light on universal theories of linguistics which give us a broader understanding of language in general, focusing on Haysville, Indiana and New Ulm, Minnesota. While both communities are linguistically moribund, the northern Bavarian of New Ulm is in decay whereas the East Franconian of Haysville remains loyal to its base dialect, showing no serious structural breakdown.

Shifting gears, Steven Hoelscher turns to the World War arena with "Performing the American Myth by speaking German: Changing Meanings of Ethnic Identity between the World Wars." From communities exhibiting 'sedition' in Wisconsin, settlements moved from condemnation to celebrating, e.g., the 'Wilhelm Tell' performances in New Glarus by the time of WWII. Performance repeatedly connected historical continuity with rhetorical symbolism. The illusion of consensus sometimes failed to mask complicating factors in the history of the village, e.g., discrimination against the non-Zwingli denomination churches and the KKK meetings south of town. In the end, Swiss ethnic identity was neither obliterated by Americanization, nor was it passed down as an unbroken tradition. Rather it was re-discovered and represented through dramatic performance.

On a completely different footing, Uwe Lübken, "Situating Natural Hazards in German-American Studies," offers a bold comparison between the flooded Rhine and Ohio Rivers during stages. Of equal comparative value is Louis A. Pitschmann, "Advancing German-American Studies in the Digital Age: Opportunities for Collaboration." Here the strategy is to designate locations within the world wide web for the available digitized materials according to topical search subjects rather than according to libraries, departments and the like. In other words, the idea would be to have analog materials in a certain archive embedded with, say, Parkinson's research, or global warming instead. The efforts of the Max Kade Institute will make access easier for scholars who now have to dig for documents. According to the author, web-presence is the key to enhancing the discipline of German-American studies and needs the coordination of repository materials so that the researcher can reach, e.g., the 'Turner Movement' regardless of the physical maintenance site.

A composite of information begging for readers, this volume is a highly readable yet futuristic lighthouse for the discipline. It needs the eyes and

hands of all members of our profession.

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LaVern J. Rippley

Liquid Bread: Beer and Brewing in Cross-Cultural Perspective.

Edited by Wulf Schiefenhövel and Helen Macbeth. The Anthropology of Food and Nutrition 7. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011. 247 pp. \$95.00.

Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914.

By Tom Goyens. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007. 263 pp. \$42.00.

Liquid Bread is a collection of papers presented at the International Commission on the Anthropology of Food and Nutrition's conference at the Max-Planck-Institut in Seewiesen, Bavaria, in 2001. Essays by twenty-eight scholars from eight European countries, New Zealand, and the Philippines cover a spectrum of topics related to beer, focusing on the history, production, consumption, and marketing of the sudsy beverage. The academic essays, enriched with endnotes and references consisting primarily of scholarly books and articles, are accessible to laypeople; since beer is a universally valued beverage, this concession to a more general audience is welcome and appropriate.

The essays begin with a discussion querying human ingestion of ethanol, a poison; the next essay provides an answer, i.e., beer's positive contributions to nutrition and general health. Other, later essays also treat health-related concerns. Chapter ten provides an overview of beer consumption in the Czech Republic, which boasts the world's highest per-capita beer consumption and suffers from predictable health problems as a result. (This essay describes the history of famous beers like Pilsner as Czech developments [102], a claim that those familiar with the German history of the region would dispute.) Chapter eleven compares and contrasts the consumption of beer in German and American fraternity life, pointing out the contribution of beer to sociability, the effects of the abuse of beer, and the mediating effect of a German cultural taboo against loss of control on overconsumption by German college-age men.

The book's most interesting chapters treat historical, sociological, and anthropological topics related to beer and culture. Three essays (chapters three to five) demonstrate the extent of beer production across time and space

as they discuss beer brewing in modern times, the ancient Near East (based on archaeological evidence in Northern Syria), and prehistoric Europe (based on similar evidence in Southern Germany).

Chapters six and seven treat a perceived north-south distinction aligning the consumption of beer and wine with northeastern and southwestern Germany, respectively, and with northern and southern Europe, respectively. While beer has long been associated with Germanness, Germany itself has only in the last several centuries linked the construction of a German identity with beer. Ironically, while Germany is perceived as the "beer-drinking country par excellence" (68), beer consumption is, in fact, decreasing there due to health concerns. The identification of beer with Northern Europe belies the Southern European production and consumption of beer. While the "Mediterranean diet" explicitly excludes beer because of health concerns, Southern Europeans enthusiastically partake of local beers (e.g., Spain boasts the second highest beer consumption in Europe [77]). The construction of beer as "northern" is reinforced by marketing that aligns local southern European beers with images of a Germanic north that evoke notions of tradition, quality, and naturalness. Chapter nineteen's detailed examination of beer advertising as communicative practice identifies four predominant discourses: tradition, body image, sexual pleasure, and social differentiation, all of which are paradoxical, as modern beer is mass produced, does not of itself provide beauty or sexual gratification, and is not affiliated with local tradition.

Subsequent chapters highlight the interplay between globalization (and the resulting reduction of beer producers and products) and the marketing of beer, which evokes images of authentic ethnic experience while exploiting local distribution networks and promoting beers that are not genuine local cultural products. Essays on the increased acceptance of beer culture in Seville, Spain, (chapter eight) and the changing function of the British pub (chapter nine) reveal the exploitation of consumers' local loyalties and desire for community and tradition by international breweries that commodify regional cultures and identities. Chapter twenty provides a nuanced examination of the current tension between the global and the local, claiming that beer advertising assumes a mixed position, promoting a global product through local images.

Other chapters demonstrate the universally important roles of beer in sociability and social standing, and its interplay with gender identity. Chapter twelve succinctly treats the alignment of beer consumption with public drinking by New Zealand men in the all-male contexts of rugby and racing. Moving beyond European and Anglophone contexts, subsequent chapters examine sociocultural aspects of beer production and consumption in Africa. Chapter thirteen treats Northern Cameroon, where beer is a "locus of value"

(144) used both to enhance sociability and to establish and maintain social position. In sub-Saharan African cultures described in Chapter fourteen, beer has economic and social functions aligned with gender, where males brew beer for ritual use, and females for consumption and profit. Chapter fifteen's examination of beer production, ritual, and social standing in Tanzania aligns beer production and consumption with females and males, respectively, with females who sell beer outside of the home and ritual use endangering their reputations if they profit from this activity. Chapter sixteen's study of beer brewing terminology in Burkina Faso indicates that while the brewing process parallels that of other cultures, the inherent processes are organized and named differently; this essay, while inherently interesting, is the weakest in the book, as it is longer on linguistic data than analysis.

Chapters seventeen and eighteen deal with changes in beer consumption in the Asian cultures of Sarawak (Borneo) and Northeast Luzon (Philippines), respectively. Sarawak has forsaken the production of rice beer as inhabitants have converted to Christianity. Simultaneously, social prestige associated with hospitality has been replaced by individualistic, materialistic behavior; excess rice is now sold rather than brewed. Religion has the opposite effect on beer consumption in the Philippine culture explicated in chapter eighteen; Catholicism's lack of restrictions on alcohol plus the "ideology of macho behavior" have made drinking part of the public culture of males.

This book is both an excellent source of original interdisciplinary research on many aspects of beer and an entertaining read, suitable for both scholars and the educated general public. It contains well written studies of a beverage that has become a staple in many cultures, including those of the German-speaking peoples. Readers will not wonder that this work was named both the *Choice Outstanding Academic Book* and the winner of the *Gourmand World Cookbook Award* in 2011.

While beer figures prominently in the title *Beer and Revolution*, this social history focuses on the German-American anarchist movement in the greater New York metropolitan area during the latter part of the nineteenth century, "highlighting its ideological, spatial, and historical dimensions" (9); beer is present due to its association with Germans and the saloons in which they constituted radical space. This book serves two important functions. First, it fills a gap in the history of American radicalism by tracing the rise and fall of the first group of anarchists in the United States. Additionally, it examines the anarchists' "geography of resistance," mapping the "topography . . . of the movement . . . the places and spaces" in which anarchists lived, worked, socialized, and engaged in radical activity (7).

Author Goyens provides background information on the roots of German anarchism in European socialism, focusing on the roles of Marx and Bakunin

and the development of social revolutionaries' key ideological principles: antiparlamentarianism and internationalism. The suppression of socialists under Bismarck brought about a rejection of political action by anarchists in favor of Bakunin's "revolution by deed" (76), trade unionism, and group life that attempted to realize a "humanist vision for society" (82). Goyens devotes considerable attention to the great men of the anarchist movement (Frederick Hasselmann, Justus Schwab, an innkeeper who provided social, radical space for the movement, and Johann Most) and provides extensive coverage of their biographies, personal proclivities, anarchist activities, leadership philosophies, and effects on the movement. As with any movement, a history of anarchy reveals a tension between leaders and the rank and file; this tension is particularly compelling in the case of German-American anarchists, who espoused autonomy and resisted the efforts of the movement's great men (e.g., Most) to exercise control over publications and activities.

In the wake of Bismarck's *Antisozialistengesetz*, German anarchists were attracted to the United States for its revolutionary past and proclaimed personal and civil liberties; however, they were disillusioned by the realities of the workplace, urban squalor, and incidents like the Haymarket and its repressive aftermath. Times of economic hardship and political repression were, however, boom times for anarchists, as their context provided convincing evidence of the need for worker organization and social, economic, and political revolution. Alexander Berkman's assassination attempt on the industrialist H. C. Frick and the resulting negative mainstream reaction to both Germans and anarchists helped push the movement away from terrorism and toward an autonomist philosophy that found expression in intellectual and cultural activities. Prosperity and progressive reform in the twentieth century deprived anarchism of its agenda.

Over a period of about forty-five years, the nation's largest ethnic group produced the first American radical subculture, which was eventually absorbed by the mainstream progressive movements of the twentieth century. Goyens assembles this story from a wealth of sources including scholarly books and journal articles, archival sources located in both the United States and Europe, and web sites of scholarly projects (e.g., Pitzer College's Anarchy Archives, the Haymarket Affair Digital Collection, and the Emma Goldman Papers).

The author's second purpose, to provide a spatial geography of the anarchist movement, is more interesting to readers who concern themselves with cultural studies, like this reviewer. Goyens provides a fascinating study of the movement's use and constitution of space in its political, educational, and social activities. The subjects of this study were radicals who were also Germans, and they reflected the ideologies and cultural attitudes and constructs of both groups, as the book's title suggests. German anarchists

were typically German in their sociability and love of leisure and family activities, founding clubs, and societies, visiting beer halls, and attending festivals “accompanied by a plentiful supply of beer” (34). In these activities, beer offered both an avenue of sociability and a means of concealing political activity, as venues offered both drink and camouflage for German anarchists planning and executing political and social action. German owners of beer halls and recreational areas were amenable to the radicalized use of their premises because of their personal convictions and the profits earned from beer-drinking anarchists. Activism within a beer hall allowed the German-American radicals to operate “under the radar” of the larger Anglo-American milieu, since beer was associated with lower-class, immigrant Germanness; while it was a social indicator, beer was not associated by Anglo-Americans with dangerous political action. Goyens provides similar description and analysis of other venues of anarchist activism in the Metropolitan Area’s German neighborhoods and their lecture halls, clubs, parks, and cultural activities (publications, music, and theater), allowing a glimpse into the daily lives of radical German-American immigrants.

The anarchist geography, while fascinating, is more difficult to determine and, perhaps, therefore receives less coverage in this book than the history of the movement. Organizationally, the chapters are oddly arranged; since the book begins with a discussion of radical space, it gives the impression that it will deal more fully with this subject than it actually does (coverage is limited to two out of eight chapters). The remaining chapters present the history of the movement and its leaders, and there is little connection between the two different topics within the book, which can be disconcerting to the reader. Those who know German will also be disconcerted by the author’s mistakes in a language important for this book: German words are misspelled or rendered grammatically incorrectly (e.g., *Bierhalle* is not a plural noun [34]), and *Wirthaus* should be spelled *Wirtshaus* [35]), and there are awkward translations of German into English (for instance, *Weinlesefest* is translated as “vintage harvest festival” [134]). Since the author is not a native speaker of English, his editor shares responsibility for these errors.

These limitations aside, this book provides a fascinating look into the lives of a vibrant minority of the German-American population in the Greater Metropolitan area during the Gilded Age and early twentieth century. Of particular interest is Goyens’ study of the constitution of radical space and the alignment of this “radical geography” with the anarchists’ daily lives and activities, which, being expressions of German culture, included beer.

Deutsch-Amerikanische Kalender des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts: Bibliographie und Kommentar/German-American Almanacs of the 18th and 19th Centuries: Bibliography and Commentary.

Edited by York-Gothart Mix. Berlin/Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2012. 2 vols. 1,585 pp. EUR 249,00.

It is an impressive work. Two volumes, bound in red covers, 1585 pages in total that try to capture the rich and extensive history of German language calendars and almanacs in the United States. In the form of a bibliography York-Gothard Mix and his co-workers Bianca Weyer and Gabriele Krieg, have created a long list of these important little booklets that accompanied the German language population throughout the year for centuries. German calendars and almanacs belong to the oldest written documents produced in the United States. They constituted important pillars in the creation of a specific German-American identity. Already in 1731 Benjamin Franklin published the first German almanac. In 1739 production took off when Christopher Saur printed the *Hoch-Deutscher Americanischer Kalender* in *fraktur*, the traditional German printing type. After that the calendar production increased from year to year during the 18th and 19th centuries. However, German-American calendars can be found well until the 20th century. Many of them were published for decades, such as the *Stadt und Land Kalender* (1850-80, Reihe 025, pp. 464-93) others even for over nearly a century such as *Der Neue Gemeinnützliche Pennsylvanische Kalender* (1833-1918, Reihe 055; pp. 990-1106). They represent a wide range of interests, religious orientations and ideologies and a closer look will reveal a tremendous wealth of information on agricultural practices, practical advice on daily life issues, literary pieces, political or religious commentary and much more.

The project to record and study these important historical records in a systematic way was, therefore, necessary and long overdue. If these brittle objects that are often enough falling apart due to their bad conditions are not preserved quickly they are probably lost forever soon. Much credit has to be given to the team for their tedious and laborious efforts to record a great number of these calendars. Unfortunately, they have only focused their work on the holdings of three libraries in Pennsylvania: the Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, PA, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the German Society of Philadelphia. This, however, raises a number of questions. But the editors are secretive and don't reveal much about their methods. What was their motivation for the bibliography? How do they define a German-American almanac? Which almanacs did they include or not include? Does the German-Hungarian calendar qualify? Do the many

product- and company-related calendars of the 19th century qualify? What methods did they employ? A project of this size undoubtedly needs a good and solid plan that tackles a number of these questions but the editors keep that to themselves.

The bibliography includes very brief "Notes for using this Handbook" in English and German. This is followed by a short introductory essay in English ("Sociocultural Regional Identities in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Popular German American Almanacs," pp. 1-17) as well as in German (Soziokultureller Regionalbezug in populären deutsch-amerikanischen Kalendern des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, pp. 19-36) that explore questions of perceptions and identity and the dynamics of language development. This is rather surprising since the reader might have expected a more general introductory piece with an overview on the general topic of "German-American Almanacs." The seemingly bi-lingual nature of these volumes does not hold true for the main body of the two volumes which consists of the individual entries for the almanacs. They are only in German. Calendars of the same series are kept together in *Reihen*/series. So the 113 *Reihen* stand for the 113 different calendar series the team has located in the three repositories. The entries are neither arranged chronologically nor alphabetically. To help the reader find a specific calendar entry one has to look it up in the separate "list of calendars in strict alphabetical order" which is located on pages 39-41. Entries follow a systematic order: wording of the first, if available, the second front page; information regarding the author, publisher, printer, city of publication. If available they also record the scope of the almanac, the selling price, and the number of copies published. The category *Anmerkungen*/notes includes information regarding the design, handwritten notes, or specific details on the individual copy under investigation. Furthermore, the editors list the main titles of the content and give a brief commentary. Each entry closes with a finding aid where this specific copy can be found. A little irritating are the very mechanical comments, especially on the calendar part, prognostics or practical information. They do not change within a series; often not even across series. This leads to the rather strange effect that large parts of each entry are nearly identical within one series. I imagine that the editors had a reader in mind who searches for an individual entry rather than has a look at a whole series. The choice of German in the commentary is rather unfortunate keeping in mind that the main readership will most likely be American librarians.

What is truly missing from the entries is a general introductory statement on each calendar series. Questions on publication dates, the identity of publishers, or the merging of series, and so on remain unanswered. But often series started earlier or ran much longer than indicated in the books.

The *Freidenker-Almanach*, for example, ran from 1878 until 1901 when it merged with the *Turner Kalender*. The bibliography only lists the years 1879 to 1882 and 1886 of the *Freidenker Almanach* according to the holdings of the Franklin & Marshall College.

Although this bibliography is doubtless an impressive undertaking it claims much more than it can hold. Mix and his team have certainly covered the German calendar production of the 18th century in the United States. But they have barely touched on the one in the 19th century. With the mass migration of German immigrants in the second half of the 19th century the production of newspapers, books and certainly also almanacs and calendars reached a massive scale. The publication centers moved from the East Coast to the Mid-West. Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee or St. Louis now became the main German publishing centers. The holdings of three archives on the East Coast, however, will most certainly not reflect these developments and the wealthy history German-American calendars really have to offer. Therefore, unfortunately, a very large number of 19th century calendars are missing from this bibliography. Where is, e.g. *Steigers Volks Kalender* (New York City, NY), the *Turner Kalender* (Milwaukee, WI) or *Green's Atlas und Tagebuch Almanach* (Woodsburg, NY), to name only a few? If one claims to record the calendars and almanacs of the 18th and 19th century than a search in three collections is not enough. Although the two volumes include a lot of information they are only the tip of a very large iceberg.

The editors have missed another one-time opportunity. Unfortunately, the bibliography lacks a topical index which for the first time would have offered new and innovative ways of working with the wealth of information offered here. On top of documenting how calendars looked, their main contents, and their location, a topical index would have been a tremendous source and entry point to include calendars in future scholarly works on literary-, immigration-, or gender-studies to name only a few. Persons and locations are indexed.

The publisher's advertisement promises a CD-ROM. My copy did not have one so let's hope this last point is remedied by it.

As I stated in the beginning: the main problem is that the work on only three library catalogs is much too limited to reflect the German-American calendars or to document their locations. It is certainly always easier to critic such a work than conduct it for many years. Therefore, I pay my respect to the individuals involved in such a long and laborious project that has brought us two very valuable volumes on German-American calendars.

Berlin, Germany

Katja Hartmann

The First Germans in America.

By Gary C. Grassl. Alexandria, VA: Global Printing, 2009. 103 pp. \$16.95.

Beautifully illustrated with colorful maps, richly anchored in documentary and archaeological discoveries, this Time-magazine-style book textualizes the James River estuary's first settlement where in 1608 some four German-born craftsmen endured along with the primarily English settlers. Eminent among them was Johannes Fleischer, MD and PhD from Breslau. There was also William Waldi (Volday) a German Swiss prospector, with Franz and Samuel Adam, wood workers and house builders.

Before launching into the Virginia colony, Grassl investigates the semi-mythical claim of Germans that preceded the Jamestown settlement, one named Tyrkir mentioned in Norse Sagas, Pining and Pothorst of Danish-Portuguese lore, and mineral experts from the German Erzgebirge who may have accompanied Englishmen to Newfoundland and later North Carolina. The substance of the book is, however, the Jamestown settlement and its importance. Peppared by marshes, swamps, inlets and minor rivers, the entire Jamestown Island is today part of Colonial National Historical Park. Simulation vessels that brought the first settlers in 1607 are parked in the harbor. Importantly the presence of Dr. Fleischer arriving in May 1607 lent scientific relevance to the endeavor leaving records of botanical and medicinal plants.

In the fall of 1608 Waldi the prospector arrived with the German glassmakers creating the first production line in the forthcoming colonies. Despite early success, the glass blowers in two years succumbed to the whiles of Indians, weather and poor agricultural prospects. But the German wainscot sawyers succeeded in building European styled houses, including one for Indian Chief Powhatan. Possibly from the Schwarzwald region, the sawyers shipped planks and other lumber to England. Conflict and competition developed between John Smith and the Germans with Pohatan in Werowocomoco resulting in their demise. By 1621 the Virginia Colony had advanced beyond Jamestown because the London parent company wanted sawmills producing lumber--with the result that they turned to Germany for men with sawmill skills. However, the Germans and others in three years saw 3,000 members die due to want of housing, pestilence, lack and condition of food, not to mention an Indian massacre in March 1622.

In 1669 Johannes Lederer from Hamburg arrived with a mission to explore lands in the west, notably the Blue Ridge Mountains, his achievement memorialized by Virginia Highway marker No. 8 on U.S. Highway 17 southeast of Fredericksburg, Virginia. The author also discusses the many archaeological objects like *Rechenpfennige*, silver coins, copper sheets,

ceramics, crucibles, stoneware Rhenish glass and other objects that establish the German presence. These and the reconstructed fort and visitors' Center invite tourists and scholars to this historical site. Richly illustrated and underpinned by 150 footnotes, this opus is indispensable for an insight into the early German presence in the United States.

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LaVern J. Rippley

Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society in Nineteenth-Century America.

By Nancy Newman. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010. 315 pp. \$80.00.

A comprehensive study of a small German orchestra that toured the United States in the mid-nineteenth century provides a captivating glimpse into American musical tastes and concert-going habits of the period. Nancy Newman's examination of the Germania Musical Society, whose two dozen members left Berlin during the revolutions of 1848 to concertize in America for the next six years, fills a significant void: an article in *Musical Quarterly* (vol. 39, no. 1, January 1953) appears to have been the only study of the Germania published in the twentieth century. Newman's fascinating volume is as exhaustive as it is overdue.

Roughly the first hundred pages of her book are a reconstruction of the Germania's tours and the reception of their concerts. One of her essential sources is a memoir published in 1869, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania*, by Henry Albrecht, a violist and clarinetist in the orchestra, which Newman incorporates in her own unabridged English translation. The memoir is clearly indispensable but also flowery and subjective, as in this description of a Germania performance in New York of Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "The entire Overture was played in such a characteristic and enchantingly lovely [manner], that the listener was lulled into blissful dreams imagining it to be a celestial music of the spheres. (37)" Naturally the author supplements Albrecht's omniscient accounts with abundant original programs, advertisements, and contemporary newspaper reviews. One of the earliest of these reviews, in the *New York Tribune* in 1848, confirms the orchestra's distinction but also calls attention to a fact that a twenty-first-century musician will have noticed from the outset: Mendelssohn overtures and Beethoven symphonies are programmed alongside marches and polkas that within a few decades might be considered too slender for even the

lightest of “pops” concerts.

The eclectic nature of the orchestra’s programming is the subject of chapter four. Here the author broadens her scope from a detailed study of the Germania’s tours to an illuminating analysis of the separation of “highbrow” and “lowbrow” enterprises, tracing the influence of the Germanians’ European pedigree on American tastes and practices and of the American audience’s demand for experimentation on the Germania’s repertory selection and variation. For modern studies of nineteenth-century aesthetic production, the annals and reports of the Germania, ranging from the orchestra’s performances of dance music in the resort hotels of Newport, Rhode Island, to their concerts in Boston, for instance, of Haydn’s *Creation* or Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony for two to three thousand listeners, provide a rich mine of statistics and contemporary criticism. This is probably the most intriguing chapter for readers interested in musicology and cultural studies.

Chapter five considers the influence of the conditions of *Vormärz* Berlin on the Germanians’ interest in self-determination, social harmony, and a desire to leave behind the system of European patronage in favor of concertizing before audiences of a democratic republic. Appendices provide a comprehensive record of the Germania’s appearances in the U.S., with dates, venues, repertoire, and biographical sketches of each of the Germanians.

With the fact of the orchestra’s demise after only six seasons made clear from the beginning, the book almost reads as a novel, with the characters of the orchestra—and Jenny Lind among other famous soloists—setting out on a journey of American pioneer dimensions and the reader awaiting the circumstances of the Germanians’ dissolution. The journey is short lived but has lasting influence on the great American symphony orchestras. Newman’s book is of special interest to musicologists and others interested in the relationship between nineteenth-century German and U.S. history and culture.

Susquehanna University

David Steinau

Julius Seyler and the Blackfeet: An Impressionist at Glacier National Park.

By William E. Farr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. 259 pp. \$45.00.

In Contemporary Rhythm: The Art of Ernest L. Blumenschein.

By Peter H. Hassrick and Elizabeth J. Cunningham. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 399 pp. \$34.95.

The studies listed above provide fascinating glimpses into the lives of two artists drawn to the American West. Born in Germany, Seyler spent the summers of 1913 and 1914 exploring the lands around Glacier National Park and depicting the Blackfeet tribe, who lived in the area and worked for the park system. A second generation German-American, Blumenschein was raised in Pittsburgh and Dayton. In his early career as a commercial illustrator, he first visited Taos in 1898. He later helped establish the Taos Society of Artists in the 1910s. From then until his death in 1960, he focused his paintings on his New Mexico surroundings and the Pueblo people. Aside from geography, the differences between Seyler and Blumenschein abound, and yet simple comparisons can be made. Both had solid German cultural roots, both loved the Native American cultures with which they had contact, and both maintained a fierce dedication to a noble and sympathetic vision of these cultures at a time when they were on the very brink of disappearance. These texts provide a readable and enjoyable account of the artists' lives while at the same time exploring the links between each man and the native cultures he captured on his canvases. Beautifully illustrated with color reproductions either text would make a wonderful addition to the shelf of scholars and amateur enthusiasts alike.

In his text on Seyler, William E. Farr utilizes a chronological method for biography. His first and last chapters account for Seyler's upbringing and his later life after returning to Germany, but the bulk of his text accounts for Seyler's time spent in the United States. From the start, Farr helps us envision Seyler as a brash but accomplished young man. After training in respected art academies in Germany, he struggled to find his own pictorial language. Over time, Seyler's oeuvre began to exhibit a loosely modernist approach with a tendency toward the painterly application and focus on color often described as Late Impressionism. In terms of subject, Seyler was first drawn to the idyllic pastoral landscapes of Brittany and the rural coast of Norway, even at a time when the European art world was dominated by styles such as Cubism that were more attuned to urban life and technology. Farr's early biographical account is brief but written with a narrative flair augmented by well-chosen passages from Seyler's personal correspondence and later interviews. In Chapters Eight and Nine, Farr provides a sympathetic account of the difficulties that Seyler faced as a German living in America during World War I as well as the trials and tribulations of the interwar period in Germany following the artist's return in 1921. A reader feels a real affinity

with Seyler and wants to learn more about how this man found himself in the rugged extremes of the American West.

As mentioned, most of the text is dedicated to the years 1913-21, during which time Seyler lived in Minnesota, Montana, and Wisconsin. In 1913, following his marriage to a young German American, Seyler found himself headed first to St. Paul, Minnesota, the home of his young bride, and then, upon the insistence of his new brother-in-law, Great Northern Railroad icon Louis Hill, to the newly established Glacier National Park in Montana. It was here that Seyler would find his greatest artistic muse, the majestic and untamed landscape of the parklands and, more importantly, the Blackfoot Indians. During his visits, Seyler was initiated as an honorary member of the tribe and despite profound language and cultural barriers, would work to capture the quickly vanishing Blackfoot culture in his paintings.

Farr offers a detailed account of Seyler's time spent at Glacier and with the Blackfoot. He argues for the strength of Seyler's images despite their use of an abstracted technique that was far different from more established Western painters such as Frederic Remington. The text asserts that Seyler's images may look different and at times even present a romanticized version of the Blackfoot people or even the very idea of the West. Yet, his paintings also manage to uphold an atypical honesty that neither idealizes nor demonizes his Native-American subjects. Moreover, Seyler, as Farr rightfully claims, seems to capture not a vision of a people threatened by government control, but instead an independent, proud, vital, and vibrant culture.

Farr's skills as a historian and researcher are on full display in the text. Chapters on Seyler's time at Glacier often digress to lengthy passages about such topics as the history of the park or Blackfoot rituals and lineage. Yet, Farr always manages to weave these topics in with the artist's experiences. The one flaw, however, is Farr's attention to Seyler's images. In many passages, paintings seem to be used solely as illustrations. Simply put, these paintings deserve more attention and formal analysis. Yet, despite these minor issues, Farr's text is a valuable resource for scholars not only interested in Seyler but also those researching images of the West, Glacier National Park, and the Blackfoot.

In Contemporary Rhythm is the work of several scholars and was published to accompany an exhibition of Blumenschein's work in 2008 at the Albuquerque Museum. Peter Hassrick and Elizabeth J. Cunningham serve as the primary authors and organizers; shorter supplemental essays are included from Skip Keith Miller, Sarah E. Boehme, James Moore, and Jerry N. Smith. These shorter essays are perhaps one of the greatest strengths of the text. While brief, these tightly written analyses of paintings argue for Blumenschein as more than just a minor American painter of the era, but

rather as an artist who was highly attuned to Native American rights and culture. Miller's essay on Blumenschein's 1921 painting *Superstition*, as a representation of his beliefs on native rights to religious freedom, is especially impressive. It is a shame that these scholars are not given credit beyond their bylines; short biographies revealing each writer's expertise would certainly be a welcome addition to the text.

Hassrick and Cunningham provide the major biographical account of Blumenschein. In alternating chapters, the two authors account first for Blumenschein's early life, art training, and his career as an illustrator. Successive chapters deal with Blumenschein's work as a painter following his first temporary and eventual permanent settlement in Taos, New Mexico. The text argues for Blumenschein's importance in establishing the artist colony at Taos and its subsequent history not to mention his own quest to establish himself as a painter after years of success as an illustrator. Details regarding Blumenschein's biography are thorough and well researched. However, Cunningham's tendency to include minor or unrelated anecdotes can be distracting and might be better served in a footnote or left out altogether. And, a more lengthy treatment of Blumenschein's work as an illustrator, especially his images of Native American cultures and the West, would certainly make this text more thorough. Whether intentional or not, these commercial drawings read here as lesser or not the stuff of fine art and do not receive adequate attention or analysis. Despite these minor criticisms, like Farr's account of Seyler, Blumenschein's life was rich and the stuff of a meaty, engaging narrative. With such a personality to focus on, the reader cannot help but be charmed.

By approaching the artist's oeuvre decade by decade, the two primary authors manage to account for Blumenschein's development as a painter while at the same time addressing the way in which his chosen subjects reflect the history of Taos and the Pueblo people. While neither explicitly argues as such, it seems clear that previous treatments of Blumenschein have been unable to account for the lack of a clear progression of stylistic decisions by the artist. Instead, his approach switched back and forth between a realist or regional style and one that was more concerned with a modernist appreciation of expressive color and form. Hassrick and Cunningham uniquely and successfully argue that this seeming progression and reversion was the result of Blumenschein's own hesitant acceptance of the Modernist project. Rather than wholly aligning himself with American painters that attempted to recreate European abstraction or more conservative, academic painters, the artist instead saw himself primarily as a practitioner of exacting technique derived from his early years as an illustrator. For Blumenschein, he needed not label himself as solely belonging to either camp; all his paintings

were exercises in his own brand of formalism. The two authors also smartly include a running acknowledgement of Blumenschein's relationship with the larger American art community and his attempts to force more conservative institutions and collectors to consider the work of Modernism while also fighting for the relevance of realist painters in the wake of later widespread acceptance of abstraction and artistic experimentation in the United States.

With this in mind it is easy to see how Hassrick and Cunningham come to view Blumenschein's most figurative works as explorations of form. A painting like the artist's *The Extraordinary Affray* (1920), which depicts a naturalistic yet rhythmic scene of a tribal battle with the Sangre de Cristo Mountains rising above the tumult, might also be seen as a flattened exercise in color and form that takes on the visual appearance of the weft and warp of native textiles. The viewer's eye moves back and forth between this seeming abstraction and a careful execution of form. Blumenschein's canvases are thus difficult to label as either realist or modernist. Hassrick and Cunningham's text manages to make this point clear and insists that labels are not necessary for Blumenschein. Instead, his images can be appreciated for their complex formalism as well as their adept vision of the Pueblo people and the spirit of Taos. Thus, *In Contemporary Rhythm* proves a welcome addition to the available literature on Blumenschein as well as the painters of Taos.

Thinking of painters of the American West brings to mind the highly naturalistic and often dramatic works of the aforementioned Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, or even the sweeping panoramas of Albert Bierstadt. Seyler and Blumenschein stand out from their peers due to their ability to mesh their Native American subjects with the experimental tendencies of Modernism. These two valuable texts bring new attention to the work of these often, unfairly forgotten men who found their artistic freedom while capturing the beauty of Native American cultures.

Susquehanna University

Ashley L. Busby

Robert Koehler's *The Strike: The Improbable Story of an Iconic 1886 Painting of Labor Protest.*

By James M. Dennis. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 235 pp. \$24.00.

In his introduction, James Dennis states that "Any work of art takes on a life of its own the moment it leaves the artist's studio." Utilizing original documents and research, primarily collected by the late Lee Baxandall,

Dennis guides us through the history of a near forgotten masterwork by the German-American artist, Robert Koehler. Created as Koehler's graduation project at the Royal Academy of Art in Munich, the canvas is a large format painting (nine feet by six feet) of a group of factory workers and their leader marching on the owner's home to air their grievances. Appearing as it did, during times of great upheaval in labor relations, the painting was bound to be controversial and to arouse intense emotion on both sides of the divide. What in Koehler's life and upbringing prompted him to create such a work? Was he sympathetic to the plight of industrial workers, or was he simply trying to gain a reputation as an artist? In order to answer these questions, Dennis has carefully organized his book to explain who Robert Koehler was, the environment he was raised in, and the role of labor politics in his art.

Robert Koehler was born in Hamburg in 1850, the son of a machinist and Freethinker. His family immigrated to New York in 1854, but soon moved to Milwaukee at the urging of an acquaintance of his father, joining an already thriving German community. Here, the elder Koehler set up his machine shop. In the days following the Civil War, increased European immigration brought many more people to the United States, and advances in technology and industrialization spurred an increase in the demand for factory workers. Although Robert Koehler never worked in a factory, he said that he had grown up among working men in his father's shop, and was well acquainted with their lives. Koehler began his art training in Milwaukee, but attended the Royal Academy of Art in Munich, where he painted *The Strike* as a graduation project. His masterwork had its initial exhibition at New York's National Academy of Design in April 1886. The fact that the painting's debut more or less coincided with massive national strikes in May of that year served to cement the image in the public's mind. *The Strike* was featured in several exhibitions, including the Chicago World's fair, albeit to some indifference. In 1893 Koehler gave up a potentially good career as a portraitist in New York to assume the directorship of the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts, which was housed in the new Minneapolis Public Library, where *The Strike* was displayed for several years. However, changing tastes and a combination of anti-German, anti-labor sentiments, coinciding with the First World War, resulted in the painting's placement in storage, where it remained in obscurity for several decades. Dennis explains that, although the painting itself was forgotten, Koehler's best known work was still being seen, thanks to frequent reprints in various labor publications and art history texts. This thanks to an 1886 wood engraving of *The Strike*, first printed in *Harper's Weekly* at the time of the painting's debut.

It was a chance encounter with this image in a left-wing publication that initiated the rediscovery of *The Strike* by Lee Baxandall, a collector

and leftist art critic. He tracked down the painting and learned that it was for sale for an extremely modest price. He bought the painting and had it restored. Recognizing that the painting was arguably the most iconic image of the nineteenth-century American labor movement, Baxandall thought it important for the painting to have a home in proper surroundings. *The Strike* was on display for several years in the New York headquarters of a labor union, before it was sold to a private collector. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, two of Koehler's best-known works, *The Strike* and *The Socialist*, were purchased for permanent display by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. This would prove to be a vindication of Koehler's skills as a painter and also help to gain him an honored place among German-American artists.

Dennis, an emeritus professor of art history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, credits Lee Baxandall for the collection of most of the materials used in this book; however, Dennis' organizational skills and hard work have produced a well thought out and carefully written book. It is profusely illustrated with a wide variety of works by artists who can be shown to have had an influence on Koehler, as well as those who he influenced. The color plates show details of *The Strike*, along with several of Koehler's other better known paintings. The text is extremely well-documented, and the copious notes are a good source for further research on the artistic history of American labor movements.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz

John Haberle: American Master of Illusion.

By Gertrude Grace Sill. New Britain, CT: New Britain Museum of American Art, 2010. 128 pp. \$26.00.

In late June to early July of 1889 an accusation of fraud and forgery rocked the art world of Chicago when an art critic, Mr. Bartlett, refused to believe that the American dollar bills and postage stamps in a painting, *USA* (1889), in the Art Institute of Chicago were, in fact, painted by brush with oil paints and not decouped onto the canvas with glue and varnish. His accusations were printed in several newspapers resulting in correspondence between the director of the Institute, W.M.R. Frank, and the artist, John Haberle (1856-1933) of New Haven, Connecticut, who raced to Chicago to defend the integrity of his work. Haberle allowed an intensive investigation of his painting at the institute including microscopic study of the surface and even the removal of paint—all to reveal that every bit was indeed painted by

hand and brush.

This incident was significant in the career of the artist for several reasons. First, it brought international attention to his extraordinary talent. Second, the painting was in the style he had mastered while a student at the National Academy of Design in New York and sold for \$350, a princely sum at that time. Third, his early success with this and other paintings prompted Haberle's decision to earn his bread by his brush for the rest of his life. Finally, it established Haberle in the eyes of critics, some of whom were devoted to him over the span of his career, newspapers that reported glowingly of his work, exhibitions, and sales, and, most importantly, collectors and private clients who commissioned works for impressive sums.

Haberle is considered by many today to have been the finest though perhaps least well-known of the three American *trompe l'oeil* artists, the other two being William Michael Harnett (1848-92) and John Frederick Peto (1854-1907). All three were painting in a style that was at its height of popularity during the Victorian era and that opened the door for all manner of political, social, and philosophical comment as well as wit, irony, and humor. This was evident in Haberle's earliest works, most of which depicted money, contemporary and historical, often juxtaposed with religious or philosophical images, and frequently newspaper clippings (rendered in oil, not decoupage!) that copied directly reviews and criticisms of his own work, including the incident related above in which the term *trompe l'oeil* was misspelled in the newspaper as *trompe l'oil*, a source of humor for Haberle for many years.

For Haberle was a funny man, evident not only in his works but also in his important letter to his daughter Vera, which serves as the prologue to this book and gives us insight into the soul of a most intelligent, jocular, witty, ironic, and philosophical man who had a deep faith in a higher power, ending his letter with his own "Ten Commandments" for handling the problems of life. In describing his family origins he explains that his parents immigrated from: "places that sounded (as well as I can remember) like Baum Erlenbach, Jactskreis, Oberamtstadt, Ehringen, Undsoweiter, Wertenberg or Schwabenland . . . (1)." He concludes an early fantasy of revenge on his school master with, ". . . he died before I could kill him (2)." On politics and government he wrote, "if it were not for war we would have a very short world history (2)." It should come as no surprise then that this wry humor would find its way into his paintings as it did for his self-portrait, *That's me!* (1882), which is cartoonish in style though he was capable of rendering copies of photographs in oils, and into his very last and very large work, *Night* (1909), a *trompe l'oeil* with a life-sized nude in the center done in a modern sketched style similar to Picasso or Matisse framed by a stained glass window depicting

a medieval knight in armor.

Haberle owes his success to his enormous talent, of course, but also in no small part to the decision made by his parents, newly emigrated from Germany, to settle in New Haven. His father was a tailor and made his living serving the educated, well-connected clientele associated with Yale University. This is the milieu in which John Haberle grew up and began his career with a three-year apprenticeship in a prestigious lithography business, Punderson and Crisland of New Haven. He left Punderson and Crisland for what he referred to as a good-paying offer with a lithographer in Montreal as an engraver, and from the business card he designed for himself at this time, one must assume that he already thought of himself as an independent artistic and commercial designer, advertising his services in: illustrating, lithographing, drawing on wood, and instruction in drawing, painting, and sketching from nature. His bout with typhoid fever in Montreal probably prompted his return to New Haven a few years later when he began work for a Yale Professor, Othaniel Charles Marsh, the founder and curator of the Yale Peabody Museum, drawing fossils and performing other curatorial duties. He became a founding member of the New Haven Sketch Club in 1883 and began his studies at the National Academy of Design in New York in 1884. While at the academy he focused on the imitative style, never using the term *trompe l'oeil* himself to describe his work, and began the currency paintings that eventually lead to his notoriety and fame. His later work branches out into other styles and subjects partly as a result of his failing eyesight, partly as result of the changing tastes of his clients, but, it appears to me, also as a natural result of his playful nature and ironic bent.

This book is well composed and written, beautiful, fun actually to look at, and brings attention to the least well-known and perhaps most gifted of all American *trompe l'oeil* artists, which, one would hope, may bring more interpretive criticism to his work. The book belongs in the library of all American and German-American art enthusiasts, and cultural historians of New Haven and Yale.

Susquehanna University

Susan M. Schürer

Peter Lorre: Face Maker: Constructing Stardom and Performance in Hollywood and Europe.

By Sarah Thomas. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012. 213 pp. \$90.00.

The Lost One: A Life of Peter Lorre.

By Stephen D. Youngkin. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2005. 613 pp. \$27.95.

Shortly before his emigration from Nazi Germany to Hollywood, Peter Lorre (1904–64) reportedly sent a defiant telegram to either Joseph Goebbels or a general manager at UFA Studios boldly refusing an offer of employment: “For two murderers like Hitler and me, there’s not enough room in Germany” (Youngkin 84). This anecdote illustrates the problem of disentangling the “real” Peter Lorre from the “reel” Peter Lorre, not only in terms of the allusion to his breakthrough role as the child murderer Hans Beckert in Fritz Lang’s *M* (1931), but also in light of the subsequent appropriation of footage from the film into anti-Semitic propaganda. This was done for the explicit purpose of equating the diegetic fiction with the actor’s Jewish background. Indeed, the already vague boundaries between person and personae were often obliterated over the course of Lorre’s transnational career, from his early appearances on stage in Vienna, Breslau, Zurich, and Berlin through his exile in Vienna, Paris, London, and Hollywood, to his brief post-war return to Germany and his final performances in American radio, television, and film. The multiple versions of the anecdote, recounted differently by Lorre himself, also indicate the difficulties in establishing a coherent narrative of his life, the ambitious project of Stephen D. Youngkin’s massive biography *The Lost One: A Life of Peter Lorre*.

The author’s aim of “[f]inding the real Peter Lorre” admittedly turned up only “scattered remnants of a being long since extinct, one who had given us not what he wanted of himself, but what he thought we wanted” (2–3). In part, Youngkin’s narrative of unfulfilled, or unfulfillable expectations aims to salvage the image of “another Peter Lorre, one whose Hollywood lifestyle gave no hint of a secret existence as hard to believe as some of his screen roles” (246). This side of Lorre emerges through detailed accounts of his struggles with fame—particularly in terms of his drug addiction, financial troubles, successive marriages, and dissatisfaction with the trajectory of his career. These hardships are documented in over 150 interviews, the majority of which the author conducted personally over the course of thirty years, and in countless archival sources. Thankfully, the recent paperback edition of the book, which was first published in 2005, corrects many of the factual errors pointed out in Christian Cargnelli’s insightful 2007 review, apart from the assertion that the actor’s stage name “means ‘parrot’ in German” (19), whereas “Lorre” is simply a common name given to pet parrots in Central Europe. In spite of persistent typos and holes in the credits and bibliography, Youngkin’s comprehensive and energetic narrative offsets these shortcomings, and is almost a cultural

history of twentieth-century German-American cinema in itself.

At times, however, the search for authenticity can be somewhat misleading, as in the chapter "*M* is for Morphine" (52–88). Whether or not "Lorre's addiction undoubtedly lent him a special understanding of the sale and distribution of narcotics" must remain speculation (76). Furthermore, the very image of Lorre as "the lost one" is arguably of later vintage. It is important to remember that many details of his biography only gradually became public through studio-monitored material and that the issue of his emigration only came to the fore in later narratives—most notably, Frederick Hollander's roman à clef, *Those Torn from Earth* (1941) and Brock Brower's exposé *The Late Great Creature* (1972). Nevertheless, Youngkin's biography will long remain the standard source, though more for the sheer amount of material it contains than for the definitiveness of its narrative.

The standard views of Lorre as an incarnation of exile and the perpetual victim of typecasting are subject to massive revision in Sarah Thomas's *Peter Lorre: Face Maker*. The author's main target is "the characterization of Lorre—and, by implication, the émigré in general—as a tragic figure exploited by Hollywood and forced to play the 'outsider' in order to become the 'insider'" (8). Among the specific aspects of previous scholarship that come under fire are "the insistence that he was typecast in a series of similarly limiting roles; the reductive approach which equates his film labour with his extra-filmic persona; the need to discover the 'reality' of the émigré artist behind the 'image' of the screen monster; the belief that his performance in *M* was never bettered, only parodied; or that he allowed Hollywood to waste his considerable talents in meager supporting roles" (181). To debunk these myths, Thomas emphasizes the complexity of Lorre's career and the impossibility of reducing his numerous appearances (79 in theatre, 82 in film, 89 in television, and 142 in radio) to a single coherent type.

The first six chapters of the book, which is based on a doctoral thesis, offer close readings in roughly chronological order of selections from Lorre's extensive work on stage and screen; the last chapter covers "Alternative 'Hollywood' Media Contexts," a category that encompasses nearly all of Lorre's non-filmic and para-cinematic appearances. This separation of filmic and non-filmic sources underscores the distinction Thomas draws between Lorre's filmic roles and his "extra-filmic persona," a term used repeatedly to stress "the split between substantive screen labour and a received public image" (6). For Thomas, Lorre's career lacked internal coherence, given that multiple studios employed him under diverse types of contracts, and that only a handful of his roles actually conformed to the image of a murderer or monster. The very coherence of his identity was the result of marketing techniques and advertising strategies, part of Hollywood discourses about

the “star performer” and the “actor-in-exile,” which only came to be read retrospectively as equivalent to his lived experience of migration and stardom.

Thomas's study makes two crucial revisions to the standard account of Lorre's Hollywood career—particularly in terms of his inability to find work at the beginning of his career and his victimization to typecasting at the end. Although Lorre was already under a five-year contract to Columbia Pictures when he arrived in Hollywood in 1933, he was not employed in a film for almost a year, an unusual period of inactivity for a leading male actor, usually taken as a sign that the studio was unable to place him in a suitable role. Thomas's more persuasive explanation is that Columbia was still struggling to legitimize itself through the acquisition of European talent and, consequently, “[f]or the first eight months of his contract, Lorre was effectively employed to research rather than to make films” (56). Significantly, a debut in the horror film *Mad Love* (1934) “did not lead to Lorre's ‘typecasting’” (61), since he would not make another film in the genre for another five years. Surprisingly, allusions to typecasting around this time appear to correspond less to actual practices, if understood in the context of studio marketing, than to represent a deliberate strategy for making Lorre's career coherent, while also fulfilling a desire among audiences to see actors re-invent themselves (78). Likewise, the impression of a downward trajectory in Lorre's career largely disappears, if his final roles in horror and action-adventure films are understood in the context of generic conventions. Lorre's eventual emergence as a cult figure can be attributed to his ability to connect simultaneously with an older generation of fans that had grown up on his studio films in the 1930s and 40s and a younger generation that had been the target audience for his family-friendly films in the 50s (159–60).

Less convincing are Thomas's arguments about Lorre's self-reflexive or non-naturalistic performances as a mode of resistance to (Hollywood) conventions of naturalism. Although Thomas acknowledges “the difficulty in making absolute or conclusive statements about on-screen performance” (36), the evidence of Lorre's “screen labor” could benefit from closer differentiation between filmic products, which provide the bulk of material under discussion, and pro-filmic moments, including rehearsals, shooting scripts, or even multiple takes of a single scene. A good start can be found in the hesitancy over whether to attribute the agency for a gesture in *M* to Lorre or Lang (50n4). The lack of citations for films, along with the absence of a filmography, makes it difficult to identify general trends in Lorre's career, and creates some confusion about the quantification of his work. It is unclear why 79 films are attributed to Lorre (5–6) rather than the standard 82, and the count of “at least sixty-three caricatures” seems arbitrary (174). The problems inherent in accounting for Lorre's stardom either quantitatively or

qualitatively also raises questions about the perceived divide between cultural and economic approaches to star studies, and the polemical dismissal of previous scholarship (7).

Both of these contributions to scholarship on Peter Lorre should ultimately encourage more new readings of the seminal films that shaped his personae, and further illuminate the status of stardom in the Hollywood and the position of the actor in exilic cinema.

University of California, Berkeley

Erik Born

Der "hässliche Deutsche": Kontinuität und Wandel im medialen Außendiskurs über die Deutschen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg.

By Anna Stiepel. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011. 163 pp. \$67. 95.

One of the many pernicious legacies the National Socialists bequeathed to the German people was the consolidation of the image of the "ugly German." Probably few can imagine the consternation evoked by the National Socialists when they emerged on the world scene and began to publicize their movement. Most contemporaries remember newsreels showing histrionic orators and gigantic parades and demonstrations. Since image-making was a fundamental element of Nazi politics from the very beginning, a narrative was generated, presenting the German people as virtuous, strong, and noble, in short, a popularized version of the Nietzschean Übermensch. The Nazis were quick to realize the efficacy of advertising and media in promoting their political projects, and as many historians have pointed out, they were uncanny in their use of dramaturgy and urban theatre. In short, they rediscovered the role of ritual in promoting their myths and ideology. What had been designed to apotheosize Germany and the German people tended, however, to produce the opposite effect upon observers watching Germany from the outside.

Anna Stiepel's study of "the ugly German" begins, as her subtitle indicates, after the Second World War, examining how other cultures have perceived and constructed Germany and Germans since that catastrophic event. It is important to remember that the negative rendition of Germans had begun many generations prior to the Second World War. The rise of Prussia on to the world stage and the unification of Germany by dint of Prussian arms added a new dimension to European politics, posing a formidable challenge, as Benneto Croce writes, to European liberalism. The newly constituted Germany under the direction of Prussia was portrayed as a frightening power

complex in the heart of Europe that threatened to tilt the balance of power and lead to a new hegemonic order. A new kind of discourse emerged depicting the Germans as authoritarian, ruthless, amoral, and bent on conquest. This was magnified by the abdication of Bismarck in 1890 and the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the throne. Kaiser Wilhelm happened to be also an ingenious image-maker, fond of pompous uniforms and ceremonies and famous for his thunderous speeches, which were often perceived abroad as terrifying tirades. In other words, image-making and negative discourse became a significant factor in the Age of Imperialism when competing nation-states were involved in conflicts over markets and territory. As it turned out, Germany also constructed an array of negative stereotypes about England and France that became an essential element in her imperial ideology. Prior to 1870, Germans were perceived in an entirely different fashion. Charles Sealsfield in his travel work *Österreich, wie es ist* (1828) describes Germans in the following way: "Die Deutschen sind dennoch ein Volk, das ausgedehnte Kenntnisse und aufgeklärte Bildung mit unauffälliger Einfachheit und anspruchlosen Sitten vereint" (*Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft*, vol. 10, p. 21). One can add Madame De Staël's description of a dreamy disposition, inclined to poetry and philosophical rumination, to complete the inventory of stereotypes about Germans prior to the so-called *Reichsgründung*.

The author also discusses the historical contexts shaping "das Diskursfeld" (4) of "the ugly German." Here it would be necessary to prioritize the theories offered to us. The Cold War was instrumental in molding the perceptions of Germans, Germany, Nazism, and Fascism, for it helped to establish a Manichean discourse. The important totalitarianism paradigm was applied to bifurcate East and West and socialism and capitalism and tyranny and democracy. Although the principal focal point of this new paradigm was international communism, it also sought to find other examples to incorporate into this schema. Nazism lent itself brilliantly for this purpose, and because it was thoroughly destroyed, it could be embellished with all the metaphysical attributes of evil. Nazism became the anti-Christ of our time and the German, of course, conveniently acquired many of these demonic traits. The world as a result became infinitely simpler. The Holocaust was also discovered in all of its enormity in the 1960s, as Robert Novick tells us, which added a new dimension of evil to the discourse on "the ugly German."

Thus, everything was set in place for the culture industry to market and sell and finally mold the way North Americans and Europeans thought and felt about Germans and Germany. It also created flattering dichotomies for Western countries to apotheosize their own societies. America became an ideal society in the early years of the Cold War and all its heroes could be happily juxtaposed with the Nazi and Communist villains who were maliciously

determined to destroy free societies everywhere. The interesting fact implied by the author is that both scholarly and popular discourses arrived at the same conclusion: The German was invested with a generalized, endemic flaw, which made him radically different from the victorious Western allies. Either he was innately prone to Fascism, which meant that he was authoritarian, bellicose, undemocratic, intolerant, the product of a damaged, repressive, patriarchal family structure, or as other historians and scholars have argued, he was the product of a diseased tradition extending back to Martin Luther.

The principal discourse form discussed in this work is that of film. To prove her thesis, the author charts a history of movie-making about Germany and Germans from Charley Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) to Steven Daldrey's *The Reader* (2008), encompassing seventeen films of varying genres. The author summarizes each of these films, focusing principally on plot and characterization and adding background material on the origin and intention of the work, as well as some interpretive remarks suggesting how to develop a deeper understanding of the work in question. The author's brief survey allows the reader to glean that the "ugly German" is not a monolithic construct, but is actually fraught with complexity.

The most important section of this work is what we might refer to as the assessment (*Auswertung*) of the author's findings as a result of analyzing the above-mentioned body of work, as well as several additional films. Since the main focal point of this study is discourse as characterization, the author attempts to examine the question of how the figure of the post-war German as a result of National Socialism and the Holocaust is represented in filmic culture. Here several important theses are provided. The "ugly German" is equated with the Nazi, which in turn assumes an array of variations. First, the Nazi is the incarnation of "metaphysical evil," which suggests a variety of religious or supernatural connotations. Secondly, the Nazi is represented as a "caricature" of evil, which also suggests a need to divest this image of its frightening effects. Thirdly, the Nazi is portrayed as the ordinary citizen, the *Schreibtischtäter*, the venal petty bourgeois, who is willing to compromise his moral position in exchange for self-aggrandizement.

Not surprisingly, although there is continuity and change and variation in the representation of the "ugly German," the author points to one disturbing development: National Socialism has become a lucrative component of the Hollywood film-making industry. Whether it is the concentration camps or Nazi culture or a certain perverse Nazi aesthetic, National Socialism has been discovered to be a marketable stage setting to embellish the Hollywood formula. This of course leads to the end of modesty. Everything has to be shown. All taboos have to be discarded. This refers to Auschwitz and the Holocaust and mass acts of sadism—nothing remains left to the individual

imagination or to the sanctity of the victims. The other casualty of this development, as the authors states, is understanding, since all of these modes of representation are embedded in melodrama and ultimately become kitsch.

The ultimate tragedy of discourse, as this study suggests, is that it can be manipulated and commodified. The "ugly German" has become the most established way of thinking and talking about contemporary Germany. The result is that there is not only a so-called cultural lag, but also, more importantly, a discourse lag, which means, of course, that one is talking about a reality that no longer exists or exists in peripheral ways. Thus, there is a need for a new discourse, a discourse that would represent the Federal Republic of Germany as a post-modern society with a corresponding political structure, replete with all of its strengths and weaknesses.

The structural principle underlying this work is that of economy. An enormous intellectual terrain is presented to the reader, replete with an array of themes, approaches, and theories in a very circumscribed space. This, of course, has its benefits, since it enables the reader to gain a panoramic vantage point on a very complex question. On the other hand, economy also involves setting limits and making choices, which sometimes means that too much is attempted in too little space. This leads at times to simplifications and facile arguments, which require more elaboration. Still, this is a highly useful book that will advance research not only on how we think about Germans and Germany, but also on how we configure discourse itself.

University of Turku, Finland

Jerry Schuchalter

Capturing the German Eye: American Visual Propaganda in Occupied Germany.

By Cora Sol Goldstein. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 240 pp. \$40.00.

Cora Sol Goldstein brings a refreshing new look to the history of denazification and occupation in post-World War II Germany. Concentrating on the visual aspects of the reeducation program in the American zone and sector in contrast to similar efforts in the Soviet zone and sector allowed Goldstein to realize that the cultural policy of eliminating any reminders of Nazism and introducing Germans to American-style democracy and capitalism also turned into one of the earliest battles of the Cold War. This work thus fits well with the post-Cold War boom in cultural studies of occupied Germany and American influence over reconstruction of German

economy, government, and identity.

Goldstein traces the American use of visual propaganda from confrontation through forced visits to concentration camps, to traveling photo exhibits, and documentaries that aimed to reveal Nazi war crimes, create feelings of guilt, and prove that the United States was justified in fighting World War II. Although these efforts created the images of Nazism and the Holocaust we still hold today, they failed in creating a collective guilt among Germans. Interaction between soldiers and civilians and the impulse to sell American ideals of democracy as the Cold War heated up resulted in a change of policy by 1947. Movies and the Nuremberg Trials increasingly emphasized individual guilt and categorized degrees of complicity but continued to define concentration camps as a German characteristic. More importantly, Americans now defined Communism negatively and decried the existence of a divided Germany while the Soviet Union was successfully using media to denounce Nazism, publicize the concepts of Socialist Realism, and establish a strong anti-American mindset.

Goldstein effectively places the evolution of American cultural policy in Germany in the context of domestic developments. World War II contributed to the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement and the making of antiracist movies such as *The Brotherhood of Man*, which cultural officials hoped to broadcast in Germany and thus impress upon Germans the need for more tolerance. The political shift from New Deal liberalism to Cold War conservatism, however, guided the reeducation program in a different direction. Segregationist Congressmen and military officials stopped the screening of antiracist films and instead insisted upon selling American ideals of democracy, freedom and capitalism, and upon defining Socialism as undesirable in western Germany.

Of particular interest are Goldstein's discussions of the fine arts as tools of reeducation and the history of the *Ulenspiegel* as representing the consequences of a not-well defined approach to American cultural policy in occupied Germany. American military officials were preoccupied with reconstruction and traditional forms of propaganda while cultural officers intended to use modern art to disseminate American ideology and in the process help shape a revived German national identity in line with western ideals. Consequently, individual Americans in the employment of reeducation agencies including the Office of Military Government U.S. in Germany (OMGUS) created intellectual exchange associations such as Prolog, privately supported German artists, and financed exhibits to affect their intents. The CIA eventually adopted such covert modern art approaches in its endeavors to sidestep conservative congressional restrictions.

The *Ulenspiegel* was a satirical journal published in the American sector of

Berlin. Cartoons and caricatures denounced Nazis, condemned the division of Germany, and heavily critiqued American rebuilding efforts as hypocritical. Such free expressions in the press during American occupation reflected the liberal approach of New Deal intellectuals to reeducation during 1945 and 1946. Censorship and tighter control, however, emerged with the domestic shift in political ideology. Conservative Cold War warriors, intent on selling American ideals and disseminating anti-Communist ideology, viewed the *Ulenspiegel* as subversive and aimed to control it through reduction in paper supply and thus its circulations and change in editors. The result was that publishers moved the journal to East Germany. This development reflected the general limits of American cultural policy in occupied Germany. While reeducation efforts continued for several years, adjustments to domestic political shifts and the Cold War also weakened the denazification program by allowing former Nazis who were staunchly pro-American and anti-Communist to regain status in society.

Goldstein greatly expands our understanding of post-World War II occupied Germany in the context of the emerging Cold War. She could have expanded her evaluation of British and French propaganda to better illustrate their impact on American policy, and editors could have been more effective in finding grammatical and spelling errors. Such omissions, however, do not distract from the overall quality of this well-researched and convincingly argued work.

Missouri University of Science & Technology

Petra DeWitt

In Abwesenheit: Lyrik und Prosa.

Gert Niers. *Sioux Falls: Pine Hill Press, 2009. 82 pp. \$ 10.00.*

The volume *In Abwesenheit* by Gert Niers is a remarkably structured collection of poems and prose of personal reflection about a major concern and process of literature present and past. The autobiographical element in his texts rests in the specific experiences of immediate postwar Germany after World War II and an ensuing immigration to America in the seventies. But these poetic reflections and articulations reach beyond the specific personal history of the poet to the ontological implications for human beings who experience the phenomenon of immigration and the process of assimilation as well as the transformation of the self into another world. The contribution of this volume presents the reader with an insight into a fundamental struggle of humanity to adjust to wrenching changes brought about by the unsettling

experiences that millions face in the course of history over time. The title of this collection, *In Abwesenheit*, points to a vital deprivation in the human condition in such situations where language plays a key role in the process of ontological reconstruction and transformation. The literary discourse is, therefore, a possibility for supporting the reconstruction of a new and functional identity in a different social space.

Within the long history of German-American literature, Niers represents a new and different generation of writers who base their work on the agonizing experience of German history of the twentieth century and how a struggle for a new identity away from Germany, in America, can be told. In contrast to an age when immigration to America was a more final decision, in the current age the experience of Germany and America often seems like a cultural commute. This is particularly true for immigrants who have chosen an academic career in the field of German Studies at an American university. To create and re-create what Heinrich Böll once called a *vertrautes Sprachgelände*, now is more of a possibility without the tragic limitations of fate. Along with those possibilities there is a rich tradition of publications in German-American literature in which Niers has participated. These are particularly present in professional (Germanistic) journals, such as *Schatzkammer* and the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* as well as anthologies like *Nachrichten aus den Staaten*, *Deutsche Literatur in den USA*, 1983. There is also the P.E.N.-Zentrum deutschsprachiger Autoren im Ausland, where Niers is a member, which offers the opportunity for the publication of German-American literature. *In Abwesenheit* offers earlier and previously published works by Niers which indicates a process of assimilation ranging from cultural disease to acceptance and appeasement. The structure of his texts supports a balanced progression with three parts each of poetry and prose, whereby the prose sections are reflections with a poetic leaning. For the reader-observer, the concluding section of prose, *Nachgetragenes und Nachgestreutes* (75-82), suggests a kind of closure such as *Kein Grund mehr zur Flucht*, which stands in stark contrast to the early version (1976) of the poem *Ausgewandert* (48) with the lines: *Wohnhaft im Garten New Jerseys, / doch immer noch nicht angekommen.*

As an immigrant of the second part of the twentieth century, Niers articulates traditional issues and concerns that are also part of a symptomatic struggle for a wide diversity of authors. The concern for the choice of language, place and time, the loss of *Heimat*, the ontological conundrum of the immigrant, a definition of exile and the function of memory are some of the recurring themes in the writings of authors like Czeslav Milosz (*To Begin Where I am*), Ruth Klüger (*unterwegs verloren*) and Günter Kunert (*Fremd Daheim*).

For Niers, German, his native language, is his voice of authenticity. Like Ingeborg Bachmann (*Ich mit der deutschen Sprachel dieser Wolke um mich/die ich halte als Haus*), Niers seems to use his native language, although there is doubt in its effectiveness for the future: *Der ewige Gastarbeiter/ wärmt sich am verglimmenden/ Ton der mitgeführten Sprache* (4). In a different prose context, Niers further states: *Deutsch ist für mich nur die Sprache und die Erinnerung* (81). There is room for ambivalence here, but not inaccuracy, since the struggle for language is permanent and one wonders about the function of solace in the native language. An indicator of the ontological position taken here is the frequent choice of the metaphor of *Schilf* to describe a borderline-life between land and water, e.g., his memories in the poem *Erinnerung einer Kindheit im Ruhrgebiet* (25): *Die Füße versinken wieder /im süßlichen Geruch des Schilfs*.

In the prose-section *Entwirrungsversuche* (31-35) the mood shifts to contradiction and sarcasm to untie the inner struggle in the collision between the experience of Germany and America. Here, the immigrant lives a *schöne Schizophrenie*, a life-long game played by *Kulturvermittler, Literaturlehrer oder sonstige Infektionsträger*, a *totale(s) Amnesieprogramm* which compromises his memories, as he steps again on German soil to experience his native language, *die mir oft wie ein fauler Mundgeruch entgegenschlägt*. It reveals a destabilizing dynamic in a transitional process of change, tone and attitude. There is a broad assessment of the schizophrenic, cultural condition in a timeframe where the *Anästhesieraum* of American suburbia merges with the counter-image of a childhood in Dresden. This condition seems to be a constant in Niers' lyrical reflections as it is in the poem *Der Weggeher* (66) where he talks about being *unheilbar landesmüde*, a condition which is not bound to one country.

In the end, Niers' reflections in both, poetry and prose, pose the important questions, but do not provide general solutions to the specific ontological complexity of a loss of homeland and the creation of a new identity in a new geographical and social space. There is, however, clarity in the articulation of the struggle for the design of the self through the language of literature. The process that leads us from the experience of discomfort, in leaving the once intimate environment for a new one, is above all guided by our competence to create an ontological stability with the power of language. The loss of *Heimat*, is no longer as tragic and insurmountable as it was for Lenau for example. In an ever faster and changing world, such a loss can occur anywhere and anytime, even if we feel at home in some place. An increasingly global world is still discovering that truth and its consequences. The more appropriate question may be how we facilitate the process of separation and assimilation with whatever languages are at our disposal. Literature, as a phenomenon

of language, however, can play a decisive part in the process that helps to cope with *Abwesenheit* and *Anwesenheit*. These two ontological states of the human condition have been dictated by the language of the marketplace and political power relentlessly in our time, and it seems that Gert Niers presents an alternative by articulating humane substance in the language of literature.

The Pennsylvania State University

Manfred E. Keune

Prairieblumen: Eng Sammlonk fu Lidder a Gedichter an onserer lëtzebùrgerdeitscher Sprôch: Virgestallt a kommentéiert vum Sandra Schmit.

*By Nicolas Gonner. Mersch: Centre national de littérature, 2008. 292 pp.
€ 14.00.*

Prairieblumen, or Prairie flowers, by Nicolas Gonner is a collection of poems, of which some could be set to music, in Luxembourgish, or as Gonner calls it in his original title, a collection of songs and poems in our Luxembourgish language. This poetry collection was originally published by Gonner, an immigrant from Luxembourg, in 1883 in Dubuque, Iowa. It is a compilation of poems by Nicolas Gonner, and two other immigrants from Luxembourg to the United States, namely Nicolas Edouard Becker and Jean-Baptiste Nau.

In her German commentary to this new edition of Gonner's work from 1883 Sandra Schmit introduces the reader to the cultural life of late nineteenth-century Luxembourgian immigrants to the Midwest of the United States. Schmit draws the reader's interest to this penned work by including two photographs of natural prairie in Wisconsin, which the reader immediately associates with the title of the compilation at hand, namely *Prairieblumen*. Schmit starts her commentary by informing the reader of Gonner's intention for publishing the original anthology and giving it the title *Prairieblumen* (Prairie flowers). Gonner wanted to collect the poems of Luxembourg Americans not only for posterity, she states, but also to acquaint a broader readership back in Luxembourg with these literary works. Schmit also highlights Gonner's original idiosyncratic orthographic style, which he explains in detail at the beginning of his poetry collection (79-82) and which was not changed for the re-edition. Schmit then gives a concise overview of the reasons for the Luxembourgian emigration to the United States and for their choice of settlements primarily in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Minnesota, for land was cheaper and the climate was similar to that of Luxembourg

(16). In addition, she explains the importance of their native language, their religion, and traditions for their sense of identity and community in a new country. However, she points out, they did not isolate themselves from their surrounding American culture, but rather embraced elements of it, such as the adoption of English expressions in their daily vocabulary. Hence, some poems in *Prairieblummen* deal with this aspect of identity (17).

A comprehensive introduction of the three contributors to this compilation of poems, namely, Nicolas Gonner, Nicolas Edouard Becker, and Jean-Baptiste Nau, then provide the reader with an insight into their respective upbringings and lives in Luxembourg and the United States, as well as their family and career backgrounds. Additionally, Schmit also stresses the main themes that Gonner, Becker, and Nau write about in their poems. Their poems deal with a variety of topics ranging from memories of people and life back in Luxembourg, and pioneer life in America to social values and religion.

Pictures of Gonner's house in Iowa, his memorial, and of Becker's mother, with a copy of his obituary, Nau's birth certificate, to name a few, are examples of illustrations she includes to draw the reader's attention to this informative chapter of her commentary. Detailed remarks and explanations of Gonner's usage of orthography and his inclusion of a large glossary (Luxembourgian-German) in *Prairieblummen* follow. In addition, the influence of American-English on the three poets' choice of words in *Prairieblummen* is relayed to the reader with ample examples from various poems. The religious aspect in some poems, especially in Gonner's, is discussed in a separate section, reflecting the piousness of the author, according to Schmit. An informative depiction of *Prairieblummen* as Heimatliteratur, or literature of the homeland, underscores Gonner's interest in the language and culture of Luxembourg.

Conflicting views between Fernweh and Heimweh, or between the yearning to see distant places and home sickness, and between the old and the new homeland among the *Prairieblummen*-poets are discussed in the subsequent chapter on *Prairieblummen* as *Auswandererliteratur*, or emigrant literature, underscored by many examples from the poems.

Furthermore, Schmit gives an extensive overview of European emigrant literature in the late nineteenth-century United States to denote the significance of *Prairieblummen* as emigrant literature. She concludes her commentary on this anthology of poems with a reflection on the positive reception of *Prairieblummen* among Luxembourg-Americans and in Luxembourg itself. This and other Luxembourgian literary heritage, Schmit underlines, has not only led to a renewed interest among Luxembourg-Americans into their cultural heritage, but also has regained popularity in Luxembourg itself.

Schmit's re-edition of *Prairieblummen*, along with her insightful

commentary is a great work on the cultural and linguistic heritage of Luxembourg-Americans. It is a must-read not only for anyone interested in the cultural life of late nineteenth-century Luxembourgian immigrants to the United States, but also for people with an interest in Luxembourgish. It is definitely of interest to anyone in German dialectology, in German-American Studies, and related fields.

Washburn University

Gabi Lunte

Songs in Sepia and Black & White.

By Norbert Krapf. Photographs by Richard Fields. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, Quarry Books, 2012. 214 pp. \$ 24.00.

After *Invisible Presence* (2006) and *Bloodroot: Indiana Poems* (2008), *Songs in Sepia and Black & White* is Norbert Krapf's third poetry volume published by the Indiana University Press. Altogether, this poet laureate of his home state Indiana (2008-2010) has published more than twenty books, mostly lyrical works. In his recent poetic production, Krapf has widened his thematic focus on art (*Bildgedichte*) and music. However, the strongest recurring theme remains the encounter with space and place, including natural environment and locale, often experienced as a spiritual event or epiphany.

Shedding light on local history sets also family history into perspective. The four-part volume begins with a poem whose title is also the title of this part of the collection and of the entire book (3). The poem, accompanied by a portrait (2), commemorates the author's German-American grandfather. The second poem, "The Kaiser and the Little Girl's Tongue" (4), also facing a photo (5), is dedicated to the author's mother and makes reference to the anti-German hysteria during World War I, in particular the ban against the German language. This section features also memories of childhood and adolescence in small-town Midwest America, sometimes in the form of an anecdote like "The Beatles Cut" (36-38) or "The Barbed Wire Tattoo" (39-40). The German connection is often established by the father figure. In the author's memory, his father appears larger than life. More than the other three parts of this collection, part one can be considered a poetic gallery of German-American ancestors and the world in which they lived. Of course, there is a breath of nostalgia in both the poems and the pictures, but this collection does not attempt any filiopietistic or chauvinistic indoctrination. It rather reveals itself as an unobtrusive homage to the author's family, a poetic commentary on his social and ethnic background, that of rural Southern

Indiana. The town of Jasper, where the author grew up, has a strong German tradition, and German family names are nothing unusual.

Part two of this volume took its title from its first poem, "A Blank Piece of Paper" (49-50) which theorizes about the mission of becoming a writer. It is the section that is mainly dedicated to literature and those authors who, like Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, inspired the author of this book. Retrospection is a recurring theme. The strong autobiographic background of these poems allows the reader to take the speaking voice (the poetic ego or *das lyrische Ich*) for the voice of the author himself. Since literature is made up of words, Krapf also gives some humoristic or whimsical advice about the use and value of words, as in "Caveat Emptor" (89) and "A Word Story" (93-95).

Probably the most ambitious part of this volume is the third: "Practically with the Band." The title of this section is taken from "I'm practically with the Band" (102-4). This poem is dedicated to a folk and blue grass band from Indianapolis. The two photos which accompany the text refer to musical events in which the poet laureate participated with his writings. While Krapf's texts normally follow the style of the narrative poem which is rather common in contemporary American poetry, those poems which refer to musicians often follow a different pattern, namely repetition (like a refrain), uncomplicated syntax, and occasionally rhyme. Sometimes text samples from famous songs, easily recognizable for anybody who shares the author's enthusiasm, are woven into the poem. Reminiscent of German church music and folksongs by the Romantics, the author often works with repetition of entire verses and with a choice of unpretentious words that are easily understood and remembered. Therefore, some of these poems could serve as the lyrics for future musical compositions. Working on a synthesis of music and poetry also brought the author repeatedly on stage with musicians in the Indianapolis Artsgarden, the Athenaeum Theatre, and numerous other venues.

The musician who received the most attention in this volume is clearly Bob Dylan, followed by Woody Guthrie and his son Arlo. These famous singer-songwriters are of course known for their social commitment, and it is—at least for this reviewer—reassuring to notice that Krapf's poetry does not lose itself in a non-committal *l'art pour l'art*. Krapf pays also homage to John Lennon who engaged in more politically and socially relevant songs after the break-up of the Beatles. "The Day John Lennon Died" (131-32) offers a personal remembrance of December 8, 1980, the day John Lennon was murdered in New York City. In the last strophe the poet finds himself in agreement with the message of Lennon's famous pacifist song "Imagine." The crossover from poetry to music reminds the reader of the origin of poetry in ancient Greece where lyrical poetry was sung.

Another art form incorporated into this poetry collection is the earlier

type of the photograph. The selection of almost nostalgic photos is tied into the greater context of this volume: a tribute to the poet's home state that becomes more and more a state of mind. The geographical landscape reveals itself as the inner landscape of the poem and the poet. It is at times a small world, but one seen from a universal perspective. However, the poems which are paired with images by master photographer Richard Fields are not simple interpretations of what the other medium offers, but gain their esthetic quality and artistic independence according to their own criteria. This ekphrastic genre is known and practiced in Germany as the *Bildgedicht* and can be traced back to the author's early poetry collections.

The title of part four of this collection is also the title of the last poem of the book, "Moon of Falling Leaves" (206-7). The first verse sets the tone and gives the explanation for the rest of the poem: "I am a canoe carved of tulip poplar" (206). The leaves falling into the canoe as it drifts down the White River represent the various ethnic groups that settled in this area, their "names make the music / of this place we love" (206), definitely a celebration of tolerance and multiculturalism. This section continues with aspects of German-American history, further exploration of Indiana heritage, and more poetic portraits of family members. It also contains under the title "Eberhard Reichmann at Peter's Gate" (153) a heartfelt, yet slightly ironic tribute to the late German-American scholar from Indiana. Aware of his German roots, the author shares his thoughts while traveling through Bavaria ("Bavarian Blue," 151-52) and gives a moral reflection about good and evil, freedom and captivity in "Questions on a Wall" (155-57), written on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the removal of the Berlin Wall. There are more memories of the father, but also of the mother ("What She Liked," 185) and other family members. "Downtown Indy Freight Trains" (197-98) brings another remembrance of the old times, this one connected with a vision of the mother: local history and family history belong together.

Pursuing a tri-fold creative concept that unites poetry, art in the form of photography, and music is certainly not a light challenge. Norbert Krapf has mastered it with remarkable virtuosity and once again reinforced his reputation as the preeminent German-American poet of the English language.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Lorine Niedecker: A Poet's Life.

By Margot Peters. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 326 pp. \$34.95.

Lorine Niedecker was an American poet of German descent. She was born on Black Hawk Island, an entirely German community, near Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, on May 12, 1903, and died on December 31, 1970, in Madison, Wisconsin. Apart from various out-of-state trips, mainly to New York and later also to Canada, she spent all her life in Wisconsin. During that time, her work received attention and appreciation only in literary circles. She maintained a lifelong, although sometimes strained friendship with New York poet Louis Zukofsky (1904-78), a leading representative of the Objectivist movement in poetic theory. Her most faithful publisher was Cid Corman (1924-2004), who also became the executor of her literary estate.

Lorine Niedecker's poetry, which only in recent years gained national recognition, is to a large extent obliged to Objectivist concepts, but also drew inspiration from Surrealism and the Haiku tradition. As so often in literary theory, the borders of Objectivism are somewhat fluid. Its main goal is precision and conciseness, a straight-to-the-point approach in poetic expression. Niedecker certainly lived up to this requirement: as a matter of fact, most of her poems are brief and sparse, not one word too much. Much of her nature poetry follows a concept of Romanticism, namely the reflection of the poetic ego or poetic voice in and through the experience of nature. That is a Romantic tradition.

Margot Peters, who has already published biographies of other women, followed Lorine Niedecker's life in strict chronological order and produced a well-researched, well-balanced description of the often difficult existence of this very private, highly gifted poet from the American Midwest. The analysis of biographical facts and personal relationships is supported by qualified interpretations of her poetry and pertinent quotations from her letters. The connections of Lorine Niedecker to the literary scene of the time, indeed her entire career as an author, are laid out with detailed knowledge and sound judgment. At the end of her investigation, the biographer also cleared up the confusion about the misspelling of the poet's family name as *Neidecker* instead of *Niedecker* (259-60). In a note at the end of her book (267-68), Margot Peters provided most valuable genealogical information of Lorine Niedecker's German-American family.

However, since Lorine Niedecker's work is also identified as poetry of place (cf. texts like "MY LIFE BY WATER" and "PAEAN TO PLACE"), one would perhaps have expected from a biography more information about the place, its history and social fabric. It seems that Lorine grew up in a German-

American enclave, but the reader learns little about the *genius loci*. Numerous individuals are identified rather thoroughly, but there is no description of a German-American ambiance. Maybe there was none left after World War One. The author makes mention (13) of the fact that Germany Street in Fort Atkinson was renamed Riverside Drive soon after the outbreak of World War One. Apart from the family names, there does not seem to be any German trace left. Or is there?

One might, of course, argue if and to what degree an author's German-American ethnic connection is relevant for a poetic oeuvre that was produced exclusively in English, but in an age of multiculturalism such curiosity does not reflect any chauvinist usurpation. In any event, the biography written by Margot Peters certainly contributes to a better understanding of the poet and will most likely win Lorine Niedecker new readers.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin.

By Christopher Klemek. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011. 315 pp. \$40.00.

Christopher Klemek's book on the international urban renewal movement argues that "the urban renewal order began as an idea, or rather a clutch of ideas, swimming between fin de siècle Europe and North America" (21). He argues further that a pair of world wars served to accelerate the professionalization and communication of urban renewal advocates, creating not only the concept of new beginnings, but literally, in locales such as post-World War II London and Berlin, blank urban landscapes. The interwar and post-World War II eras also increased trans-Atlantic communication and collaboration amongst urban renewal reformers, including numerous émigrés fleeing the rise of fascism in Europe.

The author argues that it was during a transformative thirty-year period from the 1930s to the 1960s that European modernists-in-exile intersected with emerging American movements to forge the four pillars of twentieth century urban renewal in America, including: a shift in design tastes to the modernist aesthetic; the enshrinement of expert authority in the field of urbanism; a massive federal policy revolution; and urban political reform. The context, emergence, and impact of the four pillars is laid out in Part I of the book, while Klemek is careful to note the continual flow of expertise

from Europe to America and back. In their effort to promote planning for the common good, the experts leading the urban renewal movements often failed to engage in the democratic process, overlooking grassroots opinion, and setting the stage for a fierce backlash. In an overarching thesis, Klemek notes the irony, arguing, "even in the context of globalized forces and convergences, it is politics—and moreover the most local of political culture—that shapes our cities in a very material and social sense" (241).

The multitude of transatlantic connections Klemek is able to weave together go beyond the scope of a short review. However, he deftly shows the transatlantic influence of figures such as Walter Gropius, founder of the functionalist Bauhaus movement and later chair of the department of architecture at Harvard, not to mention postwar advisor to American occupation of West Germany. Likewise, he shows how Weimar projects such as Hufeisensiedlung (1925-33), Onkel Toms Hütte (1926-31), and Siemensstadt (1929-31) foreshadowed the urban renewal order on both sides of Atlantic a few decades later, while individuals such as Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut, Hugo Haring, and Hans Scharoun contributed to the functionalist recipe, organizing their ideas in the International Congresses for Modern Architecture (CIAM), an institution with further transatlantic impact.

In Part II of the book, Klemek tells the story of urban renewal's criticism and demise. Although the critiques came from a multitude of directions, ranging from freeway revolts to grassroots neighborhood uprisings, the social concerns and urban protests of American Jane Jacobs takes center stage. Klemek is careful not to identify Jacobs as the sole reason for the decline of urban renewal, but rather as a critic and harbinger of the social backlash against urban renewal that gained momentum throughout the decade of the 1960s. In the American case, grassroots critiques from the New Left were pushed over the edge by the Nixon Urbanistas who cut funding for urban planning centers, accelerating what Klemek would call the run of Liberal politics in America, 1934-68.

The sections on Jacobs also bring out the transatlantic context and connections in this richly explored book. For example, Klemek connects the impact of Jacobs' ideas upon West Germany and Toronto. His section exploring the exchange of ideas between Jacobs and West German planner Rudolf Hillebrandt, himself a student of both Gropius and Albert Speer, is fascinating. Likewise, Klemek's argument that the post-urban-renewal backlash enjoyed a "softer landing" in West Germany and Toronto is intriguing. In the case of West Germany, it was due to broader political and public support and less anticommunist paranoia. In addition, Klemek observes that planners such as Hillebrecht worked to make planning democratically responsive, while relying on the expertise of sociologists, who were "particularly attentive

to urban issues" (106). Nevertheless, even in West Germany, particularly after about 1973, or the time that a new generation came to the fore, new grassroots initiatives with broader civic opposition to urban renewal took shape, ultimately eroding the power of functionalist planning. The author notes that the *Planwerk Innenstadt*, a thirty-year plan for Berlin accepted in 1999, represented the antithesis to functionalism.

The only shortcoming of Klemek's book is also its strength, the challenge of tackling the rise and fall of a transnational movement while doing justice to the multitude of locales and personalities. A table at the end of the book, divided into the columns of transatlantic pillars of the urban renewal order, 1920-65 and the collapse of urban renewal order, 1950-80 speaks to the difficulty of the balancing act. Nevertheless, the author's study succeeds in presenting the material in a succinct and comprehensible manner that speaks to the importance of transatlantic and global communication of ideas, while underscoring the enduring nature of the local in an increasingly technical and homogenized world. The work is based on solid primary materials: interviews with key players, along with a sound analysis of technical and sociological journals and conference presentations. In addition, the book includes numerous fascinating illustrations and images. It is highly suggested for those interested in urban planning, neighborhood civic organizations, and the flow and impact of transnational ideas. Those interested in postwar German-American relations will also find the book relevant.

Winona State University

Matthew Lindaman

"Schade, daß Beton nicht brennt. . .": Planung, Partizipation und Protest in Philadelphia und Köln 1940-1990.

By Sebastian Haumann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011. 335 pp. \$93.00.

This work sets out to re-evaluate one of the presumptions of German urban politics, namely, that democratic procedures in city planning arose in Germany as a result of successful protest movements in the 1970s. Written originally as a dissertation at the Technical University in Darmstadt, a leading institution for the study of architecture and home to a cutting edge urban sociology department, this book provides a true cross-cultural comparison of archival material reconstructing the political impact of community opposition to large-scale urban projects. The author posits a cross-Atlantic connection between the example of local city groups in Philadelphia resisting large-scale urban development and the formation of groups in Cologne's Severin

Quarter to oppose top-down renewal projects. The book is evenly balanced between the two cities, providing micro histories of the protest movements in each. Following an introduction, in which the existing scholarship is reviewed and the book's central argument is cautiously presented, the book provides two chapters on each city with a trans-Atlantic conclusion. Haumann's research is impressive. That his work on Cologne would be well grounded is to be expected, but it is also clear that Haumann spent considerable time researching in Philadelphia and its universities.

The first chapters give a long history of urban planning in Philadelphia from the first mid-century efforts to restore Society Hill's historic buildings, an initiative which received municipal government support. Eventually the city expanded its interest in renovating neighborhoods to include poorer sections. Haumann gives many graphic quotes from city officials characterizing poor black neighborhoods in derogatory terms. For an American reader, it is quite striking to read about American urban conflicts and reform movements through the lens of a foreign observer. At times Haumann gives a muted description of powerful conflicts in American society, at other points his examples are potent. One could wish that Haumann would provide more interpretive analysis of the history; the diachronic account provides a sequence with implicit judgments but only very softly from afar. There is little sorting out in this history, and at the same time it is not a broad narrative that balances all groups in Philadelphia out against each other. Furthermore, the book focuses exclusively on Philadelphia; it does not provide comparisons with other major cities that also debated or constructed highways through the existing city fabric.

A particular historical irony Haumann isolates, and one that will reappear in Cologne, is how neighborhood groups opposed to the Crosstown Expressway ultimately succeeded with the support of conservatives, such as mayor Frank Rizzo, who supported preserving neighborhood identities in order to block desegregation. By reverting political decision-making power back to all neighborhood groups, and not just those immediately affected by the expressway, conservatives preserved the existing alignment of ethnic divisions between sections of the city.

Haumann clearly feels more secure on West German history. He opens the Cologne chapters with a discussion of the Westernization of city planning, not in terms of a simple and direct influence from the United States, so much as a coherent approach within West Germany to continue an already established German tradition. This leaves out the question: to what extent did the communist East Germany share similarities with West German planners? While neighborhood groups in the west may have taken solace and inspiration from American examples, the centralized plans of city governments may well

have reflected larger tendencies within Modern architecture, some of which were also common to East-Bloc-Communist planners.

If racism was the social issue that drove community groups to oppose the expressway in Philadelphia, anti-capitalism was the overarching ideology that motivated protest in Cologne's Severin Quarter. In material terms, the neo-Marxist argument coalesced around the shortage of kindergartens in the neighborhood. The local organization that arose in response to the shortage was well established when the city government began formulating plans for renovating the entire neighborhood. The city perceived the poor housing stock in the Severin Quarter as a social problem that worsened when new immigrants moved in.

Haumann focuses on racism as an overt point of political debate and organization in Philadelphia, however, his chapters on Cologne make considerably less of the troubles Turkish immigrants faced within German society. German opposition politics in the 1970s and 1980s were no doubt dominated by neo-marxist and anarchist groups, yet given the book's intense concern with democratic inclusion in urban planning, the reader is left wondering what became of the Turkish residents of the Severin Quarter. The book mentions that the neighborhood was considered undesirably poor, in part, because it had attracted immigrant workers, but they seem excluded from both the oppositional politics and the central municipalities plans, as well as much of Haumann's analysis.

The Cologne government's plans to build inexpensive new housing in the Severin Quarter took a dramatic turn when the local chocolate and candy manufacturer announced its intention to relocate their production facility outside the city, thereby closing the large factory, Stollwerck, that dominated the neighborhood. City planners saw the availability of the factory terrain as an opportunity to build new housing and were loath to include neighborhood groups in their negotiations over the site. For anti-capitalist critics, the city's approach to the newly available factory site was clear proof of high-level conspiracy. In time the fate of the factory site dominated the renewal plans for the entire neighborhood. Haumann recounts the political escalation around the factory site, the city's plans for its demolition, local efforts to build apartments within, and the eventual occupation of the building by radical groups. Ultimately, the local social democratic government chose negotiation over police action. By the end of the 1980s, Cologne had developed a democratic procedure for including local groups in major urban projects. Haumann considers the eventual formation of a planning culture in Cologne as a positive development, though he acknowledges that the successful renovation of the Severin Quarter has been characterized critically by some as gentrification.

In the last chapter, Haumann provides a few tentative conclusions about which groups felt empowered to object to centralized plans. He stresses how important it was in both cases for the opposition to formulate their own architectural alternatives and notes finally that the later deregulation of city planning and the housing market emerged largely as a result of the bitter political conflicts.

Pennsylvania State University

Daniel L. Purdy

American Nietzsche: A History of an Icon and His Ideas.

By Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

This is an outstanding book, exceptional in its density of data, sweep of coverage, interpretative skill, and multi-leveled significance. The text covers 312 pages, a host of detailed endnotes fill 64, and an extensive bibliography comes to no less than 55 pages. The style is elegant and subtle, the interpretative stance insightful and phenomenologically disciplined, and the coverage of Nietzsche's twentieth century American interpreters who wrestled with his thought, life, and reception in the United States is varied.

On one level the book traces the trans-Atlantic migration of a German thinker's thought, that is of his passionate rejection of "foundationalism," in its triple garb: of the *epistemological* claim of truth supposedly accessible to human effort, of the *ontological* postulate of a personalistic God based on Jewish, Christian, and Islamic forms of faith; and of the absoluteness of *moral* principles insisted upon by theological and philosophical traditions of the West. It seems surprising that this revolutionary German philosopher had such a deep resonance in the American mind which, on the one hand, had been shaped by a sturdy pragmatic orientation and, on the other, by a vibrant presence of Christian denominationalism and a vigorous enlightenment tradition shaping the American political tradition into an exemplar of civil religion.

On a second level the book offers a detailed introduction to twentieth century American interpretations of Nietzsche's thought, not only by professional theologians, philosophers, biographers, article writers, and journalists, but also by so-called common people. Between Chapter Four and Five, the author inserted an "Interlude," subtitled "Devotions: The Letters" (193–217), that peruses documents largely written by "ordinary" Americans to the Nietzsche Archive now in Weimar, Germany. Often the letter writers asked for a memento or an autograph of Nietzsche after having expressed their

admiration for the writer who, they knew, spent his last years incapacitated due to a total breakdown but who had nevertheless become a hero to their minds.

On a third level the book probes how Nietzsche's writings were experienced. "I shall never forget the long night in which I read through the *Genealogy of Morals*," the author quotes Wilbur Urban (29). She traces the numerous varied reactions to Nietzsche's works, from deeply felt enthusiasm for his liberating thought to bitter critique and rejection of his posture that some viewed as godless, immoral, and irrational. It is astonishing that also for American theologians the German thinker's texts offered significant enrichment. Perhaps a most impressive early American interpreter was the Baptist minister and University of Chicago scholar George Burman Foster whose 1906 book, written in the wake of Nietzsche's impact and titled *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, represents an early most radical but positive theological response. Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen quotes Foster's summary view: Nietzsche, he claimed emphatically, "ridiculed science as folly [science here to be understood as truth-claiming *Wissenschaft*, that is, as professional knowledge], denied every objective norm, preached the right of passion as against logic, instinct as against *Dressur*, the wilderness as against the schoolroom, heroism as against utility-morals, greatness as against philistinism, and the intoxicating poesy of life against its regulation. And in all this, barring the exaggerations of the poet, he was right fundamentally. We have cause to thank Nietzsche" (103). These are words beyond rhetorical gesture that one might not expect from a Baptist minister.

On a fourth level, *American Nietzsche* is also a lucid sketch of the unity and separateness of Europe and America as interrelated forms of Western civilization. Without essentializing either, the author identifies their connectedness through the lens of Nietzsche interpretations as, for instance, offered by French intellectuals such as Jacques Derrida in the late twentieth century. She also probes the disastrous rupture caused by two world wars and touches on the infamy of national-socialist actions that were in part justified by a wayward appropriation of Nietzsche's thought. The author's interpretative tact is throughout, but especially in relation to those issues, admirable.

Finally, the book offers longer sketches that elucidate the interpretations of Nietzsche's thought of American philosophers such as Walter Kaufmann in the chapter titled "Dionysian Enlightenment" (219–62), and Harold Bloom, Richard Rorty, and Stanley Cavell (295–303) in "Antifoundationalism on Native Grounds" (263–304). The author highlights that these scholars not only offer different views of Nietzsche but also that their understanding reflects a vibrant body of unique philosophical stances and reveals "long-

standing concerns about the conditions of American culture for intellectual life" (24).

The book opens with a theme that is touched upon throughout the study: Nietzsche was an Emersonian. Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82) seems to have been the only fellow thinker who escaped Nietzsche's scornful critique and who had led him onto the path of antifoundationalism: "Emerson, with his *Essays*," the author quotes Nietzsche, "has been a good friend...he possesses so much skepsis, so many 'possibilities', that with him even virtue becomes spiritual" (15). In some way then Nietzsche becomes a German philosopher of Polish descent who was initiated to the antifoundational challenge by an American philosopher. Thus, the arrival of his works in the United States may be viewed, as unlikely as it may seem, as a kind of homecoming.

In the gallery of writers and interpreters presented in *American Nietzsche* there are also some surprises. Among them is Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen's sketch (81–84) of Maude D. Petre, a British Roman Catholic nun and writer, who published six widely read and appreciated articles in the *Catholic World* on Nietzsche's "Militant Life," then on his poetry, his anti-moralism, his concept of 'superman', his anti-feminism, and his anti-Christian stance. Perhaps as surprising is Margret Sanger's interpretation of Nietzsche's anti-feminism (114–16); she insisted that his claims were important nevertheless for the liberation of women and the overcoming of sexual repression.

This work then offers a captivating journey into aspects of twentieth century American and European thought as it was expressed in varied ways in response to Nietzsche. It shows also, however, how "West-centric" twentieth century philosophy, shaped by a set of dominating imperialisms, had remained. Nietzsche was heralded as a unique *global* event while in fact he was an event merely in the Christianity-shaped *Western* cultural tradition. Had not, for instance, the work attributed to Chuang Tzu, the third century BCE Chinese author, already said whatever is to be said against foundationalism, although it was presented without Nietzsche's pathos and invective, but with wry smiles and absurd inversions, at times also with laughter and sarcasm? Perhaps a book might now be due that places Nietzsche and the interpretations of his thought not only in an Atlantic but also a global setting.

Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen's *American Nietzsche* is truly an exemplary German-American study that pursues intellectual history as being rooted in personalities, historical periods, and national contexts. It offers a wealth of data with empathetic understanding, impeccable scholarship, and engaging insight.

The Strategic Triangle: France, Germany, and the United States in the Shaping of the New Europe.

Edited by Helga Haftendorn, Georges-Henri Soutou, Stephen Szabo, and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. Baltimore and Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. 411 pp. \$25.00.

Germany Says No: The Iraq War and the Future of German Foreign and Security Policy.

By Dieter Dettke. Baltimore and Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 293 pp. \$60.00

After spending the first half of the twentieth century seeking hegemony through military conquest and genocidal imperialism, Germany followed a markedly different path in the second half. Stripped of sovereignty and stained by the blood of millions of innocents, each state in divided Germany depended on the good will of its respective superpower patron in order to struggle back to international respectability. The German Democratic Republic suffered from a double burden. It spent most of its existence in the shadow of the Soviet Union, and was further undermined by the Berlin Wall, which saved it from dissolution but reinforced its image as an illegitimate state that had to imprison its own citizens. The Federal Republic of Germany, which enjoyed greater legitimacy at home and abroad, was better able to rebuild its international reputation. Most particularly, successive governments in Bonn embraced multilateralism—from the NATO alliance to the European Community—and postponed demands for reunification in favor of compromises that reduced tensions in Europe.

By being a good team player and accepting limitations on its sovereignty, the Bonn Republic made a virtue of necessity, restoring its reputation and actually increasing the possibilities that they might exercise more leadership in the future. Konrad Adenauer began the process in the 1950s and early 1960s through his policy of *Westbindung*, which combined reconciliation with France and the alliance with the United States to gain membership in the Atlantic and European communities. Then Willy Brandt completed the project in the 1970s with his *Ostpolitik*, which built on membership in the West to seek stable relations with the Soviet Union and its clients. Although both policies were controversial at first, both combined to make the Federal Republic a respected partner for its neighbors, and were part of a larger calculation that such reconciliation would make reunification possible when the time was right.

That calculation paid off for the Bonn Republic. Allied support and Soviet acquiescence were crucial for reunification in 1990. It is hard to imagine

Helmut Kohl succeeding in his efforts to get Germany's neighbors, and the international community in general, to embrace the idea of a reunified and completely sovereign Germany if his predecessors had not spent the previous four decades gradually reducing the concerns of both friends and foes. It was no small task, especially if one remembers that, even after those decades of West German good behavior, there were still flashes of suspicion about a reunified Germany, expressed publicly and privately from London to Moscow to Tel Aviv.

As Bonn gave way to the new Berlin Republic, however, Germans and Germany's partners wondered what the new Germany's role in the post-Cold-War world. Would a reunified Germany, released from multilateral shackles, lose its interest in European integration? Would the Germans abandon multilateralism and instead pursue specific national interests in Eastern Europe? Or would the new Germany accept a leading role in the institutions it had helped create? The word most often heard in these discussions has been "normal." Pundits and scholars have used that word both in the practical political sense of wondering whether reunified Germany would behave much like its neighbors and in a deeper psychological sense, wondering whether the Germans had shed the pathologies of previous generations, or whether the new opportunities presented by sovereignty would somehow trigger a return to Germany's bad expansionist and militarist habits. The last two decades have seen a flood of publications wrestling with these questions. Some have been more optimistic than others, but all have been inspired by curiosity about how Germany would handle its new situation, combing both German history and current events for clues to the future.

The good news is that Germany has not lived down to the more hysterical concerns expressed in some quarters. Germany has not abandoned European integration, nor have the Germans embarked on a new imperialist *Drang nach Osten*. If anything, the Germans have disappointed many observers for their resolute refusal to take up a leadership role in the traditional political sense. Although Germany's economic power and influence has continued to grow, Germany has remained a civilian power, far from the adventurous and militarist state of 1914 or 1939. That is a relief in some sense, but also a source of frustration, culminating in the transatlantic crisis over Iraq in 2003, when Germany joined France and Russia in opposing the Bush Administration's decision to go to war. Berlin's break with Washington, and the resulting dissonance within the Atlantic Community, prompted accusations of ingratitude and uncertainty about the future of German foreign policy.

Both of the works under consideration here, though different in scope and approach, are written in the shadow of that 2003 crisis, and each wrestles with the implications of the present for our understanding of the German

past and the possibilities for Germany's future. Both are products of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, one of the premier think tanks in this country for the study of transatlantic relations and thus an ideal venue for such analyses. The fifteen largely historical essays collected in *The Strategic Triangle* emerged from a conference held at the Center, and include contributions from leading scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The topics extend from the origins of the Federal Republic to the current international situation, and offer readable summaries of cutting edge research that can be useful to both specialists and general readers. Dieter Dettke's book is slightly different. A former adviser to Chancellor Gerhard Schröder during the 2003 crisis, his book offers some historical analysis, but is more focused on explaining and justifying Schröder's abortive attempt to outline a new foreign policy for Germany in the early years of the twenty-first century.

Both works offer useful insights into current events, though their overall effect is quite different. *The Strategic Triangle* generally adopts the dispassionate position of a wide-ranging summary, based on the idea that Atlantic cooperation remains central for international stability. *Germany Says No* is both more critical of the Atlantic alliance and more willing to speculate about alternatives for Germany. It would not be quite fair to say that Dettke is an apologist for Schröder, but his admiration for his former boss and his antipathy for the Bush Administration are palpable. The underlying attitudes of the two works lead to the biggest contrast between them. Dettke argues that Schröder's *Nein* to Bush was "an act of courage and an assertion of newfound sovereignty" (241). Helga Haftendorn, however, concludes in the epilogue to *The Strategic Triangle* that the Iraq war "caused a threefold defeat for the Federal Republic: Berlin could not prevent the war; it risked international isolation; and to overcome this isolation, it succumbed to dependence on France" (382).

Despite their differing opinions on the immediate consequences of the 2003 crisis, however, both works also conclude that international stability depends on vibrant transatlantic partnership, and end on the hopeful note that both the United States and Germany recognize this fact. As even Dettke concludes, rejecting the notion that Europe needs to separate itself from the Americans, "there are no European values as such. There are only Western values. This sense of commonality needs to be preserved, particularly to avoid weakening democracy in the future" (242).

Many share that sense of urgency. Whether optimism about preserving that commonality is justified remains to be seen. The problem has been that neither Germany nor Europe as a whole has yet risen to the challenge of American relative decline, and the recent economic crisis has not made that any easier. All of the authors in these works recognize the need for better

coordination within Europe, and between Europe and the United States, and agree that Germany must play a central role in any successful coordination. Germans and Germany's neighbors are nevertheless still trying to figure out Germany's global role, even as diplomacy and domestic politics pull in different directions. For better or worse, that is the new normal. Anyone trying to understand how we got to where we are would be well advised to study these two works.

Foreign Policy Research Institute

Ronald J. Granieri

The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties.

By Martin Klimke. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011. 346 pp. \$24.95.

The 1960s were a turbulent and exciting decade full of changes. These changes cannot be limited to one country or even one continent, but occurred on a global stage. In this book Martin Klimke focuses on social movements in West Germany and the United States, highlighting the student protests at the root of a global uprising, as well as the influences and challenges these protests presented for Cold War alliances. Klimke focuses on two organizations, one American and one German, which by chance had the same abbreviation: SDS. The German SDS was the "Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund" and the American SDS was "Students for a Democratic Society." These two student organizations influenced each other, mainly through exchange students who developed contacts and fostered cooperation between the two SDS groups. For example, the American SDS credited German, Michael Vester, with playing an "influential role in developing an international perspective that connected the outlook of the American SDS, which was primarily shaped by domestic events" (24). Ideas also spread from the United States to Germany forged by personal contacts, the returning exchange students who had worked with the American SDS, visits from American students to Germany, and also through the main publications of the American scene.

Klimke also discusses attempts to internationalize the antiwar movement which focused on the war in Vietnam. Again, the author highlights how students in both countries drew inspiration from each other. These influences eventually led to a transatlantic antiwar alliance, which Klimke calls "the second front," and, most importantly, forced the U.S. government to react to the alliance. One group that had a significant influence on the German

student movement was the Black Power movement in the United States. The author analyses links between the Black Panthers, as they were called, to the terrorism in the Federal Republic in the 1970s (*Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF*). German student protesters were especially drawn to the Angela Davis case. Because of her membership in the Communist Party, Ronald Reagan wanted Davis banned from teaching at any university in California, where she was tried and acquitted of suspected involvement in the abduction and murder of a judge in 1970. Students formed the Angela Davis Solidarity Committee in May of 1971.

After elucidating the influence that the protests and students had on each other, Klimke explores the reaction of the American government to the "alliance." Here he focuses especially on the State Department's Inter-Agency Youth Committee, which advised the American government on confronting student and youth protests in Germany and the rest of Europe. Klimke examines the manner in which the American government developed an interest in European youth, focusing on the "Berlin problem," where many disturbances took place and students clashed with police several times (with the climax of Benno Ohnesorg being shot and killed by the police). Also in Berlin, American G.I.s stationed in the city became the target of the student protests as well as the *Amerikahäuser* that were founded after World War II to bring Germans up to date on current literature and culture.

The scholarship on the protests and changes of the 1960s in Germany and the United States is extensive, but Klimke brings the history of both countries together and highlights the many connections between student protesters on both sides of the Atlantic. His arrangement of materials and discussions is logical. Chapters are arranged by topic and then material is presented chronologically within each chapter. This means that Klimke repeats information from one chapter to another at times, but these repetitions reinforce certain connections and influences for the reader. Klimke manages to write a compelling history of the 1960s student protests that will be enjoyed by those familiar with it because he reveals so many new facts and connections between the movements. This book is also a good starting point for those new to the history of the 1960s. Klimke's new insights on the sixties stem from previously classified documents and original interviews which make this book lively and original.

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Julia Trumpold Stock

Science and Conscience: The Life of James Franck.

By Jost Lemmerich. Translated by Ann M. Hentschel. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011. 392 pp. \$65.00.

Nobel Prize laureate James Franck was a German-American experimental physicist whose German-born contemporaries included fellow Nobel laureates Max Planck, Albert Einstein, and Max Born. Biographies on each of these men have appeared either in German or in English, but until Jost Lemmerich's recent work *Science and Conscience: The Life of James Franck* (2011), Ann M. Hentschel's translation of *Aufrecht im Sturm der Zeit: Der Physiker James Franck, 1882-1964* (2007), there had been no full-length text on Franck's life and work. This biography interweaves the stories of Franck's personal and professional lives with those of his contemporaries in physics, all with the greater backdrop of the historical events in Germany and, to a lesser extent, the United States and western Europe during Franck's life. The author relays the various events in a chronological order, relying on Franck's correspondences, his published works, newspaper articles, and conversations with Franck's daughter, Lisa Lisco, as well as archival material.

Lemmerich begins with Franck's youth in Hamburg, where he was born in 1882 to Rebecca and Jacob Franck. Jacob was a devout Jew and raised his son in the faith. James Franck was initially not a particularly good student, but he graduated from *Gymnasium* in 1902 and embarked on a university education at the University of Heidelberg. Initially a law student, Franck obtained his father's consent to change his course of study, and he subsequently left to attend university in Berlin. He studied under notable physicists such as Max Planck and Emil Warburg, and completed his doctoral examinations in 1906. Franck received his diploma on June 30, 1906, with a major in physics and minors in chemistry and philosophy.

After a brief stay in Frankfurt, Franck continued to work in Berlin, publishing 34 articles by 1914, the majority of which focused on the field of ionization and quantum theory. Nineteen of these articles were co-written with Gustav Hertz, with whom he would share the Nobel Prize in 1925. Franck was then awarded his *Habilitation* in 1911. During these years in Berlin, Franck married Ingrid née Josephsson and welcomed two daughters into the world. Franck served in the German forces during World War I, and while doing so continued his physics research with gases. This included testing gas masks and filter fittings for efficacy, life-threatening endeavors. His war experiences greatly affected him. As Lemmerich notes, after this, "All his actions were guided by earnestness, an impulse to help others, and a strong sense of duty" (60).

In 1921, the Franck family moved to Göttingen when Franck accepted a position at the university's Experimental Physics Institute II. There, Franck was a prolific researcher and academic advisor, known for his pleasant relationships with his subordinates and colleagues. Although there was a rising tide of anti-Semitism throughout Germany, it initially went largely unfelt in Göttingen. As the aggression against Jewish people intensified, though, Franck decided to voluntarily resign his post in 1933. After brief sojourns in Copenhagen and Germany, Franck and his wife moved to Baltimore in 1935. Franck worked as a lecturer at Johns Hopkins University, where he was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. His daughters and their husbands eventually joined them in the United States.

In the United States, Franck's research turned to the mechanisms of photosynthesis, and in 1939, he received an offer to work at the University of Chicago. Franck became a United States citizen in 1941, and in 1942 he was enlisted to act as the head of the chemistry division at the Metallurgical Laboratory working on the development of the atomic bomb. Despite this, his "Franck Report," submitted on June 11, 1945, argued against an unannounced deployment of the bomb because of the potential to spark an arms race. After World War II, Franck continued to advocate for the restriction of nuclear weapons development. Franck never returned to Germany to live, but he made frequent trips there after the war. He died on May 21, 1964, during a visit to Göttingen.

This biography provides a comprehensive and well-researched narrative of Franck, his work, and his academic and personal relationships during a tumultuous time for this German-Jewish scientist. The text contains long sections on Franck's work that may prove difficult for a lay reader to follow, but it is possible to scan them and still be left with a solid understanding of the work. There are points where the chronology could be clearer, but the scope of the biography and the focus on a lesser-known, but nonetheless worthy, subject offer a rich reading experience.

Doane College

Kristen M. Hetrick

Houdini: Art and Magic.

Edited by Brooke Kamin Rapaport. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010. 280 pp. \$39.95.

This book captures the essence of a major exhibiton, *Houdini: Art and Magic*, organized by the Jewish Museum in New York. The traveling exhibit has

appeared in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Madison, Wisconsin from 29 October 2010 to 13 May 2012. It succeeds in conveying a sense of wonder by reproducing 157 color and 45 black and white illustrations. It opens with a cover peephole, a circular cutout which leads the viewer's eye into the front paper lithograph by J. Ziem, "Mysteriarch" (1915). This is followed with gorgeous full color copies of parts of his travel diary and later newspaper clippings.

The core consists of nearly 100 pages of text with four major essays, an unequal section of fifteen interviews, a chronology, and 60 pages of illustrations from Houdini's magic equipment. Brooke Kamin Rapaport's "Houdini's Transformation in Visual Culture" (2-50) provides an excellent summary of the life and times of Harry Houdini (1874-1926). She suggests that "this volume provides a new interpretation of Houdini's significance from the 1890s to the present and documents how a celebrated individual's identity evolves across generations" (xiv). This is well described in the relationship between Houdini and his father, Rabbi Mayer Samuel Weiss, and the influential German Reform Judaism of the period. From obscure beginnings in Budapest, Hungary, the Weiss family provides an implicit view of ethnic identity in the popular culture of Gilded Age America.

Alan Brinkley, Allan Nevins Professor of History at Columbia, provides the most sustained analysis in his essay, "The Immigrant World of Harry Houdini" (52-65). Brinkley clearly explicates how Houdini symbolized the immigrant's escape to the New World with his primary act of being an escape artist. Strangely enough, the role of magic in his career is not explored here. Of course, his most famous act of making an elephant disappear in front of sold out audiences at the New York Hippodrome is astonishing but the only time he used this act was in 1916. In fact, the mental world of World War I was one where the audience's hope of escapism was momentarily replaced by an even stronger wish to vanish.

In the biographical essay, "Houdini, the Rabbi's son" (66-91), Kenneth Silverman provides a wealth of detail and specifics on Houdini's personal life but has no footnotes accessible in this volume, relying instead upon two previous books. This diminishes the usefulness of the essay, and prompts the reader to wonder what the pages of the Appleton, Wisconsin *Volksfreund* would really offer the researcher interested in the German-American life of that community and its possible influences upon Houdini. The larger issues of migration to Wisconsin and its influence upon the Weiss family in the late 1870s is also ignored. But in the midst of his narrative, Silverman does explain Houdini's most overlooked hobby: book collecting. In fact, Houdini single-handedly created two comprehensive research libraries on magic and

the theatre. This is a splendid book to add to a growing shelf of materials about the world of mass entertainment.

Scott Community College

William H. Roba

Hitler and America.

By Klaus P. Fischer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 368 pp. \$29.95.

Both the book's title and stated goal are misleading because the book covers several topics beyond Hitler's relationship to America while superficially addressing its main topic. Fischer describes the goal of the book as a "reconsideration of certain crucial issues" of Hitler's attitude and behavior towards America. He wants to focus on how well Hitler was informed, his efforts to split the "unnatural alliance" (1) between the Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, and the question as to why Hitler declared war on the United States. However, the discussion of these issues is mainly limited to four of the ten chapters in the book (chapters one, six, seven, and eight). Other chapters address the general course of the Second World War, the political situation in the United States, supporters of Nazi-ideology in the United States, as well as Roosevelt's views of Germany (determined by his childhood experience in Germany). The book is organized according to the chronological development of the Hitler regime and the Second World War. As a consequence, the analysis of Hitler's view of the United States or German Anti-Americanism is spread out through the book and not always well connected with the historical context.

Fischer repeatedly introduces strong theses which he later undermines or dismisses. Early on, Fischer states that Hitler had a "split image" of America, admiring her industrial potential but looking down on her culture and military potential (10). This conclusion is presented as one of the main findings of the book but immediately weakened by the statement that Hitler's image of America was "not substantially different from what most Germans thought of America" (11). Unfortunately, Fischer does not demonstrate in detail how Hitler's views agree or disagree with the Anti-Americanism of his time. When addressing Hitler's knowledge about America, Fischer even contradicts his own analysis: on the one hand, he sets out to show that Hitler was better informed than often assumed, had a "fairly realistic understanding of American economic power" (37) and always kept track of the United States (281). On the other hand, Fischer describes Hitler's knowledge of

the United States as naive and based on questionable sources (289), and he concludes that "one misjudgment of American power followed another" (290). Nevertheless, this section of the book is one of the strongest because Fischer gives an interesting overview of Hitler's small group of advisors and his literary sources on America's culture and politics. However, Fischer could have provided more detail on the connection between Hitler's convictions and the tradition of pro- or anti-American literature; furthermore, Fischer mentions the existence of Hitler's unpublished second book that addresses America, but does not discuss this source.

Among the better parts of the book are the descriptions of Hitler's attempts to delay the entry of the United States into the war, of Hitler's supporters in the United States, as well as the description of Hitler's efforts to split the alliance of his enemies through exploring separate peace agreements. However, information on these issues is interspersed in several chapters and, thus, difficult to find (the chapter mainly dedicated to peace efforts is limited to the years 1944 and 1945).

Other questions are answered in an even less thorough way. Fischer mentions that Hitler ordered the German propaganda against America to focus on cultural aspects, not the mix of races (170-71). He does not analyze this issue further, despite the importance of race ideology for Hitler. Earlier, Fischer repeats the well-known fact that Hitler read Karl May, but leaves the reader with general statements on the appeal of heroism in May's works and Hitler's tendency to filter out information that does not fit his convictions (18). Fischer also falls short in analyzing Hitler's motives to declare war on the United States. According to Fischer, Hitler saw Roosevelt as controlled by Jews and, as a result, determined that a war with the United States was unavoidable; thus, he found it necessary to act before the United States was fully prepared for war (154). While this argument is interesting, Fischer provides no background on Hitler's belief that Jews controlled Roosevelt (except in one footnote).

For those who are familiar with scholarship on Hitler and/or Anti-Americanism, Fischer's book does not offer much new and it remains superficial regarding most aspects of Hitler's thinking on America. For those just looking for a very condensed description of the Second World War with focus on the relationship between Germany and the United States, the book offers a well-written solution.

Accident of Fate: A Personal Account 1938-1945.

By Imre Rochlitz. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2011. 223 pp. \$29.95.

My Germany: A Jewish Writer Returns to the World His Parents Escaped.

By Lev Raphael. Madison: Terrace Books, 2011. 224 pp. \$19.95.

As the generation of Holocaust survivors dwindles, the literature of their memories is also coming to a halt. Into the vacuum, however, memories of the second generation – the children of these survivors – are moving. The two works under consideration here represent each of these genres: one a survivor memoir, the other a coming-of-age autobiography by the child of survivors. The first narrative ends with the narrator's emigration to the United States; the second begins with the life of recently arrived survivors in the US and continues through the first decade of the twenty-first century. Even in a field already crowded with autobiographical documentation, both works contribute to Americans' understanding of the Holocaust and to Germanists' understanding of the continuing *Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit*. Rochlitz provides a Jewish refugee's perspective on daily life among various factions and in various regions of war-torn Yugoslavia. Raphael addresses the fraught, unresolved relationship of many American Jews even today with Hitler's legacy in the Berlin Republic.

Imre Rochlitz's book might more aptly bear the title *Accidents of Fate*, as it recounts numerous brushes with death, all of which emphasize the arbitrariness of survival, specifically "the immense power of the random individual to tip the balance of fate from death to life." Rochlitz observes that in many cases, "...no courage or particular conviction was required; the basic propensity to behave decently was enough" (xi). His account shares other motifs from works of this genre: dispersal and ultimate destruction of families, terror, flight into unknown territory, lack of information, and the unremitting struggle for survival. Rochlitz captures vividly the rich warmth of his Viennese Jewish family, in which kind uncles and aunts tried to fill the void left by the death of his Hungarian father when the narrator was three and his brother Max only six. He crafts an energetic narrative, ending each chapter with a "cliff-hanger" sentence.

Culturally but not religiously identifying with Judaism, the family members were fiercely patriotic Austrians, many of whom emigrated to Yugoslavia to join an uncle established in business there. An Uncle Ferdinand's bravery during World War I, documented in a report that he submitted to the Austrian War Archives in 1937, effected the unexpected release of Imre and two other relatives from the notorious Jasenovac death camp after three weeks

of incarceration in the winter of 1942. American readers will appreciate the book's illumination of the complex Yugoslav political landscape as battleground between the Allied and the Axis powers, and among the different ethnic groups. The young Rochlitz himself, fighting with the Yugoslav partisans and struggling to negotiate anti-Semitic, anti-German, and anti-Hungarian (since at that point the Hungarians were allied with the Germans) sentiment, claimed to be a Slovene, a group "not particularly hated by either the Serbs or the Croats, who were busy hating each other" (141), and changed his name to Mirko Rohlic. His mastery of Serbo-Croatian, facilitated by a maid in his uncle's household in Zagreb, greatly helped his various changes of identity throughout the war years.

Rochlitz depicts the Yugoslav partisans as a courageous but obdurately dogmatic group who lacked sympathy for Jewish refugees during the war and meted out ideologically driven judgments and summary executions in the immediate postwar era. His own affections, shared by many family members, focused on the United States and the Americans, who, like the British, disappointed them time and again with an official lack of interest in aiding refugees, whether in pre-war Vienna or in war-torn Yugoslavia. Despite America's political failings, the land of limitless opportunity courses its way through the narrative as the ultimate goal of all refugees; the downed American airmen whom the narrator occasionally encounters in the mountains appear as "supermen, . . . charmed beings from another planet" (122). The Italians emerge as the book's most positive group.

The middle section details Imre's ultimately successful attempts with an aunt and four uncles to reach Italian-occupied Yugoslavia along the Dalmatian coast. Under increasing pressure by their German allies, the Italians rounded up these Jews into a concentration camp at Kraljevica and treated them with decency and humanity. Rochlitz writes, "The Italians continually sought to improve our living conditions. They provided us with medicines, blankets, kitchen utensils, and even pieces of military clothing" (106). Offered a chance to escape safely, the narrator declined, not knowing where he would head and fearing falling into the hands of the Nazis or the viciously fascist Ustashe. When the camp was dissolved, the refugees were trucked to the island of Rab in the Adriatic, where some managed to flee to by boat to Bari in southern Italy and others, like Imre and his relatives, were evacuated to the mainland and hidden in the mountains by partisans.

The affectionate sketches of his relatives pale beside the narrator's self-portrait as an intelligent, curious, brash, and remarkably resourceful youth. Even while acknowledging the many "accidents of fate" driving his survival, the reader marvels at his sheer gutsiness. As the Germans slowly closed in on their isolated Yugoslav village, Imre's relatives continued to place trust in their

documents from the Austrian general whose intervention had freed them from Jasenovac. The nineteen-year old, however, insisted on fleeing through the snowy mountains to join the partisan forces. Only when he grabbed his rucksack and headed for the door did two uncles, reluctantly shouldering responsibility for their nephew's safety, follow him. His other two uncles and aunt were immediately shot by an SS commando when it entered the village a short time later, but the two uncles who had fled with Imre survived the war.

Rochlitz intersperses his taught, lively narrative with both textual and visual documentary material set off in italics. Here too he interjects his own later discoveries or encounters with characters from the main story. The documents come from both private and general archival sources, all of which are cited in the acknowledgements at the end. The book also includes a helpful glossary of names and places, an index, a short bibliography of works in English for the general reader, and a list of the some sixty Allied airmen and POWs whom the young Imre encountered during the war in Yugoslavia. Reaching the final page, the reader hopes that the writer will fulfill his final promise to write about his later life and career after coming to the US, graduating from university and law school, marrying, and having four children.

This is the point at which Lev Raphael begins his own story, growing up as the son of Eastern European Yiddish-speaking Jewish refugees on the border between Harlem and Washington Heights in Manhattan among older, more established German Jews, in his words "people in a marginal neighborhood" (88). Some aspects of his story echo experiences of other disappointed immigrants to the Land of Limitless Possibility. His parents, after five years of contented and professionally satisfying life in postwar Belgium, came to the US mainly to put more distance between themselves and Germany. They had rejected Israel, his mother quipping, "Jews? I had enough of them in the ghetto and the camps!" (85). But the better life in New York promised by a relative failed to materialize, and the family lived as bitter and isolated lower-middle class misfits. Thus the author grew up under the shadow of multiple betrayals: "Betrayal was our family's leitmotif," he writes (87).

Some motifs of this narrative recall Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, to which he alludes briefly (96). The conversations with the father—stilted and reticent after the mother's death—the ubiquitous ghosts of lost family members, the ambivalent and fraught relationship to Judaism, the tentative assimilation into American society are familiar to Spiegelman's readers. But Raphael's book, even more than Spiegelman's, focuses on the second generation's troubled search for identity against a backdrop of uncertain, sometimes conflicting family stories shaped by profound trauma.

The porousness of memory and the fluidity of narrative perspective

are major themes of this work. Very early in the memoir, the narrator characterizes second-generation Holocaust survivors' knowledge about the war as "fragmented, based on our parents' recollections, their silences, their unexpressed feelings, and our own fantasies or suppositions" (22). Occasionally he reports an experience that he has heard from his mother, only to have both his father and his brother tell very different versions. His mother disparages some other survivors' published memoirs, claiming "that people had painted themselves as far more heroic than they'd actually been" (27). Although he cites historians like Saul Friedlander or Lucy Davidowicz, the creative writer does not share the attorney Rochlitz's preoccupation with precise documentation. Instead, he describes a more intimate personal struggle, that of a young American finding his way amidst a jumble of competing social, ethnic, religious, and political forces.

Space does not permit a detailed unraveling of Rafael's torturous journey as an alienated, lonely immigrant child, an *Ostjude* in a New York neighborhood of *Yekkeh's*, a closeted gay male, a secular Jew tormented by spiritual questions, and a writer struggling to earn a livelihood. The memoir's title, however, announces the major direction of the book, what sets it apart from many other second-generation memoirs, i.e., the writer's eventual confrontation with a world that for him and his family has occupied a discrete ontological category as the arch-diabolical, Germans as "an unchanging, simmering, evil people" (131). The narrator prepares the reader for this confrontation by recounting in the first half of the book the most gruesome instances of sadism perpetrated by the Nazis on their victims, some witnessed by his parents, others gleaned from other sources. Germany defines the borders of their lives, "the way that old maps supposedly used to warn in the margins, 'Here be Dragons'" (41); to him all of Europe appears "a slaughterhouse as much as a continent" (67). Lev ("Lewis" until his mid-twenties) grows up with an animosity to everything German, joking even about dachshunds, although his family—ironically—owns a German shepherd. Even the boy scouts are off-limits because of their supposed resemblance to the Hitlerjugend.

A crack in this phobia begins when, as a 24-year old graduate student, he encounters his first German, a fellow graduate student in his dorm. Rafael wryly equates his reaction to "Eberhard" with the response of some nineteenth-century Americans meeting a Jew for the first time and wondering where the horns are. His remark, ". . . I could not get over how unremarkable and innocuous this guy was" (52), would strike contemporary readers as naïve had he not belabored the demonization of Germans defining his life until then. But before and then during his own encounter with modern Germany, he must work through other stages of self-discovery, which include a love affair with a gentile woman from New Zealand, a phase of Orthodox Judaism,

a stay in Israel, study at three universities (as an undergraduate he chooses Fordham in an attempt to distance himself from his Jewish background), the discovery of a married father of two as his ultimate life partner, his coming out to his parents, his mother's slow death from dementia, and the halting building of closer ties to his father.

Before visiting the country, the narrator admits, "I never really saw Germany as separate from my parents' experience, a modern nation charting a new course. I saw it through the lens of my parents' suffering—that is, when *I did* see it" (131). When trying to retrace some of his mother's immediate postwar biography he discovers distant relatives in Germany who invite him for a brief visit. The book's final third, relating the American Jewish writer's gradual rapprochement to the country where so many of his relatives had lost their lives, would seem naïve and touristic were it not for the preamble of trauma and fear. After the initial ice-breaking trip, subsequent book tours introduce him to a well-functioning democracy, where educated, respectful readers pose probing questions. For Raphael, as for others, travel abroad consolidates his own national identity and helps him balance his sense of Europeaness with that of Americanness. He admits to finding Germany sometimes even "fun" (152), commenting on one evening after reading in a gay bookshop, "I had had a blast" (177). Readers acquainted with contemporary Germany will marvel at Raphael's reaction to the modern state that succeeded Hitler's Reich. He moderates his enthusiasm by acknowledging social tensions and incidents of *Fremdenhaß* and skinhead violence, by mentioning controversies over Holocaust memorials, and by admitting the difficulty of evaluating whether or not Germany is a "normal" country again (204).

In the Epilogue Raphael emphasizes the extent of his personal growth as a second-generation Holocaust survivor. He portrays audience hostility to a 2006 talk at a "prestigious Jewish cultural center on the East Coast" (197), where his account of visiting Germany as a wonderful, healing experience proved tantamount to shouting "Fire" in a crowded movie theater (199). The room of "angry, damaged people who were furious at [him] . . . for having abandoned the hatred and fear that they still clung to" (202) confirmed his own sense of relief at "having let go of so much" (202). While the story of his own trauma and healing is persuasive, the book leaves many questions open, particularly the juggling of Jewish and gay identities, and the unresolved family tensions arising in part from these multiple identities. His concluding sentences tantalize the reader with his father's unexpected request that he try to research a German officer who had unexpectedly spared his life after discovering that the two shared a common first name: "I'm almost speechless, and I'm not even sure how to begin the search my father wants me to undertake. But it's clear my journey isn't over" (222). Rafael appends

a section of "Works Consulted" but no index. His photos are fewer than Rochlitz's, and almost all pertain directly to his parents.

Despite the grim subject matter, both books display an engaging style that will speak to a broad readership. Rochlitz's book provides more specific historical information, while Rafael's gives insight into the lasting psychological trauma of the Holocaust among American Jews and the high costs of healing from this pain. Rafael's writing also reflects the persistence of stereotypes about Germany among many Americans, stuck in the German = Nazi cliché. More translations of memoirs and fictional works by offspring of Nazi perpetrators and bystanders (for example Wibke Bruhns, Uwe Timm, Monika Jetter, and Tanja Dückers, to name only a few) would illuminate the struggles of the other "second generation" with their legacy of memory. This deficiency in the American publishing marketplace makes Raphael's book all the more resonant.

Franklin & Marshall College

Cecile Cazort Zorach

The Mauthausen Trial: American Military Justice in Germany.

By Tomaz Jardim. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012. 276 pp. \$45.00.

The trial of 61 Nazi perpetrators of crimes against inmates of the Mauthausen concentration camp has never received the attention that it deserves. It has been routinely upstaged by the trial of more high-profile Nazis at Nuremberg. A lack of available sources on this trial is also responsible for this oversight; major trial records were not released until many years after proceedings were concluded, and many documents, for reasons unknown, were not de-classified until the early 1990s. Tomaz Jardim has culled these sources, along with interviews of trial participants, into an absorbing and superbly written narrative emphasizing the importance of the Mauthausen trial in the overall history of Nazi war crimes. His account not only sheds light on the trial of Nazis responsible for crimes committed against the inmates of the Mauthausen concentration camp, but also is the first major work to make the trials against these perpetrators its central theme.

While not as infamous as its many of its counterparts, the concentration camp at Mauthausen played a critical role in the Nazi system of incarceration and terror, as it was the key site of the deadly Nazi program known as "extermination through work." Yet despite its importance, American authorities didn't dedicate adequate resources to the prosecution, which

had to scramble to find translators, interrogators, and other key personnel to assist in the gathering of evidence. In many cases, former inmates were called to serve in these roles because no one else was available. Those who would have been perhaps best suited to the task of gathering evidence for the prosecution—German-speaking soldiers or former German emigres serving in the army—were instead dispatched by U.S. officials to assist Nuremberg prosecutors. This lack of support, along with the psychological impact of the evidence presented at trial—took their toll on chief prosecutor William Denson. As proceedings drew to a close, he had lost 43 pounds, and had to be treated for exhaustion. Jardim argues that regardless of the lack of support, this trial not only achieved its objectives but was also perhaps more significant than the Nuremberg trials because the former “remains indicative of the most common . . . approach to war crimes prosecution historically taken by the U.S.” If this is the case, then the Mauthausen trials represented an exception to the rule: whereas judges at Nuremberg meted out death sentences to 11 top Nazis, 48 men were sentenced to death as result of the Mauthausen trials. The death sentences were carried out on the 27th and 28th of May 1947. These two days, as Jardim points out, witnessed “the largest number of executions stemming from a single trial in American history” (186).

Another important distinction between the Nuremberg and Mauthausen trials involves the evidence used by the prosecution. Whereas the Nuremberg prosecutors relied on documentary evidence to build their cases, the Mauthausen trial prosecution relied more heavily upon survivor testimonials. Jardim regards these accounts as a useful if not key prosecutorial tool, as they allowed the court to “fully grasp the depth of criminality within the camp system.” The active participation of survivors in the trial proceedings also provided them with means by which they could obtain a sense of personal justice for crimes committed against them. Jardim argues that the utility of survivor testimonials is as valid today as it was back in the 1940s, providing a means by which the legal process “can empower victims of mass violence” (213).

Unfortunately, what the two trials had in common was the fact that those sentenced to life in prison ultimately benefitted from “the softening of American resolve against former enemies” as the Soviet threat became more prominent in the years immediately after the war (200). By the 1950’s, most defendants of the Nuremberg and Mauthausen trials sentenced to life in prison had been freed. The relaxation of attitude towards Nazi criminals no doubt fuelled the desire of former Mauthausen inmate Simon Wiesenthal, who had assisted in prosecution of Mauthausen defendants, to become one of the premier Nazi hunters of the postwar era. In the end, however, Jardim’s impressive account of the Mauthausen trial invites historians to shift their

persistent gaze from top Nazis to accounts of lesser known perpetrators, and once again emphasizes the importance of uncovering crimes committed by "ordinary men" during the Nazi era.

Florida Atlantic University

Patricia Kollander

Inherited Wealth.

By Jens Beckert. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Princeton University Press, 2007. 384 pp. \$47.95.

In this well-informed study, which explores the developments of inheritance law in Germany, France, and the United States since the late eighteenth century, Jans Beckert provides both a comparative and historical perspective to a longstanding sociological discussion on the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next. While other scholars have pointed to increased individualization in modernizing societies, Beckert convincingly argues that the development of inheritance laws in each of the three countries has reflected important economic, governmental, social, and cultural differences.

Beckert bases his selection of France, Germany, and the United States on perceived and relative similarities. According to him, each of these societies was thrust into the development of modern Western capitalism in similar ways and confronted similar structural problems; therefore, it is reasonable to expect their inheritance laws might have developed in parallel ways. Beckert's findings are based on a careful synthesis of thirty-six key parliamentary debates in the three different countries. Most importantly, in addition to his analysis of the actual development of inheritance laws, Beckert places particular emphasis on the discourse in debates surrounding those laws that, according to him, lay the foundation for the process by which inheritance laws became institutionalized.

Beckert structures his work both thematically and chronologically around four central controversies involving inheritance law throughout the past two centuries: the freedom to dispose of one's property as one wishes, the rights of family members to the wealth bequeathed, the dissolution of entails, and inheritance taxation. Each of these controversies, which represent crucial legal and political debates, makes up one of the four main chapters of the book, which are then further subdivided by three sections dedicated to a specific analysis of each of the three countries. While the time frame examined stretches over the last two hundred years, the core of the book focuses heavily

on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Following a valuable introductory chapter, Beckert's second chapter examines the controversy of testamentary freedom or the freedom to dispose of one's property as one wishes. Here, he rejects earlier arguments that the handling of the transfer of property can be seen as a process driven by increased individualization. Instead, his use of the comparative method reveals that the process involves controversial debates on how to balance individual rights of the testator with the claims of both the family and society. The following chapter, which examines conflicts surrounding the rights of inheritance of family members, supports this claim even further. Here, he reminds us that inheritance practices cannot be classified as purely individual decisions alone but are instead regulated by a variety of social norms such as those that bind the testator to his family.

Beckert's fourth chapter examines entails, which provide that the testator not only be able to determine the heir, but also able to determine to whom the wealth must be bequeathed after the death of that heir. Often associated with aristocracy, entails provided a way in which the testator could control the use of his property across many generations. Here, he argues that entails and the timing of their abolition can be explained only in close connection with changes in political structures of each society. For this reason, entails specifically came under pressure beginning in the eighteenth century because, as Beckert demonstrates, they represented a way to organize private property that was economically incompatible with the development of modern capitalism and notions of equality. Finally, the fifth and longest chapter examines the role of the state as heir. Here, he carefully examines how inheritance taxation developed in Germany, France, and the United States, how each society dealt with the dilemma of inheritance as a cause of social inequality, and how one may explain the differences in taxation laws that came to exist in the three different societies. By placing the development of inheritance law in a larger cultural context, Beckert successfully concludes that while the United States, France, and Germany have all defended inheritance rights based on notions of individual property, because of culturally specific understandings, they have each come to justify the limitations set by inheritance laws in profoundly different ways.

While Beckert's use of the comparative method is effective in reaching these conclusions, future studies might go further to move beyond the analytical limitations of traditional comparison which artificially separates objects of study showcasing differences and neglecting mutual developments and interconnectedness of societies. Despite this, after reading this extensively

researched, comprehensive study, one is left with little doubt that it will make a lasting contribution to both sociological and historical scholarship.

University of Texas at Arlington

Nicole Léopoldie

Georg Luther: Eine Salzunger Geschichte.

By Karl Döbling. Jena: Verlag Neue Literatur, 2011. 307 pp. Euro 18,90.

Das Buch empfiehlt sich bereits durch die attraktive Aufmachung mit der Abbildung des 1852 für Cornelius Vanderbilt gebauten Dampfschiffes „North Star“, das eine angenehmere Überfahrt verspricht, als die Passagiere des Zwischendecks in Wirklichkeit erlebten.

Obwohl der Leser am Anfang den Eindruck haben könnte, es handele sich um die übliche, erfundene Auswanderergeschichte, so wird er bald durch die Familienfotos der Hauptpersonen eines Besseren belehrt. Bedauerlich nur, dass so wenig über die Entstehungsgeschichte des Buches angegeben ist, da Nachforschungen ergaben, dass es sich um Ereignisse in der Familiengeschichte des Verfassers handelt, die dieser aufgrund von ihm überlassenen Briefen erforscht und dargestellt hat. Einzelne Begegnungen sind sicherlich erfunden; es entsteht jedoch ein sehr spannendes und auf angenehme Weise belehrendes Buch, in dem viele Themen angesprochen werden, die zu weiterem Lesen anregen und Leser mit dem Einfluss deutscher Einwanderer auf Amerika bekanntmachen.

Thüringen—das „Grüne Herz Deutschlands“ ist die Heimat von Georg Luther, einem entfernten Verwandten des Reformators—so wird zumindest angenommen. Der erste Teil der Lebensgeschichte des Georg Luther spielt in Bad Salzungen, der zweite an mehreren Orten in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.

Die Beschreibung der Kindheit und Jugend von Georg Luther (1838-58) im Herzogtum Sachsen-Meiningen, beginnt mit dem Jahr 1844 und wird umrahmt von den historischen Gegebenheiten der Zeit: der Enge des kleinen Städtchens, das immerhin 1841 Solebad wurde, die begrenzten beruflichen und sozialen Möglichkeiten, Hungersnöte durch schlechte Ernten; erwähnt werden die Aufstände in den Weberdörfern Schlesiens ebenso wie die strengen Regeln unter denen alle Bürger leben und leiden.

Geschickt wird der junge Georg als ein aufmerksamer Zuhörer beschrieben, der von den Gesprächen lernt. So wie im ganzen Lande, gärt es

auch im Herzogtum, obwohl "der Herzog beliebt ist, das Land eine liberale Verfassung hat und die Tore zur neuen Welt offen stehen (25)." Es wird überhaupt viel über Amerika gerätselt, gesprochen und man merkt sich, wo Salzunger angesiedelt sind, falls man ihre Gastlichkeit einmal selbst benötigt. Das Jahr 1848 wird besonders intensiv behandelt, da auch Salzungen nicht von den Auswirkungen der Revolution verschont bleibt.

Der Stiefvater hat mit der Heirat die Schmiede des Vaters übernommen und auch Georg macht eine Ausbildung als Schmied. Die üblichen Wanderjahre kann er nicht mehr wahrnehmen, da er durch die unverhoffte Einziehung zum Militär seinen Plan, nach Amerika auszuwandern, Hals über Kopf in die Tat umsetzen muss. Es folgen eine aufregende Flossfahrt auf der Werra und die Schiffsreise nach New York.

In New York wird Georg von Salzunger Bekannten und Verwandten freundlich empfangen, macht dann bald seine erste Fahrt mit der Eisenbahn durch die Staaten Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois bis nach Wisconsin. Da Georg des öfteren seine Pläne ändert, lernt er—und der Leser—bei den vielen Ortswechseln Land, Landsleute und Amerika kennen.

Die Jahre nach der gescheiterten deutschen Revolution von 1848 und die Jahre vor dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg 1861 sind in beiden Ländern politisch höchst unerfreulich. Viele Deutsche werden zur Auswanderung nach Amerika gezwungen. Georg macht die Bekanntschaft Betroffener oder hört zumindest von ihnen, wie Friedrich Heckel, Gustav Struve, den berühmten Carl Schurz, den Georg Luther durchaus in Wisconsin oder St. Louis bei Wahlveranstaltungen für die wichtige Präsidentschaftswahl 1860 kennengelernt haben könnte und er trifft John Röbling, den bekannten Erbauer der Brooklyn Bridge, einer Hängebrücke in New York.

Er besucht eine Plantage in den Südstaaten, auf der Sklaven gehalten werden, erlebt eine Dampferfahrt auf dem Mississippi und lernt dort Pierre de Longueville, den Nachkommen einer französisch-kanadischen Familie kennen. Die für die Familie Longueville benutzte Bezeichnung "Cajun" anstatt "Acadian" dürfte ein Versehen sein, da das Wort "Cajun" erst einige Jahre später gebräuchlich wurde. Erwähnt wird die fast tödliche Erkrankung mit dem Gelbfieber, das in New Orleans vielen das Leben kostete. Georg begegnet deutschen Immigranten in St. Louis im "Turnverein," verpflichtet sich im Freiwilligen Regiment unter Franz Sigel und kämpft schliesslich im 5. Regiment der US-Armee erst gegen die Indianer und dann in der Armee von General Grant, wodurch er an der Belagerung im südstaatlichen Vicksburg teilnimmt.

Man wünscht dem Buch viele, besonders jüngere Leser und Leser, die

sich mit dem Thema der deutschen Auswanderung nach Amerika vertraut machen möchten.

Covington, Louisiana

Brigitta L. Malm

Transatlantic Echoes: Alexander von Humboldt in World Literature and Cosmos and Colonialism: Alexander von Humboldt in Cultural Criticism.

Edited by Rex Clark and Oliver Lubrich. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012. Vol. 1. 465 pp. Vol. 2. 357 pp. \$120.00.

Rex Clark and Oliver Lubrich have assembled 150 individual contributions in two volumes about Alexander von Humboldt over a period of about 200 years. In the first volume the editors drew one hundred texts about Humboldt from a broad range of literary genres: poetry, drama, novels, novellas, letters, essays, newspapers articles, scholarly papers, film scripts, comic books, and works of non-fiction. Forty-eight of them came from authors of the German language, twenty-two from English-speaking authors, nineteen from Latin-American writers, eight from French, and three from Scandinavian languages, authors such as Goethe, Byron, Bolívar, Darwin, Emerson, Thoreau, Balzac, Poe, Heine, Church, Whitman, Verne, Strindberg, Huxley, Pound, Neruda, Márquez, Enzensberger, etc. The second volume of fifty texts (in approximately the same ratio of original languages) were selected on a different basis. In this case the focus is on critical interpretation, reflecting diverse views on Humboldt's historical significance, his contributions in scientific, intellectual, social and cultural interpretation. In this volume the texts often have the character of essays. The list of authors includes, for example, Agassiz, Burckhardt, Heinzen, Nietzsche, da Cunha, Sucre, Ortiz, Kisch, Lima, Honecker, Blumenberg, Pratt, and Müller. In the first volume the texts are often shorter; whereas the second volume generally explores issues in greater detail. In both volumes Clark and Lubrich, who explain the basis for their choice of authors and texts in the introductions, stress the common basis, the fact that the reader has the benefit of the most significant and representative examples in the history of Humboldt's reception.

There is no doubt that these volumes combine the most comprehensive collection of texts for the colorful and shifting history of Humboldt's fame. The cursory glance over the names appears to contradict the perception that Humboldt's influence lost its magic by the second half of the nineteenth century. There is evidence here that even today Humboldt's impact is felt in

Europe just as much as in North and South America.

It would not be fair to judge these two books in the strict tradition of reception studies. Nicolaas A. Rupke's recent metabiography of Humboldt is an attempt to reconstruct the phases of Humboldt reception in Germany during the last two hundred years and succeeds in identifying six different "Humboldts" in the process. In each period Humboldt was "aggressively recreated to suit contemporaneous needs." For this kind of meticulous investigation the widely dispersed texts that Clark and Lubrich selected are not appropriate. For that kind of reception history each selected text would have to have its own introduction, context, and analysis. The clear transitions from one text to another would have to be evident. For example, the reception in the United States would have to begin with Humboldt's visit in Philadelphia and Washington and Philadelphia with the consideration of reactions to Humboldt by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Albert Gallatin, and Charles Wilson Peale. There would have to be consideration of Humboldt's first travel narrative, the "Philadelphia Abstract," and a narrative about how his fame spread quickly in Washington and Boston newspapers and journals. How did this fame spread during the first three decades of the nineteenth century? An intensive study of reception would also have to take account of Humboldt's impact on modern American environmentalism and show its evolution. How did Humboldt influence men like John Muir and the less famous men before him? Such an attempt occurred recently in Aaron Sachs's *The Humboldt Current: Nineteenth-Century Exploration and the Roots of American Environmentalism* (2005). The earliest notice of Humboldt in North America in the volumes under consideration occurs with Emerson (1833) and Thoreau (1842), and that suggests a totally different approach to the concept of reception. Clark and Lubrich evidently see the real significance of Humboldt's reception in the transatlantic exchanges and the initiation of a worldwide intercultural dialogue. In other words, their focus is much less on the details and phases of reception than on the transmission and the destiny of ideas; less on the scientific sphere and more on the areas of historical, social and political issues. That this project goes in a different direction becomes abundantly clear in the editors' introductions.

In the essay on "The Napoleon of Science" (1850) Henry Theodore Tuckerman writes of Humboldt that his "great distinction is the comprehensive view he takes of the laws and facts of the physical world. No naturalist ever so united minute observation with the ability to generalize . . . He intuitively recognized the unity of nature . . ." and Tuckerman adds that in this process Humboldt "weds nature to humanity." Throughout the two volumes the reader can sense a tendency for Humboldtian science to become a powerful force to promote social and political change. This sentiment is reflected in the

motto, which Karl Heinzen (1869), one of the radical veteran of the 1848/49 revolution, places as motto at the outset of his essay: "Truth is its own object, but it is of value only for humanity's sake." Heinzen sees Humboldt as a liberator. He was "the enemy of every species of slavery." A speech by Kerstin Müller, the German Minister of State, in Madrid in 2005 confirms that Humboldtian science had the potential to transcend disciplines and cultures: "Humboldt," she said, "was not only a mediator between different scientific disciplines, he was also a mediator between cultures." Latin American authors such as Bolívar (1822), de Sousaândrade (1884), Sucre (1923), Ortiz (1930), Ortiz (1940), Lima (1958), and Medina (1965) reflect an undiminished appreciation of Humboldt's relevance in this respect.

For the editors it is important to demonstrate Humboldt's significance in the in the broad spectrum of colonial history and the debates of postcolonial theory. In reviewing a history of Humboldt reception in Mexico, Medina sees a disturbing ambivalence in his political appropriation: "To invoke the name of Humboldt became an almost an historical constant of all politicians, historians, and thinkers of the nineteenth century." Medina takes his own turn in this practice when he observes that information acquired by Humboldt from the trusting archivists of Mexico found its way, through Humboldt's generosity, into the hands of Thomas Jefferson and other American politicians in Washington, and it served as the basis of future imperial expansion and conquest at the cost of Mexico. The plan for a canal that Humboldt proposed in the Panama region would also serve, according to Medina, the imperial interests of the United States. Medina's evaluation of the unfortunate implications in Humboldt's legacy is outweighed, however, by the positive assessments by other Latin American authors. In several essays the reader discovers debates about Humboldt's relation to colonialism. In general, Humboldt is thought to have played a subversive role, reflected in observations of Ortiz and Rojas, that independence in South America was the "logical corollary of the creation of the republic of North America."

By laboriously assembling, and in many cases translating, an impressive number of texts from remote corners of libraries and collections, Clark and Lubrich have provided a valuable service to scholars and the general public. In this process they have filled a neglected space in the literature about Humboldt. They have pointed to the issues of colonialism and integrated Latin American voices and into the dialogue about Humboldt, a dialogue that concerns primarily Latin America, the world that Humboldt treated so exhaustively in his twenty-nine volumes.

Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I.

By Petra DeWitt. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012. 268 pp. \$49.95.

In a detailed study of St. Louis and two rural counties in mid-Missouri (Gasconade and Osage)—all exhibiting a large German-ancestry population—during the trying period of the First World War, Petra DeWitt makes a very strong case for taking a fresh look at the fate of the German-American community and its culture during that era of anti-German hysteria. DeWitt argues that a much more nuanced perspective is needed, taking local and regional factors into account. The tendency to paint with a broad brush and claim that anti-German hysteria during the World War I era “eradicated German culture” or “destroyed the German language” in American life is patently false, according to DeWitt. The author believes that special circumstances in Missouri spared its German-American community from widespread personal attacks. German-Americans in Missouri did not experience—to the same degree—the discrimination and mistreatment as other German-Americans in the Midwest or in other parts of America. At the end of her study, DeWitt wonders whether similar studies in other states focusing on community-level relations between German-Americans and their neighbors would further mitigate the traditional view of the devastating impact of World War I on German-American language and culture.

After sketching the settlement history of Germans in Missouri, DeWitt builds her case by situating German-American communities in Missouri vis-à-vis the native-born non-German Missourians prior to the war years. Yes, there were tensions between those of German ancestry and the native-born Americans. And, yes, political controversies of the day such as Prohibition often pitted the German-American community in Missouri against their native-born neighbors. But there was “little indication that German immigrants and their Missouri-born children” would become “targets of hateful nativism, persecution, and suspension of civil liberties” (34).

She then traces the developing strains in the relationships between German-Americans and non-German Missourians as the European war moves from a conflict on a distant continent to one involving U.S. shipping interests via the introduction of submarine warfare. At the outset both groups expressed varied opinions and both groups supported the Allies and the British or Germany and the Central powers, depending on the particular issue. While the German press was typically pro-German, most newspapers, whether English or German, acknowledged Germany's right to conduct submarine warfare in the early years of the war. The presidential election of 1916 aggravated the tensions, but neither Wilson nor Hughes garnered a clear victory in the German-American community in Missouri. In the same week

as the US declaration of war on Germany at the beginning of April 1917, the German-American mayor of St. Louis, Henry W. Kiel, was reelected to a second term with a solid majority.

The effort to promote patriotism and combat disloyalty by the Missouri Council of Defense receives considerable attention in a chapter devoted to the war years. In particular, the widespread efforts to limit and even prohibit the teaching or speaking of German had only mixed results. DeWitt attributes this to the lack of legislative authority in Missouri because the legislature was not in session while the U.S. was actively at war. DeWitt claims that this "is one important factor that sets Missouri apart from its midwestern neighbors" (82). This would be interesting to study across the Midwest. Hardly any state legislatures met annually until after the 1940s. How many of them were actually in session during the war years of 1917 and 1918? For instance, the infamous law forbidding instruction in German in Nebraska—eventually overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1923—was only enacted in 1919—due, no doubt, to the state legislature not being in session prior to that spring following the declaration of war. Missouri's situation may not have been that unique.

The situation in urban St. Louis is compared and contrasted with that of two rural counties in central Missouri, just east of the state capital in Jefferson City along the Missouri River. St. Louis with its heterogeneous population, labor movement, and numerous newspapers was at the forefront of a number of matters that cast the light of disloyalty on the German-American population. The trials of Dr. Charles H. Weinsberg, president of the Missouri chapter of the National German-American Alliance and that of the mob accused of lynching Robert Praeger underscored the high level of tension in that city and the anti-German attitudes that prevailed. DeWitt concludes that "St. Louisans were fairly successful in their efforts to eliminate the German language and culture" (110).

Officials in Gasconade County were able to offset the suspicions of disloyalty to some extent by claiming that "resistance to the war more often reflected the opposition to persistent and increasing government involvement in daily routines and traditions (132)" rather than pro-German sentiment. The people of Gasconade County were loyal Americans who happened to speak German, eat German food and attend German churches. If violence occurred as a result of perceived disloyalty, as it did in Osage County on occasion, it was often the case that local relationships and circumstances were more important in creating a climate that led to that violence. Southwest Osage County with its majority German population was more tolerant of "German" points of view such as that expressed by Martin Schulte when asked whether anyone had told him to stop speaking German during the war:

"Hell No! This is a free country" (152). In the northern areas of that same county, on the other hand, the meaning of loyalty was more complicated.

DeWitt's argues that Missourians harassed German-Americans to a lesser degree than did the citizens of other states because they believed the Missouri Germans were loyal. Another interesting aspect that deserves further study is the influence played by the Germans' support of the Union cause at the outset of the Civil War, especially in such states as Missouri, and how that may have impacted viewing the loyalty question in the First World War. DeWitt also notes that the gradual loss of German and assimilation to English, especially in the German-based religious denominations, had already begun prior to the First World War in some congregations and continued over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, with some Lutheran groups continuing the use of German well past 1940. This reviewer can confirm what DeWitt says regarding the hundreds of fluent speakers of varieties of German in both Kansas and Missouri nearly 100 years after the Great War, attesting to the fact that the German language was not eradicated by that conflict and its accompanying hysteria. [One might also note the example of several other immigrant languages in the Midwest such as Norwegian or Czech that succumbed over the course of the twentieth century to the dominant English culture without a war being waged against their homeland.] DeWitt's final question—whether similar studies in other states will find that the impact of World War I on German-Americans was less devastating than previously thought—most definitely deserves to be addressed.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States.

By Dorothee Schneider. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2011. 316 pp. \$45.00.

97 Orchard Street, New York: Stories of Immigrant Life.

By Jane Ziegelmann. Toronto: Tundra Books. 2001. 272 pp. \$15.00.

My family and I are new immigrants. It reads like a rather simple statement, but the simplicity of the language masks the challenges we faced before and after we left the United States and crossed the UK border agency station at Heathrow Airport in 2011. Although as a family we had dreamed of living and working abroad, we had no idea of the emotional, administrative,

financial, and cultural challenges that awaited us in the process of migrating from one side of the Atlantic to the other. The day we stepped on to British soil we were completely exhausted from our overnight flight, not to mention the months of seemingly endless packing. The national border was, in some sense, the less difficult of the hurdles to clear.

My own immigrant experience was one reason I was drawn to *Crossing Borders* and *97 Orchard Street*. Both books in their own way document the history of immigration and naturalization. They also reveal that emigrating from one's own country and settling in an unfamiliar land is an intensely personal experience. Governments set policies and enforce laws, but individuals navigate the multi-layered experiences of immigration on their own terms. The artifacts left by immigrants, including their journals, recorded statements, and personal belongings, give us clues as to how they negotiated the challenges that confronted them as they settled in the USA. It was interesting to read these two books in tandem and to see the juxtaposition between the broad scope of Schneider's monograph and the microcosmic view of immigrant lives captured in the guidebook to the Lower East Side Tenement Museum. *Crossing Borders* provides an overall picture of the unsteady development of immigration policy in the United States, while *97 Orchard Street* relies on personal artifacts to describe the immigrant families who lived in the tenement denoted by the book's title.

Schneider's study is a comprehensive piece of scholarship, which she frames in terms of metaphorical and literal border crossings faced by emigrants journeying to the United States. Moving across national borders was only one part of a longer series of obstacles that did not end just because an individual passed from one country to another. In fact, historically immigration has been an "open-ended process" (11), involving negotiation and flexibility. The book captures the sense of difficulty emigrants had in first deciding and then arranging to leave home. As I read the early chapters of the work, I began reflecting on my own experience of being stunned, yet excited, at the prospect of moving to another country to work and raise my young family. Excitement soon abated when my family confronted the reality of what it would take to leave. The burden of packing our belongings and selling our home all in a matter of a few months was daunting. Perhaps more difficult was uprooting the children from a school and community that was familiar and stable. Time and again we wondered why we were putting ourselves through what could be described as traumatic stress when there was no guarantee that life on the other side of the Atlantic would be more meaningful or professionally beneficial. I must affirm Schneider's position that deciding to leave home was the first "border" to cross.

If I found spending hours navigating the UK Border Agency regulations, both time-consuming and mentally exhausting, I must admire the courage of those who faced infinitely more difficult obstacles and administrative mazes before embarking on their transatlantic ocean voyage. Schneider skillfully portrays the struggles of emigrants as they negotiated their own nation's policies on leaving. Individuals attempting to emigrate from Russia and Japan, prior to the 1860s, found their own nation's laws made leaving difficult. They had to negotiate their way out of the country before they could embark on the journey across the ocean. For some the emotional or financial strain was too great and they turned back. Emigrants from Germany, England, Ireland, and other nations without these restrictions felt the emotional burden of moving away from homeland and loved ones, but their journeys were structured by travel companies acting as *de facto* US immigration agencies abroad. What they faced at their port of departure was the uncomfortable scrutiny of strangers who examined the would-be emigrants for illness, "imbecility," and other problems before they were allowed to board ships and endure months at sea in cramped quarters.

How immigrants were greeted upon their arrival in the United States often depended on their physical or mental health, marital status, age, and potential for being employed, as well as their national origin. In the post-Civil War period until the beginning of the First World War, millions of immigrants arrived from Western European nations, Scandinavia, and the British Isles. Schneider indicates that these tended to be the most desirable immigrants as they closely matched the cultural ideal of the hard-working immigrant (of Northern European Protestant origins) who acculturate and progress to becoming an American. The millions of newcomers also included those from Eastern Europe, China, Japan, and the Mediterranean, who were considered by some political groups to be "less desirable," primarily because they did not fit the ideal image already noted. Throughout the book Schneider skillfully reveals the shifts in American policy and tracks the movement toward the founding of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, as well as exclusionary laws regarding immigration, and implementation of quota systems. She carefully details the exclusionary laws aimed at Asian immigrants that, until the latter half of the twentieth century, made their initial migration to the United States extremely difficult and then barred from naturalization those who did manage to negotiate their way in. Racism and fear were clearly factors in the development of exclusionary laws.

Since the early years of the twentieth century there has been a recurrent tide of fear that the United States will have large communities of unassimilated immigrants who speak their own language, retain their own customs, and resist becoming American. The definition of American is, of course, fluid

and relative to the person or party advancing a particular view. Schneider's treatment of assimilation and Americanization highlights the pressure faced by some immigrants to give up their mother tongue and reject any sense of ethnic identity. Populist movements like the "Know-Nothing" party and politicians, including Teddy Roosevelt, played up the so-called problem of "hyphenated Americans." They wanted to withhold citizenship from those immigrants who retained a connection to their culture of origin and did not succumb to the American "melting pot." Without specifically mentioning the pressure to Americanize, *97 Orchard Street* poignantly shows the difficulties individuals had in trying to survive in New York while retaining their language, religion, and familiar customs. They endured poverty, spousal abandonment, the death of children, and poor living and working conditions as they made their home on the Lower East Side. Although they encountered many borders and struggled to survive, most did not give up and the generations of their families living today can tell their stories with admiration. Could they have survived if they were also robbed of their language, religion, or ethnicity (as if these could be erased) in order to become Americans according to someone else's definition of that identity? Immigrants often navigated the "borders" of assimilation and Americanization uneasily as they maintained what was close to them and put on a new layer of American identity.

Of course, the arguments of the "Know-Nothings" for a narrow definition of American identity and for policies of exclusion are still heard in debates over immigration and access to citizenship today. The fear of large, unassimilated communities of immigrants is also still relevant, especially in disputes about amnesty for illegal aliens and policies regarding immigration from Mexico and Central America. Schneider asserts that as laws have made legal immigration more difficult, millions of people have simply circumvented the administrative hurdles of obtaining visas by crossing the Southern border illegally or by staying beyond the legal time limit of tourist visas. She highlights the fact that these individuals are barred from naturalization because of their illegal status. When a similar situation existed in the late 1970s, amnesty was issued and millions of formerly illegal aliens sought citizenship. Their new status allowed them to sponsor family members who also wanted the benefits that American citizenship might offer. Schneider's work in this area raises questions about the meaning of citizenship and contribution to the common good of the nation. Citizenship is the last legal "border" for immigrants and it is one that the United States has made more challenging for people to cross. Efforts to reduce immigration, access to work visas, and to restrict access to naturalization have not stopped the flow of people who hope to improve life for themselves and their families. Instead, people continue to come to the United States. They continue to face the personal struggles associated with

immigration. As always, these new individuals will negotiate the immigrant experience in ways that are intensely personal.

Schneider's *Crossing Borders* has a place in my library alongside the works of Marcus Hansen, Thomas Archdeacon, and LaVern J. Rippey. It is now my go-to book for insight on the history of immigration and naturalization. I believe it will quickly become the standard work in this field of history. It was good to read it as I reflected on some of the borders my family and I continue to encounter. One day in the future, when the experience of this first year in a new country is not so raw, I will sit down with my children and together we will read *97 Orchard Street*. I hope the book will allow them to see that generations of people before them, like their Norwegian great-grandparents, crossed national boundaries, endured challenges, navigated their way in an unfamiliar culture, and made a new country home on their own terms.

Wesley House and University of Cambridge

Cindy Wesley

Cyril Colnik: Man of Iron.

By Alan J. Strekow. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. 200 pp. \$45.00.

What might a list of prerequisites for a successful life as an artist include? Early exposure in the right family, natural talent, youth and ambition, a superior education with significant connections, fortunate timing, a wealthy patron, superlative networking skills, mastery of historic and current styles, and, to make the most of all of that, longevity perhaps? Where might one find such a gifted and blessed soul? History would have it that all of these prerequisites were met by one young Austrian artist who came to the United States to display his wrought iron work in the German exhibition of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Cyril Colnik (1871-1958) was born in Trieben, a small city in the far western reaches of the Austro-Hungarian empire (present-day Austria as the map on page thirteen anachronistically indicates) roughly half way between Linz and Klagenfurt. His father was a veterinarian, an economist, and a politician. We might assume, then, that Cyril was exposed to a household in which educated people and dialogue flowed regularly, in which one exercised all of one's talents, and this stood him in good stead later in his professional career in Milwaukee. Significantly also, his father's property included a blacksmith's shop where Colnik was introduced to iron work in his childhood.

In the late 1880s, Colnik served as an apprentice in a mechanics shop, and from there he went on to study iron work in Graz with Franz Roth, and for short periods in Italy, France, Switzerland, and Spain before enrolling in the Munich Industrial Art School.

This step brought him closer to his destiny as the "the Tiffany of wrought iron" for one of his instructors in Munich recommended him for the team that created the German exhibit in the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Colnik's masterpiece, a large grill work that features a gargoyle-like representation of Vulcan, the God of fire and the patron saint of metalworkers, was completed at the Munich Industrial Art School and then shipped to Chicago (along with the artist!) for display at the Exposition. Fate smiled on him once more when he was discovered by none other than Captain Frederick Pabst, then president of the Pabst Brewing Company. The rest is history. Pabst commissioned numerous works for his own mansion and introduced Colnik to his associates and their designers and architects during a historical period in which Milwaukee was enjoying great growth in the areas of brewing, tanning, meatpacking, and machine manufacturing. This new class of wealthy industrialists was intent on making Milwaukee a cultural showplace, "the Athens of America," and Colnik was prepared to play his part.

Colnik spoke the language of the wealthy class created by Milwaukee's success both literally--many were German immigrants--and figuratively, and they kept him busy for the rest of his life. The success and span of his career rested not only on his talent and connections, but also on his extraordinary flexibility and adaptive nature. His work flows with apparent effortlessness from the neo-classic, heraldic, patriotic, neo-romanesque, neo-gothic, renaissance, and baroque to the more contemporary jugendstil and art nouveau. His works are particularly striking, I find, for their delicacy and detailed rendering of botanical, animal, and human forms, medieval imagery, and Mediterranean-Arabic patterns on decorative and utilitarian objects of vastly different scales: gates, banisters, balustrades, furniture of all kinds, candlesticks and candelabras, clocks, and hardware.

One might say that the publication of this book was as serendipitous as Colnik's career. The author's grandfather actually worked for Colnik, most probably as an accountant, and the author met Colnik's daughter, Gretchen, who possessed a large collection of her father's work, which she donated to the Villa Terrace Decorative Arts Museum in Milwaukee. The author was asked by the Museum to produce a video on Colnik's life and work, and subsequent collecting of photographs and materials lead, finally, to a request to bring a book to completion. The result is an impressive monograph on an impressive man who deserves to be remembered. This book belongs in the

library of anyone who is serious about American decorative arts, German-American decorative arts, and/or the cultural history of the Mid-West.

Susquehanna University

Susan M. Schürer

Imagined Homes: Soviet German Immigrants in Two Cities.
By Hans Werner. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2007. 304 pp. \$29.95.

In *Imagined Homes*, Hans Werner examines the integration of immigrants in a host society and the role of mutual perceptions in this process. Werner presents a comparative study of ethnic German groups from Poland and Russia/the former Soviet Union in two immigration contexts: Winnipeg, Manitoba (Canada) in the late 1940s and early 1950s and Bielefeld, Germany in the 1970s. By exploring the similarities and considering the differences of the immigration experiences of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld, he is able to make observations about how integration can be influenced by the ways in which the immigrants imagine their new homes, and the host society's perception of immigrants (7-8).

Werner divides his book into four main parts. Part I, "The Setting," provides background information on ethnic German communities in Eastern Europe and Russia, the history of Bielefeld and Winnipeg as host societies, and how immigration was viewed in Germany and Canada (Chapters 1-3). In the first chapter, "One People", the author briefly describes the three waves of German immigration to the Russian Empire starting in the mid-1700s, and the range of diversity among these ethnic Germans, including place of origin, the areas where they settled, religious affiliations, and the linguistic variation that existed in the ethnic German colonies (18-21). While these early colonies were relatively isolated, farm-based economies, starting in the late 1800s, economic transformations (including commercial agriculture and increasing industrialization), combined with higher birth rates, initiated wider economic and social diversity within the colonies and spurred increased contact with the dominant Russian host society (20-23). This was also a time of increasing Russification and growing Russian nationalism, which confronted the German colonists with questions about their own identities (23-24). For Werner, World War I was a "watershed" moment for the colonists, as this was "the first time they shared the common experience of being labeled German nationals and felt the tension of coming to terms with that label" (24, 26). The tensions of being labeled 'German' would continue in WWII, and after

the war, the common identity as German persisted (31-32).

In Chapter 2, "Receiving Cities," Werner looks at the history of Winnipeg and Bielefeld as receiving societies, and how the cities incorporated new arrivals. For the author, "historical patterns of migration and integration in the two cities shaped their collective memory as receiving societies and framed the social meaning of being an immigrant for ethnic Germans" (34). Since its official incorporation as a city in 1874, Winnipeg capitalized on its moniker as 'gateway to the West' and was a destination initially for migrants from other parts of Ontario, but would eventually be host to immigrants from Britain, Northern European countries, the United States and later Eastern Europe (34- 35). While initial efforts focused on the assimilation of newcomers in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, a more pluralistic view of society was gradually developing and incorporating newcomers on a permanent basis became a part of Winnipeg's identity (36, 38, 51). Around the time that Winnipeg was receiving a large flux of immigrant immigrants from various parts of the world in the late 1800s to the early 1900s, Bielefeld was receiving migrants largely from other areas of Westphalia (35, 42). After World War II, Bielefeld received a number of Eastern European expellees and East German refugees, which presented difficulties, but did not change the identity of Bielefeld as a homogenous society (45, 48). The arrival of guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s added to the cultural diversity of the city, but these new arrivals were not considered to be permanent residents and it would be first in the 1980s, when this view be changed (49, 52). The politics of the host societies are put into national perspective in Chapter 3, "The Value of Immigrants" which contrasts German and Canadian immigration policies and the public discourse surrounding immigration (53). In Winnipeg, the emphasis was on the economic value of immigration, seeing a larger population as necessary for economic growth. In Bielefeld, the symbolic value of the ethnic German groups played a more decisive factor in admitting immigrants, as Werner states that it was a way for German society to deal with its past (74-75).

Part II, "Putting Down Roots," compares and contrasts the settlement of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg (Chapter 4) and Bielefeld (Chapter 5). In both Winnipeg and Bielefeld, immigrants' immediate priorities were to find housing and a place to work, but support for obtaining a home and securing a job was different in the receiving societies (79, 105). In Winnipeg, the government did not guarantee a job for everyone, as this was the responsibility of the arriving immigrant (85). This was also the case with employment, as the ethnic Germans had to often rely heavily on networks of friends, family and fellow ethnic Germans for support (102). In comparison, immigrants Bielefeld were found support in state programs in obtaining housing and

employment. Part of the drawback of this support was that they could not control where they would live, and that there were fewer opportunities for entrepreneurship (126-27).

Part III, "Reproducing the Community," looks at family life (Chapter 6), the role of religious institutions (Chapter 7), and language use in the ethnic German communities (Chapter 8). In Chapter 6, "Family Strategies", Werner looks at familial interactions and the role of the family in cultural reproduction (131). For the ethnic Germans of Bielefeld and Winnipeg, family life had been disrupted by the Stalin purges in the 1930s and events of World War II (133). During the war and in its aftermath, many families were separated from loved ones for extended periods of time (134). Both of these experiences changed traditional view of the family, including gender roles, as women often found themselves in the new role of head of the household (135, 137-38, 140). Other themes in building families explored in this chapter include endogamy, attitudes toward family size and the socialization of children. Chapter 7, "Faith Worlds" examines how religious institutions figured in the social life of the ethnic Germans. Canadian ethnic Germans were spared the Soviet Union's religious repression which was experienced by the ethnic Germans who settled in Bielefeld (160). While in Canada, church life was not seen as being in conflict with associational life, the same did not hold for Bielefeld (174). Chapter 8, "Linguistic Paradox" looks at language use among the ethnic Germans, focusing on domains for German, Russian and English language use. Werner states that while the ethnic Germans in Canada were required to quickly adopt the English language, ethnic Germans in Germany were surprised to find that the German they used was not that of the dominant society. They anticipated that younger generations socialized in Russian would experience problems, but were unprepared for the changes in German that had taken place in Germany, which created tension for integration (196).

Part IV, "Participation," examines definitions of citizenship and the degree to which ethnic Germans are involved in the political processes of the greater community (Chapter 9). For Werner, "If they [immigrants] participate chiefly or exclusively in ethnic- and immigrant-specific association life . . . they may be considered to have established only limited acceptance in, and influence on, the dominant society and its culture" (201). He found that associational life did not play a significant role for the ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld in connecting with other Germans, and for sectarian ethnic Germans, the church was valued more than community associational life (220). In exploring concepts of citizenship, he found differences in the degree of integration of ethnic Germans in Germany and Canada. In Canada, citizenship is based on residency, and after five years, ethnic Germans would

be able to claim Canadian citizenship (205). But while ethnic Germans were officially accepted as citizens in Germany because citizenship is based on birth, many ethnic Germans were disappointed to discover that they were not fully accepted as German by their fellow countrymen (202-3).

Werner's cross-cultural comparison draws out common themes in the integration experience of ethnic Germans in Winnipeg and Bielefeld, but also at the same time, clearly demonstrates the value of cultural and historical context in examining the integration of immigrants in receiving societies. The author acknowledges that "feeling at home is a somewhat amorphous way to define the outcome of settlement experiences" (231), but the scope of his study is comprehensive, and explores in great detail the cultural, economic, political social and spatial aspects of integration, as outlined in his chapter breakdown (13).

Imagined Homes is not only essential reading for those interested in the secondary migration experiences of ethnic Germans, but will also be of great interest to anyone in migration studies, ethnic history, immigration politics, and language contact in immigration contexts.

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