

Book Reviews

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Paint, Pattern & People: Furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1725-1850.

By Wendy A. Cooper and Lisa Minardi. A Winterthur Book. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. 277 pp. \$55.00

Paint, Pattern and People, with its alliterative title, is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the decorative arts of what cultural geographers call the “culture hearth” of Southeastern Pennsylvania. With its relatively short text and its gallery of magnificent illustrations, the book covers the subject of early Pennsylvania furniture with the éclat and flair that we have come to expect of Winterthur Books. The two curators of furniture at Winterthur, Wendy A. Cooper and Lisa Minardi, deserve long rounds of academic applause for their accomplishment.

The book essentially presents a Pennsylvania furniture culture assembled from the three ethno-cultural components of the colonial population—the English and Welsh (Quakers and others); the Ulster Scots or more commonly the Scotch-Irish, and the Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania Germans. Each of these elements is taken up in detail, with individual pieces pictured and discussed. The Pennsylvania German section in a sense patterns itself after Donald Shelley’s trail-breaking *Fraktur* book of 1961, which broke up *Fraktur* into “schools” of production. The authors here discuss the denominational “schools” of furniture production under the headings: Ephrata, Schwenkfelder, Mennonite, Moravian, and Lutheran and Reformed. In each case they deal

with individual pieces and their provenance. And along the way we learn that Mennonite “plainness” did not cover everything in Mennonite culture, and the “dower chests” were not necessarily “dower chests,” since they were given to boys as well as girls, for the storage of personal belongings.

The book is a pictorial treasure house—exciting iconographic evidence is presented not only on furniture, the book’s focus, but also on architecture, *Fraktur*, folk paintings of farmsteads and landscapes, Mäntell genre sketches, rare photographs (Fegley, Cope, et al.), portraits of some of the leading players in the culture, and lots of Lewis Miller! As a text for courses in Pennsylvania history and culture, this book with its illustrations is superb.

The introduction includes a brief research survey of how the furniture of Southeastern Pennsylvania was discovered by such collectors as the DuPonts and Dr. Barnes, and some of the pioneering exhibits, monographs, and catalogues produced in the twentieth century are commented upon. Chapter one, “People: A Great Multitude,” makes sense out of the ethno-cultural confusion that was Southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, dealing competently with the three major population elements. Chapter two, “Places: Regional Forms and Local Expressions,” among others, focuses on distinctive Pennsylvania items such as slat-back chairs, attached benches from the *Stube* or stove room, kitchen cupboards, Chester county settees, and Quaker spice boxes. Localisms in ornament are also featured here—particularly the sulfur inlay on Lancaster County furniture, a discovery made by the late Monroe Fabian, with as yet no European origins discovered. Of course, localisms in ornament also include the painted decoration on (1) the Jonestown chests, (2) the Wythe County, Virginia, possible spinoffs of No. 1, and (3) the Mahantongo-Schwaben Creek painted desks, bureaus, and other pieces from Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties.

Chapter three, “Families: Owners and Inheritors,” focuses on such stellar sites as the Millbach House (1751) and the Hottenstein Mansion near Kutztown (1783), both spotlighted by installations at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and Winterthur. Chapter four, “Makers: From Cradle to Coffin,” features, among other items, a whole range of Moravian funerary apparatus, including the bier from the Central Moravian Church at Bethlehem, the “Corpse House” (1786) at Lititz, and a “Corpse Tray” from Bethlehem (1775-1800). The chapter takes a good look also at the craftsman’s tools and manuscript plans, and for good measure, a photograph of Daniel Bertolet’s Up-and-Down Sawmill (1810) from the Oley Valley, now on display at the Daniel Boone Homestead—and finally, bringing the reader to 1850, some delightful glimpses of those sets of painted kitchen chairs from the mid-nineteenth century, that many of us remember from farmhouse childhoods.

Social class is brought into the picture also. The strong influence of

Philadelphia's elegant furniture is demonstrated in the outlying counties, where wealthy patrons welcomed the Philadelphia high style, or good copies of it, into their halls and parlors. Lancaster, founded in 1730, which by the time of the Revolution was the largest inland town in America, became the major clearing house and transfer point for Philadelphia goods destined for the back country. Some of those Conestoga wagons indeed hauled Philadelphia-made furniture to the up country.

All in all, this is a superior volume. However, while the book can certainly stand on its own, even with its self-imposed limitation to cabinetmaker's furniture, with some exceptions like those delightful winged cherubs that once adorned the exterior of St. Luke's Lutheran Church at Schaefferstown in Lebanon County, a few "tough-love" criticisms and clarifications are in order here. Since professors are notorious for suggesting further research, let me do my professorial duty by suggesting a few areas that deserve fuller treatment, perhaps in a supplemental volume or sequel.

First of all, the book would decidedly profit by fuller details on European backgrounds. Eighteenth-century Pennsylvania was an emigrant society. Every valley community had a mixture of emigrants from Europe. Many of the craftsmen who produced the pieces pictured in this book were emigrants. The big question is—what did they bring here from the old world in their minds and memories and in the skills of their hands? How did their European craft training, apprenticeships, and guild memberships affect their Pennsylvania production? And how were their skills transplanted into the new world setting?

The vast literature on furniture from the Germanic areas of Central Europe and the British Isles needs to be analyzed meticulously for models of our Pennsylvania furniture. Alas, this volume yielded in text, endnotes, and bibliography only a single work on German furniture, two on Welsh and one on Irish furniture. For a cogent example, the whole background of our Pennsylvania paint-decorated furniture traces back to Europe. When the European middle-class or peasant craftsman copied the massive, elaborately carved wooden chests and wardrobes of the Renaissance period, he chose cheaper woods and transmuted the carving into painted decoration which imitated the architectural features of the originals with painted arches and columns. The copious literature on European painted furniture, particularly that of Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Alsace, needs urgently to be collated with our paint-decorated Pennsylvania furniture.

Another area that deserves attention is the context of the furniture. Where were these individual pieces placed in townhouse or farmhouse? Here we need more interior views, which are relatively scarce, but available. The Krimmel Sketchbooks at Winterthur reveal not only Pennsylvania interiors

(like his much reproduced “Christmas Morning” scenes), but also offer views of everyday German interiors—the artist’s parents’ house in Württemberg that he revisited after the War of 1812. The house drawings of Susanna Brinton (1833-1927) in *Pennsylvania Folklife* (July 1964) show a room sketched in 1848 in a Lancaster County Quaker farmhouse that could pass for a Pennsylvania Dutch interior. And for the record, several of the fifty Folklife Questionnaires that were published in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 1967-77, could be useful since they deal with house orientation, room divisions, and the furniture found in them. But most useful of all is the source volume by Margaret Berwind Schiffer, *Chester County Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850* (1974). These complete estate inventories in some cases list a decedent’s household furnishings room by room, giving us detailed glimpses into colonial farmhouses and every stick of furniture that the appraisers found in the rooms. Pennsylvania deserves additional inventory surveys, but this one is basic. Thank you, Margaret Schiffer!

The book could also profit from more details on prior research. For example, the lifelong work of John Joseph Stoudt, one of the leading discoverers of the Pennsylvania Folk arts in the 1930s, is, however, given short shrift in text, endnotes, and bibliography, except for a just criticism of his over-symbolistic interpretation of our folk art decoration. But one of his major books, *Early Pennsylvania Arts and Crafts* (1964), could have been cited, since in a sense it attempted to accomplish what the present volume did—a synoptic view of the arts and crafts of Pennsylvania’s colonial “mixed multitudes.” Stoudt’s pioneer treatment is also more inclusive, covering pottery, glassware, silver, pewter, iron work, textiles (from samplers to quilts and coverlets), and other aspects of early Pennsylvania’s everyday culture that are household furnishings if not furniture. The question is, where do the decorative arts scholars draw the line?

Yes, why, for example, were stoves omitted? They are furniture in a very real sense, and Pennsylvania’s stove culture brought comfort, rare in the days of open fireplaces, into the colonial Pennsylvania Dutch farmhouse, where the stove room (*Stube*) was comfortably heated, smoke-free (unlike the adjoining kitchen), and provided basic dining space, work space, and living room space in general. Pennsylvania’s many iron works, whether run by Quakers, Scotch-Irishmen, or Pennsylvania Dutchmen, made stoves that warmed Pennsylvania houses all through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, when urban stove factories took over the process.

And since the book was accompanied by an important exhibit in the Winterthur Galleries, it could profit by extended analysis of other exhibits of the past decades, which in a sense broke ground for this one. Particularly relevant are the 1983 Traveling Exhibit sponsored by the Philadelphia Museum

of Art, that got as far away as the DeYoung Museum in San Francisco, and the same Philadelphia museum's exhibit that produced Jack L. Lindsay's *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (1999). Yes, and among those not mentioned in the book, the stellar exhibit curated in 1976 by James Gergat for the Historical Society of York County.

One other possible addition should be mentioned, and that is a complete English and German glossary of furniture terminology. This could follow the pattern set up by the European journal *Wörter und Sachen* in 1900, which listed and discussed the technical vocabularies associated with various aspects of material culture that were then being studied in Germany.

With these subjects dealt with in a sequel, which I hope the authors are contemplating, the Pennsylvania furniture story will be more completely covered. But the book, as I have both implied and stated, can of course stand alone as a major contribution to the arts and crafts of the colony and state that more than any other, foreshadowed the multicultural America that we have today. Only in Pennsylvania could this unique synthesis have taken place. Yes, only in Pennsylvania!

The University of Pennsylvania

Don Yoder

Wartesaal-Jahre: Deutsche Schriftsteller im Exil nach 1933.

By Wulf Köpke. Erkelenz, Germany: Altius Verlag, 2008. 480 pages. €36.90.

It is no mean challenge for a writer or scholar to write about catastrophe in our catastrophe-ridden age without succumbing to platitudes or martyrization. Wulf Köpke has taken upon himself the task of presenting a convincing and evocative tableau of those unfortunate German writers who lived through that inordinately destructive and lugubrious period 1933–45. The pitfalls of writing about this period, especially for a German literary historian, are great. Most obviously, one can allow oneself to write a victim narrative, in which all of these gifted writers are compressed into one suffering group of persecuted and disenfranchised outcasts, brutally and shamefully expelled from their fatherland to begin their existence anew in some far-off country that could neither rightfully appreciate them nor offer them a secure haven. This approach is more than understandable. Who can forget Kurt Tucholsky's desolation in Sweden, where he finally took his own life! Who can fully reconstruct Ernst Toller's last days in Washington Heights in New York, where he chose *Freitod* when all seemed lost! Who can imagine Walter Benjamin's despair when, after a dangerous trek through the Pyrenees,

was told by the Spanish authorities that he would not be allowed to enter Spain and would have to return to France to be at the mercy of the Vichy government and the Gestapo!

The second danger in such a study is to treat Germany's literary refugees as the morally superior Germans. This is the obverse of the victim narrative. After all, one can reason that it was these Germans who made the ultimate sacrifice by leaving their country, their language, their culture to begin a new life in extreme uncertainty, replete with poverty, alienation, and the loss of one's profession and readership. Moreover, according to this reasoning, those writers who went into exile recognized the inherent evil of National Socialism, refusing to believe in its promises and blandishments and resisting the general intoxication and the pull of the *zeitgeist*, where so many compromised themselves and ended up in moral bankruptcy.

The principal challenge of such a study is to find the proper vantage point for such a troubling theme, and it is here where Köpke's work succeeds brilliantly. Köpke does not merely present a single point of view of the victims, but shows the manifold positions and strategies and ideologies of those writers in exile. Through a careful perusal of original sources, e. g. diaries, memoirs, and letters, Köpke is able to enter into the inner lives of the exiled writers, revealing an essential facet of this mass exodus—its enormous ambivalence. Köpke not only shows the feuds and disagreements of these writers, but also evokes their deracination, their struggle to make sense of themselves and their literary work. Hence the three sections of his work all have existential dimensions: "Der Schock der Vertreibung" (Section 1); "Um uns die Fremde" (Section 2); "Deutschland aus der Sicht des Exils" (Section 3).

In addition to delving into the inner lives of these writers, Köpke also employs a historical schema to differentiate the various stages of exile, beginning with the so-called *Machtergreifung* in 1933 and then describing with great insight the fall of France in 1940 and the escape to the Americas, and then delineating the final stage—the defeat of Nazi Germany with all the various aspects and dimensions of the *Rückkehrproblematik*. These historical stages also are linked to geographical centers, with Paris being the capital of the first exodus and New York and Los Angeles the main focal point of the second Diaspora, with the final migration—the return of the exiled writers and intellectuals to Germany—conspicuously bereft of any ultimate destination.

Since Köpke's work is a collection of previously published essays extending over a period of many decades, it comprises a mosaic-like structure encompassing a vast panoply of different themes and authors. This is advantageous because Köpke can devote attention to both canonical and non-canonical authors, thus expanding considerably the entire spectrum of

exile literature. For example, Köpke can discuss the work of Thomas and Heinrich Mann and Alfred Döblin and then in the next chapter invoke the struggle of Jochen Klepper (1903–42) and the entire problem of the so-called “innere Emigration.” Or his purview can turn to Latin America, where not only the work of Stefan Zweig is discussed, but also such forgotten German writers as Paul Zech (1881–1946), Max Aub (1903–72), and Hans Gustav Elsas, aka Helmut Gaupp, (1894–86), among others.

Köpke remarks that his book is not a general survey of exile literature, but instead concentrates on what he calls “exemplary cases” (*exemplarische Fälle*) and “single aspects” (*einzelne Aspekte*). His intention is to provoke and to stimulate the reader usually by posing an array of challenging theses. For example, Köpke avers that very few writers, with occasional exceptions, acclimated themselves to their adopted countries either culturally or linguistically, as evinced by the paucity of works dealing with life in exile or the number of works written in the language of the host country. However, not only did these writers experience a feeling of estrangement from their host countries, but the longer the period of exile lasted, the more pronounced were their feelings of alienation towards their native country. As a result, most of the literary production gravitated to the historical novel or the exotic novel, the most notable examples cited by Köpke being Lion Feuchtwanger’s *Josephus-Trilogie* (1932–45) and Heinrich Mann’s *Henri Quatre* (1935–38). Of course, these works are disguised confrontations with the so-called “German catastrophe,” the advent of National Socialism, and its impending demise. In other words, the loss of what Köpke calls “die Idee ‘Deutschland,’” the dream of an ideal Germany fusing the twin concepts of *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*, never ceased to exercise a spell over these authors, despite their persecution and homelessness.

Part of the provocative nature of the book is its willingness to depart from conventional wisdom. For example, Köpke examines the cultural discourse of the “Jewish question” before the accession of the National Socialists. Interestingly enough, Köpke discovers among the Jewish intellectuals in the Weimar Republic that such nefarious concepts as *Deutschtum*, *Rasse*, *jüdischer Geist*, and *Volkstum*, inter alia, were all widely discussed and polemicized by Germans and Jews alike. In this connection, Köpke cites none other than Arnold Zweig, who argued that the large influx of Eastern European Jews into Germany in the 1920s could lead to what some German intellectuals still refer to today as *Überfremdung*, i.e., the loss of one’s cultural integrity.

Coupled with its provocative arguments and theses, Köpke’s work overtly pursues a heuristic strategy. Nearly every essay asserts its provisionality. Nearly every chapter reminds the reader of its open-endedness and incompleteness. The author functions as a guide and instructor, telling the reader which

lines of inquiry to follow, which research areas to explore. Frequently Köpke concludes a chapter with a remark about an author that a fair assessment is still waiting to be written, e. g. when he refers to the now forgotten author Franz Carl Weiskopf (1900–55) that subsequent research has to consider the complexity of his work (*Vielfältigkeit*) and “the three main dimensions of his life and work” (405). Or when Köpke considers a larger, more generalized theme, as in his essay on the reception of German exile literature after 1933, upon which he has written a long, comprehensive essay, Köpke still concludes by writing that his essay should serve as a “pre-study” (*Vorstudie*) (123).

What ties all the strands of this multifaceted work together is the principle of empathy. Köpke writes about exile not merely as a scholar, but also as someone with a profound emotional involvement. As he mentions in the epigraph to the work, his wife’s family was murdered in Auschwitz, which, he writes, has left its traces on his children as well. Despite its critical expertise, despite its elaborate documentation and erudition, Köpke’s book is enormously moving, for the reader begins to fully grasp the magnitude of the disaster that befell an entire society and culture. Köpke’s gnomic presentation of his theses and arguments makes his treatment even more poignant. For example, “Das Exil gehörte nicht zu den Siegern, sondern zu den Verlierern” (“Exile did not belong to the victors, but to the defeated”) (16) or “Die Begegnung mit dem Gastland wurde verweigert” (The encounter with the host country was rejected) (14). These and other theses disperse all the myths and convenient fictions about the exile of an multifarious group of intellectuals, showing how such a catastrophe can never find closure, but must be left to future generations to explore its unending tragedy.

University of Turku

Jerry Schuchalter

Westward: Encounters with Swiss-American Women.

By Susann Bosshard-Kälin. Washington, DC: Swiss-American Historical Society, 2010. 291 pp. \$20.00.

A compilation of portraits detailing the lives of Swiss-American women from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Bosshard-Kälin’s work examines immigrant history in a unique context. She presents the largely overlooked and undocumented history of Swiss female immigrants to the United States from the perspective of the everyday, as it was lived and experienced. This English translation of Bosshard-Kälin’s *Westwärts: Begegnungen mit Amerika Schweizerinnen* (Bern: eFeF Verlag, 2009) published

by the Swiss-American Historical Society, represents Bosshard-Kälin's most recent contribution to the study of modern Swiss women. A journalist and communications specialist, Bosshard-Kälin served as project initiator, co-author and editor of the 2006 publication of *spruchreif – Zeitzeuginnen aus dem Kanton Schwyz erzählen* (ready to be told – Personal Accounts of Women from Canton Schwyz), as well as co-author of *Leben im Kloster Fahr* (Life in Fahr Abbey), published in 2008.

Divided into three sections, the book begins with fifteen portraits of twentieth-century Swiss-American women. Four portraits of Swiss immigrants from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries follow, and the book concludes with an essay outlining the social status and history of American women in the twentieth century. The first and longest section documents the lives of Swiss-American women, most of whom were born during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Despite the relative similarity in their geographical and temporal origins, each of the women traveled a distinct path that led to a life in the United States. In selecting these fifteen "time witnesses," Bosshard-Kälin chose women with varying familial and occupational backgrounds who hailed from different Swiss cantons and settled in various regions of the United States. In the portraits, Bosshard-Kälin describes her encounters with each of the women, imbuing her accounts with photographs and numerous quotations. At an average of twelve pages each, the portraits do not offer comprehensive biographies, but rather snapshots of memories that create an impressionistic collage of the women's individual pasts. The texts highlight their memories, aspirations and everyday lives, with twentieth-century history serving as a secondary yet common thread weaving through each portrait.

Artist and "time witness" Margrit Mondavi Biever Kellenberger married an officer of the US army, saw firsthand the devastating aftermath of World War II in Germany and later lived a nomadic life as she followed her husband across the world. Eventually settling in the Napa Valley, Margrit Mondavi worked as a tour guide and public relations director at the Mondavi vineyards, and ultimately fell in love with world famous vintner Robert Mondavi, whom she married. Despite her life abroad, Margrit Mondavi, like the other "time witnesses," is still affected by her Swiss roots. She explains, "Switzerland: I have lived there but a quarter of my life. And yet something from that time remains in my heart . . . but I feel American through and through" (195). The process of cultural mediation, of establishing an identity relative to two worlds, is a subtle yet common element of the twentieth-century portraits. Composing the portraits with a mixture of narrative and direct quotation, Bosshard-Kälin successfully captures the spirit of each "time witness" and thereby creates a compelling sense of intimacy between the reader and these contemporary subjects.

The second section features four portraits of Swiss women, who journeyed across the Atlantic during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by Leo Schelbert, professor emeritus of Swiss-American Immigration at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Included are brief yet informative summaries of relevant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical developments that contextualize the women's emigration. Reconstructed through letters and photographs, the portraits highlight the struggles and joys of the Swiss women as they carved out new lives in a new world. This section provides an interesting juxtaposition to the encounters with twentieth-century Swiss-American women presented in the previous section.

The book concludes with the essay "Women in Twentieth Century America" by Leo Schelbert. His essay sketches the social status and history of American women in the twentieth century. Divided into five sections covering the topics of politics, society, economy, education, and ideology, the essay outlines how the status of women developed in the United States over the course of the twentieth century. Schelbert's comprehensive summary provides insight into the society that shaped the personal histories of the fifteen twentieth-century "time-witnesses."

The inclusion of this essay, however, leaves the reader to question why a similar history on the status of women in Switzerland was not also incorporated in the book. An account of women in twentieth-century Swiss society would provide a historical comparison between the United States and Switzerland, befitting a book that captures the lives of women "standing between [the] two worlds, two cultures, and two languages" that these countries represent. Furthermore, the fact that two of the twentieth-century Swiss-American women ultimately returned to Switzerland underscores the relevance of modern Swiss history to the work.

A compilation of personal histories that emphasizes the value of individual experience in life, Bosshard-Kälin's work succeeds in preserving the essence and voice of women as diverse as the two worlds that their lives straddle.

The University of Kansas

Gabrielle Frawley

Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930.

By Matthew D. Tippens. Austin: Kleingarten Press, 2010. 254 pp. \$17.95.

German immigrants and their culture have been present in Texas since the 1820s and like Germans elsewhere in the United States, they suffered

under the prevalent anti-German sentiment of the World War I period. In this monograph, historian Matthew Tippens attempts to examine how the war and related anti-German backlash influenced German culture in Texas. Tippens "examines the plight of German-Texans during World War I, the role the war played in speeding their assimilation," and the survival of a "substantial portion of German-Texan culture" after the war (12).

Turning Germans into Texans offers a good, easily accessible narrative of German-Texans in the early twentieth century. Tippens begins the work by showing how many white Texans, beginning in the 1800s, formed a distrust of Germans because Germans typically opposed secession, temperance, and women's suffrage. This in spite of the fact that Texans generally considered German immigrants thrifty and hardworking. Their distrust caused many Anglos to be wary of Germans and, as temperance and women's suffrage came to the fore during and after World War I, heightened white Americans' suspicion of those who continued to maintain ties to the Fatherland and to German culture. Using records from the Texas State Council of Defense, newspapers, and a few personal and religious records, *Turning Germans into Texans* illustrates how anti-German sentiment arose, targeted German language, religion, and culture, and at times sparked physical force in an attempt to ensure loyalty to the United States. This onslaught, Tippens claims, caused a redefinition of German heritage in Texas as German-Texans dealt with the nativism of the 1920s.

Turning Germans into Texans focuses mainly on the Anglo-Texan perspective as viewed through official records. The monograph emphasizes the political issues of prohibition, suffrage, and the manner in which Anglo-Texan politicians used the German vote for their own advancement or to attack opponents during wartime and in the 1920s. In only a few examples does a German voice appear in the book and most of these instances derive from the German-language newspapers, though in chapter six Tippens does include some letters and records documenting the reaction of the Lutheran church to the Americanization process. Still, most of those records are from the Texas War Records collection. In addition, the work's tone often supports the view that white Texans orchestrated German acceptance of American culture entirely, failing to give credit to the efforts of Germans themselves. The monograph emphasizes the way in which anti-war hysteria "resulted in a rapid retreat from public displays of German ethnicity" while the nativists of the 1910s and 1920s "suppressed the more visible cultural attributes of German-Texans" (212), and the way in which "German-Texan culture would be driven into submission" by the Second World War (192). Yet, without including the Germans' own responses and reactions, Tippet's gives the impression that the dominant culture was forced upon a minority group.

Additionally, though *Turning Germans into Texans* includes many telling examples of anti-German sentiment, it could benefit from a clearer definition of timeframe and argument. The conclusion touches on developments impacting German-Texan communities into the twentieth century but the book's scope ends in 1930 without an explanation for this stopping point. Tippens claims that German culture did survive the war, although much changed, and that it eventually tapered off in the next few decades particularly around World War II. He points to growth in German-language newspaper readership in the 1920s and the organization of new *Vereine* and German church services after the war hysteria died down. However, the argument seems contradictory at times as the author claims Americanization efforts "to eliminate German culture [were] quite successful" while at other times he emphasizes the continuation of German culture (11). For example, the author affirms that Germans in Texas were unique because they "faced such sustained pressure to forgo [their] ethnic identity for an 'American' one; and none appeared to mute [their] ethnic identity to so great an extent" (13).

Finally, as Tippens covers the sensitive and complex relations between Germans and white Texans, his work presents many new questions worth addressing more fully. For instance, how does the triple ethnic dimension of Anglo-Texans, Germans, and Mexicans make Texas a unique example of anti-German sentiment compared to the American Midwest, which lacked a large Mexican population in the period under study? Likewise, what is the impact of rural and urban settlements as well as that of class issues? In the conclusion, Tippens alludes to the importance of these issues and points out that rural settlements maintained their *Deutschtum* longer, that rural areas with higher German population witnessed much less violence during the war, and that Germans tended to see themselves as more cultured and respectable than the poor white farmers around them. Furthermore, how did the anti-German backlash of 1917-1918 grow into the isolationist nativism of the 1920s, and how did German-Texans succeed in becoming old stock by the end of that decade? Investigating the transformation in nativist arguments in the 1920s, especially when such arguments focused on new immigrants, urban labor problems, and specifically anti-Mexican protests overtaking German targets, would have strengthened this work.

Yet overall, the work offers a solid description of the reaction of white Texans to German-Texans during World War I by offering details on the violence and tensions. One should note, though, that with all of the interesting vignettes and examples, much of the German voice is left out.

Yankee Warhorse: A Biography of Major General Peter Osterhaus.

By Mary Bobbitt Townsend. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010. 270 pp. \$39.95.

This book is an account of the American Civil War experiences of Major General Peter Osterhaus whose meteoric rise to high rank in the Union Army rested to an astonishing degree on his extremely brief military training in Prussia as well as his own steady character. Born and raised in Koblenz in the Prussian Rhineland, Osterhaus had received only one year of training to be an officer in the Prussian Reserve when, in 1845, he resigned his commission to become a businessman in Mannheim in Baden. When revolts broke out in Baden in May, 1849 after the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament, Osterhaus nevertheless stepped up to become the commander of the Citizens' Army of Mannheim. After the revolution was put down in late June, Osterhaus fled, first to France to await his family and then on to Belleville, Illinois, also the new American home of Friedrich Hecker, one of the most popular speakers and agitators of the 1848 Revolution.

When the American Civil War began twelve years later, Osterhaus was already well established as a businessman in St. Louis, Missouri. Yet, on April 15, 1861, he joined a German-American Union Army volunteer unit as a mere private, and owing to his Prussian military training was elected to the post of major of his battalion only a few days later. Then in July he was promoted to colonel. He served in campaigns in Missouri and Arkansas in 1861 and 1862. At the beginning of 1863, he joined Ulysses Grant's campaign against the Confederate fortress at Vicksburg, Mississippi, having been made a brigadier general six months earlier. From private to brigadier general in roughly eighteen months! After Vicksburg, Osterhaus continued to serve as a major general in southeast Tennessee, in the Atlanta Campaign, and as a part of Sherman's March to the sea across Georgia. He ended the war back in the Trans-Mississippi West and then served six months as the military governor of the state of Mississippi.

Osterhaus served diligently and with a high degree of competence throughout the entire conflict. His brother officers respected him and he was popular with his troops, German-American or Yankee. But he was not well-known because he concentrated on doing his job and was not skilled in self-promotion. Instead of attempting a political career after the war, with health damaged by malaria and dysentery, he returned to Europe with his family in 1866. He served for over a decade as U. S. Consul in Lyon, France, including during the Franco-Prussian War. Then he returned to Germany to spend

twenty-five years as a businessman back in Mannheim. He left descendants in both Germany and in America.

The author of *Yankee Warhorse* is one of his direct descendants who lives in California, and she has told his story, for the most part, at the level of the units he commanded rather than from the perspective of the wider campaigns in which he participated. Just ten pages of the book are devoted to the general's life before immigration. His life in Europe from 1866 through his death in early 1917 is squeezed into a thirteen page epilogue, much of which is taken up with his return visit to America in 1904. The author writes readable and competent military history, although many readers will want more battle and campaign maps. She displays considerable energy in finding relevant published English-language source material. Christian B. Keller's *Chancellorsville and the Germans* could have helped Townsend on the matter of ethnic tensions within the Army especially from the points of view of Generals Joe Hooker and O. O. Howard, both of whom Osterhaus served under just months after Chancellorsville. But Townsend must have been largely finished with her research when Keller's book appeared. Overall, it seems a shame that the author did not find partners trained in European history and continental languages so that a broader and more complete biography of this important German-American immigrant could have been produced.

Maryville, Missouri

Robert W. Frizzell

Learning Democracy: Education Reform in West Germany, 1945-1965.

Von Brian M. Puaca. Monographs in German History 27. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009. 221 Seiten. \$58.00.

Die mit dem *Claude Eggertsen Prize* der *History of Education Society* ausgezeichnete Dissertation postuliert, dass im Bildungswesen, besonders aber in den allgemeinbildenden Schulen trotz unveränderter Strukturen und Organisationsformen nach 1945 demokratische Reformen einsetzten, die vom philosophischen Pragmatismus John Deweys geleitet seit der amerikanischen Besatzung Deutschlands virulent wurden. An den Indikatoren (1) neuer Unterrichtsmaterialien, vor allem den Geschichtsbüchern, (2) der Einführung politischer Bildung und sozialwissenschaftlicher Studien, (3) der intensivierten Schülermitverantwortung, (4) den nach nationalsozialistischer Isolation wieder aufgenommenen internationalen Austausch sowie (5) einer qualitativ aufgewerteten Lehrerbildung wird die subtile Transformation von Bildung und Erziehung in der Nachkriegsgesellschaft der Bundesrepublik

Deutschland bilanziert. Als Fallstudien dienen das Land Hessen und West-Berlin. In methodischer Hinsicht werden pädagogische Zeitschriften und schulische Archivbestände, die durch Aufsätze, Schülerzeitungen, Jahrbücher und andere Unterrichtsmaterialien Aufschlüsse über den erzieherischen Wandel vermitteln, relevant. Ergänzend treten Interviews mit ehemals Beteiligten hinzu.

Der dem Kapitelaufbau analoge Wandlungsprozeß unterscheidet vier Phasen: Zunächst werden die nach dem Zusammenbruch und der Beseitigung materieller Schäden bald schon einsetzenden curricularen und pädagogischen Reformbestrebungen skizziert, auf denen in den späten 1950er Jahren die Expansion der politischen Bildung anknüpfen konnte. In der folgenden Dekade erreichte die Bildungsreform westdeutscher Provenienz ihren Zenit. Ein Ausblick behauptet schließlich den Nexus der Reformen seit dem nationalsozialistischen Exodus mit den unruhigen Jahren der Studentenbewegung. Die hier vorliegenden Erkenntnisse sind über weite Passagen nicht besonders originell, weil eine Vielzahl ähnlich gearteter Studien die zu den zentralen Themen der Reformdebatte führenden Operationalisierungen für Chancengleichheit und Anpassung des Bildungssystems an neue gesellschaftliche Anforderungen schon früher vorgenommen und analysierend bearbeitet haben. Einzelne Behauptungen und Beweisführungen erscheinen darüber hinaus fragwürdig oder in sich widersprüchlich: Ob gerade Hessen und West-Berlin gegenüber den dominierenden konservativen Milieus Bayerns und Baden-Württemberg repräsentative Konnotationen entfalten konnten, ist schon bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung zu bezweifeln. Auch die gesellschaftliche Wirkung des als Kronzeuge für die Demokratisierung Westdeutschlands benannten John Dewey kann angesichts der erst um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert erfolgten Rezeption seines philosophischen Systems nicht überzeugen.

Dagegen ist durchaus zu behaupten, dass internationale Referenzhorizonte für die Bildungs- und Gesellschaftsreform der Bundesrepublik Deutschland eine weitaus größere Rolle als gemeinhin angenommen spielten. Der kultur- und bildungspolitisch motivierte Austausch zwischen den USA und Westdeutschland wirkte intentional und funktional als Medium der Reformen vor allem unter den Prämissen der Professionalisierung sozialwissenschaftlicher Berufsfelder, des Aufbaus neuer Institutionen, der Modernisierung im Sinne der Erweiterung sozialer und bildungsbezogener Leistungen sowie individueller Emanzipationsstrategien, die ein neues Selbstverständnis in Gesellschaft und Kultur durchsetzen. Auch der hier nicht behandelte Aufbau von Amerikastudien und des Studiums der Politikwissenschaft weisen bereits in die Richtung demokratischer Lernprozesse, welche die Typenbildung westlicher Leitkultur in den Prozessbegriffen der machtpolitischen

Setzung, verinnerlichten Bewußtseinsbildung, der Wunschbilder, Phantasievorstellungen und Trotz-Abwehrreaktionen einleitete. Leider stellt die Studie nicht das methodische Instrumentarium einer Prosopographie zur Verfügung, das zusätzlichen empirischen Aufschluß über konzise Zusammenhänge zwischen Kulturaustausch, Innovation und Reform geben und gerade dabei auch theoriegeleitete Aussagen zum Verhältnis zwischen Adaption, Transformation, Kopie und Prozessen kultureller Aneignung gewinnbringend ausarbeiten könnte. Im Ergebnis bleibt deshalb festzuhalten, dass trotz der aufgezeigten Defizite die Studie eine kompakte Zusammenfassung vorhandener Erkenntnisse darstellt und durchaus für weiterführende Analysen anzuregen vermag.

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Karl-H. Füssl

Studies on German-Language Islands.

Edited by Michael T. Putnam. Studies in Language Companion Series 123. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011. 477 pp. \$158.00.

This volume is a collection of sixteen articles, of which nine specifically deal with German immigrant dialects in the United States, including Pennsylvania German/Dutch; Wisconsin German; Amana (Iowa) German; Mennonite Low German/*Plautdietsch* (Henderson, Nebraska) and Texas German. This collection also includes an article that deals with Mennonite Low German in the Americas with a focus on two communities in Paraguay and one in Brazil. Two closely-related German dialect enclaves in Northern Italy receive some attention: Mòcheno and Cimbrian German. Finally, an article is included concerning Siebenbürger Sächsisch, spoken in Romania.

The editor's stated goal with this volume is to present research on German speech islands from a generative or structural perspective as opposed to a sociolinguistic perspective. The six section titles and the articles included in each section help clarify his new organizational approach:

- Section 1 - Phonetics & Phonology
- Section 2 - Morphology & Lexical studies
- Section 3 - Syntax I - Verb clusters
- Section 4 - Syntax II - The syntax of Cimbrian German
- Section 5 - Syntax III - The syntax of Pennsylvania German
- Section 6 - Pragmatics & Conversational analysis.

As the section titles suggest, this book is not for those who are uninitiated in linguistics, especially current trends in theoretical linguistics. Readers will encounter terms such as final laryngeal neutralization, synchronic phonological patterning, Optimality-Theoretic framework, 'other-directed' verbs vs. typically 'self-directed' verbs, syntagmatic constraints, structural convergence and divergence, themata and remata, V2 language, allative preposition, turn constructional unit, etc. The authors of most articles expect readers to have the appropriate linguistic knowledge to make sense of the research results. Some of these theoretical articles are not easy reading. Nevertheless, this book breaks new ground and is worth a look by those who are interested in the application of newer linguistic methodologies to German dialect research. The editor provides a listing of contributors with contact information.

This volume is available from the publisher in print and e-book format: http://www.benjamins.com/cgi-bin/t_bookview.cgi?bookid=SLCS%20123. A complete table of contents is posted by the publisher and a Google preview is also available at this website.

University of Kansas

D. Christopher Johnson

The East Franconian Dialect of Haysville, Indiana: A Study in Language Death.

By Daniel Nützel. Regensburger Dialektforum, Vol. 15. Regensburg: Edition Vulpes, 2009. 175 pp. €18.00.

Structural decay is often a distinct phenomenon of languages facing their linguistic demise. Daniel Nützel's study in language death on the East Franconian dialect of Haysville, Indiana, a German dialect, however, exhibits a different prototype. Although it is a dying language, Nützel's very comprehensive linguistic study written in English, documents that the morphological and syntactic structures of this dialect remain mostly intact when compared to its base dialect spoken in Upper Franconia, Germany. Selected examples of this dialect's morphology and syntax illustrate and underscore this deviation from linguistic developments evolving in many other moribund languages. In the introduction to his work, Nützel highlights some linguistic studies of endangered languages, which showcase significant structural reductions in their final stages of language death. He asserts that a close-knit communal structure of the immigrant speakers of the Haysville

East Franconian dialect on the other hand, contributed immensely to the fact that morphological and syntactical reductions in this dialect are virtually non-existent and remain similar to the base dialect in Upper Franconia. This thesis is the focus of his comprehensive study on this unique dialect of Haysville, Indiana. The author gives a concise overview of each chapter and includes detailed maps that conveniently illustrate not only the geographical area of Haysville East Franconian in Indiana, but also informs the reader about the geographic origin of the emigrants to Haysville from the Upper Franconia area in present-day Germany.

In chapter one Nützel provides an extensive overview of German immigration to the United States and examines in particular, the settlement history of Dubois County, Indiana, where Haysville is located. In addition, he provides reasons for emigration from Upper Franconia. Chapter two covers the topic of data collection for this dialect study. Here Nützel details his fieldwork methodology and discusses sociolinguistic variables such as religion. Chapter three is devoted to language death in its various forms. Nützel then goes on to explore the correlation of language decay and the semi-speaker and its relevance to the East Franconian dialect of Haysville. In chapter four the reader is informed about the linguistic location of this East Franconian dialect among German dialects and learns about its different varieties. A map depicting the major isoglosses within European East Franconian is included for the reader's convenience. Chapters five through nine concentrate on a very detailed grammatical analysis of Haysville East Franconian. While chapter five discusses the verbal system, chapter six addresses conjunctions and modal particles. The nominal system is the focus of chapter seven discussing cases and pronouns. One of the main points the author makes here is that case reduction does indeed take place in the Haysville East Franconian dialect, and he argues that it is a result of borrowing rather than language decay. Chapter eight centers on syntax. Nützel maintains that American English does not influence word order in Haysville East Franconian despite close language contact, and it stays in close relation to its base dialect in Upper Franconia. Directional adverbs and their prepositional use in the Haysville East Franconian dialect are the focal point of chapter nine. The author concludes his work by summarizing the findings put forth in his study by pointing out the unique exception of the Haysville dialect among languages facing gradual extinction, namely, that it deviates from the seemingly common pattern of morphological and syntactical reduction. A brief summary in German about his work and a notable and extensive bibliography complete Nützel's publication.

The East Franconian Dialect of Haysville, Indiana: A Study in Language Death is a valuable contribution to the study of dying languages because

it shows an atypical case in language death. It will interest dialectologists, sociologists, and historians alike, and will surely draw the attention of someone in German-American Studies and related fields.

Washburn University

Gabriele Lunte

New York's German Past: A Guide to the Traces of the City's German Heritage.

Von Ilona Stoelken und Thomas Fitschen. Berlin: Verlag Thomas Fitschen, 2011. 110 Seiten. Gratis.

Eine Einladung zur Spurensuche – so lässt sich am besten dieser kleine, aber kompakte, mit zahlreichen Details gefüllte Reiseführer durch ehemals deutsche Stadtviertel New Yorks bezeichnen. Es ist infolge des zeitlichen Abstands nicht leicht, solch einen geradezu archäologischen Wegweiser zu produzieren, aber Ilona Stoelken (Text) und Thomas Fitschen (Fotos und Landkarten) haben beachtliche Arbeit geleistet. Der Band besteht aus zwei Teilen: einem sehr guten, übersichtlichen Abriss der Geschichte des deutschen Elements in New York (7-49) und einer kommentierten Auflistung von Fußwanderungen, die der Besucher zur Besichtigung der architektonischen Restbestände deutscher Präsenz in den fünf Stadtteilen unternehmen kann (50-109).

Entsprechend der Konzentration der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung in den jeweiligen Stadtteilen kommt Manhattan und Brooklyn die meiste Aufmerksamkeit zu. Queens liegt mit Ridgewood an dritter Stelle, und selbst auf Staten Island und in der Bronx (Heine-Denkmal!) haben die Herausgeber deutsche Spuren sichern können. Besonders faszinierend ist die lange Liste von Kirchen, die zwar von deutschen Einwanderern errichtet wurden, inzwischen aber anderen ethnischen Gruppen bzw. Religionsangehörigen dienen. Immer wieder überraschend sind die von deutschen Unternehmern hinterlassenen und oft nur schwer zu identifizierenden Industriedenkmäler in allen Teilen der Stadt.

Die beiden Herausgeber waren bescheiden genug, jeden Anspruch auf enzyklopädische Vollständigkeit ihres touristisch-historischen Traktats weit von sich zu weisen. Trotzdem möchte man diesem Bändchen eine bessere Zukunft bzw. Neuauflage wünschen, denn die jetzt vorliegende Fassung ist ausbaufähig, nicht nur in Hinsicht auf den Inhalt, sondern auch auf die drucktechnische Gestaltung. Beispielsweise wären viele Fotos in vergrößerter Form besser zur Geltung gelangt. Zahlreiche Aufnahmen sind außerdem

zu dunkel herausgekommen. Auch beim Umbruch und Korrekturlesen hätte man mehr Sorgfalt aufbringen können. Weil aber ansonsten die ins Manuskript eingebrachte Leistung vorbildlich ist, möchte man dem ganzen Projekt einen Fortbestand wünschen.

Das deutsche Generalkonsulat New York hatte zur Veröffentlichung des Hefts einen Druckkostenzuschuss gewährt und gibt Exemplare kostenlos ab—so lange der Vorrat reicht: ein großzügiges Angebot, von dem man Gebrauch machen sollte (The Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany; 871 United Nations Plaza; New York, NY 10017).

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America 1850-1914.

By Barbara Lorenzkowski. Studies in Immigration and Culture, 3. Series edited by Royden Loewen. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press. 2010. 295 pp. \$34.95.

The third volume in the *Studies in Immigration and Culture* series published by the University of Manitoba Press, Barbara Lorenzkowski's *Sounds of Ethnicity* explores verbal and musical expressions of ethnicity and intercultural exchanges from the mid-nineteenth century to World War I in the "heard worlds" (5) of German immigrant communities in rural Waterloo County, Ontario and urban Buffalo, New York. Engaging her readers in "historical eavesdropping" (8), Lorenzkowski pieces together discussions of language use from written documents and examines musical performance and identity in these communities. In doing so, she also reveals "public conversations on ethnicity and modernity, community and nation, public culture and transnationalism" (17).

The book is divided in two sections. Part I, "Language Matters," consists of three chapters focusing on German in the press and in the schools. Chapter 1 is devoted to the *Berliner Journal*, the leading German-language newspaper of its time in Ontario and "translator" for its readership, connecting them to news from the homeland, English-language newspapers, as well as the German-language press in the United States (22, 24, 42). Lorenzkowski also follows the *Berliner Journal's* running commentary on language use over the course of its publishing history. A staunch supporter of maintaining German in the new homeland, especially in the family home, the *Berliner Journal* also recognized the benefits of being bilingual (41), as long as there remained separate domains for German and English (25, 38). Criticizing what it viewed

as indifference towards language loss and observing increasing use of English and language mixing, the *Berliner Journal* cautioned that an inability to speak German would result in future generations losing "their right to membership in the ethnic community" (30).

In Chapter 2 Lorenzkowski traces the teaching of German in the Waterloo County schools. Comments from the *Berliner Journal* about immigrants being indifferent about passing German on to the next generation, were echoed in a lack of support for German language education. For immigrant parents, German was a conversational tool and practice at home was sufficient, while English instruction in the schools was seen as necessary for their children to integrate in the hybrid German-English environment (74-75). Whereas the community elites argued that German was essential to identity, immigrant parents didn't make the same connection between language and identity: their identity was multilingual and crossed cultural boundaries (74).

Lorenzkowski then looks at Buffalo schools in Chapter 3, where the push for German language education carried with it modern teaching techniques that would influence teaching in the public school system (77). While German had often been taught like the classics where the focus was on grammar and translation, those who advocated German language maintenance promoted natural teaching styles which prioritized conversational use. Although the limitations of the classroom and teaching training did not always make these suggested reforms possible, it still left a mark on the educational system and created stronger connections between the German and Anglo instructors who shared pedagogical goals (97-98).

In Part II, "Sound Matters," Lorenzkowski turns her attention to the domain of musical performances and traditions. Chapter 4 looks at the "transformative power of performance" in the Buffalo Singers' Festival of 1860, which not only brought German singers together in a spirit of community, and brought them closer to their German heritage, but also opened the musical experience up to a more broader American audience who, despite being unable to understand the language of the songs, shared in the festival experience which served as a forum of communication for all involved (103, 116, 127).

German unification of 1871 had special meaning for German settlers abroad and their German ethnic identity, expressed in the German Peace Jubilees covered in Chapter 5. The jubilees were symbolic of the "cultural pluralism and dual loyalties" (131) felt by German North Americans. They were politically tied to their new homelands, but still felt a cultural connection to the land of their birth. Whereas in Canada the festivals were perceived in a positive light, the American festivals drew some negative attention, calling into question the loyalty of German-Americans to their new homeland, illustrating the difference of national contexts and identity (146-48).

Lorenzkowski highlights in Chapter 6 the cultural interactions in the Great Lake regions, as German-Canadians and German-Americans attended each other's musical festivals, fostering a North American German community identity in which "bonds across the border strengthened and the festivals assumed the air of reunion" (184). While the smaller venues allowed leaders a chance to try to introduce more classical music and art in the celebrations, the emphasis was still on creating a social environment for fun and communication. But at the turn of the century, the process of modernization changed the nature of the music festivals, as demonstrated by Lorenzkowski in Chapter 7. The divide between high culture and popular culture widened (191-92), splitting the musical public between those who prioritized artistic performance and those who preferred the social aspects of festivals. Lorenzkowski also describes the impact of the creation of a music hall in Buffalo (194), the developing local identity of festivals (199), and changing expectations of audience etiquette (206).

The language and sound matters discussed by Lorenzkowski make a valuable contribution to the scholarship on North German American immigrant communities and ethnic identity by tuning in to the aural history of these communities and documenting their interconnected worlds of sounds. The connection with musical social spaces is a particular strength of her work, as musical performance played a significant role in these communities, and as shown by Lorenzkowski, created a domain for intercultural exchanges. As Lorenzkowski herself states, the fleeting and transient nature of sound is a challenge to aural history (21), but the available conversational fragments she gleans from newsprint and other documentation provide valuable information about the changing ideas on language and identity that prevailed in these communities from the time of immigration through the early years of the twentieth century. These conversations tend to be somewhat one-sided, biased towards the viewpoints of the society elites, but Lorenzkowski also points out, whenever possible, how these elite viewpoints may reflect responses to what is occurring in these communities on a more general level.

Coming from the perspective of a linguist, Lorenzkowski's work, while not strictly a linguistic study, is highly relevant to those interested in North American German language varieties and domains in which they were used. It should be noted that Lorenzkowski uses the term "language change" in a general sense to describe what was happening in the varieties of these communities and the shift from German to English, whereas linguists would not. Overall, *Sounds of Ethnicity* is a valuable read for historians, sociolinguists, musicologists, and anyone interested in "hearing" how ethnicity was practiced in language use and in musical performance. This is one of Lorenzkowski's stated goals (8), which she achieves.

Siedlungen und Leistungen der Deutschen in Brasilien.

Edited by Hartmut Fröschle. Befunde und Berichte zur Deutschen Kolonialgeschichte 7/12. Windhoek: Kürle Druck und Verlag e. K., 2008. 92 pp. €17.00.

It is but a very thin booklet—only 92 pages written in German—that claims to enlighten the reader about the German settlements and achievements in Brazil. This volume is number twelve in a series dedicated to German colonial history published by the International Study Group for Research in Colonial Studies (Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Kolonialwissenschaftliche Forschung). The series is published in Windhoek, Namibia, and previous volumes included mainly studies on the German presence in Africa. The present little volume now traces the German immigration to Brazil. In six chapters the editor Hartmut Fröschle tries to give an overview of the long history of the German presence. The main piece by Hartmut Fröschle himself (comprising nearly 50% of the pages) is a classical account of the German settlements in Brazil. Fröschle describes the few first German arrivals on Brazilian soil beginning in the sixteenth century with the Portuguese invasion before German immigration on a larger scale began in the nineteenth century. The most prominent of them is probably Heinrich Staden whose travel accounts published in 1557 achieved a wide readership in Germany and are still read by scholars of early modern travel literature.

The first attempts for an organized German settlement began in 1818 and were fostered by Georg Anton Schäffer who recruited more than 10,000 families (6) to settle on Brazilian soil. Many who came served as *Söldner* or mercenaries before settling in Brazil for good. The strategically organized German settlements in the southwest of Brazil helped to create farms and infrastructure for the country. Another wave of immigrants entered after 1918 and also settled mainly in the Sao Paulo region. Several settlement companies created in the 1930s continued to bring German-speaking settlers mainly to the southeastern states of Brazil. The last major phase of German immigration to Brazil began after World War II. The last estimate of the 1970s calculated that approximately 1.8 million German speakers had settled in Brazil. A figure given in 2007 speaks of five million German descendants. Fröschle continues his general introduction with structured accounts of the German accomplishments in the areas of architecture, craftsmanship and industry, trade and transportation, science and research, military, politics, and government administration. The article concludes with a chronology of German migration from 1494 to 2007.

In a subsequent article Bodo Borst researches “The role of German-speaking Jesuits in Brazil from 1660 to 1760.” Borst claims that, although

German missionaries were much fewer in numbers and came at a later time than their Iberian colleagues, the Germans had a considerable impact. While a few individuals can be traced before 1660, the majority of German-speaking Jesuits came later. A prominent figure was Father Johann Phillip Bettendorff who not only founded several missionary stations but also worked as a linguist, farmer and entrepreneur. Due to his considerable influence on the Portuguese court he was instrumental in the passage of the Missionary Laws of 1686 that granted the native *Indios* some rights to protect them from slavery and exploitation. At the end of his life Bettendorff had not only established a large number of new missionary stations but he left a detailed historical and geographical account of the Tapajos river region of the Amazon. Borst's account continues with a brief summary of further Jesuits active in that region until 1760, their expulsion in 1750, the dissolution of the Order by Pope Clemens XIV in 1777, and the resumption of Jesuit activities in 1924 that continues today.

In Eckhard Kupfer's article "The German immigration to the State of Sao Paulo in the Nineteenth Century" the author traces the history of the first settlement, the foundation of the first German societies, and the creation of communal life. The first German "Hilfsverein" was founded in 1863; Dr. Wilhelm Delius published the first German paper in 1875; and in 1878 came the newspaper "Germania" that continued until 1921. By 1879 the "Hilfsverein" had collected enough money to open the first German school in Sao Paulo to 52 children. Although the developments of World War I seem to have lesser consequences for the school than similar histories shown for in the USA, it suffered considerably during World War II when in 1942 the government prohibited the employment of German nationals. The school then changed its name and the German language was banned from the classrooms. Not until 1966 was German language training offered again along with classes for children with German as their mother tongue. The most prominent alumni of the Calegio Visconde de Porto Seguro is probably Queen Silvia of Sweden who attended it from 1949 to 1956 when her father, a German business man, had moved the family to Brazil. The school still offers primary and secondary schooling for children with native German language skills as well as for German as a second language. Today the Martius-Staden-Institute is probably the most interesting place for researchers on the German history of Brazil. Founded in 1925 it had a rocky history but has managed to emerge as a prominent research library offering more than 150,000 documents and thousands of books and newspapers. The institute welcomes research visitors and still publishes a yearbook and awards the Martius-Staden-Award annually.

In her short article Ursula Dormien describes the recent history of the

“Brasil-Post,” a German weekly published since 1950 and that is still read by German-Brazilians today. The final article is a brief history of German societies in Porto Alegre with an emphasis on their umbrella organization that continues today. Although just founded in 1914 the first German-Brazilian umbrella organization had to close its doors again when Brazil entered World War I. In 1917 and the use of the German language was prohibited. The story repeated itself during World War II. In the 1950s German-Brazilian life began to recreate itself and is still active today. In the meantime the Brazilian “Verband der Deutsch-Brasilianischen Kulturvereinigungen” has connected itself to other national organizations throughout Latin America.

The title of this publication, *Settlements and Achievements of the Germans in Brazil*, promises more than it can deliver. It is simply too short. The modern reader may also be a little alienated by the *Fraktur-Schrift* on the title page and in headings. That has no place in a modern, scholarly publication, however romantic it may be. But maybe this work is not intended to be scholarly at all? Apart from Fröschle’s article most others are classical institutional histories with little distance between their authors and the subjects themselves. Eckhard Kupfer is the director of the Institute Martius-Staden; Ursula Dormien is the owner and publisher of the “Brasil-Post,” and Jorge Wolfgang Globig is the president of the umbrella organization for German-Brazilian societies. So this is more a “Festschrift” than anything else. There is nothing wrong with a “Festschrift” but for those readers who want to read an informative and interesting one I recommend Nina Tubino’s *Das Deutschtum in Brasilien: A Germanidade no Brasil* (Porto Alegre: Sociedade Germania, 2007).

Berlin, Germany

Katja Hartmann

Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire and the Globalization of the New South.

By Andrew Zimmerman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. 416 pp. \$35.00.

There can be no question that in the twentieth century American culture came to dominate the world. Surprising, however, is both how early in the twentieth century the process of American dominance began (it is not 1945 or even 1918, but 1902) and how thoroughly it constitutes the present day geo-political and economic structures of planet Earth. More shocking still are the origins (the ‘Scramble for Africa’), the social-political model (the Jim Crow South), and the major players (the *Kaiserreich*, Tuskegee Institute) that

contributed to the implementation of what became virtual global policy. Bringing all of these elements together at the crossroads of the German colony of Togo, Andrew Zimmerman has produced nothing short of a masterpiece of historical research and analysis that demonstrates the transnational, interconnected, and tragic nature of global capitalism as it began to emerge in the early twentieth century.

To be sure, the Togo colony was intended to serve Germany's industrial needs as a cotton producer at a time of voracious demand and dwindling worldwide supply. Nevertheless, when the German colonialists arrived in Togo they found a social and economic order replete with economically independent women, polygamy and a lackadaisical workforce that absolutely personified their worst assumptions about Africans and confirmed their darkest prejudices against workers in general. To overcome the problems of producing industrial grade cotton in west Africa, the Germans looked to the source of most such cotton, the American South. More importantly, to help them teach the Togolese to grow the cotton, German officials turned to Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, which had just settled on a curriculum of industrial education to create a "new Negro" for the "New South." In righting the upside-down world of Togolese gender and sex relations, the Germans drew upon their own experience in dealing with the migrant Polish workers of East Prussian estates.

Shared American and German attitudes about race, sex and labor fueled the relentless drive of both Germans and Tuskegee graduates to transform the free, prosperous Togolese into American New South-style sharecroppers of cotton. German and American experiences with and fears of single, unmarried workers, whom they regarded as either as lazy, as potential victims of socialism, or as sexually profligate, functioned to impose on the Togolese a harsh regimen of disciplined labor. Operating under a policy of 'education to work,' the Togolese were systematically transformed into small homesteaders whose agricultural practices, however inappropriate for African conditions, satisfied Western eyes and, in response, many Togolese simply fled. The remainder could only be kept in place through the careful use of terror, occasional torture and prison. In the end, German and American efforts to create a viable cotton agri-industry in the Togo were so successful that the League of Nations adopted the scheme wholesale for use throughout the rest of the European colonial empires. The American New South thus became the model for the rest of the colonial world's economic development.

Although Zimmerman's thesis uses gender, sex and race to investigate the common history of the South, Togo and the German Reich, it is at its heart a labor history. Famously Karl Marx noted that capitalism exists in a fundamental contradiction in the creation of its own gravediggers. Much less

famously, perhaps, but equally paradoxical, capitalism requires untrammelled labor in order to grow, and much of the nineteenth century political accomplishment achieved across Europe and North America was in fact to dismantle regimes of forced labor, such as those suffered by the East Prussian serf and the American black slave. But emancipated labor threatened the foundations of bourgeois society and propriety. The advantage of emancipated labor is that it works much harder and with greater diligence than coerced labor, but it is also free to avoid areas of low wages and seek areas with higher wages, upon which labor regimes frown.

Furthermore, liberated labor has a nasty proclivity of frightening the employing classes with its sexual profligacy. Polish seasonal workers and American blacks were the bugbears of their masters/former masters, who feared for a sexual based breakdown of the social order, whether because workers would have sex and enjoy themselves rather than work, or might fall in love with German/white women (who might also fall in love with them), or worse still they could go on raping rampages. Free labor worked harder, but its incipient threat was its freedom, to travel, to love, to do whatever it might. It was a threat to the entire moral order of 19th century society to such a degree that that such labor was not sustainable. This, in spite of the fact that in the Togo all the practices of binding nominally liberated labor to the labor exacting regimes perfected in Germany and the American South were brought to bear: the chicanery of ruinous credit practices, legal restrictions on labor's movement, bourgeois paternalism, destruction of native self-identity for that of the colonizer's choosing, traditional agricultural replaced with monoculture and the entire economy, once independent and thriving, converted into a true colonial economy, yoked totally to the European colonizer for both markets and supplies.

In this work any number of hoary historiographical shibboleths (like American exceptionalism, the German *Sonderweg* and any kind of lingering reputation Germans possess as being benign colonial masters) are so thoroughly demolished as to leave historians scratching their heads for analytic frameworks with which to replace them. Zimmerman's argument places at its center assumptions common to American and German capitalists, intellectuals and political elites about workers, blacks and Africans. He also shows the appalling results their common attitudes about race, sex, gender and culture generated. Finally, Zimmerman makes his own contribution to a much larger and older historical debate regarding the European 'Scramble for Africa' (a debate that itself dates from the time of the Germans' project in the Togo). Europeans were not in search of markets or investment opportunities per Hobson and Lenin, rather they were looking for laboratories in which to create docile, disciplined workers whose labor could be fully exploited for

European economies. They were devastatingly successful.

Zimmerman's brilliant analysis effectively demonstrates that the web of capitalist economic structures interweave and interconnect states in ways individual participants themselves might not have fully grasped. Indeed, understanding these economic forces and their effects busied some of the mightiest intellects of their day, including Max Weber, Gustav Schmoller and W.E.B. Du Bois, and stretched from the sandy fields of East Prussia, Alabama and Togo to the rarified atmospheres of the Ivory Towers at the universities of Chicago and Berlin, where they continue to inform influential schools of social thought. More devastatingly, as the tendrils of capitalism unfurled across the world and across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they ensnared peoples like those of the Togo, totally unprepared and incapable of defending themselves, whose lives and societies were most thoroughly upended by European and American industrial needs and social thought, transforming them into global sharecroppers in all but name. This is an important work, and will set the standard for transnational history for years to come.

East Carolina University

Chad Ross

A Girl from Alt Jabel.

By Gertrud Schumacher. Rancho Santa Margarita, CA: Marketsquare/11 Publishing, 2010. Vol. 1: Journey to Freedom. 284 pp. Vol. 2: America the Beautiful. 222 pp. \$19.95 each.

This is the autobiography of a girl born in 1926 who grew up in the village of Alt Jabel in southern Mecklenburg—written in a very simple forthright style. In her first volume, *Journey to Freedom*, the author describes in fascinating detail her life from her earliest memories until she boarded the boat for America in 1951. Highlights include the death of her mother when the author was eight, life with a very stern father, the war years, her engagement to a German military pilot, and her dramatic crossing of the Elbe River to West Germany at the end of the war in May 1945. Several months after her “flight to the West,” she fell deeply in love with an American soldier. In the spring of 1946 she discovered that she was pregnant. The soldier returned with his unit to the USA—promising that he would return for her soon. But he didn't. In due time, she gave birth to his son. In January 1949 she received a postcard from her military-pilot fiancé, recently released from a POW prison in Siberia. She did not reply, feeling that, as an unwed mother of a child fathered by an American soldier, she had become second class in

the eyes of many German people. Later that year, she married a Polish cook for the local American air base. Convinced that it would be easiest to start a new life in America, they (including now also a daughter) boarded a ship in Bremerhaven in December 1951 and headed for New York. This volume is excellent first-hand documentation of the impact of World War II on the personal lives of German citizens.

In her second volume, *America the Beautiful*, the author tells how the family arrived in New York, penniless but sponsored by the National Catholic Conference. She relates how, via hard work and frugal spending, they were able to buy their own home in 1955. Her four children have done well. Since the reunification, the author has made several trips back to Germany, reconnecting with her past. During one of these trips, she attempted to locate her wartime fiancé, but learned that he had passed away in 1987. In 2008, she contacted the soldier father of her first child via telephone. He was on his deathbed. A poignant conversation followed -- just a few days before he passed away. Hence the author achieved significant closure on both of her early loves. The second volume documents not only the challenges facing emigrants from Germany to America after WWII but also the opportunities available for those willing to work hard.

This autobiography is the story of one of over 60,000 unwed mothers with children left behind by the Allied troops after World War II. *Journey to Freedom* was published in serial form in the *California Staats-Zeitung*, with the last installment appearing 28 May 2011. *America the Beautiful* is being published currently, also in serial form, with the first installment appearing 4 June 2011.

University of California, Los Angeles

Eldon Knuth

The Journey Takers.

By Leslie Albrecht Huber. Lincoln, Nebraska: Foundation Books, 2010. 321 pp. \$19.95.

It takes an especially dedicated individual to do serious genealogical research. It requires a higher level of dedication to undertake placing that research in a historical context and to put it before the public. Leslie Albrecht Huber is, without doubt, a thorough and competent genealogical researcher and author of over one hundred articles on the subject. Having worked as a professional researcher at the family history library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS), she developed the skills and tenacity to

undertake a ten year journey of her own, not only to find, but also to try to understand her own ancestors. In the introductory notes to her self-published book, *The Journey Takers*, her stated purpose was “. . . not to write a scholarly account or even a thorough family history. I wanted to write a story—a narrative.” To write that narrative, she got out of the library and made her ancestors’ journeys in reverse, when she could.

As a nation mostly descended from immigrants, many of us are fascinated with the stories of our immigrant forebears, and seek to find a sense of continuity in our family stories, to help us provide a more grounded sense of who we are, as individuals, or as a people. A cursory online search of books relating to genealogy and family history yields several thousand items, in large part self-help books showing you how to find your elusive ancestors. There are also numerous genealogical databases, containing billions of documents, to help you in your search. One problem encountered by many is that of finding a starting point to their search.

As a member of the LDS church, Huber had a tailor-made starting point. Her immigrant ancestors came to the United States after having converted to Mormonism in the nineteenth century. These are the journey takers of her title, and their stories begin in three separate places: the German state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Sweden, and England. As she travels to these locations to see if anything remains of the places her ancestors knew, Huber relates her own unfolding life experiences to those of her ancestors – her impending marriage, subsequent childbearing and childbirths balanced against the records of births, infant deaths and multiple marriages of her ancestors. In telling their stories, Huber interweaves documented research with fictionalized scenes from her ancestors’ lives. To her credit, she is quite forthcoming in her purpose for this: “I . . . create scenes that *could* have taken place. I feel these are an important element of the story. Although I don’t know exactly what emotions my ancestors had, I certainly know they had emotions. Telling their story without these doesn’t do them justice.”

On this point, I disagree with her. I am no stranger to the sense of history one can feel when walking streets your ancestors may have walked, or learning how extraordinary it was that they left behind most of what they knew for an uncertain future. It is not the visualizing of her ancestors that gives me pause, but rather how far afield she seems to go. I think the *Journey Takers* would have been a stronger book if she had relied a bit less on her imagination. With her gifts for research, and her ability to visualize the stories of her immigrant ancestors, I believe Leslie Huber has the makings of a historical novelist. Telling her family story as a historical novel would allow her to use historical research to frame her family’s journey, while using her informed imagination to tell the story of their lives in an engaging manner, which would not do

them an injustice. My objections aside, *The Journey Takers* is an informative and instructive book, with an extensive bibliography, as well as some useful maps. It also contains useful insights into the art of genealogical research.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz

Verboten—verfemt—vertrieben: Schriftstellerinnen im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus.

Von Edda Ziegler. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2010. 364 Seiten. €12,90.

Mit ihrer dem Werk und Schicksal schreibender Frauen während der NS-Zeit gewidmeten Untersuchung ist es der in München lebenden Literaturwissenschaftlerin Edda Ziegler gelungen, einen lange vernachlässigten feministischen Aspekt der Exilforschung neu und überzeugend herauszuarbeiten: "Von der politisch-ideologischen Ausgrenzung und Verfolgung von Frauen handelt auch dieses Buch" (7). Das besondere Verdienst dieses in sieben Kapiteln angelegten Bands besteht darin, das spezifische Frauenbild, das sich in den Werken zahlreicher Autorinnen vor 1933 abzeichnete, an Hand relevanter Textbeispiele nachzuziehen. Die mit biografischen Informationen wichtiger Repräsentantinnen dieser neuen Frauenliteratur ausgestattete Darstellung berücksichtigt den Zeitraum kurz vor Etablierung des NS-Regimes bis in die frühen Nachkriegsjahre. Viele dieser Autorinnen gelten heute geradezu als Prominente der Exilliteratur. Ihre Werke liegen wieder oder in manchen Fällen erstmals im Druck vor. Da eine verhältnismäßig große Anzahl dieser Autorinnen die USA als Ort des Exils wählte (sei es vorübergehend oder permanent), dürfte es auch für *German-American Studies* sinnvoll sein, sich diesem Forschungsthema zu öffnen.

Zu den Frauen, die in den USA landeten, gehören Vicki Baum, Mascha Kaléko, Annette Kolb, Erika Mann, Bella Fromm, Hannah Arendt, Hertha Pauli, Gina Kaus, Hertha Nathorff, Lili Körber, Rose Ausländer, des weiteren Elisabeth Hauptmann, Grete Steffin, Ruth Berlau (Mitglieder des Kreises um Brecht) sowie zahlreiche andere. Die Verfasserin dieser Untersuchung weist darauf hin: "Die öffentliche Missachtung der Schriftstellerinnen in der Emigration hat Tradition" (9). Damit trifft die Frauen gleich eine doppelte Diskriminierung: die Verfolgung durch das NS-Regime, dessen Propaganda ihre Werke häufig als Beispiele von "Asphaltliteratur" verunglimpfte, und die Marginalisierung im Exil, wo Frauen oft zurückstehen mussten, um männlichen Literatur-Produzenten die Arbeit zu erleichtern. Dieses

Missverhältnis gilt auch für andere Berufe des Mannes. Gabriele Kreis hatte bereits 1984 darauf hingewiesen, dass Frauen im Alltag des Exils meist ihre eigenen Interessen und Talente zurückstellten, um Haushaltsgeld zu verdienen, weil – aus welchen Gründen auch immer – dies dem Mann nicht möglich war (*Frauen im Exil. Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Düsseldorf: Claassen, erste Auflage 1984).

Edda Ziegler hat mit ihrer jetzt vorliegenden engagierten Studie ein Panorama der weiblichen Exilliteratur entworfen, bei der biografische Angaben und Textkritik einander auf anschauliche Weise ergänzen. Sehr informativ sind auch die Analyse des Buchmarkts und die Einordnung der Autorinnen in die literarische Szene vor 1933. Der Band mag sich in seiner Ein- und Übersicht durchaus als Lehrbuch eignen.

Einige Vorschläge erscheinen dennoch angebracht. So erfährt man relativ wenig über die Schwierigkeiten, die Emigranten zur Einwanderung in die USA zu bestehen hatten (vom Antisemitismus und Rassismus im Lande ganz zu schweigen). In diesem Zusammenhang wäre sicherlich die Einarbeitung von David S. Wymans Erkenntnissen nützlich (*The Abandonment of the Jews. America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*. New York: 1984). Sinnvoll wäre vielleicht auch ein Hinweis auf weitere Autorinnen, deren literarische Entwicklung bereits in ihren ersten Anfängen vom NS-Regime unterdrückt wurde: Margarete Kollisch, Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss, Vera Lachmann, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger (deren Schicksal an das Anne Franks erinnert). Als Sachkorrektur sei angemerkt: Hilde Marx war keine "Wiener Schriftstellerin" (222), sondern kam aus Bayreuth. Etwas schief formuliert erscheint mir die Bezeichnung "Regierung McCarthy" (203). Im Deutschen meint dieser Ausdruck den Regierungschef – so spricht man von einer Regierung Adenauer, Regierung de Gaulle usw. Der der Republikanischen Partei angehörende Senator von Wisconsin war jedoch nie Regierungschef in Washington.

Der Hinweis im Impressum, dass es sich beim vorliegenden Band um eine "revidierte und erweiterte Neuauflage" handelt, ermutigt zu der Hoffnung, dass solche Vorschläge bei einer künftigen Auflage berücksichtigt werden könnten. Die Rezeption von Exilliteratur ist offenbar ein sich wandelnder, für Korrekturen zugänglicher (um nicht zu sagen anfälliger) Prozess.

From Nonresistance to Justice: The Transformation of Mennonite Church Peace Rhetoric 1908-2008.

By Ervin R. Stutzman. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press. 2011. 424 pp. \$39.99.

Those of us who live on the periphery of Anabaptist life, often regard it as an endless struggle. This is most palpably obvious in the case of Amish and Old Order Mennonite groups, the plain people, who grapple with so much: maintaining their growing communities, negotiating the lives of their youth in a modern culture, competing for business in an open market, and, heroically, saving money for farms and businesses for their children. But it is not only the plain Anabaptist groups who struggle and, in fact, my impression is that the Anabaptist groups that *do not* remain plain wrestle with their decisions and identity even more.

This makes sense, of course. Without the visible and auditory markers that separate the plain groups from the rest of us, non-visible markers must be found that will hold them together as a community and also separate them from the larger society. Those markers are lifestyle and philosophy. To this end Brethren, Mennonite, and non-plain Anabaptist groups devote an entirely admirable amount of time and energy to the discussion and debate of their values and policies. Each accommodation to modernity and technology is born from years of painful soul-searching and debate. Significantly, as the author of *From Nonresistance to Justice*, Ervin R. Stutzman, argues, this discussion and debate tends to be limited largely to the written text. In this case, the explanation is the Mennonite tendency to avoid public conflict and controversy, and this is the justification for Stutzman's approach: a painstaking analysis of the documents that trace the development of the pacifistic views of the Mennonite Church USA and Mennonite Church Canada over one hundred years, which, he feels, offer a deeper and fuller view into the process than that of theology, sociology, or history alone.

Ervin R. Stutzman's life and career have familiarized him with realities of Anabaptist communities and the written discourse of the church. He is currently the Executive Director of Mennonite Church USA and served for nearly 12 years as Dean and Professor of Church Ministries at Eastern Mennonite Seminary, Harrisonburg, Virginia. He has also served as pastor, district overseer, missions administrator, conference moderator and, from 2001 to 2003, as moderator for Mennonite Church USA. Though he was born Amish in Kalona, Iowa, he found his way into the Mennonite Church and into higher education, and holds master's degrees from the University of Cincinnati and Eastern Mennonite Seminary and a doctorate from Temple University. His doctoral dissertation covered the same subject as this book

for the years 1951-91. He has written several other books with Herald Press, including *Tobias of the Amish*, a story of his father's life and community, and *Emma, A Widow Among the Amish*, the story of his mother.

As the title implies, the pacifistic discourse of the Mennonite Church over the last hundred years shifted focus from nonresistance to justice, and in so doing it responded to forces within and outside of the church. The process was exceedingly complex. Among other fascinating sources in his analysis, Stutzman traces "New Terms" in the peace-related Index Headings in the *Gospel Herald* and *The Mennonite* from 1908-2008. These illuminate the scope of Mennonite concerns: Civilian Public Service, Draft Registration, Cold War, Israel-Arab Border Conflict, Guantanamo, Iraqi Refugees, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Throughout his analysis, Stutzman's conviction is always that rhetoric, which he defines simply as "public discourse," is the soul of the Church and its mission to spread the Gospel, but also of human integrity and our efforts to live together in peaceful communities. Along the way, he explores rhetoric as persuasion, as symbolic action, as identification, as structure, and as movement. This book is a sophisticated scholarly analysis of one hundred years of discourse on peace and is recommended for scholars and serious readers of Anabaptist history, of peace rhetoric, and of rhetoric, in general, also for anyone interested in the rigorously "examined life" and values guided by deep faith.

Susquehanna University

Susan M. Schürer

**"Wenn Du absolut nach Amerika willst, so gehe in Gottesnamen!"
Erinnerungen an den California Trail, John A. Sutter und den Goldrausch
1846-1849.**

*By Heinrich Lienhard. Edited by Christa Landert; foreword by Leo Schelbert.
Zürich: Limmat Verlag, 2010. 761 pp. €52.00.*

As Leo Schelbert says in his foreword, this volume is truly "ein grosses Buch" (7). Not only is it a monumental tome at over 760 pages, but it is also a grand accomplishment of transcription and editing by Christa Landert. The memoirs of Swiss immigrant and pioneer, Heinrich Lienhard (1822-1903), detailing his three-years in the American West during the late 1840s contain a wealth of details about the critical years surrounding the War with Mexico (1846-47) and the California Gold Rush at Sutter's Fort (1848), a fascinating period in the history of the American Republic. After several earlier partial publications of his narrative, some in English translation, others in the

original German, that were not always faithful to the original manuscript, Landert has produced a critically edited version of the original German text.

Landert prefaces her edition of Lienhard's lengthy memoirs of the years 1846-49 with a biographical sketch of Lienhard's childhood in Switzerland, travel to the U.S. in 1843 and his first years in the New World living in the Swiss settlement of Highland, Illinois (1843-46). Following Lienhard's narrative, Landert then continues the biographical sketch with Lienhard's first departure from California in 1849 and brief return to Switzerland (1849-50), his second sojourn in California in the first half of 1850, and his last return to Switzerland (1851-54), where he marries Elsbeth Blumer and their first two children are born. Landert completes the biographical sketch with Lienhard's eventual return to the U.S. in 1854, where he initially settles in Madison, Wisconsin (birth of his third child), and his ultimate establishment as a farmer in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1856, where his last six children are born. Lienhard dies in Nauvoo in 1903 after completing the memoirs of his early years in California during the 1870s and participating in their first partial publication in 1898.

Certainly one of the highpoints of Lienhard's narrative is his description of that February day in 1848 when his fellow Swiss immigrant Jacob Wittmer returned to Sutter's Fort and reported that gold had been found. Apparently until that point Sutter and the operator of the sawmill John Marshall had managed to keep the secret since their initial discovery in mid-January of that year. According to Lienhard, he confronted Wittmer saying: "Wenn du [*sic*] Gold entdeckt hast, wirst Du doch gewiss welches mit Dir gebracht haben" (529). After Wittmer produces some small yellowish nuggets, the group of men with Lienhard melts one down on an anvil and determines it is indeed gold. As Lienhard describes it:

Die eben noch so ruhig sich verhaltenden Männer tanzten wie plötzlich wahnsinning gewordene Männer über altes Eisen, Hämmer und Zangen, um den Ambos herum, lachten, jauchzten, schrieten, piffen, sangen und jodelten, dass, wenn Jemand sie hätte sehen können, ohne den Grund zu diesem Lärm zu kennen, [er] gewiss geglaubt haben müsste, sie hätten durch iregend ein Zufall den Verstand verloren. . . . "Gold!—Gold!—Gold! Bei chimney—Gold, boys, Gold! We will all be rich, all of us—hurrah for the Gold!" und dergleichen waren unsere Rufe. (530)

Whether Lienhard is describing his overland journey to California across the Rocky Mountains in 1846, his first encounter with Johann Sutter, his several encounters with grizzly bears, the life of Indians in various locales, and

the like, his narrative is itself filled with dozens of such nuggets of information that fascinate and enlighten. His *Erinnerungen* are an incredible treasure trove for anyone interested in this period of American history. We can be thankful that Lienhard's father eventually relented and permitted his son to travel to the New World saying in exasperation: "Wenn Du absolut nach Amerika willst, so gehe in Gottesnamen!"

We can also be truly thankful that Christa Landert devoted over two decades working with Lienhard's original manuscript at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, to produce this edition. Her detailed description of the manuscript and critical apparatus accompanying the narrative and her biographical sketch of Lienhard's life before and after his 1846-49 memoirs are enhanced with numerous maps and illustrations. Landert's edition also includes a replica four-part "Map of the Emigrant Road from Independence Mo. to St. Francisco California" published in 1849 in a slip-pocket on the inside back cover. This reviewer notes with some personal satisfaction that Lienhard's route from Independence to the West Coast passes across the Kansas prairie at one point where the future town of Lawrence would arise in 1854, now the home of the University of Kansas. Lienhard passed through that area some eight years before Kansas Territory was opened for settlement.

The University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Sweet Sister Moon.

By Norbert Krapf. Cincinnati, Ohio: WordTech Editions, 2009. 171 pp. \$20.00.

Norbert Krapf, Indiana Poet Laureate 2008-10, has made a name for himself with a series of poetry volumes that focus on his geographic and personal background, such as *Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins* (1993), *The Country I Come From* (2002), *Looking for God's Country* (2005), *Invisible Presence: A Walk through Indiana in Photographs and Poems* (photos by Darryl D. Jones, 2006), and *Bloodroot: Indiana Poems* (with photos by David Pierini, 2008). In addition to these collections, two more poetry volumes highlight other places of relevance for the author's biography: *Blue-Eyed Grass: Poems of Germany* (1997) and *Bittersweet Along the Expressway: Poems of Long Island* (2000). A prose volume is dedicated to the author's early years in the Hoosier State, *The Ripest Moments: A Southern Indiana Childhood* (2008). As indicated by the titles of these collections, the identity of Krapf's poetic voice is closely connected with his essentially

American geographic background.

Krapf was born in 1943 in the rural community of Jasper in Southern Indiana. His ancestors immigrated to this country from Franconia (Germany) during the first half of the nineteenth century. Occasionally, German words come up in his poetry like quaint greetings from a distant past. Still, his poetic essence is clearly American – not just because of the language and the subjects but mainly because of his compositional approach which operates almost exclusively with free verses guided by enjambement and bundled into various strophe patterns, a distinct feature of contemporary American poetry. This genre is often referred to as a narrative poem. As if he wanted to take a step forward from the geographical backdrop of his previous collections, Krapf has brought a new dominant theme into his latest publication, *Sweet Sister Moon*, a poetic tribute to the universal woman and, at the same time, an artistically relevant attempt at overcoming gender polarization and other sins of the past.

It is probably not a coincidence that this seven-part collection is presented without a subtitle. The volume covers a wide range of relations, affiliations, and perceptions, too diversified to be subsumed under one umbrella. Krapf, who also translated seminal poems by Rainer Maria Rilke, offers a *Stundenbuch*, a poetic prayer book in celebration of the eternally feminine. Of course, the result of his efforts is not a form of *écriture féminine*. How could it possibly be? But the author is aware of literature written by women and refers to it, e.g., in a homage to Emily Dickinson (36-37). He also offers extensive commentary on another art form, music, as presented by female performers such as Ma Rainey (113-14), Bessie Smith (115), Billie Holiday (116-17), the Hampton Sisters (Virtue and Aletra, 118-19), Monika Herzig (120-22), Cassandra Wilson (123), Diana Krall (124), Lucinda Williams (125-26), and Carrie Newcomer (127-28). The title of the entire book is taken from a song called "Sweet Sister Moon" as rendered by Kriss Luckett-Ziesemer and Greg Ziesemer. Krapf describes the duet in "Full Moon over Central Indiana" (131).

There is no further reference made to the lyrics of this song, but by then it is already clear who is meant by the epithet "sweet sister" in this poetry collection and in the real life of the author. The third part of the book, altogether nine poems under the collective title "The Sister in the Circle" (57-73), is an explicit and very sensitive homage to the poet's stillborn sister Marilyn. The attitude taken by the poetic voice is that of adoration reminiscent of medieval altar paintings. The reader may make the association with well-known moon mythology which often identifies the moon as feminine (e.g. in Latin and Romance languages). In as much as the moon is of the same origin as the earth and is able to lighten the earth at night, the *Sweet Sister Moon* is

of existential significance for the poetic ego, i.e., the feminine functions as the alter ego.

Within the seven parts of this collection, Krapf has proven himself not just as a virtuoso of different styles, but foremost as an author who is genuinely dedicated to an understanding of the female being and the female existence. The range of this poetic voice is applied to themes of family and parenthood as well as to love poems and spiritual explorations of other cultures. In the last section of this volume, Krapf offers a selection of lyrical comments on various paintings from the famous Helga series by Andrew Wyeth (1911-69). However, this is not the first time the author has raised his interpretation of an art object to the level of a poem. His early collection *Lines Drawn from Dürer* (1981), later incorporated into the volume *Blue-Eyed Grass* (cf. above), qualifies as the natural counterpart to the "Songs of Helga." The two selections make up a parallel approach to an ekphrastic genre known in Germany as the *Bildgedicht* ("picture poem"), meaning a poem that embarks on a dialog with a work of art, but not in the sense that it merely describes what can be seen in the picture, but rather develops its own response or commentary to the subject presented in the other art form. Thereby the poem gains its independence from the object that originally inspired it. In the final analysis the *Bildgedicht* stands on its own. It does not need the work of art as a visual support or illustration. Consequently, it was not necessary to add reproductions of the paintings to the book.

Sweet Sister Moon is not a poetry collection built on dichotomy, neither in a lunar nor in a human sense. It does not lay claim to any ideological or political territory. In an almost spiritual and post-feminist sense the term *sister* is used to identify family bonds, another form of the self, a reconciliation of the genders without renunciation of the male counterpart. Poetry may not change society immediately, but it might have a long-term effect. This collection is a small book that encourages great hope.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Das Bild vom Krieg: Zu den Romanen Lothar Günther Buchheims.

By Mirko Wittwar. Berlin: Rhombos-Verlag, 2009. 202 pp. \$34.80.

Das Fach Germanistik ist heute ein breites Feld: Film- und Musikkurse, Seminare über die sozialen Nebeneffekte der Grimm'schen Märchen oder sogar Pop-Kultur. Themen, die einst am Rande des Studiums lagen, sind jetzt nicht mehr wegzudenken. Freilich haben sie unsere Aufmerksamkeit

kurz vom regulären literarischen Korpus abgelenkt. Dies war vor allem im US-Deutschunterricht der Fall. Gleichzeitig werden bestimmte Autoren fast komplett ignoriert, die bedeutende Romane geschrieben und aus eigenen Erfahrungen berichtet haben, damit sie zu ihren Lebzeiten zum kulturellen Allgemeingut beitragen durften. Uns ist heute fast nicht mehr bekannt, dass Nietzsches Arbeit erst Mitte des 20. Jahrhundert in amerikanischen Abteilungen für deutsche Sprache und Kultur aufgenommen wurde.

Germanistik ist jedoch ein Bereich, der sich Schritt für Schritt für vergangene Epochen widmet und deren Vertreter willkommen heißt. Man denke hierbei nur an die Dada-Bewegung, welche jahrelang denunziert wurde. Mirko Wittwars *Das Bild vom Krieg*, die bisher einzige Monographie zu den Romanen Lothar-Günther Buchheims, leitet mit einer einzigartigen Analyse die Werke Buchheims in die heutige Germanistik ein. Als Zeitzeuge, Künstler und Ethnologe zugleich, schrieb Buchheim Romane, die Wirklichkeit als Leitmotiv haben—eine Wirklichkeit, die aufgrund der NS-Propaganda nicht zum Vorschein kommen durfte. Wären Buchheims Bücher erst heute unter einem Pseudonym als fiktive Prosa-Essays veröffentlicht worden, würden sie bestimmt als bewegende, haargenaue Blicke hinter die Kulissen gelten. In seinen erfolgreichsten Romanen *Das Boot* und *Die Festung* erzählt Buchheim aus persönlichen Erfahrungen als Kriegsmarineberichter im U-Boot-Krieg.

Der Verfasser Buchheim muss, laut Wittwars Studie, anders betrachtet werden als nur der sturköpfige Einzelgänger, dessen Namen im amerikanischen Deutschunterricht traditionsgemäß als Einleitung erwähnt wird, kurz vorm Abspielen des erfolgreichen Films *Das Boot* von Regisseur Wolfgang Petersen. Der Grund dafür ist vielfältig: schon im Inhaltsverzeichnis von *Das Bild vom Krieg* wird klar, dass für Fachleute eine Fülle von literarischen, geschichtlichen und persönlichen Erzählungen in den Werken Buchheims zu entdecken ist, wie sie kaum ein anderer Verfasser seines Jahrgangs auf eine so bildhafte und malerische Art und Weise überhaupt wagte.

Wittwars Untersuchung ist tiefgründig und für Leser, die keine apologetische, sondern eine tatsächliche Beschreibung des literarischen Stils und des quantitativen linguistischen Wertes des Verfassers Buchheim sucht, lässt sich *Das Bild vom Krieg* wie ein Begleitheft lesen.

Man braucht nur noch ein Weilchen im Internet zu stöbern und es wird einem klar, dass fast jedes Deutschprogramm auf dem College-Niveau in den USA Kurse über verschiedene Aspekte der Weimarer-Republik, des Zweiten Weltkrieges oder sogar des deutschen Wirtschaftswunders der Fünfziger Jahre anbietet. Wittwars Arbeit nimmt Themen wie zum Beispiel Buchheims Literatur im Spiegel des Propaganda-Mythos unter die Lupe. Die Hauptperson in Buchheims Kriegstrilogie, die sonst nur "der Alte" genannt wird, war eine reale Person (U-Boot-Kommandant Heinrich Lehmann-Willenbrock), und

die Tatsachen in den Erzählungen sind historisch korrekt. Buchheims Stil und seine Leidenschaft, die literarische Wirklichkeit mit der tatsächlichen zusammenzubinden, werden von Wittwar detailgenau untersucht. Wer es wagt, Buchheims Romane zu lesen, vor allem ohne Vorkenntnisse über Kriegsmaschinen oder Seefahrt-Terminologie, findet eine Auseinandersetzung der Personen in den Romanen mit dem Tode, die in Literatur-Kursen über diese Zeit mit Hilfe von Wittwars Forschung, behandelt werden sollte.

Das siebte Kapitel von Wittwars Studie, *Die Kunst hinter den Worten – Der Maler im Schriftsteller*, ist eines der wichtigsten. Hier geht es um eine quantitative Analyse des Farbgebrauchs Buchheims, der auch Maler war, die korrekt den Studien von Berlin und Kay und deren Nachfolgern entspricht. Buchheims Prosa wurde außerordentlich von der Malerei beeinflusst, was für Lernende und Laien eine schöne Erfahrung beim Lesen garantiert. Aus einer linguistischen Perspektive jedoch lockt Buchheims Werk den Leser in eine Welt, in der auch die kleinste Bemerkung zur Wirklichkeit des Erzählers viel beiträgt, und zwar mit dem Ziel, für das Publikum hinter die Ironie und die Verfälschung der Fakten des Zweiten Weltkrieges zu kommen, auch wenn dies erst heute passiert.

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New York Amish: Life in the Plain Communities of the Empire State.

By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010. 224pp. \$24.95.

Some time ago, Merlin, a Old Order Stauffer Mennonite living close to our home in Snyder County, PA, told us about his plans to move to upstate New York. He had recently married, and we met his wife and first child in a small house which he had built with the help of his parents and his large family. He was earning his living working in a machine shop and intermittently in a woodworking shop making pallets. Both shops are owned by fellow Mennonites, and there is no electricity for light or the heavy machines which are pneumatically powered. Merlin related that several members of his community, his brother among them had relocated to New York because farmland was available and affordable there. He intended to join them and had gone there on several occasions to help his brother, but so far he has not moved his family. It is a hard decision for him and his wife to leave their families and the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna River and become modern pioneers.

The Stauffer Mennonites are Anabaptists, plain people just like the Old Order Amish, so when I saw the study by Johnson-Weiner, I looked forward to reading it. I was not disappointed! A professor at SUNY, Potsdam, New York, the author lives close to several Amish settlements and has studied the Amish migration to and from the Empire State closely for over twenty-five years. She visits the Amish regularly and defines her research method as "participant observation." As the extensive bibliography of her study shows, she is also very familiar with the research literature on the Amish and other plain sects. The result is that she always places her findings into the wider historical, cultural, and sociological context. This is of great importance for the reader who is not a specialist on the topic, especially in regard to the doctrinal disputes based on the "Schrift," the Holy Bible, and disagreements concerning the discipline, or "Ordnung" which regulates the daily life of the Old Order sects and has led to so many schisms.

I might mention at this point that the informative appendices (A-D), the index and the illustrations add to the appeal of the book. It is also helpful for readers to keep at hand a road map of New York, such as the one provided by AAA to locate the new settlements and see their location in a wider geographical overview.

While the heartlands of Amish settlements are Pennsylvania and Ohio, with Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Canada also mentioned fairly often, New York used to be a blank spot. Except for one community in the nineteenth century there were no settlements there until after World War II, and as Johnson-Weiner points out in her preface, the Amish have come in larger numbers only since 1975. But now there are twenty-five settlements across the state mostly in the northern parts, often fairly close to the Canadian border (see Appendix A).

Just like the first wave of Amish settlers who came to the New World during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the second wave which followed in 1817 after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe until the beginning of the Civil War in the United States in 1861, the immigrants were not a homogeneous group. The Anabaptists had tried to carry the Protestant Reformation under Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and others from the religious into the social sphere. Rejecting the hierarchy of the Catholic Church as well as of the secular world, they formed congregations based on their understanding of the Bible in regard to equality, pacifism, and separation from the world. However, the Bible can be read and interpreted in many different ways, which led to the formation of many different sects, even among the Mennonites. The Amish were the first splinter group, and they in turn underwent the process of division (see Appendix C). The secular powers—allied with the mainstream churches—saw these dissidents as a threat to their rule and

persecuted them ruthlessly. If caught and unwilling to renounce their faith, they were executed by hanging, beheading, burning, drowning and other imaginative ways, and their supporters were threatened with heavy penalties. Fortunately, some territorial rulers and states such as Holland and Prussia allowed them to follow their religion and conscience as long as they paid their taxes and kept a low profile. An attempt to form their own kingdom of Zion in the Westphalian town of Muenster in the 1530s was bloodily suppressed, the leaders executed, and their bodies hung in iron cages over the entrance to the cathedral where for 300 years they reminded the church goers what was going to happen to heretics.

But back to the Amish in New York: Johnson-Weiner discusses the founding and lifestyle of the new settlements in chronological order, examining first the reasons families give for leaving their parent community, and then the slow process of establishing their new congregations. The old warning about making a home and living in a strange land: "Dem Ersten Tod, dem Zweiten Not, dem Dritten Brot," however, does not fit these modern settlers. This does not mean that all settlements are a success. Some fail due to a number of factors, as is shown by several extinct settlements in New York (see Appendix B). The reasons for their failure are examined: they are caused by internal and external conflicts which might be similar to the ones that induced the families to move in the first place from places such as Lancaster. There the scarcity of farmland, often exacerbated by rising land prices and higher assessments resulting in higher taxes, make it impossible for most Amish families to buy the necessary land to establish new farms for their sons. They are forced to earn their money exclusively as craftsmen, often in non-Amish businesses. They can no longer follow the agrarian lifestyle of their forefathers, working together as a family and raising their children at home and in a congregation separated from the modern world and its cultural, economic, and technological forces. These forces seem bent on subverting the way of life of the Amish, especially that of the children to whom parents want to teach the skills necessary for successful farming and a craft, as Menno Simons admonished his followers to do, and to impart the spiritual values to live as good Christians.

Johnson-Weiner explains that in the North Country of New York good farmland is available at a fraction of the price the Amish would have to pay in their traditional areas. These they could afford! Strangely, considering the move of mainstream society to Florida and other southern and southwestern states during the last decades, the prospect of cold and harsh winters does not seem to intimidate them. The first families settling in a new location hope that a chain reaction will start and other families will follow them so that they can form a new congregation. In doing so they hope to avoid community

strife and internal conflicts concerning the *Ordnung* that have often led to frictions and schisms. They also want to get along amiably with their "English" neighbors and the local, regional and federal government. Although they are "in" but not "of" this world they are good citizens and contrary to often voiced but incorrect complaints that they are exempt from paying taxes, they not only pay all taxes, they even pay the local school taxes, although they pay for and build their old schools to make sure that their children are taught by Amish teachers in an Amish environment. Parents are very concerned and saddened when they hear about improper behavior of their adolescent children although these have not been baptized and are not yet members of the congregation. They see close-knit families and congregations as the means to keep the world at bay and have their children follow in their footsteps. However, they cannot achieve a strict separation from the world since the viability of their congregations also depends on their economic success in finding markets for their agricultural products, their handicraft, and their work skills. They need money—not much—but still enough to pay their taxes and buy products that they cannot manufacture themselves.

Johnson-Weiner's study tells us that New York State is in the process of creating a rich Amish heritage and that the Old Order Amish contribute to the diversity and vitality of the Empire State. However, her study is not restricted to New York, but is an important contribution to the study of the history of the plain people in general and the Old Order Amish congregations in particular. It is highly recommended and belongs into the library of all those interested in the history of religion, especially that of the Anabaptists since the days of the Reformation.

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