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***Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin:*
A German-American Historical and
Literary Journal Published in Cincinnati, Ohio**

Introduction

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, published from 1886 to 1887 in Cincinnati, was essentially the successor of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which was published by the Deutscher Pionier Verein from 1869 to 1887. Widely considered the major German-American historical journal of the nineteenth century, *Der Deutsche Pionier* was edited by Heinrich A. Rattermann from 1874 until March 1885, when for unknown reasons he resigned. Animosity on the part of members of the Deutscher Pionier Verein toward Rattermann existed for his frequent late delivery of journal issues, incomplete publication of the minutes of the society, and incomplete obituaries about the society's members.¹

Lacking a vehicle for his own historical research, Rattermann founded the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. Cincinnati was the natural home of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, not so much because Rattermann lived there, but because in the latter half of the nineteenth century Cincinnati was home to a number of prominent German-Americans (thereby affording a receptive public), as well as a center of prolific German-American publishing.² This study aims to analyze the content of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, describe differences between the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* and *Der Deutsche Pionier*, and postulate reasons for the short life of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* and its ultimate demise.

Heinrich A. Rattermann

Born in Ankum, near Osnabrück, in 1832, Heinrich Rattermann lived in Germany until the age of fourteen when his father decided the family

was to emigrate to America. After working as a bricklayer directly across the Ohio River from Cincinnati in Newport, Kentucky, and then as a waiter in the employ of a relative in Louisville, the young Heinrich returned to his family in Cincinnati in 1849. Working there first as a cabinet maker, he eventually enrolled in business college to acquire a knowledge of bookkeeping. With this background Rattermann established the German Mutual Fire Insurance Company, a very successful enterprise which to a great extent provided the financial resources for his later and quite extensive literary endeavors.³

Although Tolzmann terms Rattermann "... German-America's greatest poet and scholar . . .,"⁴ based largely on his numerous poems and work as a biographer and historian of German-Americana, others have viewed his works more critically.⁵ Nevertheless, the sheer number of Rattermann's endeavors indicates the fervor with which he pursued his passion to publicize the mark left on America by German-Americans. In addition to being a historian, Rattermann also busied himself with literature and musical works, such as the composition of numerous poems, essays, and even operettas. Aside from editing *Der Deutsche Pionier* and the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, he also published "im Selbstverlag" [privately printed] his collected works in sixteen volumes.⁶

Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* first appeared with its October 1886 issue. In contrast to modern journals, in which the statement of frequency is normally found in the masthead and the intended purpose in the foreword or editor's note, both the frequency and the purpose of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are conveyed on the title page printed for a compilation of the first year's four numbers. The frequency was to be quarterly and its scope was to include: "Geschichte, Literatur, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Schule, u. Volksleben der Deutschen in Amerika." More specifically, the purpose expressed by Rattermann in the introduction, was:

. . . durch geschichtliche Mittheilungen und kulturhistorische Beiträge den Antheil klarzustellen, den unser Volkstamm an der geistigen und physischen Entwicklung der amerikanischen Nation hat, und dadurch zugleich das Bewußtsein eigener Größe und Macht in uns zu wecken und zu entfalten. Nichts belebt und kräftigt so sehr das Selbstgefühl und den Volksgeist als die Geschichte.⁷

Furthermore, Rattermann considered this documentation important both for interested individuals of his day and inquisitive individuals of future

generations.⁸ Undoubtedly due to an anticipated ever-evolving pool of contributors to his nascent journal, no authors are identified on the title page. Rattermann did indicate, however, that there were indeed others involved: "unter Mitwirkung deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichts- u. Literaturfreunde."

As for circulation, Rattermann hoped for a market of 1500⁹ to include the members of the Deutscher Pionier Verein, to whom he was willing to sell at a discounted price, and members of the Deutscher Literarischer Club von Cincinnati. Rattermann even offered to publish the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* as the official organ of the Deutscher Pionier Verein.¹⁰ In actuality, Rattermann was able to secure only 504 subscribers in Cincinnati " . . . und in der ganzen übrigen Welt zusammen—auch nicht mehr, wenn soviel."¹¹ So we see that at most circulation hovered in the neighborhood of 1000. Rattermann had in mind to engage a traveling agent whose purpose would be to increase subscriptions.¹² As the latter did not occur, it seems unlikely that the former did either.

Journal Sections

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* consisted of the following eight sections: 1. Originalgedichte; 2. Biographisches; 3. Geschichtliches; 4. Wissenschaftliches und Literarisches; 5. Kleinere Aufsätze; 6. Literaturkritiken; 7. Notizen; 8. Fragen und Antworten. It is interesting to note the various sections that appeared in the last volume (16) of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which Rattermann edited. We find sections almost identical to those in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*: "Gedichte," "Biographien," "Historisches und Kulturgeschichtliches," "Kritische und literaturhistorische Aufsätze," "Vermischtes," "Deutsch-amerikanische Nekrologe," "In Memoriam," "Editorielle Notizen und Kritiken," "Vereinsnachrichten."

By authoring 61 percent of the 83 items which appeared in the first year of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, Rattermann was consistent with his percentage in *Der Deutsche Pionier*.¹³ Altogether there were twenty-five contributing authors.

This examination of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* is based on the extant compilation of the journal's sole four numbers which appeared from October 1886 to July 1887. The order of this discussion is taken from the sequential listing of articles in this first and only volume/year of publication.

1. Originalgedichte

Poetry has played quite a significant role both in German and German-American literary life. It should come as no surprise, then, that poetry was a major part of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. The

various poems appearing in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are similar to those generally found in *Der Deutsche Pionier*. The favored themes concern nature and include tributes to the seasons and months, travel, love, and Germany.¹⁴

The poems contributed by Rattermann under the pseudonym Hugo Reimmund have generally been described as broad in scope, lacking originality, and modelled, in form, on the verse of German Classicism.¹⁵ Yet another study of Rattermann's poetry maintains that it is necessary and important to understand the parallel literary movements of the nineteenth century out of which his poetry emerged in order to appreciate it fully.¹⁶

Rattermann also composed numerous distichs, in fact, he grouped twenty-nine of them together in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. One distich was:

An die deutsch-amerikanischen Buchverleger.
Was ihr verlegt?—Den Fremden Geraubtes und eigenen Schund
nur;
Aber dem heimischen Geist habt ihr die Wege verlegt.¹⁷

Rattermann expressed similar sentiments, albeit in clearer language, in a letter to Gustav Körner complaining that the (book) publishers and newspaper editors are incapable of bringing any worthy literature to the public. They are only interested in making a profit by offering trash literature.¹⁸

Other poems included in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are by such noted German-American authors as Kara Giorg (pseudonym of Gustav Brühl), Franz Schreiber, Theodor Kirchhoff, Alfred Schücking, Ernst Anton Zündt, and Bernhard Hartmann.¹⁹ All these authors contributed poems to *Der Deutsche Pionier* while Rattermann was editor, but after his dismissal published instead in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. Zündt alone continued to contribute his poetry to *Der Deutsche Pionier*.

While it could be maintained that these authors abandoned *Der Deutsche Pionier* out of loyalty to Rattermann, it is just as easy to conclude that the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* was a vehicle more conducive to poetry because the content of *Der Deutsche Pionier* had changed so dramatically. An examination of the content of the final two years of *Der Deutsche Pionier* reveals a preponderance of articles reprinted from German-American newspapers as well as a large number of obituaries or memorials to deceased members of the *Deutscher Pionier Verein*.

2. Biographisches

More than half of the biographies were written by Rattermann, the self-styled historian. This was in no small way his chosen vocation and one which he quite enjoyed.²⁰ In fact, even though trips (necessary in order to gather facts) were self-financed, they, along with the time required for them, were two of the purported (ancillary) reasons for his dismissal from editorship of *Der Deutsche Pionier*.²¹

Of the eleven biographies published during the first year of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, Rattermann authored seven. The others were written by Ferdinand Moras, W. Germann, John W. Jordan, and Maximilian Schele de Vere. These biographies were frequently published as serial installments, a practice of both journal and newspaper publications in the nineteenth century. Breaking an article into parts served essentially two purposes: it allowed space in the publication for other articles rather than using a single issue for one, often lengthy, article; and it encouraged the purchase of subsequent numbers in order that the reader might finish the series.

The biographies, especially those authored by Rattermann, contained numerous details and delved not only into the lives of the biographees in the United States but also in Europe. Rattermann was quite adept at providing associated details. We learn a wealth of information about the parents of the subjects and about the time period. For example, in the biography of Augustin Herrmann, Rattermann expresses a desire to provide ". . . ein gedrängtes Bild von dem Anfang und der Entwicklung der ehemaligen holländischen Provinz in Nordamerika"²² and in the process presents eight pages of background, before bringing Herrmann into the picture in New Amsterdam. This exemplifies Rattermann's painstaking endeavors to set his biographical essays in their historical contexts, and to amplify fully the times in which his subjects lived. Particular note should be paid to three of the biographies in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, those of Peter Mühlenberg, Augustin Herrmann, and Friedrich Kapp, all significant figures in German-American history.²³

Wilhelm German, pastor in Nordheim in Sachsen Meiningen,²⁴ authored the biography of Peter Mühlenberg. Mühlenberg was born in 1746 in Trappe, Pennsylvania, the son of Heinrich Melchoir, who sent his son to Europe to enable him to emulate his father, that is to say, to become a pastor. Through examination of his correspondence, German's biography focuses on Peter's early years and ends when Peter decides to forsake the life of a pastor, choosing instead to join the military.²⁵

The biography of Augustin Herrmann was written by Rattermann. Born in Prague in 1605, Herrmann was an early colonist in New Amsterdam. There he made his living as a merchant and landowner. From 1660-70 he worked surveying Virginia and Maryland, producing in

1670 "Virginia and Maryland as it is planted and Inhabited This Present Year 1670." Rattermann's thoroughness is apparent as he provides numerous details of colonial New York and Maryland.²⁶ Unfortunately this biography was never completed. It was to be continued with a third installment, and certainly would have been, had the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* continued.

Friedrich Kapp was born in 1824 in Hamm, Westfalen. Quite precocious as a child, Kapp studied law and returned to Hamm in 1844 to begin a career as a lawyer. Caught up in the enthusiasm of 1848, Kapp moved to Frankfurt where he became a newspaper correspondent as well as the first secretary of the "Kongreß der deutschen Demokraten." Avoiding arrest for presumed participation in the 1848 uprising, Kapp traveled to Belgium. In 1849 he pulled together a group of radicals in Switzerland. Not particularly welcome in Switzerland, Kapp decided to emigrate to America.

Employed in America as a journalist and then involving himself in politics, Kapp is perhaps best known for his writings: "Die politischen Parteien in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Die Sklavenfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten*, as well as *Aus und über Amerika*. Rattermann's biography details the life of Kapp in his adopted country and chronicles his life in Germany after his return in 1870.²⁷

3. Geschichtliches

This section contains a total of seven articles touching on the various areas of American life, to which Rattermann initially alluded in his introductory statement of purpose, and to which German-Americans contributed to a significant extent. The reader is presented with the history of the military as well as German-American education, music, press, and art. Rattermann's particular predilection for serial installments holds true here as well. An illustrative example can be found in his article "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine." Albeit a rather extreme example, this article runs in volumes 14-16 of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, separated into twenty-five parts.²⁸

The initial article, "Amerikanische Feldzüge 1777-1783, Tagebuch von Johann Konrad Döhla," is an almost daily account of this conscript's experiences and observations from his muster in Brandenburg to his tour of America in the Revolutionary War. Once on American soil, Döhla provides general descriptions in colonial-era nomenclature of Mexico, or Nova Hispania, Nova Francia, and Nova Hollandia. He proceeds then to describe in a rather matter-of-fact manner his daily routine, i.e., marching, fighting, the death of comrades, and also the various cities where he was quartered, among them: New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and Boston. He also gives descriptions of religious sects he encountered, especially

"Herrnhuther" and "Quäcker."²⁹ Rattermann was only able to include the first three years of Döhla's diary (1777-79). The later years evidently were to appear in subsequent volumes.

"Geschichte der deutschen Konventionen zu Pittsburg und Phillipsburg (1837 bis 1842) und des ersten deutsch-amerikanischen Lehrerseminars"³⁰ is the title of the second article in this section. It concerns the impetus surrounding the organization of a convention to discuss German character among German-Americans and the methods to maintain and enhance this character. Accordingly, a number of delegates convened a meeting in July 1837, a partial agenda of which was to demand "... [die] deutsche Sprache als Grundlage aller übrigen Verbesserungen, und als erste Bürgschaft der Rechte und des Glückes der deutschen Bürger."³¹ This was to be accomplished through legal recognition of the German language in states where Germans constituted more than one-third of the population. In addition, the delegates demanded the introduction of German courts in all districts in which Germans held a majority, and stressed the need for the German language in schools and churches of German communities as well as for a German language press. A major agenda item was creation of a "System deutscher Volksschulen" to be accomplished by establishing seminaries for teachers and eventually one or several German "Hochschulen."³²

In an effort to garner support for these objectives among German-Americans, Wilhelm Schmole contributed the following: "Es ist kein Zweifel, Jeder, dem deutsches Blut in den Adern rinnt und ein biederes Herz im Busen schlägt, wird den benannten Vorschlägen seinen Beifall und seine Mitwirkung nicht versagen."³³ "Posaunen," the next selection, is a very brief article dealing with the history of the trombone among German-Americans, as well as trombone choirs and numerous other uses of this instrument chiefly among Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.³⁴

"Die deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungspresse während des vorigen Jahrhunderts,"³⁵ Oswald Seidensticker's treatise, begins with the *Philadelphia Zeitung*. It started publishing in 1732, but enjoyed only a limited future and success. Seidensticker chronicles the history of German-American newspapers of the eighteenth century, among them: Christoph Saur's *Der Hoch-deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Naut- und Kirchen-Reich; Philadelphische Zeitung von allerhand Auswärtige- und einheimischen merkwürdigen Sachen* (established by Benjamin Franklin and Anthon Armbrüster) and *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphia Staatsbote*. Rattermann presents this article as well in serial format. With the folding of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, the complete history of these newspapers was cut short.

"Die Ansiedlungsprojekte des Barons Bastrop"³⁶ provides a brief account of the attempts by Jullid Bastrop to found a settlement in present

day northwestern Louisiana, an area the Spanish government granted him. The United States government, with the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, did not recognize the land grant (there is, however, a town named Bastrop in that area) and Bastrop was forced to move on. The Spanish government provided Bastrop another land grant of similar size in Texas where he was able to establish both a city and county of Bastrop.

"Der deutsche Künstlerverein 'Die Namenlosen'" was originally given as a lecture by Ferdinand Moras to the Pionier Verein of Philadelphia in 1884. Moras describes the conception and birth of a group of artists and writers, the core of whom were industrious individuals out of the wave of 1848 immigrants.³⁷ The formation of the group was the idea of K.H. Schmolze.³⁸ This was to be a group " . . . worin Jeder Gelegenheit haben sollte, nicht allein zu debattiren, sondern auch durch Bild und Wort, seine Ideen zur Geltung zu bringen."³⁹ The name the group took for itself was "Die Namenlosen."

The main genre employed by "Die Namenlosen" were caricatures which filled its first album. Some works considered too risqué or coarse were relegated to a black book. Later the caricatures (and verses) reached a higher plateau.⁴⁰

Schmolze was apparently the life force of "Die Namenlosen." With Schmolze's death in 1859, as Moras reports, ". . . ein Zustand der Lethargie trat ein. Das Lokal wurde immer seltener besucht."⁴¹ The group lay dormant for an unspecified period, then found life again with more vigor, producing dramas and concerts and holding readings. "Die Namenlosen" met a natural death sometime after the Civil War, as the aging members' enthusiasm and spirit waned.⁴² Moras completes his history with short commemorative biographies of its eleven founders.

The final article of this section, one written by W. A. Fritsch, is entitled "Stimmen deutscher Zeitgenossen über den Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika."⁴³ It deals with the attitudes of prominent German politicians, philosophers, and literary figures concerning the conscription of Germans by regional aristocracies. Fritsch takes exception to Kapp's contention " . . . die Massen seien so gedrückt, arm, unwissend und an blinden Gehorsam gewöhnt gewesen, daß sie die Willkür ihrer Herrscher als eine Fügung des Schicksals geduldig hinnahmen."⁴⁴

Friedrich der Große, Fritsch maintains, would not allow the transport of these troops through Prussia as he considered the whole process a "Seelenverkäuferei." Immanuel Kant, as well, had particular problems with the "Soldatenhandel," not for the same reason as previously mentioned, but because he had been a supporter of the American republic. Lessing, who at the time was a librarian in Wolfenbüttel, made his thoughts known in his drama *Minna von Barnhelm*.

The attitudes of Goethe and Schiller were also included in this article. Fritsch maintains that Goethe expressed his feelings in his poem "Das Neueste aus Plundersweilen."⁴⁵ Also, Goethe's pro-American stance was obvious in "Wahrheit und Dichtung" [sic]⁴⁶ as well as at the end of "Faust."⁴⁷ While Goethe's sentiments may have been cloaked in verse, Schiller's were quite in evidence in his drama, *Kabale und Liebe*.⁴⁸

4. Wissenschaftliches und Literarisches

This is actually the first place in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* where Rattermann diverges from what appeared in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which did not publish scientific articles. The most valuable source for German-American literary historians is Rattermann's article "Deutsch-amerikanische Schriftsteller- und Künstler-Pseudonyme."⁴⁹ Rattermann provides a list arranged alphabetically by pseudonym plus the actual name. Also included are titles of articles and the journals in which they appear and books written by these individuals.

Lest anyone question the scientific nature of this section, one need only turn to the article "Korpulenz,"⁵⁰ by Theodor Sittel. Originally given as a lecture at the Deutscher Literarischer Club in Cincinnati, this article deals not so much with corpulence as we understand it today, but rather fat, its nature and function in the body, and includes drawings of connective tissue and fat cells.⁵¹

5. Kleinere Aufsätze

This section consists mostly of brief one or two-page essays, although a handful by Rattermann are somewhat longer. What sets them apart from the other articles in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, is their lack of footnotes and a pretence of having resulted from research.

The first essay by W. H. Rosenstengel, "Deutsche und lateinische Schrift" is a short history of German and Latin writing from the runic to Gothic to Latin scripts.⁵² The second, "Papa, Mama," explains the beginning stages of childhood speech development based on the words "papa" and "mama," as well as the sounds *ma, ba, pa, ta, da, and la*.⁵³

"Eine Kontroverse,"⁵⁴ by Rattermann, concerns the true identity of "Gracchus." Rattermann maintains that Heinrich Rödter uses that particular pseudonym, although Carl Rümelin claims it for himself. It is worth noting that the two were at this time bitter rivals, if not enemies.

The next presentation, again by Rosenstengel, is entitled "Eintritt der Deutschen in das historische Leben Europas,"⁵⁵ and places the origins of the Germans in Europe with the Cimbri and Teutones circa 113 A.D.

Rattermann authored the next selection, entitled "Alles schon dagewesen."⁵⁶ He attempts to illustrate that maintenance of the German

language in America is not purely a contemporary issue, but one which dates back to 1792. Three letters from the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, the first signed simply Senex, expresses the idea that it would be far better were German-Americans to forget German and learn English as quickly as possible. Being able to communicate only in German renders German-Americans "Dummköpfe."⁵⁷ The other two letters by unidentified authors are written as rebuttals.

The last essay in this section is entitled "Eine Reliquie,"⁵⁸ and consists of an exchange of two letters. The first by Heinrich Rödter, a member of the "Deutscher Patriotischer Verein" of Cincinnati, welcomes Christian Friedrich Seidensticker to America, praises his heroism, and extends an invitation if he were ever to come to Cincinnati. Seidensticker's response is a gracious acceptance.

6. Literaturkritiken

This section consists of eighteen book reviews in English and German. The notable ones are: J. G. Rosengarten's *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, and Rev. John Gmeiner's *The Church and the Various Nationalities in the United States*. The former is self-explanatory, while the latter discusses the anglicization of German Catholics. This became a nineteenth-century concern in other volumes as well: *Church and the Various Nationalities in the United States*; *Der deutsch-amerikanische Katholik*; *Goliath*; *Katholisch und Deutsch-Amerikanisch*; and *Calm Reason and Furor Teutonicus*.

7. Notizen

The name "Notizen" denoted ambiguity. "Notizen" means "what is to be found in this or the next number" and incorporates announcements of programs and festivals of German-American societies.

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* published "populäre Vorträge" in the "Deutscher Literarischer Club" in every issue. Rattermann encouraged others to send similar lectures for possible publication, even offering that "Eingesandte, nicht acceptirte Vorträge . . . sofort an die resp. Einsender portofrei zurückgesandt [werden]."⁵⁹

The biography of Augustin Herrmann, as previously mentioned, was incomplete. Two separate "Notizen," explain that it is due to a lack of space and that the next installment would be published in the following number.⁶⁰ Space finally surfaced in the fourth and last issue of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*.

The final "Notiz," "An unsere Leser!,"⁶¹ was written by Rattermann to the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* subscribers. He lamented the financial state of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* (although he fully

intended to continue publishing it) and highlighted the major articles that appeared in its first year, stating that they "... umfassen in ihren Mannigfaltigkeiten alle Gattungen des kulturellen Wirkens unseres Elementes in Amerika."⁶²

8. Fragen und Antworten

The final section of every number of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* consists of short questions and answers in German-American history, literature, and art. Also included is a list of recently published books on German-Americana published primarily in the United States (although some came from abroad).

A typical question concerns German-American trivia: "Gustav Adolf Neumann war der erste und langjährige Redakteur der New Yorker 'Staats-Zeitung'. Ob derselbe noch lebt, und wo? Wer kann ein curriculum vitæ desselben liefern?"⁶³ An answer usually simply appears as: "W. H. in N.Y.—Die Festgedichte zur goldenen Hochzeit von G. u. S. Körner' sind nur in einer kleinen Ausgabe für Freunde gedruckt und nicht in den Buchhandel gebracht worden. Sämtliche Exemplare sind vergriffen."⁶⁴ This device underlines the continuity of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* because the reader needed previous issues to follow the questions and answers logically.

Conclusion

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* continued the excellent tradition of *Der Deutsche Pionier* both in its biographical and historical contributions of German-Americans, and in the expression of life through German-American poetry. By providing biographical sketches, or even lengthy biographies of notable (in some cases obscure and unknown) German-Americans, Rattermann clearly sought to impress upon his readers the significant role these immigrants had played in shaping and building America. He perhaps also hoped to enjoy upon his readers his own assiduous interest in German-American history.

There were numerous reasons why the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* failed: lack of financial support and the corresponding inability of Rattermann to raise capital to hire an agent who would work for a salary (rather than on commission) in order to increase the journal's circulation; the difficulty of individuals, regardless of how industrious they may be, encounter in the responsibility of publishing a journal—a major task, previously performed in the case of *Der Deutsche Pionier* by the *Deutscher Pionier Verein*; the changing character of the German-American constituency; competition from other German-American publications. Also, Rattermann's penchant for serial installments, coupled with his

optimistic view of the future of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, resulted in incomplete articles.

As for financial support, Rattermann placed on himself a financial ultimatum in 1887. In a letter to Gustav Körner, he stated, "Ich will doch noch einen Versuch machen—Die Herausgabe in ein Aktienunternehmen umwandeln, wenn sich fünf Leute finden die je \$500 einschießen um den Agenten-Plan zu ermöglichen. Geht es dann nicht, dann laß ich die Feder sinken."⁶⁵ Although . . . "the period from 1875 to 1900 represented the era of prosperity for many German language papers,"⁶⁶ . . . it was due only to the ability and willingness of German-American editors, be they of scholarly journals or of newspapers, to conduct business as did editors of the American press. This dictated the need to attract advertisers to help alleviate the costs of publishing.⁶⁷ Attracting advertisers would have been an additional responsibility of the agent Rattermann had hoped to hire, but, of course, no agent was hired.

Without doubt Rattermann possessed the requisite skills of an editor, as evidenced by his many successful years with *Der Deutsche Pionier*. What he lacked was institutional backing, which would have included financial support. Curiously *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which continued to enjoy the backing of the Deutscher Pionier Verein for the first two years after Rattermann's departure, lacked editors of Rattermann's abilities. Ultimately *Der Deutsche Pionier* was relegated to an annual "Vorstandsbericht" of the Deutscher Pionier Verein.

Wittke points to the German-American press as an instrument of comfort in the familiar mother tongue and as an instrument of transition to the new society. He states that Germans first disembarking in America represented a ready audience. This phenomenon greatly affected the success of many a German-American newspaper.⁶⁸ Rattermann's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, while familiar to Germans, lacked the necessary element of aiding in the transition to American society. The great flood of immigrants from Germany simply did not possess the same level of eagerness to embrace literature, science, and history as the "Dreißiger" or forty-eighters did, but preferred mundane aspects of German culture, namely traditional foods and festivals.⁶⁹

The period from 1883 to 1890 saw the largest growth of German-American publications. In 1883 the aggregate number of German-American publications in the United States stood at 585. By 1890 this number had increased to 785. During this time span German-American publications in Ohio grew from 69 to 109, the largest growth of all the states.⁷⁰ That the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* should be among those German-American publications not to have succeeded is ironic, especially because it occurred in the midst of this great period of growth. Rattermann must have been disappointed in the relatively small audience

the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* attracted. Apparently his ideals were not shared by the general German-American populace.

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Notes

¹ Marc Surminski, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann und 'Der Deutsche Pionier,'" M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1988, 52.

² Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Last Cincinnati German poet: Heinrich H. Fick" in *German-American literature*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 273-74.

³ For a complete and comprehensive biography of Rattermann see: Mary Edmund Spanheimer, *Heinrich Armin Rattermann: German-American Author, Poet, and Historian, 1832-1923* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1937).

⁴ Tolzmann, 274.

⁵ Rattermann usually took a negative stance against anyone who (in his view) had offended him. According to Henry John Groen, "... even though he [Rattermann] often prided himself on being absolutely objective and accurate in his statements, it soon became evident that he was neither objective in some of his biographies nor accurate in many of his statements." Groen, Henry John, "A History of the German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati Before 1860," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1944, 3. Henry Willen is quite critical of Rattermann's poetry, stating that "... Ratterman's rhymed verse do nowhere ascend the lofty regions of poetry. They remain everywhere merely rhymed prose." Willen, Henry, "Henry Armin Rattermann's Life and Poetical Work," Ph.D. diss., 88, University of Pennsylvania, 1939. Surminski describes Rattermann's poetry as strictly classical in form and relatively unimaginative, although he credits it with being broad in scope. Surminski, 71-83.

⁶ Heinrich Armin Rattermann, *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, 16 vols. (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1906-12).

⁷ *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* 1 (Cincinnati: S. Rosenthal & Company, 1886-87): 14. Subsequent citations from the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* will be given as DAM.

⁸ "Benutzen wir die Gelegenheit und sorgen wir dafür, daß unsere Nachkommen nicht vergebens nach uns suchen müssen." DAM, 15.

⁹ Rattermann to Oswald Ottendorfer, 4 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (67), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

¹⁰ Rattermann to Oswald Seidensticker, 11 June 1887, letter R.2.4v (52), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

¹¹ Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (93), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts., University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts*, ed. Donna-Christian Sell and Dennis Francis Walle, (Urbana: University of Illinois Library, 1979), 8.

¹⁴ Examples in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, the DAM, or Rattermann's *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, specifically "am Ohio," 1-2; "April," 317; and "Zwei Sommerlieder" 482-83, all in the DAM.

¹⁵ Surminski, 74.

¹⁶ Fred Karl Scheibe, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann: German-American poet, 1832-1923" in Tolzmann, 240-44.

¹⁷ DAM, 481.

¹⁸ Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (93-94), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

¹⁹ For information on these poets see: Robert E. Ward. *A Bio-bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1985).

²⁰ Spanheimer, 101-11.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

²² DAM, 203.

²³ Other biographies along with their authors are: "Karl Heinrich Schmolze" by Ferdinand Moras, 37-42; "Erinnerungsblätter an Jedidiah Weiß, Karl F. Beckel und Jakob C. Till, Posaunisten" by John W. Jordan, 108-12; "General August Moor. Ein Lebensbild aus der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte" by Rattermann, 171-86; 345-59; 489-515; "Karl Maria von Weber" by Rattermann, 290-304; "Eduard Florens Rivinus" by Rattermann, 327-33; "Karl Beck" by Maximilian Schele de Vere, 483-88; "Deutsch-amerikanische Pioniere der Musik. I. Karl Anschütz" by Rattermann, 515-24; and "Christian Ax" by Rattermann, 539-46.

²⁴ DAM, 186.

²⁵ DAM, 43-57, 186-201, 334-44.

²⁶ DAM, 202-26, 524-38.

²⁷ DAM, 16-33, 226-38, 360-73.

²⁸ Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 14 (1882): 7-13, 53-62, 90-98, 141-50, 174-88, 217-33, 266-76, 292-303, 338-61, 425-34, 464-68; 15 (1883): 74-82, 104-14, 201-10, 226-35, 267-83, 338-75; 16 (1884): 11-18, 71-77, 98-102, 195-204, 227-38, 276-81, 302-11, 349-59.

²⁹ DAM, 57-86, 239-69, 373-402, 546-67.

³⁰ DAM, 87-104, 447-58, 594-613.

³¹ DAM, 454.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ DAM, 104-8.

³⁵ DAM, 276-89, 405-34, 568-88.

³⁶ DAM, 402-3.

³⁷ DAM, 438.

³⁸ For a biography of Schmolze see DAM, 37-42.

³⁹ DAM, 435.

⁴⁰ DAM, 436.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² DAM, 437.

⁴³ DAM, 589-93.

⁴⁴ DAM, 589.

⁴⁵ DAM, 591-92.

⁴⁶ The correct title of course is "Dichtung und Wahrheit." Either Fritsch or Rattermann inverted the title.

⁴⁷ DAM, 592.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ DAM, 143-64.

⁵⁰ DAM, 199-234.

⁵¹ Other articles included in this section were: "Rede des Herrn Johann Bernhard Stallo", 113-18; "Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Alterthümer" by Wilhelm H. Weik, 134-43; "Karl Maria von Weber Gedenkfeier im Deutschen Literarischen Klub in Cincinnati" by Rattermann, 290-304 (this is the same selection noted in the "Biographisches" section (sic)); "Der Whippoorwill: Naturhistorische Studien" by H. Nehrling, 458-62; and "Unter den Eskimos: Ethnologische Studie" by Franz Boas, 613-23.

⁵² DAM, 304.

⁵³ DAM, 304-5.

⁵⁴ DAM, 308-11.

⁵⁵ DAM, 462.

⁵⁶ DAM, 624-26.

⁵⁷ DAM, 624.

⁵⁸ DAM, 626-28.

⁵⁹ DAM, 157.

⁶⁰ DAM, 157, 471.

⁶¹ DAM, 633-34.

⁶² DAM, 634.

⁶³ DAM, 161.

⁶⁴ DAM, 313.

⁶⁵ Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (94), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

⁶⁶ Carl Wittke, *The German-American Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 197.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Surminski, 85.

⁷⁰ Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 3. *German-American Press Research from the American Revolution to the Bicentennial* (München: K.G. Saur, 1980), 805-6.



Hans John Stoltenberg (1879-1963). (Photo: Milwaukee Public Library.)