

TWENTY YEARS OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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In the third decade of the twentieth century the United States reversed its century-old policy of unqualified welcome to all immigrants. The Immigration Quota and National Origin Laws did not shut the doors entirely, but they ended the history of immigration in the traditional American sense of the word. Unrestricted admission to the United States belongs to the past and has become a closed chapter of American history. Removed from the electrically charged discussions of Congressional Committees, Labor Relations Boards and Union officials the whole complex has now been left to the historians. They seem to have taken a renewed interest in this matter, and it is gratifying to note that during the last twenty years the sector of German-American immigration history, too, has been tackled with a vigor and intensity never known before.

German-American studies have benefited a great deal from the fact that American immigration history in general has shown a new impetus. It was most fortunate that some American historians of the highest caliber contributed a number of broader studies which set the frame and provided guidance for more specialized research. Among these general works we mention Marcus L. Hansen's two books *The Atlantic Migration* and *The Immigrant in American History*; Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted*; and Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America*.¹ Hansen's *Atlantic Migration* and Handlin's *Uprooted* are more histories of European emigration (Hansen particularly concerned with Western and Central Europe, Handlin with more emphasis on Eastern Europe) than treatments of American immigration. They were not so much interested in the fate of the new arrivals here; they wanted to tell us why people left their old homes. Hansen's collected essays, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger under the title *The Immigrant in American History*, is of greater practical importance to the immigration historian. His discussions of puritanism and democracy in relation to immigration had a highly corrective effect; his suggestions in "Immigration as a Field for Historical Research" will provide directions for a whole generation of historians. Carl Wittke's *We Who Built America* is today the most useful textbook on American immigration history. With greatest skill, discipline and concentration on the essentials he presented a subject which has an inherent tendency to overflow in all directions. Although the author is the son of a German immigrant he succeeded in striking a happy balance in the treatment of all nationalities. The saga of the immigrant probably will have to be re-written every thirty years, since new material is constantly added, and we can only hope that it always will be done with the same competency and thoroughness as it was done twenty years ago by Professor Wittke.

Turning to German-American studies in particular we shall have to notice first of all a number of bibliographies which in recent years have to

¹ Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States 1607-1860* and *The Immigrant in American History* (both Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1940). Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration that Made the American People* (Boston, Little-Brown, 1951). Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939).

a great degree facilitated research in the field. No other immigrant group has something like the *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* by Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz.² It is hardly possible to do full justice to the devotion and patience with which the editors have reviewed some 30,000 titles of books and articles and finally selected about 12,000 for publication. The objective of the book was not to produce a complete bibliography but rather a useful, selective compilation. They tried to incorporate all important titles which have some bearings on German cultural influences in America, be it in literature, education, philosophy, religion, the arts, sciences, sociology, economics, industry and other fields. In the introduction we find an inventory of special libraries and archives which preserve source material in the field of Americana-Germanica. It goes without saying that within a few years the Pochmann-Schultz has become one of the most important reference tools, for historians. We hope that a second part, covering the years after 1940, will follow in the near future.

Of no less importance is Emil Meynen's *Bibliographie des Deutschtums der Kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika, 1683-1933*.³ This bibliography restricts itself to the colonial times and concentrates on the writings about the German settlers in Pennsylvania, but gives also selected bibliographies for the other old colonies. It was compiled by a German scholar, who, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, spent three years in the United States. It could not have been done with greater meticulousness and thoroughness. The bewildering abundance of secondary source material on the Pennsylvanian Germans baffles every historian. Emil Meynen has collected almost 8,000 items, clearly arranged and easily traceable with the help of a good index. For every historian, genealogist and sociologist Meynen's compilation is of highest value.

A few other bibliographies should be mentioned, more limited in range, but therefore rather exhaustive and complete. A. E. Zucker's "Bibliographical Notes on the German Theater in the United States" is the indispensable starting point for every germanist who wants to do work in this rewarding field.⁴ In the early forties the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Philadelphia issued a few annotated bibliographies, at the time when the Foundation began to promote research in German immigration history. Thanks to the initiative of Professor A. E. Zucker a Union Catalogue of Americana-Germanica was started and, as a side product, some bibliographies were published: Felix Reichmann, *The Muhlenberg Family and Christopher Sower, Sr.*, and Anneliese M. Funke and Eugene E. Doll, *The Ephrata Cloisters*.⁵ Reichmann's bibliographies deal with the two most prominent German families in eighteenth century Pennsylvania; the Sower bibliography also lists all printed items (almost 200) that were produced by the Sower presses between 1738 and 1758. Likewise the Funke-Doll bibliography is important for the history of early American imprints. The Ephrata cloisters were one of the most prolific religious printing houses in colonial America. Thus, in addition to a list of writings about Ephrata, this bibliography also enumerates the Ephrata products. It is a matter of great regret that after such promising beginnings the Carl Schurz Foundation did not continue this series of bibliographies.

²Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1953).

³Emil Meynen, *Bibliographie des Deutschtums der Kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika, 1683-1933* (Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1937).

⁴A. E. Zucker, "Bibliographical Notes on the German Theater in the United States," *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht*, XXXV (1943), 255-264.

⁵Felix Reichmann, *The Muhlenberg Family and Christopher Sower Sr.* (both Philadelphia, Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943). Anneliese M. Funke and Eugene E. Doll, *The Ephrata Cloisters* (Philadelphia, Carl Schurz. Mem. Found., 1944).

The Foundation, however, deserves credit for having offered to German-American scholars an outlet in which at least shorter articles in the field can be published, *The American-German Review*, a bi-monthly, now in its twenty-fifth year. It also merits our thanks for having continued and carried through almost twenty years the annual bibliography on American-German research which was started in 1936 by Henry A. Pochmann under the auspices of the Modern Language Association. Initially called "Anglo-German Bibliography" it was published in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* from 1936 until 1941. Since 1942 the bibliography has, under the heading "Americana-Germanica," regularly appeared in the columns of the *American-German Review*. The last issues of these bibliographies list between 200 and 300 titles of books and articles every year.⁶

All this shows that in the last twenty-five years a great deal of bibliographical spade work has been done. All the more striking is the realization that within half a century nobody has attempted to write a comprehensive history of the Germans in America. The only time this was done by a professional scholar, was in the beginning of the century, when Professor Albert B. Faust of Cornell University published *The German Element in the United States*.⁷ He assembled widely scattered material and compiled it into a solid presentation of facts. A second edition added more factual material and bibliographical titles, but failed to revise the body of the original text. A new history of the Germans in America has been due for some time and it would have to be done with a new and different approach.

We are considerably more fortunate with regard to a number of studies which deal with a special segment or a limited period of German-American history. One of the most provocative and most stimulating treatises came from a well known British historian, John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*.⁸ The greater part of the book revolves around three attempts during the nineteenth century at founding a "New Germany" on American soil, in Missouri, Texas and Wisconsin. Comparatively successful were such enterprises only in New Braunfels and Fredericksburg, Texas. As a whole, all such experiments were short-lived and proved to be grave disappointments to their sponsors. Perhaps the greatest merit of Hawgood's book lies in his definition, more precise than anyone's, who dealt with this subject before, of the term "the German-Americans." In the 1850's the German immigration curve rose to unprecedented heights. At the same time a strong nativist party, the Knownothings, violently opposed unlimited immigration. This very resistance induced the German immigrants to affirm the cultural characteristics of their own minority group. They banded together, founded their own organizations, churches, schools, newspapers, hospitals, banks and built a wall around their "Little Germany." Prerequisite for such an existence in a self-chosen German-American homeland abroad was an undiminished flow of German immigration. When towards the end of the century the rising figures of South-Eastern-European immigration began to eclipse the influx from German speaking countries,

⁶ The bibliography has been published regularly each year in the April issues of the *American-German Review*. The editors were A. E. Zucker for 1941-1942 and 1946-1947; Felix Reichmann for 1943; Dieter Cunz for 1944-1945 and 1948 to the present. The bibliographies include literary, historical and genealogical entries, books and articles pertaining to German-American immigration history, to the history of the German element in the United States and to intercultural relations of German speaking countries and America in the widest sense. In 1944 the specifically literary items were separated from the list and published as "Anglo-German Literary Bibliography" in various issues of the *Journal of English and German Philology*. These bibliographies were edited from 1943-1955 by Lawrence M. Price, from 1956 to the present by John R. Frey.

⁷ Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1909). A new, one-volume edition was published by the Steuben Society of America (New York, 1927). The text is basically the same as in 1909.

⁸ John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York, G. P. Putnam, 1941).

the days of the German-Americans were numbered. The anti-German hysteria of World War I only precipitated a development which had started in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The "era of the hyphen"—according to Hawgood—lasted roughly from the Civil War to the First World War. To be sure, it retarded the complete assimilation of the German immigrants. Yet, it is debatable whether one should only deplore such a *ritardando*, as Hawgood implied by calling it a "tragedy." Immigration history should be evaluated as a give-and-take relationship. The German-Americans in their slow transformation period transmitted to their non-German neighbors many cultural values which in a rapid and forced assimilation might have been lost. It is one of the shortcomings of Hawgood's book that he treats the German-Americans as if they had been a homogeneous group. A greater discrimination according to social strata would have proved interesting. Not all German immigrants survived the shock of transportation in the same way. The upper classes, the more educated strata, usually established contact with the civilization of the new country much faster than the middle and lower classes. The latter felt more urgently the need for a continuation of their old and accustomed institutions and preserved German folklore more tenaciously than their educated compatriots. This minor shortcoming detracts only slightly from the value of Hawgood's book. He was the first who with the cool hands of a surgeon dissected the historical phenomenon "the German-American." His conclusions have been extremely fruitful and have been most helpful to many of his fellow workers.

Hawgood's book carries the discussion as far as 1914. The political aspects of the existence of the German-Americans were treated by another British scholar, Clifton James Child in *The German-Americans in Politics 1914-1917*.⁹ Since for these three years the predominance of politics can hardly be contested, Child's book is actually a continuation of Hawgood's study. Supplementing Carl Wittke's *German-Americans and the World War*¹⁰ it gives a rather detailed and well documented history of the "National German-American Alliance." Child shows that this organization, founded in 1901, was purely American and had nothing to do with Pan-German ideas inspired by Berlin. Subsidized not by the Imperial German government but by American brewers, the Alliance in its first decade was wholly preoccupied by the prohibition question, until in 1914 it moved into international politics. From then on, all the energies of this admirably organized machinery were combined to influence American public opinion in favor of the Central Powers and to counteract the propaganda of the Allies. In 1918 the Alliance was dissolved by Congress as a subversive organization.

The centennial celebrations of the revolution of 1848 revived the interest in the political refugees who a century ago came to the United States from the various German states. Two excellent books, appearing in short succession, permit us now to appraise the significance of the Forty-eighters better than before, Carl Wittke's *Refugees of Revolution* and A. E. Zucker's *The Forty-eighters*.¹¹ The German element in the United States before 1848 was an amorphous mass on the defensive, badly in need of leadership. The German exiles arriving in the critical decade preceding the Civil War immediately made the German-Americans politically conscious, especially

⁹ Clifton J. Child, *The German-Americans in Politics 1914-1917* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1939).

¹⁰ Carl P. Wittke, *German-Americana and the World War* (Columbus, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936).

¹¹ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution, The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952). A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters, Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952).

those in the big and medium sized cities. Indeed, their influence did not stop within the "Little Germanies," for after 1856 the German vote became a factor which party leaders had to take into account whenever they prepared platforms or conducted campaigns. The left-wing exponents of the Forty-eighters, the free-thinkers, the anti-clerics and other radicals, were strong enough to challenge long-venerated traditions and tenets of American Puritanism. Their ideology led them by necessity into the ranks of the young Republican Party. Lincoln's most indefatigable campaigners came from their ranks. Their influence was particularly strong in the Middle West, where their arrival coincided with the growth of the big urban centers. Here they could exert more political pressure than in the comparatively stable communities of the Atlantic coast, and they thus left a distinct mark on the early histories of such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Davenport, New Ulm, and others. They were rugged individualists, stubborn and uncompromising, and almost every one of them thought he had the one and only recipe for regaining the paradise lost. Yet, they were as a whole a homogeneous group which retained its collective identity almost until the turn of the century. Never before or after had a comparatively small group of immigrants exercised such direct and immediate impact on the political, social, and intellectual history of the United States.

Carl Wittke's book is the first comprehensive and (so it seems to us) definitive treatment of "the most powerful political and cultural leaven that has ever affected the German group in America." He has succeeded admirably in painting a collective portrait of this vociferous and often belligerent group. The book, edited by A. E. Zucker, is a very well coordinated symposium of eleven scholars who approach the subject from various angles and with different methods. They deal with special and characteristic topics, such as the part of the Forty-eighters in the Turner movement, their radical leanings, their interest in the anti-slavery issue, their participation in politics and in the Civil War. Extremely useful is the editor's contribution, a biographical dictionary of the Forty-eighters where we find pertinent data on more than 300 members of this group.

As a useful appendix to these two books we welcome an evaluation of the literary efforts of the Forty-eighters: Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften*.¹² The author lists and discusses critically all prose publications of these refugees, all their significant political writings, scientific papers, autobiographical and historical works as well as their novels. The memoirs constitute the largest group, followed by books which analyze, praise, or attack the United States. The autobiographies were not infrequently written in self-defense, explaining the disaster of the German revolution. Carl Schurz's memoirs tower high over the rest of these books not only for their factual information but also on account of their literary quality. The books about America are often critical, sometimes even hostile, written out of disappointment with the materialism, the corruption and intolerance which the new arrivals encountered; the institution of slavery particularly irritated the old liberals who at home had fought for the rights of the individual. In their strictly belletristic writings the Forty-eighters must be placed in the literary tradition of the "Young Germany." Their novels, plays, and poems very clearly show the spirit of Heine, Laube, Gutzkow, Herwegh, and Freiligrath. Yet, all of them were literary amateurs who at best had mastered the mechanics of writing. Their lofty idealism, their good intentions were in no way paralleled by their literary craftsmanship or their creative powers.

¹² Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958).

After these publications it is hard to see what else could be written on the Forty-eighters except biographies on the most outstanding members of the group. Almost thirty years ago the best known of these political refugees, the model figure of successful Americanization, was treated in an exemplary biography by Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz, Reformer*.¹³ In recent years it was again Carl Wittke who added to our knowledge of the German-American radicals with two books, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen*, and *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling*.¹⁴

The beginnings of Karl Heinzen (1809-1880) show the typical development of a liberal-minded young German in the era of the restoration: his hatred of Prussian militarism and bureaucracy, his quarrels and break with the authorities, his flight to Western European countries and later emigration to America. From this point on, however, he departed from the traditional pattern of the German revolutionaries who either became so thoroughly americanized that they retained only a mild interest in European affairs (Charles Follen, Carl Schurz) or reconciled the revolutionary inclinations of their younger years with the rising Prussian eagle and became ardent followers of Bismarck (Friedrich Kapp, Wilhelm Rapp). Heinzen did neither. He remained a German radical, with all his merits and shortcomings. For twenty-five years he edited his paper *Der Pionier* in Boston, and since it was practically a one-man paper, we are able to gather a rounded picture of his ideas. He was a most vehement advocate of women's emancipation and of complete freedom of the press; he antagonized many people through his radical abolitionist views. In foreign policy he attacked isolationism and demanded that the United States should intervene in every struggle for liberty anywhere in the world. His old revolutionary spirit did not evaporate in the heated enthusiasm of the German-Americans over the peace celebrations of 1871 and the founding of the Empire. He even refused to set foot on German soil, which in his opinion was disgraced by the Hohenzollern regime. Carl Wittke's biography, using a great deal of unpublished material and drawing extensively on the files of the *Pionier*, shows the tragic irony in the life of this man, who fought against isolationism in foreign relations and who, as an individual, more and more receded into a personal isolation which cut him off from any journalistic and political influence. He never overcame the difficulties of the English language, he never reached anybody outside of the isolated German-American world. Even more tragic was the fact that in a figurative sense he was unable to speak the language of the people with whom he had to deal: the German-Americans of the lower middle class, honest and sober people, who enjoyed their Turner and singing societies and felt very ill at ease when this fanatics raging German-American Savonarola scolded them for every innocent parade or pageant at their festivals. The man who struggled so valiantly to better the lot of the common man never found the right tone to talk to the very social group whose conditions he wanted to improve. It led Heinzen into a blind alley of bitterness and frustration. His idealism and uprightness deserve highest praise; yet, his unbalanced temper and his undisciplined tactlessness deprived him of any possibility of broader influence.

Among the German-Americans of the mid-nineteenth century there was no lack of colorful figures. Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871) is probably one of the most remarkable Utopians ever to appear in this country. Carl

¹³ Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz, Reformer* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1932).

¹⁴ Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945), and *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950).

Wittke pictures Weitling as the exponent of his class, the skilled craftsman and artisan, who felt like a "displaced person" after the industrial revolution began to shake the social structure of Europe. His outcries were the desperate protests of the *petit bourgeois* who does not want to become a proletarian. Weitling saw himself as a Messiah of the suppressed masses of Europe, later as the audacious builder of a vast dream empire of workers in the United States. He pushed aside all advocates of a slow and organic evolution and hoped for a radical revolt against the inequities of the existing order. While he kept aloof from all organized religion he maintained that morality, ethics, and religion must be the fundamental basis of all social reform. This explained the growing tension, quarrels and enmity between Wilhelm Weitling and Karl Marx. For a short time Weitling had an amazingly far-reaching influence among the German working class in America. In 1850 he organized the first American Labor Congress. At the same time he associated himself and his labor movement with a Utopian colony: Communia, Iowa, which however soon collapsed because of mismanagement and inefficiency. His labor movement disintegrated when it became more and more apparent that its members were looking primarily for better jobs and financial prosperity, while its initiator was concerned with principles, ethics, and responsibilities. Carl Wittke leads us with a sure hand through Weitling's "system," gives us the gist of his theories and his struggle for the organization of the working class, and integrates all this into the general history of the American labor movement.

With some reservation and caution we mention a book on another radical among the Forty-eighters: Karl Obermann's *Joseph Weydemeyer, Pioneer of American Socialism*.¹⁵ Joseph Weydemeyer (1818-1866), a journalist and labor organizer, has the dubious distinction of being called "the first Marxist in the United States" and is presented to us here as a man who "espoused the ideas of scientific communism, the theory and practice of the liberation of the working class." Weydemeyer's biographer assures us that the hundred years "since the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* have proved beyond a doubt that in the final analysis the working class in every country in the world can only triumph over its enemies if it adopts Marxism as its theory and guidance to action." This sets the tune for the life of Joseph Weydemeyer as well as for his biographer Karl Obermann. Weydemeyer, a close cooperater of Karl Marx, an editor of various radical German papers in the United States, tried to push the German immigrant workers into stronger participation in political life and to formulate a political strategy in the local and national elections according to their social needs. The various stations of his life in America were New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis. The little book is the work of an amateur, who at least has collected a good number of facts and documents which otherwise would not have been so easily accessible. It is by no means a critical biography.

The earlier wave of liberal German immigration, the refugees of the 1820ies and 1830ies, have been greatly neglected by American historians. We must be all the more grateful for the only book dealing with this period, Frank Freidel's biography of *Francis Lieber*.¹⁶ The last Lieber monograph was written towards the end of the nineteenth century. A reassessment was overdue. Freidel used extensively the vast amount of untapped Lieber material preserved at the Henry Huntington Library and at the Johns

¹⁵ Karl Obermann. *Joseph Weydemeyer, Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York, International Publishers, 1947).

¹⁶ Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber, Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1947).

Hopkins University, as well as letters and documents spread over various other libraries and archives. His book is the first comprehensive critical Lieber biography. Francis Lieber, after years of wandering and adventures, failures and frustration in Europe, came to America in 1825, when the country needed a man of his peculiar intellectual gifts. As professor of political science at the University of South Carolina he wrote some of the works that established his fame. His greater opportunity came, when after twenty years in the South, he was called to Columbia University. His forceful personality left its mark on the intellectual history of the whole country. He is generally considered the father of political science as an academic field. His *Encyclopedia Americana* gave to thousands of Americans the most important means of self-education, at a time when formal schooling was still at a very low level. His two most outstanding works, *Political Ethics* and *Civil Liberty*, which for the first time linked systematically political theory with American reality were the political classics of his and the following generation. Freidel has competently told the life of one of the most useful citizens of his time, of a man who was somehow an intellectual prism of the middle span of the nineteenth century.

After reviewing these excellent biographical studies of German-American liberals and radicals, we feel all the more acutely the gaps in the list of important names. The life of Lieber's contemporary Charles Follen should be re-written. There is not a single scholarly study of one of the most prominent Forty-eighters, Friedrich Hecker, certainly a very fascinating figure. General Franz Sigel has a monument in New York, but in our libraries there is no book that tells the story of his life. Six states have counties named for a German immigrant who became famous in the Revolutionary War, but the life of General Jean DeKalb has not been re-written since Friedrich Kapp's preliminary account a hundred years ago. A new biography on General F. W. von Steuben should be written by a professional historian.¹⁷

However, we do have a few other biographies dealing with prominent German immigrants of the first half of the eighteenth century, among them Walter C. Klein's *Johann Conrad Beissel*.¹⁸ As a young man of thirty, touched by religious mysticism, Beissel came to Pennsylvania, longing for the backwoods as the best place for meditation and seclusion. Yet, he did not find the life of peaceful inactivity he was looking for. Again and again his followers invaded his backwood peace, dragged him back into community life and worshipped him as the founder and leader of his little circle of "awakened souls." His theological system (if this is the right word for it) was a rather chaotic mixture of the various species of inspirationalism. The wish to tell about the *unio mytica* with God, the desire to express the inexpressible experience, motivated Beissel and his disciples to write religious poetry and even compose a quaint music for their hymns. (In our days Beissel's baffling attempts as a composer, "too unusual, too amazing and arbitrary," have been admirably described in Thomas Mann's novel *Doktor Faustus*.¹⁹) Most of these poetic effusions were printed on the presses in Beissel's settlement near Lancaster, Pa., the Ephrata cloisters, which became the most influential cultural center among the German

¹⁷ John M. Palmer's *General von Steuben* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1937) is a military biography, written by a general, who had a good knowledge of military conditions, but failed to place Steuben and his achievements into the contexts of American history.

¹⁸ Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel, Mystic and Martinet, 1690-1768* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

¹⁹ Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus*, American edition (A. Knopf, New York, 1948), pp. 63-68; German edition (S. Fischer, Stockholm, 1948), pp. 104-111.

mystics in the colonies. Beissel's monastic order evoked a great deal of friendly comments as well as hostile criticism. Felix Reichmann and Eugene E. Doll have gathered and carefully edited more than sixty contemporary sources (1730-1790) revolving around the Ephrata cloisters.²⁰ Comments ranging from "exemplary" to "ridiculous," from "most just and most imitable" to "exceedingly stupid and really incapable" demonstrate that Ephrata was a controversial topic of the time. We see this strange adventure of German sectarianism in America through the eyes of travelers, clergymen, writers, and encyclopedists. Some famous names appear on the list such as Voltaire, Benjamin Franklin, Christopher Sower, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Benjamin Rush. Altogether we can say that in recent years the orbit of Ephrata has not been neglected.

Conrad Weiser (1696-1760), another colorful figure among the Germans in colonial times, was unlike Beissel a very civic-minded individual, one of those immigrants who adapted themselves admirably to the needs and necessities of the new country. In the decades before the French and Indian War he was the most skillful negotiator in Indian affairs. Diplomatic ability, plain common sense, and Christian humility account as much for the amazing success of his work among the Indians as did his singular familiarity with Indian dialects. To be sure, he never moved on the upper level of politics. He never formulated policy, he only carried out; but his advice was always considered by those who promulgated the directives of action. The "good neighbor policy" which determined the relationship between Pennsylvania and the Six Nations was more or less Conrad Weiser's work. A book on Weiser had been due for a long time. It is a strange coincidence that after such a long state of oblivion two large biographies were published within a few years: Arthur D. Graeff's *Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania Peacemaker*, and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*.²¹ Both studies, although different in approach, are very recommendable; both authors have carefully used and evaluated all published and unpublished sources, among them the most personal: Weiser's autobiography in the Rupp Collection of the Library of Congress. Graeff writes for a wider audience; he integrates folk tales, legends, and anecdotes. Wallace's book was written more for the historically trained reader. With these two biographies another gap in German-American historiography has been closed.

Paul A. W. Wallace is also the author of *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania*.²² Seven Muhlenbergs were distinguished enough to be included in the very selective *Dictionary of American Biography*. No other German immigrant family in the Middle Atlantic states has produced such an abundance of prominent men. Very justifiably the author dwells at length on the career of the immigrant ancestor, the patriarch of the family, the organizer of the Lutheran church in the colonies: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787). The biographies of most of his descendants center around the Lutheran church, yet their activities branched out into all realms of public life, especially into the army, politics, and scholarly pursuits. It is to be regretted that the author ends his narrative in the first decade of the nineteenth century; it would have been worthwhile to follow up the family history further. Although this book is by no means exhaus-

²⁰ Felix Reichmann and Eugene E. Doll, *Ephrata, As Seen By Contemporaries* (Allentown, Pa., Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1952).

²¹ Arthur D. Graeff, *Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania Peacemaker* (Fogelsville, Pa., Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1942). Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945).

²² Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

tive, it is a very readable story of one of the most public-minded families in eighteenth century America.

The Pennsylvania Germans, long neglected and misinterpreted by American historians, have in recent years experienced a strong revival of interest among scholars, journalists, the public at large, even among Broadway playwrights. Although the immigrant ancestors came over six or seven generations ago, the Pennsylvania Germans have retained an amazing cohesiveness. They themselves as well as their neighbors still feel a strong awareness of difference, and strangely enough: in a country, which otherwise insists so firmly on conformity, acclimatization, acculturation, and melting pot recipes, the difference, the "oddness," the ethnocentricity, the resistance to complete integration which the Pennsylvania Germans have upheld so long has never been resented by their fellow countrymen. To the average American "the Pennsylvania Dutch" belong to America like a strange, but venerable quaint piece of colonial furniture. Two books have recently enriched our knowledge of this group: *The Pennsylvania Dutch* by Fredric Klees, and *The Pennsylvania Germans* by Ralph Wood.²³ The book edited by Professor Wood is a collection of studies of various authorities in the field, dealing with the churches and sects of the Pennsylvania Germans, their dialect and literature, their attitude towards schools and education, their achievements in farming, their place in American history and other topics. Fredric Klees, a native and devoted Pennsylvania Dutchman, gives a broad and comprehensive panorama of all aspects of this peculiar ethnic and cultural phenomenon. He points out the features that set the Pennsylvania Dutch off from their neighbors and presents the Dutch country as "an island of Rhenish civilization in an English sea." The different titles of these two books, describing exactly the same ethnic group, have programmatic significance. They indicate that there are two schools of thought. Wood uses "Pennsylvania German" simply because the majority of research workers do the same; he is rather casual about it and in the preface gives permission to the reader to substitute mentally the term "Dutch" whenever he prefers. Not so Klees. He fires heavy broadsides against the learned scholars of our wicked time, who flirt with the word "Pennsylvania German"—"an uncouth name . . . unsanctioned by time or use on man's tongue . . . comes unnaturally to men's lips . . . has none of the connotations of the older term . . . a new, naked, pedantic compound . . . with the taint of the hyphen." So, Pennsylvania Dutch it is, and no mental substitutions are allowed while reading his book. Whether Dutch or German: both books make very enjoyable and instructive reading.

Actually both terms are in active usage today and not only among those "with an eye to learning." The representative newspaper of the group, read widely in the Middle Atlantic states, was published for many years under the name *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, while their most vigorous publication society calls itself Pennsylvania German Folklore Society.²⁴ We owe it particularly to this organization (established 1935) that we have recently seen such a remarkable renaissance in the field of Pennsylvania German studies. Aside from the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland it is today the only German-American Historical

²³ Fredric Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, Macmillan, 1951). Ralph Wood, *The Pennsylvania Germans* (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1942).

²⁴ *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* appeared for the first time on May 5, 1950. With the Winter 1957/58 issue its name was changed to *Pennsylvania Folklife*. It is now the official organ of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, published in Kutztown, Pa., with a subscription list of not less than 2600 subscribers. The original journal as well as its successor contain a great deal of valuable material on Pennsylvania German folklore.

Society coming forth with regular publications.²⁵ In order to keep this survey within manageable proportions, we have excluded serial publications and therefore shall not review the volumes of this series. We shall confine ourselves to listing the titles, paying our respects to the sponsors and especially to its meritorious editor, Professor Preston A. Barba. The publications of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society can be found today on the shelves of every major library and they contain an inestimable treasure of material on Pennsylvania German folklore. No student of Americana can afford to ignore them. Here the list of their titles:

- Vol. 1 (1936). C. C. Ziegler, *Drauss un Deheem* (dialect poems); J. Downs, *House of the Miller, the Architecture, Arts and Crafts of the Pennsylvania Germans; the Pennsylvania German Galleries*; W. J. Hinke and J. B. Stoudt, *German Immigrants from Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, 1728-49*.
- Vol. 2 (1937). J. J. Stoudt, *Consider the Lilies, How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art*.
- Vol. 3 (1938). John Birmelin, *Gezwitscher* (dialect verse); C. E. Beckel, *Early Moravian Marriage Customs in Bethlehem, Pa.*; H. K. Landis, *Conestoga Wagons and their Ornamental Ironing*; A. L. Eyster, *Notices by German Settlers in German Newspapers*.
- Vol. 4 (1939). C. P. Iobst, *En Quart of Millich un en Halb Beint Raahm* (dialect comedy); *German Protestants to Gov. Morris in 1754, and an anti-Franklin Broadside*; Preston and Eleanor Barba, *Lewis Miller, Pennsylvania German Folk Artist*.
- Vol. 5 (1940). *Heckewelder's Indian Names of Streams, Rivers, Places etc.*; S. H. Ziegler, *The Ephrata Printing Press*; E. M. Fogel, *Of Months and Days*; W. L. Connor, *Folk Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans: Its Value in Modern Education*.
- Vol. 6 (1941). G. E. Nitsche, *Christmas Putz of the Pennsylvania Germans*; C. H. Rominger, *Early Christmases in Bethlehem, Pa.*; R. H. Meyers, *The Moravian Christmas Putz*; H. H. Reichard, *Christmas Poetry of the Pennsylvania Dutch*; E. M. Voyel, *Twelvetide*.
- Vol. 7 (1942). Articles (by the resp. curators) on the Bucks County Historical Society, Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsylvania State Museum, Berks Country Historical Society, Hershey Museum, Landis Valley Museum; H. K. and G. D. Landis, *Lancaster Rifles*.
- Vol. 8 (1943). A. D. Graeff, *Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania Peacemaker*.
- Vol. 9 (1944). F. E. Lichtenthaeler, *Storm Blown Seed of Schoharie*; H. K. and G. D. Landis, *Lancaster Rifle Accessories*; A. F. Kemp, *Pennsylvania German Versammlinge*.
- Vol. 10 (1945). G. M. Ludwig, *Influence of the Pennsylvania Dutch in the Middle West*; D. H. Yoder, *Emigrants from Württemberg: the Adolf Gerber Lists*.
- Vol. 11 (1946). A. D. Graeff, *The Pennsylvania Germans in Ontario, Canada*; H. K. Kauffman, *Coppersmithing in Pennsylvania*; L. W. J. Seifert, *Lexical Differences between four Pennsylvania German Regions*.
- Vol. 12 (1947). L. A. Moll, *Am Schwarze Baer*; D. H. Yoder, *Langguth's Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim*.
- Vol. 13 (1948). G. F. Reinert, *Coverlets of the Pennsylvania Germans*; A. F. Buffington, *Linguistic Variants in the Pennsylvania German Dialect*.
- Vol. 14 (1949). F. E. Stoeffler, *Mysticism in the German Devotional Literature of Colonial Pennsylvania*.
- Vol. 15 (1950). R. W. Gilbert, *Pennsylvania German Wills; Humorous Pennsylvania German Tales*.
- Vol. 16 (1951). *The Later Poems of John Birmelin*; J. J. Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Folklore: An Interpretation*; F. Krebs, *List of Immigrants to the American Colonies from Zweibrücken, 1750-1771*; E. Steinemann, *List of Emigrants from the Canton of Schafhausen, 1734-1752*.
- Vol. 17 (1952). F. Reichmann and E. E. Doll, *Ephrata as Seen by Contemporaries*.
- Vol. 18 (1953). P. A. Barba, *Pennsylvania German Tombstones: A Study in Folk Art*.
- Vol. 19 (1954). A. F. Buffington, *Henry Meyer, An Early Pennsylvania German Poet*; M. W. Dundore, *The Saga of the Pennsylvania Germans in Wisconsin*.

²⁵ For an account of the activities of similar societies in former years cf. Albert B. Faust, "German-American Historical Societies: Their Achievements and Limitations," in *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Reports*, XXVIII (1953), 21-28; also Ernest J. Becker, "The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland: A Chronicle," *ibid.*, 9-20.

Vol. 20 (1955). J. J. Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German High Poetry, 1685-1830: An Anthology*.
Vol. 21 (1956). C. H. Dornbusch and J. K. Heyl, *Pennsylvania, German Barns*.

Beginning with Vol. 7 each of the listed volumes also contained Arthur D. Graeff's annual chronicle of Pennsylvania German Folklore. Every student of German-American studies will hope that this well edited, excellent series will continue in the future.

Among major studies which deal with one particular sector of Pennsylvania German life we mention *Pennsylvania German Literature* by Earl F. Robacker.²⁶ It is not surprising that this is the first attempt of evaluation of Pennsylvania German literature as a whole. The comparative inarticulateness of a rural group, the fact that their language was more a spoken than a written dialect, the defensive position of the German tongue within English speaking surroundings, all this may account for the fact that the Pennsylvania Germans have never produced a writer of great caliber, of more than local significance. From its beginnings in the seventeenth century up to approximately the year 1800 this literature was orientated primarily towards church and religion; the prevailing language of this period was literary or High German. The sixty years after 1800 were a period of transition, characterized by the decline of High German and the inability of the writers to handle competently either German or English as a language of culture. The "Golden Age" of Pennsylvania German literature is to be found in the four decades after the Civil War, when the dialect emerged and blossomed as a literary medium in its own rights and with the proud claim of genuine poetical substance. Beginning with *Harbaugh's Harfe* this period has produced all the "classics" in this field of dialect literature. With the beginning of the twentieth century the school of deliberate exploitation came forth, represented particularly by the popular writings of Helen R. Martin. While the "classical period" had its own creative dignity, Pennsylvania German folklore later was degraded to a literary accessory which proved to have a good market price and therefore was used again and again as stage background for mediocre entertainment ware. Earl Robacker has carefully disentangled these different threads of writings by and on the Pennsylvania Germans and has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of American folklore.

A great number of the above mentioned books deal with Germans in Pennsylvania or with "the Pennsylvania Germans" in the specific "Dutch" connotation of the word. However, there is nothing on our shelves, neither of older vintage nor of recent publications, that treats the German element in Pennsylvania as a whole. The Germans in Philadelphia, with their own newspapers, churches, societies etc. during the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries are substantially different from the "Pennsylvania Dutch" in Lancaster, Bucks, Berks, and York counties. The same is true for the urbanized German groups in and around Pittsburgh, Williamsport, Allentown, Scranton, and many other cities. A history of the Germans in Pennsylvania is still lacking. The same is true for the history of the Germans in a number of Eastern and Midwestern states where they played a significant role, such as New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, and others. German immigration into Texas has been treated at least in some partial studies in earlier years. Only the author's own *The Maryland Germans* (which for the sake of completeness and with appropriately blushing

²⁶ Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature, Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943).

modesty may be mentioned here) has, during the period under consideration, tried to present a comprehensive history of German immigration and settlements, of immigrant life, integration and Americanization of the German element within the borders of one particular state.²⁷ In no other state save Pennsylvania did the Germans play a more important part than in Maryland. The author's task was facilitated by the fact that since 1886 the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland had collected and published a good deal of historical material, which then could be supplemented by church records, files of German newspapers, diaries, and other sources, private and official, in all parts of the state. We do not maintain that the methods used here are the only possible avenue of approach, but we think it would be desirable to have other sectional studies of this scope. We know that a new history of the Virginia Germans is making good progress and we hope that parallel monographs for other states will follow. With every year that passes, fruitful material will vanish, German diaries written by the great-grand parents will move from the attic into the trash basket, and yellowing old newspaper files will crumble and disintegrate.

Everyone concerned with immigration history knows the great importance of these old newspapers. Nothing else reveals more clearly the pulse of a national minority. Nothing else reflects as impressively as its press the rise and fall, the fears and hopes, the awareness of difference as well as the acculturation of an immigrant group. Thus, the history of the German language press in America must necessarily become a microcosm of the history of the German-Americans as a whole. Carl Wittke has admirably accomplished this task with his *The German Language Press in America*.²⁸ It is unnecessary to say that an historian as skillful as he avoids the danger of chronicling the individual fortunes of the numerous German-American papers (there were about 800 in the peak decade after 1890); yet a few words should indicate how masterfully he acquits himself of the onerous task of holding so many threads in his hands and weaving them together into a broad carpet showing distinct patterns and designs.

The first German newspaper in America was published in Philadelphia in 1732. Before the end of the century no less than thirty-eight German papers appeared in Pennsylvania, not to mention a number of others in adjacent states such as New York and Maryland. From the very first issue on these papers give evidence of the double function of the German-American (and any other immigrant) press: to strengthen the original national consciousness and to interpret America to the newcomer. Over the two centuries most German-American newspaper editors have been keenly aware of this double mission. It is an interesting though unanswerable question as to how many of them knew deep in their hearts that in the last analysis these two functions were irreconcilable and mutually exclusive. To interpret America to the immigrant, to acquaint him with its traditions and institutions, that is to "americanize" him—what other consequences could it have than to cause the awareness of his German identity to evaporate, possibly in the first, certainly in the second generation. This is the tragic conflict of the German-American press: the better it fulfilled its mission, the quicker it shortened its history; the more it justified its *raison d'être*, the more it removed the reason for its existence. If and when the immigrant (partly with the help of his German paper) had been acclimatized, assimilated, americanized, he would let his subscription to his German paper expire and read an American journal.

²⁷ Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1948).

²⁸ Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

Carl Wittke shows that the conditions during the period between 1730 and 1830 were not favorable to the development of a German language press. The Pennsylvania German papers were in a peculiar predicament, on account of repeated demands that they drop standard German in favor of the Pennsylvania German dialect. Only after 1830, when new waves of German immigrants reached the American shores did the number of German publications show a considerable increase. Two of the most outstanding papers (still in existence) were founded within one decade, the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* (1834) and the *Baltimore Correspondent* (1841). The *Cincinnati Volksblatt* (1836), issued continuously up to World War I, was the first, and, for some time, the only daily in the entire field of German-American journalism. The most astonishing and almost spectacular expansion of the German press occurred in the decades after 1850. Carl Wittke emphasizes the interrelationship between this growth and the arrival of the Forty-eighters, among them a high percentage of men with political convictions and journalistic experience. By the sheer force of their ever increasing number the German immigrants demanded more, bigger, and better newspapers in their own language. The Forty-eighters provided them with an aggressive (often too aggressive), instructive, and guiding journalism which aroused the Germans to an interest in the political issues of the time, induced them to participate in the election campaigns and thereby accelerate their Americanization. In the field of domestic politics it is not easy to draw a clear-cut political profile of German-American journalism. There was no strict adherence to the one or the other faction. Party lines were frequently transcended, as is illustrated by the criss-crossings of the most distinguished German-American journalist, Carl Schurz. On some public issues we find a remarkable consistency over a period of many decades. Almost all German papers advocated sound money, civil service, and tariff reform. Solidly they opposed woman's suffrage, since it would "result in a disastrous deterioration of female virtues." Three successive generations of German-American journalists battled manfully against any attempt to promote the temperance or prohibition movement. During the years from 1850-1875 (Wittke calls this the "Hellenic Age in German-American Journalism") the editors vigorously took sides and fought eloquently for or against certain public issues. Thereafter the editors became more interested in advertisement space and circulation figures and gave only non-offensive, colorless comments on current events. Even before the first World War the curve of German-American journalism declined rapidly. The war then hastened this decline enormously. The total number of German publications was 727 in 1890; 537 in 1914; 489 in 1917; 278 in 1920; and 172 in 1930.

Among all foreign language organs in the country the German press was the most numerous, the most influential, the best edited, and the one on the highest intellectual level. We now may add to this that it is the one which has received the most thorough and most competent treatment.

An interesting attempt to appraise the significance of the German-American press as a transmitter of German literature was made by Erich P. Hofacker in his monograph *German Literature as Reflected in the German-Language Press of St. Louis*.²⁹ The investigation is based upon newspaper material published between 1835 and 1898. The conclusion can only be that the literary level of the papers was distressingly low. If there was interest in German literature, it emerged primarily in the form of simple biographical sketches, amusing anecdotes, parodies, and literary gossip.

²⁹ Erich P. Hofacker, *German Literature as Reflected in the German-Language Press of St. Louis Prior to 1898* (St. Louis, Washington University Studies, 1946).

Very seldom we find serious attempts to interpret the great works of German literature to the German-American reader. They did a somewhat better job in acquainting the Missouri Germans with contemporary German literature and frequently reprinted the novels of living writers such as Gustav Freytag, Wilhelm Raabe, Paul Heyse, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, and others. Altogether the literary fare was comparable to the *Feuilleton* section of a small provincial German paper. The St. Louis German papers were probably not much different from those in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and other cities. Thus, Erich Hofacker's study, though regionally limited, may be considered as an assessment of the literary qualities of the German-American press as a whole.

Professor Hofacker discusses and appraises more than sixty years of cultural activities of the German press in one particular state. Professor C. Grant Loomis is concerned with only a few years of theatrical endeavors in one city, yet, even such a limited study can be very interesting. For his monograph on *The German Theater in San Francisco 1861-64* he has used primarily the files of the San Francisco *Abendpost* and has proven convincingly that regular theatrical activities were carried on in San Francisco in a period several years earlier than previously accepted.³⁰ He gives a survey of the repertoire, of the members of the companies, and of the general theatrical climate of the German stage in the 1860's. This careful and well documented study reminds us of a peculiar gap in the field of German-American research. We have a surprising number of excellent monographs on the German drama in various cities with a strong German sector, such as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans,³¹ yet, in spite of this helpful spade work there is not a single comprehensive history of the German theater in the United States, a work which (if ever written) should focus on the "German-American era" (in Hawgood's meaning of the term), i.e. the decades between the Civil War and the First World War. A great deal of material has been collected, but the germanist-historian who could integrate it and weave the various threads into a carpet has not yet appeared.

All books mentioned so far dealt with German-American immigrants and their immediate descendants. However, we have become accustomed to include into the term "German-American studies" works in the field of intercultural relations. Their concern is not the German immigrant, but the emigration and immigration of German ideas, the impact of German culture upon the United States and vice versa. To be sure, quite frequently the two fields overlap. Follen, Lieber, the Forty-eighters and others were immigrants and transmitters of certain German ideologies. Yet, the give-and-take relationship of two civilizations is carried on not only by immigrants. Writers of the first half of the nineteenth century (Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Bryant, Hawthorne, Fuller), all native Americans, opened the gates and started what often has been called "the German craze." The spectacular rise of German letters after 1770 and the American desire for emancipation from British tutelage supplemented each other in creating this state of receptiveness for the German spirit.

It seems like an insurmountable task to describe and evaluate the innumerable overt and covert ramifications of the influence of German ideas in the United States. This has recently been done in an undertaking of almost encyclopedic proportions, in Henry A. Pochmann's *German Culture in*

³⁰ C. Grant Loomis, *The German Theater in San Francisco 1861-1864* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952).

³¹ See the above mentioned bibliography by A. E. Zucker, footnote 4.

America 1600-1900.³² The author tries to disprove the long prevailing misconception that the influence of Germany on the intellectual life of America began as late as 1814, when the first American edition of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* was published and when the New England intellectuals began traveling to Germany. Pochmann presents convincingly the interchange of ideas between Increase and Cotton Mather and the German pietists in the early eighteenth century and points at the great number of German books in the libraries in colonial New England. Towards the end of the century the correspondence between the German historian Christoph Daniel Ebeling and the American educator William Bentley was clearly a relationship of intercultural crossfertilization which prepared the ground for the intense interest in German literature and philosophy after 1820. By 1800 there was already a well-defined tradition of interest in and influence by the German spirit, extending over almost two centuries.

All this, however, remains a preface to the history of American-German interplay. Only about one eighth of Pochmann's book is devoted to the pre-1814 period, while the bulk of the investigation revolves around the nineteenth century. This new era opened when the trail blazing generation of Ticknor, Bancroft, Everett, Cogswell and others (attracted particularly by the University of Göttingen) began the long lasting pilgrimage to German intellectual centers. After their return many of them accepted academic key positions in American colleges; this new information about German letters and philosophy was disseminated by native Americans who had seen and heard at first hand, and who spoke with authority and conviction. The two traditional rivals in the camp of the American intelligentsia, the Anglophiles and the Gallophiles, soon discovered that they were challenged by a third part, the Germanophiles. Dr. Pochmann pays a good deal of attention to the transcendentalist writers, such as Ripley, Parker, Clarke, Alcott and Brownson and devotes a long chapter to Ralph Waldo Emerson. The books which Emerson wrote under the impact of Kantian idealism became the most effective means of diffusion of German thought in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.

While every transcendentalist with reputation and self-esteem at some time during his career struggled with, conquered, and absorbed some of the ideas of such *praeceptores Germaniae* as Leibniz, Kant, Herder, Goethe, Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher, a group of intellectuals in the West concentrated their admiration and energies on the work of one German philosopher, and subsequently were called "the St. Louis Hegelians." To this group of young Western idealists Hegel's philosophy seemed the most effective weapon to combat the steadily growing materialism and agnosticism of the second half of the nineteenth century. Their special interest in Hegel centered in his dictum that "the history of the world is the unfolding of liberty." This youthful movement was propelled by an unbounded enthusiasm and idealism. Out of it emerged such an impressive achievement as the twenty-two volumes of the most distinguished philosophical periodical produced in America during the nineteenth century, the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Two of the leaders, Henry Conrad Brokmeyer (a German immigrant) and William T. Harris (a native New Englander) had enough endurance and missionary zest to undertake the frightening task of translating Hegel's *Logik* into English.

Having characterized New England and St. Louis as the most significant intellectual bridgeheads, Professor Pochmann describes various other rami-

³² Henry A. Pochmann (with the assistance of Arthur R. Schultz and others), *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1957).

fications of the influence of the German spirit in the fields of philosophy and education in general. He points out that the gradual adaptation of the so-called "German" principals of university education (elective studies, lecture methods, seminar, emphasis on scholarship, etc.) was initiated not by the older schools of the East, but, as early as in the middle fifties, by the University of Michigan and a decade later by Cornell University.

Germanists will be particularly interested in a section dealing with the "Vogue of German Literature." There were only sporadic and short-lived contacts during the eighteenth century. The real beginning of a German-American rapport in the field of letters is marked by the two names Mme. de Staël and Charles Follen. Translations of classical and romantic German literature, essays and biographies on various German authors appeared on the American literary scene in increasing numbers in the decades before the Civil War. The Civil War decade, the dramatic hiatus between the "Romantic" and "Genteel" eras, represents a certain turning point in this development. Quantitatively the number of German items in the statistics of translations held its own; the number of books imported from Germany increased. The readings on the thermometer of quality, however, dropped noticeably after 1860. "After 1860 there ceased to exist the fervor and profound personal commitment that marked the enthusiasm of an earlier generation." Formerly the stars had been Schiller, Goethe, Heine, and Jean Paul. Now the regional and popular fiction moved more and more into the foreground, operating on a far-flung range of quality and taste, from the upper tier (Auerbach, Freytag, Reuter) to the *Gartenlaube* school, represented by the indestructible and ubiquitous Luise Mühlbach and others whose names Christian charity forbids us to mention. Nevertheless, at the end of the century, most educated Americans showed a certain familiarity with the major works of the great German authors; children's books from the Grimm's *Märchen* to Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* had established themselves as unbeatable favorites; and the study of German language and literature in American colleges was firmly secured.

Only briefly we can touch upon the section in which Professor Pochmann tries to appraise what some of the most outstanding American writers of the nineteenth century owed to German thought and letters. We only enumerate some of the most important names such as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, Margaret Fuller, Edgar Allan Poe, Henry Longfellow, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and Herman Melville. Often the author can only assess what earlier scholars have found before him, but frequently he has documented more fully than others what these American writers knew (or believed to know), about German philosophers and critics such as Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, and Schlegel.

Henry Pochmann's book represents the results of many years of painstaking research. Nobody could have described the complex story of American receptiveness to the German spirit and its impact upon the philosophical and literary trends in America more competently, more thoroughly, more capably. Among the works on intercultural relations published during the last decades we know no other study more important, more consequential and more admirable.

This work practically supersedes anything else that during the last thirty years has been published in this vein, such as John A. Walz's *German Influence in American Education*, Stanley M. Vogel's *German Literary Influences on American Transcendentalists*, or Pochmann's own *St. Louis Hegelianism and New England Transcendentalism*, not to mention minor

studies.³³ It goes without saying that in this field of intercultural relations a great deal of work can still be done. Pochmann gave a broad, panoramic view; special investigations are still needed. Among the latter category we should mention *James Freeman Clarke, Apostle of German Culture to America* by John Wesley Thomas.³⁴ J. F. Clarke (1810-1888) belonged to the group of transcendentalists and Unitarian ministers whose philosophy and mentality were shaped in distinct contrast and opposition to the commercial and materialistic atmosphere of their native Boston. The two intellectual forces which formed his life were the humanism of Goethe and the liberal German theology, particularly the religio-philosophical writings of Daniel Friedrich Schleiermacher. J. W. Thomas' monograph is the first comprehensive biography of Clarke, based largely on unpublished manuscripts, letters and other primary sources.

It is quite a respectable row of books that over the last twenty years has assembled on our shelf of Americana-Germanica. There is no doubt that a new generation of scholars and writers has taken an intensive interest in the history of German immigration. And not only the quantity of German-American research has increased, also its tenor has changed. German-American historiography saw its first flowering in the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning with Franz Löher's *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (1847). Particularly in the period between the Civil War and the first World War there was quite an upsurge of publications on the Germans in the United States. German historical societies were organized in several states (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri), serial publications were started, articles, monographs as well as comprehensive histories were published. Most of these efforts were carried on by enthusiastic, but untrained amateurs, such as Friedrich Kapp, Rudolf Cronau, Anton Eickhoff, Gustav Körner, Heinrich Armin Rattermann, Herrmann Schuricht, Louis Henninghausen, and countless others. These men were Sunday historians. By profession they were journalists, politicians, lawyers, insurance men, bookdealers, or ministers. Only a small number of scholars went into this field of research: Hanno Deiler, Julius Goebel, Marion D. Learned, Albert B. Faust, to mention a few. Whether scholars or dilettants, they never overcame the trauma of the 1850's, when the German-Americans (as all other immigrant groups) saw themselves surrounded and threatened by the hostility of a nativistic, anti-foreign wave. Among the German-Americans (and their history writers) it released a mechanism of self-defense. The starting point for all these historiographical endeavors was: we have to show to our fellow Americans that the Germans have been here much longer than generally known and that they have contributed to the substance and expanse, to the social, political, and moral texture of this country. At the same time they wanted to give self-confidence to their compatriots of German birth or descent: you don't have to be ashamed of being German. If your name is Weyerhäuser, Luckenbach, or Schmidt, that's as good as Saltonstall, Bradford, or Winslow.

Needless to say that such an historiography often overshot the mark. Particularly the amateurs became veritable lawyers of defense or publicity agents of true or alleged German-American virtues. Most of the scholars did not do any better. The one who made the most constructive contribution was Albert Bernhardt Faust with his *German Element in the*

³³ John A. Walz, *German Influence in American Education* (Philadelphia, Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1936). Stanley M. Vogel, *German Literary Influences on American Transcendentalists* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955). Henry A. Pochmann, *St. Louis Hegelianism and New England Transcendentalism* (Philadelphia, Carl Schurz Mem. Foundation, 1948).

³⁴ John Wesley Thomas, *James Freeman Clarke, Apostle of German Culture to America* (Boston, John W. Luce, 1949).

United States (1909). His merits have never been contested. The first and fundamental compendium of German-American immigration history it has remained to this day the point of departure for all research in the field. "A storehouse of indispensable facts," said the reviewer in the *American Historical Review* in 1910.³⁵ Yet, even at that time there were other, slightly critical voices. *The Nation* after giving due credit to Faust's accomplishments continued: "The author writes from the pro-German point of view and presents a favorable picture of the German influence in the growth of American institutions, without always carefully analyzing the complex ethnic process involved. . . . A constructive history of the Germans in America will only be possible after the most thorough research into special activities of the Germans in America has been made."³⁶ The reviewer here touched the sensitive nerve of the undertaking, and this was indeed the common deficiency of all these writings: the pro-German point of view, the attitude of filio piety and ancestor worship. "Their record is a noble one, and should animate their descendants with the will to keep sacred such names as . . .", said Faust in the preface to his work. Too much of such Concord Day speeches and similar oratory went into German-American historiography.

All this has changed. The present generation of writers in the field of German-American studies has not hesitated to give the pro and the contra. They may have lost some of the inspirational sweep of their predecessors, but they have gained a more scholarly approach, a more sober, more objective appraisal and thereby a greater impact on American historiography in general. Claude Fuess shows in his biography that Carl Schurz was not only an accumulation of ideals and virtues, but that he was quite frequently overflowing with overconfidence, self-applause, and conceitedness and that with all his lofty aims he always kept an eye open for his own future. The books on the Forty-eighters by Carl Wittke and A. E. Zucker do not fail to point out that these liberals with all their admirable idealism were not free of blemishes: their adolescent romantic illusions, their boyish, antagonizing excesses in free-thinking and agnosticism, their cantankerous, meddlesome, tactless reformism. Julius Goebel's old thesis that Abraham Lincoln owed his election to the Forty-eighters is bluntly refuted as a "legend." Carl Wittke extolls the merits of the German-American press, but he does not gloss over its provincialism and its *Vereinsmeierei*. Walter Klein makes it clear that Johann Conrad Beissel was a spiritual leader, but also a crackpot. John Hawgood and Clifton Child give a very balanced presentation of a controversial period of German-American history. To be sure, Hawgood maintains in general an attitude of discreet indictment towards the resistance of the German-Americans to a complete integration into the American tradition (and one may argue whether he is perhaps not too censorious in this respect), but at the same time he is fully aware of the peculiar psychological predicament of the "hyphenated- or German-American." Child castigates the clumsy tactlessness of the leaders of the German-American Alliance as well as the resentful intolerance and bigotry of the non-German populace in the average American community around 1917. The new historians know that between black and white there are many shades of grey. Their biographies give portraits unretouched, showing the grandeur and beauty of a face as well as its wrinkles and irregularities. This is not any more a gallery of "sacred names." These histories are not written "from the pro-German point of

³⁵ *American Historical Review*, XV (1910), 615-617.

³⁶ *The Nation*, XC (April 7, 1910), 353-354.

view," as the reviewer early in the century characterized Faust's book. A few years ago, a British historian writing in the *English Historical Review* about one of the above mentioned monographs affirmed that this is a "new generation of American scholars of German descent which approaches the subject of the settlements of the Germans in the U. S. A. in an entirely dispassionate spirit, giving praise where it is due, but being equally ready to criticize shortcomings and narrowness of outlook."³⁷

The majority of the older books were written almost exclusively for the educated readers in the "Little Germanies" of American towns and cities. Rattermann, Eickhoff, Goebel, von Bosse, Cronau, and many others wrote in German. Among the more recent studies there is hardly a German title; German source material, if quoted verbatim, is usually translated. Needless to say that this practice has made these books accessible to a greater audience of laymen and other scholars.

It is our hope that in the years to come the bookshelf of Americana-Germanica will grow and that the studies on German-American immigration history will continue in this line of objective appraisal. They then will leave a deeper mark on American historiography, they will be more readily accepted by American historians and more widely read by the general public.

³⁷ *English Historical Review*, LXV (1951), no. 256, p. 152.

