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The German-American Press

Edited by Henry Geitz

Max Kade Institute
for German-American Studies
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Madison, Wisconsin
1992

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Henry Geitz
General Editor

The German-American Press

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Introduction

In 1851, Johann Kerler, a recent German immigrant to the American Midwest, wrote to his family back in Memmingen that all would be well if one removed one's German skin and replaced it with an American skin. Kerler saw clearly the need for the immigrant to assimilate, to adapt to the different surroundings—both physical and psychological—and to adopt new ways of thinking and of doing things.

Given the historical heterogeneity of American society, immigrants have almost always felt a need to assimilate to some extent. The motives, conscious and unconscious, for assimilation have covered a wide range for different people in different circumstances: from the idealistic to the opportunistic, from outright rejection of the "old ways" to simple expediency, from a sense of loyalty to the new homeland to practical communication with one's neighbors.

The degree of assimilation has also varied, depending on local circumstances. The ethnic makeup in a given occupational group or in a neighborhood, the dynamics of an urban or rural environment, the closeness of a religious community, all these have at one time or another, in one place or another, played a decisive role.

For the immigrants from German-speaking Europe specifically, the pace of assimilation has often been influenced by external forces, accelerated on the one hand by events in the first half of the twentieth century, for example, retarded on the other by programmatic separatist principles of religious groups intent on preserving their own identity. Again, individual reactions to a physical or intellectual environment have been crucial.

Whatever the motives, degree, or pace, assimilation of ethnic groups has consistently, almost inexorably, moved forward over time. Thus, Kerler's picturesque metaphor reflects both a perceived need and an ongoing process, the "shedding" of one skin and "replacement" by another.

The remainder of Kerler's statement, that all would be well once assimilation had taken place, points to another facet of the immigrant's problem. Assimilation is, for the most part, a long-range matter. What about the short-range outlook, the time between "now" and "then"? If we are to take Kerler's words at face value—and there is no reason not to do so—then we must conclude that all is not well now, that the transitional period is painful, that a certain amount of alienation is inevitable for all but a very few. What does one, can one do to make this interval happy, or even bearable?

The answer for most immigrant groups has traditionally been to band together in organizations of one sort or another, social, singing or sports groups, with a membership exclusively, or almost so, from a single ethnic group. Such groups represent a "haven" of homogeneity in an otherwise heterogeneous environment, a place where the need and the desire to retain one's traditional ethnic customs and values can find expression without one feeling the "outsider."

Certainly the most obvious and probably the most important part of an ethnic identity to be retained is, for most people, one's native language. (It is also, for most, the most difficult to lose—a foreign-born person speaking accent-free, idiomatic American English is a rarity.) In the protective atmosphere of an ethnically-oriented organization, one can continue to use one's own language, communicating effectively, completely, and without inhibition. Thus, retention of the native language becomes symbolic of retention of much that belongs to the "former" life in the "old country" and makes the transition to life in a new country less stressful.

In this dichotomy between long- and short-range needs, between the urge for assimilation and the desire for retention of the familiar, the foreign language press, in our case, the German-American press, played a pivotal role, and to an ever diminishing degree, continues to do so. Before the advent of mass media as we know them today, the written word was the primary means of communication; the press, broadly defined, was the source of current information about matters of local, state and national interest (aiding the process of assimilation). However, it provided that information in the mother tongue, which helped retain the German cultural legacy; indeed, the press often supplied information on the latest from the homeland.

It is precisely this dual role of the German-American press, as facilitator of adjustment to the ways of the new homeland on the one hand and agent of retention of the old ways on the other, that prompted the Max Kade Institute to organize a symposium on that topic in Madison at the University of Wisconsin in 1987. The volume presented here is a sampling of the papers given at that conference.

Bracketed between sections on the early German-American press and that of today is a rich collection of essays on various aspects of the topic. Included is a piece of national scope—a study of the German-American press' part in the debate on the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. Other studies deal with individual newspapers, ongoing debates in them, and reactions to specific events and ideas. The question of assimilation in specific areas is addressed directly by contributions on political patronage and on masthead iconography; the use of English in German language newspapers is the subject of still another study.

When we use the term "press," we tend to think of newspapers, dailies or weeklies, perhaps even of periodicals. However, there is no need to limit the concept so severely, and two articles expand considerably on it. One discusses music, as published by the German-American Church, as a means of aesthetic mediation. The other is even broader, dealing with the German-American book trade prior to World War I.

This volume attempts to present a relatively broad spectrum of the broadly-defined German-American press' activity. Clearly, no single collection of essays can do justice to all—or even nearly all—of the many facets of this topic. This contribution to the field of German-American Studies should, therefore, be viewed as an introduction to further work.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The preparatory work for both the 1987 conference on the German-American Press and for this volume by my esteemed colleague, Prof. Charlotte L. Brancaforte, the former Director of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, is most gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank Dr. Catherine Rasmussen

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Early German Printing in America's Southeast: Possible Sites and Probable Causes

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When research into the early years of German printing in America began in earnest about a century ago, German language printing in this country was still in its heyday. With numerous German language publications still appearing regularly from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland westward through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as throughout the central and upper Midwest from Missouri and Kansas to the Dakotas, it is understandable why most of the pioneering scholars did not think to cast their glances south and southeastward in search of obscure and seemingly inconsequential printers and presses in that region. Oswald Seidensticker's ground-breaking treatise *The First Century of German Printing in America (1728-1830)* was typical of this brand of selective inquiry.[1] Working principally through correspondence with archivists and curators at a small number of prominent eastern and north-central libraries, museums, and societies, Seidensticker was able to locate and catalogue a few hundred titles, most of which had appeared between New York in the north, Virginia in the south, and Ohio to the west. A similar approach was applied by most of his contemporaries, Heinrich Armin Ratterman and Marion Dexter Learned among them. As a result, very little was known about German-American printers and presses in the American Southeast until after the middle of the century.

Most published accounts of early German settlement in the Southeast conspicuously avoided references to cultural institutions such as printing and publishing, preferring to dwell instead on the religious, social, and economic make-up of each community. Carl Hammer, Jr.'s otherwise invaluable contribution, *Rhinelanders on the Yadkin*, a study of German settlement in central North Carolina

published in 1943, is truly representative of such scholarship.[2] Although chapters are devoted to "Lutheran Heroes," "The German Reformed Church," and even " 'The Way the Old Folks Talked'," absolutely no mention is made of the noteworthy activity of several bilingual printers at work in the area.[3]

It took a later generation of scholars, beginning with Klaus Wust in the 1950s, to begin the laborious and often frustrating task of reconstructing the history of German language printing in America's Southeast. Ever since Wust's checklist of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley German imprints was published in the relatively obscure periodical *The Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* in 1953, research has continued, albeit somewhat sporadically, into the location, histories, and products of German language printers in the region.[4] Using what has already been well-documented regarding the founding of German language presses throughout these United States, it can now be stated that two essential ingredients had to have been in evidence for such an establishment to exist. First, the ethnic—in this case German-speaking—community must have been relatively self-sufficient and not strictly dependent on outside interests for its economic and cultural sustenance. This does not mean that the particular society in question lacked close contact and cooperation with other localities. On the contrary, it implies that this community had achieved a sufficient degree of economic and cultural maturity to allow it to focus its attention principally on matters close to home. Such communities, as we now know, were to be found from central and western Maryland southward through the Valley of Virginia and into the central Piedmont region of North Carolina by the latter half of the eighteenth century. This was certainly not the case, however, for German-speaking communities in eastern North Carolina on the Neuse River at New Bern, along Georgia's Savannah River at Ebenezer and Red Bluff, and at Purryburg in the Saxe-Gotha District of South Carolina.[5] There, lasting and intentionally strong ties with the "mother countries" in Europe made this kind of cultural maturation virtually impossible.

Second, the ethnic community in question had to boast a cultural hierarchy dominated by more-or-less conservative, tradition-minded leaders, a group often composed of ministers, merchants, and local authorities, whose dominance was based principally on

the community's strong sense of ethnic identification. From the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia south into the Carolinas, one finds the names of Paul Henkel, Michael Braun, Gottlieb Schober, Adolph Nüssmann, and Johann Gottfried Arndt among those of the prime "movers and shakers" of their respective communities. What these men all shared, aside from positions of leadership and great respect, was a professed love of their German heritage and its culture. Knowing that we must find self-sufficient communities that produced such leaders allows us to begin to identify likely locations of early German printing in the southeastern United States.

Based on such criteria, there is every reason to believe that early German printing may have occurred in, of all places, Charleston, South Carolina. Armed with little more than basic demographic and cultural information, we can pinpoint Charleston as a likely candidate for further investigation. The known facts are these: Charleston in the latter half of the eighteenth century was the South's most cosmopolitan city, boasting French, Spanish, and German communities. For their part, the Germans of Charleston were Lutherans and Calvinists, neither particularly pietistic nor especially close in their relationship with Germany. They maintained loose ties with Georgia's German population and were generally noted as skilled merchants, artisans, and local administrators. On January 15, 1766, fifteen leaders of the community founded the German Friendly Society to aid new arrivals and promote emigration to the colony.[6] Its membership rules specified that "no person can be admitted a member of the society except he is a German, or born of German parents, or one who can speak the German Language, and no other language is to be spoken but English and German during the Society's hours."[7] Later the regulation regarding birth was relaxed in order to allow distinguished citizens of French, English, and Dutch descent or birth to join. More recently this Society has evolved into an exclusive Charleston social club for those of German heritage, a far cry from its original intent and purpose. Nevertheless, it maintains an extensive, though so-far inaccessible, archive of the city's Germanic past.

While this archive remains closed to all outsiders, the published *History of the German Friendly Society* reveals in its transcriptions hints at the likely presence of German language printing in the city.[8] Under the date of December 10, 1806 it is recorded that "the

Reverend J. C. Faber reported to the Society the death of Captain Daniel Strobel, one of the surviving founders of this society." Among the minutes of the next meeting, December 17, 1806, one finds that the president agreed "to the resolve of the Society at the last meeting to deliver an address in the German and English language in memory of Captain Strobel." "At this same meeting," the report continues, "the society resolved to extend thanks to the president 'for his able and solemn address delivered this evening respecting our deceased brother member, Captain Strobel,' and it was agreed that 150 copies of the address be printed at the Society's expense, the same to be delivered to the members of the Society and the remaining copies placed in the Society's bookcase." Because the archives of the German Friendly Society of Charleston have remained closed to all outsiders, no copies of this address have been seen by researchers working in this field.[9]

Inconclusive as these remarks may seem regarding the content, the printer, and the date of this publication, we are not without additional evidence to support the possibility of early German printing in the city. Hennig Cohen's meticulous study of *The South Carolina Gazette* in the period 1732-1775 lists advertisements this newspaper is known to have run for German pamphlets and books. Given with their full titles, these publications are said to be available from the *Gazette*'s publisher Peter Timothy ("Petrus Timotheus in der König-strass") or, as in the case of an ad run on November 20, 1752, "zu verkoufen [sic] in der Buchdruckerey, und in der King-street en [sic] Mr. Vanalis Hauss, unter welchen sind folgende, als A.B.C. bücher reformierte, Grammairen Englisch und Teutsch, Hochreuters leichen predigt, die Memel lustige [?] gesellschaft, Pfeiffers predigten, Quiseids gebetbuch, Behrens [?] histories der wiedergebohrnen, Speners reispredigten, Testament neues, die Viagas erzehlung von Jesuiten, Zieglers gebet-buch."[10] Whether either Peter Timothy or the bookseller Mr. Vanall ever published or commissioned items in German other than those mentioned here, be they simple handbills or more complex imprints for ministers and educators such as have been found elsewhere in the Southeast, has not been established. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to state that Charleston, South Carolina, is an ideal candidate for further and future investigaion into early German-American printing in the American Southeast.

In sharp contrast to South Carolina's unsolved mystery, North Carolina, also ignored by Seidensticker in his work, is now known to have been home to several early German language presses. As recently as 1979, however, virtually nothing was known about the nature and scope of German printing in central North Carolina. Only Klaus Wust had mentioned in print the likely existence of a bilingual press in the town of Salisbury, North Carolina, and his somewhat vague and cryptic remarks were buried in an article appropriately titled "The Pennsylvania Germans of North Carolina: A Challenge to Future Historians."[11]

Certainly by the late eighteenth century conditions in North Carolina's Piedmont region were right for such a German press. The Moravian communities of Salem, Bethabara, and Bethany were united under a strong traditional church which preferred communicating with other Moravian congregations in Pennsylvania to conducting business with non-Moravians at home. The Lutheran and Reformed Church communities of the nearby Yadkin River Valley maintained similar ties to Virginia German parishes in the Shenandoah Valley. Given this environment, then, there was every reason to believe that German language printing could have served these communities' cultural, economic, and spiritual needs. Research conducted at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, in the Moravian Archives, and at the Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has already revealed a German printing history which, if not as significant as that of the Shenandoah Valley, was certainly far more extensive than was first presumed. We now have evidence of the establishment of bilingual German-English presses at various times in Salisbury, Lincolnton, Raleigh, and Salem between 1797, when the first thirty-page collection of Lutheran hymns without music was produced, and 1870, when the last Moravian festal ode to contain a German text was printed for the Great Sabbath. And with the number of separate imprints already identified as being from these North Carolina firms easily exceeding a hundred, it is easy to see how less prolific German presses operating in this early period in the southeastern United States could have escaped prior detection.[12]

This being the case, the question to be asked is: Are there as yet unknown locations of early German language printing in America's Southeast? Historical conditions and a few puzzling clues

suggest at least two more prime sites for consideration: Knoxville, Tennessee and Lincoln County, Kentucky. By the early 1800s both locales had acqired a substantial German element, for Knoxville was at the southernmost end of German migration from western Virginia. Extant records indicate that upon his death in May of 1803, the apparatus of bilingual printer John Martin Slump of Camden, South Carolina, passed into the hands of John B. Hood. Slump's longstanding indebtedness from earlier printing in North Carolina, however, prompted one Lincolnton resident, Jacob Summy, Sr., to file suit against Hood that June claiming rights to the press. Not long thereafter Hood moved his business to Knoxville, where court records indicate that litigation was still underway as late as October 10, 1806. Although the eventual disposition of this case has yet to be fully explored, it is known that Hood continued his printing operation in Knoxville for several more years. As to whether or not John B. Hood ever used Slump's German type fonts to print texts for local residents while in Knoxville, Tennessee, no one is yet in a position to say for sure.[13]

Lincoln County in Kentucky presents an equally perplexing situation. An obviously well-educated literary figure, Anthony Hunn (or Hunnius), left his native Weimar, Germany, and made his new home in the Kentucky wilderness early in the 1800s. In Lincoln County, south of Lexington, he published a weekly newspaper called *The Lamp* between August 1807 and 1808. On January 12, 1808, Hunn is known to have produced a prospectus announcing his intention to publish a German newspaper for the German citizens of the region.[14] Whether the *Licht im Abendlande* as he proposed to call his German paper, ever appeared remains a mystery. The absence of any known copy of this publication can in no way be construed as evidence against its existence, however.[15] Moreover, since Anthony Hunn felt obligated to provide his fellow Kentucky Germans with a paper in their native tongue, it is quite possible that other German imprints, especially handbills, were issued by his press. Again, as of now none have been reported.

If it appears that discussion of German printing in America's Southeast is still fraught with an abundance of speculation and conjecture, that is indeed the case. One hundred years ago, in Oswald Seidensticker's time, the mere mention of the possibility of early German printers and presses virtually anywhere in the

southeastern United States would have most likely prompted stares of utter disbelief along with quick, emphatic denials. Since then, considerable progress has been made in this area as numerous documents and other materials have come to light indicating the presence of important and heretofore unknown German printers and presses in Virginia and North Carolina. The existence of sizeable, self-reliant German communities in other states in that region, along with numerous hints at possible German-language publishing activity there, suggest to us that these other sites of German printing may yet be confirmed. Clearly there is reason to believe and hope that at least a few more such discoveries can and will be made in the years to come.

Notes

[1] See Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, (1728-1830)* (Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893; rpt. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1980).

[2] See Carl Hammer, Jr., *Rhinelanders on the Yadkin; The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans in Rowan and Cabarrus* (Salisbury, N.C.: Rowan Printing Co., 1943).

[3] An exception to this trend is John Walter Wayland's *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: The Michie Company, 1907; rpt. Bridgewater, VA: C. J. Carrier Co., 1964) which includes a chapter on "Educational and Literary Activities."

[4] See Klaus Wust, "German Printing in Virginia, A Check List, 1789-1834," *The Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 28 (1953): 54-66. Note: Virginia's Shenandoah Valley German printing already has been the subject of numerous published studies and therefore will not be considered further here. See Christopher L. Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah Valley* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984).

[5] For details of the latter settlements see George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984).

[6] See Nelson van de Luyster, "The German Friendly Society of Charleston," *American-German Review* 26 (April-May, 1960): 20-23, 36.

[7] *Ibid.*, 22.

[8] Quotations are from *The History of the German Friendly Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1916*, ed. George F. Gongaware (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1935), 65-66.

[9] The author is indebted to Werner Tannhof of the Lehrstuhl für Bibliothekswissenschaft der Universität zu Köln for his assistance in locating some of this rare material.

[10] Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 34ff. N.B.: The question marks in this text appear in the original passage.

[11] Klaus Wust, "The Pennsylvania Germans of North Carolina: A Challenge to Future Historians," in ECK ("'S Pennsylvaanisch Deitsch Eck"), published weekly in the Allentown *Morning Call*, 18 July, 1964.

[12] For more information on North Carolina's German printers and presses see Christopher L. Dolmetsch, "German Language Printing Among North Carolina Moravians," *Moravian Music Journal* 29, No. 4 (Winter 1984): 93-98.

[13] Much of this information has been gleaned from unpublished documents found in the library of the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and from the county records of Knox County, Tenn., and Lincoln County, N.C.

[14] The text of this prospectus is reproduced in Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 174.

[15] Although copies of numerous early German-American newspapers have yet to be found, their existence has often been verified based on other concrete evidence. See my remarks on this subject in *The German Press of the Shenandoah Valley*, 31-55.

The Response of the Hessian Press to American Advice to the Immigrants from Kurhesse (1832-1866)

Inge Auerbach

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When economists develop prognoses, they create a model which depends on various factors, collect the significant data, calculate results, and make their predictions. The prognosis remains uncertain because often new circumstances arise, rendering the model useless. The social historian, looking to the past rather than the future, is often able to establish results with certainty, but faces insurmountable difficulties when confronted with missing data. Economic science teaches us how necessary it is to establish the individual factors. We historians can often *evaluate* but not *calculate*, and that is my concern here.

We know that emigration from Germany varied significantly according to the period, size of the state, social class of the emigrants, and destination. The push and pull factors were not the same for each of the German states, which appears to be an advantage when one attempts to determine the significance of various factors in the history of emigration. In Hesse-Kassel, source of a sizeable German emigration in the nineteenth century, the pull factors were drastically reduced by a state policy of hindering all emigration, a policy that continued despite the right of emigration established in the constitution of 1831.[1] The intention was to solve social problems at home that were leading to the departure of people, knowledge, and capital. The necessary economic measures to make this happen, however, were not taken, though land reform through partition of demesne land was discussed in the parliament in 1833.[2] Hesse-Kassel therefore continued to lose population through emigration; clearly, the push factors of economic, personal, or political desperation were

more important than pull factors in the decision to emigrate. (The number of emigrants was rather independent of economic or political occurrences abroad.) Here I want to discuss the pull factors which played a role in the decision to emigrate in general and to the USA in particular.

Despite ostensible freedom of the press, the Hesse-Kassel censor forbade all advertising for emigration through positive reports about conditions abroad. Only voices of warning could be printed which, when read critically, could strengthen decisions to emigrate. Except for a short period, there were no emigrant organizations in Hesse-Kassel and distribution of emigrant literature was forbidden. It is unknown if emigration agents distributed written information to their clients. Were there only oral instructions and did the agents indeed limit their actions to the organization of transport? In any event, they were liable to prosecution for recruiting emigrants by advertisement.[3] The weekly *Unentgeltlicher Wegweiser für deutsche Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (*Free Guide for German Immigrants to the United States of North America*), published by New Yorker Friedrich Gerhard, was distributed to the Hessians only after embarkation.[4] A county commissioner (Landrat) dared to print a notice that the guide could be obtained in his office only after recommendation of the guide by the provincial government.[5]

Toward the end of the 1840s the Hessian *Wochenblätter* printed notices on the departures of ships for the USA, Canada, South America, and Australia, and somewhat later also announced the successful arrival of specific individuals in American ports. This, the only legal form of advertising for emigration, appears to have had little impact, for such notices began only after the start of the great economic crisis, as a reaction to the increased market for emigration.[6]

The relatively small number of emigrants to Australia and South America after 1846 despite continual notices of ship departures to those destinations seems to prove the insignificance of that pull factor in the selection of a land for emigration. Over 90 percent of all emigrants from Kurhesse went to North America, and nearly all of them went to the USA.

The cost of the trip was not the deciding factor, since transit to Australia was free.[7] It must have been greater knowledge of the country which caused the USA to win out over other countries as the goal for emigration, but where did this knowledge come from?

In 1831, at the beginning of the emigration movement, German veterans of the American War of Independence were still alive.[8] By the beginning of the massive emigration around 1845, their direct role had probably run its course, but tales still being told no doubt helped to reduce the feeling of absolute strangeness surrounding this land. This also applied to Canada, where Hesse-Hanau troops were also stationed.[9] Since Canada was very seldom chosen, however, it appears this was a pull factor of only secondary importance. Official notices of release from Hessian citizenship for legal emigrants in which North America was named as the location of new citizenship may have encouraged imitation. Letters from those who already had emigrated and official advice about the procedures for emigration documentation seem to have been the *decisive sources of information*.

The most important source of knowledge about America for the authorities of Hesse-Kassel was the German language literature published by immigrant relief organizations in the USA. The Deutsche Gesellschaft in New York (German Society in New York) was founded shortly after the end of the American War of Independence as a charity organization with the goal of "supporting Germans who have settled here and who suffer due to sickness or misfortune" ("Unterstützung hier anässiger Deutscher, die durch Krankheit oder Unglück zurückgekommen").[10] The society continued its original purpose of helping local Germans during the period of mass emigration from Germany, but devoted increasing efforts to advising new arrivals. Due to a lack of funds and because very few German-Americans became members, the society disappointed German groups and individuals who had hoped for financial help. This was also true of other German societies.

In Kurhesse the impact of the publications of the German Society in New York was greatly increased by personal connections and contacts. The Hessian consul in New York, Faber, who was vice-president of the Society in 1841, was responsible for reprints of pamphlets of the New York Society appearing in the Hessian press.[11] The president of the German Society in New York (*Jahresbericht der deutschen Gesellschaft von New York*) was given great attention by the officials in Kassel as a semi-official source close to the Commissioners of Emigration, and extracts from the annual reports were published in Hessian official gazettes.

The German Society in New York also made use of another channel. The American consul for Kurhesse, Charles Graebe, was also a member of the society and in 1838 a member of the committee for the Astor Fund. This fund was collected to assist German immigrants with transportation inland or in acquiring work in New York. In order to attract new donors for this fund, he sent an edition of the German language *New Yorker allgemeine Zeitung* of 23 June 1838 to the *Kasseler allgemeine Zeitung*, which published the appeal for donors on 4 August.[12]

The German Society of New Orleans (Deutsche Gesellschaft von New Orleans), founded in 1847, was from its inception a society for assisting immigrants and later expanded its activities to supporting the local German population by establishing a German orphanage and planning an asylum.[14] The first consul from Kurhesse in New Orleans, R. Thiele, appointed in 1857, was one of the Society's directors (1858/59), but it was not he who developed direct contacts with Kassel. This had already occured earlier. During the 1850/51 fiscal year the Society not only approached the Bremer Nachweisungsbüro für Auswanderer (Bremen Information Bureau for Emigrants) with its leaflet "Einige Verhaltungsmaßregeln für Einwanderer bei ihrer Ankunft in New Orleans" ("Some Rules for Emigrants Upon Arrival in New Orleans"), but also expanded its work for other German places. The printed German language fourth annual report, as the first of a possibly incomplete series, provided information to Germans in Kassel about the existence and activities of the Society.[15] These annual reports unfortunately remained at the highest levels of administration and were not distributed through offices at the lower level, perhaps because of the restrictive emigration policy of Hesse.

The German Society of Maryland (Deutsche Gesellschaft von Maryland) located in Baltimore was founded in 1817 with the goal to "provide help and assistance to immigrants from Germany and Switzerland who are worthy of it" ("Ausgewanderte aus Deutschland und aus der Schweiz, die Rat und Beistand bedürfen, und dessen würdig sind, damit zu versehen"). It was more similar to the society in New Orleans than that in New York. This German society did not establish contacts with Hesse, but its brochure, "Wohlgemeinter Rat der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Maryland an Deutsche, die irgendein Interesse an der Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von

Nord-Amerika fühlen" ("Well-intentioned Advice from the German Society of Maryland to Germans Who have an Interest in Emigration to the United States of North America," Baltimore 1834), was sent home by the ever-active Consul Faber and reprinted.[16]

Before we examine the image of America presented by the publications of the emigrant societies, we must address the means by which this information was transmitted.

A prime source was the above-mentioned oral advice given to potential emigrants by the officials whose private interests in America were probably various in nature, or coming from persons who had read imaginative and enthusiastic publications on America, or at least had acquired minimal knowledge from one source: the directives of their superiors and the various official provincial gazettes (*Provinzialwochenblätter für Niederhessen, Oberhessen, Hanau, Fulda Schaumburg*). I will survey here only one of them: the *Weekly Gazette for the Province of Lower Hesse* during the years 1831-1866; that is, from the introduction of the right to emigrate to the annexation of Kurhesse by Prussia. This gazette was published at the seat of the central government. All important announcements of legal regulation of emigration from other territories, of postal or commercial contacts with the USA were published in the other weekly gazettes as well.

The gazettes were not quite comparable to newspapers since only occasionally did they include scientific or entertaining articles. Instead, they were outlets for official proclamations and notices, and private announcements. Here we find appointments, promotions, awards, job advertisements in government and the church, train and post office schedules, announcements for farmers about new agricultural techniques, reports on trials, bankruptcies, public auctions, birth, marriage, and death notices in the capital of Kassel, announcements of private sales, leases, job offers, etc. The police news supplement (*polizeiliche Nachrichten*) contained pictures of those sought by the police, a lost and found column, news of crimes, notices on health, and directives on law and order. The weekly gazettes were addressed to a wide audience, and the information about America drew considerable attention. The gazette was published at first weekly, then biweekly, for several years as a daily, and again biweekly after 1862.

The gazette averaged only one article per year on general questions of migration, reflecting the goal of the authorities to deemphasize emigration. At the same time, notices from shipping agents and announcements of intention to emigrate were frequently printed.

The image of America conveyed was a distorted one for two reasons. The German Society in New York, the only society to have its reports reprinted in Hessian gazettes, saw no reason to describe conditions in America to its largely American members in its annual reports. Unfortunately, in its leaflets in German written for those at home,[17] it neglected to present basic information about the geography and Constitution of the USA. The Hessian Consul Faber seems to have recognized this deficiency, but he also restricted his comments in 1834 in the *Lower Hessian Gazette* to the minimum: "die große Flächenausdehnung des Gebiets der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika sei so verschieden in Klima, Produkten und Lage, daß es unmöglich sei, mit Bestimmtheit anzugeben, in welcher Gegend der deutsche Ansiedler am besten gedeihen dürfte" ("The great expanse of the United States of North America has such variation in climate, products, and situation, that it is impossible to state with certainty in which area a German settler would find the greatest prosperity").[18] Therefore the Kurhessian learned nothing about the Constitution of the USA, of the rights and duties of the citizens, and above all nothing about the universal conscription which played a great role in the emigration plans of many young men.[19] There was nothing about religious denominations and their church organization, nor even the number of states, let alone the relations between them; nothing about the political and social conditions or the political parties and political debates or, most importantly, about the American counterpart to the social welfare net which the emigrant relinquished by ending his citizenship in a Hessian community.

A second source developed for information about the USA in Hesse. If the basic tenor of the American annual reports tended toward discouraging emigration in order to minimize the burdens of the Society in New York, this tendency was amplified by Hessian reporting. The Americans knew very well the chances for success, especially for emigrants with capital or special skills. Success stories were withheld from the Hessians, although not completely, given the difference in censorship between the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries. A most important source for weighing one's possibilities were the very detailed statistics in the annual report of the Society in New Orleans, which gave the numbers of persons seeking work and the numbers already employed in the port, listed by occupation.[20] Printing this list in Hesse was carefully avoided. By contrast, reports from the annual report about miserable failures were given broad coverage. The Hessians learned of Germans who enlisted in the army out of desperation and died early, and of others who landed in the poorhouse.[21] The biased nature of the reporting in the gazettes is demonstrated by the treatment of the New York Society's *Annual Report of 1848*. It was stated that despite an almost equal number of immigrants, the German to Irish ratio in New York hospitals and poorhouses was 1:9, and this in spite of the language barrier, which would hinder integration of Germans into the American society, not the Irish. The typically German *"unüberwindliche Abneigung"* (insurmountable distaste) for the poorhouse stated by the *New York Society* demonstrated that the number of those giving up in desperation was minimal and that destitution of immigrants was not the rule.[22] The readers in the homeland did not learn from the weekly gazettes how often Germans or Hessians recovered after a period of need described by the German Society or Consul Faber.

Hessian authorities might have learned from reports about the capital holdings of the German emigrants that even during the years of the great economic depression a good deal of tax fraud took place in relation to emigration duties, perhaps with the tacit approval of the local administrations. The outflow of capital from Hesse was no doubt much larger than official estimates. The typical German immigrated with some cash, while 30 to 40 percent of legal emigrants were officially assumed to possess no capital.[23]

Because the *Annual reports from New Orleans* were not reprinted in the Hessian press, reports on the U.S. economic situation and prices of agricultural products on American markets were lacking. This information would have been of interest to potential emigrants among the farmers.

Reports about methods of deceiving immigrants and their chances for integration published by the *German Society in New York* and reprinted in the weekly gazettes give some insight into two areas which especially interested the German relief organizations. Although Consul Faber recommended in 1843 that the entire travel

fare to a final destination in the interior of America be paid in advance in Germany, both American societies warned against it. On the one hand, they were themselves interested in providing to immigrants the best transportation and cheapest firms by cutting out middlemen, and, on the other hand, they knew of actual cases of fraud. Germans were paying good money for worthless pieces of paper. Such false transactions were conducted by German, Dutch, American and—less important for the Hessians—English firms.[24]

American society must have appeared from reports in the weekly gazettes to be inclined to all sorts of criminal activities.[25] In these stories brokers or "runners" were relieving immigrants of their capital. It remains unanswered why the Hessian weekly gazettes did not once mention the practice of selling women and the attempts of the Society of New Orleans to end it, nor the legal means of protecting women aboard ship from indiscretions of the crew.[26] Could it be because the reports originated in New Orleans and someone as prominent in Hesse as Consul Faber was needed to serve as mediator? Information did arrive in Hesse that in New York agent firms were located near the German Society and operated under similar names with the goal of high profits and that the titles "German Agent" or "licensed runner" were no guarantee at all. The German Society of Maryland warned against purchasing land without an exact examination of the site. It was not unknown for even relatives to give inaccurate information to raise the value of their own land.[27]

The two detailed publications advising immigrants, "Wohlgemeinter Rat der Vorsteher der deutschen Gesellschaft in New York an Deutsche, die nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika auszuwandern beabsichtigen" ("Well-intentioned Advice of the Chairmen of the German Society in New York for Germans planning to Emigrate to the Untied States of North America"), New York 1833, and the "Wohlgemeinte Rat der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Maryland an Deutsche, die irgendein Interesse an der Auswanderung nach Nord-Amerika fühlen" ("Well-intentioned Advice of the German Society of Maryland for Germans who feel an Interest in Emigrating to North America"), Baltimore 1834, were both published in full in the *Weekly Gazette of Lower Hesse* in April of 1833 and starting on 31 January in 1835 respectively. Both brochures gave practical information on cost of passage, food for the journey,

necessary and allowable baggage, the ports, and opportunities for immigrants.

The "Well-intentioned Advice" from New York especially warned poor families, the elderly, the feeble, and the idle against emigration. It was addressed to farmers of means, craftsmen with capital, and sturdy single young men and women. Here the craftsmen learn that there were no guilds in America and that competition was therefore fierce. Without going into details of the extremely complex German guild structure, the "Well-intentioned Advice" explains to potential emigrants that the American buyers expect simple products and that trained craftsmen should change their production methods and depart from their quality standards. The same applied to social conduct, as the guild had provided not only economic protection but also prestige. Farmers could also expect to make adjustments. They were advised to work for an American farmer in order to become familiar with the different methods of farming. Both groups should move immediately into the interior. It was suggested that Germans settle in Pennsylvania or Ohio for the purpose of language integration. The large number of German settlers there would be of great assistance in mastering initial difficulties. Those without means, young men and women, might find work in the port cities. German servant girls were welcome. Young men were easily hired as farm hands or road workers.[28]

The "Well-intentioned Advice" from Maryland was clearly influenced in its structure by its predecessor. It recommended against poorly conceived emigration and offered some new information. It told of the unreliability of publications in Germany about America, the ill-fortune of organizations formed for the purpose of common settlement, and the advantage of the English-speaking Irish over German competitors for jobs, especially among the educated. It also mentioned the painful experiences for the German upper classes who discovered that social structure was based on money and not class standing, and the almost hopeless difficulties for older persons (over 45) attempting to adjust to the new conditions.

This "Well-intentioned Advice" declined to examine the outlook for craftsmen because commercial possibilities varied so greatly based on local conditions. It addressed farmers but not foresters since there was no organized forestry in the USA and no need for forestry specialists. It recommended settling in areas where oats

and wheat were grown. There the German peasants could use their skills profitably, while in warmer climates they would need to adjust to completely new methods. The Society of Maryland recommended Ohio as a destination for settlers, but also mentioned Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Arkansas. The only significant information on geographic locations was found in the description of a route little known to the Hessians, from New Orleans up the Mississippi, and the effect of the climate on the time of travel. If New Orleans were the destination, the trip should start before May or after October and a trip to the East Coast ports should be made in spring.[29] The brochure also explains the procedures for naturalization as a citizen of the USA without recommending that it be done. This seems to indicate that local people of rank among the German-Americans did not think that immigrants of the first generation would want to play a role in American public life or politics.

Excerpts from the *Annual Report of the New York Society* appeared in the *Lower Hessian Weekly Gazette* only in 1846, 1848, 1850 and 1853. The publication ends after Faber's resignation as a consul. In these excerpts, one finds regularly repeated warnings against ill-considered emigration, especially in 1847, when the New York Society found itself overwhelmed by the masses of destitute new arrivals. Farmers were the most important target group of this advice. In Kurhesse, as elsewhere, the wave of emigration in the middle of the nineteenth century was mistaken for a wave of settlement.

In 1848 farmers were presented several criteria for selecting a destination: 1) Choose a state with a climate and customs as similar as possible to those in the homeland; 2) Choose a state without slavery, that is, a region in which no labor is marked by the stigma of unworthiness for one's social status: the immigrants could expect the most humiliating work; and 3) Avoid a state on the frontier because of the Indian threat.[30]

The destinations themselves changed. In 1846 the wealthy were advised to purchase property in Western New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the less wealthy in Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, but in 1850 everyone was advised to go to Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. In 1853 warnings were given against purchasing land from Europe. Only seeing an area with one's own eyes could provide reliable information about climate and soil quality. Special attention

was given to the problem of founding purely German colonies or settlements in the excerpts from the *Jahresbericht* (*Annual report*) of 1846. Starting with 1844 the government in Kassel knew that such projects were being planned outside and inside Hesse-Kassel. It seems this government agreed with the view of the New York German Society that whatever the size of the German emigration, it could not keep pace with the growth rate of the American population. There was no alternative to full integration into the English-speaking environment for German immigrants. Kassel was not at all willing to lose more of its population for any purpose, even one of nationalism.[31]

The second target group for advice from the New York German Society, craftsmen and tradesmen, learned little of value from the *Annual reports* as reprinted in the *Lower Hessian Weekly Gazette*. In 1846 Pennsylvania was recommended for weavers, and New Jersey, Virginia, and Maryland for miners. Hessian servant girls, tailors, and shoemakers learned in 1850 that they could find work in New York, while masons, bakers, and other craftsmen were advised to move inland immediately. Cabinetmakers and carpenters could only be hired in port cities if they had their own tools. In 1853 *all* craftsmen were advised to move to the interior; the job market in the port cities was saturated because of the wave of immigration in previous years. These are again only listings of simple names and facts; no deeper insights into America's economic structure are offered.[32]

The problem group, consisting of the educated of the upper classes, was addressed in particular in 1850. The USA had proved to be ill-suited for political asylum. The language barrier made it difficult for artists, merchants, or scholars who left Germany for the USA after the 1848 revolution to find suitable jobs. These immigrants regretted the decision to leave their homeland and their rejection of a European country for asylum. This information must have been to the taste of Hesse-Kassel's government since it subdued the enthusiasm of the democrats and is no doubt one reason for printing this text from the Annual Report of the German Society in New York in the *weekly gazette*. The USA was not the land of freedom, but instead, as the Americans said, "the land of disappointed hopes."[33]

If this was the extent of Hessian knowledge of the USA, the courage of the emigrants is all the more astounding, even if born of desperation. Let us therefore return to our initial question.

Since Hesse-Kassel had greatly reduced most of the pull factors present in other German states and the press hardly gave incentives for emigration to America through refiltered reports of already sparse information on the USA, the great importance that must be attributed to private letters becomes apparent. These letters must have been the deciding pull factor for Hesse-Kassel. The question now arises as to the extent that this was also true of other German states.

German research projects are examining this question based on correspondence which has been preserved in private German hands.[34] These were letters which had no direct impact, however, since the recipients remained in Germany. The Annual Report of the New York German Society reproduced in the *Weekly Gazette of Lower Hesse* of 10 May 1848 recommends: "Habt ihr Briefe von Angehörigen oder Freunden aus Amerika, worin dieselben euch auffordern, zu ihnen zu kommen, so laßt diese Briefe nicht zu Hause, sondern bringt sie *alle* (Unterstreichung von mir) mit, damit ihr bei eurer Ankunft in Amerika genau den Ort anzugeben wißt, wohin ihr wollt." ("If you have received letters from relatives or friends in America telling you to come, do not leave these letters at home, but bring *all* [my emphasis] of them with you so that when you arrive in America you will be able to name your exact destination."[35] This means that the decisive sources for reconstructing the extent of knowledge of the nineteenth-century Hessian emigrants about America are to be found in the USA, for the image of America presented in the *Weekly Gazette of Lower Hesse* cannot be attributed more than secondary importance as a pull factor.

Translated by Stephen T. Cochrane

Notes

[1]I. Auerbach, "Auswanderung aus Kurhessen 1832-1866, Der große Aufbruch." Studien zur Amerikaauswanderung, *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung* N.F. 17 (1985): 19.

[2]*Kasseler Blätter für Geist und Herz*. Sonnabendblatt oder vaterländische Angelegenheiten, 1833, July 20, 115.

[3]Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, 24. Hessian State Archives, Marburg, f. 73, No 1234, vol. 1. "*Bekanntmachung*. Homberg. In Gemäßheit höherer Verfügung sowie nach Anhörung und Zustimmung des Bezirksrats wird—um den bedenklichen Nachteilen und Gefahren, welche frivole Auswanderungen, unmotiviertes Arbeitssuchen im Auslande und leichtfertige überseeische Reisen in mannigfacher Beziehung im Gefolge haben, tunlichst zu vermeiden—, das Anwerben zu Auswanderungen, zu Arbeiten im Auslande ohne vorgängige Genehmigung der oberen Verwaltungsbehörde (Kurfürstliche Regierung der Provinz Niederhessen), sowie das Verlocken zu Handlungen der genannten Art unter irgendeiner Form bei 5 Talern Strafe, beziehungsweise dreitätigem Gefängnis untersagt." *Polizeiliche Nachrichten*, 1858. No 44, No 46, cf.: 1857, No 29, 32, 33.

[4]*Wochenblatt für die Provinz Niederhessen* 1856, No 11 (1856, Jan. 26), 178. Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, 39.

[5]*Polizeiliche Nachrichten*, 1856, No 17.

[6]I. Auerbach, *Hessische Auswanderer (HESAUS). Index nach Familiennamen*, vol. 2: Auswanderer aus Hessen-Kassel 1840-1850, (Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg-Institut für Archivwissenschaft, No 12,) Marburg 1988 (will be continued).

[7]Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Hessen*, 17 ff, 33, and 40, n. 23.

[8]I. Auerbach, The Repercussions of the American Revolution in Hesse, *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th century*, 1987 (forthcoming).

[9]I. Auerbach / O. Fröhlich, *Hessische Truppen im Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg (HETRINA). Index nach Familiennahmen*, vol. 6: Hanauische Regimenter, (Veröffentlichungen der Archivschule Marburg-Institut für Archivwissenschaft No 10, part 1-2), Marburg 1987.

[10]Leaflet of the Deutsche Gesellschaft in New York, 1847, Jan.: All leaflets and reports can be found in the Hessian State Archives, Marburg, f. 16, Rep. II, Kl. 14, No 4 and f. 9a, No 1373. A. Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860*, (Von Deutschland nach Amerika. Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, G. Moltmann, ed., vol. 2, (Wiesbaden, 1981), 55 ff.

[11]Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, 23. *Die Vorsteher der deutschen Gesellschaft in New York, an ihre Landsleute, welche nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika auszuwandern beabsichtigen*, 1841, Jan. 1, signed: W. Faber, Vice-Präsident, auch kurhessischer Konsul.

[12] Auszug aus dem Jahresbericht der deutschen Gesellschaft in New York für 1849, *Wochenblatt* 1850, No 38 (1850, May 4), 569, cf. *Wochenblatt*, May 8, May 11. Bretting, 72 ff.

[13] Bretting, 57.

[14] See the Society's *Annual Report* (*Jahresbericht*) for 1851, pp. 3 & 5; 1852, p. 1; 1859, p. 2; 1860, p. 3.

[15] Vierter Jahresbericht, p. 3. Cf. sources in Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, p. 43, n. 66.

[16] *Wochenblatt*, 1835, No 9 (1835, Jan. 31), 177-178; No 10 (1835, Febr. 4), 196; No 11 (1835, Febr. 7), 216; No 12 (1835, Febr. 11) 232-234.

[17] *Wohlgemeinter Rat der Vorsteher der Deutschen Gesellschaft in New York an Deutsche, die nach den Vereinigten Staaten von N. Amerika auszuwandern beabsichtigen*, New York 1833; *Die Vorsteher der deutschen Gesellschaft in New York an ihre Landsleute, welche nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika auszuwandern beabsichtigen*, New York, 1841.

[18] *Wochenblatt*, 1834, No 4 (1834, Jan. 11), 55.

[19] Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, 20-21.

[20] See the fourth (1851), fifth (1852), sixth (1853), seventh (1854), twelfth, and thirteenth *Annual Reports* (*Jahresberichten*) of the German Society of New Orleans.

[21] See reports by the Hessian Consul Faber in *Wochenblatt* No 58 (1837, July 22), 1224; see also No 36 (1850, May 4), 568; No 37 (1850, May 8), 590; No 38 (1850, May 11), 604; and No 40 (1847, May 19), 887-88. *Wochenblatt* No 4 (1834, Jan. 11), 55; *Wochenblatt* No 19 (1835, March 7), 375; *Wochenblatt* No 103 (1842, Dec. 24), 1984; and *Wochenblatt* No 39 (1847, May 15), 848-850.

[22] *Jahresbericht* der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York, 1848, Feb. 23, 2; 22 Feb. 1850, 2; 23 Feb. 1848, 2.

[23] *Jahresbericht* der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York, 1848, Feb. 23, p. 1; *Elfter Jahresbericht* der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans, 1858: "Auch in diesem Jahr hat sich die von uns schon früher gemachte Bemerkung bewährt, daß die große Anzahl der Einwanderer einer verhältnismäßig wohlhabenden Klasse angehören" (1); see also Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, p. 30.

[24] See reports from New York in the *Wochenblatt*, Nos. 36, 37, and 38 (May, 1850); see also the German Society of New Orleans *Jahresberichten* Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 12.

[25] *Wochenblatt* No 36 (1850, May 4), 669-671; No 101 (1857, Sept. 3), 1601; cf. No 102 (1857, Sept. 5), 1614.

[26] Dreizehnter Jahresbericht der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans, pp. 1-2.

[27] *Wochenblatt* No 36 (1850, May 4), 570; cf. Nos 37 and 38; *Wochenblatt* No 36 (1850, May 4), 569; "Wohlgemeinter Rat der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Maryland," p. 6.

[28] See *Wochenblatt* No 28 (1833, April 6), 632-635. For the professions of Hessian Emigrants 1840-1850, see *HESAUS* vol. 2, and M. Stürmer, Ed., *Herbst des Alten Handwerks: Meister, Gesellen und Obrigkeit im 18. Jahrhundert* (Serie Piper, vol. 515), München-Zürich, 1986, 16-17, 28, and 277 ff.; see also Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Hessen*, 3-6, 9-12.

[29] *Wochenblatt* No 9 (1835, Jan. 31), 177-78; No 10 (4 Feb. 1835), 196, No 12 (11 Feb. 1835), 233-34.
[30] *Wochenblatt* No 39 (1847, May 15), 849-850; Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, p. 26; *Wochenblatt* No 43 (1846, May 30), 948; No 45 (1846, June 6), 987-988.
[31] *Wochenblatt* 1846, No 43 (1846, May 30), p. 948, No 45 (1846, June 6), pp. 987-988; *Wochenblatt* 1850, No 36 (1850, May 4), p. 558, cf. No 37 (1850, May 8) p. 590, No 38 (1850, May 11), p. 604; *Wochenblatt* 1853, No 59 (1853, May 28) p. 1313; *Wochenblatt* 1846, No 43 (1843, May 30), p. 948, No 45 (1846, June 6), p. 988; Auerbach, *Auswanderung aus Kurhessen*, p. 24; *Wochenblatt* 1846, No 43 (1846, May 30), p. 948, No 45 (1846, June 6), p. 988.
[32] *Wochenblatt* 1846, no 43 (1846, May 30), p. 948, No 45 (1846, June 6), p. 988; *Wochenblatt* 1850, No 36 (1850, May 4), p. 568, cf.: No 37 (1850, May 8), p. 590, No 38 (1850, May 11), p. 604; *Wochenblatt* 1853, No 59 (1853, May 28), p. 1313.
[33] *Wochenblatt* 1850, No 36 (1850, May 4), p. 568, cf.: No 37 (1850, May 8), p. 590, No 38 (1850, May 11), p. 604; *Wochenblatt* 1850, No 36 (1850, May 4), p. 569, cf.: No 37 (1850, May 8), p. 590, No 38 (1850, May 4), p. 604.
[34] There are two collections of private letters at German University Institutes: Institut für Europäische Ethnologie der Universität Marburg, Professor Dr. P. Assion, and Ruhr-Universität, Fak. 4, Bochum, Prof. Dr. W. J. Helbich. See also G. Moltmann, Auswanderungsforschung als interdisziplinäre Aufgabe, *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung* N. F. 17 (1985), p. 16, footnote 11, W. Helbich, Ed., *"Amerika ist ein freies Land. . . ."* Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland, Darmstadt-Neuwied 1985. L. Schelbert, H. Rappolt, *Alles ist ganz anders hier*. Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten, Olten-Freiburg/Br. 1977; P. Assion, *Von Hessen in die Neue Welt, Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte der hessischen Amerikaauswanderung mit Text- und Bilddokumenten*, Frankfurt/Main 1987.
[35] *Wochenblatt* 1848, No 38 (1848, May 10), p. 770, No 40 (1848, May 17), p. 806, No 42 (1848, May 24), p. 845.

Jacob Schnee, First Printer of Lebanon (Pa.)

Marianne Ruch

Derwood, Maryland

Mary Lou Fleming

New Harmony, Indiana

Jacob Schnee—preacher, printer, publisher and utopian community pioneer—was born May 14, 1784 in Lebanon Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and died August 15, 1838 near New Harmony, Indiana. His immigrant grandparents, Johannes and Anna Elizabetha (Jacoby) Schnee, had arrived in 1753 and his native-born father, Johannes Schnee, Jr., had served in the American Revolution. Jacob was educated in the parochial school of Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lebanon until the age of fifteen when he was apprenticed to a master printer.

Jacob Schnee made his mark as a printer-publisher during the first hundred years of German publishing in America. Two of his imprints were displayed in Philadelphia during the Tricentennial of the German-American in 1983,[1] and he is listed in numerous reference books as one of the earliest German printers in America.[2] Seidensticker lists Lebanon, Pennsylvania (the Schnee Print Shop) as sixteenth among the 47 "First Places of German Printing in America in the order of first issues," 1728-1830.[3]

In 1807 Jacob Schnee edited, printed, and published the first newspaper and the first almanac in Lebanon. In the same year he published as his second imprint what was probably the first agricultural book in America. His output from 1807-1813 included numerous religious imprints, textbooks for the parochial schools, and German translations of the journals of the Pennsylvania legislature. In 1810 Schnee translated and printed the first German edition of

the best seller written by Mason Locke Weems, *The Life of George Washington*, for publisher Mathew Carey of Philadelphia.

After three years of study under Pastor George Lochman of the Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, Schnee was licensed as a candidate by the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium at Reading and accepted a call in 1813 as the first regular minister of the Union Church (Lutheran and Reformed), the oldest congregation in Pittsburgh. In 1815 he published the first German imprint in Pittsburgh—an abbreviated *Gesangbuch*—and in 1816 the first Pittsburgh German almanac.

Schnee moved on from Philadelphia in 1817 to found the Harmony Institute, a utopian community located at the site of the Harmony Society's first settlement in Butler County, Pennsylvania.[4] There he established a bank, printed bank notes, and founded Harmonie Seminary for Young Ladies, the first advanced school for women west of the Alleghenies. After little more than a year, Schnee was forced by the deepening economic depression following the War of 1812 to abort his plan for a community, and returned East. From 1820-22 he published a newspaper in Lancaster, Pennsylvania called *Die Stimme des Volks*. From 1822-27 he served as pastor of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church in Middletown, Maryland.

With a following of fifteen German-American families, Schnee migrated to Posey County, Indiana in 1827 where he founded a second utopian community on land two miles east of the Owen community at New Harmony. In March of 1827, Robert Owen dissolved his utopian community,[5] and as a result, Schnee's followers moved to Indianapolis in 1828. Schnee himself opened an apothecary shop in Cincinnati, where many former Owenites had relocated.

In August of 1828 Schnee returned to New Harmony, leased 806 acres from Owen, erected a brick mansion of fourteen rooms for his family of ten children and their families, and developed a plantation. He built a log house next to his home to accommodate area Lutherans as a church and school. He constructed three mills—grist, distillery, and lumber—and with W. E. Stewart of Mt. Vernon as his partner, established a lucrative trade in lumber, flour, pork, and whiskey.

In 1832 Schnee was elected one of the three associate judges of the Posey County Circuit Court; in 1835 he was appointed by the Indiana legislature to a commission to survey and build a state road

from New Harmony to Evansville; and from 1835-38 he served as president of the first Posey County Agricultural Society and fair.

The following study of his Lebanon years is an excerpt from a biography in progress, tentatively titled *Jacob Schnee, His Quest for the Harmonie*.

The Schnee Print Shop opened its doors for business in Lebanon, Pennsylvania in late autumn of 1806. Historians have located this shop across the street from Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, which is situated on the corner of Eighth and Willow Streets. In *Der Libanoner Morgenstern* of April 12, 1809, Schnee gave the following description of his location: "The publisher of this [newspaper] . . . reports to you that he has moved his print shop to another place, still in the same street [Market], namely: in the house of the deceased Johann Huber, lately the residence of Mr. Heinrich Ford, between Mr. Grunwalt's inn (sign of the green tree) and Mr. Gleim's inn (sign of the lamb) where all his friends and acquaintances are invited to call." From that date until the paper was turned over to Jacob Stoever in June, 1810, the masthead declared: "Lebanon, (Penn), printed and edited by Jacob Schnee, in Market Street between the inns of Messrs. Gleim and Grunewalt, where all kinds of German and English book-printing-work will be quickly done."

In keeping with the custom among Pennsylvania Germans of reciting poetry beneath the windows of family and friends at midnight on New Year's Eve, on January 1 of 1807 Jacob Schnee greeted his townsmen with a New Year's poem, printed on the front page of the first issue of Lebanon's first newspaper, *Der Freymüthige Libanoner*.

Though it was Schnee's first effort as a printer-publisher, the four-page paper gives evidence of much forethought as to its form. He had developed his own printer's mark as was customary in Germany. It may be described as a pseudo coat-of-arms: a shield, flanked on either side by an olive branch and a rampant stallion, with the motto "Virtue, Freedom and Independence" along with a popular quotation from Benjamin Franklin on the masthead: "Where freedom dwells there is my fatherland."

The weekly paper ran for thirty years. Schnee published the first hundred issues, then sold the paper to Jacob Stoever in November of 1808. Stoever published three issues in December under a new name,

Der Libanoner Morgenstern, then turned the paper back to Schnee. Schnee retained the new name but continued the old numbering, printing #101-180. In June of 1810 Stoever resumed the editorship.[6] According to Daniel Miller, Stoever published the paper until 1837, then sold it to Samuel Miller, who after a short time suspended its operation.[7]

The weekly sold for a dollar a year, with advertisements—not exceeding a square—inserted three times for a dollar. General book printing and handbills, printed in both English and German, were done "quickly, neatly and cheaply." The first issue carried six advertisements, the number thereafter increasing rapidly. John Karch, the book-binder and bookseller, advertised a list of books in both German and English, also school books, "blank Pargement, printed Paper Deeds, Bonds, Servent and apprentice indentures, etc." Karch, who was also the postmaster, listed letters remaining in the post office. Adam Heilman, the paper miller, offered the "highest prices" for clean rags, as did the Schnee Print Shop, which also bid three cents a pound for linen and wool rags. Johannes Rewald announced he had opened a tobacco spinning mill and had for sale "the best quality, prepared tobacco at cheapest prices." Later issues included advertisements by Dr. Adam Zeller, who would innoculate animals for cowpox, and Heinrich Meyer, who offered a job in his wool factory to one who knew how to operate machinery. Meyer would card ten pounds of wool for the housewife for one pound of *Fett* and a cloth in which to wrap the finished product; would spin eight pounds of wool for a pound of fresh unsalted butter; and included a price list for the felting of wool for hatters. These advertisements give an idea of industry in Lebanon during that early period. Other advertisements concerned items for sale, real estate and personal property, and lost, found and strayed animals.

The advertisements in Schnee's newspaper are one of the few sources of information about the local community. While there was wide coverage of state, national, and foreign news in the press, local news, except for an occasional announcement of death or of intent to marry, was generally absent. From the advertisements, however, we can learn that the new organ at the German Reformed Church in Lebanon was consecrated with great festivity on Nov. 12 and 13, 1809. Preachers from all over the area came to preach during these two days, and musicians from Lititz accompanied the organ

with their various instruments. And what must have been an event of great excitement occurred June 17 and 18, 1808, when a "living elephant" was displayed at the inn of Peter Leinberger.

The Schnee Press addressed itself to the two most popular topics of the day: politics and religion. On the front page of the first issue, the editor announced the policy of the paper: "In order that our readers be informed, we must write about the first session of Congress as well as that of the state legislature."

He tells us in this first issue that the 1806-07 session of the Pennsylvania legislature consisted of twenty-five senators and eighty-four representatives; His Excellency Thomas McKean was governor; Thompson, Secretary of State; Presley Carr Lane, president of the Senate; and Simon Snyder, speaker of the House.

President Thomas Jefferson's message to the United States Congress is reported in full. In it, Congress was informed that finances were in flourishing shape, nearly $15,000,000 in revenue having been collected in the past year, of which $2,700,000 was paid toward the American claims as part of the price of the Louisiana Territory. During the last four and a half years, $23,000,000 of the national debt had been erased, so the President asked for the elimination of the salt tax. This financial report must have pleased the thrifty German-American.

European news informed the German-Americans of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, with details of battles. "The Prussians and Saxons fought like lions and with great passion; Prince Ludwig received a musket ball in the chest. . ." The French reported a different version:

> The armies were so close to each other that the sabres and bayonettes were needed; a French dragoon met Prince Ludwig and called to him, "Your Highness! Give yourself up or you are a dead man." The Prince hacked at him, whereupon the Dragoon completely finished him with the sabre.

A violent robbery-murder was reported in detail with a reward for the capture of the ringleader. He had escaped jail in the disguise of a woman, but could be positively identified by an iron ring around his neck and three toes missing. The accomplice was a young Irish immigrant of good family who had fallen into bad company, and whose full confession just before his execution was printed in the

next edition. He asked God's forgiveness and that his "wretched example be a warning to his fellowmen, that they might avoid evil company."

From the beginning, the reception given to the newspaper must have been good, for on January 21, 1807 Schnee published his thanks:

> To the Subscribers of this Newspaper, the undersigned herewith notes the special goodness of the citizens and farmers of this area, who have eagerly entered their names to the list of subscribers and made payment according to terms (many have even paid in advance for the "entire year"), wherefore he says to them, sincere thanks. Also he feels obliged to praise them, that they have given a helping hand to him, a new beginner.

Jacob Schnee brought out his first imprint, *Der Durch Europa und Amerika Aufmerksame Reisende*, on March 25, 1807. This was followed on May 20 by *Der wohlerfahrne Baum-Gärtner, oder gründliche Anweisung zur Behandling der Obst-Bäume*,[8] and on September 16 by Johann Casper Lavater's *Erweckung zur Busse*.

Schnee has previously been credited with the printing of *Der wohlerfahrne Baum-Gärtner* in 1799. The 1799 date and the name Schnee are penned onto the mutilated title page of the only extant copy, currently in the Abraham H. Cassel Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia. The date was discredited in 1983 when biographical data on Jacob Schnee, published in *Pennsylvania Folklife*, showed Schnee's tombstone with the dates 1784-1838. He would therefore have been only fifteen in 1799, the date assigned his first publication.

The Schnee Print Shop was established in 1806, and in 1807 a steady stream of imprints began to issue from the press. Extensive reading of proposals and advertisements in Schnee's newspapers in Pennsylvania State Library[9] led to an important discovery: an announcement published in *Der Freymüthige Libanoner*, May 20, 1807, proclaims an 1807 publication date for this historically important imprint:

> So eben hat die Presse verlassen, und ist in dieser Druckerey zu haben: *Der Wohlerfahrne Baum-Gärtner, oder gründliche Anweisung zur Behandlung der Obst-Bäume; nebst einer Anleitung zur Bienenzucht.*

The sixteen-page booklet on fruit trees is probably the first German agricultural work printed in America.[10] It served as a supplement for the almanac which for centuries hung in the kitchen

of every farmhouse to be referred to daily for weather and zodiac information and planting and harvesting instructions.

Der wohlerfahrne Baum-Gärtner was written in a simple, easy-to-read style and offered the nurseryman sound advice:

> Der Apfelbaum erfodert [*sic*] einen fetten Grund, welcher mit Feuchtigkeit vermenget ist, im Sand und leimigten Grund aber braucht er viel Begiessens: stehet er im magern oder dürren Erdreich, so wird er wurmstichigte Früchte bringen, die frühzeitig abfallen. Hauptsächlich will der Apfelbaum einen Grund haben, welcher von Sand-Steinen gesäubert ist.
>
> Die Raupen, welche alle Blüthe und die grünen Blätter abnagen, schaden den Bäumen so sehr, dass darnach keine Früchte folgen können. Demnach soll man ihre Eyer, welche gleich einem Netz oder Spinngewebe verborgen liegen, auf das allerfleissigste auf dem Zweigen und Aesten verbrennen, ehe sie sich vermehren.

The book also contained many folk remedies.

> Welche Bäume unfruchtbar seyn, dass sie kein Obst tragen wollen, und allein reichlich an Blättern und Honig wachsen, denen soll man zu der Wurzel räumen im November, und der dicksten Wurzel einen holzernen Keil von grünen Hagendorn einschlagen, das nächstkommende Jahr bringen sie Früchte.

Pruning with a bread knife is repeatedly forbidden:

> Man soll nie mit den Baum umgehen, ohne seine Hände gehörig gesäubert zu haben; eben so wenig mit einem Brodmesser die Bäume ritzen oder schneiden, denn es ist ihnen durchaus schädlich.
>
> Alle Bäume soll man im Oktober setzen, im Vollmond, und nicht tiefer, als sie zuvor gestanden sind; sollte etwas an den Wurzeln zerbrochen seyn, so muss solches zuvor abgeschnitten werden, aber mit keinen Brodmesser, sonst werden die Wurzeln brandigt.
>
> Man soll auch keine junge Ausschlage an der Wurzel, Stamm oder den Aesten lassen, denn sse [*sic*] nehmen den Bäumen ihre Kraft; aber mit keinem Brodmesser, weil sie sonst brandig davon werden.

Celestial signs and the phases of the moon had a special importance for the farmer, for things prospered when planted or harvested under the correct signs or during the proper phase of the moon:

> Wenn man die Bäume setzt und pflanzt in den verbotenen Zeichen, nehmlich im Scorpion und Krebs; darum soll man keinen Baum in solchen verbotenen Zeichen weder setzen, pfropfen, hacken, schneiden, düngen, noch sonst ein Geschäft daran vornehmen, auch kein Obst abnehmen, sonst wächst der Krebs in den Schelfen, nimmt den Bäumen die Kraft, dass sie nicht viel Früchte bringen, und zuletzt, wenn man nicht wehret, ganz und gar verderben.

In 1807 Schnee also published the first almanac of Lebanon, *Neuer Hauswirtschafts Calendar auf das* Jahr 1808.[11] On the title page he advertised, "Siebenmal herausgegeben von Henrich Schweitzer in Philadelphia und jetzt zum erstenmal von J. Schnee in Libanon." Schnee made use of a cover, engraved by J. F. Reiche[12] for Schweitzer's Philadelphia almanacs for the years 1799 through 1805. It is a pastoral scene in which Reiche pictures a farmer in knee-breeches and his small son overlooking fields being ploughed, grazing cattle, and a distant village with two church spires. The father is pointing to a rainbow which shares the cloudy sky with sunrays, symbolizing that happiness lies in the simple rural life. Lebanon's almanac was published annually until 1814, in which year it was printed by Jacob's brother Joseph Schnee, who assisted Jacob in his print shop.

Schnee's almanacs contain reading material that was both educational and entertaining. There is a discussion on astronomy in the 1810 *Calendar*, an article on the accurate and historical "Arrangement of Time" in 1812, and a short history of "the ascent of the German nation from paganism to Christianity" in the 1813 almanac. There are the customary tables of information, the signs of the zodiac, feast days, eclipses, chronology, and standards of weight and value of currency in use, and also short moralistic or humorous anecdotes, many containing social satire.

Schnee's almanacs also contain a sampling of German-American verse, which took as its subjects astrology, astronomy, religion, history, and the foibles of men and women as manifested in marriage and infidelity. The 1813 almanac features a humorous poem on cuckoldry—a merchant captain returning home after several years at sea to be greeted by his loving wife and newborn son. His wife is ready with an explanation: suffering agonizing passion and desire for her absent husband, she had rushed out into the winter night and devoured some snow to cool her ardor; the snow took

form within her, and soon thereafter she gave birth to a son. Seven years pass and once again the merchant must go to sea. He takes the boy with him and sails to America, where the lad is left behind. When he returns home, the merchant explains the child's absence to the distraught mother:

> Das Schiff gerieth in seinem Lauf
> Bis an die Linie hinauf.
> Du weisst, es ist da schrecklich warm;
> Der Knabe lag mir in dem Arm.
> Die Sonne stach uns auf den Kopf:
> Da schmolz geschwind der arme Tropf;
> Und, weil du ihn aus Schnee gemacht,
> Zerfloss er mir, eh ichs gedacht.

In March of 1808 Schnee brought out the first American edition of Martin Moller's *Anweisung zum christlichen Leben und seligen Sterben*. Shaw and Shoemaker mention an 1803 imprint, "a ghost" of the 1808 publication.[13] In his preface to the 1808 imprint, however, Schnee states that this work is being readied for the press 214 years after its initial appearance (1593), which suggests publication date of 1807/08.

The Rev. Dr. P. C. Croll described Schnee's "new improved edition":

> An ancient work, written by Martin Moller of Sprottan in the year 1593, less than half a century after Luther's death . . . it consists of pious meditations on holy living and blessed dying.[14]

We learn from a proposal in *Der Freymüthige Libanoner* dated November 18, 1807, that there were those in Pennsylvania willing to underwrite the cost of 300 copies of Moller's book in order that it might be made available to anyone seeking an enriched spiritual life:

> Unterschiedliche Personen in dieser Gegend haben grossen Nutzen, Erweckung, Trost, Erbauung und Weide für ihr Herz in diesem Buch gefunden, und haben mich deswegen ersucht, solches zu drucken, um ihren Freunden und Andern die Gelegenheit zu verschaffen, dasselbe zu bekommen. Dieses Ersuchen habe ich nicht abschlagen können, indem sie selbst für 300 Exemplare zu unterschreiben versprochen haben.

The book was to contain 150-180 pages printed on good paper; the subscription price was one-half dollar, and he who

collected twelve subscriptions and guaranteed payment would receive a thirteenth book free.

Der Freymüthige Libanoner of 30 December notified subscribers to Moller's book that printing had begun and would be finished shortly after the New Year, and further announced on February 10, 1808, that "*Anweisung zum christlichen Leben und seligen Sterben* is now ready for delivery . . . (Price fifty cents)."

The title page contains a quotation from C. F. Gellert:[15] "Lebe, wie du, wenn du stirbst, Wünschen wirst, gelebt zu haben." Schnee edited the original, modernizing obsolete wording and phraseology, and prefaced the imprint with a brief note to a "Fellow Traveller":

> Hier bekommst du ein Buch, welches schon vor 214 Jahren geschrieben wurde, und dessen Inhalt recht evangelisch ist. Unterschiedliche Personen in dieser Gegend, haben darinnen Erweckung, Trost, Erbauung und Weide für ihr Herz gefunden, und deswegen einen Wunsch geäussert, dasselbe drucken zu lassen, indem sie nur ein altes und zerrissenes Exemplar unter sich hatten. Sie haben mich zu dem Ende ersucht, dasselbe durchzusehen, und die rauhen, in der Vorzeit gewöhnlichen, Ausdrucke zu verändern, auch hier und da, nach meinem Gutdünken, Sätze auszulassen: so dass es zu unserm Jahrhundert mehr passend seyn möchte.—Diese ihre Bitte habe ich nicht abschlagen können, sintemal es meine Pflicht ist, Erbauung zu befördern, wo ich kann.

The book teaches the meaning of a Christian Life and how it can be attained. Temporal life then becomes a foundation for a better, eternal life, and death is anticipated as a blissful event through which one travels to reach life everlasting.

The best-known Schnee imprint is the German edition of a book by Mason Locke Weems, *Das Leben des Georg Waschington, mit sonderbaren Anecdoten, Sowohl ehrenvoll für ihn selbst, als auch Nachahmungswürdig für seine Landsleute . . . Aus dem Englischen übersetzt*. Schnee translated and printed this work for Mathew Carey, a publisher in Philadelphia. The German title was copyrighted by Carey on September 20, 1808.

The proposal to print *Das Leben des Georg Waschington* first appeared in *Der Libanoner Morgenstern* on October 25, 1809. The book was to be printed "without delay" on fine paper and durably bound. The price for the edition containing an illustration of Washington and six other pictures was $1.00; without the six pictures,

the price was 87 1/2 cents. Those who collected eight subscriptions and guaranteed payment would receive the ninth book free.

Schnee included four reviews in his proposals to print. Dr. Nicholas Collin, Pastor of the Swedish Church of Philadelphia, praised Weems for

> showing the private virtues of Washington . . . without these he would not have been the great commander and statesman. . . . (Weems) portrays how virtue acts upon the heart and excites the powers of feeling of the reader . . . especially for young readers.

Dr. Gotthilf Henrich Ernst Mühlenberg, noted botanist, Pastor of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lancaster, and first president of Marshall College, agreed with Dr. Collin and added, "I wish very much that this work might be introduced into the American schools."

Jacob Rusch, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, recommended the book:

> (Washington's) entire conduct was continually guided by this deep mark which the obligations of religion made on him; and that he need not be ashamed or fearful to confess his belief in the teachings of the Gospel; which teachings too often have been rejected by great men and known heroes, either out of pride and despair, or depravity of heart.

Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and himself a writer, praised Weem's literary style as "distinct and beautiful." These reviews, along with a fifth, that of Major General Henry ("Lighthorse Harry") Lee, were included in the Preface to *Das Leben des Georg Waschington.*

According to Seidensticker the Carey-Schnee German edition was published in 1809.[16] Careful examination of the 1808 and 1809 issues of Schnee's newspapers, however, reveals no proposal to print prior to the above. The 7 February 1810 issue of *Der Libanoner Morgenstern* announced that "*Das Leben des Georg Waschington u.s.w.* is now being printed, and will be ready for delivery in two, at most three, months. Until then subscriptions will still be taken."

On March 6, 1810, Schnee notified Carey that printing should be "complete next week" and the sheets would be sent to Philadelphia "by next waggoner." He ordered two hundred copies for himself and asked Carey "to have them bound as quick as possible" as he had

customers waiting.[17] In that same month Carey paid Schnee $25.00 for translating *Das Leben des Georg Waschington* into German.[18]

On April 14 Schnee wrote again that the books "will no doubt be bound by this time," and informed Carey that brother John would pick up two hundred copies. He also asked Carey to send him money due Mr. Boyd for the paper used to print *Das Leben des Georg Waschington*, and informed him that Boyd "will not reduce the price."[19] With this letter he enclosed a bill: "To 48 Reams of Paper @ $4.00—192.00."[20] On April 16 John Schnee signed, for Jacob Schnee, a receipt: received from M. Carey "in full of all Demand his note for one hundred and ninety-two dollars."[21] In the final accounting, written from Pittsburgh, February 15, 1814, to Mathew Carey, Schnee listed $200 for composing and printing 1000 copies, 240 pages each, of the first printing of the German edition of *Das Leben des Georg Waschington*.[22]

On May 23, 1810, *Der Libanoner Morgenstern* announced:

> *Das Leben des Georg Waschington* by the Honorable M. L. Weems can be had now, complete and bound in the printshop of the *Lebanoner Morgenstern*, and the subscribers can claim their copies as soon as it is convenient for them. Those who have not subscribed and who wish to possess this useful and instructive book, please so state quickly because only a few copies are available for sale.

There are seven illustrations in Schnee's German edition: the frontispiece—a portrait of Washington (unsigned, after Stuart); Death of General Montgomery; Defeat of General Braddock; Battle of Lexington; Battle of Bunker Hill and Death of General Warren; Capture of Major Andre; and Surrender of Lord Cornwallis. Schnee used the same plates found in the ninth English edition,[23] printing the German title beneath the English.

The quatrain on the title page reads:

> Ein Leben, wie nützlich seinen Lande geführt!
> Wie Geliebt, da erlebte! wie geehrt im Tode!
> Lispelt! Lispelt seinen Namen, ihr noch ungeborne Kinder!
> Und Schmuckt eure Namen mit ähnlichen Thaten!

This is the official German imprint of the Weems book—translated and printed by Jacob Schnee in Lebanon, and published by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, 1810.

Critics have expressed mixed emotions about the Weems biography. In 1810 an anonymous critic wrote:

> We have questioned whether the book before us may not be termed a novel founded on fact. Second thoughts would induce us to style it rather as an epick poem; for besides its figures, characters, battles, and episodes, it is duly provided with a suitable quantity of preternatural machinery. The exploits and future greatness of Washington are early foretold by a wonderful dream, two pages in length, which happened to his mother while he was a boy.[24]

In 1927 Jerry Wallace, an Episcopal Minister, in his book, *A Parson at Large*, wrote that more copies of Weems' *Life of Washington* have been sold than of any other biography ever written in America. Its appeal has been to the "common people." He places Weems' greatest contribution in the field in which Weems is considered most controversial:

> [Weems] is the author of the best-known hero tale in American history. This is something; and it is more, I think, to have been the author (in the same hero tale) of the only two legends in American history which are portrayed by symbols: The legend of the cherry tree and There goes the golden-headed boy who never told a lie . . . just legends . . . but there isn't an American whose heart doesn't warm at the mention of them and whose eyes do not smile when the story is told. . . . Let any American see the picture of a hatchet and a cluster of cherries, and it speaks to something inside him, without any words . . . as easily understood as the thistle and the shamrock. . . . To me that is better to have mastered such matters to one's credit—"unconsidered trifles"—than to have left a solemn memory in the world.[25]

Among the many settlers pushing forward the frontier and taking up cheap western lands were thousands of Germans from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and from the Fatherland, many of whose cabins may have contained the Schnee translation of *Das Leben des Georg Waschington*.[26]

Schnee printed one final imprint in 1810, Georg Friederich Seiler's *Biblische Religion und Glückseligkeitslehre*, then relinquished his press to Jacob Stoever. It was time to turn his attention to the career for which printing had been the prologue—the ministry.

In July of 1810 Jacob Schnee began the three-year period of study with Dr. George Lochman, pastor of Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, which ended in 1813 at the Sixty-sixth Convention

of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in Reading, Pennsylvania with his ordination as one of seventy-seven Lutheran ministers in the United States.[27] One of the twenty-seven communications handed to the Synod in Reading was a "call to Mr. Jacob Schnee from the congregation at Pittsburgh."[28] His older brother John may have been a member of the congregation by this time, and may have informed the members that Jacob planned to take the examination for the ministry at the Reading meeting. It is also quite likely that Jacob Schnee was already well known among the German-Americans in Pittsburgh through his publications.

Notes

[1]*Der wohlerfahrne Baum-Gärtner, oder gründliche Anweisung zur Behandling der Obst-Bäume* (Lebanon, Pa: Gedruckt bey Jacob Schnee, 1799); and *Der Neue Pittsburger, für die westliche Gegend eingerichtete Calender, Auf das Jahr . . . 1817* (Greensburgh: Gedruckt und zu haben bey J. Schnee und Co., und Cramer, Spear und Eichbaum, Pittsburgh, 1816).

[2]Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830*, 152-186; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, Vol. 1 of *History and Bibliography 1732-1968*: United States 3rd ed. (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 538-541, 565; Ralph W. Shaw & Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography, A Preliminary Checklist* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1983); Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (1947; rpt. Westport: Greenwood Press Publications, 1961), 2: 876; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States* (New York: R. R. Bonker Co, 1936), 2: 90; *Pennsylvania Newspapers . . .*, Prepared by General Library Bureau, Pennsylvania State Library, (Harrisburg, 1976), 33; P. C. Croll, "Lebanon County Imprints and Bibliography," Publications of the Lebanon County Historical Society 4, no. 6 (1909): 156-177; Wm. Henry Egle, *History of Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1882), 148; Alfred L. Shoemaker, "Checklist of German Language Newspapers of Lancaster County," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3, no. 22 (1951): 4.

[3]Oswald Seidensticker, *German Printing in America*, 254.

[4]George Rapp's Harmony Society, a Separatist sect from Württemberg, had built their first town, Harmony on the Connoquenessing River, in Butler County, Pa. in 1803 and sold it to Abraham Ziegler in 1815. In January of 1817 Ziegler sold 500 acres and part of the town to Jacob Schnee and Co. for $64,000 to create a printing establishment and advanced school for girls. The full amount was never paid due to the economic depression.

[5]George Rapp's Harmony Society built their second town, New Harmony on the Wabash River, Posey Co., In., in 1814 and sold the town with 20,000 acres to the Welsh industrialist Robert Owen and his partner William Maclure in 1824, the deed being signed Jan. 3, 1825. The Harmony Society returned to Pennsylvania and built a third town, Economy, which community lasted until 1906.

[6]Clarence S. Brigham, *American Newspapers*, 2: 876.

[7]Miller, "German Newspapers, Lebanon County," 137.

[8]See Seidensticker, "First Places of German Printing arranged in order of the first issue," *German Printing in America*, 254: Lebanon, Pa. (the Schnee Print Shop) is listed as 1799, no. 16 out of 47 first issues listed. This should be changed to 1807, no. 18. See also Mary L. R. Fleming, "Jacob Schnee: Preacher, Publisher, Printer and Utopia Community Pioneer," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 32 (Spring 1983): 128-138.

[9]Translations throughout are by Marianne Ruch.

[10]The importance of this small imprint is pointed up in the catalog edited by Edwin Wolf 2nd and Dr. James Mooney, *Germantown and the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1983): "Despite the obvious importance of agriculture in the 18th century American life, there were before the 1790's few books printed on the subject, apart from the various farmer's almanacs. This work on fruit trees is probably the first German agricultural work printed in America . . ."

[11]Arndt and Olson, *German Language Press*, 541.

[12]Wolf and Mooney, *Germantown and the Germans,* item 20, 93. J. F. Reiche was a prolific wood engraver of German origin active in Philadelphia from 1795 well into the first decade of the 19th century. His specialty was almanac covers.

[13]Shaw & Shoemaker, *American Bibliography* (1803), microprint 3685, 8.

[14]Croll, "Lebanon County Imprints," 168.

[15]Christian Furchtegott Gellert (1715-69), a writer of the German Enlightenment, whose works were second in popularity only to the Bible. Gellert's influence on Schnee is reflected in the fact that he named his first son Gellert.

[16]Seidensticker, *German Printing in America*, 176.

[17]Jacob Schnee, Lebanon, to Mathew Carey, Phila., March 6, 1810. Lea & Febiger Collection, Historical Society of Pa.

[18]Receipt no. 614, Jacob Schnee to M. Carey, Phila., March 30, 1810, $25.00 for translating the *Life of Washington*. Mathew Carey Papers, Folio Volume 36, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

[19]Jacob Schnee, Lebanon, to Mathew Carey, Phila., April 14, 1810. Lea & Febiger Collection, Historical Society of Pa.

[20]Bill to Mathew Carey from Jacob Schnee, Lebanon, April 14, 1810. Mathew Carey Papers, Folio Volume 24, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

[21]Receipt no. 649, M. Carey, Phila., to Jacob Schnee, April 16, 1810. Mathew Carey Papers, Folio Volume 36, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

[22]Jacob Schnee, Pittsburgh, to M. Carey, Feb. 15, 1814, Lea & Febiger Collection, Historical Society of Pa.

[23]Carey-Weems brought out the first edition in 1800, the year after Washington's death in December, 1799. The German edition was printed a decade later.

[24]Paul Leicester Ford, left unfinished. His sister, Emily Ellsworth Ford Steel, ed., *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways. A Bibliography*. 3 vols. (New York: 1929), 1: 56.

[25]Jerry Wallace, *A Parson at Large* (Springfield, Ill.: 1927), 14.

[26]Beatrice B. Garvan & Charles F. Hummel, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of Their Arts, 1683-1850* (Philadelphia Museum of Art 1982), plate 92, 129.

[27]*Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States . . . 1748 to 1821* (Philadelphia: 1898), 460.

[28]*Ibid*, 455.

Anticlericalism, Atheism, and Socialism in German St. Louis, 1850-1853: Heinrich Börnstein and Franz Schmidt

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The first half of the nineteenth century was an age dominated by rationalism as the prevailing mode of thought; yet this rationalism was subject to waves and fashions as surely as the more traditional confessions. At the turn of the nineteenth century, governments in German Central Europe supported a latitudinarianism in formal religion which was underpinned by the philosophical disciplines supported in the universities, inclined to deism or pantheism à la Fichte or Hegel. Religious faith of some sort was regarded as useful for society, but the older confessional traditions were seen as concerned with matters which no longer made much sense. German princes heeded their own bureaucracies when they compelled the Protestant denominations under their control to join together in *Unionskirchen* (the 1817 Prussian Union was typical). The prevailing feeling among the educated élite was that public religion could be epitomized as an undogmatic philosophy of life, and that whatever did not fit this notion of an urbane Christianity was the offshoot of an ancient conspiracy of dogmatic churchmen, probably starting as early as the Apostle Paul. This sort of dogmatically undogmatic and antidenominational Christianity was particularly strong among German merchants and professionals who settled in the Midwest prior to 1848, since the "Latin Farmers" who had set the ethnic regional tone in the 1830s had been of this persuasion. The classic figure in the first generation among Missouri Germans was Friedrich Münch, a former Lutheran pastor from Hesse who settled in Warren County and became the preeminent newspaper columnist until his death in the early 1880s. "Father Münch" was

also the nemesis of confessional Lutherans in outstate Missouri because he used his enormous prestige to encourage congregations not to demand strong dogmatic commitments from either members or pastors.[1] The prevailing style of the newspapers of St. Louis, and of the vocal elements of German society prior to 1848, was sceptical of dogmatic religion, even anticlerical, but not specifically antireligious. When the Old Lutherans arrived in St. Louis from Saxony in 1839 under the leadership of Bishop Martin Stephan, they were greeted with hoots from the *Anzeiger des Westens*.[2] The most radical enemy of organized religion in St. Louis, Heinrich Koch, then wrote for the *Anzeiger*, but later he also edited several anticlerical or communist papers of his own, with time off to fight in the Mexican War.[3]

The failed 1848 revolution led to an emigration of a much sterner variety of rationalist, one who was nurtured on the severe critique of religion itself by such men as Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Arnold Ruge, or Karl Marx—a critique which had surfaced in the course of the 1840s. Their specific theological teacher was the revolutionary Anglo-American Thomas Paine, understood in a rather dogmatic Teutonic manner.[4] There were still many revolutionaries, true republicans, whose vision of religious liberty remained rather traditional, if only because they viewed established religion as a moral framework necessary to public life: a draft constitution for a German republic in the papers of Friedrich Hecker of Mannheim and Summerfield, Illinois, appeared to concede religious liberty only within the four walls of a private person's lodgings, while beyond those confines the "Christian moral teaching" (*christliche Tugendlehre*), free from all sect-making (*Sektenmacherei*), was the state religion.[5]

The turn to the new variety of freethinker in St. Louis was marked by the arrival of two Forty-Eighters, Franz Schmidt and Heinrich Börnstein. Schmidt's brief and stormy life has yet to find its biographer, but at least its outlines are clear. Born in Nieder-Saltzbrunn in Upper Silesia on 28 November 1818, Schmidt had come to radical politics out of a religious commitment, and there are signs that he remained essentially a religious thinker to the end. The Silesian weavers' revolt of 1844 had caused many to ask critical questions about the existing political and economic system. By 1846 at the latest, Schmidt was corresponding with the leaders of the Communist League (Bund der Kommunisten), whose secretary

Wilhelm Wolff was a fellow Silesian and an old friend.[6] Schmidt was a preacher (Prediger) in the rationalist German-Catholic movement (Deutsch Katholische Bewegung) which had emerged as a major force in Silesia in 1844-45 under the leadership of Johannes Ronge.[7]

After years of residence in the Adelnau district in the Prussian-ruled Grand Duchy of Posen, Schmidt took a position with the then-burgeoning German-Catholic movement in Löwenberg in lower Silesia. Schmidt served as the principal link between the small but active band of Silesian socialists and the leadership of the League of Communists in Brussels.[8] Following the popular upheavals in March of 1848, Schmidt was elected to the National Assembly, which commenced its sessions at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt in May of 1848. There Schmidt (known as "Schmidt of Löwenberg") became one of the most vocal of the radicals gathered in the so-called Donnersberg party, and he obtained notoriety on 25 July by denouncing the Prussian government's cynical misrepresentation of the actual ethnic composition of Posen, which he knew by personal experience to be Polish rather than German.[9] In October he was threatened with bodily harm by a conservative during a session of the Assembly.[10] When the Left at Frankfurt split over the offer of the imperial crown to the King of Prussia, Schmidt sided with the more radical members who favored a constitution without a hereditary monarch.[11] Schmidt corresponded directly with Karl Marx in March of 1849, and in 1850 his friend Wolff described Schmidt to Marx as "to be regarded as one of us" even though he "had not been initiated" into the inner group of the League. Wolff urged that Schmidt be given missions to perform when he arrived in America, whither he had fled after his Swiss exile proved untenable.[12]

Schmidt continued to write to Wolff and other members of the League leadership throughout his residence in St. Louis, using the code name "Theseus," and these letters are to be found today in the manuscript collections of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism in East Berlin as well as in the Central Party Archives in Moscow. Franz Schmidt and his wife established a school for girls shortly after his arrival in St. Louis, and Schmidt even invited Wolff to come to St. Louis to join the faculty of the school at Fifth and Elm. This school was a success in attracting the élite of St. Louis German free thinker society, including girls from the Anheuser and Taussig families.[13] On the basis of published material presently available, it

appears that neither Marx nor Engels had more than a vague notion of what Schmidt was up to after his arrival in St. Louis. As Engels wrote from Manchester to Joseph Weydemeyer in New York at the end of February, 1852: "Schmidt of Löwenberg is waging crusades against the Jesuits in the area of St. Louis, and in this enterprise he has allied himself with that former swindler and agent of [French Interior Minister Charles-Marie-Tanneguy] Duchâtel, Mr. Börnstein of Paris memory. What else he is doing I have not a clue."[14]

In contrast to Schmidt, Heinrich Börnstein (Henry Boernstein) is a man whose life was both long and well recorded.[15] Born in Hamburg in 1805, he moved at an early age with his parents to his father's native Galizia, where he was raised. After a stint in the Austrian army, Börnstein made a career in the theater, where he also demonstrated considerable talents as a theatrical manager and a writer of popular plays. Arriving in Paris in the first flush of its "Bohemian" period in the 1840s, he specialized in the translation of French plays for performance in German-speaking Europe, though he also began a secondary career as a journalist. In 1844 he launched a cultural weekly called *Vorwärts! Pariser Signale aus Kunst, Wissenschaft, Theater, Musik und geselligem Leben*. Rather early in the career of this weekly, however, it took a sudden lurch to the left by taking on a raft of noted German emigrant radicals. These included the poet Heinrich Heine along with virtually all the contributors to the short-lived *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*,[16] including Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Arnold Ruge, and Karl Ludwig Bernays.[17] In early 1845 the journal was suppressed, and although Börnstein would later help to organize the Paris German Legion to aid the 1848 revolution, he would always be regarded by Marx and his following as hopelessly petty-bourgeois in his politics. He departed France after the election of Louis Napoléon as President of France to join Bernays, who had already gone to St. Louis.

Far from arriving as a bedraggled refugee, Börnstein brought to the United States more than two score of chests filled with every imaginable necessity for a civilized life. After an interlude in Highland, Illinois, as a pharmacist and allopathic physician, Börnstein was called to St. Louis to assume the editorship of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in 1850, and he soon earned a reputation as an anti-Catholic agitator even while declaring himself to be a public educator interested only in elevating the cultural level of

the immigrant community.[18] To boost circulation of the *Anzeiger* and to promote an alliance between American nativists and German radicals, he soon published a sensational anti-Jesuit serial novel entitled *The Mysteries of St. Louis, Or, The Jesuits on the Prairie des Noyers, A Western Tale.*[19] It was dedicated to former United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who would be Börnstein's candidate for the House of Representatives in 1852. This estimable pot-boiler went through many editions in German and was translated into French, English and Czech.[20] Looking back on his life from the perspective of old age, Börnstein believed that the novel had laid the foundation for the career in Missouri which was to flourish until he broke with the Fremont radicals in 1862, a political decision which led to the collapse of his St. Louis businesses in 1863 while he was away in Bremen serving as United States Consul. He was never to return to America, and died in 1892.

While Börnstein was still publishing the first parts of *The Mysteries*, Franz Schmidt launched his own weekly, the *Freie Blätter*, on 18 March 1851 with Börnstein's active support. The *Freie Blätter* is our major source of information about the activities of Freethinker St. Louis in the early 1850s, and for a while it was considered one of the leading freethinker publications in German North America.[21] It would continue to be published until March, 1853, shortly before its editor died of tuberculosis in Matanzas, Cuba, where he had gone in a futile effort to regain his health.[22]

Schmidt prefaced the first issue of the weekly, which was subtitled "Ein Organ für religiöse Erklärung," with a statement of first principles, a "creed" which included belief in an eternal nature operating without external agencies, a possible multiplicity of inhabited planets, and the dignity of mankind as the apex of nature. Schmidt saw history as progressive struggle against oppression, with an ultimate goal of order, harmony, and freedom. Christianity, which had been in its time an advance over earlier belief-systems, was now outmoded.[23] This "creed" was to involve him in conflict with pious St. Louis for the rest of his tenure as a freethinker editor. The immediate success of the first issues of the weekly is reflected in the fact that the press run was raised from 1000 to 1500 copies, and that a condensed reprint of the first eight numbers was soon issued.

Within ten days after the first publication of the *Freie Blätter*, a new organization was launched which came to be intimately tied

to it, for good or ill. In his memoirs, Börnstein recalled that he had received a note from a young German freethinker named Brossart who said that he was being held prisoner in the Jesuit house (the Saint Stanislaus Seminary—today a museum of the Jesuit Order) in Florissant.[24] Börnstein claims that he dissuaded a German mass meeting from launching a raid on the Jesuits by proposing the creation of a "Verein freier Männer" on 28 March 1851.[25] *Freimännervereine* were then sprouting up all over America, and they set themselves apart from the more strictly ethical-cultural "Free Congregations" by their openness to socialism as well as to anticlericalism. The earliest such association had been established in Cincinnati in 1850, under the leadership of the journalist Friedrich Hassaurek, and Cincinnati was the undisputed center of the Freie Männer for a period of about five years.[26]

The Verein was the principal freethinker organization in the city of St. Louis, but already in late 1850 a neighborhood organization, the Freie Gemeinde von Nord-St. Louis und Neu-Bremen, had been formed to support a cultural program and a school. Unlike the Verein, the Freie Gemeinde would survive the immigration period as a center of neighborhood life and flourish into the twentieth century.[27]

Both Börnstein and Schmidt were actively involved in the Verein freier Männer from the very start, but it would be a mistake to regard the Verein as entirely their creature. At the first meeting of the Verein, members endorsed the *Freie Blätter* and the *Anzeiger*, but only in November of 1851 did the *Freie Blätter* declare on its masthead that it was "Herausgegeben von dem Verein freier Männer zu St. Louis, Mo., unter Mitwirkung und Redaktion von Franz Schmidt."[28] In July of 1851, the Verein Freier Männer reached the point of establishing two schools, one in the southern part of town and another in the north.[29] The schools would be the chief focus of the Verein's attentions through most of its stormy existence.

The *Freie Blätter's* role as the official organ of the Verein seems to have functioned quietly if not smoothly from July, 1851, until late April, 1852, when internal dissent over the financial management of the Verein became public.[30] In July of 1852, Börnstein and Schmidt joined together in rebuking the Verein for not providing monetary support for the *Freie Blätter*.[31] In September of 1852, the formal tie between the *Freie Blätter* and the Verein was broken, and Heinrich

Börnstein and Franz Schmidt declared in a joint announcement that the Verein had never lived up to its commitment to provide support for the paper, and that both of them had lost over $1000 on the journal. This public divorce from the Verein went hand in hand with the organization's progressive disintegration. In October, Schmidt wrote a virtual post mortem which underlined what he felt to have been its mortal failing: that members wished to use it to agitate for political goals, both the program of "Nationalreform" and the "Nationalanleihe" launched by Gottfried Kinkel: "The Association resists both efforts in order to preserve the purity of its original purpose, which is education and intellectual enlightenment."

Schmidt and Börnstein thus rejected efforts to turn the Verein into a politically partisan group, despite the fact that Börnstein was deeply involved at the time in getting sympathetic English-speaking office-holders elected. In July of 1852, for example, a request that the Verein participate in the commemorative procession for Henry Clay was grudgingly accepted lest it offend the (English-speaking) public, but it was agreed that such activities were not a good idea.[32] In the aftermath of the crisis of late 1852, a handful of troublesome members was expelled, but the group appeared to lose much of its tone. The two schools established in 1851-52 were still operating at the end of 1852, but soon the buildings would be redeveloped as public schools as the Verein itself dissolved. The final examination-notice for the freethinker schools on 19 December 1852 mentioned prizes to both boys and girls, including awards to two children of the wealthy Mallinckrodt family (James F. and Cäcilie).[33] By the mid-1850s the dramatic society established by Börnstein had found a new home at the Freie Gemeinde of North St. Louis.

The pages of the *Freie Blätter* were filled with polemics against established religion because the paper undertook to publish those items which were too hot even for the scandal-monger Börnstein to set in type. Although editorially distinct, the *Freie Blätter* was produced from the same building as the *Anzeiger*, and the close ties between the two journals were never a secret. The *Anzeiger* concentrated on garden-variety anticlericalism, but the *Freie Blätter* engaged in anti-Christian polemics and the lampooning of Christian scriptures. The paper even denounced the Thanksgiving Day proclamation of the Governor of Missouri, on one occasion.[34] The reports of meetings of the Verein Freier Männer emphasize

the often savage polemic tone of these gatherings.[35] The result was that the paper engaged in head-to-head confrontations with clerical writers in the Catholic *Sonntagsblatt* or the *Tages-Chronik*. Yet the most violent wars were with the Lutheran leader C. F. W. Walther, editor of *Der Lutheraner*, and his followers.[36] In one such dispute, a seminarian from Concordia Seminary published an anonymous pamphlet denouncing the "Fleshly Religion of the Free Men."[37] When all other arguments failed, Schmidt denigrated the author as a mere Stephanite, the dregs of the German emigration, and a scandal to all decent moral men. Such men should be happy they had not been stoned for their conduct after their arrival with Bishop Martin Stephan. He went on to characterize the Old Lutherans as a moral cesspool which stank even worse than the St. Louis levee on a hot day.[38] The censoriousness of the freethinkers moved even Friedrich Münch to protest his misgivings about the stridently anti-Christian tone of much of the paper. Schmidt replied to this firmly, though with more courtesy than he could usually muster when dealing with a critic.[39] He was, after all, speaking to one who was already a noted member of the rationalist community.

In mid-1851 formal coöperation between the Freie Männer and the English-speaking group called the "Social Reformers" had been ushered in by exchanges of greetings,[40] but by the autumn this connection had grown to include the publication in the *Freie Blätter* of a series of tracts in English, followed by German translations, which advocated reforms to reverse the overconcentration of wealth in the hands of the few.[41] These articles meticulously examined the structure and volatility of property-holding in St. Louis and demanded an expansion of workers' cooperatives, restriction of the use of professional lawyers in public courts, and discussed the need for sexual equality, education for women, and the liberalization of marriage laws. In letters to the journal, other members of the Social Reform Association attacked the readiness of the clergy to defend capital and reject self-help by labor. The publication of articles by the Social Reformers went together with the experiment of using the Verein schools as centers of tricultural progressive education, bringing together Anglo-American, German, and French-speaking creole children.[42] The Verein declared itself ready to provide the columns of its paper to the Social Reformers until they could afford to publish their own journal.[43]

This episode of progressive political agitation was relatively short-lived, however: it appears that Schmidt published these daring and revealing articles only at the request of the Verein. When Börnstein and Schmidt gave up the pretense of acting as the organ of the Verein, such essays as those of the Social Reformers ceased at once. Schmidt appeared to prefer to discuss the wonders of modern science, questions of pedagogy (notably the ideas of Jacetot and Fröbel), and the stupidities of revealed religion. Later in 1852, however, he began to pay increasing attention to the writings of Karl Heinzen, including the protocols of speeches made by Heinzen during visits to St. Louis. Most pointedly, Schmidt included criticism by Heinzen of the writings of Far West (Friedrich Münch). Later articles tended to deal more exclusively with the peculiar doctrinal concerns of rationalism, including articles by Karl Lüdeking, the protégé of Schmidt who would become the guiding spirit of the Freie Gemeinde of North St. Louis into the 1880s.

In the *Freie Blätter* of 15 January 1853, an article reprinted from the *Anzeiger des Westens* authored by Börnstein bade Franz Schmidt hale and farewell on the eve of his departure for Matanzas, Cuba, to spend the winter.[44] Thereafter until its last number on 5 March 1853 (vol. 2, no. 51), the paper simply reprinted materials from other freethinker journals. The whole enterprise ground to a halt three weeks before the death of its absentee editor in Cuba, who succumbed to tuberculosis at the end of March, 1853.

The virtually complete file of the *Freie Blätter* preserved at the St. Louis Public Library constitutes a valuable resource for understanding the tensions and contradictions of progressive emigrant circles in the American Midwest in the period before the rise of the militant nativism of the mid-1850s. Although this group engaged in virtually pro forma polemics with Catholics and Lutherans, they appear to have become the best of enemies. The true trouble was to be found within the circle of the freethinkers, since there were those who saw "enlightenment" in strictly cultural and spiritual terms, while others were seeking the instruments for changing the very bases of human existence. With the exception of their brief opening to the Social Reform Association, Börnstein and Schmidt appear to have been uncomfortable with any serious questioning of the existing social and economic system. Although the last half of the run of the *Freie Blätter* returned again and again

to Karl Heinzen, it is as yet Heinzen in his "cultural-enlightenment" phase. Whatever radical convictions either Börnstein or Schmidt might once have had faded in the face of concrete American conditions. Börnstein would end his American career as an apologist for the Old Whig Lincoln and his gradualist policies. His colleague Schmidt had similarly narrowed his erstwhile social radicalism to the cultural rationalism of a village atheist within a year or so of his arrival. The once-promising Silesian preacher had shrunk to the stature of a mere fellow-traveler.[45]

Notes

[1] Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis: Eden, 1939); see index for specific references to Friedrich Münch.
[2] Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839-1841* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1953), 244-324.
[3] Steven Rowan, with James Neal Primm, *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 32.
[4] Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Princeton, rpt. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1970), 122-5.
[5] See the draft constitution for a German Free State, circa 1848/9, in the newly-acquired Friedrich Hecker papers, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis. This constitution will soon be published in a German journal. In article 1(e) of the constitution, each citizen is declared to have "innerhalb der vier Wänden seiner Wohnung zu welcher Religion es ihm beliebt, sich zu bekennen, und davon Gebräuche zu machen." In article 2(e), however, "er hat sich den Grundsätzen der zur Staatsreligion erklärten christlichen Tugendlehre in seinen öffentlichen Leben zu fügen, und sich aller Proselytenmacherey für den in seiner vier Wänden freyen Glauben, so wie aller Sektenmacherey zu enthalten."
[6] Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff: Kampfgefährte und Freund von Marx und Engels 1846-1864* (Berlin/East: Dietz, 1979), 22.
[7] Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed., 3: 279; 9: 38. See Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff*, 24: "Eine besondere Rolle spielte in fast allen Briefen [from Franz Schmidt to Wolff-SR] die deutschkatholische Bewegung, eine spezifisch religiöse Form der bürgerliche Opposition gegen die bestehenden Verhältnisse im Vormärz, die in Schlesien ihren Ausgang genommen und hier auch größere Verbreitung gefunden hatte." On Ronge, see Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Die großen Männer des Exils," *Marx-Engels Werke* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1982), 8: 233-333, esp. 306-7.
[8] Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff*, 226.
[9] Günther Hildebrandt, *Die Paulskirche in der Revolution 1848/49* (Berlin/East: Verlag der Nation, 1986), 120-21. Hildebrandt erroneously gives Schmidt's age as only 23 in 1848, but he had been born in 1818. For Friedrich Engels' comment on Schmidt's speech, see *Marx-Engels Werke*, 5: 350.
[10] Hildebrandt, *Die Paulskirche*, 169.
[11] Hildebrandt, *Die Paulskirche*, 256.
[12] Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff*, 226, 252.
[13] See *Freie Blätter*, 13 December 1851, p.317, program of Öffentliche Schulprüfung for 23 December 1851, including mention of students Lilly Anheuser, the heiress of the Anheuser Brewery and later wife of Adolphus Busch, and Minna Taussig.
[14] Engels to Weydemeyer, 27 February 1852, in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkommittee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschland, (Berlin/East: Dietz, 1978), 28: 500. On Duchâtel, see Marx, Engels, *Werke*, (Berlin/East: Dietz, 1982), 8: 691.

[15]Besides the published materials cited below, there are about fifty letters, poems and manuscripts listed concerning Börnstein in the Archiv der Stadt Wien. Photocopies of the index cards were provided to me by my colleague Dr. Harald Steindl of the Max-Planck-Institut für europäische Rechtsgeschichte in Frankfurt and of the University of Passau. See also Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War*, (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 1: 221.

[16]For a complete reprint of this volume, see Arnold Ruge, Karl Marx, *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher*, ed. Joachim Höppner (Frankfurt a.M.: Röderberg, 1982); see also the condescending remarks in Heinrich Börnstein, *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt: Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden* (1881), ed. Patricia A. Herminghouse, ed., series Crosscurrents: Writings of German Political Emigrés in Nineteenth-Century America, section 1, vol. 2 (New York/Berne/Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986), 1: 349: "Ich erwähne dies nur, weil heutzutage von dieser literarischen Merkwürdigkeit wahrscheinlich kein einziges Exemplar aufzutreiben sein dürfte, und Vieles darin doch der Erhaltung würdig gewesen wäre. . ."

[17]Walter Schmidt, ed., *Vorwärts*, Unveränderter Neudruck (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1975). See the detailed preface by Schmidt.

[18]Erich P. Hofacker, *German Literature as Reflected in the German-Language Press of St. Louis Prior to 1898*, Washington University Studies of Language and Literature, n.s. 16 (St. Louis, 1946) on the publication program of Börnstein. See Steven Rowan, "The Cultural Program of Heinrich Börnstein in St. Louis, 1850-1861," *In Their Own Words* 3, no. 2 (1986): 187-206. The latter journal is published in Venice, Italy.

[19]*Anzeiger des Westens*, 16 February 1851, containing the first installment of *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis*. See Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade*, 391-2.

[20]Patricia Herminghouse, "Radicalism and the 'Great Cause': The German-American Serial Novel in the Ante-Bellum Era," *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1: 306-20, largely on *The Mysteries of St. Louis*. For other references to Börnstein, see especially Rowan and Primm, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 37-41, and Alfred Vagts, "Heinrich Börnstein, Ex- and Repatriate," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 12 (1955/1956): 105-27. Another source is George Hellmuth Kellner, *"The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis 1830-1860,"* Ph.D. Diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1973. As if to prove that bigotry knows no country, one of the central scenes of *The Mysteries*, in which the superiors of the Jesuits plot the overthrow of the American republic at midnight on Bloody Island in the Mississippi River, might have been the ultimate model for the infamous anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The model for the *Protocols* which Norman Cohn has pointed out (the chapter "In the Jewish Cemetery of Prague" of the novel *Biarritz*, published in Berlin in 1868 by Hermann Gödsche, whose pen-name was Sir John Retcliffe) would not be published until almost two decades later. See Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the*

Protocols of the Elders of Zion (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967), 32-40. It is altogether probable that Gödsche was familiar with Börnstein's work.

[21] Robert Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade*, 290, n.100.

[22] The bound copy of the *Freie Blätter*, held by the St. Louis Public Library containing issues from 18 March 1851-5 March 1853, has as frontispiece an engraved portrait of Schmidt with his dates: born Nieder Salzbrunn, 28 November 1818, died Matanzas, Cuba, 29 March 1853.

[23] *Freie Blätter*, 18 March 1851; also Neuer Abdruck von Nr.1 bis 8.

[24] The *Anzeiger des Westens*, of 15 March 1851 contains the first clear mention of Brossart; by 21 March, Börnstein began to suspect that Brossart was a fraud, perhaps planted by his political enemies.

[25] Heinrich Börnstein, *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre*, 2: 106-8; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 30 March 1851.

[26] William Frederic Kamman, *Socialism in German American Literature* (Philadelphia, 1917), 53.

[27] See E. D. Kargau, *St. Louis in früheren Jahren: Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschtum* (St. Louis, 1893), 286-93 for the entire narrative on the Freie Gemeinde, which confused the origins of the Freie Gemeinde with that of the Verein freier Männer. Kargau believed that Franz Schmidt had been a founder of the Freie Gemeinde, and even that the Freie Gemeinde had grown out of the Verein freier Männer. For the records of the Freie Gemeinde, see western Historical Manuscripts Collection, University of Missouri-St. Louis, collection 37. See also the caustic comment on the establishment of the freie Gemeinde by *Der Lutheraner*, 7 January 1851, 75-77.

[28] *Freie Blätter*, 8 November 1851.

[29] *Freie Blätter*, 9 July 1851, advertisement on last page. The school for the South was at the corner of Seventh and Hickory, that for the North at Sixteenth and Wash.

[30] *Freie Blätter*, 24 April 1852.

[31] *Freie Blätter*, 7 August 1852, report of extraordinary meeting of 30 July.

[32] *Freie Blätter*, 17 July 1852, 147.

[33] *Freie Blätter*, 25 December 1852.

[34] *Freie Blätter*, 15 November 1851, 287-8.

[35] *Freie Blätter*, 10 May 1851, 71.

[36] For references to Franz Schmidt and the *Freie Blätter*, see *Der Lutheraner*, 1 April 1851, 124-5; 15 April 1851, 134-5; 29 April 1851, 139-40; 10 June 1851, 163-5; 5 August 1851, 193-8 (lead article by C. F. W. Walther), same issue, p.200; 19 August 1851, 205-6; 25 November 1851, 55; finally a brief gloat over the internal troubles of the Freie Männer recorded in the *Freie Blätter*, 28 September 1852, 23.

[37] A copy of this pamphlet could not be located at the Concordia Historical Society, Clayton, Missouri.

[38] *Freie Blätter*, 26 July 1851, 158-9.

[39] *Freie Blätter*, 18 October 1851, 253, letter by F. M. (=Friedrich Münch): "Ich bin kein Knecht des Christenthums, aber die von dessen Stifter verkündeten Wahrheiten sind mir doch nicht weniger werthvoll, als ob sie Bako [Sir Francis Bacon] oder Shakespeare verkündigt hätten." Reply ibid., 25 October 1851, 257, article signed by Franz Schmidt.

[40]*Freie Blätter*, 19 July 1851, 151, notice of meeting of the Verein of 18 July, mentioning the visit of Dr. T. Moore, City Councilman of the Second Ward and the naming of committees to explore possible future coöperation.
[41]*Freie Blätter*, 4 October 1851, 233-4 and subsequent issues.
[42]Freie Blätter, 17 July 1852, 147, "Bericht über die letzte Prüfung der St. Louis confessionell unabhängigen Hochschule für Knaben und Jünglinge."
[43]*Freie Blätter*, 11 October, 247.
[44]*Freie Blätter*, 15 January 1853, 343.
[45]It is possible that access to the letters of Schmidt to his progressive colleagues in Germany (preserved in East Berlin and Moscow) will disprove this negative evaluation, or that further research will demonstrate that his actions were the result of his domination by Börnstein.

Dr. G. Blöde vs. Far West: The Philosophical Debate in Christian Essellen's Atlantis

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Without a doubt, one of the most ambitious undertakings in the history of the German-American press was Christian Essellen's *Atlantis*, which appeared in the United States from late in 1852, the year Essellen arrived here as a refugee from the Revolution of 1848, until late in 1858, six months before his death. Nevertheless, there has been no major attempt to describe and assess his contribution, and that which is available is rendered useless by misinformation and gross errors.

Depending on which source one reads, Essellen is either a German-American poet and writer, or an editor whose own works were "numerous poems filled generally with a materialistic pessimism."[1] At least two biographers proclaim with regret that a long dramatic poem by Essellen remained unfinished after the appearance of a few fragments, whereas in fact this work is readily available in its entirety.[2] All attempts to list his literary contributions remain dismally incomplete.[3] In addition, the facts of Essellen's life are clouded in mystery: two different cities in Westphalia are given as his place of birth, and the circumstances of his early death at the age of 36 remain unclear.[4]

Likewise, when scholars have tried to characterize the journal *Atlantis*, they have come up with widely differing conclusions. Heinrich Armin Rattermann, whose 40-page study of 75 years ago remains perhaps the most complete work on Essellen, calls it an unusual work in which the intellectual disputes of Germans in America were carried on, while Rudolf A. Koss refers to it as the first and only scientific journal in the German language in America.[5] Carl Wittke, on the other hand, cites *Atlantis* primarily

to explain the stand Essellen took on American political issues, but he dismisses it as basically lacking in impact with the statement: "Essellen's *Atlantis*, despite much attention to controversial issues, was essentially a journal of essays on politics, science, philosophy, art, and literature, and belongs in the category of belles lettres."[6] This remark would have surprised not only Essellen but also many of his readers. Essellen thought of himself as a citizen of the New World, which for him meant a new era as well as a new continent, and he defined his role as a journalist in America in terms of educating the public. When he compares his lead type with bullets shot from the barricades during the Revolution, he is certainly envisioning himself as a controversial figure rather than a belletristic journalist.[7]

From the beginning *Atlantis* was a journal whose purpose was to study and reflect the impact of modern developments in the natural sciences on the philosophical thinking of the mid-nineteenth century. In 1853 Essellen wrote "die Naturwissenschaften fangen [an], die Grundlage des gesammten Lebens und Denkens der Völker zu werden"; and he described this as an "Umschwung in der Wissenschaft und im Volksbewußtsein" which is "von der größten kulturhistorischen Bedeutung und leitet eine neue Aera der Bildung und Civilisation ein."[8] Similarly, in 1857 he credits materialism and the modern sciences with having cleared the path for "[eine] Verbindung der ethischen mit den natürlichen Wissenschaften," continuing ". . . von einem Aufbau der philosophischen Wissenschaften auf dem naturwissenschaftlichen Unterbau [erwarten wir] eine neue wissenschaftliche Periode, von welcher die geistige Befreiung des Menschengeschlechts abhängt."[9] Articles in *Atlantis* in seemingly unrelated fields—religion, the psychology of man and animals, and capital punishment, among others—were all interconnected through basic questions concerning free will, immortality, mechanism, materialism, idealism, and so on, all of which had been re-opened to debate by the success of the newly emerging natural sciences.

The philosophical position presented in *Atlantis* did not remain constant throughout its six years of publication. During the first year, when the journal appeared as a weekly, Essellen did most of the writing himself, and the point of view is largely his own. He is enthusiastic about advances in the natural sciences and forthright with the observation that their victory will mean the defeat of religion.

He argues that a civilized, educated people feels itself subordinate to the laws of nature, whereas a barbarian, uneducated people feels itself controlled by supernatural powers. Despite his mechanistic view of nature and his basically materialist philosophy, however, he rejects a one-sided materialism which denies all spirit and all ideality, insisting that spirit is in nature and nature is spirit.[10] His notions of spirit and nature are clearly derived from Hegel and Schelling, and his historical and anthropological approach to religion from Ludwig Feuerbach, with whose work he had become acquainted in Heidelberg.[11]

In an attempt to keep his readers in touch with scientific research and advancements in Europe, Essellen reports on the work of Justus Liebig, Alexander von Humboldt, and others. For example, he describes the materialist and spiritualist theories of the vital or animating principle, concluding that there is a formal principle independent of the material, which does not cease to exist with the individual.[12] This notion, a kind of immortality of the species ("Idee der Gattung"), offers an alternative to religious views of immortality.

Another topic, one which became central to the philosophical debate in *Atlantis* in later years, concerns the question of man's free will and his responsibility for his actions. This issue is of more than theoretical interest because it is connected to questions concerning criminal responsibility and capital punishment, which are also being discussed in *Atlantis*. This problem is and remains a difficult one for Essellen. He is not ready to affirm theological principles or deny a mechanistic and basically materialist view of the universe, but still he can not bring himself to deny categorically the existence of man's free will.[13]

Essellen continues to discuss the meaning of the natural sciences for philosophy in articles on various subjects. He reports on death from the viewpoint of modern science. He suggests the natural sciences themselves as a philosophy for America, to give its citizens insight into the harmony of the cosmos and to replace what he calls "empty religious forms." He presents a discussion of physiognomy and phrenology, sciences which in his opinion will find new acceptance as we learn to consider man not as a dualistic being but as a totality.[14]

Thus in its first year of publication *Atlantis* presents Essellen's own materialist or modified-materialist point of view. In the next

two years, however, the philosophical discussion begins to exhibit a different character. Essellen continues to emphasize the importance of the debate over materialism and idealism and the controversy concerning whether man's actions are dictated by the necessity of nature or controlled by man's free will, calling it the main question of the time.[15] However, from some points of view he seems to take a more compromising attitude, insisting that there is idealism within materialism and that one must promote idealism to guard against a baser morality which seems to be rampant in modern society.[16] He writes that the differences between the materialist and the idealist are removed in art, and that the two types must be united in other realms as well.[17] Soon thereafter, deploring the moral level of the time, despite the fact that reason has come into its own rights, he presents an inquiry into Christianity's doctrine of eternal life undertaken to determine its moral value, an unusual line of thinking for a materialist.[18]

Despite Essellen's attempt to bridge the gap and effect some harmony between materialism and idealism, however, the discussion of these issues in *Atlantis* begins to take on a more controversial tone. Much of this is due to Karl Heinzen, the editor of *Der Pionier*. Because he was another materialist one would expect to find in him a friend rather than an opponent of the point of view of *Atlantis*. But anything other than a very strictly materialist position incites his wrath. When *Atlantis* published a critique of materialism written by Bernhard Stallo, *Der Pionier* answered with an abrasive attack on his position. Essellen retorted with words which are very different in tone from his earlier philosophical essays: "was den positiven Inhalr [sic] der Polemik anbetrifft, [kann] das Publikum selbst [urtheilen] aus schon erschienenen und noch erscheinenden Artikeln über diesen Gegenstand und die Art und Weise, wie die Atlantis denselben behandelt. . . . Das Feld des persönlichen Skandals gehört anerkanntermaßen dem Herrn Heinzen und nicht dem Redakteur der Atlantis. . . ."[19]

This only encourages Heinzen. A few months later, *Der Pionier* begins to publish articles in response to the position taken by *Atlantis*, which are signed "Dissector." The complaint is advanced that one cannot connect the natural sciences and philosophy any more than the natural sciences and theology, whereas articles in *Atlantis* have suggested that advances into new undiscovered areas

of the natural sciences would throw light on the question of the human spirit.[20] Essellen's answer, which appeared in his next issue, admits that there is a difference between his position and that of materialists and confesses that *Atlantis* is somewhat at a disadvantage: "wir gestehen von vornherein, daß wir uns in dieser Beziehung als die Schwächeren fühlen, denn wir verhehlen nicht, daß wir in Bezug auf diese wichtige Frage vom menschlichen Geiste, der menschlichen Freiheit und Zurechnungsfähigkeit u.s.w. noch nicht mit uns selbst fertig sind. . . ."[21] A year later, *Der Pionier* criticizes "die . . . 'philosophischen' Phrasenmachereien" of the "Spiritualisten der 'Atlantis'" and confronts them with eight direct questions to see how serious *Atlantis* is with the theme of materialism.[22]

Dissector and Heinzen, who are perhaps identical, continue to plague Essellen. Beginning in the fall of 1857, nearly every issue of *Der Pionier* contains a contribution to the materialist-idealist debate, first a long serialized article entitled "Ein Wort zur Verständigung über Materialismus und Idealismus" by Adolf Douai, who was soon to become Heinzen's editorial associate, then a long series of unsigned contributions. These articles, which often mentioned *Atlantis*, ran for six full months.

There was in addition to Karl Heinzen and *Der Pionier* another explanation for the increasingly controversial tone in the debate over materialism. Ostensibly to prevent *Atlantis* from becoming one-sided in its point of view and to promote debate among members of the German-American community, Essellen began to seek contributors and collaborators for his journal.[23] In all likelihood he was also looking for help for another reason: he simply could no longer do as much of the writing as he had done previously. Between the fall of 1853 and January of 1857, fighting financial problems, Essellen had worked on the staff of other newspapers—the *Milwaukee Banner*, the *Iowa Zeitung*, the *Wächter am Erie*, and the *American Liberal*; during this time *Atlantis* had been published in Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Cleveland. It had, in a sense, become Essellen's very expensive hobby.

Among the guest writers who took up the debate between materialism and idealism were "Dr. G. Blöde" and "Far West." Gustav Blöde (not a pen name) and Essellen had much in common: both were Forty-Eighters who had studied law and medicine and later

took up careers in journalism. Blöde was in New York when Essellen arrived from Europe in 1852, and it seems probable that they met there. A materialist like Essellen, Blöde had already contributed to earlier volumes of *Atlantis*: in 1853 an article entitled "Die Frauenrechtsfrage: Vom Standpunkte der Physiologie," then in 1855 an article on crime and legal punishment.[24] Far West, whose real name was Friedrich Münch, was one of the political refugees who settled in the United States in the 1830s. He lived in Missouri as a farmer, philosopher, poet, politician, and journalist, and he wrote voluminously under the name Far West for a number of German-language newspapers. His first contribution to *Atlantis* was an article on the Follenius brothers, which appeared in June of 1856.[25] Having expressed his willingness to write for Essellen's journal, he began to do so with a vengeance: the fifth volume of the New Series, dated July to December, 1856, featured 13 articles and several literary contributions by Far West.

Far West was an idealist. His point of view was different from that which *Atlantis* had previously taken, and it ran into opposition from many quarters. Far West attacked Blöde, who proceeded to defend his position. Karl Heinzen redirected his polemics against *Atlantis* in general and focused more specifically on Far West. And Essellen, though basically a materialist, found himself siding with Far West against his journal's critics. Perhaps "debate" is not a strong enough term: the *battle* was on.

According to his own statement, one of Far West's earliest intentions upon becoming a regular contributor to *Atlantis*, was to write a rebuttal to the article on crime and punishment which Blöde had published more than a year earlier.[26] Blöde had denied the existence of free will, indicating that everyone acts in accordance with the dictates of his own nature. He had advocated, in view of this, the humane treatment of criminals and a rethinking of theories of legal punishment. While applauding Blöde's humanity, Far West contradicts his basic assumption—that man is governed by laws of necessity rather than his own free will—and concludes that punishment can have an educating effect on the criminal, an idea he feels certain Blöde would deny. On top of this, Far West accuses Blöde of inconsistency and self-contradiction. After all, a materialist should, according to him, deny the existence of spirit and ideas, both of which had figured in Blöde's discussion.[27]

Blöde's answer, entitled "Materialismus vers. Far West," appears in the very next issue.[28] Ironically, on the opposite page one finds a poem by Far West which describes the dualistic nature of man ("Ein wechselnd Spiel der Schwäche und der Kraft/Ist all sein Sehnen, Wünschen, all sein Wagen. . . .") Blöde's main point is that Far West does not understand materialism, that materialism does not deny the existence or importance of the spirit, and that he had merely presented man as a being who lacks *absolute* freedom, as a being who is thus only *relatively* free. Far West responds with another article, "Far West an Dr. Blöde, betreffend Materialismus," complaining that Blöde has now changed his point of view and is vacillating, an attack which he also leveled against Essellen.[29]

The discussion between Dr. Blöde and Far West continued. If the public was expecting to hear more from them, it was not disappointed. However, in later issues neither side was seriously attempting to convince the other any longer; essentially they agreed to disagree. Blöde states: "Beim Disputiren behalten bekanntlich beide Theile Recht,—bei sich selber nämlich."[30] Far West agrees, stressing the importance of urging their readers "daß sie die Sache von mehr als einer Seite betrachten und ihrem eigenen Denken einige Anstrengung zumuthen."[31] Even Essellen, answering more articles in *Der Pionier* which had accused *Atlantis* of "Konfusion," concludes that the theories of materialism and idealism contain irreconcilable differences.[32] Essellen is ready to tolerate these differences—almost. Replying to Heinzen's article "Der Zweck der Welt und Far West," he states: "Wer möchte noch in der Welt leben, wenn alle Menschen über alle Gegenstände dieselben Ansichten hätten, und nun erst recht Heinzen'sche Ansichten?"[33] And his last retort to *Der Pionier* seems more a shrug than an act of self-vindication. He remarks with sarcasm that *Atlantis* has been put on the index of forbidden books by the church of materialism.[34]

The ninth and last volume of *Atlantis*, which remained only four issues long, was published in New York. As Essellen explains to his readers, the nature and intention of the journal would be slightly different in its new location. No longer a "western" publication, *Atlantis* on the Atlantic would look both east and west, transmitting the old culture to the new world, especially German culture to the American situation. It would show what influence European culture had had on the origin and development of the

American continent, and how necessary the continued influence of German culture on America would be. Its program would include the dissemination of German culture and literature and the discussion of scientific questions which have to do with the development of a modern weltanschauung, especially the natural sciences, popular medicine, ethical sciences, and German and American school systems. Although it would not discuss specific political issues, it would discuss general historical questions which lie behind them. The new *Atlantis* was to bring discussions, not debates. Those who figured prominently in the materialism-idealism debate now played new roles: Blöde does not appear; Far West contributes a book review; Douai's article on human language appears in the same issue in which his *German Grammar* is reviewed; and a volume of Heinzen's poetry is—shall we say—torn apart: "Im Allgemeinen ist der Versuch, deutscher Poesie in Amerika Bahn zu brechen, anzuerkennen; möge dieser Versuch glücklichere Nachfolger finden!"[35]

To what extent was Essellen successful? If he was hoping for wide-spread influence of his journal in America, he was not. It is estimated that *Atlantis* never had more than a thousand readers. Far West himself stated that the German-language press in America was too erudite for the average German-American to understand, and *Atlantis* was probably the most intellectually elite of all the publications.[36] As for Americans, they remained totally untouched and unenlightened on Essellen's basic question of the philosophical implications of the modern natural sciences. Though they appreciated the progress of science, profiting from its results and championing the great scientists, they stopped short of integrating science into a new world view. This difficulty is apparent in the centennial celebrations of Alexander von Humboldt's birth in 1869, where questons of his religion led to embarrassment, and the accusation of "materialist" seemed enough to tarnish his memory. To some extent, this country has yet to reconcile religion and philosophy with modern science.

And yet the attempt we find here in the German-American press to bring the materialist-idealist debate to the attention of the public was commendable and represents a unique contribution in the field of journalism in America. Though its impact was not a major one, Essellen's *Atlantis* was a worthy undertaking, from the intellectually

stimulating early volumes, through the years of Blöde and Far West, and down to the last issues, where Essellen delineates a noble mission for his journal: to bring the German cultural heritage to the new homeland.

Notes

[1] A. E. Zucker, "Biographical Dictionary of the Forty-Eighters," in *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. A. E. Zucker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 292.

[2] See "Christian Esselen," *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon*, ed. Alexander J. Schem (New York: German Cyclopedia Publishing Co., 1871) 4: 145; and H. A. Rattermann, "Christian Esselen," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1912): 440. This is his "Babylon," which appears in volumes 1 and 2 of the old series of *Atlantis* in 1853.

[3] See Robert E. Ward, *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus, 1985), 75-76. Ward is to be commended for having turned up works which many earlier bibliographers had overlooked, but he fails to realize that most of the unsigned literary contributions in *Atlantis* are undoubtedly Essellen's own. For this reason, he did not include "Babylon" and ignored numerous poems which earlier writers mentioned.

[4] Ward is among those who list Hamm as Essellen's place of birth (75); Rattermann and others name Paderborn and state that he moved at an early age to Hamm (405-06). Rattermann gives as his cause of death "eine Gehirnkrankheit (Gehirnerweichung)" which he caught "infolge der aufreibenden geistigen Zustände" (440).

[5] Rattermann 442; Rudolf H. Koss, *Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Herold, 1871), 426.

[6] Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 278.

[7] "Bei der Aufstellung meiner kleinen Druckerei," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 14; "Der Beruf eines Zeitungsschreibers in Amerika," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 29.

[8] "Die Grundlagen der modernen Bildung," *Atlantis* o.s. 2 (1853): 213.

[9] "Zur Verständigung in Betreff des Materialismus," *Atlantis* n.s. 6 (1857): 376.

[10] "Die Vollendung der Naturwissenschaften," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 25; "Der Mensch als Naturkörper," *Atlantis* o.s. 2 (1853): 222; "Ueber das Verhältniß des Geistigen zum Körperlichen," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 158; "Die Grundlagen der modernen Bildung," *Atlantis* o.s. 2 (1853): 214.

[11] The historical approach to religion is represented also by Hermann Kiefer, who is remembered today as a pioneering physician in Detroit. In his series of articles which appeared under the title "Herrscht Zweckmäßigkeit oder Nothwendigkeit in der Natur?" for example, he states: "Die ReligionsAnsichten durchlaufen ebenso nothwendig ihre Entwicklungsstufe, wie die politischen Verhältnisse. . . ."

[12] "Leben und Lebenskraft," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 79, 86-87.

[13] "Die Grenzen der menschlichen Freiheit," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 117-118. Although Essellen had promised a continuation of this article, it was not forthcoming until more than two years later, *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 41-55. He excuses the delay at least in part with the statement "Das Ausbleiben . . . lag . . . auch wohl daran, daß wir selbst über das Thema nicht recht im Klaren waren, und wir verhehlen nur auch heute nicht, daß noch viele dunkle Punkte in dieser Lehre sind. . . ." (n.s. 3 [1855]: 41).

[14]"Der Tod, in religiöser, physiologischer und ästhetischer Beziehung," *Atlantis* o.s. 2 (1853): 310-11, 336; "Welchen Werth haben die Naturwissenschaften überhaupt und speziell für Amerika," Ibid. 286-87; "Physiognomische und phrenologische Bemerkungen," Ibid. 309-10, 328, 334-35.
[15]"Die Hauptfrage," *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 321.
[16]"Idealismus," *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 166-170.
[17]"Der Widerspruch," *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 401-13.
[18]"Der moralische Werth des Unsterblichkeits-Glaubens," *Atlantis* n.s. 4 (1856): 10-19.
[19]J. B. Stallo, "Der Materialismus," *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 369-386; "Bemerkungen," *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 479-80.
[20]"Materialismus und Idealismus," *Der Pionier*, 4 May 1856; "Das Verhältniß des Materialismus zur Schulphilosophie," *Der Pionier*, 25 May 1856.
[21]"Polemisches," *Atlantis* n.s. 4 (1856): 364.
[22]"Vermischtes: Konfusion und Materialismus," *Der Pionier*, 31 May 1857.
[23]See *Atlantis* n.s. 3 (1855): 319; ibid. 399; *Atlantis* n.s. 4 (1856): 400.
[24]"Die Frauenrechtsfrage: Vom Standpunkte der Physiologie," *Atlantis* o.s. 1 (1853): 189-91; "Verbrechen und Strafe: Ein Blick in die Zukunft des Strafrechts," *Atlantis* n.s. 2 (1855): 366-81, 405-13.
[25]"Die drei Brüder Follenius," *Atlantis* n.s. 4 (1856): 406-15.
[26]"Far West an Dr. G. Blöde, betreffend Materialismus," *Atlantis* n.s. 5 (1856): 409. Blöde's article, "Verbrechen und Strafe: Ein Blick in die Zukunft des Strafrechts," had appeared in *Atlantis* n.s. 2 (1855): 366-381, 405-413.
[27]"Strafe, Naturnothwendigkeit und Selbstbewußtsein," *Atlantis* n.s. 5 (1856): 179-84.
[28]*Atlantis* n.s. 5 (1856): 299-305.
[29]*Atlantis* n.s. 5 (1856): 409-14.
[30]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 6 (1857): 98.
[31]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 6 (1857): 348.
[32]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 6 (1857): 375. He is answering articles in *Der Pionier*, such as "Konfusion und Materialismus," 31 May 1857, and "Der Zweck der Welt und Far West," 26 July 1857.
[33]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 7 (1857): 159.
[34]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 7 (1857): 309-10.
[35]Essellen, *Atlantis* n.s. 9 (1858): 72.
[36]*Westbote*, 15 July 1853; 17 February 1854; 20 February 1859.

Religious Music/Secular Music: The Press of the German-American Church and Aesthetic Mediation

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Assailing the current fashion of singing among Midwestern German immigrants in the mid-nineteenth century, Pastor Gustav Schaller of St. Louis wrote the following lines in the 10 May 1853 edition of *Der Lutheraner*, the official journal of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran church:

> This dragging method of singing, which is unnatural, is the new mode of singing which has come into fashion through laziness and degeneration, a product of that disastrous time when spiritual death settled over the provinces of Germany. . . . The rhythmic form of the melody, on the other hand, is the old, original, and true form and is alone the most natural way to sing.[1]

Such a statement may sound today like no more than the complaints of a disgruntled music critic or, perhaps, a pastor trying to kick a little life into the dirge-like drone of his congregation's singing, but in its original venue, these words carried the weight of a canonical, incontrovertible polemic espousing the "most natural way to sing."[2] This call for the "most natural way to sing" quickly spurred widespread reform in the religious music of the Missouri Synod and laid the foundations for the self-assured claims of the synod in the twentieth century that its styles and repertories of religious music, being revivals of the old German hymnody, are the true path to proper worship. And the influence of Pastor Schaller's journalistic homily hardly stops here. One of the most characteristic traits of folk-song styles among German-Americans in the rural Midwest is the transformation of songs with relatively even and uncomplicated rhythmic patterns into variants that are highly rhythmicized, as seen

in the following transcription of a field recording from the 1970s reproduced in Figure 1.

One cannot, of course, know to what extent there are any direct links between Pastor Schaller's call for revival and folk-music styles a century later. But German-Americans in some parts of the Midwest were singing folk songs with exactly the same transformation that Schaller had so vehemently demanded for German hymnody. There can be no doubt that the rhythmic changes in Lutheran hymnody and secular folk song followed peculiarly parallel courses, which, in turn, distinguish both religious and secular forms of German music in the Midwest as American by virtue of stylistic features that are absent in similar repertories elsewhere in the world. There can also be no doubt that the German-American communities that embraced the transformation to rhythmic religious music shared a common repertory of German folk songs, which often appeared together in the same songbooks with the new hymns and chorales, patriotic songs and *Heimatlieder*, sentimental parlor ditties and charming *Unterhaltungslieder*. Indeed, one of the most characteristic features of the German-American religious press is its long history of juxtaposing and conflating musical repertories, their social functions in the community, and their symbolic meanings as markers of German-American ethnicity.

A History of Mediation

In this article I concern myself with the evidence of religious and secular repertories appearing together in print, with what this evidence can tell us about the role of music in reflecting, even shaping the patterns of ethnicity in German-American history and culture, and with assessing the particular role played by the press in mediating this confluence of German religious and secular music. The German-American press is an essential element in this search, not only because it served as the agent for this conflation of traditions but because it reached such a salient cross section of German-American society. The press symbolized the German-American cultural values attached to literacy, and the religious press was no less concerned with these values than the secular. Since the earliest German settlements in Colonial America widespread literacy has

been one of the most important distinctions of German-Americans both as a group and as an amalgam of smaller sects and religious denominations, hence rendering their myriad presses and publishing houses chosen forms of cultural mediation. The press was both a buttress against the outside world and a vehicle for internecine squabbles.

Similar assertions can be made about the German-American press and music. Indeed, one might even venture to say that publication of music and texts related to music went even further to distinguish German-American ethnicity and the cultural canons developed by that group to distinguish itself. Musical literacy, too, was widespread among German-Americans, remarkably so when one makes comparisons with other immigrant and ethnic groups. German folk songs surely circulated widely in oral tradition, but they also appeared in countless songbooks and anthologies published for broadly-based, popular audiences.[2] One of the most characteristic distinctions of German-speaking religious communities, such as the Ephrata Cloister in colonial Pennsylvania or the Harmonists in nineteenth-century Pennsylvania and Indiana, was the cultivation of sophisticated musical traditions, possible only because of the accessibility of capable music publishers.[4] At Ephrata it was not uncommon for community members to compose hymns in addition to excelling as performers.[5]

The need for publication of music was therefore immense. The earliest reports from German settlements inevitably report musical activity—literate musical activity. The testimonies of immigrant musicians corroborate fictional accounts, such as that in J. G. Schnabel's 1731 novel, *Insel Felsenburg*, in which the shipment of 400 songbooks to the utopian island outnumbered that of any other kind of literature, even the combined shipment of 300 German and English Bibles.[6] For German-American printers hymnbooks and religious music comprised a significant portion of their normal output, if not their primary activity during certain years.[7] German music publishing in colonial America was intricately bound at early stages to several publication genres and actually preceded the publishing of some forms of literature, for example Bibles, with which literary historians have traditionally anchored the German-language press to American history.

Extensive German-American musical literacy further meant that music took its place amidst a wide range of diverse cultural activities. German-American religious and community leaders were often polymaths and frequently turned to music when in need of a forceful means for expressing philosophical ideals or forging social attitudes. Johannes Kelpius and Conrad Beissel, leaders of the "Hermits of the Ridge" and Ephrata sects in colonial Pennsylvania respectively, both wrote hymns which were among the earliest musical works published in America.[8] Hymns may in fact have constituted the most powerful and cogent forms of literary expression for colonial Germans,[9] and throughout the history of German-American ethnic communities hymnbooks have served as a forum for doctrinal debate, if not social conflict, among divergent German-American religious groups.

To understand the complex role played by music in the German-American press one must interpret the concept "press" in its broadest sense. Thus, I employ "press" when referring to journalistic and periodical publications as well as to broadsides and books of music. I afford "press" this broad range of meanings not simply to permit me greater license to generalize, but to reflect the interaction and interdependence that persistently characterized the different published genres of German-American music. This interdependence resulted, furthermore, from a reality that is abundantly evident throughout the history of the German-American press, namely that a press or publishing firm rarely restricted itself to a single genre, but rather claimed a catalog that addressed the cultural needs of as broad a spectrum of the German-American public as possible. In other words, the processes of mediation with which I am concerned here were intrinsic to the fundamental structure—the historical mission, if you will—of the German-American press.

The Multi-Faceted Missions of the Religious Press

Characteristic of the religious press was an ability to diversify and consolidate the music of German-Americans. On the one hand, each denomination or sect depended on its own press or a press capable of responding to a sectarian commission for publishing a particular hymnody, anthology of religious or semi-religious songs

for the home, and whatever music might serve the social needs of its members. On the other hand, the German-American sectarian church regularly encompassed a diverse cross section of the immigrant or ethnic community. This is not to say that each church included immigrants from every German province or all areas of German-speaking Central Europe. But there generally were members with distinctly different backgrounds, and this required linguistic, doctrinal, musical, and other responses within the church structure. More often than not, the press was one of the most powerful and pervasive agents for such responses. Not only did the church press distinguish a body of religious and cultural material that potentially unified a body of followers, but it had at its disposal the means to disseminate such material, thereby actively encouraging a process of cultural consolidation.

The musical publications of the religious press inevitably bore witness to this process of consolidation. Rather than printing the often idiosyncratic hymns found in a regional synod in Germany, Lutheran hymnals in the United States contained what might be described as a pan-German-American hymnody, something for everyone, so to speak, yet something that possessed a shared meaning for everyone. Similarly, the more secular *Gesangbücher* published by the religious press also relied on a common canon of folk songs and seasonal sacred songs for the home. Publications of the religious press also responded to changes within church memberships, whether the gradual increase in English-speaking followers or the changing social conditions attending westward expansion and the concomitant need for more efficient distribution networks. Virtually every hymnal or songbook from any period reveals evidence of attempts to accommodate transformations within an extremely complex ethnic community. Repertories expand as both new German and English songs enter them. New concepts of spreading musical literacy inform the pedagogical tracts or the didactic sections that often stand at the beginning of a songbook. Frequently, these publications evidence fluid boundaries between Germans and coreligionists in other ethnic communities. Figure 2, for example, contains two hymns from a German hymnal, probably Methodist, though surely used by members of a Protestant denomination with English origins. What is most interesting about this hymnal, the *Pennsylvanische Sammlung von Kirchen-Musik* (see Figure 3), is that it relies on

the use of "singing-schools" and "shaped notes," both innovations of English Protestant denominations for the learning of hymns in frontier communities.

The musical publications of the religious press were not limited to one or a single type of German-American denomination. Pietistic sects with only a few thousand members, large Lutheran synods, the German-American Catholic orders, and German movements within American Judaism, all marked the religious and social particularism they espoused with a variety of musical publications.[10] Language, of course, necessitated such publications, but so too did German-American attitudes toward music and its symbolic cultural meaning. For German-Americans it was natural that diverse musical styles and repertories should be brought together and juxtaposed. Folk music, classical music, and large-scale liturgical works all belonged to the religious-ethnic community and benefited from the performing forces available within the community. Indeed, it was the presence of all these forms of music-making and all the related genres of publication that came to define the musical life of the ethnic-religious community. Whether singing from folk-song anthologies in the home or hymnals in the church, whether performing chorales from scores for the "church band" or oratorios from arrangements for the community chorus, there was one common element in the muscial life of the ethnic-religious community: the German-American religious press and its commitment to the publication of music.

The Genres of German-American Religious/Secular Music Publishing

Both secular and religious presses sought to broaden their public. Just as both were engaged in different types of cultural proselytizing, both could justify the diversity of their publications on financial grounds. It was probably this combination of a need to carry a message with the need to make money that suggested the efficacy of publishing distinct genres, yet assuring that they overlapped in some ways. It is not uncommon to find the publication of a new music book preceded by a periodical essay testifying to the absolute necessity of the new book and its songs. The different genres of music publishing were, nevertheless, distinct enough that it is possible

to observe quite different functions within the German-American community. Diverse publication genres undergirded the German-American assurance, both real and putative, that its society was distinct because of the sheer wealth of music that it embodied. That wealth of music, moreover, was inclusive rather than exclusive, and nothing could serve inclusivity better than the breadth and diversity of German-American music publishing.

Even those genres that are most clearly devoted specifically to music witness diversity. The *songbook* and *anthology* have both religious and secular versions, but, more important, songbooks rarely adhere to the purity of either one extreme or the other. The earliest form of songbook published in North America was the hymnbook. The first German-American hymnbooks were amalgamations, with repertories borrowed from several—usually radical or suppressed—German books, a few American books, and the contributions of a diverse lot of American hymnodists, good and bad, professional and amateur. Hymns addressed far more than purely religious concerns, often transforming the occurrences of everyday life into complex metaphors and messages for a community with a shared value system and language. Each new edition contained new songs, gradually decreasing any resemblance to a possible European model. By the mid-nineteenth century, a new type of hymnbook/songbook appeared in which sections with secular ("weltliche") songs served as appendices. For their sources, the editors of such songbooks turned to the folk-song and singing-society movements that swept both Germany and the United States during the nineteenth century. The new books juxtaposed musical as well as textual forms, contrasting the usual four-voice settings of both folk songs and hymns. These songbooks won an immense popularity and soon became the standard book published by even the most fundamentally prescribed German-American churches. So diverse were the contents in these songbooks that they were useful in every setting in the German-American commuity—the church, the home, the school, or the singing society—a fact rarely lost upon publishers when designing the title pages and contents of the songbooks (see Figures 3, 4 and 5).

Many publishers, especially smaller ones, found the *broadsheet* or *sheet music* the most effective means of disseminating music, particularly new compositions. The religious press could rely on the

cultivation of salon and household traditions by secular presses, and it is clear that even the iconography of religious *sheet music* attempts to mimic the direct appeal of secular sheet music. For many publishers the difference between sentimental and moralistic appeal in popular songs required no more than the substitution of a few words making it clear that both solace from and solution to life's dilemmas were immanent in the German-American church. This publishing genre is particularly interesting to examine as a vehicle of mediation, for composers were most effective in blurring the differences between religious and secular music by capturing the "sound" of secular music while still retaining the text of religious music (see Figure 6).

Serial publications supplied the public with music in a particularly wide variety of ways. Some serial publications were sources of new songs and hymns; others included actual music or articles on music only occasionally; still others extended a balanced treatment to all the arts, including articles about music and aesthetics, as well as the occasional song or hymn, together with writings about literature, the visual arts, and architecture. To what extent such publications actually tested public opinion, that is, assessed potential sales before committing the new work to the less flexible setting of a songbook, is difficult to know, but there can be no doubt that the commentary accompanying such new works tried to argue their cases as persuasively as possible. Music appearing in serial publications often evidences patterns of musical and cultural change within specific communities. For example, it was in the monthly *Gospel Visitor* that hymns from the Brethren hymnbook first appeared in English translation during the early and mid-nineteenth century, thus witnessing the growing predominance of English among the Brethren.[11] Serial publications that coupled belletristic and moralistic functions, such as *Die Abendschule* or the annual assembled from it, *Blätter und Blüten*, delivered a religiously-ordained musical criticism, hagiographic in its reverence for the great German composers, yet moralistic in its assertions that great music begins and thrives in the domestic tranquility of the home.[12]

Music and discussions of music appeared in larger works devoted to other subjects. *Educational pamphlets* or *pedagogical books*, for example, often included German songs, extolling the virtues of such songs and neatly indicating the ways in which they fitted German-American culture. Albert Grimm's *Winke für*

die Gründung und Leitung von Jugendvereinen is one of the finest examples of a pedagogical work that crusaded for the use of music in the proper social upbringing of German-American youths, for it calls in a strikingly orthodox voice for a musical aesthetic identical to that for which Gustav Schaller had called 60 years earlier:

> One must not overlook the need for *practice in congregational singing*. It is those areas where the congregation struggles that one should begin rehearsing, practicing the familiar chorales *rhythmically* and the unfamiliar with great diligence, in order that our young people can join in singing from the heart during the worship service and with a markedly rhythmic congregational song can make our beautiful worship attractive and edifying. It gives one a certain pleasure when one witnesses how the youth sing "correctly" and "are drawn to the old songs" (as often is the case).[13]

The references to music and its functions are surely not arbitrary in many works of *fiction* and *nonfiction*. Though I have yet to discover a great musical novel, say a German-American counterpart to Mörike's *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag*, I would suggest that the potential contribution of this genre lies not in its account of the great composer but in its recording of the diverse functions and settings of music in the German-American community, in the family or school, and in the life of the German-American *Jedermann*.

The Role of the Individual

Although I have thus far emphasized the role of institutions—the publishing house or the church hierarchy—much of the mediation influencing German-American music publishing resulted from individual efforts, before institutional ramifications set in. The juxtaposition of publication genres often resulted first from the initiative of a particular individual, someone willing and able to use the press as the purveyor of his or her personal vision of the role of music in German-American life.

In colonial America the powerful personalities in early German-speaking sects often quickly recognized the advantages of disseminating ideas through a functioning German press. Johannes Kelpius and Conrad Beissel both wrote a considerable body of hymns, and it is likely that hymn composition was regarded as a normative activity for the polymath colonial German intellectual as

well as for the eclectic output of the first publishers. The first real hero of the German-American press also loomed in rather colossal proportions over the first stages in the history of German-American music publishing. In fact, when we look at the musical "firsts" with which Christoph Saur was involved, his contribution as a publisher of the first American Bible in a European language seems almost to pale in comparison.[14] In additon to his publication of the first songbook of his Brethren coreligionists, Saur is responsible for producing the first Lutheran and Reformed hymnbooks in North America,[15] as well as the first imprint of the Amish *Ausbund*.[16] Even though Benjamin Franklin had printed a Moravian hymnbook several years before Saur, it was the latter's version in 1739 that stands as the first American book to employ *Fraktur* type.[17] Altogether Saur published at least eleven different hymnbooks, as far as I can tell he left neither major nor minor sectarian group unattended in his endeavors to propagate a German-American religious music.

Saur's activities as a music publisher were closely related to the other activities of his press. His almanac, *Der Hochdeutsche Americanische Calendar*, was the primary vehicle for advertising the hymnbooks, thereby assuring that they would accompany German immigrants who pushed westward to establish new settlements. This is especially important to note when one remembers that the hymnbook was personal, not congregational, property, and an individual purchased his or her own book according to many different criteria, price being as significant as any. Booksellers seem to have dealt in the hymnbooks of several denominations, again indicating that they appealed to the individual rather than the congregation.[18] The criteria for assembling the contents of hymnbooks—and surely "assembling" is the best term to describe this process—also broadened and diversified appeal, again reflecting a German-American religious structure with rather permeable boundaries between denominations. Inclusion of a new hymn depended more on personal decisions of the publisher than on denominational and synodal approbation. Composing a hymn required a fundamental understanding of prosody, rather than extensive musical craftsmanship, with contrafaction the predominant mode of creating new works. Songs were taken from quite different sources and solicited from religious leaders of all stripes. Publishers printed hymnbooks for several different groups, undoubtedly

borrowing material from one book for use in another. The younger Christopher Sower was himself a composer of hymns, which he then included in the new editions of earlier hymnals as he reissued them.[19] By no stretch of the imagination can one construe this tradition as in any sense pure; rather, its eclectic complexity bespoke a fundamental quality of German-American culture from its inception.

It is necessary once again to return to the issue of musical literacy when considering the magnitude of individual contributions to German-American publishing. Whether responsible for writing a few new hymns or for large-scale works in classical genres, most "composers" commanded a fair knowledge of the rudiments of music, performance, and more esoteric skills, such as dramaturgy. C. F. W. Walther, founder of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran church, was not just the spiritual leader of his community and a well-known organist, but a hymn composer and contributor to the earliest musical publications of the Concordia Publishing House.[20] Walther's more important role in the development of music for the Missouri Synod depended on an aesthetic and didactic force implicit in his religious philosophies, which in turn prove him to be yet another polymath leaving his imprint on the development of German-American music. If Walther wanted German Lutheran music to change, he simply had to publish the correct tracts in a number of publications, urging his followers to carry out the desired changes. All accounts indicate that his followers formed a loyal army that rarely failed to effect all the changes that Walther's vision demanded.

For the most ambitious creative minds in German-American music history, it was the press that provided the catalyst for sweeping diversification. In the case of Albert Grimm—a composer, novelist, playwright, and pastor active in northern Wisconsin at the beginning of the twentieth century—it was necessary to create a publishing house to disseminate his own music. Grimm's particular view of music's role in German-American society brought together many of the attitudes common throughout the history of religious music publishing. When he composed or anthologized religious pieces, he often used the publishing medium to situate them in a secular sphere by placing many in volumes entitled *Unterhaltungslieder*; conversely, he composed *Singspiele* with secular subject matters intended for performance by the church glee club or youth group.[21] In his newsletters and didactic pamphlets Grimm argued for a

redefinition of the social boundaries imposed on musical activities within the community.[22] His primary intent was, of course, moralistic: he saw no reason that all musical activity should not undergird the social cohesion that the church provided for the German-American community. Grimm's Antigo (Wisconsin) Publishing Company produced music designed for use in both secular and religious sectors of society, for Grimm sought to deliver the same musical message to both (see Figure 7).

The German-American Press and the Mediation of Ethnicity

Traditional views of German-American music interpret it as a rather unwieldy mass of different traditions and different styles, each in the service of a single sectarian group; or as a mere shadow of the "real stuff" that the German Romantics in Europe were pouring forth. Histories of American music, while praising the accomplishments of German immigrants in the great orchestras or the American performers whose paths to fame necessarily began with conservatory study in Leipzig or Berlin, neglect completely most genres that do not fit neatly into the stratified models framing musical life with rigid categories like art music and folk music. Many German-American composers never quite achieved the stature of greatness because they bothered to compose for local *Gesangvereine* or the local German stage, and German-American religious music never consolidated into the *Denkmäler* of the nineteenth century for want of a central church whose doctrinal purity engendered a refined and lofty style.

But if we examine the role of the German-American press in the publication of music, we begin to see that it is perhaps an undue concern for musical products that has led to this self-effacing assessment of German-American music. Rather than a means of creating the great masterpiece or lasting monument to individuality, works that would surely belie the reality of a religiously and culturally pluralistic German-American society, the press was seen by many musicians as the vehicle for change and the agent for broadening the musical life to meet the diverse needs of the community, not the individual. The press, then, and those musicians who so successfully exploited its potential mediated a music both German and American, religious and secular, revivalistic and avant

garde. In so doing, the musical press of the German-American church has proved to be a central leitmotiv during a three-hundred-year cultural and musical history.

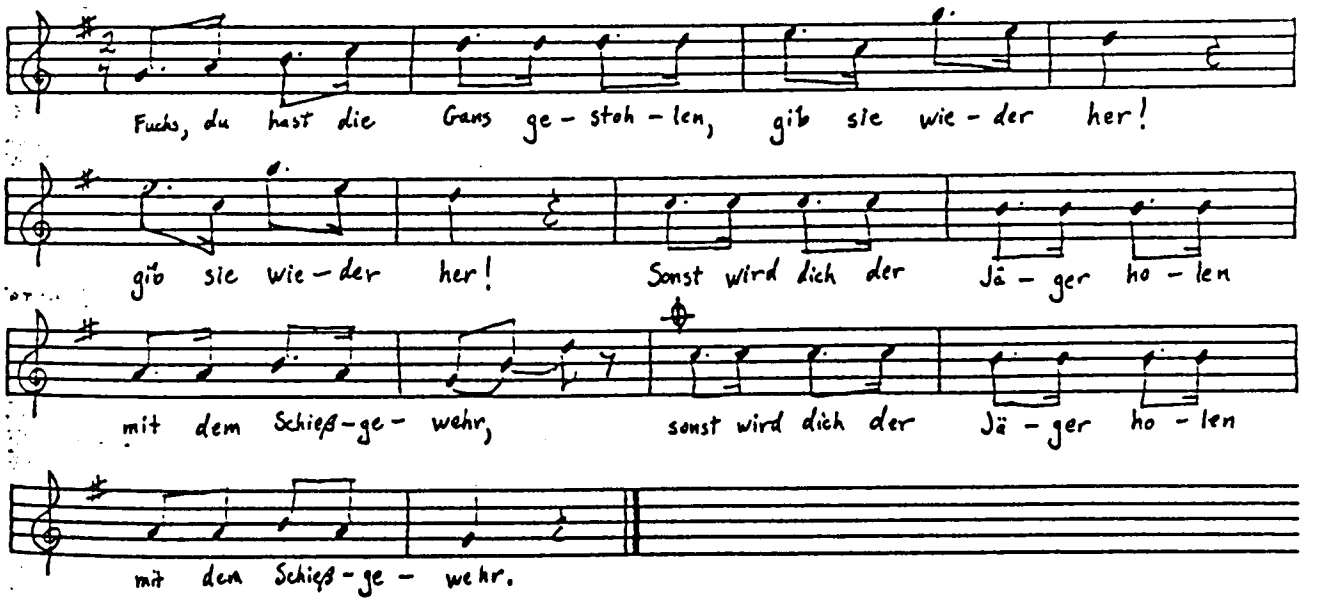


Figure 1: ***Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen***
Sung by Meta Brusewitz and Clara Stuewer
January 11, 1978, Bonduel, Wisconsin

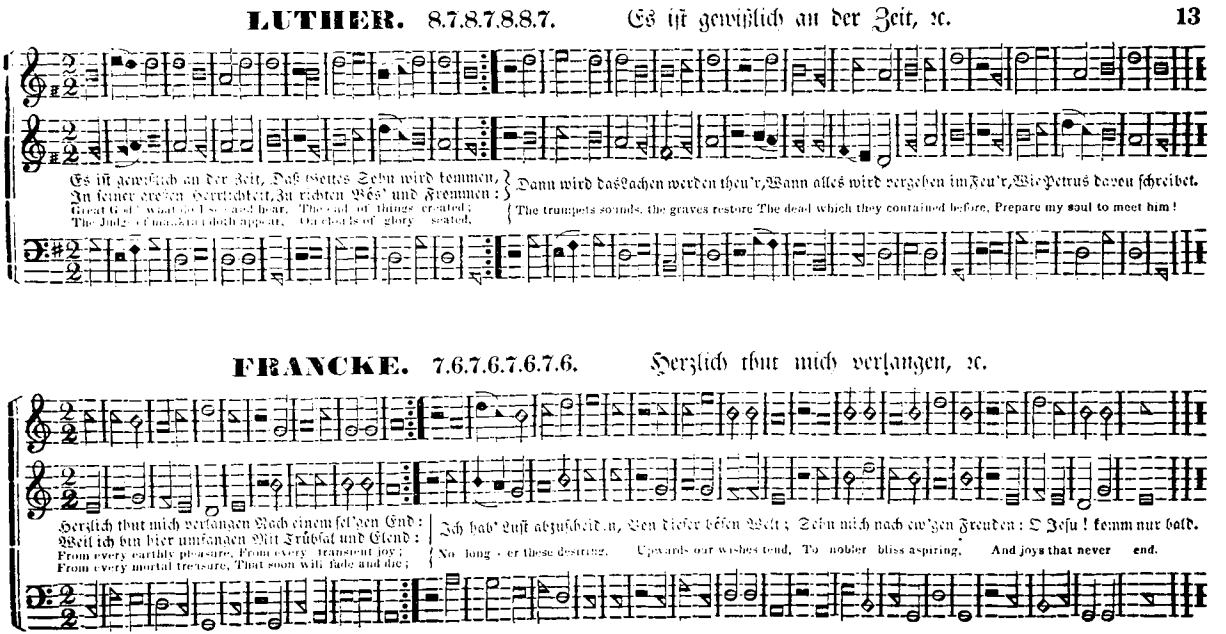


Figure 2: Source: *Pennsylvanische Sammlung von Kirchen-Musik*
Harrisburg, Pa., F. Wyeth, 1844

Pennſylvaniſche

Sammlung von Kirchen-Muſik,

enthaltend

Eine gute Auswahl von Pſalmen, und geiſtlichen Liedern, u. ſ. w.,

Mit engliſchem und deutſchem Texte. — Zum Gebrauche für Familien, Sing-Schulen und muſikaliſchen Geſellſchaften.

THE PENNSYLVANIA

COLLECTION OF CHURCH MUSICK.

CONTAINING

AN AMPLE ASSORTMENT OF PSALM AND HYMN TUNES, ANTHEMS, &c.

SET TO BOTH ENGLISH AND GERMAN POETRY.

DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF FAMILIES, SINGING-SCHOOLS AND MUSICAL SOCIETIES.

PUBLISHED BY F. WYETH, HARRISBURG, PA.

AND FOR SALE AT ALL THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSTORES THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

1844.

Figure 3: Title Page, *Pennsylvanische Sammlung von Kirchen-Musik* Harrisburg, Pa., F. Wyeth, 1844

Taschen-Chorbuch

— für —

Gemischte Gesangvereine.

I. Theil: Geistliche Lieder.

Motto: „Ich wollte alle Künste, sonderlich die Musika, gern sehen im Dienste dessen, der sie geben und geschaffen."—DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

17. vermehrte Auflage.

Gesammelt, bearbeitet und herausgegeben

— von —

W. Burhenn und H. Ilse,

CHICAGO, ILL.

Figure 4: Title Page, *Taschen-Chorbuch für gemischte Gesangvereine*
Chicago: W. Burnhenn and H. Ilse, 1894

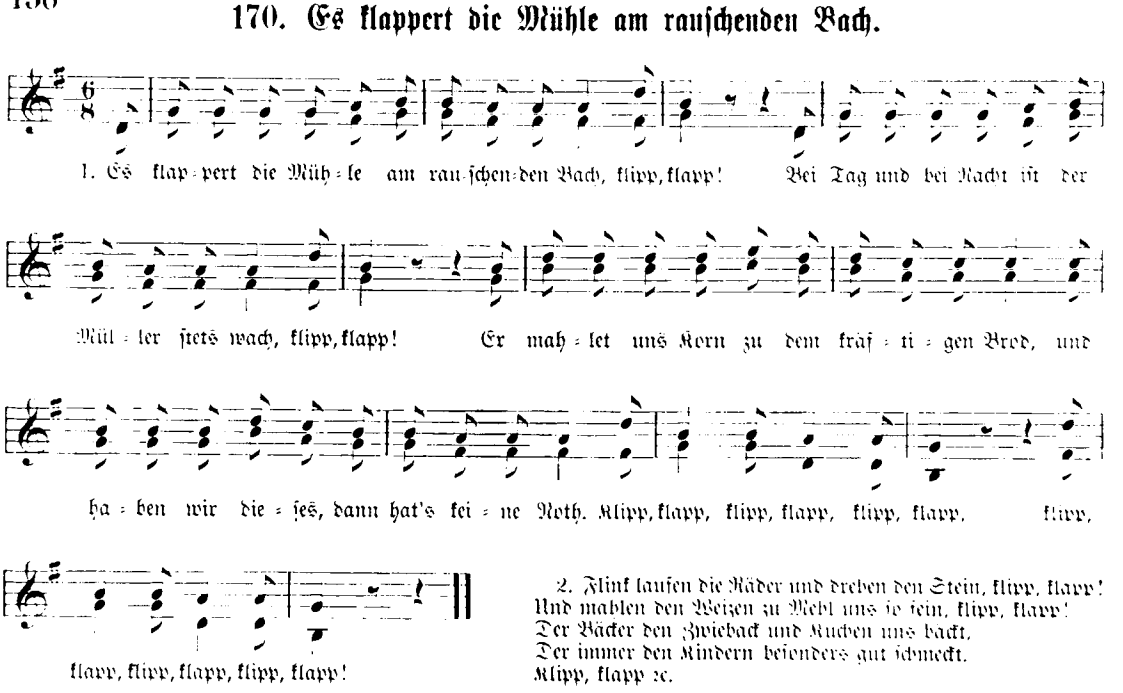
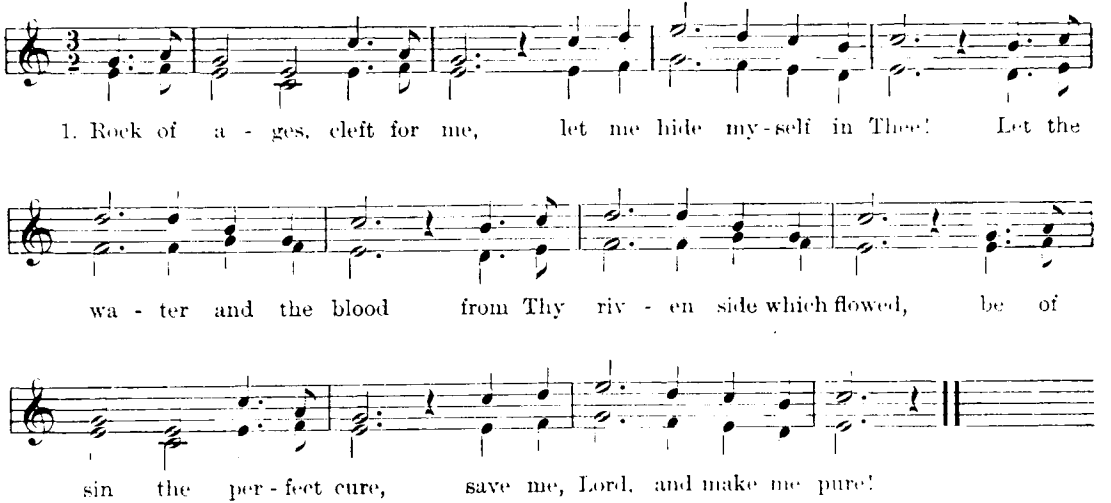


Figure 5: Source: *Lieder-Perlen*
St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, ca. 1900

171. Rock of Ages.



2. Not the labors of my hands
Can fulfill Thy law's demands:
Could my zeal no respite know,
Could my tears forever flow,
All for sin could not atone:
Thou must save, and Thou alone!

3. Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling;
Naked, come to Thee for dress;
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the fountain fly;
Wash me, Saviour, or I die!

Figure 6: Source: *Lieder-Perlen*
St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, ca. 1900

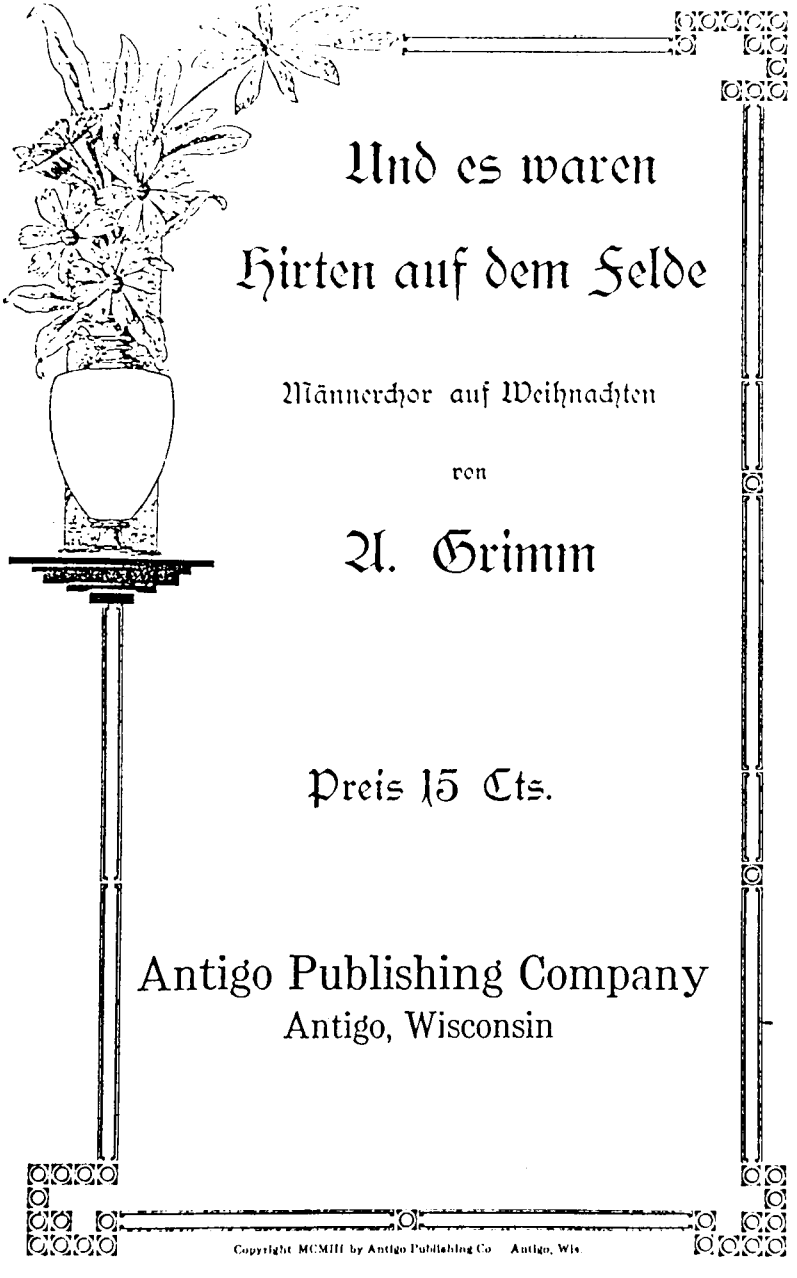


Figure 7: Cover: Grimm, Albert. *Und es waren Hirten auf dem Felde* Antigo, Wis.: Antigo Publishing Company, 1903

Notes

[1]Gustav Schaller, "Was ist's mit den rhythmischen Chorälen?" *Der Lutheraner* 9 (10 May 1853), 122-24; quoted in Carl Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 30.

[2]In fact, German congregations employed a style of singing that was probably similar to that of most Protestant congregations in the United States lacking well-trained organists and hymn traditions congregationally grounded in musical literacy; see Nicholas Temperley, "The Old Way of Singing," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, No. 3 (Fall 1981): 511-44. It is more likely that Schaller was criticizing the "natural" tendencies intrinsic to oral tradition, in effect advocating a written tradition more rigorously prescribed by publishing conventions.

[3]My own field studies of German-American music in the Midwest since the mid-1970s show that singers commonly perform from several different books in their personal libraries when asked to sing the folk songs they know. To my knowledge, no comparable phenomenon has been observed in the folk-music traditions of other American ethnic groups.

[4]See Richard D. Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians on the Connoquenessing, Wabash, and Ohio: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1805-1906* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976).

[5]Christoph E. Schwitzer, "The Challenge of Early German-American Literature," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1: 299.

[6]Johann Gottfried Schnabel, *Insel Felsenburg* (1731-43; rpt. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1979), 35.

[7]During the last five months of 1812, the Germantown printer Michael Billmeyer sent five shipments of hymnbooks (Mennonite, Lutheran, and Reformed) and only four other shipments (all of them almanacs) to the Philadelphia bookshop of Georg Mentz. A list of Billmeyer's shipments for this period appears in Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984), 48.

[8]Schweitzer, "The Challenge of Early German-American Literature," 296-99.

[9]Ibid., p. 295.

[10]Increasingly, historical studies of German-American Catholicism are emphasizing this particularist tendency to retain ethnic boundaries through education, liturgy, and music; see, for example, Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "Cultural Integrity and the Role of Religion," in *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota*, ed. Clarence A. Glasrud (Moorhead, Minn.: Concordia College, 1981), 92, and Colman J. Barry, "Religious and Language Experiences of German-American Catholics," Ibid., 80-89.

[11]Donald R. Hinks, *Brethren Hymn Books and Hymnals, 1720-1884* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Brethren Heritage Press, 1986), 47-53.

[12]The same iconographic functions analyzed by Brent O. Peterson in his studies of *Die Abendschule*'s mastheads attends the graphic portrayal of domestic music-making in the articles on music in this German-American Lutheran *Familienblatt*; see Brent O. Peterson, "Masthead Iconography as *Rezeptionsvorgabe*: Producing a Family of Readers for *Die Abendschule*" elsewhere in this volume.
[13]Albert Grimm, *Winke für die Gründung und Leitung von Jugendvereinen* (Antigo, Wis.: Antigo Publishing Company, 1914).
[14]Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758: Printer in Germantown* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943), passim.
[15]Ibid., 7.
[16]Ibid., 19.
[17]Ibid., 14-15; one distinguishing mark of the publishing competition in general that developed between Franklin and Saur was that Franklin's German publications relied on his English font, whereas Saur's publications could offer the more attractive alternative of *Fraktur*
[18]See Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade*, 41, 48, and 124-26.
[19]Hanks, *Brethren Hymn Books and Hymnals*, 30-33.
[20]Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody*, 15-16.
[21]For example, *Waschtag Duett*, op. 99, and *Nach den Philippinen*, op. 100.
[22]See, for example, Grimm, *Winke*, passim.

Masthead Iconography as Rezeptionsvorgabe: *Producing* Die Abendschule*'s Family of Readers*

Brent O. Peterson

University of Minnesota

In a poem written to celebrate the new year of 1856, an anonymous writer painted an idealized picture of German-American family life, which in this case revolved around *Die Abendschule*, the conservative, Christian family journal where the poem was published:

> Und alle Hausgenossen sind ganz Ohr,
> Der Vater sitzt am Herd auf seinem Stuhle,
> Und lieset mich der lieben Jugend vor:
> dann fühlet sich belohnt die Abendschule.[1]

Interestingly enough, the poem's verbal image corresponded to an illustration that graced the journal's masthead during the first year of its existence (Figure 1). In fact, it corresponded in varying degrees to each of the eight different mastheads published in *Die Abendschule* between 1854 and 1907; their constant theme was reading, which was represented either as an individual activity or, more frequently, as the center of a family gathering. In effect, *Die Abendschule* and its editors were suggesting how their journal was to be read; the journal's mastheads were a kind of primer devoted to the complex set of relationships between readers and the texts they would find in the magazine. What these images portray is reading—specifically, reading *Die Abendschule*—as a social activity, a perspective that was arguably just as important as the actual content of the magazine. At the very least, these masthead images suggest that there might be more involved in reading a journal like *Die Abendschule* than settling down—alone and in an easy chair—with the latest issue. Such images can provide access both to journals like

Die Abendschule, which were an important medium for literature and for other texts published by and for nineteenth-century German-Americans, and to the mode of reading modeled there. Just what type of publication *Die Abendschule* was and to whom it appealed should become clear in the course of examining the series of mastheads in which its "implied" readers were depicted.[2] More importantly, *Die Abendschule* and its mastheads can be used to make a case for including an analysis of the interplay between medium and content, and between medium and audience, in any consideration of widely-read texts. The study therefore has implications that go beyond the relatively narrow confines of the German-American press.

Having made these broader claims, it is important to locate *Die Abendschule* historically. The *Illustrirte Abendschule: Ein Blatt zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung für die reifere Jugend* was first published in Buffalo, New York in February of 1854. As the original title suggests, the journal's primary aim was pedagogic; the editor intended to provide parents with "eine gute und bessere Schule für ihre kleinen und erwachsenen Kinder, als manche andere Lektüre ist" (1:1). Like most other German journals of its time *Die Abendschule* had difficulty in gaining enough subscribers to make the venture profitable. When *Die Abendschule* followed its editor to St. Louis in 1856, its survival was far from certain; in fact, the journal very nearly folded on a number of occasions. In 1859, for example, the editor absconded with what little money was left in the till (6:41), and it was not until 1861, when Louis Lange purchased *Die Abendschule* and its list of about 1000 subscribers for $200,[3] that it began to establish itself as what Arndt and Olson termed "one of the most influential and constructive journals ever published in America."[4] At its high point in 1914, *Die Abendschule* boasted some 59,631 subscribers, and there were still over 30,000 left in 1920. Publication was not suspended until December of 1940, when paid subscriptions had dropped to under 15,000.[5] Although the format of the journal varied in the course of those eighty-seven years, such longevity is both rare and remarkable; *Die Abendschule* must have struck a number of responsive chords in the course of its existence.

From the outset, however, the *Illustrirte Abendschule* suffered from the difficulty of obtaining appropriate illustrations. The publisher had promised "jährlich 26 Nummern mit circa 80 guten Holzschnitten versehen" (1:3), but woodcuts were expensive,

and the ready-made images available commercially were often inappropriate. As a result, issues or articles were often delayed, and occasionally there were numbers that contained no pictures at all.[6] By 1862 illustrations had become too expensive, and *Die Illustrirte Abendschule* became simply *Abendschule: Eine Zeitschrift für Belehrung und Unterhaltung*. The change in the journal's masthead that accompanied the new title will be discussed below; here it is important to note simply that the masthead itself continued to be illustrated, as were all subsequent mastheads until 1907.

Before turning to those images, I want to examine the concept of *Rezeptionsvorgabe*, which serves as a kind of heuristic framing device for this inquiry. Manfred Naumann and the group associated with the volume *Gesellschaft—Literatur—Lesen*, published in the GDR in 1976, claim to have invented the term, but something like it is implicit in much of reception aesthetics. In contrast to research into the climate of critical opinion or conditions in the publishing industry, the idea of *Rezeptionsvorgabe* refers to "[d]ie Eigenschaft des Werkes, die Rezeption zu steuern."[7] In other words, the *Rezeptionsvorgabe* is the sum of those features *within* the text that pre-program or pre-structure the reader's experience. However, since for Naumann readers are concrete, historical people, and since the *inside* of a given text includes both the reality that the text somehow "reflects" and the genre tradition in which it is embedded (i.e., whether a work is a novel or a poem), the term is not quite as narrow as it initially sounds. And it is the task of the "historical-genetic" research Naumann advocates to "reconstruct" the complete original reading experience, including the contemporary audience's social, cultural, and linguistic history: in short, to recreate the knowledge those readers brought to the text in question. Yet, aside from both the practical and theoretical difficulties inherent in any attempt at fixing one, supposedly original reading as ultimately valid, the examples that Naumann and his colleagues offer are actually little more than the definition of a subject position occupied by a reader who remains curiously immanent.

In an analysis of Brecht's poem "Der Rauch," for example, Dieter Schlenstedt writes: "Die Instanz des Schauens und Urteilens im Gedicht nennen wir *lyrisches Subjekt*." And it is the representation of this "lyrisches Subjekt," that is, the poem's modeling of an appropriate receptive stance, that provides readers

access to the poem's inner reality, "die sonst nicht zugänglich ist."[8] While criticizing the phenomenological immanence that plagues reception theory in the West, Naumann and his colleagues only partially succeed in historicizing their own implied reader: "Erfaßbare Elemente und Strukturen werden auf ihre Potenz hin befragt, die Aktivität der Aufnehmenden anzuregen, um im Zusammenhang mit dem Leserbewußtsein, auf das sie treffen, Leistungen hervorzubringen."[9] The telltale phrase, "auf das sie treffen," is an attempt to situate readers in history without really addressing the issues involved in their constitution as reading subject. For to the extent that they are constituted by the text, these readers run the theoretical risk of disappearing when the text ceases to be read or of becoming ahistorical once it is added to the canon. Naumann neither explores the relationship between what he calls various "gesellschaftliche Rezeptionsweisen" and the specific *Rezeptionsvorgabe* a reader might encounter in a given text, nor does he examine the way in which the medium in which a text appears might influence the production of its audience.[10]

One could certainly do a better job of historicizing readers and of differentiating between contemporary and subsequent readers, and many of the problems with *Gesellschaft—Literatur—Lesen* may simply be that its authors fail to deliver in practice what they promise in theory. In terms of *Die Abendschule* and its masthead images, however, the problem is more intractable. Any theoretical approach to the constitution of readers that is limited to a consideration of processes at work in and through texts ultimately depends on a notion of textuality that is too narrow to include the medium and the reading strategies modeled there. Naumann's readers—and, for that matter, the readers in virtually every other form of reception aesthetics—are supposed to behave as though the material form of the text—its location in a book, pamphlet, or magazine—is of no consequence. In other words, reception aesthetics—both in the East and in the West—would have us believe that a novel is a novel, whether its readers are reading from a cheap paperback edition or from one bound in leather—"ein wertvolles Sammlerobjekt," as an advertisement for Suhrkamp's *Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker* boasted of a series of books that may not even be intended for reading.[11] Required school books are assumed to be the same texts as the poems and narratives readers encounter by chance.[12] Yet

everyone who has returned voluntarily to a once required text—and perhaps read it for the first time—knows how different a subsequent reading can be, solely on the basis of the altered context in which the text is read. For Naumann and his fellow reception theorists, however, reading consists solely of the lone reader's interaction with words on the page; every reader, including the contemporary reader, whose position subsequent readers should attempt to duplicate, is by implication a solitary individual.

There is, however, no compelling reason to restrict reading practices to the activities of isolated individuals. Literary examples of families reading together are at least as old as Martin Luther, whose family life was an important model for the German Protestant readers of *Die Abendschule*. In the introduction to his version of Aesop's fables, Luther wrote: "Man kann dennoch wohl fröhlich sein und dieser Fabeln eine am Abend über Tische mit Kindern und Gesinde nützlich und lüstiglich behandeln."[13] The Enlightenment might also be characterized as an era that promoted group reading practices, which were often modeled in the texts of the period,[14] and the title of the nineteenth-century periodical *Die Spinnstube*, a calender issued by the protestant pastor Wilhelm Oertel, testifies to the role of the *Vorleser* at quilting bees and similar functions in village life.[15] In fact, given the image provided by the mastheads of *Die Abendschule*, the generic term *Leser* might well be regarded as plural—at least for much of literature read before the end of the nineteenth century. One could certainly posit a transitional, group-reading phase in the shift from storytelling, which Walter Benjamin characterized as the face-to-face exchange of experiences, to narration, which he described as both isolated and isolating.[16] Group reading also needs to be incorporated into the transition from intensive to extensive reading that Rolf Engelsing places at the end of the eighteenth century.[17] In the space between Benjamin's and Engelsing's alternatives, the subject positions depicted in *Die Abendschule*'s mastheads suggest that reading was indeed a social act, one not limited to a single individual's interaction with texts. *Die Abendschule*'s readers were assigned roles in a specific, historical institution: the emerging bourgeois family.

To be sure, both the reality of family life and the idealized projections of that life changed significantly between 1854 and 1907, particularly as the changes that Karen Hausen has identified in the

role of the eighteenth-century woman hardened and became more widespread.[18] On the other hand, at least in German, Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's idyllic views of the extended family remained largely unchallenged until the end of the nineteenth century.[19] In addition, the image of the family in *Die Abendschule* was embedded in the discourses that defined gender identity and the German-American community. Yet, in spite of all these complications, how the image of the family—and the reading practices that were a part of that collective role model—developed over time can be read from the progression of icons contained in successive mastheads from *Die Abendschule*.

The first issue of *Die Abendschule* appeared under the elaborate masthead mentioned at the outset of this article (Figure 1). Unfortunately, the images were produced as woodcuts and printed on poor quality paper, with the result that the earliest masthead is somewhat difficult to decipher. As an indication of the journal's Christian orientation the left-hand image contains a triumphant Christ figure, while the image to the right suggests the diversity of the world's heathen population. From left to right the figures depict an American Indian, an Oriental, and a black, all situated for some reason in an oriental landscape. In a sense they represent the *objects* of Christian missionary work, which is almost by definition located elsewhere: the *other* in an-*other* place. The central image is far more interesting, as it contains the *Rezeptionsvorgabe*. The view is only partial, for with the cherub on the left we are peering into an opening. Aside from the two cherubs, the other of whom is reading the Bible, the central picture contains nine figures. Judging by their ages, they seem to represent an extended family seated at a table in a richly decorated parlor. The proliferation of objects in mid-century bourgeois homes was a sign of wealth and status. The oldest male (presumably, the grandfather) is reading aloud to the group, while the oldest female (perhaps his wife) is knitting. The girl at her feet appears to be holding a tablet or a slate, while all the rest of the figures (a mixture of sons, daughters, their spouses, and two more children) are listening intently to what is being read. Overall, the image depicts reading as a family activity with clearly defined, gender- and age-specific roles.[20] To judge by its initial masthead, *Die Abendschule* was not intended for solitary enjoyment; one of its purposes was to bring individual family members together by

providing a common activity for the group as a whole, here defined as the extended family. No matter what texts *Die Abendschule* contained, the ideal mode of reading them is apparent from one glance at the masthead. Perhaps the left- and right-hand images are intended to suggest that the reading family was to mediate between the heathens, on the one side, and Christ on the other.

The shift from the first to the second masthead is quite dramatic (Figure 2). Not only is the imagery far less elaborate, but the reader is a middle-aged man who is studying a paper by himself. Cost-cutting and the search for a format that would attract more subscribers shrank *Die Abendschule* from quarto to octavo after the first year, and this fact alone meant that the paper needed a new, smaller masthead. The change in the size and quality of the image may also have been due to financial exigencies. Still, there is a marked, unexplainable contradiction between the image of the lone, adult male reader and the journal's subtitle, which remained "Zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung für die reifere Jugend" until volume 5, when the limiting final phrase, "für die reifere Jugend," was dropped. In any case, there is very little entertainment visible in the image of the solitary reader on this masthead.

One should not, however, dismiss the topos of "Belehrung und Unterhaltung" too quickly. The notion that poetry and other literary texts (Dichtung) should instruct or enlighten as well as entertain is at least as old as the concept of literature itself; and the question of whether literature could somehow do both, or whether, alternatively, it ought to concentrate on one or the other, for which it would then be tolerated or applauded, coursed through many of the debates on rhetoric and aesthetics from classical times through the eighteenth century. Horace, who was often quoted by educated Europeans, had managed to distill the essence of the controversy in a well-known formulation in his *Ars Poetica*: "aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae," and commentators have argued about the meaning of the phrase ever since. They wonder whether he meant to say that "poets *either* aim to benefit, *or* to amuse," as the Loeb Classical Library version would have it, or whether it would be more accurate to suggest that the "aut . . . aut" construction is not to be taken as exclusionary.[21] Though scholarly opinion, based on a reading of the whole text clearly favors the latter, more inclusive interpretation,[22] the phrase was probably just as often

quoted out of context—it appears in Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte* as a self-contained proverb—and intended to prove the former exclusive meaning. To avoid confusion and to make an unambiguous statement about his own art, Goethe rendered the phrase as follows when he used it as the motto for his "Neueröffnetes moralisches-politisches Puppenspiel": "*et* prodesse volunt *et* delectare poetae."[23] Goethe's version is clearly intended to mean "both . . . and," and the fact that he apparently did not feel obliged to cite the source behind his doctored version of the quotation indicates that Horace's phrase was indeed common currency among educated Germans, whose Latin was certainly sufficient for them to have understood the point of the modification. In any case, there can be little doubt that *Die Abendschule*'s editors were mindful of the tradition when they chose the journal's original subtitle.

Nevertheless, for some the phrase "Belehrung und Unterhaltung" presented a dilemma. If the two poles were understood as being in opposition; that is, if the magazine provided both, with individual texts being either instructive or entertaining, then the latter were potentially dangerous. Apparently mindful of the difficulty, the editor of volume 5, Alexander Saxer, a pastor and professor of theology in St. Louis, informed his readers in the introduction to that volume: "Unterhaltung im rechten Sinne ist nur das, was als Kern und Mark Belehrung, Bildungselemente in sich schließt" (5:1). His statement suggests an attempt to distance *Die Abendschule* from purely secular journals, which was, in fact, at the heart of the whole enterprise. On the other hand, Saxer's interpretation was also firmly within the tradition of classical scholarship.

With the shift back to quarto format in 1860, it was again time for a new masthead (Figure 3). Although this masthead, taken as a whole, is still somewhat crude, the borders have reacquired a certain richness and the solitary reader is not nearly as somber as his predecessor. A bit of nature intrudes into the otherwise enclosing space defined by the capital "I." Note, however, that unlike the previous figure, whose dress was contemporary, the man in this masthead is dressed as a scholar from an earlier age. His contemplative pose and the assortment of books and scientific instruments at his feet are far more suggestive of "Belehrung" than "Unterhaltung." Education seems to be defined narrowly as the product of schooling, and it also appears to be limited to

the acquisition of concrete skills and knowledge rather than moral improvement (*Bildung*), which could be the result of training in the arts. Of course, this is a very narrow reading of the image of the scholar, but the contrast between the subtitle and the masthead seems to indicate a lingering confusion on the part of the editors about the role of *Die Abendschule* and the identity of its intended audience. Although German immigrants in this period generally came from the ranks of dispossessed peasants and artisans, the appeal of this masthead is to the professional classes, or to those males who would enter them. Or, read somewhat less restrictively in order to include the *Bildungsbürgertum*, the masthead's implication is that readers of *Die Abendschule* might profit from both the achievements of modern scientific discoveries and the rewards of a classical humanist education.

The next masthead continues the magazine's initial, uncertain appeal (Figure 4). The change was necessitated by the rising cost of production as a result of the onset of the Civil War; rather than increase subscription rates the publisher decided to eliminate most of the illustrations (vol. 9, 97). The entire masthead is plainer, as if to suggest the journal's hard times; the only ornamentation is the grouping around the letter "A." Here two women, presumably "Belehrung und Unterhaltung" again, flank one another—though the figure on the left looks anything but entertained. Again the figures' clothing is not contemporary but this time vaguely classical, and one could easily term the two women muses. Significantly, the two figures are subordinate to the Christian symbol of the cross, which is formed by the elaborate crossbar of the "A." (Note too, the rays of light that stream from it.) Overall this masthead suggests that readers of *Die Abendschule* were still the heirs of classical traditions, but only to the extent that classical learning was put into the service of Christianity. Just what the solitary reader on the right represents is unclear; her mien and pointing gesture are those of the teacher, but her audience, whether a family or a school class, is missing.

This decade of iconographic uncertainty changed abruptly in 1867, when *Die Abendschule's* masthead returned to the family orientation of the first volume, but with a very different family (Figure 5). The new subtitle, *Ein Deutsches Familienblatt*, is clearly illustrated in the figures grouped in and around the capital "D," and it was as a family journal that *Die Abendschule* was to prosper until

well into the twentieth century. What is interesting here is that the entire concept was stolen from the successful German journal *Daheim*, whose publishers had engaged the well-known German illustrator Ludwig Richter to design a masthead for their journal, which first appeared on the market in Leipzig in 1864[24] (Figure 6). Not only are the two magazines' subtitles identical, but the image of the family in *Die Abendschule's* masthead is virtually an exact copy of the family in *Daheim*. The central group has simply been cropped to fit inside the "D," while another daughter was added to fill in the space previously occupied by the grandfather's knees. The resulting composition—whether accidental or not—has important implications. If one includes the young boy, who is linked to the other figures by his gaze, the framed portion of the image portrays the nuclear family. By being reversed and placed outside the "D," the grandfather has been pushed to the margin; there is no grandmother, and the servant from *Daheim* has disappeared completely. The act of reading aloud now reinforces the ideal of the bourgeois nuclear family as a self-sufficient community and refuge, and the accepted, gender-specific division of labor in that developing institution extends the father's role as reader and the rest of the family as listeners. Once again the masthead suggests a specific mode of reception.

If this all seems too neat, the next masthead illustrates the danger of too facile an interpretation and of an all too linear historical trajectory (Figure 7). The model family is once more composed of three generations, for whom reading is again a solitary occupation. What this masthead suggests is that a number of modes of reading must have existed or have been advocated simultaneously. Especially for women, reading apparently could still be a solitary occupation, a useful diversion like needlework or knitting, performed while the patriarch was working.[25] The gender-specific division of labor continues, and the separation of labor from the home, which was so important in shrinking the economy of "das ganze Haus" to the more limited relationships of the nuclear family, is also apparent. Significantly, the family is now spread across a landscape at whose center is a European-style church. Since the journal's primary appeal was to conservative Lutherans, the position of the church is not at all surprising; what is interesting is that the images to the left (e.g., the man's clothing, particularly his hat) and to the right (the wagon train) are obviously very American. *Die Abendschule* still calls itself

Ein Deutsches Familienblatt, but the German element is gradually becoming German-American.

The Americanization of the subject positions accorded the readers of *Die Abendschule* continues in the next masthead (Figure 8). The church in the background could be almost anywhere, but the rest of the landscape, particularly the family seated together on the front porch of a wooden house, is decidedly American. Although the setting is rural, the family itself is decidedly bourgeois. The father figure can afford to read to his wife and children at sundown while hired hands drive his livestock to the barn. The separation of home life from the world of work is nearly complete, and there is also a certain class differentiation implied in the division of labor. Not only are men divided into those who work with their hands and others who profit from that labor, but the women who are not agricultural laborers appear to be virtually confined to the house. The wife or older daughter seems to be looking wistfully at a world that is socially and economically quite distant; her assigned role is child care. As readers, both the women and the other man, perhaps an acquaintance, are passive; they are the "read-to," not the readers.[26]

That same mode of reception for women is characteristic of the three females in *Die Abendschule's* final masthead, which the paper bore from 1881 to 1907 (Figure 9). Here the two older women listen while carrying out tasks that are identifiably "feminine." Note, too, that the younger son is reading, while his considerably older sister can only watch and listen. This is not to argue that the women in any of these pictures were illiterate; women of the class of people portrayed in the magazine's mastheads could no doubt read and write, as well as play the piano and sew. However, the significant element in the iconography of three of the last four mastheads is that the position assigned to the women as readers (the read to) is subordinate to the man's role as patriarch (reader or lector). The pipe-smoking gentleman in all three images is either the last remnant of an extended family or, since he seems to have become much younger in the last two mastheads, a friend of the nuclear family. Not only has the ideal bourgeois family become smaller, but its function as a refuge from the world of commerce and industry is underlined by the fact that the external reality of labor has now been completely banished from the masthead. In the almost thirty years since the publication of its initial masthead *Die Abendschule's* family of model readers first left

farmwork and then the farm itself behind; this final family of readers is no longer part of the so-called "old middle class" of artisans and independent producers, but rather members of the bourgeoisie in a thoroughly capitalist world. The men depicted here are probably the white-collar employees of corporate capitalism, a system whose triumph was actually only beginning to be felt in 1881.

Of course, one could also read this final image in a way that again undermines the trajectory towards the bourgeois nuclear family that I have posited until now. The final masthead could once again represent an extended family. In this interpretation it is the older couple's son or son-in-law, rather than the patriarch of an extended family who is reading, while his wife sews and the children's grandmother entertains the youngest child. In this reading the extended family has returned as a nostalgic gesture; it exists in the same compensatory relationship to reality as the artisans and independent farmers who populate *Die Abendschule's* narratives. Significantly, however, reading conceived of as a group activity provides precisely the same refuge as that contained in the texts that they read.

No matter which interpretation of the family is accurate, the location of this family idyll is not surprising when we remember that the preeminent family journal in nineteenth-century Germany was titled *Die Gartenlaube* (Figure 10). Indeed, the mastheads of the two magazines are similar, and it is not unlikely that the group in *Die Abendschule* was somehow derivative. There are nonetheless a number of subtle but significant differences between the two versions of the reading family. While the vision of the outdoors represented in *Die Gartenlaube* is that of a garden, where other, presumably unrelated people are visible in the background, the family of *Die Abendschule* is reading inside the enclosed space of a porch; that is, on the border between the security of the home and nature, where the heathens of the initial masthead might still be lurking. In addition, since *Die Gartenlaube* kept the same masthead from the time of its founding in 1853, its image of the family had not kept pace with developments within the bourgeoisie. One reason for the constancy of the image might well have been the continued popularity of Riehl's version of the family, which was not really challenged until the 1890s, and the magazine's immediate and lasting success no doubt mitigated against changes in its recognizable trademark. In any case,

Die Gartenlaube's family is clearly composed of three generations, and power within that family is still invested in the grandfatherly type who is reading. On the other hand, the German women are assigned the same subordinate roles as their German-American counterparts.

The other significant difference between *Die Gartenlaube* and *Die Abendschule* can be seen in the images that surround the latter's central image of the family. Not only does the lack of a church in this final masthead suggest an increasing degree of secularization within the German-American community, but the two flanking pictures (probably a paddle-wheeler on the Mississippi and a train through the wilderness) also both point to technological triumphs associated with the journal's home in St. Louis. Curiously, it was the railroad that sounded the death knell for the steamboat, but the steamboat was apparently as much an idealized symbol as the bourgeois family. Both were the product of modernization and industrialization, and both were threatened by the economy's continued development. For increasing numbers of people in the United States during the 1880s and 1890s, though perhaps not for *Die Abendschule*'s bourgeois readers, it was no longer easy for women and children to lead a life of cultured leisure. Thus *Die Abendschule*'s mastheads should not be seen as reflecting reality but as the depiction of social roles that were as much a compensation or a refuge from reality as an accurate representation of it.

Die Abendschule attempted to produce readers in its own image and to reinforce their self-images, and both activities were located in a social-historical moment that proffered imaginary solutions to the very real pressures inflicted on the family in the course of the nineteenth century. Writing in 1872, in the fourth section of a six-part article on the moral state of the population of the United States, *Die Abendschule*'s editor warned of the dangers that loomed if German-American women tried to act like ladies (*Damen*) rather than housewives, an effort that was, in his opinion, just as dangerous as a family's decision to live in a boarding house rather than to found a home. The editor contrasted those dark pictures with his journal's ideal; returning to the masthead that graced *Die Abendschule* from 1867 to 1872, we see, as in figure 5,

> [die] lieben Leser, welche nach fleißiger Tagesarbeit mit allen Familiengliedern, großen und kleinen, im traulichen Kreise um den Tisch sich sammeln, so ungefähr, wie es auf unserem Titelbilde dargestellt

> ist,—und nun eins von ihnen, entweder der Vater, oder der lesefertige Sohn, oder eine Tochter, aus der "Abend-Schule" den aufhorchenden Brüdern und Schwestern, den Eltern und Anverwandten, auch den herbeigekommenen Hausfreunden vorliest, worauf sie ein frommes Lied singen und bei gemeinsamer Abendandacht sich erbauen, während die freundliche Hausmutter dem kleinsten Familienglied in der Wiege mit den ersten Worten ein Gebetlein beizubringen sucht, als Mitgabe für die Nacht und für's Leben. . . . (18:137-38)

The importance this quotation accords to the journal's own pictorial image of the family reading together demonstrates clearly that the iconography of the masthead was far more than mere ornamentation. Of particular interest in the series of icons contained in these mastheads is first, the gradual shift in the image of the ideal family as it shrank from the extended to the nuclear family, perhaps to be replaced finally by a modernized version of an older, idealized form of the family, and second, the manner in which that family was integrated into the time and space of America. Furthermore, as depicted in *Die Abendschule*'s mastheads, the bourgeois family was an assemblage of age- and gender-specific roles for readers. Indeed, the social act of reading and the subject positions it implied were probably just as important as the content of the texts published in *Die Abendschule*, although they in no way contradicted one another. It is for this reason that I would argue that as useful as the notion of *Rezeptionsvorgabe* can be as an interpretative tool, it needs to be broadened to include the vehicle in which a particular work is published; limiting the idea of a pre-programmed reading solely to the elements contained within the text unnecessarily narrows our notion of textuality. For *Die Abendschule* the context of the family magazine and the modes of reading depicted in its mastheads were important elements in pre-programming the reception of the literature published there. It remains to be seen if similar claims can be made for a larger corpus of texts and then incorporated into an interpretation, but I would suggest that the effort is worth making if we want to understand how these texts were read—i.e., how *Die Abendschule*'s readers were positioned for such a reading.

Figure 1: Masthead, *Illustrierte Abendschule*, February 1, 1854

Figure 2: Masthead, *Illustrierte Abendschule*, 1855-1860

Figure 3: Masthead, *Illustrierte Abendschule*, August 15, 1860

Figure 4: Masthead, *Abendschule*, October 1, 1863

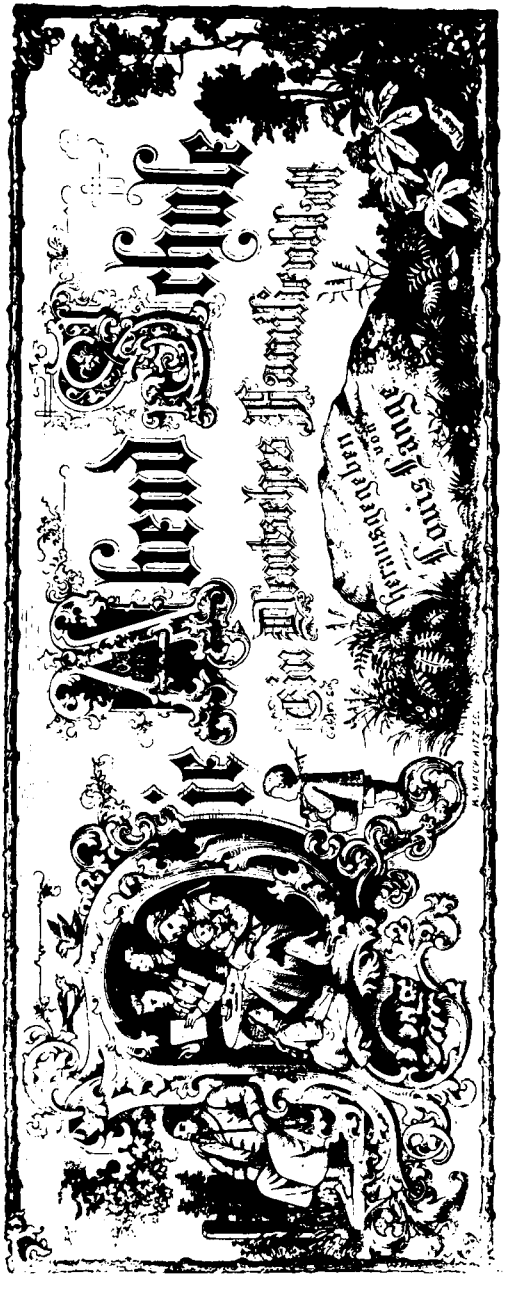


Figure 5: Masthead, *Die Abendschule*, October 1, 1867

Figure 6: Masthead, *Daheim*, November 23, 1867

Figure 7: Masthead, *Die Abendschule*, September 1, 1876

Figure 8: Masthead, *Die Abendschule*, September 3, 1880

Figure 9: Masthead, *Die Abendschule*, July 28, 1898

Figure 10: Masthead, *Die Gartenlaube*, No. 1, 1879

Notes

[1]"Zum Neuen Jahr 1856," *Illustrirte Abendschule* 2, No. 24 (5 Januar 1856), 185-86. Since the magazine's pagination is continuous, subsequent references to *Die Abendschule* will be identified in the text only by volume and page number. *Die Abendschule* is the focus of my dissertation, "Literature and Community in *Die Abendschule*: Popular Narratives in the Discourse of German-American Ethnicity" (forthcoming).

[2]On the notion of the "implied" reader see Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974).

[3]From a prospectus for advertisers entitled "Abendschule," presumably 1895. Concordia Historical Institute, file AL 648 Ar.

[4]Karl J. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *The German-Language Press of the Americas* (New York: K. G. Sauer, 1980), 247.

[5]Arndt and Olson, 248.

[6]Examining the illustrations would be an interesting topic for another article. In the volume for 1860-61, which I surveyed systematically, they ranged from "Washingtons Reiterstatue" and "Fuad Pascha, türkischer Großvezier" to "Das Geschlecht der Papageien" and the "Saarburg." After 1881 *Die Abendschule* was again illustrated and it bore the subtitle *Ein Illustriertes Familienblatt*; see figure 9.

[7]Manfred Neuman et al., *Gesellschaft—Literature—Lesen: Literaturrezeption in theoretischer Sicht* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1976) 35ff. Iser, for example, writes as follows of the "implied reader" in his collection of essays of the same name: "The term incorporates both the prestructuring of the potential meaning by the text, and the reader's actualization of this potential through the reading process" (xii).

[8]Dieter Schlenstedt, "Das Werk als Rezeptionsvorgabe und Probleme seiner Aneignung," in Naumann et al., 361 and 379.

[9]Schlenstedt, 354. For a discussion of the East-West debate in reception theory see Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Metheun, 1984), especially 121-34.

[10]Naumann, 91. The term is certainly better than Stanley Fish's "interpretative communities," because Naumann both locates his readers in history and expands the catalogue of influences that might determine their reading habits—but without linking such factors as "Literaturpropaganda" or "Literaturunterricht in den Schulen" to specific *Rezeptionsvorgaben* in texts; see 89-97. For a critique of reader response criticism in general, and Fish in particular, see Elizabeth Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

[11]When *Die Abendschule* began to appear in 1854, its prospectus made the same kind of appeal to the *Wohnzimmerschrank*: "Das Format is so gewählt, daß sich der Leser von jedem Jahrgang ein hübsches, unterhaltendes Buch kann einbinden lassen."

[12]Perhaps the best literary denial of this proposition, interestingly enough by a contemporary of Naumann's book, is to be found in Ulrich Plenzdorf, *Die neuen Leiden des jungen W.* (Rostock: Hirnstorff, 1973). The novel's hero encounters

Goethe's *Werther* while sitting on the toilet in need of paper; as a result, the book can later speak to him because he has no idea of its status as a classic: "Ich opferte also zunächst die Deckel, dann die Titelseite und dann die letzten Seiten, wo erfahrungsgemäß das Nachwort steht, das sowieso kein Aas liest" (26). So much for the usefulness of literary criticism!

[13] Martin Luther, "Etliche Fabeln aus Äsop, 1530," *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Karin Bornkamm and Gerhard Ebeling (Frankfurt/M.: Insel, 1982), 5: 166.

[14] See, for example, Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere: zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder* (1779-80; rpt. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981); there a father/teacher reads aloud to his assembled charges from his own version of Defoe's well-known tale. In the first edition of the text the group is also pictured, seated together under an apple tree with the father/teacher/reader at their center. Eighteenth-century *Lesegesellschaften* would be another example; see Horst Möller, *Vernunft und Kritik: Deutsche Aufklärung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1986), 261-68.

[15] See Klaus Müller-Salget, *Erzählungen für das Volk: Evangelische Pfarrer als Volksschriftsteller im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1984), 113-14. See also Rudolf Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur populären Literatur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (München: dtv, 1977).

[16] Walter Benjamin, "Der Erzähler: Betrachtungen zum Werk Nikolai Lesskows," *Gesammelte Schriften* (1977, Frankfurt/M.: Surhkamp, Werkausgabe, edition Suhrkamp, 1980), 2: 2. When talking about telling stories Benjamin refers to "das Vermögen, Erfahrungen auszutauschen" (439). To this he contrasts modern narration: "Die Geburtskammer des Romans ist das Individuum in seiner Einsamkeit" (443) and "Der Leser eines Romans ist aber einsam" (456).

[17] See Rolf Engelsing, "Die Perioden der Lesergeschichte in der Neuzeit: Das statistische Ausmaß und die sozialkulturelle Bedeutung der Lektüre," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 10 (1970): 945-1002, as well as his *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973). In spite of Engelsing's argument, it was probably only with the emergence of the *Familienblätter* in the second half of the nineteenth century, when cheap texts became readily available to a mass audience, that the change to extensive reading took place for large sectors of the population.

[18] Karen Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der 'Geschlechtscharaktere': Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit: Neue Forschung*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Klett, 1976), 363-93. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital 1848-1875* (New York: Scribners, 1975), 230-50, and Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft: Zum Strukturwandel der Familie* (München: Beck, 1984).

[19] On Riehl, see Jochen Schulte-Sasse and Renate Werner, "E. Marlitts 'Im Hause des Kommerzienrates': Analyse eines Trivialromans in paradigmatischer Absicht," in their edition of Marlitt's *Im Hause des Kommerzienrates* (München: Fink, 1977), especially 418-24.

[20]For a critique of the representation of gender, see Susanne Kappeler, *The Pornography of Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

[21]H. Rushton Fairclough ed. and trans., *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica* (1926; rpt. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), 479, emphasis added. To be fair, Fairclough's translation of the complete sentence is: "Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life."

[22]See, for example, C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegonmena to the Literary Epistles and The Ars Poetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1963, 1971), 2: 352-53, 504-5. Specifically he says that Horace tells "the poet to instruct as well as delight" (1:263).

[23](1774) *WA*, 16, 1. Emphasis added.

[24]On *Daheim*, see Dieter Barth, "Das Daheim und sein Verleger August Klasing: Eine kultur- und zeitgeschichtliche Untersuchung über ein deutsches Familienblatt des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins für die Grafschaft Ravensberg* 66 (1968/69): 43-110.

[25]For a discussion of women's roles in the nineteenth-century bourgeois family, see Reinhard Siedler, *Sozialgeschichte der Familie* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1987), 125-45.

[26]In conversation, too, Kappeler argues, "The speaking function is masculine, the listening function and silence are feminine" (193).

"Das Dreikaiserjahr" in the German-American Press of Buffalo, New York

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In the history of the German Reich, 1888 was the most memorable year since Prussia triumphantly imposed the "kleindeutsche" version of national unity in 1871. On 9 March, Wilhelm I died at age ninety-one, having been King of Prussia for twenty-seven years and German Emperor for seventeen. His son Friedrich III, aged fifty-seven, reigned for ninety-nine days and succumbed to cancer of the larynx on 15 June. He in turn was succeeded by Wilhelm II, who had been educated for all of his twenty-nine years to rule what was perceived, despite its many problems, as the most dynamic, envied, and admired economic and military power in Europe. Thus did 1888 come to be known in Germany as "das Dreikaiserjahr."

On what basis could German-Americans in Buffalo, New York respond to this major event in their native land? During their heyday, newspapers in the German language were the most important source for recent immigrants of information on this and other developments in Europe, and they sensitized their readers to them or insulated them from the impact of circumstances. How did the journalists of 1888, now far from Europe, perceive other dimensions of the political and cultural status of the people to whom and for whom they spoke? Did their attitudes, and those of the Americans with whom they lived, foreshadow their own crises of identity and those of many of their descendants amidst the turmoil of the twentieth century? The writers of German editorials, usually anonymous, whose opinions I have here translated into English, addressed eloquently many topics relating to these larger matters, reflecting and forming the opinions and actions of their readers. Therefore it seems appropriate, while

using the "Dreikaiserjahr" as a point of departure, to consider the larger context of an ethnic community in dynamic transition.

A century ago, the thirty-eight United States of America were living in "the Gilded Age," as it had been dubbed by Mark Twain. The Civil War lay two decades in the past, and the worst excesses of Reconstruction had been overcome. Unprecedented new wealth, flaunted with equally unprecedented vulgarity, coexisted with fearful urban and rural misery, causing Georges Clemenceau to say that the United States had gone "from a stage of barbarianism to one of decadence without achieving any civilization between the two".[1] Chicago's Haymarket Riot of 1886 and numerous strikes warned unmistakably that the rights of workers could not be disregarded indefinitely. As no depression had occurred since 1873, the economic situation seemed relatively placid. In the 1888 presidential election, however, Grover Cleveland, the Democratic incumbent, was defeated by Benjamin Harrison largely because the latter favored protective trade tariffs, indicating widespread fears about the future. But this was the most remarkable event in twelve months hardly at all epoch-making for the United States.

Midway in its "golden age" from 1848 until the great shock of World War I, the German-American community could feel confident for many reasons, those of its members who had been in the country longest having achieved a degree of prosperity that let them extend a helping hand to their newly arriving compatriots. Immigration had gained powerful impetus in the late 1840s and did not peak until 1882, when a record 250,630 Germans arrived.[2] Compared to New York City, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, or St. Louis, Buffalo was only a secondary center of German-American cultural life. Nonetheless, in addition to several specialized journals, the city boasted at least five German-language newspapers: the weekly *Buffaloer Arbeiter-Zeitung* with a Socialist outlook, the *Democratic Täglicher Buffalo Demokrat*, the non-partisan weekly *Deutsches Volksblatt*, the *Buffalo Volksfreund* that expressed the interests of the Roman Catholic citizenry, and, last but not least, the *Republican Buffalo Freie Presse* and its Sunday edition, the *Tribüne*.[3] Most of the following texts were published in the *Freie Presse*. Like most of the other newspapers, it was founded around the middle of the nineteenth century and ceased publication in 1914. In 1880, Ismar Ellison described the German language press of Buffalo as educating its reader to be "intellectually

a sound, loyal American, worthy of and capable of intelligently performing the sovereign right of suffrage, even if he is still wanting in the English idiom to express himself".[4] Anti-German sentiment around the time of World War I gave the mortal stroke to these journals, by then already in decline, that had sealed their own doom by acclimating only too well their readers in their new homeland.

When it was still prospering in 1888, the four folio pages of the *Buffalo Freie Presse* carried eight columns, half of whose length was devoted to advertisements of various kinds. Foreign and domestic politics and other news stories of local interest shared the remaining space about equally. The newspaper had access to bulletins cabled from Europe, and every day it also printed extensive reports that had arrived from abroad by mail. The *Freie Presse* followed the common practice of reprinting stories exchanged with other German-American papers and journals in Germany. When the tragic events of that year befell the German imperial dynasty, a wealth of information and speculation about them could be made available to readers in Buffalo within a day of their occurrence in Berlin. From the start of the year, the paper almost daily printed medical bulletins from the bedside in San Remo, Italy of "der kranke Kronprinz," Friedrich III, including details of the bitter disputes between his English and German doctors. When the aged Emperor Wilhelm I died, followed soon thereafter by his son, the *Freie Presse* devoted substantial space to the royal funerals.

Editorial eulogies reflected the renewed national pride and political conservatism of the later immigrants; yet the democratic sentiments of the Forty-Eighters were also in evidence. Following the death of Friedrich III on June 16, the *Demokrat* commented on the dashed hope that a wise, experienced prince would grant Germany democratic institutions without a renewed struggle, but:

> That is no reason to despair. To paraphrase our great poet, we believe that "there can be a good life only where people may make themselves free." The German people have already made great strides towards this self-emancipation. What Germany is today is not the work of individual personalities, but rather the achievement of a whole great nation; not of a single generation, but of many races. Freedom for the people under a constitution cannot be withheld from such a nation indefinitely.[5]

Although they enjoyed in the United States a degree of self-determination and popular representation still only dreamed of in

the old country, German-Americans in Buffalo had to recognize that the day-to-day reality of democratic government differed sadly from their ideal, as the *Freie Presse* noted in "Eine politische Neujahrsbetrachtung:"

> According to the latest count by the police, Buffalo has a population of over 230,000 souls, grouped as follows: 90,000 American-born, 80,000 Germans, 30,000 Irish, 15,000 Poles, 10,000 English, Scots, and Canadians, and 5,000 belonging to other nationalities. Now is it not peculiar, indeed shameful, that a citizenry so various has been ruled for years by a city council whose organization depends completely on the grace of one or two Irishmen? . . . Can a liberal civic government worthy of the name permit the representatives of the very crudest part of the citizenry, fortunately a minority, to dominate a community that contains so much cultivation and intelligence?[6]

The writer suggests that letting only taxpayers vote would end political corruption and "rowdyism" and enhance the influence of decent and cultured people, but later rejects the idea.

The German-American press in Buffalo as elsewhere took very seriously its role as educator and conscience of the community in regard to both European and American affairs. In addition to discussing U.S. politics and business, the *Freie Presse* presented feature stories on German emigrant communities all over the world, and on German and European affairs in general, particularly such areas as Alsace-Lorraine and Bohemia in which Germans lived uneasily with other nationalities. Aside from bulletins on plans to erect various monuments, however, and a daily episode from a serialized novel, cultural and artistic matters received relatively short shrift. The political and moral engagement of the *Freie Presse* in local and domestic matters is typified by what it had to say when police, in order to reduce the incidence of stabbings, raided a boarding house patronized mainly by Italians:

> That the victims of this violence are foreigners makes matters more serious, for it suggests that xenophobia was a factor. . . . If the police deal in a degrading way with a whole group of people because of rabble-rousing news stories, then that must be characterized as an act of violence that would dishonor any civilized community.[7]

The following remarkably trenchant analysis of the negative realities created by the "Wirtschaftswunder" of Bismarck's new imperium shows that conditions in Germany were not always painted

in rosy colors, nor could they have been, for many readers must have recognized their own stories in such accounts:

> The growth of the big cities is the ruin of the rural towns. The principle of centralization sounds the death-knell for those small localities, which were once themselves the center of a modest region and are now sinking into insignificance. Grass is growing in their streets, and in the houses misery is taking root. The discouraged villager will finally sell his property for a song, as it is worth hardly anything, and migrate to the metropolis or to America, where he might get ahead through diligence and ambition, which has become impossible in the small town, no matter how hard he might work. . . . The glamor of the metropolis comes at a high price: the ruin of many lives in the smaller communities.[8]

Very strong is the sense that the German-Americans, despite their accomplishments and the high esteem they have earned, are still at a disadvantage in America unless they surrender their cultural identity. On the eve of the death of the Emperor Wilhelm I, the various lodges of the Order of Harugari, an important German-American social and benevolent organization, held a banquet to celebrate the forty-first anniversary of its founding. The main speaker of the evening looked back with pride, but also with some bitterness, at the changes in the status of Germany and the German-Americans since 1847:

> The churches formed the first bonds of friendship among the immigrants, but these German churches were not puritanical and their pastors not like those of the Puritans, who had long since forgotten to preach the gospel of love through their concern with burning witches and persecuting members of other faiths. . . . From the German congregations, singing societies and other associations developed gradually, until the Germans finally began to play a political role. But the "Know Nothings," who hated all foreigners, sounded their call of doom: "America for Americans only! Down with Foreigners!" . . . The legislatures were urged to pass laws to prevent foreigners from becoming citizens until they had been in the country for twenty years. Violent assaults occurred, and murders were no rarity. . . . When Fort Sumter was fired upon, leading to the secession of the South, the German sons of the Union were found in the first volunteer regiments to offer their blood and their lives to save the Union. Thousands fell in battle and now sleep an eternal sleep in mass graves. In a bloody script thousands have documented their sacred right to be American citizens.[9]

The successes of the immigrants were acknowledged to have resulted from their own efforts, from being law-abiding, active

citizens and earning the praise of Abraham Lincoln that "the Germans are the best Americans." The political triumphs of the "new Germany" also brought grudging respect from stubbornly hostile Americans:

> When he assesses the numerical strength and influence of the German-American element, the typical American cannot help seeing the German nation, which did not even exist twenty years ago. Then, Anglo-American papers wrote about "Prussians" with unmistakable contempt when they meant Germans, but today things are quite different, even if the old hate occasionally glimmers under the ashes.[10]

A powerful current was already sweeping immigrants from Germany towards political integration and cultural assimilation within what they perceived to be the predominantly xenophobic texture of American life. Yet many still entertained in 1888 the ambivalent hope that the German language, cultural expression, and customs might assert their influence within a conception of the United States as a heterogeneity of nations rather than as a homogenized singularity. "Deutscher Idealismus," reprinted by the *Freie Presse* from the *St. Louis Tribüne* on the occasion of the great "Sängerfest" celebrated there, clearly tells what the Germans felt they had to offer, including a rather aggressive critique of the cold puritanism and utilitarianism of the "Yankees":

> Americans have so far failed completely to create truly national festivals ("Volksfeste"). They lack the essential quality to do so: Idealism. Therefore, we Germans alone must carry out the mission of adding the indispensable droplet of poetical and idealistic flavoring to the watery soup of daily life in America. . . . Since the ossified Puritan man of business only considers things that bring in money useful, we now see the "Yankees" closing their ranks aggressively against us and our poetic customs, departing from their earlier passive tolerance. That also explains, at least in part, the Know-Nothing movement. . . . We must impress the Americans with our power ("Macht"). . . . These festivals help to demonstrate to all non-Germans the power and significance of the German nation, and they are a weapon in the cultural struggle ("Kulturkampf") that we must wage to maintain the essence of the Germanic heritage, if we are to perform our sacred duty: to pass on intact to later generations the hard-won achievements of our ancestors.[11]

"Macht" and "Kulturkampf," usually associated with the new German national state, reflect the vogue for using metaphors of struggle in almost any discourse. What was seen above as the

assault on German cultural life by the "Yankees" took the form of temperance campaigns for Sunday closing of places of entertainment and limitations on the sale of alcoholic beverages. Strict enforcement would have meant the end of the already beleaguered German theatre in many cities and of the conviviality that German-Americans saw as indispensable to their few hours of leisure. German editorialists often saw the temperance movement as a symptom of the unwholesome meddling of women in American political and social life. Testifying before a Congressional committee against Prohibition, one Pastor Schneider compared "Die deutsche Familie und die Temperenzler-Familie:"

> I can show you thousands and thousands of German-American families, in which the wife exercises her mild and gentle rule, but does not make it her business to stand on the speaker's platform in forgetfulness of the words of the Apostle Paul that Woman must be silent in public. . . . And now look at your New England households. You will find that, where all of the women participate more or less actively in the campaign for Prohibition, families with more than one or two offspring are rare, and even these children are weak and sickly.[12]

"Bilingual education" and "linguistic biculturalism" were problems already in 1888. This colorful polemic refutes objections to the use of public school funds in Milwaukee to teach in languages other than English, "the national language of the United States":

> Only adjectives from the vocabulary of zoology can characterize the stupidity and impudence of declaring, absolutely and without restrictions, that the language of America is English. It is true that most inhabitants of the United States are incapable of speaking any other language; it is true that, in consideration of that inability of the majority of Americans, the minority uses the English language to communicate with them. But not true, in fact completely false, is the conclusion drawn from these facts by native-born fools that English is the exclusive language of the country. . . . To make a long story short: The German language is here to stay, because German-speaking Americans are just as good Americans, sometimes even better ones than the English-Irish. Put that in your pipe and smoke it![13]

Such pugnacity was undercut by frequent laments about the decay of spoken German under the onslaught of English idioms: "How miserable a German-American mishmash sounds that is larded with all kinds of English jargon".[14]

Their own sense of living in a state of cultural siege, lingering memories of the traumatic "Know Nothing" period in the United States, and the fight for the rights of German speakers did not necessarily make editorialists sympathize with the plight of linguistic minorities in similar situations, especially if the dominant culture was German. This is evident in remarks about Alsace, where signs in the French language were now prohibited, the region having been under imperial German rule since 1871:

> This minor coercion is probably necessary for those who want to stick to their Frenchified ways merely as something to raise a row about; after all, they had seventeen years in which to get used to the new situation on their own. It is nonsense to speak of cruelty in this case, as the area in question is ethnically entirely German.[15]

The *Buffalo Freie Presse* showed some apprehension, however, for Germans in Bohemia, where the Austrian government permitted civil servants to use the Czech language.[16] Prague's enthusiastic reception for Sarah Bernhardt was seen as a political protest by Czechs seeking a common front with France against German interests.[17]

When all was said and done, however, German-Americans understood that demographics massively favored English, even if the population explosion predicted in "The English Language is Conquering the New World" has not been quite so extensive:

> During the past century, the number of speakers of English has risen from 15 million to 105 million; by 1900 it will stand at 130 million and by 2000 at 840 million, if the same rate of growth continues. . . . If our population rises as it has up to now, the country will have a population of 700 million within a century. Three-quarters of the world's English-speakers will live in the United States by then. In another one hundred years, Canada and the British West Indies will probably belong to the United States, and the center of gravity of the English-speaking world will be located in the New World.[18]

Now that we have heard what 1888 expected of 1988, we may conclude this encounter with the past, although the pages of the German-American press can tell us much more of the facts and feelings of that age. Clearly, it was as difficult in "the good old days" in Buffalo and elsewhere as it is for us today to conceive of an American identity; to decide, whatever our origins, whether we

are offspring of an old world best left behind or creators of a new heritage in a new land.

Notes

[1] Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 2.
[2] La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 74-82; Günther Moltmann, "The Pattern of German Emigration to the United States in the Nineteenth Century," in *America and the Germans: Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 14ff.
[3] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *Die deutschsprachige Presse der Amerikas. Band I. Geschichte und Bibliographie 1732-1968: Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika*. (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 319, 330.
[4] Ismar S. Ellison, "The Germans of Buffalo," in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 2 (1880): 128.
[5] *Buffalo Täglicher Demokrat*, 16 June 1888, 2.
[6] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 2 January 1888, 2.
[7] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 5 March 1888, 2.
[8] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 13 March 1888, 2.
[9] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 9 March 1888, 2.
[10] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 24 October 1888, 2.
[11] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 18 June 1888, 2.
[12] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 10 March 1888, 2.
[13] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 27 January 1888, 2.
[14] *Buffalo Tribüne*, 1 January 1888, 2.
[15] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 25 January 1888, 2.
[16] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 24 November 1888, 2.
[17] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 5 December 1888, 2.
[18] *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 22 November 1888, 2.

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The Kalender/Jahrbuch *of the* NeuBraunfelser Zeitung

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In 1821 Americans began to settle in Texas, which at the time belonged to Mexico. The first German settlements were started in 1831, about halfway between present Houston and Austin, the east-central part of the state (Biesele 1930). In 1836 the Texans rebelled against Mexico and won their independence; Texas was a republic for the next nine years. During this period of independence, a group of German noblemen, the so-called *Adelsverein*, conceived a grandiose plan to settle tens of thousands of Germans on the West Texas frontier, forming a new German homeland, possibly even with political independence. Beginning in 1844, thousands of Germans did go to West Texas under this plan, but at first they found shattered dreams: the *Adelsverein* had no clear title to the lands it claimed and it had not realized that the present occupants, the Comanches, had no desire to move. In 1845, soon after the first thousands of Germans arrived, Texas joined the United States and the Mexican War broke out. The *Adelsverein* went bankrupt in 1847 and left the immigrants destitute. Nevertheless, the settlers persevered and eventually prospered. A dozen years later, however, they found themselves again in the midst of a war they wanted nothing to do with, and for a cause—slavery—which nearly all the Germans found to be reprehensible. It was in these troubled times that Neu-Braunfels—New Braunfels—was founded.

In 1852, the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* began publication. Preceded only by the *Galveston Zeitung* founded in 1846, the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* was the first German newspaper in the state to endure—and it did so for more than a hundred years (Arndt and Olson 1965). As more and more thousands of Germans came to Texas, settling in various parts of the state, many more German

newspapers and periodicals were founded. More than thirty towns eventually had a German paper, and the larger cities, such as Houston, San Antonio, and Austin, had several. Their heyday was from about 1870 until about 1930, but several of them even survived the second World War before they died a natural death about 1950. The *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* survived until 1954 ceasing publication when it became 102 years old.

In 1905 the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* issued its first *Kalender*, the brainchild of Georg Frederick Oheim, editor of the *Zeitung* from 1899 until 1941. Arndt and Olson (1965, 628) list one or possibly two issues of a predecessor, *Der reichillustrierte grosse lustige Bote-Kalender*, produced in 1903 and/or 1904 by Oheim. Oheim himself never mentions this earlier venture nor does he count it when assigning a number to the current issue (e.g., 1924, foreword). Oheim published the *Kalender* (later called the *Jahrbuch*) as long as he was editor. His son, Frederick Oheim, succeeded him as editor and continued the *Jahrbuch* until 1944. Arndt and Olson (1965, 627) imply that the *Jahrbuch* may have been continued longer, but list no extant copies published after 1944. The *Kalender/Jahrbuch* thus spanned forty years, through both world wars. Since the newspaper itself continued for another ten years, evidently the war was not the cause of the demise of the *Jahrbuch*.

Nearly all the issues have the same size and format: usually 64 pages, but sometimes 88, with a brief foreword, a calendar for the coming year, each month being accompanied by a humorous poem (*die unfehlbaren texanischen Wetterverse*), a list of holidays and eclipses, and the major contents: assorted trivial short stories, the infrequent "educational" item (such as the history of clocks and calenders), an anecdote, or a joke, and—most importantly—frequent accounts of the early days of the Germans in Texas. The first seven volumes (1905-1911) each contain about a dozen pages of German advertising that is linguistically and culturally interesting. After 1912, no advertising was included for many years. The last volumes from the 1940s, however, again contain 10 or 15 pages of advertising in the front. These advertisements are mostly in English, as had become the practice in German newspapers at the time, but with a few interesting items still in German (and in *Fraktur*, of course), such as an ad for the Gerlich Auto Company with its *wirklicher 'One-Stop Service'* and *Wrecker-Dienst Tag und Nacht*. (Remember

this was in the middle of World War II.) None of the volumes have tables of contents.

Though he had originally called it *Kalender*, in 1923 the editor began to feel that *Jahrbuch* would be a more appropriate title for his publication. He called the issue for 1924 *Kalender-Jahrbuch* and, from 1925 on, simply *Jahrbuch*. Possibly the interference of the English word "calendar," which, unlike the German word *Kalender*, means only a list of dates and not also an almanac or yearbook, caused a loss among the Texas Germans of the latter meaning of *Kalender*.

The two terrible wars against Germany seem to have had no effect on the *Jahrbuch*. In general, the *Jahrbuch* is completely unpolitical and unpolemical. There is no mention of World War I even in the forewords of those years; however, no *Jahrbuch* was issued for 1919 (even though the war had recently ended), which the 1920 *Jahrbuch* explained as due to the wartime restrictions on all newspaper printing. And in the second war, it is not until the issue for 1943, which appeared late, that a brief comment is made, "Gegenwärtig tobt ein Krieg von nie dagewesenem Umfang," as the beginning of an apology for the lateness.

At the end of 1936, which was the centennial of Texas independence, a special *Centennial-Nummer* appeared instead of a *Jahrbuch* for 1937, and the *Jahrbuch* for 1938 was similarly replaced by a special *Denkmal-Nummer* in honor of the new Monument to the German Pioneers in New Braunfels. These two issues have a somewhat larger, magazine-like format; their contents are similar to the Texas German historical selections of the regular *Kalender/Jahrbuch* issues (without the trivia and the almanac items). They can be considered to be the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* issues for 1937 and 1938.

The brief forewords frequently state that the major purpose of the yearbooks—besides providing a few *angenehme Stunden* for the readers—is to preserve old writings about the early days of German Texas, with the hope that perhaps they will someday be put together into a book.

Arndt and Olson's reference work on German-American periodicals calls the *Kalender-Jahrbuch* "a storehouse of information on the Germans of the state." Selma Metzenthin-Raunick's history of German writings in Texas cites the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* a number

of times (e.g., 2:4, 21, 25, 57) in regard to writings she considers important; the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* was evidently a major source of information for her.

The *Kalender/Jahrbuch* was the only one of its kind in Texas. *Schützes Jahrbuch*, which appeared in 1880s, while larger and better than the *Neu Braunfels Jahrbuch*, unfortunately appeared for only a few years (Arndt and Olson 1965, 631). Arndt and Olson (1965, 629, 633) mention only two other yearbooks, each of which appeared in approximately 1905—the time of the founding of the *Neu-Braunfelser Kalender*—but which lasted only one year. Several times in the twenties the forewords of the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* proclaim, "hier ist er wieder, der einzige in Texas und im ganzen Süden in deutscher Sprache erscheinende Kalender."

The *Kalender/Jahrbuch* consequently is important in its own right, as well as being a storehouse for the future. Sent free to all subscribers of the *Zeitung*, it was a widely known publication, and throughout the twenties the circulation was constantly rising. The publication even boasted of readers in other countries in the Americas and abroad (1923, foreword). Even its trivial short stories and educational items might be analyzed for the light they shed on such things as the kind of newspaper German that was current in Texas. Besides the obvious Anglicisms, which form only a very small part of the vocabulary, one might note that the German is basically correct and exhibits quite an astonishingly rich vocabulary; indeed, much of the trivia was obviously taken straight out of newspapers or books from Germany. Frequently, where an Anglicism is expected, a surprisingly correct German word is found: e.g., for "bluebonnets" *Lupinen*, and for "Indian paintbrushes" *Indianernelken* (1926, 7). One might wonder how the Texas Germans learned the modern German words for such things as sparkplugs, which could not have been part of their original vocabulary; probably a good part of the answer lies in the fact that the local newspapers published German stories in the form in which they arrived from Germany. It should also be noted that the reader was expected to understand not only modern German, but occasionally varied forms of German dialects. The reader was also expected to understand terms of German geography and references to German history, such as an anecdote about "der alte Wrangel" (1935, 41).

A major problem in working with the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* is that sources are frequently unclear. Nevertheless, in a number of cases, especially in the articles on Texas German history, the source is cited; that is, the article is introduced with a note that it is reprinted from a certain newspaper or book, or that certain letters or diaries are being printed from the original manuscripts, even sometimes giving the name of the person who is lending the manuscripts. In many other cases, however, no source is reported. In the case of the short stories, an author's name is usually given, but with no indication as to who the author is or whether the story has been previously published, as was surely most often the case. It would be enlightening to know what the source of Texas German trivial stories was. It would be especially interesting if it should turn out that some of the stories are by Texas German authors. In a few instances this is clearly the case: there is the story "Des Schicksals Leiden und Freuden," by Ada vom Stein of New Braunfels. Metzenthin-Raunick lists this work, which she calls "eine anmutige kleine Novelle," as having appeared only in the *Jahrbuch* (1930, 31-49). She does not list any other writings of Mrs. vom Stein. The story is set not in Texas, but in the Germany of World War I, and the hero is a German soldier. Another, more anecdotal story, "Bei der Füllstation" (1941, 61), seems to be American German, and possibly Texas German, but unfortunately no author is given. This story is quite contemporary, as the title ("At the Filling Station") indicates. It contains a few interesting Anglicisms—*Gasolinpumpe*, *Sandwiches*, *Sheriff*, and *ein schwerer Colt*—but they are surrounded by classical High German kitsch, such as "harte, peitschenartige Pistolenschüsse zerrissen die Nacht." As American as the story seems, it is entirely possible that it was written in Germany, with the Anglicisms typical of a story in an American setting.

Some of Oheim's own Texas German stories are subtitled "Eine texanische Erzählung," and are probably fiction (1935, 35-41, 49-52). Oheim, well-known as a journalist, perhaps deserves more attention as a writer of fiction than he has received (Metzenthin-Raunick 1936: 2, 39).

Occasionally evidence about the source will turn up within the article, as when an article by a certain Emil Kriewitz (1935, 15-17) states, "the next time I write, I think I will write about such and such," indicating that the article must have originally been a kind of

letter to the editor which had been printed in the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*.

In addition to the articles on Texas German history which we will consider below, there are a few items on early Germans in America; one concerns a special guard of German soldiers for George Washington (1924, 51), and another recounts the Viking discovery of America (1921, 30-33), naturally with a bit of innocent Germanic pride. There is nothing on German national history or modern German achievements, however.

Often the "educational" articles are written by the editor, Oheim, as are many of the Texas German historical articles, but they are usually not signed.

It is good to be able to report that there are no disparaging stories or anecdotes about Jews or blacks—with the exception of one ostensibly historical report of an uprising of blacks in 1861 (1906, 35)—which is surprising when one remembers how common such disparagements were among the general public, both Anglo and German.

There is unfortunately very little poetry in the yearbooks, with the exception of the previously mentioned *unfehlbaren texanischen Wetterverse*, a poem for each month of the coming year, printed with the calendar at the beginning of each issue. They were written by the elder Oheim, the original editor, and twelve poems per year over thirty years makes a collection of several hundred. They are unpretentious humor and even Oheim jokes about them. While they are not signed, it is clear that Oheim is the author, and some make mention of the fact that the *Kalendermann* has written them (1925,3).

Almost all of these poems are in the same sing-song meter, with three verses of four short lines each. The following is a typical single verse:

> Im Laufe der ewigen Wiederkehr
> Der weltallfüllenden Dinge
> Ereignet es sich, dass wiederum ich
> Texanisches Wetter besinge. (1924, 3)

These poems exhibit frequently recurring themes: sausages in November; weeds, drought, and watermelons in the summer; wildflowers, rains, and chuckholes in the spring; and the primary election

(*die Vorwahl*) in July. Prohibition is mentioned indirectly a couple of times: *ein kicklos frommes Bierchen* (1924, 5) and *des Mondes feuriger Schein* (1925, 6). In two or three issues, Oheim varied the content of the verses, raising his poetic sights in the process: those in the 1935 issue deal not with the weather but with early Texas German history, and in 1939 some of them attempt to give a panorama of Texas, with verses about Texas cities and regions.

The last weather verses appeared in the 1939 issue, near the end of the elder Oheim's editorship. In the 1940 and 1941 volumes they have been replaced with poems by various authors, some obscure, some notable, such as Heine and Eichendorff, and at least two by Texas German poets—Fred Pieper and Selma Metzenthin-Raunick. This latter effort to use the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* as an outlet for some of the Texas German poets was not followed up. The last three issues, for 1942 to 1944, contain no calendar poems, although the issue for 1943 does give a couple of pages of old German farmers' sayings and verses about the weather, making it clear that these are in place of the previous weather poems. It is possible that a few Texas German poems may be preserved only in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*. There are, for instance, a few poems by the well-known Fritz Goldbeck (1924, 49-56), and one by Ludwig Vogel (1924, 47). Both of these poets published collections of their poems, and it would be interesting to establish whether the poems in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* are in those collections, as is probable, or whether they supplement them. There is a good poem to the new year (1917, 16) by Ida Moebius, who is not mentioned in Metzenthin-Raunick.

Let us turn finally to the most important aspect of the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*: the articles on early Texas German history. Many are by Oheim himself. He furnished, for instance, articles on the history of New Braunfels public school (1943, 48-58), and on Germans at the battle of San Jacinto (1923, 43). Oheim's historical fiction "Erzählungen" are mentioned above.

A second category of Texas German historical articles comprises materials that were reprinted from other publications. There are, for example, many excerpts from Ferdinand Roemer's famous *Texas* (e.g., 1912, 17-32; 1917, 17-22). Since an English translation of Roemer's book that appeared in 1936 has recently been reprinted, the excerpts in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* do not serve the purpose they once did. Nevertheless, they do give us access

to portions of Roemer's original German work, which has not been reprinted and is consequently difficult to find. There are also selections from Viktor Bracht's book *Texas im Jahre 1848* (1931, 17-30) and from Hermann Ehrenberg's books on the Texas revolution (1922, 33-43). F. W. Luhn had published a very interesting little report in booklet form in 1849; the *Jahrbuch* reprinted it in 1925 (27-42). Oheim considered it a rarity at the time, and it still is. A number of articles are reprints of earlier publications by Ludolph Lafrentz, an earlier editor of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* who later published the *Deutsch-Texanische Monatshefte* from 1895 to 1910; it is from the latter that the reprints are taken.

There are articles (e.g., 1928, 15-19) by Ferdinand Lindheimer, which had previously been published in the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*. Lindheimer had been the first editor of the *Zeitung* and was known as the first botanist of Texas. One of these articles (1936, 56-64) concerns Lindheimer's experiences in Texas and Mexico in 1834. Such articles are crucial for investigations of the lives of these prominent early German Texans.

From the reprints in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*, we see that a wealth of informative articles are to be found by searching the early issues of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* and other Texas German newspapers. The *Kalender/Jahrbuch* even offers reprints from faraway publications that we might otherwise never have found. For example, an 1845 article (1926, 45) reprinted from the *New York Deutsche Schnellpost*, is interesting because it is contemporaneous with the still-operating *Adelsverein* but critical of it. There is a story about the well-known pioneer Adolph Stern (1925, 15-26) translated by Oheim from an English article that surely would otherwise have been lost from Texas German research because it appeared in the *Texaco Star* magazine (Dec. 1923) under a rather misleading title—"Christmas in 1824 in Nacogdoches, Texas." Even more important may be Oheim's note in the foreword that the University of Texas has a diary kept by Stern.

The *Kalender* for 1916 was devoted entirely to the publication of some of the early reports of Prince Solms from Texas to the *Adelsverein* in Germany, dating from the years 1841 to 1844. Although this may not have been the first publication of these reports (Benjamin 1909, 15, credits *Deutsch-Texanische Monatshefte*, vol.

9, in that regard), it seems to have been the only available source for them; Biesele cites it frequently (1930, 75ff).

The letter to the editor written by Emil Kriewitz is probably important. Baron Emil von Kriewitz, a prominent man in the *Adelsverein* who became an officer in the Mexican War, led the troops that protected the German Texan surveyors from the Indians, was instrumental in the establishment of Bettina, Castell, and other settlements, and later served in the vital position of Indian agent for many years. It is these things that Kriewitz discusses in his contribution.

There are important lists of the earliest ships and passengers that came to Galveston under the *Adelsverein* in the years 1844-46 (1938, 16-44). While these were originally printed in the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*, they are much more accessible in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*. These records were lost in Galveston and are not to be found in the recently published *Ships Passenger Lists for Galveston* (1984).

In considering the importance of the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*, our primary interest naturally concerns those articles which are available to us only there. Possibly the most important such publication is the Civil War diary of Captain Julius Giesecke (1934, 37-59; 1935, 18-34), who commanded a company of German Texan troops from Washington County in the Confederate army. The diary is about 35 pages long and spans almost the entire period of the war. Giesecke and his men were captured and taken to the North, but they mananged to escape and make their way back to the Southern forces. The diary is interesting reading and certainly merits the attention of Civil War buffs as well as of Texas German devotees; it looks like a natural for a re-publication, both in the original German and in English translation. After the war, Giesecke moved to New Braunfels and became editor of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung*. His diary was printed in the *Jahrbuch* from the original manuscript, which was furnished to Oheim by Mrs. Linda Stein, Captain Giesecke's daughter (1935, foreword). The instances in which Oheim gives such clear information about his sources are doubly valuable because they give us hints as to where important manuscripts or letters or even book collections may still be waiting to be found; the Giesecke diary manuscript, for example, may still be in the Stein family, or there may be a Giesecke or Stein file containing it at the Barker Archives of the University of Texas at Austin or elsewhere. And if there is

such a file, it may contain other valuable materials that we know nothing about and which have never been made public anywhere. Thus the materials in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* give us valuable clues as to where to look for further materials.

Another important and interesting diary, but quite different from that of Giesecke, is a 24-page account of the six-week long crossing in 1855 from Bremen to New Orleans, written by Ferdinand Nehls, who seems to be otherwise unknown (1944, 61-83). This, too, was published from the original manuscript, furnished by a Mrs. Ernst Stein, a granddaughter of the author; whether this is the same Mrs. Linda Stein who supplied the Giesecke manuscript is unclear. This diary also seems worthy of independent re-publication in German and English.

The 1936 *Jahrbuch* contains some very interesting letters from the year 1850, written by Ludwine Kapp, the wife of the well-known Professor Ernst Kapp, who had published a book against despotism in Germany before his emigration to Texas. The letters are said to have come from a rich collection of German Texan materials owned by Alex Brinkmann of Comfort. Biesele also cites his indebtedness to Brinkmann (1930, vii). One wonders where this collection is today.

Other early letters and eye-witness accounts are by Wilhelm Hermes, concerning travel in 1846 to Galveston, Industry, and Friedrichsburg (1941, 17-28); Mrs. Peter Carl Johann von Rosenberg in 1850 about Nassau Farm, a famous early venture of the *Adelsverein* (1941, 29-31); by H. Günther and Julius Schütze about the early singing societies (1935, 58-60) and the Turnverein (1943, 46f.); and by Gus Reiniger (1943, 65-70) and A. Theinert (1918, 41-47) about their lives as early Texas German cowboys. There is a letter from Lt. Oscar von Claren about New Braunfels, written in 1845 (1920, 46-52); this is the unfortunate von Claren who with Captain von Wrede was killed by Indians in the same year, 1845. There are a number of other such items.

The many articles about early Texas German history furnish evidence for what might be called the mythology or the accepted folk-history of the West Texas Germans—as opposed to the other German areas of the state, which did not come under the *Adelsverein*, and which have their own mythologies. For example, in his choice of items to publish Oheim was unconsciously led by the accumulated

folk-consciousness of what the history had been and which things were important. While the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* prints almost nothing about the other German settlements in Texas, again and again we hear of Prince Solms and the *Adelsverein*, Meusebach's daring meeting with the Indians, the death march of the new immigrants from Karlshafen to the interior, the so-called "Sophienburg" at New Braunfels, etc. According to this folklore, after meeting with Meusebach, the Comanches never bothered the honest and peace-loving Germans, and if horses were sometimes stolen by Indians, you knew it was "those other tribes" (1935, 35). The previously mentioned cycle of historical poems in the 1935 *Jahrbuch* (replacing the weather verses) celebrate these themes. Less known now, but apparently current in the nineteenth century, were the legend of the "seven gold-rich cities of Cibolo" (1935, 38), the use of the smoke of the Peyote plant by Indians as a hallucinogenic (1935, 52), the reputation of the Karankawa Indians as cannibals (1930, 50), and the fact that the very word "Texas" sounded like "Desperado, Mord und Totschlag" (1935, 53).

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The German Press of New Orleans, 1839-1909

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The city of New Orleans is generally recognized as being a French city where Gallic influences have predominated for two and one-half centuries. This strong identification of New Orleans as a French city has tended to obscure the contributions of other nationalities to that city's history. Nationalities such as the Italians, Irish, Yugoslavs, and Germans have all contributed to the development of the Crescent City. The Germans in particular have played an important role in New Orleans' history. The German influence reached its peak in the middle of the nineteenth century when perhaps 30,000 individuals of that nationality resided in the city.[1] To meet their social and cultural needs, the Germans established their own schools, churches, theaters, and newspapers. The German press, above all, reflected the important and dynamic presence of the German population in this "French" city. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, an amazingly diverse and rich array of newspapers and periodicals arose to nourish, and compete for, the German mind. Fifty-four separate German-language publications were at one time or another in print between 1829 and 1909.[2] It will be the purpose of this essay to provide an historical overview of New Orlean's German press within this time frame. In so doing, we shall hope to provide fresh insights not only into the history of this important institution, but also into the history of the German people in general.

The first German-language newspaper appeared in print on November 16, 1839. It was called *Der Deutsche* and was under the editorship of Emil Johns. Its main purpose was to arouse the political interests of the German people of New Orleans so that they might better counter the growing "nativist" sentiments of the American voter. A burgeoning anti-foreigner movement was sweeping through

the United States in the 1830s and 40s and was represented politically by the later emergence of the Know-Nothing party. A powerful nativist element existed in New Orleans, and in its program of 1839, from which the first German newspaper quoted extensively, the Germans and other foreigners were vehemently denounced for taking away jobs from native Americans. *Der Deutsche* continued in its purpose for about six months. After June 15, 1840, under new editorship, it appeared in both German and English as *The German-American*, and expressed the political viewpoints of the Whig party. Later that year (November), for unknown reasons, it ceased publication.[3]

A second, more successful, journalistic enterprise came into being on January 8, 1842, when *Der Deutsche Courier* was founded. Owned by Joseph Cohn and edited by Alfred Schüking, the paper's declared purpose was to "serve as the organ of the German people of the South, to represent their interests, to inform themselves of all the conditions of the old and the new home as completely as possible."[4] For five years, Cohn's newspaper admirably served this purpose. It carried a great deal of news from the homeland and generally supported the revolutionary (democratic) aspirations of the German people against the tyrannies. The German liberals found in it a steady friend and loyal mouthpiece. Closer to home, the *Courier* reflected the political views of the Democratic party. It frequently denounced the eastern abolitionists even though it probably shared their views. *Der Deutsche Courier*, for example, never accepted any advertising promoting the institution of slavery. Like its predecessor, *Der Deutsche*, the *Courier* consistently resisted the nativist elements of the state. During the Constitutional Convention of 1845, it helped to defeat the efforts of nativist elements to include in the new constitution an amendment limiting the voting rights of naturalized citizens.[5]

One of the paper's finest achievements was the part it played in helping to establish an organization known as the *Deutsche Gesellschaft*. Due to Cohn's unrelenting efforts through a series of articles written by him in *Der Deutsche Courier* between 1842 and 1847, a German Society was founded on May 5, 1847.[6] Its aim was to provide relief and assistance to the thousands of German immigrants then passing through the port of New Orleans. Many of these refugees were desperately poor and needed the advice and

material assistance of someone they could understand and trust. Agents of the Society met the arriving colonists as they debarked from their vessels, escorted them through customs, provided them food and temporary shelter, secured for them employment if they decided to remain in New Orleans, and accorded them further counsel and financial aid as they continued their journeys into the American interior. The German Society's efforts were a tremendous success. In its eighty-one year existence it provided support to over 280,000 German immigrants. In its first thirteen years alone, the Society was able to help almost all of the 240,000 German settlers who made their way through the nation's second-leading port of entry. It was a monumental achievement made possible by Cohn's humanitarian aspirations expressed through his newspaper, *Der Deutsche Courier*.[7]

Cohn sold the *Courier* to Karl Mendicus shortly after the founding of the Deutsche Gesellschaft. One of the stipulations in the bill of sale was an agreement by the former owner of the newspaper not to found a competing journalistic venture for at least a year. Mendicus highly feared the editorial prowess of Cohn and hoped to be able to avoid a costly rivalry with the highly-regarded Cohn until his ownership and grasp of his new duties were more secure. Despite this safeguard written into the contract, Mendicus proved unable to profitably manage his new acquisition. In just over a year his newspaper folded.[8]

The end of the *Deutsche Courier* in September of 1848 was helped along by the establishment of a new paper, the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung* on August 1, 1848. Indeed, what Mendicus had feared now came about. The new enterprise was founded by Joseph Cohn and within a month forced its rival out of business. *The New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung* proved to be the most successful German-language newspaper in the city. Although it faced many challengers in the decades ahead, it always survived. It remained in publication until 1907. When it finally ceased publications, it was not due to any ineptness on the part of its editor or owner, nor because of any precipitous fall in quality, but rather because of the loss of viability of the German culture. There were simply not enough German readers in the city. The Germans of New Orleans had become Americanized, and a German press became superfluous.[9] For many years, however, the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung* was

a going concern. Cohn placed it on a sound footing and remained its owner until March 1, 1853. The paper was then sold to Peter Pfeiffer. In 1857 Pfeiffer sold one-half of the newspaper to Jacob Hassinger and together they remained the publishers until 1866. Pfeiffer and Hassinger expanded their operations in 1859 by printing a separate weekly edition of their newpaper (*Das Wochenblatt der New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung*), and a separate Sunday edition in 1865 (*Das Sontagsblatt der New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung*). Hassinger took over sole possession of the paper in 1866 and remained the owner until 1899. Thereafter, the *Deutsche Zeitung* was run by a group of four directors known as the New Orleans Gazette Publishing Company. Throughout its history the paper probably averaged a circulation of 3,000. The highest number of subscribers was just over 5,000 in 1875.[10]

For most of the years that the *Deutsche Zeitung* was published, the newspaper enjoyed an excellent reputation. It avoided sensationalism and its editors and owners conducted themselves in a highly professional manner. Nevertheless, despite the generally high moral plane on which the newspaper operated, the *Deutsche Zeitung* did degenerate into an unprincipled sheet in the time of Reconstruction. In keeping with the scandalous behavior of many of the politicians and institutions of the time, the paper succumbed to the lure of instant profit by "supporting any party which guaranteed it fat printing profits." In its politics it ranged from "unreconstructed Democratic to Radical Republicanism." After Reconstruction ended in 1877, the *Deutsche Zeitung* returned, somewhat chastened by its abnormal behavior, to its accustomed respectability.[11]

In the meantime, other newspaper ventures were attempting to reach the German reader. In 1848, the very year which saw the founding of the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung* also witnessed the establishment of *Die Glocke*, a newspaper which represented the philosophy of the Whig party. A consortium headed by F. R. Southmayd (he was the secretary of the local Whig party organization) bought the type and printing presses of the now defunct *Deutsche Courier* and used them to bring into print this political sheet. The paper appeared daily and devoted almost all of its space in its early issues to promoting the career of Zachary Taylor, recently returned from Mexico and subsequently a presidential aspirant. After Taylor's election, the paper seems to have lost its direction. Within

the space of one year, seven separate editors attempted to guide it, and in early 1850 the name was changed. Newly christened *Der Wahre Republikaner*, the paper foundered soon thereafter.[12]

The failure of *Die Glocke* did not deter other newspaper ventures, however. In fact, the decade of the 1850s was a time of almost frenzied journalistic activity. It was this decade which saw the greatest influx of German immigrants through the port of New Orleans. In 1853 alone, over 40,000 German refugees were processed through New Orleans customs.[13] Although the overwhelming number of immigrants moved on into the midwestern regions of the United States, enough of them remained in New Orleans, if even for only a few days or weeks, to give this southern port city an increasingly Germanic flavor. By official tally of the U.S. Census, New Orleans in 1850 had 11,425 German-born inhabitants.[14] Furthermore, among those immigrants, both those passing through and those staying, were the exiles of the Revolutions of 1848, many of them highly learned and well-to-do. These new immigrants demanded and often were able to produce greater quantities of German-language literature. For these and other reasons, a plethora of German newspapers now came into being.[15]

Most of the newspapers established in the 1850s were printed in the outlying regions of the city where the Germans had concentrated. Three such German centers were Jefferson City, a separate municipality later joined to New Orleans as the third voter district; secondly, the independent community of Lafayette, later incorporated as New Orleans' fourth voter district; and thirdly, Carrollton, also an independent town in those days and subsequently added to the main city as the 7th voter district. All of these communities were imbued with a strong sense of civic patriotism and rivalry. Here in their localities, the Germans developed their own schools, churches, and civic clubs. It was not unusual, therefore, that they should also attempt to establish their own newspapers. Virtually all of these literary endeavors failed in short order, for various reasons.

The first such literary undertaking was the *Lousiana Zuschauer*. It was actually the continuation of an English newspaper, *the Louisiana Spectator*, an organ transformed into a German newspaper on June 1, 1850, and supporting the Whig cause in Jefferson City. No copies of this paper are extant. It enjoyed an excellent reputation

and was probably edited by the eminent German jurist active in Whig affairs, Christian Roselius. The *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin* of July 8, 1850, described the *Zuschauer* as the "best German paper ever published in these two cities [Jefferson City and New Orleans] . . . in the hands of a man who knows how to use it for the advancement of the Whig cause."[16] After being published for well over a year it went out of business. One other paper that emerged out of Jefferson, but making its appearance much later, was the *Jefferson Parish Wächter*. It lasted for about one year and was edited by a clergyman, Pastor Ludwig P. Heintz. We do not know its purpose or point of view since no issues are known to have survived.[17]

From the city of Lafayette emerged the *Deutsche Courier* (no relation to the previous paper by that name), the *Lafayetter Zeitung*, *Das New Orleanser Tageblatt*, *Das Arbeiterblatt*, and *Der Communist*. These were all short-lived ventures that catered to the working classes of Lafayette. The *Deutsche Courier* was founded by a group known as the United Workers. It came out in the late summer of 1850 and folded almost immediately. The *Lafayetter Zeitung* and *Das New Orleanser Tageblatt* both appeared for the first time on June 1, 1851, edited respectively by J. E. Kopp and Ludwig von Reizenstein. Presumably, they had a limited readership and therefore disappeared quickly.

More interesting were *Das Arbeiterblatt* and *Der Communist*. The former came out of a meeting of a workers' group called Allgemeiner Arbeiterverein. This organization represented the furniture makers, tailors, shoemakers, wheelwrights, and metal workers of Lafayette, and in an initial meeting of October 1, 1850, they determined to publish their own organ to be called *Das Arbeiterblatt* under the editorship of August Kattman. It apparently did appear at a later date, but for how long we do not know. No issues of it have survived.

A more radical workers' sheet was *Der Communist*. It came out in 1853 and was the direct result of the agitation of the communist leader Schneider Weitling, who visited New Orleans in 1852. His perturbations found a ready reception among the workers of this southern city since working conditions of foreign laboreers were deplorable. As a consequence of Weitling's preachings, a Communist Society was formed. Its president was Samuel Stamm and its secretary Georg Rehkopf. Under the auspices of this radical society,

Der Communist appeared for an undetermined period as a weekly under the editorship of a Mr. E. Cabet. Unfortunately, no copies of this publication exist.

The Germans of Carrollton pulished only one newspaper called the *Carrollton Journal*, which represented the views of several associations of gymnasts and barbers known as Die Deutschen Vereine. It was published by Fritz Fischer and Company as a German-English weekly. It first appeared on May 1, 1856 and went out of print on January 6, 1857. Although nothing is known about its economic or political philosophies, it, too, seems to have been a pamphlet reflecting the discontent of the working classes of New Orleans.[18]

Of the many newspapers born in the 1850s only one managed to survive into the 1860s. This was the *Louisiana Staatszeitung*, a daily founded on July 9, 1850 by Hermann Boelitz. It appeared at first in the third municipality near Jefferson City, but moved shortly to the center of New Orleans to attract a wider readership. Despite its troubled existence, it survived for a decade and a half. It was the only newspaper that ever seriously threatened the monopoly of the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung*.[19]

No love was lost between these two newspapers in their bitter, fifteen-year struggle for control of the German reading public in New Orleans. No efforts were spared by either paper to compete for the services of the city's most talented writers. Thus, it was considered a coup when the *Staatszeitung* attracted to its cause the gifted writer Ludwig von Reizenstein.[20] The sensationalist nature of his writings depicting important Germans of the community in scandalous private behavior (including scurrilous accounts of the later German governor of Louisiana, Michael Hahn) helped greatly to expand the readership of the *Staatszeitung* in the early fifties. Further adding to the temporary popularity of this newspaper was the prominent coverage given to the visit in late 1852 and early 1853 of the famed Lola Montez, the Scottish born Spanish dancer who had captured the heart of King Ludwig of Bavaria.[21] Nevertheless, despite all efforts to gain the upper hand in this struggle between enemies, the *Staatszeitung* eventually failed. In the end, the German reading public was turned off by the antics of this paper, including almost daily attacks against the management of the *Deutsche Zeitung*.

So heated did the competition become that the rival editors at one point even fought a duel with pistols.[22]

The failure of the *Staatszeitung* did not bring to an end other efforts at establishing newspaper enterprises. Even as the main competitors were involved in their feud, a rival sheet, the *New Orleans Journal*, appeared on June 30, 1860. Its editor was Sebastian Seiler, formerly employed by the *Deutsche Zeitung*, who perceived that a new publication might succeed if it came out on Mondays, the day on which neither of the major newspapers ran issues. His *Montagsblatt* did not succeed and ceased publication probably that same year.[23]

On September 1, 1866, was founded another newspaper by the name of *New Orleans Journal*. It, too, was started by a disgruntled employee of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a former editor by the name of Kredell. Kredell was able to persuade a number of influential Germans in the community to back his venture by convincing them that the *Deutsche Zeitung* was a dangerous monopoly that needed to be broken. He and his supporters formed the New Orleans Journal Association, raised capital in the amount of $25,000, and hired as the *Journal's* founding editor M. F. Sibilski, a talented newpaper man who came from the highly-regarded *Staatszeitung* of New York. These efforts notwithstanding, the *New Orleans Journal* failed within seven months. The same fate befell the *New Orleans Montagspost*. It was a weekly put out by the same group that had founded the *Journal*. It was also edited by Sibilski and lasted from May 6 to July 29, 1867.[24]

Somewhat more successful was *Die Tägliche New Orleans Deutsche Presse*, involving many of the same people as the previous two ventures. They established the New Orleans German Press Association, put up $25,000, and once more asked Sibilski to take over as editor. (He had, in the meantime, served briefly as editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung*.) The *Deutsche Presse* was established just in time (March 15, 1868), to challenge the *Deutsche Zeitung's* coverage of the Constitutional Convention of 1868. An intense rivalry resulted, with the *Deutsche Zeitung* supporting the Republican candidates and the *Presse* the Democratic candidates. The *Presse* derided this gathering as the "Black and Tan Convention" and severely criticized its rival for fostering the rights of Negro voters. Whether out of principle or not, the *Deutsche Zeitung's* backing of the Republicans

proved highly profitable. One of its immediate rewards was the exclusive privilege of printing the convention proceedings in the German language. The favorable position enjoyed by the *Deutsche Zeitung* within the state political structure doomed the chances of the *Presse* in a journalistic struggle for survival. Despite a talented array of editors (Sibilski, followed by Georg Foerster, and John Weichardt, nicknamed the "Blumenkönig") and tenacious new owners (Peter Pfeiffer, previous proprietor of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and Georg Müller), the end came on January 12, 1869.[25]

After 1869, virtually all future efforts to establish German-language newspapers involved Georg Müller. He was inspired in all his undertakings by an undying hatred for the *Deutsche Zeitung* and was determined at all costs to break its monopoly.

His first attempt after the failure of the *Presse* was *Die Laterne*, making its debut on April 13, 1872. Despite a humoristic, satirical format, which differentiated it from the more serious, political *Deutsche Zeitung*, this weekly foundered quickly. Returning to a more traditional, political approach, Müller reentered the newspaper field with the *Louisiana Deutsches Journal*. It was an uninspired journal lacking in originality or purpose. Begun on August 20, 1876 as a weekly, it ceased publication with its twenty-eighth edition. Of even shorter duration was Müller's *Narhalla*. It was another attempt at satire which failed in February of 1884 after just one issue. Müller's most ambitious effort was the *New Orleanser Deutsches Familienjournal*, which contained a supplement called *Unsere Lustigen Blätter*. To attract as wide an audience as possible, the journal gave extensive coverage to world and local news, including items of gossip, and provided much useful information for home and farm life. Its eight-page supplement, *Unsere Lustigen Blätter*, was a humoristic sheet especially designed to win over housewives. All in all, it was a costly, well-conceived venture from which much was expected but which nevertheless failed after its twenty-first issue on September 26, 1891.[26]

The *Deutsches Familienjournal* was Georg Müller's last hurrah in the newspaper business. Although he was peripherally involved in two subsequent attempts at establishing viable enterprises, the failure of the *Familienjournal* for all practical purposes removed him from the journalistic scene. His numerous abortive attempts to challenge the *Deutsche Zeitung* may well have embittered him

toward his profession and the Germans of New Orleans who refused to support him. He moved to San Diego in 1897 and died there the following year.[27]

Three other newspaper ventures bear mentioning in these declining years of the German press of New Orleans. The first was an effort partially underwritten by Müller but primarily the brainchild of a Texas journalist Hugo Lehmann, who arrived in New Orleans in 1893 with the intention of founding a journal to foster German immigration to the South. The opening and only issue of *Der Südliche Pionier*, dealt with the favorable agricultural conditions that existed for prospective German farmers in Acadia Parish, Louisiana. Real estate developers of South Louisiana backed Lehmann's enterprise, but once their region received proper billing in Lehmann's journal, they lost all interest in it.[28]

Three years later, on June 22, 1896, Fritz Kölling, with some backing from Müller, put out a weekly entitled *Unsere Häseblättchen*, renamed *Der Deutsche Kritiker* with the third issue, whose sole purpose was to undermine the *Deutsche Zeitung* through a series of vicious attacks against its management. Although the public was at first captivated by the vehemence of Kölling's diatribes, they soon tired of them and, as a result, Kölling was forced to discontinue his entire project. His hatred for the *Deutsche Zeitung* arose from revelations printed by that paper on April 24, 1896, which exposed Kölling as an unscrupulous insurance agent. He took his revenge by venting his anger before the German reading public, at considerable personal expense, until the end of 1896.[29]

A final effort at maintaining a German press in New Orleans came in the same year in which *Die Deutsche Zeitung*, the city's most venerable newspaper enterprise, announced its demise. This last effort of 1907 was the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* which appeared twice weekly on Sundays and Wednesdays beginning with June 23, 1907. It was obviously an attempt to fill the void left by the *Deutsche Zeitung*, which had announced its closing in its last issue of April 14 of that year. Despite a valiant try, *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* was destined not to succeed. The German reading public had simply disappeared. Whereas mid-nineteenth century New Orleans could boast a German population of almost 30,000, that city in 1910 could count only 6,000 Germans, and many were German in name only. Most of them were American citizens who spoke primarily English.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* should go out of print in April of 1909, thereby signifying the last gasp of the German press of New Orleans.[30]

Though by no means exhaustive, this survey of the German press between 1839 and 1909 ought to dispel once and for all the notion that New Orleans was a monocultural city. An extremely vibrant German minority existed in the city whose presence was repeatedly and brilliantly displayed in its newspapers. Indeed, to a far greater extent than the city's other ethnic groups who did not leave behind such a rich literary legacy, the Germans of New Orleans have made an indelible imprint on the culture of their adopted city.

Notes

[1]J. B. D. De Bow, *The Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* (Washington: Tucker Press, 1864), 195. Although the official figure for the number of German-born inhabitants in New Orleans in 1860 is 19,953 (out of a total population of 168,675), a number of scholars dispute that figure. Robert T. Clark in his "The New Orleans German Colony in the Civil War," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 20 (1937): 993, contended that between 30,000 and 35,000 Germans resided in the Crescent City in 1860. J. Hanno Deiler, the leading historian of the Germans of New Orleans in the nineteenth century, insisted that there were many more Germans in New Orleans in 1860 than reported in the official census. See his "Germany's Contribution to the Present Population of New Orleans," *Louisiana Journal of Education* (May, 1886): 4. Even Louisiana's Commissioner of Immigration disputed the official census figures by stating that 30,000 Germans resided in New Orleans in 1860. See *New Orleans Times*, 19 July 1869.

[2]Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer Verlag, 1955), 174-184.

[3]*Der Deutsche*, 16 November 1839; and *The German-American*, 15 June 1840. See also J. Hanno Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse* (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1901), 3-4.

[4]Its declared purpose was announced seven days before the first issue appeared in the *Lafayette City Advertiser*, 1 January 1842.

[5]Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 5-6.

[6]See especially *Der Deutsche Courier*, 28 April 1847, which announced the organizational meeting for the establishment of the German Society on 5 May 1847.

[7]A complete history of the German Society can be found in J. Hanno Deiler, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans* (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1897); Louis Voss, *History of the German Society of New Orleans* (New Orleans: Sendker Printing Service, 1927); and a shorter version in Reinhart Kondert, "The New Orleans German Society, 1847-1928," *In Their Own Words* 3, No. 2 (1986): 59-69.

[8]Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 6.

[9]*New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung*, 1 August 1848; Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 12-13; and William Robinson Konrad, "The Diminishing Influences of German Culture in New Orleans Life Since 1865," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 24 (January-October, 1941): 127-167.

[10]Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 177-78.

[11]Robert T. Clark, "Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 23 (1940): 502.

[12]*Die Glocke*, September, 1848; *Der Wahre Republikaner*, 19 March 1850; and Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 10.

[13]Deiler, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans*, 5. See also the two bound volumes of the New Orleans German Society's *Jahresberichte, 1847-1914*, which contain the meticulously kept immigration records of that Society. The

records of the German Society are presently housed in the Deutsches Haus in New Orleans and in the archives of the Historic New Orleans Collection.

[14]F. B. D. De Bow, *A Compendium of the Seventh Census* (A. O. P. Nicolson, Public Printer, 1854), p. 117.

[15]Robert T. Clark, "The German Liberals in New Orleans (1840-1860)," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1937): 137-151.

[16]*The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, 8 July 1850.

[17]Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleans Deutschen Presse*, 12.

[18]Ibid., 12-13. See also Arthur Raymond Pearce, "The Rise and Decline of Labor in New Orleans," MS, Tulane University, 1938; and Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 176.

[19]*Louisiana Staatszeitung*, 9 July 1850. A good discussion of the rivalry between the *Louisiana Staatszeitung* and the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung* is found in Jeanette K. Laguaite, "The German Element of New Orleans, 1820-1860," (M.A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1940), 35-38.

[20]Ludwig von Reizenstein was born in Bavaria in 1829, the son of a minor governmental official. He moved to New Orleans at age twenty and embarked on a colorful career in the newspaper business. He served as a writer for both the principal newspapers of New Orleans and attempted to establish two of his own publications, *Der Alligator* and *Der Pekin Democrat*, both of which quickly failed. He wrote a sensationalist novel entitled *Secrets from New Orleans*, which was serialized in the *Staatszeitung*, and which won it a broad readership in the early 1850s. In his later life he devoted himself to the study of insects and birds and made important contributions in the fields of Entomology and Ornithology. He died in 1888 at the age of fifty-nine. See Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 17-18.

[21]*Louisiana Staatszeitung*, 30 December 1852.

[22]The duel was reported in the *New Orleanser Deutsche Zeitung*, 21 July 1853. Wounded in the abdomen was Theodor Romanoff Cohen, editor of the *Staatszeitung*. He recovered from his wound but died later that year of yellow fever.

[23]*New Orleans Journal*, 30 June 1860; and Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 30.

[24]Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Press*, 31.

[25]Ibid., 32-34.

[26]Ibid., 34-37.

[27]Müller was born near Oppenheim in the state of Hesse in 1839 and learned the printer's trade. He moved to New Orleans in 1866, established his own print shop, and in due time amassed a sizeable fortune. His greatest desire, that of establishing a successful newspaper, unfortunately remained unfulfilled. He died in 1898 at the age of fifty-nine. See Ibid., 39-40.

[28]*Der Südliche Pionier*, 31 May and 15 July 1893. The real estate developers involved were W. W. Duson and C. C. Duson, two brothers who were extremely important in establishing a number of agricultural communities in Acadia Parish in the 1880s and '90s, including the German settlement of Roberts Cove in 1881. See Reinhart Kondert, "The Germans of Acadia Parish," *Louisiana Review*, 6, No.1 (Summer 1977): 31-32.

[29]Deiler, *Geschichte der New Orleanser Deutschen Presse*, 38-39.
[30]Ibid., 40; Arndt, *German-American Newspapers*, 182; and Konrad, "The Diminishing Influences of German Culture," 127-162.

The Newspapers Pfälzer in Amerika *and* Hessische Blätter *in World War I*

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Letters from emigrants to relatives and friends they left behind in the Old Country were important factors in the decision made by the latter to join the emigration bandwagon. Letters in the opposite direction—from those left behind to the emigrants—contained welcome news from their former homes. Those emigrants who were interested in the political, cultural, and religious events in Germany were able to remain well-informed thanks to the broad spectrum of German-language papers available in America, especially in the second half of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the majority of newspapers were unable to provide local news about the immediate vicinity from which the emigrants came.

The Voelcker brothers, who left the Palatinate's Edenkoben for New York, recognized a market for this type of news and printed the first edition of the newspaper entitled *Die Pfälzer in Amerika (Palatines in America)* in 1884. The title and newspaper heading immediately conveyed the publisher's intentions and left no doubt as to whom the publishers wished to address. The drawing in the heading supported the statement made by the newspaper's title: on the left a stylized depiction of the Rhine River and Haardt Mountains including a castle, vine, grapes, and a long-bearded Neptune with a trident in the foreground; on the right a representation of virgin forest landscapes with a cabin and a poor settler armed with a ploughshare and a flintlock.

These two pictures of the Old and New Worlds are drawn together by a sailboat and a globe, above which there is the crest and crown of the Kingdom of Bavaria and the adage, "Fröhliche Pfalz, Gott erhalt's" ("Palatinate gay, God keep it that way"), an

aberration of the saying loved more by the authorities in the Bavarian capital of Munich than the natives of the Palatinate ("Bavaria and the Palatinate, God keep it that way"). The eight-page paper was published with this outer appearance from 1884 until 1917.

The most complete collection of this paper known to be in existence, comprising all the years of its publication except one, was donated to the Institut für Pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde by the publishers' heirs in 1971.

The paper's founder, Conrad Voelcker, was born in 1861 in Edenkoben. After serving an apprenticeship as a printer, he left the Palatinate for New York in 1881 with his younger brother Phillip. Although nothing is known of Conrad Voelcker's activities between 1881 and 1884, it may be assumed that he worked as a printer. The twenty-three year old immigrant founded as owner and/or co-owner his own publishing company, "C. Voelcker & Company," in July of the same year that the *Die Pfälzer in Amerika* was first published. Unlike many newspapers of the period, the *Pfälzer in Amerika* soon gained popularity. By its second year of publication the paper's circulation had already reached 2,000, expanding to 7,500 in 1890. This number remained fairly constant until the beginning of World War I.

Borrowing from the *Pfälzer in Amerika*, J. E. Müller began publishing the weekly *Hessische Blätter* (Hessian News) in 1887, another paper that flourished over the following thirty years. In 1889 the editorial board moved the paper from Cleveland to New York. In an announcement of this change, it was proclaimed that the "extraordinary friendly acceptance" of the paper had caused the publisher to move both the editing house and the circulation staff to New York "because this would allow the news from our former home, as well as from Hessian organizations in the eastern states, to reach us faster."

Toward the beginning of the year 1890 the brothers Conrad and Phillip Voelcker took over as publishers and editors of the paper. In addition to the *Hessische Blätter* and the *Pfälzer in Amerika* they started publishing the bilingual weekly *Bayonne City Bürger Zeitung* in July of 1889. It carried the subtitle "Unabhängiges Organ der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bevölkerung von Bayonne City und Umgegend" ("Independent Publication of the German-American Population of Bayonne City and Vicinity"). Beginning in 1889

the *Hessische Blätter* had competition in a newspaper entitled the *Hessen-Darmstädter Zeitung*. With a circulation of 5,200 in 1895, it was published by C. Rubens until 1896, at which time the Voelcker brothers bought the paper and merged it with the *Hessische Blätter*. The new paper appeared under the title *Hessen-Darmstädter Zeitung und Hessische Blätter*, with the subtitle "Einziges Organ der Hessen in Amerika" ("The Only Publication by Hessians in America"). In the first combined edition, the Voelcker brothers wrote that it had been "well-known for years" that the two Hessian papers were being published, a fact that had "in many cases made itself apparent in an unpleasant dualism."

From the beginning, the transmission of local news from the Palatinate and Hesse formed the focal point of the news coverage. The general news from Germany, from Hesse, Bavaria, and the Palatinate was followed by individual reports arranged alphabetically by town name. These local reports generally occupied three to four pages. In the *Pfälzer in Amerika* weekly reports were printed about 100 of a total of 685 Palatine communities. Since papers containing compact local news did not even exist in the Palatinate, the *Pfälzer in Amerika* and the *Hessische Blätter* are not only important sources of information about the immigration and cultural assimilation of people from the Palatinate and Hesse, but significant references for the study of regional history in these areas as well.

The first three years of the *Hessische Blätter* contained a series of essays on different themes such as "Our Commerce and Merchant Marines," "Russian and the Balkan Countries," "Income Standards in Saxony," "Inside Stories from the Russian Court," and detailed reports about the death and burial of Kaiser Wilhelm I. One story is about a New York commemoration held in March of 1888 in remembrance of the kaiser, in which the commemorative address was given by Carl Schurz. In a column entitled "Aus den Gerichtssälen" ("From the Courts of Justice"), both papers reported extensively about court cases and decisions. Additional columns followed, with such titles as "Public Activities," "Marriages," "Deaths" in both Hesse and the Palatinate, as well as a "Kleine Weinzeitung" ("Small Wine Paper") about viticulture in Rhineland-Hesse and the Palatinate. Several columns were dedicated to the Hessians and Palatines who passed away in America, occasionally including extensive biographical information. Much space was

dedicated to "light entertainment" literature such as could be found in the *Gartenlaube* (a popular periodical published in Germany at the time). Novellas such as Maria von Olfer's *Leilas Freier (Leila's Wooer), Fräulein Röschen—eine Studie aus dem Leben, (Miss Röschen, a Study of a Life)*, or novels by Hedwig Courths-Mahler and Eugenie John-Marlitt were printed. *Pfälzer in Amerika* and the *Hessische Blätter* often published dialect poems and stories in the oral tradition, some of which had been sent from Germany, while others had been submitted from readers across the American continent.

Advertisements were from the beginning important sources of revenue. They were placed by Palatine and Hessian businessmen, especially in the greater New York area, and often stated the German town from which they came. The advertisements were usually inserted by brewers, wine-merchants, innkeepers, and butchers, and, macabre as it sounds, funeral homes.

Both papers were for three decades the most important medium for publishing and distributing club news, especially for Hessian, Bavarian, and Palatine agricultural associations. From the outset, the editors of both the *Pfälzer in Amerika* and the *Hessische Blätter* declared that they would open their columns free of charge for the clubs' and associations' messages. The associations immediately made use of the offer. In the first year of its publication alone, the *Hessische Blätter* contained reports from thirty-six different associations located on the East Coast and in the Midwest. Almost all of them were social clubs, among them self-help associations such as the relief organizations for the sick that had come into existence in the settlement centers during the 1870s and 1880s. The Voelcker brothers' papers made little mention of German political associations and clubs in the United States. There were likewise seldom any reports about American politics.

The political tendencies of both papers—if one can speak of any at all—correspond perhaps best with the German national liberal press, especially the *Pfälzer in Amerika*, for which it can be said that the Kaiserslautern national liberal paper *Pfälzische Presse* was one of the most important sources.

The number and residences of the agents who were recruited by the publishers is indicative of the broad circulation base of both papers. The *Hessische Blätter* had seventy-nine representatives in

the United States by its second year, twenty-nine of whom were in Ohio, nineteen in New York, seven in Pennsylvania, six in Illinois, three each in Indiana, Minnesota, and New Jersey, two in Missouri, and one in Connecticut, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. By 1889 the *Pfälzer in Amerika* had twenty-five agents in twelve states, and was in circulation from the East Coast to the West Coast.

The outbreak of World War I brought with it hard times for both papers, the culmination of which came in 1917 with America's entry into the war. The difficulties of this period were to finally bring about the end of these publications.

Initially, news of the outbreak of the war was scanty. In July 1914, the *Pfälzer in Amerika* briefly mentioned the murder of the crown prince of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Franz Ferdinand, who was killed on July 18, 1914, in Sarajevo by Serbian nationalists. The declarations of war by Austria on Serbia (July 28), Germany on Russia (August 1) and Germany on France (August 3) received but short notice in the paper—and not until the middle of August!

In the column "Allerlei aus Nah und Fern" ("This and That from Near and Far"), the *Pfälzer in Amerika* reported on August 8 that King Ludwig of Bavaria had declared a state of war and imposed martial law in the Palatinate. The paper printed his declaration in full on August 29, 1914.

On August 22, 1914, the Voelcker brothers printed a letter to the editors of the *Pfälzer in Amerika* in its English original and in German translation. The author was John P. Pfalzgraf of Brooklyn, the son of an emigrant from the Palatinate. He wrote:

> I am writing to respectfully suggest that you appeal through the columns of "Der Pfälzer in Amerika" to all Germans and German-Americans, to use whatever influence they may possess to help counteract the present anti-German feeling now rampant in New York.
>
> Every man with a drop of German blood in his veins should work hard to secure fair play for Germany and Austria in this titanic war of Slav against Teuton. One can help with his influence, another with his money, yet another with his pen. But let every German and German-American do something, however small, to energetically oppose the Germanophobia existing at the present time especially in the subsidized and corrupt papers of New York.
>
> Feeling certain you will immediately make an urgent appeal to the readers of "Der Pfälzer in Amerika" to demand of the press all over the

> country fairness and justice for Germany, I remain, with hopes that the Fatherland may emerge victorious.

The newspaper publisher adds to this a request that the readers "take to heart these important words of Mr. Pfalzgraf."

The news of the war in both the *Pfälzer in Amerika* and the *Hessische Blätter*, scarce as it was at the beginning of the war, increased with the passing of time. "From the Theater of War," a regular contribution that expanded to several newspaper columns over the course of the war, began in 1914 primarily to adopt shortened versions of war reports by German correspondents, rarely with any additional commentary. Later reports were increasingly taken from press releases of other American papers, as well as from bulletins from other countries. "Loss" columns took much space, naming those who were reported missing in action, wounded, and killed, as well as the towns in the Palatinate and Hesse from which they came. From the beginning of the war the Voelcker brothers were involved in charities whose aim it was to help non-combatants in Germany. Until April of 1917 hardly a copy of the *Pfälzer in Amerika* and *Hessische Blätter* was printed in which the publishers did not urgently request their readers ("To our Countrymen," as they wrote) to support the families in Hesse and the Palatinate who were driven to need by the war. "The country of Germany," so they wrote,

> must take care of those fighting and wounded in the field; however, the needs of those waiting at home—the misery of widows and orphans of the fallen—can only be relieved by voluntary contributions. The Palatinate by itself cannot meet these demands. Therefore it is necessary that the Palatines abroad contribute to the support of those who suffer.

The Voelcker brothers guaranteed that every cent contributed would flow "directly to the Rhineland-Palatinate" or to Hesse to help those suffering because of the war. Judging from the list of contributions, their appeals were very successful. Names of those who contributed were printed, as were the names of the towns in Germany from which they originally came and the amount contributed. Along with thousands of contributors one can read of many Hessian and Palatine associations that donated larger sums collected at their own functions, sometimes even sponsoring bazaars for the benefit of those who were suffering from the war.

Up until February of 1917, the Voelcker brothers were able six times to send sums of money ranging from 3,000 to 15,000 Marks to the Palatinate district president in Speyer. Similar amounts were sent to Hesse.

Until March of 1917 the Voelcker Brothers repeated the well-placed advertisement for donations on the title page of the *Pfälzer in Amerika*. The following was printed in February 1917:

> We appeal to your sympathy and request that you, in remembrance of our beloved homeland, in recognition of the heroic war fought by our German fatherland, and from the bottom of your hearts, send your contribution. Do not forget that the war is being fought in our old homeland for you, your sons and daughters in our new home as well.

A series of poems, written primarily in the initial years of the war by freelance contributors of many years to the *Hessische Blätter* and the *Pfälzer in Amerika*, such as Georg Loew's "Gruss an die deutschen Krieger" ("Greeting to the German Warriors") or "Wer zagt" ("He Who Wavers") are also filled with such pathos.

Similar writings can occasionally be found in the reports made by Palatine and Hessian associations. For example, the "Schottener Männerchor, New York" directed a letter to its members at the turn of the year 1917 which reads:

> Since our dear fatherland fights so courageously in order to achieve an honorable victory, it is the sacred duty of all Germans in these difficult times to stick together twice as much, so that the world can be shown that we are a united people—brothers strong and just.

It is noticeable that after 1915 the local news from the Palatinate and Hesse was greatly reduced, due partly to the fact that a few of the German correspondents were called away for military service. In 1916 the Voelcker brothers voiced the following opinion:

> Unfortunately, this [the reporting of events in Germany] has been impossible of late, as a result of the war between nations, in which the English have confiscated and destroyed all papers and reports addressed to us. Even [the dialect column] "De Vetter aus de Pfalz" was confiscated from the ships and destroyed. The Misters Britain only allow the official list of those missing, killed and wounded to reach us.

While the Voelcker brothers remained optimistic in the last edition of 1916, writing in their lead article "that the tone of President Wilson and the possible continuing victories by the Central Powers will bring

peace nearer," the precarious situation came to a boil for German-Americans and their press in 1917.

The focal point of the political reports in April of 1917 was the declaration of war by the United States on Germany. The *Pfälzer in Amerika* published a long article on April 7 about Wilson's speech of April 2, and his demand that war be declared. The article stated that the president repeatedly stressed "that all accusations and actions of the American government are not directed against the German people, but against the German government."

During the First World War other American papers continually recommended that their readers buy U.S. Government bonds for different Liberty Loans, the so-called "Liberty Bonds," as well as War Savings Stamps, and demanded this especially of those people of German origin in order that they prove their loyalty. The Voelcker brothers, however, refrained from such advertisements until September of 1917, when they were already worried about the survival of their paper, at which time one can first read an article about the usefulness of "Liberty Bonds."

On the other hand, until the beginning of 1917 the German banking house of Wollenberger and Company in Chicago recommended in its ads in the *Hessische Blätter* that the German public buy German, Austrian, and Hungarian War bonds at very low prices.

With America's entry into World War I the Voelcker brothers exercised restraint with regard to reports about the war, but they were unable to deny their pro-German tendencies. These were made clear by the broad selection of German war literature that the readers of the *Hessische Blätter* and the *Pfälzer in Amerika* were able to order from the Voelcker brothers. Such titles as *Zeppelins over England, The Battle on the Skagerrak,* or Baron von Forstner's book *A Submarine Commander Against England* were offered time and again in advertisements at the end of October 1917.

Much space was devoted to reports about interned Germans in the United States who were "persecuted" on account of "seditious speeches" for distributing pamphlets. The *Pfälzer in Amerika* reported on August 11, 1917 the arrest of a pastor by the name of Reichert in London, Iowa, who was said to have given a "seditious sermon" in his German evangelical church. The German-American sergeant Alfred Bonhaupt was discharged from his duties in the

army and brought as a foreign enemy to the German prisoners' camp at Fort Oglethorne in Georgia, because of a letter written to his sister in Germany in which he regretted that the United States had entered the war and hoped that he would not have to fight against his mother country. In September of 1917, "pro-German teachers who sympathized with Germany, German philosophy, and German culture were ordered to resign from the faculty of the Kansas State Manual Training School in Pittsburgh, Kansas." The publisher energetically opposed the "hunt for German spies," which, according to Carl Wittke, "swept like psychosis across the country." It was in this context that the Voelcker brothers contended in an article entitled "German Spies," published on September 8, 1917 in the *Pfälzer in Amerika*, that individual German spies and conspirators who had attempted to make trouble by passing on information to enemies of the country had nothing to do with the vast loyal mass of German-Americans. "The Americans of German descent," states the article, "are not responsible for such criminals or eccentric fools who break the law, and if there is anybody who wishes that an end be put to these people's activities, it is the German-Americans."

In the June 14, 1917 edition of *Pfälzer in Amerika* the Voelcker brothers compared two statements made by former president Theodore Roosevelt about the meaning of the German-American press. While he had praised the achievements of the German-American press in 1903, the *Pfälzer in Amerika* quoted a statement made by Roosevelt in 1917 that "the German-language papers are suitable for the censor's attention. I think the English language—our language—is quite capable of functioning without the help of German, or any other language."

In October of 1917 the event took place that had been feared by the Voelcker brothers for months: On October 3 the *Hessische Blätter* reported from Washington that foreign language newspapers appearing in the United States would be put under strict control. The postmaster general was put in charge of overseeing the licensing of foreign language papers. The *Hessische Blätter* reported on October 20, 1917 that

> All such papers, with the exception of those that have received licenses, are required under penalty of law to provide the local postmaster with literal translations of all articles that refer to the United States government or the governments of any other nation at war.

American government raids on German language papers then became commonplace. According to the *Hessische Blätter*, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* was stripped of its postal privileges on October 10, 1917, and documents and letters were confiscated during a raid on the *New Yorker Freie Zeitung*. The official reports of action on the front appeared for the last time on October 20, 1917, while the list of those missing was allowed to continue. The *Pfälzer in Amerika* turned to its readers with the following words on December 8, 1917:

> To our subscribers:
>
> Our valued subscribers might be aware of the fact that a law passed on 16 October, 1917 has forbidden foreign language papers to print reports of recent events, or articles referring to the war, the federal government or any other warring power, as long as the war continues, unless a translation affirmed by oath has been given to the local postmaster before publication. Exceptions to this censorship have been made for papers that have a special permit. We have requested such a permit from the federal government but have not as yet received one. Therefore, we are forced to refrain from printing all war reports. We are also not allowed to print the continuation of the history of the city of Frankenthal by George Franz, and as a result will postpone it until after the war. We therefore ask our readers for indulgence, and promise, at the same time, to present our paper, *Pfälzer in Amerika*, as interestingly as possible, in the hopes that our readers will remain faithful to us in these difficult times.

The usual appearance of both papers changed dramatically after the end of October 1917. The local news from Germany was given up completely; the reports from the Palatine and Hessian clubs that once took up a large portion of the paper became smaller and smaller as German organizations had to give up their work on account of growing animosities, or at least were no longer interested in publicity. Instead, the publishers of the *Hessische Blätter* and the *Pfälzer in Amerika* increasingly printed serial novels, dialect stories, novellas, and especially historical and local history accounts, such as "Hessen in der Zeit der Römer" ("Hesse in Roman Times"), "Friedberg am Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" ("Friedberg at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century"), "Das Theater zu Darmstadt in seinen Anfängen und seiner Entwicklung" ("The Conception and Development of the Darmstadt Theater"), or excerpts from Ludwig Schandein's *Palatinate History* ("Volkskunde").

The decline of business advertisements is especially noticeable. Nevertheless, a few businessmen were true to the publishers to the very end—people who had for years been interested in the *Hessische Blätter* and the *Pfälzer in Amerika*. In thanks to these faithful few in troubled times (and to a certain extent in order to retain their support) the Voelcker brothers appealed to the "countrymen's spirit" of their readers in the December 15, 1917 issue, asking them to give preference to the businesses named in the paper when taking care of Christmas business.

The last edition of the *Pfälzer in Amerika* as well as the *Hesse-Darmstädter Zeitung und Hessische Blätter* appeared on December 29, 1917.

Translated by Gregory Emerson

Two German-American Papers as "Communication Satellites." Die Dakota Freie Presse *and* Die Welt-Post *Preserved the Identities of the Germans from Russia*

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Although Germans had been settling in what was until recently called the Soviet Union since the Middle Ages, their numbers increased dramatically following the invitation of Catherine the Great in 1763.[1] Settlement began, however, with the incoming merchants during the period dominated by the Hanseatic League after 1200 and accelerated under Peter the Great (1672-1725), especially in the Baltic region. It climaxed on the Volga following Catherine's manifesto and maintained a plateau along the northern rim of the Black Sea under Catherine's successor Alexander I (1777-1825), who issued a second manifesto in 1804 inviting especially German farmers. Thus by the end of the nineteenth century there were large pockets of Germans in the Baltic around St. Petersburg, many artisans and businessmen in Moscow, the rather concentrated settlements resulting from Catherine's invitation around Saratov on the Volga, and the approximately 200 linked settlements of Alexander stretching along the northern edge of the Black Sea. By 1897, when the first all-Russian census was taken, there were 1.8 million German-speaking Russian subjects, most of whom lived in European Russia. There were five thousand in Siberia and about nine thousand in Central Asia. Of the 1.8 million Germans, 1.3 million belonged to rural populations while only .4 million (23 percent) were categorized as urban.[2] Thus most were farmers, forest workers, and servants. A small minority worked in academic, civil service, or military professions. Surprisingly, some 50,000 belonged to the nobility and

by the end of the nineteenth century 17,000 had been knighted for personal merit or service to the crown.

At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the urban population of the Germans in Russia numbered about 500,000 centered in such metropolitan areas as Riga, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, and Saratov with smaller colonies in port cities like Archangel and Vladivostok. For the most part these were professionals who had descended from either the Hanseatic time or more likely from the policy of Peter the Great to import skilled manpower.[3] During the mid-nineteenth century when German influence in Russia was at its peak, the German urban population (many ennobled by czars as a reward for superior service to the empire) as well as the Baltic German nobility were especially well represented in the institutions of the Russian military, diplomacy, higher administration, and the court. Even after a sharp reaction to the German presence following the founding of the German Empire in 1871, the presence of Germans in leading positions within Russia was still high, about 40 percent of the military high command, 62 percent of the ranking ministry posts, 57 percent in the foreign service, and 46 percent in the war ministry. Moreover, one third of the ranking officers in the Russian army, navy, and civil service had German names (usually Protestants) at a time when Germans comprised barely one percent of the population in the Russian Empire.

For this foreign element in the Russian state, there developed a separate but sophisticated set of facilities that kept life German according to the particular view these German expatriots held of Germanness. They had schools and churches, teachers and preachers, artisans and professionals, designers and builders all for their own enclaves in the vast sweeps of the Russian landscape. Privileges of various stripes, including the right to a modicum of self-government, prevailed even though the colonies numbered over 300 by 1860. There were 104 of them along the Volga, 13 in the environs of St. Petersburg and around Moscow, and 181 in the south Russian rim along the northern shore of the Black Sea. By the outbreak of World War I, however, the number had expanded to 3,000 enclaves as a result of the purchase of outlying lands and the formation of daughter colonies. By way of illustration, the German colonists received under .5 million hectares (1.2 million acres) in the eighteenth century but expanded to an ownership of 1.3 million hectares (3.25 million

acres) by the outbreak of World War I. Statistics indicate that there were about 45,000 Germans living in Siberia and other more eastern regions of the Russian Empire by the outbreak of World War I.

For our purposes we must bear in mind that these far-flung settlements spanning eight time zones could not have remained German and ethnically independent by sheer accident. Technically the Germans in the Russian empire enjoyed considerable superiority. It is well-known that the Germans initiated Russian peasants in the use of ploughs and agricultural tools and that they enhanced greatly the agrarian economy by means of windmills and steam-driven cereal production. Trade within the empire and abroad was largely managed by Germans, and they were instrumental in extending the railroads as well as the freight-steamer network far into the Russian interior. The Germans were aided by the Russian government in keeping their cohesion by trans-national clubs, for example the *Südrussischer Deutscher Bildungsverein* and the *Saratower Deutsche Zeitung*. Nineteenth-century Russia did not tempt the Germans to assimilate and forego their proud ethnic identity.

Two events changed the favorable situation for Germans in Russia. One was the Military Reform Decree of 1874, which extended military service to the colonists. The second date is 1914, when Russia entered a declared war with Germany and the Central Axis Powers. The 1874 date is the more important one for our consideration because it impelled so many of the Germans in Russia to leave. Many who came to the U.S. between 1874 and 1914 came to avoid military service. The large Molotschna and Chortiza Mennonite colonies especially saw large numbers of their members depart. The Hutterites, who had lived previously in the Tirol in Bohemia, and in the Walachei region of Rumania, had settled in the Russian Empire precisely because they were to enjoy forever freedom from military service.[4] It is ironic that the only persons of German background who suffered and eventually died as a result of the persecution of Germans in the United States during World War I were the very Mennonites who had fled to Russia to avoid military service and, after 1874, had come to the United States for the same reason.[5] Some 130 Mennonites served prison terms in the United States for refusing to perform military service, some at Fort Leavenworth. Four Hutterites were detained at Alcatraz, where Joseph and Michael Hofer died after months of brutal treatment.

The point to remember is that many of the same tenets, the same ideologies, the same customs, the same fortress mentality which held sway among the Germans in Russia came with them to the United States. Germans in Russia held tenaciously to their faith in God and in their Germanness, and in the United States still clung to both religion and nationality in the face of American disapproval.

In his 1920 study of the Russian German settlements in the United States, Richard Sallet calculated that there were 116,000 Germans in the United States who had been born in Russia. Including the family members born of such parents after their arrival in the United States, Sallet put the figure for Russian Germans in the United States in 1920 at 303,532.[6] This figure is small, of course, in comparison to the approximately 1.8 million Germans in the Russian empire in 1897 or the 1.6 million left there after the 1917 October Revolution.[7]

Germans from Russia did not arrive in the United States before 1874. There were spare delegations that came earlier, the first led by Ludwig Bette to Ohio in 1849, a few families from Kherson who reached Yankton in Dakota Territory in 1872 and a group which came to Burlington, Iowa and eventually ended up in Nebraska and Dakota in 1873. Except for the Bette expedition with Pastor Karl Bonekemper who returned to Russia with news about America, all groups were part of a mass movement.[8] Germans from Russia settled most densely in the states of North Dakota and (in declining order) in South Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with significant daughter stations in Oklahoma, California, Washington, Oregon, Montana, and Idaho.

In Russia, these Germans comprised three distinct groups, divisible as to Baltic Germans, Volga Germans, and Black Sea Germans. In the United States the Baltic Germans are of little significance since they did not come in large numbers, did not settle contiguously, and did not leave a cohesive imprint on America's social geography. The Volga and Black Sea Germans, on the other hand, settled in significant numbers in the United States. Both groups were represented by Catholic, Evangelical, and more pietistic religious affiliations, but the two groups harbored a mild antipathy toward each other. The differences are explainable in part on socio-economic grounds, which rested on the conditions for immigration to the Russian territories as spelled out by the two manifestos which

brought them into Russia in the first place. The invitation issued by Catherine in 1763 was for farmers and artisans and sent respondents to the Volga. The Black Sea Germans, by contrast, came in response to the invitation of Catherine's grandson, Alexander I (1801-1825), who set restrictions on the open-ended policy of Catherine. Catherine had invited all foreigners, including the poor, peasants, Jews, anyone regardless of socio-economic and physical conditions, and she placed no limit on the number. The 1804 Alexander manifesto sought to correct deficiencies perceived to exist in the 1763 version by limiting the number of newcomers annually to 200 families. The new arrivals also had to be exemplary rural settlers. Merchants, capitalists, and urban artisans were specifically forbidden.[9] All families now had to prove they had a net worth of at least 300 guilders, and all prospective immigrants were screened in Regensburg before departure for the Russian lands. As a result of these new policies the settlers in the Black Sea region were more strictly a landed class of people. Those from the Volga represented a broader spread of classes, including urban and artisan groups. However, the Black Sea group was economically better off from its origins and has continued so until even our time. In the United States few Black Sea Germans chose to reside in cities, while large sections of Lincoln and Hastings in Nebraska, Chicago, Seattle, Portland, Denver, Fort Collins as well as other cities, once had entire wards filled by Volga Germans. Divided along religious lines into Catholics, Evangelicals and Mennonites (along with other pietistic subdivisions), the Germans from Russia in the United States were conditioned to remain split also along lines determined by geographic origins in Russia and, importantly, along the lines which were essentially set by the conditions of the 1763 and 1804 manifestoes.

In due time these two groups in the United States came to be served by two major German-language newspapers, one for the Black Sea Germans and another for the Volga Germans. There were, of course, many local Volga or Black Sea papers which had publishing lives of various lengths over the years from 1875 to 1920. The two mainstays, however, were *Die Dakota Freie Presse* for the Black Sea Germans and *Die Welt-Post* for the Volga Germans. The *Welt-Post* was published from 1912-1954 and, while nonpartisan, billed itself as the organ of the Volga Germans in America. It was published in Omaha and Lincoln under the editorship of such men as Friedrich

August Lorenz, Gustav H. John, Gustav F. Beschorner, and Albert Stauss.[10] It is not clear whether all these individuals were actually of Volga-German origin, but they took as their clear mission to write for and circulate their paper not just locally among the Volga German colony in Lincoln but to all the Volga German settlements in the United States. During World War I, the *Welt-Post* was noteworthy for defending its existence and its financial success by urging that since its clientele was made up of Russians by birth, who were friendly toward the Allies, the readers had an obligation to be ideologically in favor of the war against Germany. Enjoying a certain tolerance and support on these grounds, the paper grew to a circulation of around 15,000 following the war and enjoyed a parallel financial boom. As time passed and the need for its special mission waned, however, the paper was merged eventually into the combined publishing efforts of Valentin J. Peter of Omaha, who issued it from 1939 until its final demise in 1954. Prior to that date it had absorbed or acquired a number of other Volga German papers in the United States whose clientele it continued to serve.

The *Dakota Freie Presse*, like its counterpart, ceased publication on February 24, 1954.[11] Throughout many of its years the paper carried in its masthead the claim to being "the oldest and most widely distributed newspaper for the Russian-Germans in the entire world." Although the *Dakota Freie Presse* originated in April of 1874 in Yankton, South Dakota near the first settlement of the Germans from the Black Sea, it did not immediately select as its clientele the Germans from Russia. That group was targeted in 1886 when the paper was acquired for his son Solomon by Johann Christian Wenzlaff. The Wenzlaffs were of Black Sea German origin. Its true character as *the* organ of the Black Sea Germans was delineated only after it had been sold to Friedrich W. Sallet, the major figure in the paper's life for the next three decades. Sallet was not from the Black Sea or the Volga but from East Prussia. Yet, he immediately oriented the paper to serving all of the Germans from Russia, more specifically the Black Sea Germans who were so numerous in the Dakotas. Born in Langheim, East Prussia, Friedrich moved with his parents to Königsberg where he began working as an apprentice in a printing firm in 1874. During 1880 he visited Russia, but only the Baltic region, and in 1882 immigrated to the United States. He lived first in Chicago, then in 1894 bought a

paper in Merrill, Wisconsin. He left to pay a visit to his German homeland and upon his return in 1903, Sallet purchased the *Dakota Freie Presse* of Yankton.

Almost immediately Sallet established a pattern that would characterize his approach as a newspaper man for the next three decades: He took off for several months to visit his readers. Everywhere in the Dakotas he discovered people interested in keeping up the German language, traditions, customs, religious practices, and a people who viewed the *Dakota Freie Presse* as an excellent medium for solidarity in their cultural endeavors. We should remind ourselves at this juncture that the Russian Germans not only in the United States but also on the far-flung Russian steppes had wanted to maintain their culture and their language. Housed in villages and towns that were enclaves within the larger Russian majority, this minority had depended on receiving newspapers and printed material from a central location—Moscow, Odessa or wherever—which circulated over thousands of miles. The *Dakota Freie Presse* would become a major force in maintaining such cohesion among the Russian Germans, not just in the Dakotas, but eventually in all of the United States, Canada, and South America, and subsequently in the German colonies of Russia as well.

In order to expand its chosen mission, the paper in 1905 declared itself politically independent at a time when this meant losing the patronage of the Republican Council. But soon the paper expanded with the support of the Russian-Germans so that by 1909 it could boast not only of having the finest publishing house in South Dakota but also more subscriptions than any English-language paper in that state. From a circulation of 3,500 in 1900 the paper increased to about 10,000 in 1910.[12] After an interlude away from the paper between 1906 and 1909, Sallet moved the paper from Yankton to Aberdeen where it anchored itself in the heartland of the Russian Black Sea German settlements until World War I. In Aberdeen, Sallet expanded his activities considerably. As the paper became more and more the "Bible of the Russian-Germans," its opportunities increased. Advertising picked up because the paper had become the best channel to the economically important farming communities of the Dakotas. Sallet next developed the DFP Travel Bureau, which continued for several decades. In addition, the paper solicited histories of all U.S. settlements of Germans from Russia

and, beginning in 1909, published these in the paper over a period of several years.[13]

Unlike the *Welt-Post*'s editor, Sallet was not a German from Russia and therefore took his cue more from the German than the Allied side in World War I. He routinely supported German causes and in 1916 received a "thank you" note from Count Johann-Heinrich von Bernstorff, the German ambassador to the United States. The ambassador was especially grateful for monies the paper helped collect for German relief organizations to aid the war-torn peoples of the Axis powers. In the same vein, Sallet supported the petition to President Woodrow Wilson opposing America's continued shipment of arms to the Allies. Of course he paid the price for these actions when in 1917 both his house and his business in Aberdeen were broken into and plundered by anti-German American patriots. As he put it, they apparently expected to find in my house the plans of Field Marschal von Hindenburg. Arrested, imprisoned, bled white with attorney's fees and given little evidence that the climate in Aberdeen was about to improve, Sallet moved the *Dakota Freie Presse* from Aberdeen to New Ulm, Minnesota in 1920.

The move to New Ulm generated questions from readers and responses from editor-owner F. W. Sallet. The paper could easily move to what he called this beautiful German city of New Ulm because the paper was a German-language paper serving a national, even an international audience. Nothing bound this paper to a particular locale or region. In 1920, editor Sallet explained, the number of subscribers listed was higher than ever before. He compared his paper to the New Yorker *Staatszeitung* and (interestingly) to the *Lincoln Freie Presse*, the Volga German paper. These papers, he said, were also being read nationwide despite the territorial designations in their titles. "As to its content, the *Dakota Freie Presse* is a world-wide paper, rooted in the hearts of its readers." Of Aberdeen, Sallet remarked, "Even now, after the whole world is again at peace with Germany, citizens of German birth are still being persecuted with incomprehensible hate in Aberdeen. The *Dakota Freie Presse* is so independent that it can choose its home wherever it likes best, a choice which is not possible for locally-based papers. It is well-known to all that the beautiful German city of New Ulm is a good place in which to build ourselves a home."[14]

Towards the end of their existence, both the Volga German *Welt-Post* of Nebraska and the Black Sea *Dakota Freie Presse* were sold to large German language newspaper magnates, Valentin Peter of Omaha in the former case and the Leicht Press of Winona for the latter. From 1933 to 1954 when, coincidentally, both expired, their focus became less international and more local in nature and treatment. After 1933 the papers were edited by recent German immigrants to the U.S., hired because the large concerns needed skilled journalists and careful German language talent which could no longer be found among the German-Americans or the Germans from Russia. There have been scholarly attempts to link the *Dakota Freie Presse* to the Nazi cause during the late 1930s but the evidence for such allegations is thin indeed.[15]

Much more interesting is the role played by the papers during the 1920s. The *Auslanddeutsche*, a bimonthly of the Deutsches Ausland Institut in Stuttgart, acknowledged that the *Dakota Freie Presse* in particular was the chief organ of Russian Germans throughout the world. Even before World War I, the two papers had offered readers the chance for near-private correspondence with each other. To be sure, some of the letters were superficial and insignificant when taken in isolation, but as a body of personal exchange they preserved the cohesiveness of the entire ethnic group. Along with providing travel and banking services, the papers became something of a political and economic advisor to the Russian-Germans. The papers always encouraged those in the old homeland that they should have no fears about migrating to the United States. Moreover, they did not abandon newcomers but steadily advised about available lands, jobs, and fields of enterprise open to the Germans from Russia. The *Dakota Freie Presse* took it upon itself to make contact between Russian-German prisoners of war, kept in Germany and Hungary during the First World War, and their families and relatives here in America. They also assisted in the transfer of money and foodstuffs to these prisoners. Often families broken by war and turmoil were relocated and reunited by the efforts of the editors.

Newspapers surpassed even the church and the parochial school as a unifying force among the Germans from Russia. Rarely did they concentrate on German news or even world news but on news of the Germans from Russia. Regularly there was a column of

personal notes from the Dakotas, Nebraska, Colorado, Michigan, Oklahoma, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kansas, and other states, even including Canada. Each issue had reports from the colonies on the Volga and the Black Sea, Rumania, and Argentina. Traveling doctors, especially those specializing in the Russian-German disease of Trachoma, advertised in the paper and announced their travel schedules so that Germans from Russia in the entire nation could plan their visits. In 1909 Editor Sallet announced the success of his campaign through the congressional delegation (in particular, North Dakota Senator Porter James McCumber) to institute eye examinations before boarding ship in Europe to spare the Germans from Russia the cost of the journey if they were to be turned back at Ellis Island anyway.

There were also many advertisements by sugarbeet refineries that relied on Germans from the Volga as field workers, harvesters, and plant workers. Sometimes these companies also offered land for rent to German-Russians, or even to buy through the company for the purpose of raising beets for the firm. If work were only offered, the companies usually included transportation and accommodations while the work lasted. Advertisements also were placed by nationwide agencies selling farms to the Germans from Russia. Often these supplied information about a given community of German-speaking people: whether there were German churches and schools nearby, and data on water, climate, and markets. The Evangelical Colonization Company of Merrill, Wisconsin advertised lands for sale regularly in the *Dakota Freie Presse*.

Weekly there were columns captioned *Addressengesuche* in which Germans from Russia for 50 cents an entry could find each other anywhere in the world. In order to offer these personal touches, it was important to employ traveling reporters. The editors of the paper themselves tried from time to time to visit the major communities of Russian-Germans in the United States. After World War I the editors took the initiative to organize relief programs for the hungry children in Germany. The results of such efforts were reported widely by cooperating agencies in Europe. At one time three shiploads of dairy cows were solicited through the paper and transported to Germany for distribution to orphanages in order to supply milk to malnourished children.[16]

On the heels of this operation, reporters from the new Soviet state alerted readers about devastating starvation in the German colonies in Russia. Immediately the *Dakota Freie Presse* joined hands with the churches in organizing the Volga Relief Society, the Black Sea Relief Society, and the Russian Relief Package Company among others. Through its travel and banking arrangements, the *Dakota Freie Presse* advertised that it would send money orders to any country in Europe, including the Soviet Union. In conjunction with such efforts, the paper also established a relationship with the Kaufhaus des Westens in Berlin (today Ka De We) which offered packages that were advertised in the paper and could be bought by sending money directly to the paper, which wired it to the Berlin department store. Immediately Ka De We dispatched the ordered packages to the given addresses in the Soviet Union.[17] Reports arriving from recipients indicated that this relief system worked without a hitch. In 1924 the *Dakota Freie Presse* boasted of being the first paper published in the United States to be allowed re-entry to Soviet Russia.

In conclusion, then, we must credit the editors of newspapers for the Germans from Russia with a remarkable contribution to the cohesion of a worldwide community of people with a common heritage. The religious affiliation, the geographic site of settlement in the Russian empire, and the far-flung homesteading of peoples in the New World all point to the rapid disappearance of a special ethnic group. Volga Germans disliked Black Sea Germans and vice versa, while Catholics, Evangelicals and the pietistic groups squabbled among themselves. The Mennonites and their subcategories, including the Hutterites, tended to shift for themselves and forget their common German-Russian heritage. Only the newspapers, in a manner of speaking, were able to bridge the gaps, abstaining from the ever-recurring religious controversies and sifting through local politics to come up with a focus on which all Germans from Russia could rally. For this we salute and commemorate the *Dakota Freie Presse* and, in a more limited way, the Lincoln (Omaha) *Welt-Post*.

Notes

[1] Although the general story of Catherine's invitation has become legendary among scholars and lay people studying the Germans from Russia, some of the best and most succinct information was contained in the M.A. and Ph.D. theses of Hattie Plum Williams, now published as *The Czar's Germans*, eds. Emma S. Haynes, Phillip B. Legler and Gerda S. Walker (Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1975). Also excellent is Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Khruschchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Winnipeg: Marian Press, 1974).

[2] Cf. Ingeborg Fleischhauer and Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Germans: Past and Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 13 ff. On the invitations, see La Vern J. Rippley, "Black Sea and Volga Germans in 1763, 1804 and 1910," *Heritage Review* 24 (September 1979): 3-9.

[3] Fleischhauer, 17 ff., cites from E. Amberger, *Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte für die Wirtschaft Russlands vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1968).

[4] Among many sources is the recent book by Bernd G. Langin, *Die Hutterer; Gefangene der Vergangenheit, Pilger der Gegenwart, Propheten der Zukunft* (Hamburg: Rasch & Rohrig, 1986).

[5] Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 258-59. See also C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927).

[6] Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, trans. La Vern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer (Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), 110 ff.

[7] Fleischhauer, 43.

[8] Hattie Williams, 180.

[9] Compare the two texts in the translation of both directly from the original Russian to English by James W. Long, "The Russian Imperial Manifestoes of 22 July 1763 and 20 February 1804," in *Germans from Russia in Colorado*, ed. Sidney Heitman (Ann Arbor, MI: Imprint Series of University Microfilm International, 1978), 6-43, esp. 9-17.

[10] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Mayer, 1961), 295.

[11] Cf. La Vern J. Rippley, "A History of the Dakota Freie Presse," *Heritage Review* 7 (December 1973): 9-17.

[12] See Arndt and Olson, p. 421.

[13] *Dakota Freie Presse*, 8 July 1909. I have published translations of much of this material in the *Heritage Review* beginning with "Contributions Toward a History of the German-Russian Settlements in North America," *Heritage Review* 13 & 14 (April 1976): 14 ff.

[14] *Dakota Freie Presse*, 9 March 1920.

[15] Jonathan F. Wagner, "Nazi Propaganda Among North Dakota's Germans, 1934-41," *North Dakota History* 54 (Winter 1987): 14-24.

[16]The full details appear in my articles in *North Dakota History*, "Gift Cows for Germany," and "American Milk Cows for Germany: A sequel," vols. 40 (1973) and 44 (1977), 4 ff. & 15 ff.
[17]La Vern J. Rippley, "The Marion Central Relief Committee and the Soviet Famine of 1921-23," *Heritage Review* 13 (September 1983): 6-13.

Approaches to English in Some Indiana German Newspapers

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"Unglücksfälle. Auf der Eagle Creek Brücke an der National Road stieß gestern abend in der Dunkelheit der Advokat W. W. Leathers mit seinem Buggy gegen das schwere Gefährt eines Farmers, wodurch er nebst Buggy und Pferd in den Creek hinab in 20 Fuß tiefes Wasser stürzte." (*Die Indiana Deutsche Zeitung*, 1875).[1] This single sentence contains eight English items, all printed in Fraktur and without quotation marks and all plausible borrowings in the German speech of Indianapolis during the 1870s. Yet at the same time, this text contains at least two words almost certainly not typical of the spoken German of mid-nineteenth century Indianapolis: Gefährt and Advokat.

While the above sample may be extreme, editors of all German language publications in this country have always had to deal with English in their newspapers or periodicals.[2] In this article, I contrast several different approaches to incorporating English in German periodicals in Indiana during the mid-1870s. The most central issue is English vocabulary: To what extent were English loans accepted and how were they incorporated into German texts?

The goal at hand is first to establish a taxonomy of integration of loaned material for the present corpus and, second, to show how the spectrum of integration fits with audience needs and the broader social and linguistic contexts. The base on which this brief study draws is not broad enough to allow many generalizations, but it does reflect something of the spectrum of approaches to English in the newspapers of the particular time and place.[3]

Background: The German Language Press in Indiana

Most of the data for this project comes from compilation of English items in issues of three newspapers: *Die Indiana Deutsche Zeitung* (IDZ) of September 30, 1875, *Der Tägliche Telegraph* (TT) of July 1, 1876, and *Das Huntingburgh Signal* of October 23, 1884. Additional data come from other issues of the papers just named, the later *Telegraph and Tribüne* (T&T) as well as the earlier *Die Freie Presse Für Indiana* (FPI). While some studies, for cogent reasons, have limited themselves to material of local origin (e.g., Seeger 1970), I chose to treat the entire issues, including boilerplate material, in order to show not only how local editors dealt with English, but rather how the finished newspaper looked to the reader.

Indianapolis formed the center of the German-American press in Indiana. Arndt and Olson (1965) give reports of several German newspapers there in the 1840s, and during the 1870s the city has 13 items listed. While some German newspaper publishing continued in the state into the late 1920s and early 1930s, Indianapolis lost its last German periodicals in 1917 and 1918. The First World War took a heavy toll across the state, much heavier than in Texas, for example (cf. Salmons in preparation), and signaled the virtual end of the German-language press in Indiana.

The IDZ appeared from 1873-1877 in daily and weekly editions. In 1876 the daily had a circulation of just over 2,200. The TT was founded in 1865 and ran until 1907, when it became the *Telegraph und Tribüne*, the last Indianapolis German-language paper which folded in 1918. The TT had an 1880 circulation of 1700 and the T&T almost 11,000 by 1915. The *Signal* appeared from 1867 until 1914, when publication switched to English. The 1880 circulation was 970 and had reached 1,700 by 1910. The surprising thing about this paper is that it was the only substantial German-language publication in Dubois County, one of the *Hochburgen* of the German language in the state from the 1840s down to the present.[4]

Integration of Loan Material

I have established a set of variables for the relative integration of loan material in the three newpapers under consideration. The variables include: 1) typeface, that is, Roman versus Fraktur,[5] 2) use of quotation marks, 3) paraphrase or other attempts to define

words within a text, 4) free variation or alternation between loaned and native vocabulary, 5) degree of orthographic integration, 6) semantic shift in native words, 7) productivity and compounding.[6]

Following Clyne (1975), one can distinguish three phases of integration: 1) rare or one-time attestation (Transfer Phase); 2) free variation of native and borrowed material (Foreign phase); 3) consistent structural change reflecting integration (Loan phase).

Sometimes variation even within a text does not allow rules for that particular text, much less for a newspaper, let alone for an era. For example, the *Signal* reports a political scandal involving, "das Pollbuch im Safe des Sheriff" and a few lines later shows "pollbücher," with quotation marks more clearly indicating foreignness and lacking the more integrated orthography of the earlier, capitalized occurrence. Thus, contradictory evidence exists as to where one might place "pollbook" along the scale of relative integration in that article from the *Signal*.

1) Typeface tends to reflect a quite low level of integration: anything printed in Roman was being emphasized as foreign. Roman was used as frequently for French and Latin as for English, e.g., from an article on France: la pauvre France (IDZ), nous verrons (TT). Latin phrases are consistently given in Roman type: status quo, vae victis (IDZ), ***das*** Te Deum (TT) ***singen***. These non-English loans reflected a high end of the linguistic register and thus emphasis is not surprising.

Sometimes Clyne's description of the transfer stage fits well with use of Roman type: The *Signal* for instance ran an article containing this: ***"Herr Joseph Kunkel ist unter die*** 'Coal Bosses' ***gegangen,"*** a sentence which ends with ***"am 'Strike'"***. "Strike" can be understood as a loan while "coal bosses" is infrequent at best in German texts and presumably felt to be far more foreign.

Also, "Side Shows" (IDZ) and "you know" (IDZ) are both in Roman type. Far more unique are box-toe (for boots) and "Short Lap" ***Schwungriemen***, both from the *Signal*. Names of the paintings, e.g. "Journey of Life" (IDZ) and plays, such as ***"das Drama:*** The Last Loaf" (Signal) appear in English type.

Quotations in English within German texts are also usually in Roman: ***"Stimmt*** for high tariff and big wages ***sagte die Cleveland Rolling Mill Co. zu ihren Arbeitern"*** (Signal),[7] and ***"je stärker der Hauch von*** 'my policy' ***über das Land wehte*** (FPI)."

Yet a serialized story from the IDZ puts a brief Shakespeare quote into Fraktur: ***"the course of true love never ran smooth."*** Typefaces, though following no iron-clad rules, are used generally according to level of integration and not, in these newspapers at least, as in the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*: "the loans written with quotation marks were alternately in Roman or Fraktur type, with no discernible pattern" (Engelhardt 1969: 13).[8]

2) Quotation marks on loans are softer indicators of foreignness. Particular words show up with and without quotation marks within a single text, e.g., Board in the sense of "board of directors" occurs with and without them in an IDZ text. While quotation marks usually indicate a middle stage of acceptance, i.e. between Roman type and complete integration, the TT uses them with the place name, such as "Three-Knots Road." In the case of "Der Ackerbaurath war anfangs 'grün' im Geschäft wie jeder Neuling" the quotes indicate semantic shift. Seldom do quotation marks crop up often enough to catch the reader's attention, but that also occurs: "Beim 'Treaten' fängt man aber mit 'Schooners' an und hört mit 'Ponies' auf" (Signal).

Finally, one direct contrast draws the line between slightly more and slightly less integrated words: "Roast" and Steak (TT). Both words are of English origin; both appear in Fraktur, yet the first apparently is still felt to be foreign.

3) Paraphrase represents most likely the strongest signal of non-native material, assuming that at least some readers will not understand the primary term used. On the other hand, it may suggest a deep split within the language community since otherwise one could choose the appropriate term from the other language rather than using both. Presumably, editors sought to make the text intelligible to both recent immigrants and second generation speakers: "Nadelhölzer (Coniferen)" (IDZ), "Leichentuch (Shroud)" (TT).

In the first case, note that the second word is German in form but is readily understandable by readers familiar with the English word. The second example occurs twice with the gloss in both instances.

An advertisement found in both the TT and the *Signal* uses paraphrase together with typeface: ***"Wenn Eure Lungen von der Schwindsucht halb verzehrt sind, so wird Euch*** Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery ***(goldene medicinische Entdeckung) nicht heilen, aber. . . ."***

The TT uses a translation for effect: "Die 'Hurrah's für Tilden' hielten mit den 'Three Cheers for Tilden' gleichen Schritt." A "Spuck Geschichte" from Europe in the TT occasionally paraphrases German items in German: eines Fünfers (Fünfguldennote). A remarkable use of paraphrase comes from Michael Metzger's contribution to the present volume, from the *Buffalo Freie Presse* (1888) "die Knownothings, zu deutsch die Fremdhaßer." Here, attention is called more explicitly to the paraphrase by "zu deutsch" in place of the parentheses most often used in other German language newspapers (at least Texas and Indiana) and the explanation given is far from a literal translation; more a harsh definition for an audience already familiar with the Know-nothings than a paraphrase.

4) Alternation of loaned and native items characterizes Clyne's middle stage of integration, die Fremdphase, and this state of affairs is common in these newspapers. I distinguish three types within my data: a) One word is used to introduce another word from a second language, which then takes over throughout the rest of the text. These are usually product names or clear proper names. For example, "Floral Hall" occurs in an IDZ article but later occurrences are "Blumen-Halle." The contrast here is almost complete: the first with quotes, without hyphen, and both lexical elements are English; the second without quotes, with hyphen, and both lexical elements in German. The *Signal* contains an advertisement for an Air Line, in which "Linie" is used for "Line" after the introduction, and an advertisement for Hop Plaster in which the German "Hopfen" occurs in the text.

b) Free variation can occur throughout the text, as with the alternation in the IDZ between "Board" and "Aufsichtsrat," Board usually being in quotation marks. The case of "Corn, Korn, Mais, Welschkorn, Aehrenkorn" is more complex. Every paper I worked with showed more than one form here (except the *Signal* in which my survey showed only one attestation). "Corn, Korn, Mais, and Welschkorn" seem essentially interchangeable and "Korn" in the original sense of grain or cereal does not occur. Likewise, "Waggon/Wagen/Wagon" and "Car" alternate freely, e.g., two different forms within one article in the TT. In the FPI, an advertisement opens by declaring that the store offers "Groß- und Klein-Verkauf" and concludes with " . . . zu billigsten Wholesale-Preisen."

c) A few instances seem more ambiguous, where synonymity can no longer be assumed or semantic shift has definitely taken place, e.g., the *Signal* contains a brewery advertisement announcing the sale of beer "bei Faß oder Keg," presumably different size containers in the community, but no longer clear to today's reader. The *Signal* also shows alternation based on origin of the text, for example a national article (certainly not of local origin) showing "Taxzahler" and a local article in the same issue containing "(County-)Steuern."

5) Integration of spelling I mention only in passing.[9] A few well-integrated words retain English spelling, e.g., Store shows up in the entire corpus many times but only with its standard English spelling. More often, some integration has taken place: "Fenz(-reigel IDZ), die hiesige Braß Band (Signal), Grocerie (which sometimes appears as Grocery), even titles: Miß Peabody (IDZ)." The TT has das "Musik-Corps" und das "Musikcorps" in two different articles within one issue.

6) Semantics. The corpus is rich in semantic shifts of native words with English cognates: "Applicationen werden täglich angenommen" (IDZ, TT), "Candystände, Erfrischungsstände" (IDZ), bei + quantity (beim Glas, beim Faß, IDZ, *Signal*), etc.

Sometimes it appears less a case of polysemy than of homonymy: "Der Stock ist ganz neu und in bester Ordnung (IDZ)," and "im Stock haben" or "ein hüscher Portico in Front" (TT).

One interesting example comes from the TT, which ran an advertisement for rooms with baths, "Wasserwärme 77 Grad." "Grad" appears to have changed meaning here to refer to the Fahrenheit scale; 77 degrees Celsius would be roughly 170 degrees Fahrenheit, too warm for comfortable bathing.

Here I might also mention a kind of lexical collapse, a collapse of Latin words found both in German and English but which occur far more frequently in English, for example, kuriren, resignieren (in the sense of zurücktreten), and the suffix -ment (realized in most of my corpus as -ement). These occur throughout the corpus and one might speculate that such items became more frequent in the bilingual environment under the indirect influence of English, as Wacker suggests (1964: 124-125). Along with this presumed change in frequency would also come a shift in style level: Latinate items were traditionally higher on the register, but with English influence they are reloaned or reinterpreted as ordinary.

Productivity of loans and compounding, Clyne (1975) finds, reflects great integration of the material into the new language. Numerous of the somewhat more integrated items in the present corpus show essentially unlimited capacity for compounding. For example, "Office" is used in the following compounds: Post-Office, Haupt-Office, Office-Stunden, and Officestunden, Cabinet-Office-Sekretär, Abstract-Office, Office-Pulte, Ticket-Officen, Patent-Office. "Jobbing" lends itself to the following: Job, Jobbing Lots, Job Arbeit, Job-Pressen, Job-Druckerei, while Stump is used in other compounds: eine Stumprede halten, eine Stumpreise machen, auf den Stump gehen, Stumpredner. Other productive items include Clerk, Store, and Corn.

Hyphenation of compounds appears to have been quite variable. For compound nouns composed of two English items, the IDZ and the TT both tended to hyphenate: das Business-College, der City-Clerk, etc. The Signal, in contrast, consistently treated these as two distinct words: das Busineß College, das County Ticket (i.e., political party ticket), Ticket Agent. Among English + German compounds, hyphenation alternated with non-hyphenated forms:

"Farm-Glocken, County-Steuern," but "Pooltisch, Hickorybaum" (Signal);

"Lard-Oel, Grisly-Bär," but "Officestunden, Fenzriegel" (IDZ);

"Eisenbahn-Jobbers, Corporations-Grenzen," but "Jobarbeit" (TT).

German + English compounds were slightly less common, but behaved similarly:

"Schuh-Store" but "Nachbar-counties, Barkeeper" (Signal);

"Bau-Lots, Haupt-Office" but "Binnensteuerdepartement" (TT);

"Luft-Brakes" but "Courthaus, Finanzplanke" (IDZ).

Here again, the Indiana newspapers differ from the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* as studied by Englehardt (1969: 43-44), where hyphenation occurs almost always with mixed compounds, i.e., those containing one German and one English element (106 of 132 hyphenated compounds).

8) Finally, a brief note about morphological integration. Extremely little variation shows up in this corpus. In plural forms, -s is normal for both Farm and Elevator (for storing grain), yet each shows a single -en plural form (neither a dative), both from the

IDZ. The *Signal* actually has occasional non-standard morphology of even native words, e.g. Wagen with the regional and non-standard German plural form Wägen.[10] A possible typographical error occurs in the advertisement headline of October 30, 1884: "Bargain-Verkauf von Monumente," lacking the standard dative plural -n.

The spectrum of bilingualism in these newpapers is closely tied to texttype. While some ads were entirely English, the Ausland section of the TT showed no English loans at all. The all-English texts were most often advertisements from Anglo-American, often non-local businesses, public announcements (of which the *Signal* in particular had many), etc. A few advertisements were basically in English with a German line or two tacked on. Entirely and systematically bilingual texts existed, such as subscription rates for the FPI. The amount of English within basically German texts depends largely on topic. German essentially free of Americanisms is generally not local for any of the publications I examined.

If one moves to the World War I period, somewhat more English appears, e.g. in bilingual or all-English advertisements.[11] At this time one also sees the intrusion of English quite specifically for a non-German-speaking audience. Such clearly strategic use of English is hardly apparent earlier. Full-page advertisements for Liberty Bonds were printed in the *Telegraph und Tribüne* fully bilingually, that is, first a German text, then below a parallel text in English. Somewhat less systematically bilingual were calls to buy thrift stamps, which were basically in German, but introduced with the line: "That government of the People, by the People, for the People shall not perish from the earth." Otherwise, the text is German with English loanwords: "Kauft einen Thrift Stamp."[12]

During this period, every single article in that newpaper was introduced by the following English text, naturally in Roman type: "True translation filed with the Postmaster at Indianapolis, Ind., on May 1, 1918, as required by the act of Congress, approved October 8, 1917."

Finally, the *Telegraph und Tribüne*'s closing notice on May 27, 1918 ran bilingually, English first, then German. While stating that the newspaper had been faithfully patriotic, it had been decided to "suspend further publication during the continuance of the war "voluntarily," because "all causes for possible disturbance in our community should be removed."

While texttype generally correlates well with treatment of loan and native material, such material can be dealt with in many ways even within a single text. The best example comes from the TT's *Marktbericht*, the most thoroughly mixed text in this corpus. Under the heading "Fancy Groceries und Früchte" alone, one finds in English: "Tomatoes, Yarmouth Corn, Yarmouth Succotash, Corned Beef, Dried Beef, Lobsters." One finds in German: "Ananas, Heidelbeeren, Pfirsiche," etc. Falling into a "mixed" category are such items as "Cove Austern, Kürbisse (Pumpkins)." Throughout that report, virtually no quotation marks occur, except in the following two phrases: "Verkäufe auf 'Change,'" "Wir quotieren 'Jobbing Lots' zu $22.00 für 'Meß.'"

In general, the English material is quite integrated, without indications of foreign origin, e.g., gewöhnliche Baaren Seife, of the contrast between "choice" and "beschädigt" in listing wheat prices, or finally "keine Grade Korn" (apparently ungraded, that is, without quality classification). Compounding goes as usual, e.g., Lard-Oel (also with the additional compound element -Siederei).[13]

Brief Comparison of Approaches to English in the Three Newspapers Studied

The TT and the *Signal* showed considerable differentiation along a rough continuum that might be described as follows: 1) Accepted loans, including semantic shifts, and various outright loans; 2) Noted as foreign (mostly indicated by quotation marks), but which represent established vocabulary; 3) Variable items where native and borrowed material are used within the same text or issue; 4) Words without any integration into German, printed in Roman type; 5) Words explained by paraphrase; 6) Texts in English, mostly advertisements and public service announcements.

The IDZ is less systematic in this regard, making fewer distinctions and far less consistently. In the IDZ, only one advertisement appears in English and one more in mixed German-English. This is far less English text than the other newspapers contained in their advertising sections. Roman type shows up rarely and even a Shakespeare quote appears in Fraktur, as noted above. Quotation marks indicate not simply foreignness, but slang or colloquial English elements. They are used three times (excepting direct quotation): 1) "grün" im Geschäft as discussed, 2) "Puffs,"

meaning here rave reviews, 3) das "Celluloid," at that time an extremely new product.

Summary and Conclusions

The variables outlined briefly above served to indicate rough levels of integration or foreignness for English items. The frequent inconsistencies within single issues and even single texts reveal quite clearly that this was neither a carefully worked out system nor one systematically carried out. Yet powerful parallels exist across the newspapers surveyed and others, e.g. Engelhardt. The most frequent loans, for example, were well-integrated, very seldom treated differently from native words: Store, Courthaus/Courthouse, Block, Lot, etc. At the other end of the spectrum, words or phrases rarely used in English occur in most newspapers in Roman type and/or with quotation marks. The broad middle ground between these two extremes shows more diversity.

The variables were treated quite differently in the newspapers under consideration (as seen in the preceding paragraphs), but variation within a single issue can be at least as great as variation across newspapers by virtue of differences in text type, origin of text, etc. This spectrum parallels the register of spoken language. At the high end are the texts virtually free of English, often imported from abroad and using vocabulary which would not have been in the active vocabulary of many readers. At the low end are local texts—advertisements, local news, market reports, etc.—which would come much closer to ordinary usage within the community.

Notes

[1] Mr. Leathers survived and his horse "wurde herausgefischt."
[2] Indeed the frequently reprinted first page of the first issue of the 1732 *Philadelphische Zeitung* includes, among other interesting items, the outright loanwords die Township and Advertissemente (explained with "oder Bekannt machungen").
[3] This paper leaves aside numerous issues that will be dealt with in later papers, paricularly gender and dating of English loanwords in American German.
[4] Miller (1982) reports that another Huntingburg German-language newpaper, the *Demokrat* appeared for "a few weeks" in 1868. Otherwise, I have found no evidence of other German language newspapers in Dubois County.
[5] Throughout this article Fraktur (indicated by bold italic type) will be used only as needed for specific contrast with Roman type.
[6] One cannot establish a fixed hierarchy of these factors, but only generally determine what degree of integration they reflect.
[7] Note absence of quotation marks. Typeface may override the need for that; note also that the company name is in Fraktur.
[8] Engelhardt (1969: 13-14) mentions this in the context of the gradual shift from Fraktur to Roman at the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*. None of the Indiana newspapers survived long enough to face this problem since they failed or switched to English while Fraktur type was still widely available.
[9] For a more detailed discussion of this issue, cf. Wacker (1964: 107-109).
[10] This cannot be a typographical error since it shows up repeatedly in this form.
[11] I assume that at least the all-English items were brought to the paper, since the type faces often differ from others in the paper and also because many of the companies running such ads were not local.
[12] Note that this is written as words without hyphen, both indications of an English item, not an integrated loan.
[13] One less integrated form "kegs," written in lower case, may indeed be a typographical error.

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The German-language Press in the Debate Over the Ratification of the Constitution 1787/88

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With the return of peace in 1783, the American economy prospered as never before. Newspapers shared in the good times as their numbers increased.[1] In 1785/86 a severe postwar economic depression occurred that had profound social and political consequences. Again newspapers were founded as the political conflicts on the state level heightened the public's interest in the debate over economic issues and constitutional reform. During the War for Independence the number of American newspapers had remained fairly constant at about thirty-five. This more than doubled in the half decade after peace.[2]

Most newspapers were weeklies; but in the coastal cities semi-weeklies and dailies became more and more common. At the same time "gazettes" spread inland to such remote towns as Pittsburgh, Pa., and Lexington, Ky. In 1788, when the struggle over the new Constitution climaxed, 88 newspapers and three monthly magazines circulated in the thirteen states and the District of Vermont. This rapid growth continued in the next decade, when the French Revolution became the burning topic. At the beginnning of the new century the United States had—in relation to the number of inhabitants—more newspapers than even Great Britain or France.[3]

One of the most important characteristics of the Debate over the Constitution was its public nature. The proposed Constitution, formulated behind the closed doors of the Philadelphia Convention, was openly debated in town and county meetings, in election campaigns, in state legislatures and ratifying conventions and in the press. The role of the press was crucial, since it constituted the only national forum for the debate. Printers, who exchanged their newspapers, reprinted essays, speeches, poems, fillers and

various information about the progress of ratification from each other. During the debate, many newspapers began to show a political preference for or against the Constitution, while some newspapers even developed into party organs. The debate over the Constitution, therefore, contains the seeds of the first national two-party system as well as of a national party press.[4]

The German-language press participated in the expansion of the American press, and it took part in the shaping of that "public opinion" without which the political life of an independent republican nation cannot function. Pennsylvania as the state with the largest German-speaking population—about 140,000 people or roughly one-third of the population—had had German newspapers in colonial times and during the Revolution.[5] The papers existing in 1787/88, however, were fairly recent ones, established and edited by a new generation of printers.

The oldest German-language newspaper in 1787 was the weekly *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz*, begun in 1781 by Melchior Steiner, a Swiss-born son of a Presbyterian minister. In 1779 Steiner, together with Carl Cist, had taken over the business of the famous patriot printer Henry Miller. When Miller died, Steiner inherited part of his property and tried to continue the tradition of Miller's *Philadelphischer Staatsbothe*. Next to be established was the biweekly *Germantauner Zeitung*, published since 1785 by Michael Billmeyer. The name *Germantauner Zeitung* had already been used by a well-known family of German-American printers, the Sowers, who were driven out of Germantown during the war because of their Loyalist sentiments. After the war Billmeyer purchased part of Sower's confiscated property and began printing bibles before starting his newspaper.

Pennsylvania's third German-language paper, the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung*, began in August 1787 while the Constitutional Convention was sitting and circulated in the interior parts of Pennsylvania and in western Maryland. Three editors, Anton Stiemer, Johann Albrecht, and Jacob Lahn cooperated in this undertaking. Stiemer soon died in 1788 at the age of twenty-four.[6] At that time Lancaster was a rising country town and the seat of a county with the same name. Inhabited mainly by German artisans and farmers, Lancaster had its own cultural aspirations, demonstrated

by the founding of a library and the first German college ("Hohe Schule") outside of Philadelphia in that same year.[7]

The connection between the intensifying political debate and newspaper printing is well illustrated by the career of Matthias Bartgis, who in the late 1780s set out to create a chain of German and English newspapers from Pennsylvania to Virginia. Bartgis, born in 1759 in Lancaster, was the son of an immigrant from Bernkastel on the Mosel River. He was unarguably one of the most ingenious and enterprising printers in the early national period. Having learned his craft at Thomas Bradford's *Pennsylvania Journal*, Bartgis first printed German and English calendars and handbills. In October of 1785 he launched the semi-weekly *Bartgis' Marylandische Zeitung* in Fredericktown. The following year he added an English version, the *Maryland Chronicle, or the Universal Advertiser*. From that time on he was constantly on the look-out for apprentices and partners who could read and write both English and German. In 1787, when the constitutional debate heated up, Bartgis reached southward to Winchester, Va., and northward to York, Pa., establishing bilingual printshops in both towns. Most of his papers did not last very long. But temporary setbacks never discouraged Bartgis. In 1790 he began publishing yet another paper, the *Staunton Gazette*, in the southern part of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.[8]

Bartgis complemented the still relatively poor postal service of the United States by privately hiring postriders. They delivered his papers all along a crescent from York, Pa., to Fincastle, Va., thereby strengthening the vital link which connected the main German settlements in Pennsylvania, Western Maryland, and backcountry Virginia.

How then did the German-American printers cover the constitutional debate and what part did they take in the ratification struggle? First of all they translated the Constitution and the accompanying documents from the Constitutional Convention in the form of broadsides to be distributed among the German-speaking population. A short but intense debate occured in the Pennsylvania Assembly about the appropriate number of copies that should be officially ordered from the state printers. The Federalists, who aimed at a quick decision to call a ratifying convention, proposed 3,000 copies in English and 500 in German. But the opposition argued that this would be totally insufficient for a country of over

400,000 people, especially since newspapers did not circulate in some of the western counties. Antifederalist Robert Whitehill was, as he maintained, "for saving the public money, as much as any member; but wished to give the people an opportunity of thinking for themselves on this important subject. Keeping money in the treasury does not give information to the people, which, at this time, is so extremely necessary." The house finally agreed to order an additional 2,000 English and 1,000 German copies, bringing the total to 5,000 and 1,500 respectively. A committee of three was appointed to procure a proper German translation, and Michael Billmeyer, who acted as the German state printer, was commissioned to do the printing. Later on Billmeyer also got the order to print German copies of the Assembly resolution calling a state ratifying convention, whereas Steiner printed the Journal of the Convention ("Tagebuch der Convention der Republic Pennsylvanien") and the form of ratification.[9] This procedure served as a model for the Maryland legislature which decided that—besides 2,000 English copies for the whole state—300 German translations of the Constitution should be equally distributed in Frederick, Washington, and Baltimore Counties. Most likely the printing was done by Matthias Bartgis.[10]

A week after the first printing of the Constitution in the Philadelphia *Evening Chronicle* on 18 September, translations appeared in the German-language newspapers. The versions in the *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz* and the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung* still exist.[11] They differ from each other in grammar as well as in vocabulary, and they reveal a considerable uncertainty in the use of key terms. For example, the Philadelphia paper called the Constitution a "Bundesschaftliche Regierungsform," while the *Lancaster Zeitung* spoke of a "Constitution oder Regierungsverfassung." Later composite forms appeared, such as "Bundesschaftliche Constitution," "Foederal Verfassung" and "Federal System." The Senate and the Senators were called Senat and Senatoren in the *Lancaster Zeitung*, but Rath and Rathsherren in the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*. In Article III the Lancaster paper translated Supreme Court with "Höchstes Gericht," whereas the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* retained the original term. The political language with its new constitutional concepts and meanings became a curious mixture of German and English. On the whole, there was a tendency to stick

to the Constitution's terminology, since the English words often had no German equivalent in the eighteenth century.[12]

Translating the Constitution was only the beginning of the German-American printers' endeavors to keep their readers informed about the progress of ratification. After October of 1787, every issue of every German-language newspaper carried at least some ratification news, either in the form of assembly and convention resolutions, or as election tickets and results, excerpts of letters concerning constitutional and political questions and, last but not least, reports of ratification celebrations all over the country, culminating in Philadelphia's grand Federal Procession on the Fourth of July 1788. From time to time translations appeared of lengthy political essays, such as Tench Coxe's "An American Citizen" and Pelatiah Webster's "A Citizen of America" or of important speeches like James Wilson's Speech in the State House Yard on 6 October 1787, which covered almost half of the four-page newspaper.[13] The regular column "Auswärtige Neuigkeiten" (foreign intelligence) was reduced in space to accommodate more "Americanische Neuigkeiten" (American intelligence), over 50 percent of which often consisted of ratification news.

In terms of involvement in the debate, the *Lancaster Zeitung* and the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* were the most active German-language newspapers. When the printer of the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* relaxed somewhat after Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution in December 1787, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the prominent Philadelphia Federalists, admonished Steiner's countryman Henry Mühlenberg in a letter: "I hope you do not neglect to fill your Gazette with federal essays—anecdotes—and intelligence. Hall and Seller's paper [the *Pennsylvania Gazette*] is filled every week with them all."[14] A look at the subsequent issues of the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* shows that Steiner readily complied with this admonition. The *Germantauner Zeitung* could not devote as much space to the Constitution, since it appeared only every other week. The fate of the Sower family may have served as an additional warning for Billmeyer not to venture too much into politics. Since only a few copies of Bartgis' German papers have survived, it is impossible to evaluate precisely their involvement. But on the whole it is safe to say that the German-language papers did

not lag behind most average American newspapers in their effort to cover and influence the ratification debate.

One has to emphasize the word "average," however, because the German *Zeitungen* could not and did not intend to compete with prominent newspapers such as the Boston *Massachusetts Centinel*, the Philadelphia *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *New York Journal*. These were mostly semi-weekly or daily newspapers, with much more space available for political reporting, serialized essays, and convention debates. The main difference, however, concerns the originality of the published material. Most essays originated in ten to fifteen newspapers in the important coastal cities and were then reprinted in other papers from New Hampshire to Georgia. The German-American printers relied heavily on this exchange system. The consequence was that more than 90 percent of their ratification material consisted of reprints from the leading English-language papers. Since translating long articles took some time, the German-language newspapers often fell far behind the fast-moving events of the ratification process. This constituted a special disadvantage in Philadelphia and Germantown where many Germans could read English and therefore preferred the more up-to-date English papers.[15] The first number of the "American Citizen" essay, for example, which appeared in the *Philadelphische Correspondenz* on 13 November 1787, had been circulating in English since the end of September.[16]

The politics of the German-language newspapers hovered between neutral-Antifederalist and strongly Federalist. Like many of his English-speaking colleagues, Bartgis felt the tension between the traditonal ideal of the impartial newspaper editor, willing to open the pages of his newspaper to the opposing points of view, and the pressures of a modernizing society, fractured by various political and economic "interests." Bartgis and his partners obviously alienated a number of people in the strongly Federalist Shenandoah Valley by publishing many Antifederalist items. The Winchester *Virginia Gazette* came under especially heavy attack because it reprinted pieces complaining about the failure of the post office to deliver Antifederalist newspapers. Bartgis was forced to change the editor of the *Virginia Gazette*, but he steadfastly refused to confess publicly that he was an Antifederalist and he maintained that, despite the "secret views of an ungrateful party," he would persevere in his

professional character as an "unbiassed, impartial printer." In an address to the "respectable PUBLIC," Bartgis on 7 March 1788, warned against the destruction of "that safe-guard to the liberties of an independent people, a free Press. . . . The present being a most important Crisis of the national affairs of this country, it must be evident to the least thoughtful, that the body of the people should be well informed of the nature of any Government that may be proposed for adoption; therefore, free discussions on that momentous subject, as well as interesting intelligence from the several quarters of the world, will be thankfully received, and impartially published." A week later, Bartgis' partner Nathaniel Willis again promised the readers that "this Gazette will ever be free and open for a full discussion of all momentous subjects" and that the printer "uninfluenced by party, will aim to be just."[17] Federalist pressures, however, continued unabated and a rival newspaper, the *Virginia Centinel*, was established in Winchester. This dispute only heightened Bartgis' suspicions of the Constitution and its supporters. But the Antifederalist tendencies of his papers failed to influence a significant number of readers: In the Shenandoah Valley the Constitution remained popular, and not a single Valley delegate to the Maryland and Virginia conventions voted against ratification.

Whereas Bartgis experienced difficulties in steering a neutral course in a Federalist environment, the other German-American printers in Pennsylvania swam with the political current. If one looks at the material they reprinted and reads their editorial comments, it becomes obvious that their involvement in the ratification debate was very one-sided. As soon as the Constitution was published, they praised it as the country's salvation and they urged its quick ratification. In this respect they knew themselves to be in agreement with the vast majority of German-Americans. For them the advantages of a strong national government were self-evident, the personalities of Washington and Franklin unimpeachable, and the dangers of a rejection of the Philadelphia plan so immense that they simply refused to view the issue from different perspectives. In addition, Germans in and around Philadelphia hoped that the capital of the new federal government would return to Pennsylvania, thus further reinvigorating the state's economy and increasing its political importance. Therefore they enthusiastically supported ratification.[18]

In this context "Unpartheylichkeit" (impartiality) of the press took on a new meaning: No longer did it mean that the printer had to be impartial, but only that he should not shut out the voices of the opposition altogether. When printers were asked by some of their customers to publish Antifederalist pieces, they complied. Because of this tolerance German-American readers got translations of the "Address of the Seceding Assemblymen," of Elbridge Gerry's "Objections to the Constitution," of the powerfully partisan "Dissent of the Minority of the Pennsylvania Convention" and of the report of the Harrisburg Convention of September 1788 that proposed amendments to the Constitution.[19] The printers did, however, make efforts to reduce the impact of these potentially subversive pieces. The *Lancaster Zeitung*, for example, introduced the "Dissent of the Minority" with the following remarks: "This piece is published by request. We hope, that everyone who reads this remembers the words: 'Examine all and keep the good in mind.'" ("Folgendes wird auf Verlangen eingerückt. —Man hoffet, ein jeder werde beym durchlesen sich dieser worte erinnern: 'Prüfet alles, das Gute behaltet.'")[20] The readers of the *Lancaster Zeitung* understood quite well that this meant they need not keep very much of the "Dissent" in mind. The *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, for its part, published the "Dissent" in seven installments over two months. By balancing every installment with a number of Federalist items, Steiner effectively destroyed what could have been left from the Antifederalist impressions. It is no wonder, therefore, that Pennsylvania Antifederalists did not rely much on newspapers but tried to counter their influence by distributing broadsides with German translations of pieces like "Centinel" I and the "Dissent of the Minority."[21]

Despite the distinctively Federalist character of their papers, German-American printers did not belong to the crusading party propagandists represented, for example, by Federalists Benjamin Russell in Boston and Antifederalist Eleazar Oswald in Philadelphia. Even the three Lancaster printers, who were the most enthusiastic of the Germans, took pains to eliminate all traces of party polemics and personal invective from their paper.[22] Many of the literary techniques that made the English-language papers so popular—for example, the use of irony and satire—are missing from the German gazettes.[23] German anecdotes did not expose the political enemy nor did German

poems praise the rising glory of the American Empire. On the contrary, in anecdotes, poems, and songs the German-Americans were constantly admonished to thank God for what they had, not to complain nor to aspire too much, and to live simple, honest, and industrious lives.[24] This "Lebensphilosophie" stood in contrast to the grandiose promises of the Federalists and to the fear and pessimism of the Antifederalists. It probably had more to do with the religious traditions of the German immigrants than with the often mentioned but somewhat elusive German "national character." The general impression gained is that the German-language newspapers in Pennsylvania were firmly national and pro-Constitution, but that theirs was a special kind of Federalism characterized by moderation, reasonableness, and sobriety.

However, behind this moderation one can detect a political purpose. German-American printers did not want to present the new Constitution as a party affair since they knew that in Pennsylvania's internal politics their compatriots were almost equally divided between the radical Constitutionalist party and the more conservative Republican party.[25] Their hope was that the issue of a more efficient national government would reunite Pennsylvania Germans and banish—at least for a while—the dangerous "spirit of party."[26] At the end of September 1787 Tench Coxe had informed James Madison that the "principal Germans" among the Constitutionalist assemblymen had united with the Republicans in calling for a ratifying convention.[27] On 3 October the Federalist *Pennsylvania Gazette* had the "singular pleasure to inform the public, that our German fellow citizens, in every part of the state, are in favour of the federal government. Honest and industrious men everywhere love order and dislike paper money laws and constitutions." Three weeks later the *Pennsylvania Gazette* admitted that there was still some resistance against the Constitution in the German settlements west of the Susquehanna. The paper added that it was to be hoped "the Germans in Lancaster and York counties will take some pains to undeceive their countrymen and to recover them from the dominion of the enemies of peace, order, industry, and property."[28] These articles make clear what Federalists expected from the German-American printers: they should preserve the unanimity of their brethren in the eastern part of the state and reduce the spirit of opposition in the west. Judging from the results of

the convention elections in early November of 1787, they were fairly successful: The city of Philadelphia and the surrounding counties overwhelmingly voted in favor of ratification, and only three of the western counties with a significant German population (Berks, Dauphin, and Cumberland) sent Antifederalist delegates to the ratifying convention.[29] This shift of the German vote made it a lot easier for Federalist leaders to get the Constitution ratified with a comfortable majority before the opposition in the backcountry could consolidate.

In Maryland, too, both parties courted the German voters. In counties inhabited by Germans, Federalists and Antifederalists were equally eager to put German names on their convention slates. But when the elections were held in April of 1788 only the pro-Constitution candidates succeeded.[30] In a letter to General Horatio Gates, Federalist John Abert from Frederickstown explained why the better qualified Dr. Thomas had been replaced by Abraham Faw on the county ticket: "However that Faw being a German and as this kind of people forms a very numerous and industrious part of the community, it is well enough I think and not inconsistent with policy, that they should be indulged in having one of their own class for to represent them."[31] It is interesting to note that up to that time Faw had been a follower of Antifederalist Samuel Chase, and that he supported Chase again as soon as the Constitution was ratified.[32] The great majority of German-Americans in Virginia also opted for the Constitution. The counties in the Shenandoah Valley and in the southwest (Botetourt, Wythe, Montgomery) elected Federalist delegates, and their decision turned the scales in favor of ratification.[33] In Antifederalist North Carolina the counties with the heaviest German population—Surry, Rowan, Lincoln, and Mecklenburg—were the only counties in the Piedmont region that lent support to the Constitution. Lincoln, the most heavily German of all, was one of the few western counties that favored ratification in both state conventions.[34]

In Pennsylvania this canvassing for the "German vote" obviously strengthened the self-esteem and the political awareness of the German-Americans. The German-language newspapers began to complain that Germans were not adequately represented in the Assembly and in the state government.[35] According to the printers the main reason for the inferior status of the German-Americans

and for their negative image of being the "Packesel" (that is, pack-mules) of their English-speaking countrymen was the Germans' lack of education. The Lancaster printers, who had helped to establish the "Hohe Schule," and Steiner, who was acting as secretary of the German Society in Philadelphia, urged their compatriots time and again to spend more money for a better school system and to improve the education of their children. Only then would they be able to compete with the English for public offices, and only then would the state fully profit from the talents of its German minority. The message of a number of original essays published at the time of the debate over ratification was that German-Americans should be proud of belonging to an old and culturally deserving nation and that they had the obligation to preserve their language and cultivate German traditions.[36] In this respect the German-American printers were propagandists, too. But their propaganda did not aim at cultural separatism. The ideal was a bilingual American citizen of German origin who could participate on an equal basis in the political affairs of the state and the nation to further the common good.

This call for a cultural and political awakening bore fruit in the first federal elections when Pennsylvania Germans voted for German candidates regardless of their party affiliation. Three of Pennsylvania's eight members of the House of Repesentatives were of German origin, including the first speaker of the House, Friedrich August Mühlenberg. In Congress, all three of them joined the Federalist party.[37] Thus, the German-language press in Pennsylvania reflected, as well as furthered, the Federalist sentiments and the group consciousness of the German population.

How can one account for the fact that German-Americans from New York to Georgia were so overwhelmingly in favor of the Constitution? First of all there are geographical and economic factors: Germans were concentrated in commercially oriented areas that were rapidly developing. These areas tended to support the Constitution. Philadelphia, Germantown, and the towns in the Shenandoah Valley had a high percentage of German artisans, mechanics, and manufacturers, who suffered from the depreciation of paper money and from cheap British imports and therefore longed for the stabilizing and protectionist measures promised by Federalists. Since German-Americans as a minority group maintained commercial and religious ties across state borders, their

political loyalty belonged primarily to the Union rather than to any particular state.

Another reason for the lack of Antifederalist sentiment among German-Americans could be their unfamilarity with the British opposition of "Country" ideology, which lay at the heart of Antifederalism. Neither the slogans of this ideology, like "annual elections," "rotation in office," and "no standing army," nor the radical distrust in governmental power attracted the Germans. On the contrary, as the historian Klaus Wust has noted, their political behavior betrayed "a latent fear that freedom might be carried too far and all authority undermined."[38] In particular German-Americans did not share the belief in the superiority of a confederacy of sovereign and independent states over a firm national union. In this respect, historical experience may have played an important role: Germany, fractured into hundreds of independent principalities, offered a sad example of that state of anarchy and chaos Federalists predicted if the Constitution were rejected. Those who were still interested in the fate of their old country sympathized with the Prussian Kings' efforts to create a modern centralized state.[39] The marked American nationalism of the Germans showed through on the occasion of the ratification celebrations. In his "Observation on the Federal Procession in Philadelphia," printed in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* on 15 July 1788, Francis Hopkinson gives the following anecdote: "A worthy German who carried the standards of one of the trades, when he came home, desired his wife to take care of the flag 'till the next time he should be called upon to carry it, 'and if I die, (said he) before I can have the honor again, I desire that you would place it in my coffin, and bury it with me."'[40]

The clear-cut support for the Constitution, however, did not mean that German-Americans had collectively accepted Federalism—especially in its socially conservative and elitist form—as a political philosophy or ideology. The future would prove that they could also become good Jeffersonians, if Republican politics suited their economic interests and met their emotional needs.

The controversy over the Constitution had helped German-American printers revive and expand their press in the United States. In the next decade a comparatively small but potent German-language press fully participated in the party struggle between Federalists and Republicans, thereby furthering the political integration of

the German population into the national political process. When Melchior Steiner retired in the early 1790s, the *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz* was renamed *Neue Philadelphische Correspondenz* and changed to semi-weekly publication. Under the ownership of Henry Kammerer, it became the leading German-language newspaper of the Republican Party. The *Germantauner Zeitung*, which existed until 1799, also went over to the Republicans. The *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung*, on the contrary, remained firmly in the Federalist camp. In 1797 it was continued by Johann Albrecht and Jacob Lahn as *Der Deutsche Porcupin* with the express purpose of combatting the revolutionary spirit that had presumably come over from France.[41] Matthias Bartgis' career had its ups and downs, as before, but he remained in the printing business founding papers and changing partners at a remarkable speed. Politically he backed first the Federalists and then the Republicans. This change was reflected in the names of his newspapers: The *Maryland Gazette*, established in 1792, became the *Federal Gazette* in 1794, but was remaned *Republican Gazette* after Jefferson's victory in the presidential elections of 1800. In 1802, Bartgis launched *The Hornet*, which in the following year included a German section called *Der Hornet* and carried this motto:

"To true Republicans I will sing
But aristocrats shall feel my sting."[42]

These changing party preferences notwithstanding, Bartgis, like the other German-American printers of the early national period, greatly contributed to the political education and spiritual development of the German settlers in the emerging American nation.

Notes

[1]Merrill Jensen, John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino and Richard Leffler, eds., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, vols. 1-3, 13-16 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976; hereafter cited as *Ratification*). I greatly appreciate the valuable assistance the editors gave me during my stay in Madison in 1983-84 and during the preparation of this paper. I am also indebted to Charles Hagermann of the *Ratification* staff for his assistance in preparing the typescript on computer disks.

[2]See Jürgen Heideking, "Die amerikanische Presse in der Verfassungsdebatte der Jahre 1787 und 1788," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 30 (1985): 363-412.

[3]For the development of the American press in the 1790s, see Donald H. Stewart, *The Opposition Press in the Federalist Period* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1969).

[4]This process has been dealt with comprehensively in my book, *Die Verfassung vor dem Richterstuhl. Vorgeschichte und Ratifizierung der amerikanischen Verfassung, 1787-1791* (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).

[5]This period has been discussed by Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester, Mass: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1980), 151-228. See also John J. Stoudt, "The German Press in Pennsylvania and the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 59 (1935): 74-90; and Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965).

[6]The printers announced the establishment of their newspaper ("Eine Deutsche Zeitung, die Dritte in Pennsylvanien") in the *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz* (hereafter cited as *GPhC*) on 26 June and 24 July 1787. Publication would begin as soon as 300 people had subscribed for the paper. On 29 December, the printers (under the names of Steemer, Albright, & Lahn) advertised the newspaper in the *Pennsylvania Herald* and promised to "perform all kinds of Printing Work in the English and German language, on moderate terms." Further information on the German printers can be found in Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820*, 2 vols. (Worcester, Mass: American Antiquarian Society, 1947) and Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the Second Edition (New York; Weathervane Books), 442ff.

[7]Bilingual advertisements for the library appeared in the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung* (hereafter cited as *NULZ*) from 3 October 1787 on. On 16 January 1787 the GPhC published "Eine Acte, zur Incorporierung und Stiftung einer Deutschen Hohen Schule (College) und Frey-Schule in der Stadt und County Lancaster." Among the trustees were Robert Morris, the former Superintendent of Finance of the Confederation Congress and leader of Pennsylvania's Republican Party, and the physician and social reformer Benjamin Rush. The opening ceremony for the "Hohe Schule" was reported in the *GPhC* on 19 June 1787.

[8]In York, Pa., Bartgis and Thomas Roberts published the *Pennsylvania Chronicle, or the York Weekly Advertiser* from October 1787 to April 1788. The *Virginia Gazette, and Winchester Advertiser* was started in July 1787 and continued into the year 1791. Another German-language newspaper, the *Virginische Zeitung*, lasted from September 1789 to February 1790. For Bartgis, who became something like a newspaper magnate in the Piedmont, see Christopher L. Dolmetsch, *The German Press in the Shenandoah Valley* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1984), 3-5, 31-33, 110-111, fn.23; Klaus G. Wust, "The English and German Printing Office: Bilingual Printers in Maryland and Virginia," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 32nd Report, Baltimore, Md., 1966, 24-37; Klaus G. Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, 2nd ed. (Charlottesville, Va: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1975), 152ff.; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 170ff.; and Joseph Towne Wheeler, *The Maryland Press 1777-1790* (Baltimore, Md: Maryland Historical Society, 1938), 57-64.

[9]*Ratification*, 2 (Pennsylvania): 39f., 61ff., 102, 613-14.

[10]Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 153.

[11]*GPhC*, 25 September 1787; and *NULZ*, 26 September 1787.

[12]Nobody in and around Lancaster seemed to notice that the *Lancaster Zeitung* left out the whole first section of Art. III. Another mistake, however, did not go unnoticed: on 3 October Wilhelm Reichenbach, Professor of Mathematics at the "Hohe Schule," explained in a letter to the editors that 10 miles square should not be translated "10 Quadratmeilen" but "100 Quadratmeilen." He painstakingly argued that 10 Quadratmeilen would be far too small for the seat of Congress; further, 10, being an irrational number, could not easily be divided in such a way as to form an exact square.

[13]See "Der Americanishe Bürger" I-IV, *GPhC*, 13 November, 20 November, 27 November and 4 December 1787; "Ein Bürger," ibid., 12, 19, and 26 February 1788; James Wilson's "Rede über die Grundsätze der Vereinigten Constitution," *NULZ*, 24 October 1787; and *GPhC*, 6 November 1787. Other translations include the essays "Federal Constitution" ("Bundesschaftliche Constitution") in *GPhC*, 16 October 1787, and "One of the People" ("Einer aus dem Volke") in *NULZ*, 30 October 1787; *GPhC*, 31 October 1787; as well as speeches by James Wilson in the Pennsylvania convention on 24 November 1787 (*NULZ*, 5 December 1787) and on the Fourth of July, 1788 (*NULZ*, 23 July 1788), of Oliver Ellsworth in the Connecticut convention (*NULZ*, 13 February 1788) and of John Langdon in the New Hampshire convention (*NULZ*, 2 April 1788).

[14]Rush to Muhlenberg, Philadelphia, 15 February 1788, *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1951), 1: 452-3.

[15]According to Stephanie G. Wolf, Germantown at the end of the eighteenth century was "a bustling, business-oriented town" with about 3,000 inhabitants and an "atmosphere of a small, polyglot, industrial city." *Urban Village: Germantown 1683-1800* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977), 12, 151-3.

[16]The first three essays appeared in the *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer* on 26, 28, and 29 September 1787. *Ratification* 2: 138-9.

[17]Winchester *Virginia Gazette*, 7 and 14 March 1787.

[18]On 21 September 1787, a meeting of citizens from Germantown resolved unanimously "That we do highly approve of the proposed Constitution of the United States, and that we will concur with our fellow citizens in Philadelphia in praying the legislature immediately to adopt the measures recommended by the late Honorable Convention, for carrying the same into execution." *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 September (reprinted: *GPhC*, 25 September), *Ratification* 2: 134-5. On 24 September, the following petition of 250 inhabitants of Germantown was read in the Pennsylvania Assembly: "The Petition and Declaration of the Citizens of Germantown, respectfully show, that your petitioners have seen, with great pleasure, the proposed Constitution of the United States, and as they conceive it to be wisely calculated to form a perfect union of the states, as well as to secure to themselves and posterity the blessings of peace, liberty and safety, they have taken this method of expressing their earnest desires that the said Constitution may be adopted, as speedily as possible, by the State of Pennsylvania, in the manner recommended by the resolution of the late Honorable Convention." On 27 September, the Assembly read petitions from 3,681 inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia "of a similar tenor with the petition of 250 inhabitants of Germantown." On 1 October some Germantown inhabitants sent a petition to Congress offering buildings for the new federal government. During the last two days of the Pennsylvania ratifying convention, 14-15 December 1787, the delegates adopted a resolution to cede a tract of land "not exceeding ten miles square," to Congress for the seat of the new government under the Constitution. *Ratification* 2: 62-4, 103, fn. 6, 134, 324, 611-15.

[19]"Eine Address der Endunterschriebenen, Glieder des letzten Hauses der Representanten der Republic Pennsylvanien, an ihre Constituenten," *GPhC* 9 October 1787; "Des achtbaren Herrn Gerrys gründe, warum er die Neue Constitution nicht unterschrieben hat," *NULZ* 28 November 1787; "Die Addresse und Ursachen der entgegengesetzten Meynungen, der Minorität von der Convention des Staats Pennsylvanien, an ihre Constituenten," *NULZ*, 2, 9, 16 January 1788, and *GPhC*, 8 January to 4 March; and "Resolutions of the Harrisburg Convention of 3 September," *GPhC*, 23 September; *Germantauner Zeitung* (hereafter cited as *GZ*), 30 September; and *NULZ*, 1 October. These three German-language newspapers—by printing the Harrisburg Resolutions on their front pages—gave the impression that there was widespread interest among German-Americans concerning amendments to the Constitution.

[20]*NULZ*, 2 January 1788.

[21]A paragraph of "Centinel" I criticizing George Washington and Benjamin Franklin was omitted from the German translation. On October 24 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that most Germans "rejected with indignation" the address of the sixteen seceding assemblymen and of "Centinel," "notwithstanding the latter had the art to keep back from his translation of it the abuse of Dr. Franklin and General Washington." *Ratification* 2: 167, fn. 2, 201. On 29 May 1787, the *GPhC* had already referred to Washington as the only possible candidate for the presidency under a new constitution. This was repeated in the issue of 2 October 1787. When Washington visited Philadelphia on his way to the inauguration ceremony in New York City, the *GZ* reported on 12 May 1789: "Die Freude der ganzen Stadt bei

dieser feierlichen Begebenheit kann nicht wohl beschrieben werden. Auf allen Gesichtern war der Wunsch zu lesen: Lange lebe George Washington, der Vater des Volkes." Addressing the Lutheran community of Philadelphia, Washington described the German-Americans as "ein geschäftiges, nüchternes und tugendhaftes Volk," *GZ*, 26 May 1789.

[22] Like most English-language newspapers, the German gazettes strongly condemned the violence that occurred during the ratification process. When Federalists and Antifederalists clashed in Carlisle, Pa., in December 1787 and March 1788, the *GPhC* blamed the latter party: "Die Antifederalistischen Banden dieser stadt und dieses landes geben sich, wie ein Correspondent anmerket, alle mühe, das volk dieses Staates aufzuwiegeln, und uns alle in verwirrung zu bringen" (1 April 1788). On 19 February 1788, the *GZ* contrasted the moderate Connecticut Antifederalists with the "hartnäckige und ungründliche minorität von Pennsylvanien." The strongest criticism was levelled against Rhode Island, which did not participate in the work of the Constitutional Convention and which opposed ratification until June 1790. On 29 July 1788 the *GPhC* translated and reprinted a letter written by a Rhode Island Federalist: "Das schändliche und schelmische Betragen vieler unserer Einwohner, welches unseren Staat fast zu der grössten Schande gebracht hat, hört noch nicht auf. . . ."

[23] The only piece which came close to political satire was a fictional conversation in heaven between a Pennsylvanian who died as a slave of the Algerine pirates and a man from North Carolina who was killed by Indians. They both bitterly complained about the inefficiency of the Confederation: "Ein Gespräch im Reich der Todten, zwischen zwey gebornen Americanern," *NULZ*, 15 October 1788.

[24] Since the poems and anecdotes are original German pieces, they allow deeper insights in the mentality of the German-Americans than most of the reprinted material. In the dark days of the depression and Shay's Rebellion, the *GPhC* set the tone with poems such as "Die Kunst stets fröhlich zu seyn" (7 November 1786). In the 5 June 1787 issue the readers found a "Aufmunterung zur Vergnügsamkeit": "Was klagt ihr? Nur aus Stolz beklagen sich die Niedern/aus Übermut der Mittelstand/Von uns soll das Geschick nur diese Bitte haben:/Gleich fern von Noth und Überfluss." A poem entitled "Zufriedenheit mit seinem Zustande" reminded the Germans on 15 August 1787 that "Nie schenkt der Stand, nie schenken Güter/Dem Menschen die Zufriedenheit./Die wahre Ruhe der Gemüther/Ist Tugend und Genügsamkeit." Other examples of this moralistic and exhortative poetry are "Sehnsucht nach Ruhe" (11 September 1787) and "Der Zufriedene" (29 February 1788). An anecdote revealed "Das Geheimnis jederzeit zufrieden zu seyn" (19 February 1788). The *NULZ* carried two poems entitled "Zufriedenheit" (10 October and 7 November 1787) and a number of others conveying the same message, such as "Der frohe Bauer" (28 November 1787). From time to time, the habit of complaining about the "bad times" was also criticized in an essay: "Mangel an Geld, schwere taxen, viele rechtshändel, härte der gläubiger, böse Schulden, schlechte verwaltung der öffentlichen Geschäfte, u.s.f. sind der gewöhnliche Inhalt der Unterhaltungen in den meisten gesellschaften. Allein ich sehe nicht, dass das Klagen die zeiten gebessert hat . . . Lass einen jeden seine Pflicht lernen und das tun was er sich selber schuldig ist . . . dann wird man des elendes, worüber man

klagt, weniger sehen, und also auch weniger ursachen zum klagen haben." "Wie man klagen soll," *GPhC*, 21 August 1787.

[25] See Jackson T. Main, *Political Parties Before the Constitution* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina Press, 1973), 206ff.

[26] Even before the Constitution was published, the *GPhC* assured its readers "dass die Einwohner dieses Staats von allen partheyen bereit und willens sind, die neue vereinigte Regierungsform anzunehmen. Es ist merkwürdig, dass Pennsylvanien bei allen grossen, wichtigen und nöthigen getroffenen massregeln allen Staaten ein exempel einer übereinstimmenden bereitwilligkeit gewesen ist" (28 August 1787). On 10 October 1787, the *NULZ* mentioned the "Antifoederal junto (d.i. die parthey die gegen die neue constitution ist)," but in the next paragraph reprinted a letter from Carlisle pleading for the "Verbannung des Partheygeistes." A great fire in Carlisle in November 1788 led the *GPhC* to comment: "Die bey diesem traurigen zufall herrschende allgemeine einigkeit und guter wille, lässt uns hoffen, dass die Zwistigkeiten, welche seit einiger Zeit unsere Gemeinschaft so sehr gestört, endlich ein ende nehmen . . . und Friede und guter wille gegen einander in dieser sonst so vereinigten und ansehnlichen gesellschaft wieder platz nehmen werden" (2 December 1788).

[27] Coxe to Madison, Philadelphia, 28-29 September 1787, *Ratification*, 2: 121-2. On 21 October, Coxe wrote Madison that Philadelphia Federalists, in order to attract the German vote, had put the German Hilary Baker on their convention ticket. Ibid., 199-201.

[28] 24 October 1787, *Ratification* 2: 201.

[29] For the election results in Pennsylvania, see *Ratification* 2: 224ff. Bucks and Northampton counties changed from Constitutionalist to Federalist. On 22 October 1787, a Northampton County meeting unanimously nominated Federalist candidates and resolved "that this meeting do most warmly and cordially approve of the said Constitution, and that they esteem it the only salvation of this country, on which the existence of the United States of America, as a people, depends." Ibid., 229-30.

[30] For the ratification campaign in Maryland, see Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1978), 287ff. In 1790, about 10% of the inhabitants of the Chesapeake region were of German origin. Maryland had 24,000 or 11.7%, Virginia 28,000 or 6.3%, and North Carolina 13,000 or 4.7%. Ibid., 4-5.

[31] Abert to Gates, 14 April 1788, Horatio Gates Mss., New York Public Library.

[32] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, 640, fn. 54.

[33] According to Risjord, the Constitution "would surely have been rejected in Virginia, had the westerners not shifted to the Madison camp, after years of voting with the Henryites." *Chesapeake Politics*, 294, cf. 281ff. Jacob Rinker (1749-1827) represented the Shenandoah Valley Germans in the Richmond Convention of June 1788. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 113.

[34] Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, 65-6, 461-2, 537-4.

[35] In a letter to the editors of the *NULZ*, "Peter Deutschmann" asked "warum in allen Ämtern die meisten glieder Englische sind" (3 October 1787). On 20 September 1788, a member of the German Society of Philadelphia claimed that the Pennsylvania Germans—unlike the Dutch in New York—constituted almost 50% of

the state's population (*GPhC*, 28 October 1788). Similar arguments were used in several election campaign essays in late 1788. See, for example, "An die Deutschen Einwohner in Pennsylvanien," *GPhC*, 18 November; "Addresse an die Deutschen in Pennsylvanien," *GPhC*, 2 December; "An die Einwohner von Lancaster County," *NULZ*, 17 September; "An die Erwähler von Pennsylvanien," *NULZ*, 1 October; and "An die Freyleute von Pennsylvanien, Freunde und Landsleute," and "An die Deutsch-Amerikanischen Einwohner des Staats von Pennsylvanien," *NULZ*, 19 November. Cf. the report of a "Federal Conference" held in Lancaster, *NULZ*, 12 November. James Asch, who was running for the office of Sheriff, found it necessary to deny that he had "auf eine unanständige Art von den Deutschen gesprochen," *GPhC*, 14 October 1788.

[36]In his essay of October 3, 1787, "Peter Deutschmann" explained "den Nutzen einer Hohen Schule für uns Deutsche . . . Dass wir nun gute Prediger, gewissenhafte justus, geschickte doctors, und andere tüchtige Männer ins Land bekommen, die wir zu caunselers, assemblymännern, scheriffen, commissionern und zu vielen Dingen mehr erwählen koennen, deswegen . . . sind hohe schulen so notwendig" (*NULZ*). The Lancaster printers published two long essays concerning the goals of the "Hohe Schule" and the difficulties it encountered during its first year of existence: "Wie steht es mit der Hohen Schule in Lancaster," and "Über die Schwerigkeiten der Hohen Schule in Lancaster," *NULZ*, 27 February and 27 August 1788. The German Society of Philadelphia offered a prize for the best essay written on the question: "Wie kann die Aufrechterhaltung und mehrere Ausbreitung der Deutschen Sprache in Pennsylvanien am besten bewirket werden?" (*GPhC*, 4 November 1787). Cf. the "Cato"-letters, *GZ*, 29 April and 27 May 1788; and essays on German "Sprachpatriotismus," and "Über die Würde der Deutschen," *GZ*, 28 October 1788 and 4 August 1789; and "An die Deutschen Nation in Amerika," *NULZ*, 20 October 1789. The efforts at improving German education were supported by the English writer "Philanthropos" in his essay "An die Freunde der Religion, Sitten und nützlichen Kenntnisse," *NULZ*, 20 and 27 August 1788; and *GPhC*, 19 and 26 August 1788 (reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*).

[37]The Pennsylvania elections are documented in Merrill Jensen, Robert A. Becker, Gordon DenBoer et al., eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections* (Madison, Wis.: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 1: 227ff.

[38]Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 165.

[39]A writer in the *NULZ* maintained that the unification of Germany was necessary, but that the Germans unfortunately lacked national sentiments, "Etwas von Deutschland," 30 January 1788. Favorable comments on the personalities and politics of the Prussian kings Frederick the Great and Frederick William appeared in several essays and anecdotes: see *GPhC*, 5 June 1787 and 8 April 1788; and *NULZ*, 23 January 1788. In "The Federalist" 19, James Madison used the Holy Roman Empire as an example of a misconstructed and disintegrating confederacy: "The history of Germany is a history of wars between the Emperor and the Princes and States; of wars among the Princes and States themselves; of the licentiousness of the strong, and the oppression of the weak; of foreign intrusions, and foreign intrigues; of requisitions of men and money, disregarded, or partially complied with; of attempts to enforce them, altogether abortive, or attended with slaughter and

desolation, involving the innocent with the guilty; of general imbecility, confusion and misery," *Ratification* 14: 392.

[40]A German translation of Hopkinson's "Observations" appeared simultaneously in the *GPhC*. On 1 July 1788, the *GPhC* printed a poem celebrating the Fourth of July. The last three verses read: "Heilig ist unser Band!/Lasst getrennt nicht stets uns weinen!/Jetzt wird uns Ein Land vereinen." On the Fourth of July 1788, the inhabitants of Lancaster, who had celebrated Pennsylvania ratification in December 1787, organized a procession which included a "Federal Boat." *NULZ*, 26 December 1787, 25 June and 9 July 1788. At a celebration in Strasburg, Pa., the participants made this toast: "Möchte das Wort Anti hinfüro und auf immer aus der amerikanischen Sprache vertilget werden." *NULZ*, 9 July 1788.

[41]Stewart, *Opposition Press*, 385-6.

[42]Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 172.

The Transformation of the German-American Newspaper Press, 1848-1860

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The characterization of the German-American press which is most often quoted by students of the subject is attributed to Herman Ridder, manager of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, who said in a magazine interview in 1906:

> "The daily papers published in the German language are not German papers, but American papers printed in the German language. They represent American interests as completely as the papers printed in the English language. They educate the Germans who came to this country to become good and loyal American citizens."[1]

Ridder's statement was probably designed as an assurance to the English-speaking public that the pages of the German press did not cloak disloyalty or divided loyalty. But his remarks also embody the idea expressed by later sociologists that the ethnic press, like most other immigrant institutions, often served the function of facilitating acculturation to a new society rather than retarding it by preserving the culture of the mother country. Even institutions which claim as their mission the preservation of the old culture may in fact frequently be used by their constituents as instruments to ease the inevitable transition from the old culture to the new.[2]

The period of about a dozen years before the outbreak of the American Civil War saw an impressive growth in the numbers of German-American newspapers and in their total circulation. Equally important, however, was the transformation of the character of mass-circulation German journalism during the same period. Despite continuing tension between the goals of acculturation and cultural preservation, the balance was shifted decisively in these years toward acculturation. This emphasis was dictated both by the needs of the

German-American populace during those years and by the turbulent conditions of American society and politics. The need of the readership for information and guidance about American conditions in these times was far more pressing than their need for cultural ties to their German past. The involved, activist, and comprehensive character of the German press that was formed in these years would remain its characteristic style through its most prosperous days down to the turn of the century.

The most obvious aspect of German journalism in the pre-Civil War decade was the rapid growth in both numbers of journals and in circulation. In a period when many new German communities were being created and old ones were burgeoning, new journals came and went with a sometimes bewildering frequency. Although accurate counts were difficult in these circumstances, it is clear that more of them endured than fell by the wayside. Practicing German journalists who tried to take some poll of their peers counted 70 newspapers in 1848, 89 in 1851, 111 in 1856, and 144 in 1860.[3] These were, of course, the survivors among a field which saw many failures. The total readership of German-language publications also increased dramatically. This reflected not only the high immigration rate of Germans during the period, but also their high literacy rate and their quick involvement in American affairs.[4] In the decade from 1850 to 1860, the German-born element of the population rose from 584,000 to 1,276,000. Immigration from Germany reached a peak of 215,000 in the year 1854, and the biggest spurt in newspaper growth also occurred in the first half of that decade. It is probably a conservative estimate to say that German newspaper circulation at least tripled during the period 1848-1860. In 1855 the New York *Herald*, an English-language newspaper, estimated the total circulation of the German-language press at 220,000, remarking pointedly that the number reflected the number of German-born voters now taking part in American elections.[5] Although exact estimates are difficult, the total circulation of the German press was probably above 300,000 by 1860.

It was this expansion of numbers that made possible the most notable change in the character of the German press during the era: the emergence of a remarkable diversity among German publications. The general-circulation German newspapers of the late 1840s had no competition in their own localities and, as the only paper available

to Germans there, were at pains to encompass the entire German community and to overlook or to soften some of the divisions and contentions within the community. By 1860 almost any given German newspaper had plenty of rivals to compete with for readers. The public could take its choice from among journals of various ideological, religious, and political persuasions. The multifaceted journalism already clearly emerging by 1860 tended now to reflect rather than to disguise the divisions and conflicts within German-America.

The involvement of the new generation of refugees of 1848 has been most frequently pointed out as the catalyst for a more vigorous and involved German journalism. Carl Wittke's principal chapter on the German press of this era is titled simply "The Forty-Eighter Renaissance."[6] It would be superfluous to repeat accounts like Wittke's of the entrance of this new leadership of educated and articulate writers, bringing with them much higher standards of journalism and of intellectual content than had previously prevailed in the German-language press. They assumed leadership of established journals like the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, the *Philadelphia Demokrat* and the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, and started new ones like the Cleveland *Wächter am Erie*, the St. Louis *Westliche Post* and the *Davenport Demokrat*, which would become journalistic institutions of great influence. The overall influence of the forty-eighters was felt in several ways. For one, as a group of contemporaries with shared interests and experience arising from their revolutionary past, they could forge a network that knit together the German newspapers more closely—a network strengthened by the constant movement of forty-eighters from one paper to another. From this there arose by the end of the 1850s a sort of common culture and shared experience of German-American journalism. This fraternal network developed notwithstanding the many bitter controversies that existed among them. For certainly they brought a new level of spirited debate to a previously rather placid German journalism. Often refusing to accept the standard line of party politicians, the forty-eighters drew upon their own political and social philosophies in responding to the issues of the day, issues such as expansionism, nativism, temperance, and of course the threatening problem of the expansion of slavery. It was through the efforts of the forty-eighters that German-American citizens very often received a

different perspective on such political problems from those of their English-speaking neighbors.

Yet for all their contributions as a group to the new character of German journalism, there were many of the political refugees who did not find their way into the mainstream of German journalistic development. Among the newspapers begun by the forty-eighters were many which were basically personal journals, such as those associated with Carl Heinzen, Adolf Douai, and Bernard Domschke. But at a time when technology and population growth were driving German journalism toward a mass-circulation business, the idiosyncratic personal journals had to struggle for survival. As Carl Knoche pointed out in his study of the early Milwaukee German press, many of the forty-eighters failed because they lacked business sense and refused to see their enterprise as anything other than an outlet for their ideological views.[7]

Perhaps, then, the role of the forty-eighters, while certainly important, has been somewhat overemphasized as shaping the future of the German-American press in the pre-Civil War era. Perhaps more emphasis should be placed on the environment of unprecedented political turmoil during the period, conditions hardly attributable to the forty-eighters or to the ordinary German immigrant. The large German populace fresh from their homeland faced a growing political crisis in which they suddenly found themselves being weighed in the political balance. Both they and their newspapers were being sought out and appealed to by a bewildering variety of political groups, parties, and factions. The newspapers became a necessary and critical force in interpreting these events to a brand-new citizenry. In the course of this turbulence, the world of German journalism was decisively pulled toward greater involvement in American politics.

Before 1848, political allegiances were a simple matter for most German-language journalists. As with the majority of German-Americans, their attachment to the party of Andrew Jackson was seldom questioned. Some of the German papers, such as the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, the Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner*, and the Cincinnati *Volksblatt* had been founded to assist the Democratic party in gaining German voters,[8] and many continued to receive subsidies from political leaders in the form of printing contracts, legal advertising, and outright grants. This was of course the

economic reality of virtually all American journalism at the time; few newspapers could survive without some form of political patronage. New editors customarily made their first public declaration one of firm loyalty to the cause of a specific political party, reassuring party leaders that the paper still deserved a share of the public printing. Take, for example, the statement of Dr. G. Aigner upon taking over the editorship of the *Wisconsin Banner* in 1851:

> This sheet will be a Democratic newspaper, for the German inhabitants of Wisconsin. As a newspaper it will make its readers aware as quickly as possible of all interesting developments concerning what is new in politics, science, art, etc.; as a Democratic paper it will interpret and illuminate political developments, legislation and governmental matters from the viewpoint of the Democracy, and will work for the dissemination and implementation of Democratic principles, and finally it will contribute as much as possible as a paper for the Germans of our state. . . .[9]

The apparently settled and predictable political environment of German-language journalism was troubled by increasing factionalism in American political parties in the early 1850s; it was challenged after 1854 by a very chaotic process which we now rather blandly characterize as a party realignment. To those of the time it was not, of course, a simple matter of choosing between, say, a free-soil party and a Southern-dominated Democratic party. Instead there were constantly changing groups and designations: Hunkers, Barnburners, Free-Soil Democrats, Conscience Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, North Americans, South Americans, Independent Democrats, Douglas Democrats, Buchanan Democrats, and of course, Republicans. Taking a position among them involved not just adopting a stance on the expansion of slavery, but consideration of other issues like nativism and temperance, which seemed equally compelling to many Germans. The fact that some Germans seemed willing to desert their old Democratic allegiances after the Kansas-Nebraska Act set off a scramble among factions and politicians to gain or retain their vote. The German press became a valuable instrument in this competition for the German voters. Any close election where the Germans might play a role invited candidates or parties to produce their own German newspapers to present their point of view. The political uncertainty of the times thus fostered the proliferation of the German newspapers, although many of the newborn journals did not survive longer than the campaign for which

they were created, especially since those on the losing side would not have any political patronage to keep them going.

Instructive examples of the desire of politicians to have German papers at their disposal, and of the kinds of support they could give to these papers, can be found in the critical political battles that developed in the pivotal state of Illinois in the late 1850s. In that closely divided state, the home base of Stephen A. Douglas, the Germans were thought to be one voting element hanging in the balance. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Douglas had lost the support of Chicago's leading German newspaper, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*. In preparation for the campaign year of 1856, Douglas moved in September 1855 to establish a new German newspaper, the Chicago *National Demokrat*. He and four other Chicago Democratic leaders provided the German brewer Michael Diversey with a loan of $5000 and the use of the printing facilities of the Chicago *Times*, Douglas's most loyal English-language paper. The paper was to be editied by Ignatius Koch. The written agreement pledging the paper to Douglas's political organization became a source of public embarrassment to Douglas after a copy of it was surreptitiously obtained and published by the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* and other political opponents.[10] During the next two years, Douglas had a falling-out with President James Buchanan over the Kansas question, and the Illinois Democratic party split into two factions. The *National Demokrat* wound up in the hands of the Buchanan wing, which doubtless commanded more political patronage with which to support it. Douglas thus was obliged to start another newspaper, the *Chicagoer Abendzeitung*, to support him in his crucial senatorial campaign of 1858.[11]

The Republicans, and particularly Douglas's frequent rival Abraham Lincoln, had to look to their German press support as well. Lincoln's agreement with Theodore Canisius in 1859 to begin a Republican paper at Springfield in the German language stipulated that the printing press and German type which Lincoln had previously purchased were to become the property of Canisius—provided that he continued to advocate the Republican cause and to publish regularly through the presidential election of 1860. Lincoln specifically stipulated that any deviation from Republicanism would allow him to reclaim the press and type. Canisius adhered to his agreement; after his election to the presidency, Lincoln rewarded his

German editor with title to the equipment and, later on, with the consulship at Vienna.[12]

Thus the political competition of the 1850s advanced both the number and the diversity of the German press. In 1851 Heinrich Börnstein, the new editor of the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, canvassed the political inclinations of the nation's German press. Of those that he could determine, 67 papers were Democratic and four were Whig.[13] By 1856 the political picture had changed dramatically. Christian Essellen made a careful analysis of the politics of the German press during that year; of the newspapers whose alignment he was able to determine, 58 supported Buchanan, the Democrat, and 48 the Republican John C. Fremont. By this time, most major German centers had German-language newspapers representing both major parties. New York's traditionally Democratic *Staats-Zeitung* was opposed by the Republican *Staatsdemokrat* and the *Abendzeitung*. In Buffalo, the Democratic *Weltbürger und Demokrat* was opposed by the Republican *Telegraph*. The *Philadelphia Demokrat*, supporting Buchanan, was opposed by the *Freie Presse*, for Fremont. In Cincinnati, the Democratic *Volksfreund* and *Wahrheitsfreund* faced the Republican *Volksblatt* and the *Deutsche Republikaner*. Baltimore's *Deutsche Correspondent*, remaining staunchly Democratic, was faced by the upstart Republican *Wecker*.[14] By the presidential election year of 1860, the political balance of the German press had clearly turned; a survey during that four-candidate contest showed 73 German papers supporting Lincoln, the Republican; 35 for Douglas, the northern Democrat; 15 for Breckenridge, the southern Democrat; and 10 for Bell of the Constitutional Union party.[15] Party organizations in that crucial election were continuing to subsidize rival German papers, and the German press, much of which now owed its existence to American political controversy, thereby served to draw German-Americans into the turmoil of American politics.

The forging of a new journalistic network of nationwide dimensions which could reach into the homes of the majority of German-Americans could not have taken place without another factor, the innovative technology that was revolutionizing all of American journalism at that time. Coming at a crucial period in the development of German-American journalism, these breakthroughs in gathering, producing, and distributing the news helped facilitate

the emergence of strong big-city newspapers, which served a regional readership and became flagship papers for the entire network of German journalism. Such papers now had the capabililty of offering their readers all the news and information available in the English-language newspapers of the day.

Foremost among the technological developments was the telegraph. Following its introduction in 1844, the telegraph was quickly adopted by newspapers for newsgathering purposes. It became a necessary element for establishing a daily newspaper, especially in areas away from the eastern seaboard. Daily telegraphic news reports could overcome the uncertainties of mail deliveries and reliance upon exchange newspapers. For many German newspapers, the adoption of telegraphic reports was simultaneous with the decision to publish daily. This was the case, for example, with the Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* in January of 1850 and the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* in December of 1851.[16] The *Anzeiger* furnished some insights into the economics of telegraphic journalism when it complained bitterly that a rival paper, the *Deutsche Tribune*, was stealing telegraphic dispatches from other papers rather than paying for them. Meanwhile the seven other papers presenting telegraphic dispatches shared equally in their cost, which in the *Anzeiger's* case was seven to eight dollars a week.[17] At the same time that the telegraph began to play an important role, the influence of the railroad was also being felt. The 1850s saw one of the largest railroad-building booms in American history; by the end of the decade a network of rails extended from the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi. Newspapers could now depend on more reliable and regular delivery of exchange newspapers and other editorial material through the mails. Perhaps more important was the way in which the railroads facilitated distribution, helping newspapers at centers of population to develop a regional circulation. In 1850 the Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* stated that its weekly edition, published on Wednesday, should normally reach every post office in the state within one day. The growth of dominant regional German newspapers did not inhibit the small-town papers; there was enough population growth to stimulate both, and the smaller German papers could find their own role to play in community news and local politics. But the 1850s did see the emergence of a two-level structure of German journalism, comprised of the major regional papers and the smaller local ones.

The larger newpapers at urban centers were also most able to take advantage of the efficiencies of new printing-press technology. The 1840s and 1850s saw the introduction of steam-powered presses, the cylinder press, and the type-revolving press, all greatly increasing the speed of production. The *Wisconsin Banner* in 1850 marveled at the new steam-powered cylinder press recently installed by the Milwaukee *Sentinel and Gazette*. This press, it said, could now be used by other papers as well and henceforth would produce the weekly editions of both the *Banner* and of its German rival, the *Volksfreund*.[19] By 1854, the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, which claimed to be second only to the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* among German-American journals, proudly announced the purchase of two steam-powered cylinder presses, each of which could produce 800 to 1000 newspapers hourly. these innovations would greatly speed the newspaper's production, which it numbered at 3400 daily and 4000 weekly. The *Anzeiger*, certainly one of America's larger German papers at the time, claimed that it employed thirty-nine people: three editors, two clerks, two foremen, two printers, ten typesetters, one apprentice, one machinist, two student printers, two printer's devils, and fourteen carriers.[20] In an enterprise with so much labor devoted to the actual production of the paper, more efficient presses removed a major block to bringing daily service to an expanding readership.

The 1850s, then, saw many changes which contributed to the reshaping of the character and structure of the German-language press into the form that remained dominant for the next half-century. By making use of the technological improvements affecting all American journalism, German language papers became more like their English-language counterparts in appearance, content, and scope. They acquired sources of editorial talent that rivaled those of the English-language press and put together a network of common interests and shared information. The mushrooming demand for the services of the German press helped it to grow, to differentiate, and to offer German-America a variety of voices. The turmoil of politics during the era turned the attention of the German press decisively toward American issues. By the advent of the Civil War, the German press was no longer merely an isolated voice speaking from a separate culture, but was indeed an American press published in the German language.

Notes

[1]Herbert N. Casson, "The Germans in America," *Munsey's Magazine* 34 (1906): 701.

[2]I have elaborated on this in James M. Bergquist, "German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4 (1984): 16-17, and notes, 24-25. See also Jerzy Zubrzycki, "The Role of the Foreign Language Press in Immigrant Integration," *Population Studies* 12 (1958): 73-82.

[3]The 1848 figure, from a survey in the Philadelphia *Demokrat*, is cited by Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1957), 127. Heinrich Börnstein of the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* counted 89 German newspapers in the U.S. at the beginning of 1851; see Friedrich Schnake, "Geschichte der deutschen Bevölkerung und der deutschen Presse von St. Louis und Umgegend," *Deutsche Pionier* 5 (1973): 334-335. In 1856 Christian Essellen undertook an extensive revision of a list of German newspapers published in the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and arrived at the 111 figure; see *Atlantis*, n. s. 5, no. 1 (July 1856): 77-80. The 1860 figure, citing a tabulation made by the New Ulm (Minn.) *Pionier*, is in George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration* (Boston: Ginn, 1926), 130. Wittke, *German Language Press*, 76, cites a statement of the New York *Tribune* in 1852 that there were 133 German newspapers at that time; but this figure seems out of line with other tabulations.

[4]Daniel Hertle, *Die Deutschen in Nordamerika und der Freiheitskampf in Missouri* (Chicago: Illinois Staatszeitung, 1865), 26-29.

[5]Quoted in St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* (weekly ed.), 25 Jan. 1855.

[6]Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 75-102.

[7]Carl H. Knoche, "The German Immigrant Press in Milwaukee," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1969, 65-70, 242-248.

[8]"Das Entstehen der New Yorker *Staatszeitung*," *Deutsche Pionier* 5 (1883-84): 411-416; C. Rümelin, "Geschichte der Gründung des *Volksblatts*," *Deutsche Pionier* 1 (1869): 80-82; Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 52-57.

[9]Translated from Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* (weekly), 8 Jan. 1851.

[10]*Letters of Stephen A. Douglas*, ed. Robt. W. Johannsen (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1961), 365-366; Belleville (Ill.) *Belleviller Zeitung*, 15 July 1856.

[11]*Belleviller Zeitung*, 1 April 1858.

[12]*Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler et al., 9 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953-55), 3:383, 391.

[13]Quoted in Schnake, "Geschichte der deutschen Bevölkerung," 334-335.

[14]Atlantis, n.s. 5, no. 1 (July 1856): 77-82.

[15]Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration*, 130, citing the New Ulm (Minn.) *Pionier*.

[16]St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* (weekly), 13 Dec. 1851; Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* (weekly), 16 Jan. 1850; Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 197-198.

[17] *Anzeiger des Westens* (weekly), 31 Jan. 1852.
[18] Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* (weekly), 16 Jan. 1850.
[19] Milwaukee *Wisconsin Banner* (weekly), 31 July 1850.
[20] St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens* (weekly), 11 Nov. 1854.

Political Patronage of the German-American Press in Antebellum Wisconsin: A Case Study in Political Assimilation

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German newspapers made their first appearance in Wisconsin in 1854 during the primacy of the party press. All but about 10 percent of the newspapers published in Wisconsin before the Civil War identified themselves as organs of political parties or factions,[1] and 20 of the 24 German papers published in Wisconsin in 1860 have been identified as Democratic or Republican organs in the federal census or other sources. Politics was clearly the driving force in newspaper publishing. It provided the initial impetus to establish papers and the editorial frame of reference for nearly all newspapers in this period, including the German newspapers.[2] Consider the perhaps familiar accounts of the establishment of the first Milwaukee papers as examples.

The German *Wiskonsin Banner*, the first foreign-language paper published in Wisconsin, was established by Moritz Schoeffler in September of 1844 to provide a voice for the Milwaukee German community in opposition to the nativist Whig *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Schoeffler started the paper with the assistance of $170 in working capital solicited by Dr. Francis Hubschmann, an advocate of liberal suffrage rights for immigrants as the territory faced the selection of delegates for a convention to draft a state constitution.[3]

Hubschmann, with the support of the *Wiskonsin Banner*, was elected a delegate to the first constitutional convention where he was successful in winning a liberal immigrant suffrage provision.[4] Other provisions of the draft constitution, however, were objectionable, particularly to the Whigs, and in 1847 Rufus King, editor of the Whig *Milwaukee Sentinel*, established with his partner William

Duane Wilson a second German paper, the *Volksfreund*, to campaign against the constitution among the primarily Democratic Germans. After the first constitution was defeated, the *Volksfreund* was sold to its Democratic editor, Frederick Fratney, and it became a clearly Democratic paper.[5]

Schoeffler, editor of the *Wiskonsin Banner*, was elected to the second convention in which he also championed a liberal immigrant franchise provision. That constitution was adopted.[6] Schoeffler and Fratney continued to represent the two factions of the Democratic party in rancorous debates between their papers until Fratney died in 1855. He willed the *Volksfreund* to Schoeffler, who merged it with the *Banner* to form the *Banner und Volksfreund*.[7]

The same Rufus King who sponsored the *Volksfreund* was among the founders of the Republican party in Wisconsin. It was he who provided the press and materials to establish the *Korsar* shortly after the formation of the Republican party in 1854. The *Korsar* (or *Corsair*) was the first of several Republican German papers operated by Bernard Domschke. After the first two had failed, he embarked on publication of the more successful *Atlas* in 1856.[8]

These brief descriptions of the births of a few Milwaukee German papers are emblematic of the history of German newspapers in pre-Civil War Wisconsin because they highlight the importance of politics to successful newspaper publishing. Political partisans frequently provided the money and other resources needed to start a newspaper in whatever language.[9] Much of the operating income for newspapers came in the form of political patronage distributed by the territorial, state, and local governments through political parties using procedures that effectively knit English and German newspapers together into a single system of competing partisan newspapers.

Based primarily on a study of all Wisconsin territorial and state government payments to newspapers before the Civil War, this article explores the economic dimensions of publishing the early Wisconsin German newspapers, concentrating on this political patronage.[10] It considers the role of the German papers in an integrated system of newspapers. The focus is on the economic structure and functions of the newspaper system rather than on the content of the newspapers. The objective is to demonstrate that because of the environment into which German newspapers were born in Wisconsin, they became

part of the political process that contributed to the assimilation of German immigrants into American political culture.

Most studies of political patronage of the press have focused on large public printing contracts awarded to a very few English-language papers each year and on the political machinations involved in awarding these contracts.[11] Previous research on the German-language press of this period has pointed to the importance of politics and patronage to that press. But because this research has been general and national in scope, it has not explored how political favors worked to determine the nature of the newspapers.[12] This study of Wisconsin papers reveals that patronage was more extensive than was previously believed, that it was spread among many more newspapers, and that it may have been more valuable to the political parties than the awarding of a few large contracts.[13] Of particular relevance here is the finding that cultivation of the German press by various political parties served to integrate the foreign-language press into the American political system.

The Newspaper Business in Antebellum Wisconsin

Between 1844 and 1860, about 40 general-circulation daily, weekly, and/or semiweekly German language newspapers were published in Wisconsin. They represented about 10 percent of the nearly 400 papers published in Wisconsin in this period. The German papers were concentrated in the Lake Michigan communities of Milwaukee, Port Washington, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and Racine and a few inland communities—Madison, Sauk City, La Crosse, Oshkosh, Fond du Lac, and Watertown. The largest German papers were located in Milwaukee, which boasted five in 1860. But five other cities also supported competing German papers during the late 1850s. The average longevity of all newspapers in Wisconsin during this period was about 2 years; German papers survived an average of 3 years by 1860.[14]

While it cost about $1,500 to capitalize the typical Wisconsin weekly, it appears that only half that amount or even less was invested in the German weeklies. (Recall the $170 invested in the *Wiskonsin Banner*.) The average weekly did about $2,100 in printing and publishing business in 1860. Although the data are too sparse to

speak confidently about the value of production in German newspaper offices, it appears that they were on considerably shakier economic footing than their English counterparts, doing on the average perhaps 60 percent of the business of the English papers.[15] The weekly circulation of German papers in 1860 averaged about 525, compared to 650 for English weeklies.[16]

Territorial and State Government Patronage

There were three services for which a newspaper publisher could be paid from the territorial and state treasury in Wisconsin: printing reports and documents for the use of government or distribution to residents, publishing official notices in newspapers, and providing newspapers to the legislature for its use. In addition, newspapermen could be paid for service in elective and appointive state office.[17]

Printing work included printing bills and laws for the legislature, reports and other documents for executive departments, and various materials for public distribution. Most printing was of course done in English, and under the Wisconsin constitution it was to be done under contract to the printer who submitted the lowest bid for all government printing. No German newspaper was ever chosen public printer.[18]

In fact the legislature left a lot of loopholes in the printing laws, permitting it to authorize printing various documents and reports in several foreign languages. German newspapers were specifically authorized by the legislature to translate the state constitution and amendments and to print some annual session laws, the revised statutes, and several departmental reports in German. From 1854 through 1859 the legislature appropriated relatively large sums to several German newspapers for printing.[19]

A printing service that was the epitome of the abuses represented by political patronage was the printing of the governor's annual message to the legislature in foreign languages. One of the first orders of business during many sessions of the legislature was to decide how many copies of the governor's annual message to have printed in which languages and by which printers.[20] In general, the legislative contingent loyal to the governor's party wanted more copies printed; those in the other parties wanted

fewer. The legislature generally paid more than the copies were worth and used this form of patronage to serve clearly political purposes. For example, in 1860 when the German newspapers were considered the backbone of the effort to elect Abraham Lincoln, six German Republican newspapers were paid for printing copies of the governor's message.[21]

Until 1853 the two Milwaukee German papers did all the German-language printing authorized by the legislature. After the number of papers expanded, printing patronage in some years was spread among nearly all the German-language papers in the state; in others only a few papers were authorized to do state printing, but other forms of patronage were available to German papers. The German newspapers received about 14 percent of the state funds paid for government printing before the Civil War.

Most state government publishing involved regular publication of notices announcing the sales of public school and university land in frontier counties, swampland in lakeshore areas, and the resale of property forfeited for failure to pay for the land or for loans secured by mortgages on other land.[22] German papers received only about 2 percent of the payments for this publishing because they generally were not located at the edge of the frontier where most of the lands were sold, and it would have been unreasonable for the resale notices, which had to be published in only one newspaper in a county, to have been published in a German paper.

Although the German papers did not receive much of the state-funded legal notice publishing, the legislature provided the opportunity for foreign-language newspapers to win local publishing patronage when it passed a law in 1856 permitting counties to place official notices in the foreign-language press.[23] This made available to the German press the lucrative job of publishing delinquent tax lists and numerous other required legal notices. The following year the law was amended to add the proviso that if notices were published in foreign-language newspapers, they must also be published in English-language papers, suggesting that some officials had neglected to publish some notices in English.[24]

Ordering newspapers for the legislators' use at state expense, though a routine practice in Wisconsin territorial and state governments, has not received any previous notice as a mechanism of political patronage. The largest number of copies authorized was

30 papers per senator per day in 1852, at a cost not to exceed one dollar per daily newspaper for the session.[25]

Actual expenditures for all newspapers in all languages varied considerably. Some legislators ordered the maximum number of newspapers possible and others ordered just major dailies and a hometown paper or two. Many legislators ordered multiple copies of individual newspapers. On the average, legislators ordered at least one copy of more than 50 percent of the German papers published each year. About 13 percent of the funds spent to provide newspapers for the legislators went to publishers of German papers, although only about 10 percent of the newspapers published in the state were German.

The state employed a number of newspapermen in an assortment of patronage jobs filled through the political parties. A few positions were awarded to Madison newspapermen as a means of supplementing their probably inadequate newspaper income. Some jobs were positions in Madison, held during the terms of the legislature, that permitted out-of-town newspapermen to be there to report on the legislative sessions. A few newspapermen served as members of the constitutional conventions and the territorial and state legislatures, and these positions also permitted their holders to report from Madison for their home papers. While being a newspaperman was not a requirement for filling the various public offices newspapermen held, there is evidence that some of these positions were filled to serve the journalistic needs of the parties or the editors.[26] German newspapermen earned about 18 percent of the total amount paid newspapermen for state patronage jobs.

Most important were the positions provided for the operators of the Madison German newspapers. Not long after starting the *Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung* in 1854, August Kreuer was appointed state librarian, a position for which he was paid more than $1,100 in 1855 and $250 in 1856.[27] After that the position went to one of the operators of the Republican *Wisconsin State Journal* in Madison. The appointment of German newspapermen to supplementary positions in Madison resumed in 1858 when F. A. Pfaff, one of the operators of the new *Madison Demokrat*, served as a clerk in a state office and Edward Rullman, operator of the *Staats-Zeitung*, became a night watchman in the treasurer's office. Rullman continued to hold the watchman's position for one dollar a night in 1859 and 1860.[28]

The patronage system also provided positions for visiting journalists during the legislative sessions. Carl H. Schmidt, the editor and publisher of the Democratic Manitowoc *Nord-Westen* served as a night watchman in the comptroller's office during the legislative sessions of 1858, 1859, and 1860. Marcus Otterburg, an editor of Domschke's Republican Milwaukee *Atlas*, and Henry Cordier, editor of the Oshkosh *Wächter am Winnebago*, won patronage jobs in 1860, Otterburg as postmaster in the Assembly, Cordier as a clerk.

Moritz Schoeffler of the *Wiskonsin Banner* was a member of the second constitutional convention, and August Greulich was a member of the legislature while his newspaper did legislative printing and publishing business in 1857.[29] Both were paid per diem expenses that supported them in Madison during the sessions.

The Two-Tiered System of Patronage

Returning to an overall view of political patronage of the press, it should be noted that we are dealing with a two-tiered system. The bulk of state money went to the papers that enjoyed state-wide influence and to a few papers with special needs, such as papers published in communities whose populations were inadequate to support competing political papers.[30] The local governments—towns, cities, school districts and other units—provided substantial patronage support for papers serving primarily local political needs. The forms of patronage were the same: the printing of reports and documents, the publishing of official notices, purchase of newspapers for politicians and employment of newspaper personnel in public office. This two-tiered state system was part of a national system of political patronage which provided political information from Washington to the state politicians and the newspapers through Washington newspapers and federal patronage of a few papers in each state or territory.[31]

The Madison newspapers were critical to the territorial and state political system as they reported on state government from the differing perspectives of the two political parties and served, in effect, as party newsletters to both individual constituents and other political newspapers around the state.[32] One reason legislators ordered papers at state expense was to permit them to send copies of

the Madison papers to their constituents as a means of reporting what the legislators were doing in the capital.[33] The Madison English-language papers representing the dominant political parties or factions in territorial and state government won the majority of the large state printing contracts and publishing business, and they sold the most newspapers to the legislature. The Madison English-language newspapers which did not win these contracts generally died. The dominant German papers in their parties or factions in Milwaukee received the next largest share of patronage dollars. Through 1855, these were the *Wiskonsin Banner* and the *Volksfreund*; after that the largest amounts of patronage generally went to the merged *Banner und Volksfreund* and the *Atlas*.

While the Madison German papers enjoyed the advantage of being on the scene of most political news, the German population in Madison was relatively small, and these papers struggled for survival. Even after the Madison German papers were well established, the parties continued to award large portions of the German patronage business to the Milwaukee papers. Although the Madison papers did win some of the printing and sold more than average numbers of papers to the state in some years, they had to be supported in substantial part by the employment of their operators as state librarian, clerk, and night watchman in state government offices at various times. In some years the pay for these jobs was greater than the amount the German papers earned for state printing and publishing.

Most of the English-language papers outside of Madison received relatively small amounts from state government with the exception of those located in small communities at the edge of settlement. Publishing notices of sales of public lands provided extra subsidies for these papers, which generally struggled for survival where there were few people to subscribe and advertise. The other English papers were more heavily supported by local government patronage than state patronage. All told, only about half of the English papers received state patronage, and most received rather small amounts of under $25 a year.

In contrast, the political patronage system provided support for about two-thirds of the German papers, and the support for many was substantial. The largest sums, amounting to several thousand dollars a year in some years, went to the two or three

dominant papers in Milwaukee. The system provided several means of supporting needy German papers elsewhere. One was ordering copies of the governor's message in German from several papers rather than buying all from one paper, and paying at least twice as much as they were worth. The legislature also occasionally ordered several hundred dollars worth of printing from German newspapers other than the Milwaukee papers which did most of the printing. For example, both competing German papers in Manitowoc and an Oshkosh German Republican paper were so favored for several years. Staff members from these and a few other papers were also selected for patronage jobs in Madison during the legislative sessions. Finally, the system permitted the legislators to order relatively large numbers of German-language papers.

Networks of Party Papers

Newspapers were an integral part of the structure of political parties during this period of the second American party system. They served as communication links between party leadership and the voters and they were understood by politicians to reflect the views of the voters to those in power. Political patronage was the glue that held the system together. It was commonly believed that without the support of the press a candidate could not win an election, and partisans attempted to assure themselves of editiorial support by awarding patronage.

The foreign-language press had special importance to the politicians. Because many party leaders could not speak directly to their non-English-speaking constituents, they used the foreign-language press as a means of communicating with the immigrant population, which could hold the balance of power in some elections. They also used the foreign-language press to instruct the immigrant readers in the American political system.

Wittke argues that many small German-language papers could not have survived without the liberal patronage support the system provided.[34] Although the survival or support of a particular newspaper was occasionally important for serving local needs, patronage worked best to support competing networks of papers which supported a party and its positions and candidates. The

patronage system provided the means of linking the newspapers supporting each party into chains or networks. In addition to patronage, these groups of papers were held together by ties of common ownership or interlocking directorates. During the fevered activity of political campaigns, the candidates and individual campaign organizations provided additional direct subsidies.

The Schurz Network

All of these elements were present in a network of German Republican papers which focused in the late 1850s and 1860 on the political interests of Forty-Eighter and politically ambitious Republican activist Carl Schurz. The workings of the network he supported exemplify the significance of the newspapers system and the role played by political patronage. Schurz appears to have organized the network of German Republican newspapers in 1857 when he was a candidate for lieutenant governor. Within a short period of time in September of 1857, he was nominated as Republican candidate for lieutenant governor; he asked the state Republican Central Committee to fund Herman von Lindemann's *Madison Zeitung* during the campaign; and he started the *Watertown Volkszeitung* with Charles Palmé and Lindemann after being dismissed as editor of the *Watertown Anzeiger* because of his outspoken politics.[35] Later in the fall Schurz was also listed as an editor of Bernard Domschke's Milwaukee *Atlas*, and his name is associated with both the Milwaukee and Watertown papers through 1860.[36] Schurz's joint associations were among several interlocking directorates that further linked these three papers. Lindemann is listed as operator of both the Madison and Watertown papers in this period, and Fritz Anneke, Schurz's commander in the 1848 revolution, is listed as being associated with both the Milwaukee and Madison papers.[37] Perhaps with Schurz's influence, Domschke for the first time won a large share of state patronage for the *Atlas* beginning in 1857, and the *Atlas*, the Madison *Zeitung*, and the Watertown *Volkszeitung* were similarly favored with state patronage in 1858, 1859, and 1860.

The Milwaukee *Atlas* was the largest of the papers and clearly the most important to the network. When patronage was inadequate to sustain the *Atlas* in 1858, Schurz sought funds for the paper from

prominent Republicans. In a letter to John Potter, a Republican candidate for Congress, Schurz suggested the importance of the *Atlas* in particular, and the other German papers in general, to the political process: "At all events we cannot afford to let the paper go down. Where should we get another one? A failure of this kind would hurt us considerably. . . . Our chances next fall are anyhow not of the most brilliant kind; at all events we cannot afford to disarm ourselves."[38] In 1859 Schurz signed a $750 note to help keep the *Atlas* afloat for the 1859 state political campaign during which Schurz was seeking the Republican gubernatorial nomination.[39] After Schurz failed to get the nomination, other Republicans raised money for the German Republican papers to show their continued support of Schurz and to continue to voice the opinions of the German element of the population.[40]

By 1860 Schurz began to focus his efforts on the Lincoln presidential campaign. Schurz, Domschke, and Carl Roeser of the Republican Manitowoc *Wisconsin's Demokrat* were influential in developing a German plank for the national party platform.[41] Schurz spent much of his time in 1860 campaigning out of state for Lincoln, but he continued to be associated with the Wisconsin papers through the 1860 election.[42] Palmé bought the *Madison Demokrat* in the fall of 1860 and converted it into a Republican paper. After the election, he merged it with the *Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung*. The German Republicans, led in part by Schurz through his network of newspapers, were credited with winning Wisconsin for Lincoln.[43] As a consequence, Schurz, Lindemann, Palmé, and Roeser all won political appointments through the Lincoln administration.[44] Despite Schurz's extraordinary efforts, the Milwaukee *Atlas* failed in 1861, and the Watertown and Madison papers were suspended.

Wittke's observation on political support of the German press in 1856 applies to the Wisconsin German press in this entire antebellum period: "The Republican leadership used every possible device to woo the German vote, including subsidies for German papers, old and new. The Democratic party did the same."[45] Such political patronage helped to maintain a system of competing party papers that served to integrate the German immigrants into American political life. Whether by accident or design, the system provided competing German-language newspapers in Wisconsin that probably could not otherwise have survived.

Notes

[1]Based on manuscript periodical schedules of 1850 and 1860 U.S. Censuses, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (SHSW), and newspaper directories including: Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961; Ada Tyng Griswold, comp., *An Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison: SHSW, 1911); Donald E. Oehlerts, *Guide to Wisconsin Newspapers, 1833-1957* (Madison: SHSW, 1958); James L. Hansen, *Wisconsin Newspapers 1833-1850* (Madison: SHSW, 1979). In 1850 and 1860, only 5 percent of the newspapers counted in the censuses were unaffiliated with political parties.

[2]Frank Luther Mott, "The Political Newspapers," in *American Journalism* (New York: MacMillan, 1962), 253-66; Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington, Ky., 1957; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1973), 127-47.

[3]Works Projects Administration Wisconsin Writers' Project draft biography, Moritz Schoeffler, SHSW (hereafter cited as WPA draft biography, Schoeffler); *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography* (Madison: SHSW, 1960), 319-20; Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 183-84, 195-97; Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee* (Madison: SHSW, 1945), 77.

[4]Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Convention of 1846*, Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Volume 27, Constitutional Series, Volume II (Madison: SHSW, 1919), 231-35, 777. The suffrage provision was Article VIII, Sections 1-3, of the draft Constitution, printed in Quaife, 742-43. See also Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 195-98.

[5]WPA draft biography, Frederick Fratney; *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 135; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 185-86; WPA draft biography, Moritz Schoeffler, *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 319-20. On the debate on the constitution, see Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Struggle over Ratification, 1846-1847*, Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. 28, Constitutional Series, Vol. 3 (Madison: SHSW, 1920); Kate Everest Levi, "The Press and the Constitution," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 16 (1933): 382-403; Perry C. Hill, "Rufus King and the Constitution," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 32 (1949): 416-35.

[6]WPA draft biography, Moritz Schoeffler; *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 319-20; Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Attainment of Statehood*, Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Vol. 29, Constitutional Series, Vol. 4 (Madison: SHSW, 1928), 915-16. The suffrage provision was Art. III, Sec. 1, Wisconsin Constitution. The section was amended in 1882, 1908, and 1934.

[7]WPA draft biographies, Moritz Schoeffler, Frederick Fratney; *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 135, 319-20; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 185-86.

[8]J. J. Schlicher, "Bernard Domschke," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 29 (1946): 319-32, 435-56; WPA draft biography, Bernard Domschke; *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 105.

[9]Wittke, *German-Langugage Press*, 128, 130; Jacqueline Ann Fix, "The Establishment of Wisconsin's Territorial Newspapers, 1833-1848," Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1961; Carolyn Stewart Dyer, "The Business

History of the Antebellum Wisconsin Newspaper, 1833-1860," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978.

[10]*Annual Reports of the Secretary of State*, 1849-1860; appropriations laws, *Laws of Wisconsin*, 1841-1860.

[11]The patronage literature includes: William E. Ames, *A History of the National Intelligencer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971); Ames, "Federal Patronage and the Washington, D.C., Press," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (1972): 22-30; Ames and Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Washington, D.C., Political Press: A Developmental History of Functions" (Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism, Seattle, WA, 1978); Gerald J. Baldasty, "The Press and Politics in the Age of Jackson," *Journalism Monographs* 89 (August 1984); William Katz, "Public Printers of Washington Territory, 1853-1863," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (1960): 103-14, and "Public Printers of Washington Territory, 1863-1889," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (1960): 171-81; Frederick Marbut, "The Decline of the Official Press in Washington," *Journalism Quarterly* 33 (1956): 335-41; Dwight L. Teeter, "Press Freedom and Public Printing: Pennsylvania, 1774-1783," *Journalism Quarterly* 45 (1968): 445-51; Karl Trever, "Wisconsin Newspapers as Publishers of the Federal Laws, 1836-1874," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 31 (1948): 305-25; Mary Ann Yodelis, "Boston's Second Major Paper War: Economics, Politics and the Theory and Practice of Political Expression in the Press, 1762-1775," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1971); Yodelis, "Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763-1775," *Journalism Monographs* 38 (1975); Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics and Patronage: The American Government's Use of Newspapers, 1789-1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977).

[12]Carl Wittke, "Public Issues Before the Civil War," chap. 7 in *German-Language Press*, 127-47; James M. Bergquist, "The German-American Press," chap. 18 in *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 131-59. See also Carl Wittke, "The Journalists," in *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1970) 262-79.

[13]Carolyn Stewart Dyer, "Political Patronage of the Wisconsin Press, 1849-1860: New Perspectives on the Economics of Patronage," *Journalism Monographs* (in press).

[14]Data derived from sources in note 1.

[15]Economic data are based on analysis of the manuscript Products of Industry schedules, 1860 U.S. Census. Data include amount of capital investment, value of raw materials, number and pay of employees, and value of finished products. Data were included on 49 newspaper businesses. Only five German newspapers were counted among them. For the German papers, the average investment was $740 and the average value of product $1,344. For further analysis of these data see Dyer, "The Financial Affairs of 1860 Newspapers," chap. 5 of "Business History," 222-81.

[16]Circulation data are from manuscript Periodical schedules, 1860 U.S. Census.

[17]For a more detailed discussion of the forms of patronage available, see Dyer, "Political Patronage," *op. cit.*

[18]Wisconsin Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 25. The constitutional provision was fleshed out in statutes adopted in 1849, 1852, 1858, and 1860 and in amendments and supplementary legislation in 1849, 1851, 1854, 1857, and 1859. Schlicher erroneously implies that Domschke won the state printing contract in 1858. "Bernard Domschke," 439. Domschke did get substantial amounts of printing work in 1858.

[19]For example, the *Volksfreund* and the *Wisconsin Banner* each received about $2,200 for printing for the legislature in 1854, and the merged *Banner und Volksfreund* received about $10,200 for printing in 1856. In 1857 the Milwaukee *Banner und Volksfreund* received about $7,100; the Milwaukee *Atlas*, about $2,000; the Madison *Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung*, about $2,600; and the Manitowoc *Wisconsin's Democrat* received about $1,000 for printing.

[20]The matter was taken up on the third day of the session in the Senate in 1848, *Senate Journal* (1848), 22-3; the second day of the Assembly in 1849, *Assembly Journal* (1849), 14; and the second day in the Senate in 1850, *Senate Journal* (1850), 30.

[21]Four papers were paid $60 each, one $120, and one $395. The $60 and $120 payments are similar to payments under the 10-cents-a-copy rates paid before the printing law changed in 1854 to set a rate for foreign-language printing based on the length of the document. Copies were also ordered in Norwegian, Dutch and Welsh.

[22]Initial land sales had to be advertised for eight weeks in every newspaper in the county in which the lands were located. *Laws of Wisconsin* (1849), Chap. 212; hereafter cited as *Laws*. Sales of forfeited and mortgaged property had to be advertised for extended periods in only one newspaper in a county. *Laws* (1855), Chap. 22; *Laws* (1858), Chap. 133.

[23]*Laws* (1856), Chap. 119.

[24]*Laws* (1857), Chap. 9.

[25]*Senate Journal* (1852), 7-8. *See also* Legislative Newspaper Records, Wisconsin Secretary of State Papers, Elections and Records, Series 199, Box 1, SHSW, which contains the legislators' records of newspaper orders for the Senate in 1852, and the Assembly in 1859 and 1860.

[26]See, for example, letters from newspapermen to an officer in the state Republican party in 1858. S. W. Smith to H. A. Tenney, 18 Sept. 1858; S. W. Smith to Tenney, 17 Nov. 1858; Wm. C. Rogers to Tenney, 29 Dec. 1858, Horace A. Tenney Papers, SHSW. There is no comparable correspondence regarding German newspapermen, but Germans held some of these appointive offices.

[27]In 1855 Kreuer did only $129 in printing business for the state and in 1856 his printing, publishing, and newspaper sales to the state amounted to $244. His successors on the *Staats-Zeitung*, Fuchs and Goll and Lindemann and Rullman, had substantial amounts of state printing and publishing business in 1857 and 1858.

[28]Rullman was paid $366 in 1866 for serving as a night watchman. The value of all 1859-1860 production by the *Staats-Zeitung* was $1,244, according to the Products of Industry schedule of the U.S. Census. Rullman sold less than $100 worth of governor's messages and newspapers to the state in 1860.

[29] Schoeffler sold papers to the convention in 1847. Greulich, who was associated with the *Milwaukee Seebote*, was paid as a partner in "Greulich and Schoeffler" for more than $1,100 worth of printing. The nature of Greulich and Schoeffler's collaboration has not been determined.

[30] See Dyer, "Political Patronage," for an elaboration on the special patronage of frontier community newspapers.

[31] The national level of this system is outlined in Smith, *Press, Politics, and Patronage*. On the link to the Wisconsin newspaper system see Trever, "Wisconsin Publishers of Federal Laws."

[32] See Baldasty, "Press and Politics," 5-6 on the role of the state party papers in the Jacksonian era, which was comparable to the role of the Madison papers in this later period.

[33] See an explanation of this practice in debate during the second constitutional convention in Quaife, *Attainment of Statehood*, 183, 186-7.

[34] Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 130.

[35] Richard N. Current, *The History of Wisconsin: The Civil War Era, 1848-1873* (Madison: SHSW, 1976), 266; John Henry Ott, ed., *Jefferson County, Wisconsin, and Its People* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1917), 125; Schurz to Squire Hustis, August 1857, Schurz Papers, SHSW; Schurz to H. A. Tenney, 17 September 1857, Tenney Papers.

[36] Schlicher, "Bernard Domschke," 442; Griswold, *Catalog of Newspaper Files*, 388.

[37] Griswold, *Catalog of Newspaper Files*, 361; Ott, *Jefferson County*, 125; Schlicher, "Bernard Domschke," 442.

[38] Schurz to John Potter, 30 April 1858, Potter Papers, SHSW.

[39] Schurz to J. Potter, 12 Aug. 1859; J. R. Doolittle to Potter, 10 Sept. 1859, Potter Papers.

[40] Doolittle to Potter, 10 Sept. 1859, Potter Papers. The letter lists the amounts Doolittle had planned to raise from various Republicans. Correspondence with Potter continued into early 1860 regarding Schurz's endorsement of the note for the *Atlas*. Charles F. Ilsley to Potter, 11 April 1860; Schurz to Potter, 12 April 1860, Potter Papers. According to Wittke, after Schurz's loss in the 1857 lieutenant governor's race when all the other Republican candidates won state office, "the entire German press reacted unfavorably to this apparent revival of nativist prejudices." Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 142.

[41] Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 144-45.

[42] Current, *Civil War Era*, 284.

[43] Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin, A History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 245-46; Joseph Schafer, "Who Elected Lincoln?" *American Historical Review* 47 (1941): 51-63. Both Nesbit and Schafer argue that the German Republicans did not support Lincoln.

[44] *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography*, 320; *History of Jefferson County* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1879), 413-14; Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 137.

[45] Wittke, *German-Language Press*, 141.

The German Book Trade in America to World War I

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The history of the German press and book trade in America closely followed the course of immigration and was influenced by the success (or neglect) of language maintenance efforts. Perhaps the most difficult time prior to the twentieth century was the period of the Napoleonic Wars when trade and immigration were drastically curtailed. Book trade relations with Germany practically ceased after 1800; and a growing indifference to the German language was commonplace, especially in larger cities. Gottlob Jungmann of Reading, Pennsylvania, who published a German Bible in 1805, expressed grave doubts that another translation would ever appear in America.[1] But events proved him wrong. German immigration during the nineteenth century was unprecedented in size and ultimately created a community as pluralistic as European German society, although the educated elites were present in much smaller numbers. The book trade and press reflected this diversity.

Even the reading tastes of eighteenth-century Germans, commonly called Pennsylvania Dutch by their neighbors, were not as narrow as usually described. In 1789, one English writer commented on the demand for German books in America: "They sell in parts inhabited by the Dutch; but principally books of devotion and school books. They have very few men of literature among them here. When a Dutchman is not at prayers, he is either at work or asleep."[2] True, during the eighteenth century most German-American imprints and German imports were devotional and theological books, school texts, and practical handbooks. But contemporary sources also reveal an unexpected variety—volumes on alchemy, magic, the occult sciences, Rosicrucianism, mysticism, and theosophy; also German

literature, popular fiction, chapbooks, many translations from the English, and even examples of *galante* or erotic literature.

The eighteenth century also saw the first attempts of the German book trade in Europe to cultivate the American market, often with large shipments of out-of-date books and unsaleable overstock. As the century drew to a close, there was a visible increase in book trade activity: in 1785 Jacob Lahn's Circulating Library of German Books was opened in Philadelphia, the first in America; in 1800, a young bookseller in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, boasted a stock of 8,000 German books on hand.[3] But this flowering was premature. From 1800 to 1820 imports were very limited and local printers concentrated on bread-and-butter items such as hymnals, catechisms, and almanacs. A more professional book trade developed slowly and haltingly after 1820, first in Philadelphia, then in New York, Baltimore, and elsewhere. At the same time, however, Anglo-Americans from New England to Philadelphia had discovered the marvels of German literature, scholarship, and science. This Teutonic conquest of American culture also stimulated the demand for German books.

A large part of the new German immigration went West. In Ohio the first substantial German settlements were around Lancaster and Canton. Most of these early arrivals were of Pennsylvania-German stock; and the first German books in the state, printed in Pennsylvania or Ohio, were mainly religious works, school books, and almanacs. Next to Ohio the favorite destination of Germans moving West was Missouri. But the German language was brought to the banks of the Mississippi under quite different circumstances.

During the 1830s many well-educated Germans settled around St. Louis and in nearby St. Clair County, Illinois. Among them were student radicals and political exiles like Gustav Koerner, the future lieutenant governor of Illinois. Some of these immigrants brought along large personal libraries. The German Library Society of St. Clair County, which Koerner and his friends established in 1836, could boast one of the most extensive collections of German oppositional literature anywhere.[4]

The first German newspaper in St. Louis, the *Anzeiger des Westens*, was dominated by these liberals, and its editor Wilhelm Weber welcomed all shades of rationalist and anticlerical opinion. Weber was the first to import German books to the area and soon

the *Anzeiger* bookstore was selling the latest literary products of "Young Germany" as well as works by Goethe and Schiller, the newest political polemics, and—as a Christmas gift for rationalists—Strauss's *Life of Jesus*.

The first German books printed in Missouri came from the press of Wilhelm Weber—at least eight were printed between 1837 and 1841. They included partial translations of the laws of Missouri and Illinois and *A Journey to the Rocky Mountains* by Friedrich Adolph Wislizenus, one of the rarest of western narratives. Weber also began a reprint of Johann Christian Edelmann's *Confession of Faith*, a classic of German deism which had been publicly burned in 1750 and only reprinted in Germany again in 1848![5]

By the 1850s one could confidently speak of a transcontinental German book trade extending from Boston, New York, and New Orleans, to Galveston, San Antonio, and San Francisco. Between 1847 and 1860, according to my rough tabulation, there were over 200 retail dealers or publishers specializing in German books scattered across the United States. In 1888, a directory issued in Berlin listed about 500 such bookstores in 208 American cities spread over 32 states.[6]

During the nineteenth century, German language publishing was largely the province of German-Americans. But there were exceptions. One can hardly overlook the vast German propaganda work of the various Bible and religious tract societies, or the hundreds of subscription books published by American firms, translated into German, and usually sold exclusively by itinerant agents. Party politics was another arena in which Anglo-Americans spared no pains to garner German votes: by subsidizing German editors, supporting temporary campaign newspapers, by printing leaflets, campaign biographies, and election almanacs.

Let us return to the output of German-American publishers, which can be divided into *reprints*, *new translations*, and *original works*. It is important to remember that during the nineteenth century the entire American book trade was dominated by reprints of foreign works for the simple reason that the United States was not a party to any international copyright agreement. Unauthorized reprints of Dickens in English, or Goethe in German, were perfectly legal, however much the European copyright holders might fret and fume over "American piracies."

For German-American publishers, reprints of religious and devotional works ranked high on the list of steady sellers. Another staple—in America as in Europe—was the chapbook: *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Patient Griselda*, *The Fair Magdelena*, tales of knights and robbers; also traditional collections of folk medicine, occult cures, and magical spells, like *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* and *The Secrets of Albertus Magnus*. These chapbooks were not only imported but widely reprinted in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. Chapbooks provided Wilhelm Radde of New York with a substantial income from 1840 to the end of the century. Radde's chapbooks, like most mass-market publications, were stereotyped, printed in large editions, and distributed by a far-flung network of agencies and colporteurs.

Gustav Peters was another German who found the chapbook business rewarding. Born in 1793 near Dresden, Peters came to America and soon settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where in 1823 he printed an illustrated New Testament, the first German book made in the United States from stereotype plates. But this enterprising German has another claim to fame. In 1826 Peters introduced cheap commercial color printing to this country. That accomplishment even has priority over similar attempts in Great Britain. Peter's illustrations were not elegant, but his method was simple, involving a series of woodblocks each inked in a different color. Only his chapbooks for children (in German or English) contained color woodcuts.

Reprints of German literature were quite rare before 1830, always excepting the deeply pietistic works of Heinrich Jung-Stilling, an author so popular in the United States that his name was attached to books he did not even write. In 1820 Charles M'Williams of Reading, Pennsylvania, financed a reprint of *The Seven Last Trumpets or Travails*, an anonymous millenarian tract of 1814 that predicted the Second Coming for November of 1837. Jung-Stilling's name was prominently displayed on the title page; that, and the splendid frontispiece picturing the beast of the Apocalypse, no doubt helped sales considerably.[7]

After 1830 there began a movement of German cultural renewal, culminating in several national conventions held at Pittsburgh and Phillippsburg, Pennsylvania. The delegates' chief concern was to improve the quality of education. One curious by-product of this

movement was the circulation of German language banknotes of local issue with portraits of German cultural heroes.[8]

The 1830s were also a time of new experiments in publishing. From Reading, Pennsylvania, in the year 1831, came the first anthology of German classical poetry for German-Americans. Compiled and published by Wilhelm Megede, this landmark book of 492 pages contained 9 poems by Goethe, 28 by Schiller, and works of 56 other poets.[9] Between 1834 and 1839 there were other attempts to popularize German literature; but all failed because of insufficient reader interest. In 1834 Samuel Wagner of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, began a *Library of German Literature* with Goethe's *Travels in Italy* issued in weekly fascicles, a work which was probably never finished.[10] In August 1837 Wilhelm Radde and Georg Heinrich Paulsen of New York introduced a *Museum of German Classics*. Two fascicles per month were planned.[11] If a full year's subscription was completed, as Radde later claimed, then 1,728 pages of German prose and poetry would have been printed. Besides works by E. T. A. Hoffmann, Wilhelm Hauff, Novalis, Tieck, Schiller, and others, the *Museum* included the first American edition of Goethe's *Faust* I and II, also published separately.[12] The financial crisis of 1837 and a general lack of enthusiasm caused Radde to pulp much of the edition.[13]

The man who really transformed German-American publishing was Friedrich Wilhelm Thomas of Philadelphia. In 1853, when Thomas launched his stereotyped edition of Heinrich Zschokke's *Novellen und Dichtungen*, he had one great advantage over his predecessors—a very large and rapidly growing market. His reprints also included the collected works of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Hauff, Shakespeare, Humboldt's *Kosmos*, and works of other popular authors. By 1859 Schiller's works were already in their third printing, and within three years Hauff's complete works had sold over 6,000 copies.[14] These reprints were successful because they were very cheap. During the 1850s and 1860s most of Thomas's reprints, and those of other entrepreneurs, were first published in *Lieferungen*. They were advertised in almost every German newspaper and distributed by armies of colporteurs, who received large discounts and bonuses.

Unquestionably the 1850s were an exciting period for German language publishing. Take the case of Heinrich Heine. In 1855

both Thomas and John Weik, also of Philadelphia, began to publish Heine's collected works. Only Weik's edition was ever completed.[15] Six of the seven volumes were either printed or ready for press before the poet's death on 17 February 1856. Weik also marketed his edition in Europe, to the consternation of the German trade. By 1864, 18,000 sets had been sold in America and 1,500 in Europe.[16] Even more unexpected was the fate of Ludwig Börne, the preeminent political journalist of Young Germany. In 1858 *two* rival editions of Börne's collected works were published, one in New York and the other in Milwaukee.[17] Each set contained five volumes. At the same time the Forty-Eighter Friedrich Gerhard, recently settled in New York City, was preparing the first collected edition of the works of Ferdinand Freiligrath, one of the most popular poets of the German Revolution. The six-volume edition is unusual because it was actually authorized by the poet, who was then living in London.[18]

On 2 March 1861, with the nation on the brink of war, Congress raised the duty on imported German books to 15 percent ad valorem, and raised it again to 25 percent in 1864, a rate that lasted until 1890 when all imposts on German books were eliminated.[19] These protectionist measures, plus record emigration figures, brought unprecedented prosperity to German-American publishers. The number and variety of reprints churned out after the Civil War cannot easily be calculated, especially if we consider the hundreds of newspapers and literary magazines that thrived on such fare. Europeans viewed this legal pillage as outrageous. Ernst Keil, publisher of the family magazine *Die Gartenlaube*, which had thousands of American subscribers, became quite upset when he learned of Friedrich Gerhard's plan to publish an American *Gartenlaube*, despite Gerhard's promise never to duplicate the contents of the original.[20]

From the 1870s to the 1890s America was flooded with cheap paperbound series called "Libraries." Thanks to the Post Office, these paperbacks—mostly reprints—could be sent through the mails as numbered periodical issues for a pittance. During price wars, volumes sold for as little as 5 cents each. One daring entrepreneur—George Munro of New York—started a *Deutsche Library* that probably reached 259 numbers.[21] Though reprints of German novels made up most of the series, there were also translations from other languages—including the collected works [*Gesammelte Werke*] of

Henrik Ibsen issued in 4 volumes between June and December of 1890.

No account of this period can omit that *bête noire* of German cultural critics, colportage novels. These were rambling, sensational stories with lurid illustrations that were sold in weekly installments. A complete novel might contain 1,500 to 2,500 pages, and while a few were apparently reprinted here in the States, many more were shipped from Germany and distributed by local agents.[22]

By the early 1900s, in part because of declining immigration, the reprinting of German books had all but ceased; the limited demand could be satisfied almost entirely by imports.[23] Furthermore, after 1891 it was possible for foreigners to copyright their books in the United States, provided that depository copies were manufactured in this country. The Copyright Code of 1909, however, rescinded the manufacturing clause. Thus German publishers, if they followed all other requirements, were guaranteed protection from reprints.

Original translations by German-Americans constitute a distinct category of publications. Translation work offered needy journalists a rare source of added income. Some writers applied their talents to French fiction. Such translations were usually serialized in newspapers and then published in book form. Three of Eugène Sue's novels appeared in German-American versions before 1860.[24] But not only novels were translated. In 1864, Hugo Otto's translation of Ernest Renan's *Life of Jesus* was published by the Kohlmann brothers of Oshkosh, Wisconsin. It was advertised as "the first 'complete' German version to appear in either Europe or America."[25] The German-American trade also published many translations from the American, although works of literary merit were generally avoided for commercial reasons. However, at least three original German translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were published, two of them in book form. And in 1859, two different translations of Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish* appeared simultaneously in St. Louis.[26] The average German-American entrepreneur was much more willing to invest money in stories of violence, crime, and the Jesuit conspiracy.

At last we come to original German-American publications: poetry and prose, essays, sermons, treatises—works that cover almost the entire range of intellectual activity. If we also include contributions to periodicals and works issued abroad, we are faced

with a formidable body of print. German-American publishers, however, usually shied away from original poetry and prose, unless the author or some outside group paid the bills. Almost every guidebook for immigrants warned that Germans would earn very little from the literary profession in America. There were a few exceptional cases, like the Forty-Eighter Gustav von Struve and his monumental world history—which, of course, he had to publish himself. Between 1852 and 1860, nine books appeared; book nine alone ran to 980 pages! The author had to contend with enormous problems (including a defaulting printer), yet in 1863, when Struve returned to Europe with his stereotype plates, he owned a valuable property.

I would like to close with some observations on German radicalism in America. In religion, the epithet radical has been applied to positions ranging from mild rationalism to anticlericalism and free thought. In politics, we can distinguish the struggle for German national unity, which began after 1815 in student organizations known as *Burschenschaften*, from the struggle to bring democratic and republican institutions to Germany. We must also consider the nineteenth-century origins of social reform and social revolution: the doctrines espoused by Georg Büchner and his circle; by the first notable German communist Wilhelm Weitling; by the French utopians Étienne Cabet and Charles Fourier; and by Marx, Engels, and their disciples. The reshaping of society was debated in open or secret organizations located in Paris, London, and Switzerland, a process that culminated in 1847 with the founding of the Communist League. Subsequent events, including the first German labor associations, the controversies between Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle and between social democrats and anarchists, cannot be recapitulated here. The point I wish to emphasize is that from the fall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna, *all* manifestations of German radicalism had some significant American participation. From the 1820s to the 1940s, representatives of every radical persuasion crossed and recrossed the Atlantic. Their literature was imported from Europe and also reprinted in this country. Furthermore, much of it was written or first published in the United States.

A case in point is the American reception of Georg Büchner's *Dantons Tod*. To my knowledge this play was first serialized in

Die Turn-Zeitung (Cincinnati) from December 1856 through January 1857.[27] Between 1863 and 1867, Samuel Ludvigh's important free-thought journal *Die Fackel* published not only *Dantons Tod*, but Büchner's biography and letters.[28] The first separate edition of Büchner's play was printed in 1886 by John Oehler in New York for the Socialistic Labor Party.[29]

One of the durable results of this radical tradition was the German-American labor movement, which generated its own literary culture, press, and book trade. The experience of Philipp Menges reveals some of the hardships faced by a determined working-class poet. Menges, a tailor and autodidact, began writing poetry in 1850, occasionally placing one of his creations in the labor press.[30] After much travail he managed to publish a small volume of verse in 1868 called *Evening Hours of an Artisan*.[31] His preface is a revealing and melancholy document. There is no dedication: "What makes me sad is, that I owe no thanks to any educated man; here would be the proper place to pay solemn tribute. That I must send my little book into the world without this adornment makes me feel poor indeed; still I harbor no anger towards the men of quality who could treat an artisan so contemptuously when he humbly begged for their good advice."[32] Thanks to a cousin who gave him a year's savings, Menges was able to pay a printer in Saratoga Springs, New York. The 96 pages are printed in roman type and some copies are corrected in the author's own hand. As Menges noted, the German language was completely foreign to both the printer and his assistants. The poet's twelve-year-old son Friedrich copied the manuscript in roman letters, thus making it possible for the work to proceed.[33]

Another example drawn from the radical tradition is the *Communist Manifesto*; four editions in German were published in the United States between 1871 and 1913. The second appeared in Chicago in 1883, a small edition sponsored by Chicago socialists and their daily organ the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*.[34] Many of these Chicago socialists had already given their allegiance to the anarchism of Johann Most and his colleagues. The Haymarket Riot in 1886, the subsequent trial and executions, give this document a special place in American labor history.

Despite opposition and internal quarrels, both the trade union movement and social democracy continued their growth; dailies, weeklies, and monthlies flourished in cities with large German

populations. Anarchists and other radicals also made regular use of the printing press. The victims of Bismarck's anti-socialist campaign who fled to America further stimulated this resurgence. By the end of the century many German labor unions were publishing their own newspapers; in 1890 the socialist *New Yorker Volkszeitung* had almost 20,000 subscribers; in 1910 the socialist Victor Berger of Milwaukee was elected to Congress. The jubilee edition of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, published on 21 February 1903, was a testimony of achievement—past, present, and future. Its cover illustration radiated supreme self-confidence.

Self-confidence, however, was soon in short supply, not only for labor but for all segments of German-American society. The cultural equilibrium symbolized by the hyphenated term "German-American" was destroyed by the trauma of World War I. Paradoxically, from 1914 through 1916 many German language newspapers substantially increased their circulation, for German-Americans were anxious to present the German side of the European conflict.[35] But when the United States entered the war, a wave of anti-German feeling was unleashed. In Cincinnati, the public library "hid all German books from its readers and cancelled its subscriptions to German-American newspapers."[36] In Columbus, the school board found it advisable to sell all its German textbooks for waste paper.[37] The defensive tactics of the German press are graphically illustrated by the annual almanac published by the *Milwaukee Herold*. Not only was the name changed from *Germania* to *America* in 1919, but the statue of Germania on the cover was replaced by the Statue of Liberty. For the German press and book trade an era had ended, and the future looked very uncertain indeed.

Notes

[1] See Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830*. . . . (Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893), 166. For further information and documentation on the period through 1860 see Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1984).

[2] Quoted in Stuart C. Sherman, "Leman Thomas Rede's *Bibliotheca Americana*," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 4 (July 1947): 348.

[3] Lahn's Library was located on Fourth Street between Race and Vine. The Lancaster bookseller was Christian Jacob Hütter, who later moved to Easton, Pennsylvania. See Cazden, *Social History*, 15-16; and Seidensticker, *The First Century*, 154.

[4] See Cazden, *Social History*, 605, 608. On German-American libraries, a subject that invites comprehensive treatment, see Cazden, "Libraries in the German-American Community and the Rise of the Public Library Movement," in *Milestones to the Present: Papers from Library History Seminar V*, ed. Harold Goldstein (Syracuse: Gaylord Professional Publications, 1978), 193-215.

[5] Wislizenus, *Ein Ausflug nach den Felsen-Gebirgen im Jahre 1839* (1840). *Johann Christian Edelmann's abgenöthigtes, jedoch Andern nicht wieder aufgenöthigtes Glaubensbekenntniss*. . . . (1840). Only part one (of four) was apparently published.

[6] Edward Werner and John Appleton, *Deutsch-Americkanisches Buchhändler-Adressbuch 1888-89. Enthaltend: die Adressen von mehr als 500 Buchhandlungen, welche sich ausschliesslich oder vorzugsweise mit dem Vertriebe deutscher Literatur beschäftigen* (Berlin, 1888). Included are 4 addresses in Canada and 34 in Central and South America.

[7] *Die sieben lezten* [sic] *Posaunen oder Wehen wann sie anfangen und aufhören und von den 70 danielischen Wochen und 42 prophetischen Monaten*. . . . Von Heinrich Jung-Stilling (Reading: Gedruckt für Charles M'Williams, 1820). The frontispiece is reproduced in Cazden, *Social History*, 674. According to Emil Weller, the real author was C. Armbruster. *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*. . . . 2. verm. und verb. Aufl. (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1864), 2:215.

[8] A ten-dollar note (dated 1836)—with portraits of Haydn, Goethe, Klopstock, and Sir William Herschel—was issued by the Northhampton Bank, Northampton, Pennsylvania. Another ten-dollar note, also dated 1836, was printed for the Lumbermen's Bank, Warren County, Pennsylvania, and displayed portraits of Mozart and Lavater.

[9] Wilhelm Megede, comp., *Sammlung vorzüglicher Poesien, Gesänge und Lieder, von deutschen Dichtern* (Reading: Daniel Roths, 1831). Public response was poor, for a promised companion volume of prose was never issued.

[10] *Bibliothek der Deutschen Literatur* (Lancaster, Pa.), published weekly by Samuel Wagner and edited by Friedrich Augustus Rauch.

[11] The title page of the first edition (I. Band. 1tes Heft) reads: *Museum der Deutschen Klassiker*. Herausgegeben von Radde & Paulsen. New York: Zu haben in der Verlags-Handlung, 471 Pearl-Strasse. 1837. See *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*,

29 November 1837 and 19 August 1840. Only Radde's name appears on later issues, including an 1841 reissue of Band I, Heft 1 and 2 (the Library of Congress copy).

[12] *Faust. Eine Tragödie von Goethe*. New York: Zu haben in der Verlags-Handlung, 471 Pearl-Strasse. 1837.

[13] See Radde's letter to Friedrich Kapp dated 19 February 1877, quoted in Kapp, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Buchhandel," *Deutsche Rundschau* 14 (1878): 48. Also see Ernst Steiger, *Der Nachdruck in Nordamerika. Mein Wirken als deutscher Buchhändler. Zwei Aufsätze* (New York, 1866), 8-9. The Radde-Paulsen partnership was dissolved in 1837. Paulsen later published the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (N.Y.), circa 1839-1840, and from 1841 until 1845 was the salaried agent of the German Society of New York.

[14] *Sonntags-Blatt der Freien Presse* (Philadelphia), 3 April 1859.

[15] Thomas only published a reprint of Heine's *Reisebilder* (1855). The first 6 volumes of John Weik's edition—*Heinrich Heine's sämmtliche Werke*—are dated 1856-1857. Volume 7 (1861) contained additional poems, letters, and a biographical sketch by Godfrid Becker.

[16] Letter of Hermann Raster to Ernst Steiger, 20 November 1866, reprinted in Steiger, *Der Nachdruck*, 25-39.

[17] *Gesammelte Schriften von Ludwig Börne*, 5 vols. (Milwaukee: E. Luft, P. Bickler & Co., 1858). The imprint (New York: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, L. Hauser, 1858) appeared on the individual title pages of the New York edition; e.g., the first volume, *Briefe aus Paris*. The five volumes were then distributed by Joseph Wieck of New York as *Ludwig Börne's sämmtliche Werke*. New title pages with Wieck's imprint were inserted into each volume.

[18] Ferdinand Freiligrath, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vollständige Original-Ausgabe, 6 vols. (New York: Verlag von Friedrich Gerhard, 1858-1859).

[19] Duty on imported German periodicals was eliminated in 1880. Ernst Steiger, *Urheberrecht und Nachdruck in Nord-Amerika. Plaudereien zur Berichtigung irriger Anschauungen*. Als Manuskript gedruckt (New York, 1980), 37. See also Donald Marquand Dozer, "The Tariff on Books," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 36 (1949): 73-96.

[20] *Friedrich Gerhard's Deutsch-Amerikanische Gartenlaube* (1864-1870). See Gerhard, *Der Nachdruck deutscher Schriften in den Vereinigten Staaten, und seine Gegner* (New York, 1867), 24.

[21] According to Ernst Steiger, *Urheberrecht*, 39. For a more detailed account of German-American reprinting after 1865 see Cazden, "Reprinting of German Literature in the United States, 1850-1918," to be published in the *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*.

[22] In 1880 the promising American market led H. G. Münchmeyer of Dresden to open a branch in Cincinnati. Münchmeyer's novels were also distributed in New York—with specially printed wrappers—by Alwin Eichler (perhaps the same Eichler who, in 1905, introduced the *Reihenroman* into Germany with his *Buffalo Bill* and *Nick Carter* series, based on the American "dime novel" format). For more details, see my forthcoming paper cited in note 21.

[23] Steiger, *Urheberrecht*, 10, 27.

[24] Sue, *Die Geheimnisse von Paris*. . . . Uebersetzt von Victor Wilhelm Frölich [i.e., Fröhlich]. Erste deutsch-amerikanische Ausgabe (New York: Im Verlag von Charles Müller, No. 118 Nassau-Strasse, 1846). A German translation of *Les Mystères du peuple* began to appear in Eduard Bühler's Cincinnati journal *Erheiterungen* (October 1851-?) but probably was never completed. Part one of this translation—*Die Geheimnisse des Volkes, oder: Geschichte einer Arbeiterfamilie durch die Zeitalter*—was sold as a separate volume in 1852 for 15 cents. *Der Hochwächter* (Cincinnati), 1 October 1851; 19 May 1852.

[25] Renan, *Das Leben Jesu* (Oshkosh: C. Kohlmann & Bruder, 1864). Quotation from *Deutsche Volks-Blätter* (Oshkosh), 4 (May 1864): 447. My translation.

[26] Longfellow, *Miles Standish's Brautwerbung*. Aus dem englischen von F. E. Baugarten (St. Louis: Conrad Witter, 1859). *Die Brautwerbung des puritanischen Hauptmanns Miles Standish*, translated by J. Heinrich Weber and published by Eduard Bühler (St. Louis, 1859), was reviewed by Otto Ruppius in the *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), 31 July 1859.

[27] Publication of the Sozialistischer Turnerbund von Nordamerika.

[28] "Georg Büchner's Biographie," *Die Fackel* 16 (1863/64): 235-49; "*Danton's Tod*," Ibid. 17 (1864/65): 3-29; "Briefe. Von Georg Büchner. Aus den Briefen an die Familie," Ibid. 19 (1866/67): 104-18. Apparently reprinted from Büchner's *Nachgelassene Schriften* (Frankfurt am Main: J. D. Sauerländers Verlag, 1850).

[29] *Danton's Tod. Ein Drama in 3 Akten* (New York: John Oehler, Steam Printer, 22 & 24 North William Street, 1886). Published in the series *Socialistic Library*, No. 10. Based on Büchner's *Sämmtliche Werke*. . . . Herausgegeben von Karl Emil Franzos (Frankfurt am Main: J. D. Sauerländer's Verlag, 1879), with Karl Gutzkow's "Rezension" of 1835 on pp. 89-92. See also Jan-Christoph Hauschild, *Georg Büchner. Studien und neue Quellen zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung. Mit zwei unbekannten Büchner-Briefen* (Königstein/Ts.: Athenäum, 1985), 239-43; and Christine Heiss, "die Rezeption von *Dantons Tod* durch die deutschamerikanische Arbeiterbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert," *Georg Büchner Jahrbuch* 4 (1984): 248-63, which investigates the background of the 1886 edition.

[30] See Menges, "Der Sohn der Arbeit," *Sociale Republik* (N.Y.), 9 April 1859.

[31] Menges, *Abendstunden eines Handwerkers* (Saratoga Springs: Selbstverlag des Verfassers; Potter & Judson, Book and Job Printers, 1868). The following verses appear on the title page (transcribed as printed): "Andre Zeiten,/ Andres Streiten;/ Andre Laender,/ Andre Gewaender;/ Andre Draenger,/ Andre Saenger;/ Und ob ihr in Brosa euch regt, ob als Reimer,/ Seid wacker zur That, und verachtet den Saeumer."

[32] Menges, *Abendstunden*, 5. My translation.

[33] Menges, *Abenstunden*, [96].

[34] *Das kommunistische Manifest*. Neue Ausgabe (Chicago: Verlag des Chicagoer Central-Comites der Soz. Föderation in Nord-Amerika, 1883). See Bert Andréas, *Le manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels. Histoire et bibliographie, 1848-1918* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1963), 100.

[35] Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War: With Special Emphasis on Ohio's German-Language Press* (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), 37.

[36] Wittke, *German-Americans*, 182.
[37] Wittke, *German-Americans*, 182.

The German-American Press Today: Patterns of Communication in an Ethnic Group

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Anyone familiar with the contemporary situation of German-Americans and their press in the United States will recognize attitudes such as the following: "Well, when I hear mention of German-Americans, the first thing I think about is food: German *Wurst* and *Lebkuchen*. And if you ask me why German newspapers are still read here: because of the death notices, of course!"[1] Here, next to an assessment of contemporary German-Americans as an ethnic group, an image of their press emerges, an image that appears to be transmitted primarily—but not exclusively—by nonreaders. To understand what patterns of communication are in fact hiding behind this stereotype—or, in a larger context, to understand what contribution these media make to the cultural self-definition of an ethnic minority—a systematic examination of what the media offers seems advisable as a first step.[2] After a few comments on the functions and tasks of the ethnic press and the make-up of its special readership, I will present the results of a content analysis of thematic patterns in three German-language newspapers. This will permit some initial conclusions about the communication patterns within the affected ethnic group.

Students of communication have a number of answers to the question, "Why do people read newspapers?" The function of communication through the media consists primarily in determining the agenda for public discussion and in forming the values and opinions of a society. People seek information, want to form opinions, want to learn and to be entertained; they want to have a part—even if only symbolically—in events and public discussion. They want to know what is "important" in order to be able to orient themselves and participate in discussion. The media are supposed

to make the world comprehensible by reducing its complexity and variability, to make orientations possible, and finally to provide for the stability of the sociocultural and individual realms.

What applies to the social function of the media in general also proves fundamentally true of the special functions of the ethnic press. Since the ethnic press is an example of minority communication, some aspects are more strongly accentuated: above all, the intensive communication within the ethnic group, which of course finds itself in an on-going process of self-definition. The reader's attachment to his respective paper might for this reason be particularly strong. Obviously the composition and character of groups and their respective stages of integration into mainstream society play a decisive role here as intervening variables. "Old" immigrant groups will expect different features from their ethnic press than "new" ones, larger and heterogeneous groups different features than small and homogeneous ones. Formerly essential functions can with time become obsolete, whether because the American mass media take them over or because they are no longer necessary.

Special conditions arise from the fact that readers—at least in the case of the German-Americans—almost always have other sources of information in the media besides the ethnic press. Indeed, today the ethnic press is rarely the most important source, but instead has a supplementary function: its task must lie primarily in providing readers with information and topics for discussion that the American mass media do not cover. That would include, for example, historical and contemporary information about the native country, information about their own group, and assistance in understanding their own ethnicity and their social position as American citizens of German descent.

I would assume that the readers of German-American papers, who are generally competent speakers of English, do not seek information about facts and developments within the United States that have nothing to do with ethnicity in the broadest sense. Of the tasks of the German-American press named by Carl Schurz, one of the most important—to explain America to the immigrants, a task the *Aufbau* still took very seriously in the 30s and 40s—has largely disappeared.

My expectations with respect to the editorial policy of the German-American press would be that the miscellaneous service section would have clear precedence over the actual editorial sections; that, in other words, news and feature articles would be laid out more or less randomly around the classified section and the reports and announcements from the German-American clubs.

Before we turn to the media themselves, I would like to make a few observations about their potential readers. To my knowledge, researchers agree in their assessment of German-Americans today: German-Americans are among the ethnic groups least likely to call attention to themselves.[3] In contemporary ethnicity research they are still mentioned only peripherally—if at all. The invisibility of a once qualitatively and today still quantitatively significant ethnic group is either accepted as a fact or deplored, depending on temperament and research interests, and the widest variety of reasons are cited. They range from the conjecture that German-Americans were predestined, solely on the basis of their group composition and character, to merge into the mainstream of American society, to the assumption that the two World Wars played a decisive role in the rapid and extensive assimilation of Germans in America.

One indicator of the condition of German-Americans as an ethnic group is the situation and formation of the German-language press in the United States. Of course, German-language publications are no longer dying in such dramatic numbers as they did around the turn of the century and especially in connection with the two World Wars (which, in each case, reduced the number by about half), but the trend is certainly clear enough: there are always fewer and fewer.[4] *The Editor's and Publisher's Yearbook* from 1982 still lists 21 newspapers, of which one appears monthly, one bi-weekly, two twice a week, and the rest weekly. In 1982 there was no longer a daily paper, while in 1975 there had still been three.[5]

Of the nine titles that Joshua Fishman investigated for his 1985 book *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival*, three no longer exist; they were taken over by other publications.[6] The most recent step towards concentration, as far as I can see, occurred in 1983, when eight titles of the Peter Publishing Company, the largest publisher of German-language newspapers at that time, were taken over by Werner Baroni's Amerika-Woche-Courier Press USA Ltd.

A compilation from 1984 still names 16 newspapers,[7] all of which according to my research still appeared in 1985, although in the meantime two had reduced their frequency of publication.[8] Pessimists reckon that it will not be long until the last German-American paper has disappeared.

For my investigation I have limited myself to papers that appear weekly and, in one case, bi-weekly. They are written exclusively or predominantly in the German language and are available to the general public. I do not include newsletters that are sent out by organizations to their members.

Of the 13 papers in question, 11 were available to me.[9] An overview of their places of publication shows that states that traditionally had an important share of the German-American press are still represented—New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois—but that Michigan and Washington D.C., which in this century never had more than one paper, are also included. Only four papers have been founded in this century. Before I turn to a closer examination of *Aufbau*, *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold*, and *Amerika Woche*, I will briefly characterize the other papers.

All describe themselves as independent American newspapers in the German language, in the service of German-Americanism. Little can be said with certainty about their circulation since figures vary greatly according to source. But one can assume that an average of 3000 to 4000 is a generous figure. The size varies from 12 to 20 pages, except for two papers with only eight pages. Editors in the customary sense are the exception: the *Nordamerikanische Wochenpost* has one who is named in the masthead. *Sonntagspost* and *Abendpost* mention a culture editor; otherwise, it is a matter of offices with minimal staff.

Wächter und Anzeiger und *Plattdütsche Post*, for example, are published every Friday in Cleveland by Stefan Deubel. The two papers use largely identical articles; only their layout is different. The articles are not organized into different departments; political reports appear between economic and social information, next to entertainment, or sandwiched between art and culture. Information related to West Germany dominates.

The two papers are differentiated in the service section. *Wächter und Anzeiger* is published for Cleveland and therefore contains such items as reports on Cleveland German-American

clubs, information under the rubric "Cleveländer Stadtnachrichten" on politics, personalities, accidents and crimes, all intermixed with advertising. Stefan Deubel advertises his shoe store and supermarket here; the two are obviously his primary sources of income.

The *Plattdütsche Post*, published for distribution in the states of New York and New Jersey, departs from this framework with the configuration of its first page: it contains almost 90 percent "Vereinsberichterstattung" from German-American clubs, written by the correspondents of the respective clubs.

The *Abendpost und Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung* also has an unusual format. The first two pages offer mainly political news from throughout the world, while the last two pages present mixed items, principally from West Germany and West German agencies. In between, however, on the remaining 8 of 12 pages, runs a text by Nancy Quick, the "manager." This text includes news and notices from the region, mixed with sales pitches—all of this, incidentally, in the English language.

In contrast, the Sunday edition of the *Abendpost*, the *Sonntagspost und Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung* has a more conventional format, with a size of 24 pages. It offers considerable international material and notices and reports related to West Germany. The contributions of the culture editor deal with local cultural events, and sport is strongly represented. The service section offers extensive "help wanted" ads, German radio programs, and church calendars.

The *New Jersey Freie Zeitung* appears similar to me, though it emphasizes the reader-paper relationship more strongly and lacks the reports on local events except for the German-American clubs. Here, too, mixed information from the areas of politics and personalities, medicine/science/technology, and sport relates primarily to West Germany. The service section includes reports on German-American clubs by the clubs' correspondents, announcements of events, congratulations, German radio programs, a "Briefkasten," classified ads, business advertisements, and a box "Aus den Kreisen unserer Leser," in which the editors invite readers to send in personal information about birthdays, illnesses, changes of residence, travel experiences, and visitors from the old country.

The *Eintracht*, which appears in Chicago, lays similar emphasis on a close relationship with the reader. Its editorial policy is

generally comparable to that of the *New Jersey Freie Zeitung*, although it reports on local sports as an additional service for the "Deutschsprachigen von Chicagoland," towards whom it is directed.

The *Washington Journal*, whose extensive articles are not interrupted by advertisements on almost a third of the 20 pages, offers primarily reports and notices on West Germany and its diplomatic ties, and rarely information about the United States. A large portion of the source material comes from the DPA (German Press Agency). More than two pages are available for announcements, advertisements, notices from German-American clubs, and letters to the editor.

The *Nordamerikanische Wochenpost und Detroiter Abendpost* informs its readers about events, developments, and personalities from West Germany and from the entire world, with a lively mix of material spread across all subjects including business, which is usually excluded. The reader learns little or nothing about the United States and events there. The service section is extensive. It primarily contains classified and business advertisements in German and English, with particular reference to German-Americana, along with a guide to German-American activities, radio programs, and German-language church services.

The three examples I have selected for the content analysis of thematic patterns are the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold*, *Aufbau*, and *Amerika Woche*. My sample included all items appearing in these papers from the end of February to the beginning of July, 1986. The three papers published relatively equal shares of the total of 1688 items considered. Each item was coded according to topic, subject area, location of event and country of reference, language, journalistic genre, and source of material.[10]

I have selected the three newspapers with the largest circulations and representative histories: the *Staatszeitung* is the oldest German-American newspaper, the *Aufbau* is a product of the Thirties, influenced fundamentally by Jewish refugees from Nazi-Germany, and the *Amerika Woche* is the latest product of the concentration in the ethnic press market. All three are big-city newspapers; while the *Staatszeitung* and *Amerika Woche* present themselves as newspapers for German-Americans, the *Aufbau* is a Jewish-German-American paper. I have supplemented the content analysis of thematic patterns in news, features, and commentaries with an analysis of the "letters

to the editor" department. I shall summarize the results in three newspaper profiles.

In the *Staatszeitung* the emphasis of the coverage lies clearly on the subject of politics (30.5%). Far behind come art and culture (17%) and entertainment (15.8%). The paper makes use of much agency material, such as single articles out of German newspapers and prepared plates—that is, full or half pages that are delivered print-ready. The selection of topics shows a consistent pattern: the "international" category dominates, with the United States following far behind.

The subject of art and culture presents an exception to this regular pattern: here information about American cultural events, mostly local and regional, decisively dominates with 52%. The editorial comments by Egon Stadelmann on the first page present an exception to the emphasis on the international subject area in the reporting as a whole. More than half of these commentaries (56%) relate to the United States; West Germany follows in second place, but far behind (18%). Of the 34 commentaries examined, not a single one dealt with an ethnic or particularly German-American topic. German-Americana nevertheless lies far in front in the final tally because of the extensive coverage of German-American clubs: an average of 3.3% of the pages in every issue are written by club correspondents.

Letters to the editor, on the other hand, play no role in the *Staatszeitung*. The column "Frau Anna gibt Auskunft" appears only five times in 20 issues. Most of these installments, written in a very familiar style, deal with general information for living, including the exchange of reading material and the establishment of contacts among the readers. Frau Anna also collects contributions for a charity fund: such efforts to help needy readers are found in the other papers, too. Hidden between the classified ads is the regular column "Vermisste Personen," with individual death notices and obituaries.

The *Amerika Woche*, like the *Staatszeitung*, has a large proportion of copy borrowed from outside sources—reprints or paraphrases of more comprehensive articles from the West German or—less often—the Austrian press. At the moment it is the German-language newspaper with the largest circulation in America. In its current form it is in its fifteenth year; it has appeared since 1972 in Chicago and has a size of 24 pages.

The *Amerika Woche* sets clear priorities in the selection and organization of topics covered, which differ from those stressed by the *Staatszeitung*. The distribution of subjects by itself is of little significance: the area of entertainment is ahead of politics and travel, but the subject areas lie close together and are all well under 20%. One may safely conclude from these figures that the proportion of non-political topics in the *Amerika Woche* is high. In terms of the location of events and countries of reference, West Germany lies far in front (37%), with the "international" category following well behind (14%).

This trend in geographical distribution fits the pattern for the selection of topics: West Germany leads in all subjects as the location of event or country of reference, with one exception, which is a distortion caused by the affair of Kurt Waldheim's candidacy for the Austrian presidency: in the area of politics Austria barely (by 6%) leads West Germany in the period from February to July of 1986.

The attention that the *Amerika Woche* devotes to East Germany, especially in the coverage of art and culture, is very unusual. While in *Aufbau* und *Staatszeitung* East Germany does not appear as location of event or country of reference in the first five positions in one single subject area, in *Amerika Woche* it takes third place in the travel department, second place in social reporting, and second place also in reporting on art and culture, where with 19% it is only 10% behind first-place West Germany. German-Americana and ethnic topics in the narrower sense play a subordinate role in the area of art and culture. The exact opposite is the case in the editorial comments: almost half of Werner Baroni's columns deal with German-American and ethnic issues.

Coverage of German-American clubs is almost never found in *Amerika Woche*; instead it includes many more letters to the editor, an average of 24.4 an issue. There are even two departments for them: "Leserbriefe" and "Briefkasten." In the latter, readers' questions and the editor's answers are printed. The importance placed on this communication with the reader is emphasized by its placement: usually near the front. "Leserbriefe" and "Briefkasten" offer a forum in which readers may respond to other readers' letters and thus initiate a discussion. About half of the letters do not deal with German-Americana in the broadest sense, but with very general questions about knowledge and living. Close to 20 percent of the

letters deal in some form with the old country, very often with German folk music, poetry, and memories.

The *Aufbau*, "America's only German-Jewish publication," appeared weekly until 1985, and since then has been a bi-weekly paper with an average size of 36 pages and a circulation of 9500. The *Aufbau* has a full-time editorial staff and a circle of regular freelance writers. Characteristic of the editorial policy of the *Aufbau* is an absence of agency material and a significant proportion of commentaries and features.

The coverage of art and culture is clearly the major emphasis with 41%; politics in contrast gets only 22%. In the distribution of locations of event and countries of reference, the United States (n = 135) leads West Germany (n = 123); Israel, for comparison, follows in fifth place (n = 58), but in this case there is no clear correlation with the subject areas.

The coverage of art and culture deals predominantly with America, and especially with the local area. Coverage of politics, on the other hand, tends towards a more even distribution. Surprisingly, Israel leads by only a little (18.6%), followed by Austria (12.4%, certainly a consequence of the Waldheim affair), West Germany (11.6%), and U.S. foreign policy (10.8%). American domestic politics attract little interest.

The third subject emphasized, Judaica, relates primarily to West Germany and the United States. This deals above all with the history and situation of the Jews in Germany before 1933, and otherwise with Christian-Jewish contacts. Regular pages with news and information from the New World Club, the parent organization of the *Aufbau*, also fall under the subject of Judaica. A strong correlation exists between Judaica and information from the subject area personalities, i.e. personals, greetings and congratulations, obituaries, and human interest stories of all kinds. There is essentially no coverage of business in the *Aufbau*. In the social subject area, which makes up only 6.7% of all topics, West Germany leads (30.7%) the United States (20.5%) and Israel (12.8%).

Eighty-three percent of the leading articles and the column of the editor emeritus are devoted to political themes, with a third of those dealing with the United States, which certainly does not play such a prominent role in the coverage as a whole. Only six commentaries

deal with West Germany and they are all related to Jewish issues, above all in connection with the period of National Socialism.

A specialty of *Aufbau* are the frequent explicit references to aspects of fascism and National Socialism, emigration, resistance, and the Holocaust. An important part of *Aufbau* for the reader-paper relationship is undoubtedly the numerous death notices, which always reveal a piece of exile history through information about earlier places of residence of the deceased.

The number of letters to the editor in *Aufbau* varies from zero to nine. The "Briefkasten," published only four times a year, presents only answers to reader inquiries, and the concerns addressed are not clear to outsiders; a form of private communication takes place similar to that in the *Staatszeitung*. Forty percent of the letters to the editor are related to the subject of the old country, which makes up only a tiny percentage of the paper's total copy. Not once does a reader ask a question about general knowledge or seek advice about living.

These brief profiles have shown that the three newspapers are clearly differentiated and characterized by their editorial policies. Let us turn first to their similarities.

All retain the German language, and all share a fundamental viewpoint in their coverage, manifested most clearly in the editorials: the viewpoint of American citizens of German and German-Jewish descent. All three lay great importance on regular editorial comments, not an item characteristic of the German-American press as a whole. Departing from the trends of the reporting, the editors' and publishers' commentaries concern themselves with mainstream American and, in the case of *Amerika Woche*, German-American topics; thus, through qualitative prominence they compensate for a quantitative subordination.

In the case of the *Staatszeitung* and *Amerika Woche*, the extensive use of West German material—news, reports, features and commentaries on events throughout the world and the United States—makes readers familiar with assessments and opinions in West Germany. Coverage of local news (local but outside of the ethnic group) takes place in all three papers only in the areas of culture and sport.

The reader-paper relationship is strongly encouraged in all three papers by the service section, from the important and often

undervalued business, help wanted, and classified advertisements, to the letters to the editor, the personalities, and the widespread coverage of German-American clubs.

In contrast to the expectations with which we began, the three papers exhibit distinct editorial policies. The patterns of communciation are especially clear in *Staatszeitung* and *Amerika Woche*; they are more complicated in *Aufbau*. It should be mentioned here that in this as in other respects, the three examples are not representative of the entire group of German-American newspapers.

The expectation that the ethnic press would attempt to complement the functions of the American mass media is fundamentally confirmed, even if the form of complementariness differs. It is most pronounced with the *Aufbau*, since this paper strictly limits its material to the specific viewpoint of American Jews of German descent. It shows little interest, for example, in topics that are international or that concern the United States in general, and it also directs less attention towards Israel than I would have expected. The complementary function is least pronounced in the *Staatszeitung*. Here readers find much editorially unadapted material from all over the world, material which, I would suggest, serves primarily to entertain, even when it belongs to the subject area of politics. Only the coverage of local cultural events represents an exception here.

The *Amerika Woche* differentiates itself most clearly in its coverage of the German-speaking region and the former German "Ostgebiete." Here the political interest of the reader in the contemporary situation is assumed and, hopefully, preserved, while otherwise the newspaper offers him predominantly unpolitical material for relaxation.

The expectations for a strong relationship between reader and paper as an indicator of intensive group communication have been fulfilled without qualification. Of course, this communication between the paper, its editors, and the readers is produced in different ways: in the *Staatszeitung* through the coverage of German-American clubs and the classified ads section, in the *Amerika Woche* through letters to the editor (which for the most part have no explicit ethnic references), in the *Aufbau* through Judaica.

On the whole, these findings suggest that the German-American press fulfills the needs of its readers. These needs range from the

desire for information about their own ethnic group and the old country to a need for advice and entertainment to the desire to communicate in their German mother tongue. This includes death notices, which were mentioned at the beginning as significant news for the ethnic community. But it should now be clear that these notices represent only *one* motive among several for reading these papers.

Notes

[1]The comment of an American German teacher during a meeting with colleagues in Geneseo, October 1985.

[2]The present essay presents the partial results of a larger project investigating the contribution of the media to the cultural self-definition of an ethnic minority. An ideological analysis of the newspapers' contents will follow. In subsequent stages of the project, interviews with the editors and questionnaires from a sample of the readers will be combined with a content analysis of the papers. To my knowledge, there have been no other studies using this combination of methods.

[3]Among others, see Kathleen N. Conzen, "The Germans," in the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), 406.

[4]1890-786; 1910-532; 1920-276; 1945-65. See Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press in the Americas* (München/New York/London/Paris: K. G. Saur, 1980), 3: 805-806. It seems impossible to arrive at any definite conclusions about the number of periodicals on the basis of the available literature, in part because the listings are often incomplete and in part because different methods of counting are available depending on which definition of "German-language press" is used. For example, Arndt and Olson name different figures than does La Vern Rippley in *The German-Americans* (Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America, rpt. 1984), 164-66.

[5]See Rippley, 166.

[6]See Joshua F. Fishman, ed., *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity* (Berlin: Mouton/de Gruyter 1985), 334. In his book, Fishman also concerned himself with the periodical press of four different ethnic groups in the United States, including the German-Americans. Fishman's analysis of the content of some of the German-language papers focused only on their ethnic material, and did not offer profiles of the entire contents. His results are determined by his definition of "ethnicity," the sample of papers he analyzed, and his interest in a comparison with other ethnic groups. Consequently, the design and method of his study will not be discussed here.

[7]*Deutschsprachige Medien in aller Welt. Katalog zur Ausstellung in Wuppertal*, published by the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* in 1984.

[8]*Aufbau*, *Abendpost*.

[9]From Illinois: *Amerika Woche: Eine Zeitung für Deutschamerikaner* (gegr. 1856, in der vorliegenden Form seit 1972); *Eintracht: Wochenzeitung der Deutschsprachigen* (gegr. 1923); *Sonntagspost und Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung:* (Red.) *An American Newspaper Published in the German Language* (gegr. 1889). From Ohio: *Plattdütsche Post: Plattdeutsches Familien und Vereinsblatt von Nord-Amerika* (gegr. 1933); *Wächter und Anzeiger: Die Zeitung der Deutschamerikaner in den USA* (gegr. 1852). From Michigan: *Nordamerikanische Wochenpost und Detroiter Abend-Post: Zeitung für Deutschsprachige in den Vereinigten Staaten, Kanada und Mexiko-Unabhängig-weltoffen-heimatverbunden* (gegr. 1854). From

New Jersey: *New Jersey Freie Zeitung: Seit 127 Jahren im Dienste des Deutsch-Amerikanertums von New Jersey* (gegr. 1858). From New York: *Aufbau: America's Leading German Language Newspaper* (gegr. 1934); *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung und Herold: Amerikas führende und größte deutschsprachige Zeitung* (gegr. 1834). From Washington, D.C.: *Washington Journal* (gegr. 1859). From Wisconsin: *Abendpost und Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung: An American Newspaper Published in the German Language* (gegr. 1889). The *Philadelphia Gazette Democrat* and the *California Staats-Zeitung* did not respond to my request for sample copies.

[10]In coding according to "subject area," I used the following categories: politics; economics/business; social news and features (e.g. education or public health); personalities (human interest stories on prominent personalities, biographical notes, promotions, appointments); art and culture; accidents/crime; entertainment (fiction, cartoons, crosswords, bridge and chess problems, weather, TV-guide, fashion, recipes); scientific/technical/medical news and features; sport; travel; German-Americana/Judaica (ethnic events/activities/topics, excluding reports on clubs); German-American clubs ("Vereinsberichterstattung," reports, news and announcements concerning local/regional clubs, calendar of events); letters to the editor. The service section was not coded by item but by space. It includes miscellaneous services (classified ads and display advertising, notices of birth, marriage, death, celebrations of ethnic holidays, company reports, church calendars, German-American radio programs etc.). In coding according to "journalistic genre," I used the following categories: news, feature, commentary, interview, document. In coding according to "country of event/reference," I used the categories: USA; West Germany (FRG); East Germany (GDR); other German-speaking countries; Israel; Soviet Union; other countries of the Warsaw Pact; the category "international" includes the whole world with the exception of German-speaking countries, the United States, Israel, and the Warsaw Pact countries; US-West German relations; West German-East German relations; US-East German relations; US-international relations; West German-international relations etc.). These categories are mutually exclusive. For further information on coding frames and categories see Denis McQuail, *Analysis of Newspaper Content* (London, 1977).