

The Report 42



A JOURNAL OF
GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

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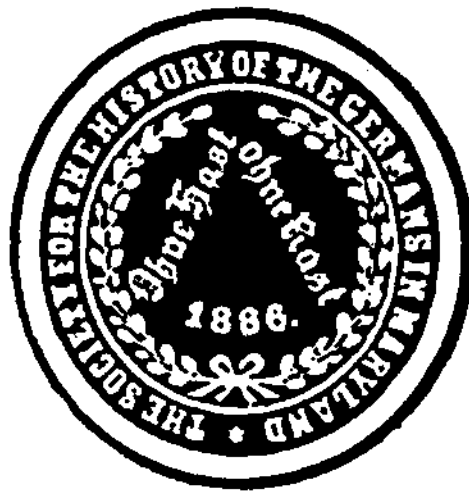
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IN MARYLAND



RANDALL DONALDSON
EDITOR

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL STATEMENT	4
MEMBERS AND OFFICERS	5
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1886-1992	8
INVITATION	10
FROM THE EDITOR	11
<hr/>	
A TRIBUTE TO CARRIE-MAY K. ZINTL	12
A SALUTE TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUSINESS ENTERPRISES OF BALTIMORE, PART II By WILLIAM H. MCCLAIN	15
A SALUTE TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF BALTIMORE, PART I By RANDALL DONALDSON	23
THE SAVANNAH RIVER INTELLIGENTSIA: 1734-1780 By GEORGE F. JONES	30
HUGO BROICH. PORTRAIT ARTIST AND PHOTOGRAPHER IN EARLY MILWAUKEE By PETER C. MERRILL	39
IMPERIAL GERMAN SOCIALISM IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF UAW PRESIDENT WALTER PHILIP REUTHER By LA VERN J. RIPPLEY	43
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND THE GERMAN ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE By ARMIN MRUCK	59
SAMUEL SAUR 1767-1820 GERMAN-AMERICAN PRINTER AND TYPEFOUNDER <hr/>	65
By DONALD F. DURNBAUGH	
JOHANN THOMAS SCHLEY (1712-1790): SCHOOLMASTER, MUSICIAN, AND FRAKTUR ARTIST OF FREDERICK, MARYLAND. By KLAUS WUST	81
BOOK REVIEW	90
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	92

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AN INVITATION

What we are today, we owe in part to our ancestors. Pride of ancestry is commendable in people wherever found. It is this feeling of pride that holds people together, that causes them to cherish and record the deeds of valor and the achievements of their kin. Indeed, it was a desire to share the glory and the past greatness of one's own people which led to the formation of *The Society for the History of Germans in Maryland* in 1886, a society which has distinguished itself in becoming the only group of its kind to reach the hundred-year milestone.

The Society's purpose is to collect and preserve material which documents the history of the influence of the German element in the growth and development of the United States of America, with particular reference to the State of Maryland. In pursuance of these purposes, the Society has published, over the years, forty-two (42) volumes of its journal entitled, *The Report: A Journal of German-American History*. Plans now call for the regular publication of the Society's journal.

In the belief that those who receive and read this volume are interested in preserving and perpetuating the knowledge of the meritorious role that those of German heritage have played in the making of our nation and of the State of Maryland, we take the liberty of inviting your cooperation by becoming a member of the Society and/or by making a contribution to it.

Once a year, the members of the Society gather for a dinner meeting. At this meeting, various activities of the Society are reported, and an outstanding historian presents a lecture on an aspect of the history of German-Americans. The annual dues are a modest fifteen (\$15.00) dollars per year (for either an individual or a couple) which entitles each member to a copy of the journal when it is published (a single issue is mailed to each address). The Society is exempt from both federal and state taxes because of its purposes, and contributions made to the Society are tax deductible. So please remember the Society in your will. The following bequest form is suggested: "I bequest to **The Society of the History of the Germans in Maryland**, the sum of _____ dollars (\$ _____) to be used by said corporation for the purpose for which it is incorporated."

Trusting that we may have the pleasure of a favorable response to our invitation, we are,

Very respectfully,

The Executive Committee

From the Editor

In 1986, the *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* marked its centennial with the publication of *Report* No. 40, an issue which celebrated the long tradition of the Society and its journal. Four years later, in 1990, *Report* No. 41 followed with a new editor and a new look for the second century. The current *Report*, the forty-second of its kind, combines both the old and the new. The guiding spirit here is dynamic and contemporary. Once again, an attempt has been made to make the articles more visually attractive, and hence more readable, through a revised layout and the increased use of graphic images. The volume itself is printed on recycled paper, and each contribution went to the printer in electronic form. Even the articles themselves show a greater variety of concerns — from Thomas Schley, Johann Boltzius, and Samuel Saur to Hugo Broich, Walter Reuther and F.D.R. — than one might be accustomed to seeing in these pages. Above

all, however, this edition of the *Report* commemorates an individual who represented the best of the traditions of the Society: Carrie-May K. Zintl. Many months before anyone could have guessed that Carrie-May was terminally ill, Judge Wittstadt proposed to the Editorial Board that the next issue of the *Report* be dedicated to Dr. Zintl. The Board agreed readily, and Dr. William McCain, Chairman of the Editorial Board, volunteered to write the tribute. Plans were well underway when Carrie-May succumbed to cancer early last spring. Now it remains for us to dedicate the current volume to the memory of Carrie-May Kurrelmeyer Zintl (1904-1992). May the following pages be as original, charming and stimulating as the lady herself.

Baltimore, November 1, 1992

Rpd

A TRIBUTE TO PAST-PRESIDENT CARRIE-MAY ZINTL

The members of the Editorial Board were delighted when our President, Judge Wittstadt, proposed that the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland dedicate *The Report 42* to Past-President Carrie-May Zintl. One can think of many reasons why this honor is appropriate. Carrie-May was unique among us as the first female elected to membership in the Society, the first female to be elected to membership on the Executive Committee, and also the Society's first female President. The main reason for honoring her, however, is her unstinting service to the Society over the years. Many of us remember the meetings she chaired during her tenure as President, especially our festive centennial celebration in 1986. Thanks to her admirable organizational abilities, her unflinching sense of humor, and her special warmth, the meetings she planned and organized were always

convivial as well as stimulating occasions.

When Carrie-May became President of the Society in 1978 she was following in the footsteps of her father, Professor William Kurrelmeyer, who served as President of the Society from 1937 to 1951. We remember him as the President during whose tenure the Society not only resumed publication of *The Report*, after a hiatus of ten years, but also sponsored Professor Dieter Cunz's carefully researched and elegantly written *History of the Germans in Maryland*.

While Professor Kurrelmeyer was serving as Chairman of the Hopkins Department of German and as Editor of *Modern Language Notes*, Carrie-May came to know many members of the Hopkins faculty and most of the prominent members of the German-American community. Among the frequent visitors to the Kurrelmeyer home on Linden



*Carrie-May with Hopkins President William C. Richardson as she received the President's Medal, May 2, 1991
Courtesy Jay van Remselear
The Johns Hopkins University*

Avenue were Pastor and Mrs. Julius Hofmann and their children, Mr. and Mrs. Gustav Strube and their two daughters, and the Hopkins Assyriologist Paul Haupt. When the Modern Language Association was meeting in Washington, Philadelphia or New York, colleagues en route to and from the meetings regularly stopped off in Baltimore to visit the Kurrelmeyers. Some were house guests. Carrie-May accordingly had many warm memories of dinner parties in the house on Linden Avenue, of musicales with her mother at the piano, and also of early meetings of the Maryland Goethe Society which were held in the Kurrelmeyer home.

Carrie-May was graduated from Western High School on May 31, 1920, at age fifteen. In those days a high school diploma entitled one to teach as a substitute in the Baltimore City schools. Carrie-May was thus able to begin her teaching career three days after her graduation by working as a substitute. Throughout her four years at Goucher she continued to offer her services as a substitute whenever her academic schedule allowed. In the fall of 1924 she began graduate work in Classics at Hopkins. The following year she took a leave of absence to study abroad, spending the spring semester of 1925 at the University of Munich, the winter semester 1925-26 at the University of Vienna, and the spring semester of 1926 at the University of Leipzig. She passed her board oral examination and received her doctorate in Classics in the spring of 1929.

1929 was also the year of Carrie-May's marriage. In the spring of that year her fiancé, Ernst Zintl of Marienbad, had also completed his work for the doctorate in biochemistry at the University of Prague. In December the two were married in Baltimore. After the wedding they left for Marienbad, where, as Carrie-May used to put it, she was "to live and to be the **junge Frau in Haus Paracelsus**," the Zintl family residence.

On July 16, 1931, Erika Margarete Zintl was born. Joy over the new arrival was soon followed by grief, for Ernst Zintl died shortly after his daughter's birth. In September, 1932, the young widow returned to Baltimore with her parents and Erika. Like her mother, Erika Zintl received her elementary and secondary

education in Baltimore schools and her B.A. from Goucher College. After having received her bachelor's degree she obtained an M.A. degree in Latin American history at the University of Pennsylvania and continued her graduate studies at the University of London. While studying in England she met and later married John James Pearce. She still resides in England. Deborah, the elder of her two daughters, made Carrie-May three times a great-grandmother, and she was very proud of her handsome little great-grandsons.

Carrie-May began her teaching career as Assistant Professor of Classics and German at Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Her second post was as Professor of German and Classical Mythology at Mount Saint Agnes College. When Mount Saint Agnes united with Loyola College in 1971 Carrie-May became a member of the Loyola faculty and taught classical mythology there for two years. After her retirement from Loyola she joined the faculty of Johns Hopkins University as a lecturer in Greek and Roman mythology and taught there until 1987.

Over the years Carrie-May devoted a great deal of time to community service. While Erika was attending Public School No. 14 Carrie-May was President of the P.T.A. During World War II she was a Block Captain for Civilian Mobilization and also served as Rat Warden. A lighter moment in those days was an episode which occurred one day when her father was alone in the Linden Avenue house. Hearing the doorbell, Professor Kurrelmeyer went to the door, and when he opened it he saw a child standing on the steps. The child informed him that he had come to report on rats in the apartment building in which he lived. It just about broke up her father, Carrie-May said, when the child asked, "Does the rat lady live here?"

For many years Carrie-May gave generously of her time to the German-American organizations of Baltimore. She was Treasurer, Secretary, and finally President of the American Goethe Society of Maryland. As the successor of Dr. Otto Ortman she also presided for several years over the annual meetings of the Julius Hofmann Memorial Fund, which had been established to encourage the

study of German in the schools and colleges of Baltimore City and the State of Maryland. Until shortly before her death, she also chaired the annual sessions of the Scholarship Committee of the German Society of Maryland which distributes to worthy Maryland college students of German-American ancestry the funds which the German Society provides for scholarship aid. In 1971, the German Society expressed its gratitude for Carrie-May's work by awarding her its medal for distinguished service. She was at the time the only living female member of the society to have received this honor.

Carrie-May was honored three times by Johns Hopkins. A framed citation of appreciation from the Hopkins Alumni Association hung in her living room in the Carrollton. On her mother's Steinway stood a silver bowl which the Hopkins Administration presented to her on the occasion of her retirement from the university in 1988. On May 2, 1991, she was honored for the third time when the President of the University, Dr. William C. Richardson, awarded her the President's Medal at a luncheon in Nichols House. After the investiture Dr. Richardson read the following citation which beautifully summarizes Carrie-May's long academic career:

Classical scholar, faithful teacher, and lover of books, you have been a lifelong friend and loyal supporter of the Johns Hopkins University.

You learned your devotion to Johns Hopkins from your father, Dr. William Kurrelmeyer, an eminent Germanist who received his B.A. and Ph.D. degrees from this university and served on the faculty until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1944.

It is little wonder, therefore, that you came to Johns Hopkins for your own Ph.D. in the classics following your undergraduate studies at Goucher. You spent a year teaching at Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, before returning to Baltimore, where you taught at Goucher and then at Mount Saint Agnes College. When Mount Saint Agnes closed in 1971 and many of its faculty were integrated into Loyola College, you assumed a dual role, teaching both at Loyola and at Johns Hopkins.

Your service at Hopkins continued until your retirement in 1988. Your well regulated seminars in classical mythologies and your end-of-the-term parties are now a part of the rich traditions and history of this university.

Dr. Carrie-May Zintl, in recognition of your many distinctive contributions to this institution, and in celebration of your full and exemplary life in scholarship and teaching, the Johns Hopkins University is proud to award you the President's Medal.

William C. Richardson
President

Toward the close of her acceptance speech Carrie-May said that she could not help wondering what the deceased members of her once extensive family might say, if they could see her standing there in Nichols House after having just received one of Hopkins' highest honors. President Richardson expressed the feelings of all present when he answered, quite simply, "They would say they were very proud." All of us who knew and worked with Carrie-May were also proud. We are happy, too, that by dedicating to her *The Report 42* we can also express our esteem and our warm gratitude for her service to our Society.

William H. McClain
Chairman of the Editorial Board

SALUTE TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS OF BALTIMORE: PART II

by William H. McClain

In this issue of the *Report* the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland salutes Von Paris Moving and Storage, a prominent Maryland business with German roots, and two of Baltimore's Catholic institutions, Saint Joseph Hospital and the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, both of which owe their beginnings to the vision, dedication, and tireless efforts of small groups of German nuns. We thank both institutions and the Von Paris family for sharing with us the archival materials on their German origins.

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPITAL

The institution that later became Saint Joseph Hospital came into being in November, 1864, when a civic-minded Baltimorean named Catherine Eberhard donated to Mother Mary Agnes of the newly established Third Order of the Sisters of Saint Francis of Philadelphia¹ three two-story houses in the 100 block of North Caroline Street for use as a hospital. By working diligently, Mother Mary Agnes and the two members of her congregation who had accompanied her to Baltimore were able to receive their first patients early in 1865. Since the three houses were located in a section of Baltimore where many German-Americans resided, the new hospital filled important needs in the German community as well as in the city as a whole and soon had more patients than it could handle in the cramped space in which the sisters had to work. In 1867, the Board of Trustees, consisting of six lay members and three priests, drew up plans for a larger and better equipped facility. Land was acquired on Hoffmann and Caroline and Spring and Oliver Streets from Noah Walker in 1869, according to the hospital's archives, and ground was broken soon after that. The corner stone was laid in 1871 by the Very Reverend A. B. Coskey, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. The year before, an act of incorporation had been drawn up authorizing the Sisters of Saint

Francis to establish in the City of Baltimore a hospital "for the reception and medical treatment of the sick, distressed, and feeble." Reverend Joseph Clauß, one of the three priests on the Board of Directors,² persuaded his fellow board members to name the new hospital after his patron saint, Saint Joseph. The Board also decided that since the sisters who would manage the new hospital and provide all nursing care were German nuns who said their prayers in German it was appropriate that it be called Saint Joseph German Hospital.

The first patients were admitted to Saint Joseph German Hospital in 1872, and soon it had become one of the city's busiest health care providers.³ The work load was further increased when, in 1891, the United States Government designated Saint Joseph German Hospital as the center for the care of all sick or wounded sailors entering the port of Baltimore. The hospital continued to serve in this latter capacity until the Marine Hospital opened its doors in 1887.

Until the turn of the century the Sisters of Saint Francis administered Saint Joseph German Hospital and provided all nursing care. From 1901 on, welcome assistance became available from the members of the Women's Auxiliary, but the shortage of nurses was ultimately relieved only when the school of nursing established in 1901 began turning out nurses. The first graduation exercises were held, according to the records of Sister Mary Zita, Treasurer of the Hospital, in the new hall on Oliver Street on December 6, 1904. The five diplomas awarded at the ceremony were presented by Cardinal Gibbon.

Saint Joseph Hospital kept its German identity until the United States declared war on Germany in 1917. Anti-German attitudes propagated at that time by radical patriotic groups finally convinced the Board of Direc-

tors of the hospital that as a matter of expediency the word "German" should be dropped from the hospital's name. This was done on February 22, 1918.⁴

During the post-war years and on into the 1950's Saint Joseph Hospital continued to provide excellent medical care. By 1950, however, it had become evident that the plant was antiquated. A crisis arose in 1955 when the hospital was denied a license because certain parts of the Caroline Street building failed to satisfy current Fire Department regulations.⁵ To deal with the emergency a special lay board was appointed. Thanks to the board's efforts the fire hazard was eliminated and other improvements were also made. It was apparent, however, that the real need was for a new building. A search committee was given the task of finding a suitable site and eventually recommended the present site in Baltimore County. Ground was broken on March 18, 1963,⁶ and soon the new Saint Joseph Hospital was ready to admit patients and also to provide a wide range of medical services which had been impossible in the old plant. The centennial of the hospital was celebrated in the new building in 1971.

Over the years the physicians of Saint Joseph have pioneered many programs in various medical fields. Among the most recent is an innovative three-dimensional straightening process which helps to give both greater mobility and a more normal appearance to individuals afflicted with scoliosis. This straightening process represents only a part of the comprehensive orthopedic program at Saint Joseph Hospital, which includes the world-renowned treatments developed at the Center for skeletal Dysplasia for patients suffering from dwarfism. Such programs amply demonstrate the progressive and scientific expertise of the medical staff. They also offer proof, however, that the strong sense of social service and the special concern for the disadvantaged which inspired the first nursing staff of German nuns to devote their lives to caring for the sick and the distressed are still very much alive there.

The College of Notre Dame of Maryland

The College of Notre Dame of Maryland enjoys the distinction of being the oldest, and

also one of the most progressive of America's Catholic liberal arts colleges for women. It can also boast of having been the first Catholic college to offer, from 1895 on, a four-year program of liberal arts studies designed to prepare Catholic young women for graduate study. Today, it is difficult to believe that this thriving institution was born, as the Reverend Charles A. Hart recalls in his address on the occasion of the college's golden jubilee in 1945, "of the boundless energy of a small band of immigrant religious teachers who never faltered in their desire to bring to their students the highest and the best that Catholic institutions could offer."⁷

The immigrant teachers to whom Father Hart refers were German nuns who belonged to a religious community originally founded in 1598 in Mattaincourt, France, by Father Pierre Fourier, who was later canonized. Father Fourier's hope in instituting the community was that the new order, by making available to young women of all social classes the kind of education that would prepare them for their later role as spiritual guides in their respective families, might be able to help counteract the wave of heresy then sweeping over France. The congregation, which became known as the Poor Sisters of Notre Dame because the sisters so rigidly observed the vow of poverty, spread during the two centuries following its foundation to various parts of France and also into Germany. One of the German convents was situated in the City of Stadtamhof on the Danube River in the diocese of the Bishop of Regensburg. In the school in Stadtamhof which the Sisters of Notre Dame administered one of the pupils was a young girl named Karolina Gerhardinger, the only daughter of Willibald Gerhardinger, a shipmaster on the Danube and a prominent member of the shipmasters' guild. Karolina was bright and liked going to school and was keenly disappointed when the decree ordering the closing of all religious schools in Bavaria ended her school-days in 1809. This decree, which implemented in Bavaria the policy of secularizing ecclesiastical property initiated in France during the Revolution and extended to German states by the Treaty of Lunéville, resulted in almost total suppression

of Catholic educational institutions at all levels and accordingly caused great hardships. Father Michael Wittmann, who supervised Catholic education in the diocese of Regensburg, was disconsolate when the Sisters of Notre Dame were obliged to close their schools and at once began to consider possible ways of reopening the schools so that the girls in his diocese could continue to receive the kind of liberal education which would prepare them for their future role as managers of Catholic households. The solution he finally hit upon was a rather daring one: he proposed to Karolina and two of her able young friends to allow themselves to be trained by a master teacher so that they might learn the pedagogical skills which would enable them to take over the teaching duties formerly fulfilled by the departed sisters. The girls willingly accepted the challenge and set to work. At age fifteen Karolina had attained a sufficient level of pedagogical skill to qualify for a government certificate authorizing her to teach. Not long after that she decided to become a nun. Father Wittmann, who in the interim had become Bishop of Regensburg, told Karolina at that point about his idea of reconstituting the Order of the School Sisters of Notre Dame as the kind of community envisioned two centuries earlier by Pierre Fourier: a congregation of teaching sisters who would not be confined to a convent, but would go out into the world, thus making education available even to those living in remote rural areas. When the Bavarian government permitted the reopening of convents run by nursing or teaching sisters, Bishop Wittmann at once took steps to realize his plan and enlisted the aid of Karolina, who had taken the name Theresa of Jesus at the time of professing her final vows. Sister Theresa later became the head of the first community of School Sisters, which was established in 1833 in Neunburg vorm Wald, a small city about forty-five kilometers northeast of Regensburg. The educational director of the new convent was Reverend Matthias Siegert, whom Bishop Wittmann had commissioned to study the pedagogical ideas of the Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.

For a number of reasons, not least of which was the difficulty of attracting there the kind of recruits the congregation needed, Neunburg vorm Wald proved to have been an unfortunate choice for the first motherhouse. It accordingly seemed almost an act of Providence when the Archbishop of Munich invited her to bring her community to the Bavarian capital. She at once accepted the invitation and was delighted by the generous offer of King Ludwig I. to finance the remodeling of the convent which the Archbishop had offered to Sister Theresa.

In Munich the community flourished, for the sisters' services were much needed there. Soon the sisters were active in many areas of educational endeavor and were also rendering social services of various kinds, such as operating day-care centers, looking after children in orphanages, assisting in the rehabilitation of wayward youngsters, and even running technical and vocational schools. Always alert to new educational trends, the sisters tested all new ideas, adopting what seemed useful and fruitful.

Word of the School Sisters' work in Munich spread rapidly. Soon calls were coming in from other cities. Twenty years after the establishment of the first convent in Neunburg vorm Wald the community had fifty-two houses in Bavaria, and communities had also been established in Württemberg, Westphalia, Silesia, Bohemia, and Austria. Young women were continually joining the community, but Sister Theresa soon found it impossible even so to fill the many requests for sisters. In 1841 she wrote, "More than forty school districts have recently asked for sisters, and we have to put them off indefinitely."

In spite of the continual calls for sisters in Germany and Austria, Sister Theresa was willing to help when a call came from the Redemptorist Fathers in New York. In 1847, accompanied by five members of her congregation, she set sail for the United States, again with the financial support of King Ludwig I., who even had his personal physician prepare a medical kit for use during the voyage.

Disappointment was in store for the sisters when they arrived in New York. For after having sent for them, the Redemptorist Fathers

had realized that the community to which they had planned to send the sisters, the remote German settlement of St. Marys in the forests of western Pennsylvania, was not a suitable place to start a motherhouse and a school. A letter explaining the decision to abandon the St. Marys project had been sent to Munich, but Sister Theresa had not received it. Having no mission for the sisters, the Fathers suggested that they return to Germany. Sister Theresa, however, convinced that God had called her to the New World to do important work, decided instead to set out on her own for St. Marys. During the long journey by ox-cart one of the sisters died, but with the others Sister Theresa finally arrived at her destination. The little German community gave the sisters a warm welcome, put a log-house at their disposal for use as a convent, and had soon erected for them a one-room school next to the convent. Shortly after their arrival the sisters were thus able to begin teaching.

Since St. Marys was in the diocese of Pittsburgh, Sister Theresa decided to pay the Bishop a visit. The Bishop received her coolly because she had come into the diocese without an official invitation and with not letter of reference from the Archbishop of Munich. He nevertheless permitted the sisters to continue their missionary work in St. Marys, but with evident reluctance.

A way out of this strained situation presented itself opportunely when the Archbishop of Baltimore, at the suggestion for Father Neumann, then Provincial of the Redemptorists in America, invited Sister Theresa to come to Baltimore to take charge of instruction in the German schools run by three churches, St. Michael's, St. James's, and St. Alphonsus, all three of which were staffed by Redemptorist priests. Father Neumann also offered Sister Theresa the opportunity to acquire for use as a motherhouse the Redemptorist novitiate house adjacent to St. James Church. Sister Theresa wrote at once to Munich to request funds for the purchase of the novitiate house and to ask for additional missionaries to assist with instruction in the three German schools. Both requests were granted.

When Sister Theresa had finished the task of staffing and organizing the three German parish schools she hoped that before her return to Munich she would have an opportunity to see other parts of this vast mission country. She was accordingly only too happy to accept Father Neumann's invitation to accompany him on a visitation tour of some of the northern and western states to which he hoped to extend the Redemptorists' missionary work. Thanks to this tour, which took five weeks and in the course of which Father Neumann and his party covered five hundred miles by ox-cart, steamboat, and various horse-drawn vehicles, Sister Theresa acquired first-hand experience of some of America's remoter areas which enabled her to map out several future projects for her sisters.

Because of the turbulent political situation in Europe sister Theresa received urgent messages to return to Munich in early 1848. She finally departed in July, but not before she had set up an orphanage for abandoned German children in Baltimore which was later known as St. Anthony's Orphanage. To the sister who had accompanied her on the visitation tour with Father Neumann, Sister Karoline Friess, one of her original companions from Munich, she entrusted the responsibility of supervising the three German parish schools and also of directing all future educational enterprises of the School Sisters of Notre Dame on the North American continent.

The schools which Sister Theresa had so ably organized and staffed continued to flourish after her departure, and soon pupils began to come to the sisters in their convent on Aisquith Street. The school which they established there later became the Institute of Notre Dame when the new building was completed in 1863. In the early records of the Institute one reads that "the happy years quickly passed, bringing prosperity to the school, until every attic room had its occupant." Soon the sisters realized that in order to be able to accommodate their numerous pupils they would have to have additional space. Attempts were made to purchase neighboring property, but land values had by

then become so high that the idea of adding on the Aisquith Street school had to be abandoned.

In the spring of 1871 the sisters acquired a property on North Charles Street and contracted to have a building erected on that site. The new building, called The Collegiate Institute, opened in 1873 with Mother Mary Barbara Weinzierl, one of the original group of sisters from Munich, and Sister Ildephonsa as spiritual and educational directors. Mother Theophila Bauer, the second Provincial of the School Sisters, established the motherhouse on the campus of the Collegiate Institute in a small building called Montrose. The third Provincial, however, Mother Clara Heuck, protesting that North Charles Street was "too far away from the city," moved the motherhouse back to the Institute on Aisquith Street.

To help Catholic young women prepare for the new role that women were beginning to play in American life during the waning years of the nineteenth century, the School Sisters of Notre Dame established on the Charles Street campus in the last decade of the century a four-year liberal arts college for Catholic women which was the first of its kind in the United States. The new institution was chartered in 1895 as the College of Notre Dame of Maryland and held its first commencement exercises in 1899.

For the next six decades elementary and secondary school pupils as well as college students came daily to the Charles Street campus. In 1959, however, the School Sisters decided that a new school should be built on another site for the elementary and secondary school pupils. The institution which came into existence as a result of this plan was Notre Dame Preparatory School on Hampton Lane.

The year 1959 was also marked by another event of moment for the college and preparatory school. On January 31 of that year the validity of the process of beautification of the foundress, who not long after her return to Munich had finally been accorded the title "Mother," was proclaimed in Rome.

Today, the members of the congregation which Mother Theresa helped to establish

number more than seven thousand sisters who live and work in twenty-one provinces in Europe and North and South America. Although the community is now world-wide, the spirit of oneness, which has from the beginning united its members, is still strong, thanks to the work of the Generalate in Rome. The sisters' sense of oneness enabled the community to survive the **Kulturkampf** in the 1880's and also the two great international conflicts of our century. One of the most moving examples of the spirit of unity which has always united the sisters is without doubt the telegram from the Commissary General in Milwaukee to the Superior General in Munich at the end of World War II, transmitting the simple, but infinitely reassuring message: "Wir bleiben treu. Fidelis."

VON PARIS MOVING AND STORAGE

The founder of the B. von Paris Moving and Storage Company, one of Baltimore's oldest and most successful German-American business enterprises, was Eligius von Paris, a young Hessian who had emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1875. Like many of his recently arrived compatriots, he settled in East Baltimore, where he soon found work in one of the breweries that supplied beer to amusement parks and picnic grounds in those days. A leader rather than a follower, he was busy before long as an organizer of the Brewery Workers Guild, of which he later became president. Eager to have a business of his own and quick to size up business opportunities, he saw early on that he could establish a profitable business by providing moving and hauling services to brewer families and other families moving from one residence to another and by offering a carting service to contractors in need of help in getting their materials to building sites. Early in 1892 he decided to take the plunge. With his wife's approval he gave up his job at the brewery and with his savings bought a team of horses, two dump-carts, and a double team wagon and started a moving and hauling business in his residence at 3325 Foster Avenue.

Income from moving household goods was at first sporadic, but cart-contracting proved profitable. For a time, von Paris's main work

was hauling clay for brick-yards and building materials for contractors, and, in winter, transporting ice from ponds and streams to brewery cellars for year-round refrigeration. In 1894, von Paris's eldest son, Bonaventure, left school at age twelve to help his father, making the business a family enterprise.

Movement of household goods gradually displaced cart-contracting over the next decade and finally became the chief activity. Bonaventure von Paris, who had meanwhile become practically a partner and who like his father was forward-looking, decided that the family business, while progressing nicely, could be made much more profitable, if he and his father could learn the latest methods and techniques of moving and hauling. To familiarize himself with these, Bonaventure set out for New York in 1905, with his father's blessing and took a job there with one of the more up-to-date moving and storage firms, learning while he worked the various ways in which the firm had increased the efficiency of its moving and storage operations. Fortified with his new knowledge, he returned to Baltimore to apply to the family business the methods and techniques he had been able to observe in New York.

An important test of the von Paris Company's strength and resourcefulness was a contract-offer in 1907 for a long-distance move from Baltimore to the District of Columbia. The successful execution of this move, which involved two wagon loads with double teams and required two full days, convinced father and son that the firm had reached the point of being able to compete successfully in the new and challenging field of long-distance hauling.

Eligius von Paris's health having begun to fail at this point, Bonaventure von Paris was obliged to assume an ever larger share of the responsibility for managing and operating the business. With his greater responsibilities, of course, came also the chance to test out some of his own ideas concerning the future course of a firm such as theirs. Steady growth in volume had already made it clear that expansion beyond the limited Foster Avenue space was essential. After having explored the various possibilities, Bonaventure von Paris

found a larger property in the 400 block of First Street, later known as Highland Avenue, which seemed suitable and which with the help of a small loan from his father he was able to acquire. Until his marriage in 1909 he continued to operate the business out of the Foster Avenue location; but when he and his wife Theresa went to housekeeping, B. E. von Paris, Jr. writes in the family chronicle which he prepared in 1982 to commemorate the firm's ninetieth anniversary, Bonaventure "transferred the hauling shingle" to the First Street property.

The main building on the First Street property had three stories, one of which had been occupied by a bar. By converting this area into a warehouse Bonaventure von Paris was in a position to offer his clients storage facilities. The firm thus became at this point a moving and storage business. Both the business and Bonaventure's family flourished in the new location. "All told," B. E. von Paris reports in his chronicle, "nine sons and daughters, many of whom were still owners and operators of the family business in 1982, came into the world in the Highland Avenue house."

The firm's steady growth in terms of business volume between 1912 and 1914 eventually obliged Bonaventure von Paris to build a new warehouse, purchase additional horses, and put another wagon into service. In 1915 the firm acquired its first motor van, which Baltimoreans called "the house on wheels," and which was one of the most popular exhibits at the 1915 Automobile Show. The acquisition of this vehicle marked the beginning of the motorization of the von Paris company. By the end of 1919 the firm had disposed of all of its horses and wagons.

Between 1915 and 1919 the von Paris Company pioneered long-distance moving in the Middle Atlantic States, a venture which posed a formidable challenge even to a firm with up-to-date equipment, for, as B. E. von Paris recalls in his chronicle, "Route 1 was bad, the Philadelphia Road was a gravel and mud heap, and Route 40 had not even been thought of at that time." In spite of handicaps such as frequently being stuck in the mud, however, the von Paris vans managed to get to their destinations, completing deliveries at

times even in places where roads were practically non-existent.

Investment losses, coupled with the hope of establishing a profitable real-estate enterprise near the farm which the family had meanwhile acquired as a summer home, almost persuaded Bonaventure von Paris to abandon the moving and storage business in the early 1920's. After three unsuccessful attempts to divest himself of the moving and storage operation, however, he decided to keep the business. He also decided against further expansion at that point so that he could continue to offer his clients the kind of personalized service in which he so strongly believed and also have more time to be with his family.

During the late 1920's and early 1930's four of Bonaventure von Paris's five sons and four of his daughters entered the business, his sons starting out by working in the warehouse, then helping with the vans, and finally becoming drivers, while his four daughters assisted in various ways with the office work. The depression of 1929 "struck the business and family with all the force of a typhoon," B. E. von Paris recalls in his chronicle, and everyone had to work long hours and accept privations in order to keep the business from going under. Conditions improved during the middle and late 1930's, and the four sons who had entered the firm — Bonaventure, Jr., William, Joseph, and George — decided, at different times, to make a career of the business and eventually became involved in the management of its various operations.

During World War II Bonaventure, Jr. and William served in North Africa and Italy; Joseph saw action in New Guinea and the South Pacific; while George did his tour of duty on Attu in the Aleutians. Fortunately all came back. In 1947 the firm was incorporated as the B. von Paris and Sons Moving and Storage Company with Bonaventure, Sr. as Chairman of the Board, Bonaventure, Jr. as President and General Manager, William G. and Joseph as Vice-Presidents, and George H. as Secretary of the Board.

Growing demand for long-distance and worldwide moving services after World War II prompted the von Paris Company to apply to

the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1951 for an extension of authority which would enable the firm to expand its services into the Midwest. Again moving with the trends of the times, the Company developed in the 1950's facilities for large office moving and was soon in the forefront of firms specializing in this kind of service. Also with an eye to the future the firm applied in 1956 to the Civil Aeronautics Board for a Certificate of Public Convenience and Necessity as a forwarder of air-freight. When this certificate was awarded the company was able to offer speedy service to any point in the world capable of handling air-freight.

In those years of dynamic development another milestone was the acquisition of an important competitive enterprise which for several years had been an agency of North American Van Lines. The merger was thus not only a major expansion, but also made possible a new role for the von Paris Company as an agency of North American Van Lines. To lighten the burden of additional responsibilities entailed by the merger and the affiliation with North American Van Lines the Board of Directors decided to divide all operational responsibilities among the four von Paris brothers on the Board. Each, accordingly, assumed the presidency of one of the four corporate entities into which the company had earlier been divided, with George H. von Paris serving as President of the parent company.

Until the mid-1960's the von Paris company operated out of four different locations — on Highland Avenue, Erdman Avenue, Haven Street, and Parole outside of Annapolis. By that time, all warehouses were at nearly 100% of capacity. To provide the sorely needed additional storage space the company leased early in 1965 a 16,000 square foot warehouse at 1920 York Road in Timonium. All went well for a while. Then, in the spring of 1968, came the announcement that North American Van Lines had been acquired by Pepsico. For the von Paris Company the merger marked the beginning of a long period of frustrations and problems resulting in the main from the frequent turnovers in executives and management personnel at Pepsico's Fort Wayne

headquarters and from what B. E. von Paris characterizes in his chronicle as "the philosophy of operating a van line like a food and beverage business." The problems with Pepsico were not finally resolved until the mid-1970's when Pepsico at long last appointed to the presidency of North American Van Lines an executive experienced in running a household goods moving operation and capable of empathizing with the agents and their problems.

In the fall of 1970 the von Paris Company transferred all of its East Baltimore operations to the spacious new quarters on York Road in Timonium. Consolidation and the attendant restructuring helped to sharpen the firm's competitive edge, as did the leadership, creativity, wisdom, and productivity of the family members and the other able individuals who became members of the Board of Directors at various times during the 1970's.

A unique opportunity for further expansion arose in 1975 when North American Van Lines publicized its decision to divest itself of its company stores. Among these was its profitable Potomac service and warehouse facility for which it was willing to offer the von Paris Company first acquisition rights. The price was high, but the acquisition of an outlet in the busy Washington metropolitan area enabled the company to realize what B. E. von Paris describes in his chronicle as "the greatest growth in our history."

From B. E. von Paris, Jr.'s chronicle of the family history it is clear that the von Paris Company owes its continuing success in the main to the ability of its managerial staff to couple innovativeness with reliability. Never content to rest on its laurels, the company has always striven to offer top quality service, and it has been able to do so because its managers have always known that perfection requires attention to detail. They have also known that caring about customers also means caring about your employees. Their concern has led to a dedicated work force that is anxious to give its best. In 1992 the company will celebrate its centennial. Doubtless at that time the Board of Directors will once again rededicate themselves, as they did on past anniversary celebrations, to the principles which, as B. E.

von Paris, Jr., points out in his chronicle, "brought the company successfully out of the Gay Nineties through many eras into the Space Age," the principles of service, courtesy, and customer satisfaction.

NOTES

¹The Third Order of the Sisters of Saint Francis was founded in 1855 in Philadelphia at the instigation of the Venerable John Nepomucene Neumann, then Bishop of Philadelphia. The first Superior General was Reverend Mother Mary Francis Bachmann, a native of Bavaria, whose maiden name was Anna Boll. At twenty-two Anna Boll married Anton Bachmann and subsequently emigrated with him from Germany to the United States. The couple settled in Philadelphia and were members there of St. Peter's Catholic Church, which at that time had a predominantly German-speaking congregation. The Bachmanns had four children, three of whom later took holy orders. After the death of her husband, Anna Bachmann became a nun.

²Reverend Clauß was Rector of St. Michael's Church. The other two priests on the Board of Directors were the Reverend Kleineidam, Rector of St. Alphonsus Church, and a priest from St. James Church. All three priests were members of the Redemptorist Congregation (CSSR), founded in 1732 in Naples by Alfonso de'Liguori, who was later canonized as St. Alphonsus of Liguori. The Redemptorists were active in the field of education and also provided social services, even ministering to prisoners. The Redemptorists of German origin in the United States supervised instruction in German parish schools in addition to ministering spiritually to their German-American parishioners.

³Sister M. Pierre, O.S.F., offers an account of the hospital's first one hundred years in an article entitled "History of Saint Joseph's Hospital," *Maryland State Medical Journal*, Vol. 6 (July 1957), pp. 333-336.

⁴Dieter Cunz reviews major problems confronted by German-Americans and German-American institutions and organization from 1917 on in *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 395 ff.

⁵Sister M. Pierre discusses the crisis and its eventual resolution in "Saint Joseph's Hospital Looks Ahead," *Maryland Medical Journal*, Vol. 9 (April 1960), pp. 178-179.

⁶As reported in the **Baltimore Sun**, March 19, 1963.

⁷Charles A. Hart, "The Concept of a Catholic Liberal Arts College," in *Fifty Golden Years: A Series of Lectures on the Liberal Arts College*, commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the College of Notre Dame of Maryland (Baltimore: The College of Notre Dame of Maryland, 1946), p. 22.

GERMAN-AMERICAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BALTIMORE PART I

by *Randall Donaldson*

In 1986, Carrie-May Kurrelmeyer Zintl, who was then president of the *Society*, collected material for a volume on German-American families and businesses in Maryland. The response to Dr. Zintl's request for information was so overwhelming that the Executive Committee decided to make a column on German-American enterprise a standard part of each *Report*. Starting with *Report* 41, Bill McClain, long-time member of the *Society* and chairman of the Editorial Board, graciously volunteered to write that column, the second installment of which appears in these pages. The next few pages mark yet another innovation which will continue as a standing feature of these *Reports*. There follows here a brief review of the many German-American social organizations which have prospered in the Baltimore area over the years. In future issues this section, too, will try to preserve and assess the record of the German-American institutions in Maryland. As before, thanks are due to the many individuals who answered the original call for information.

Die Zionskirche (founded 1755)

It would be presumptuous to attempt to compress 231 years of a congregation's history into a short article. In 1955, Klaus G. Wust published a 150-page book entitled "Zion in Baltimore" which contains an extensive history of the congregation. Some of the ministers had previously published small historical accounts as well.

Early in the 18th century, German Protestants were among the first settlers in Baltimore. They worshipped in their homes. After 1750, Lutherans and Reformed Germans were permitted to worship in St. Paul's Anglican Church, the parish to which they legally belonged and for whose upkeep the law of the land held them financially responsible. These services were infrequent, depending upon the arrival of an itinerant German preacher, sometimes of doubtful qualifications.

Beginning in 1755, regular services were held, conducted by the first resident pastor, John George Bager, who together with Mortiz Wörschler, the German teacher, and Dr. Charles F. Wiesenthal organized the congregation.

From this early period, it is clear that the union of Reformed and Lutheran Christians was a short episode brought about by necessity. The unity of language could not bridge the theological differences.

Local initiative on the part of the lay people was instrumental in the formation of the congregation which adopted as its first name, "High-German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Baltimore Town."

Congregational incentive was the principle in the formation of Zion Lutheran Church and yet it is ironic that once established, this church became a **Pastorenkirche** in which pastoral leadership remained the pervasive spiritual force.

The theological orientation of the pastor rather than the influence of the Lutheran confessions determined congregational life and activity, and each new pastorate brought crises and upheavals for the congregation. Only the extraordinarily long pastorate of some pastors, especially and foremost that of Pastor Heinrich Scheib (1835-1897), could diminish the effects of this phenomenon.

Now Zion is the last partially ethnic remnant of forty-seven German-speaking congregations which once existed in Baltimore. The church is now a link between continents and cultures, a conglomerate of diverse theological roots, and a vibrant, exciting challenge.

Old Otterbein Church (founded 1771)

This venerable congregation, now United Methodist, began its existence as the German Evangelical Reformed Church of Baltimore on the same location in 1771. It maintained German language preaching until 1917, having, meanwhile, in 1800 become the mother

church of the United Brethren in Christ. For generations the arrival of German immigrant ships in the Inner Harbor was heralded by ringing of the church bells which were hung in the present (second) church in 1789, following their arrival as a donation from Christians in Bremen, Germany, where the bells were cast.

Philip William Otterbein, for whom the church and neighborhood are now named, was the pastor from 1774 until his death in 1813. Previously a German Reformed missionary in America from 1752, the native of Billenburg in Nassau, Germany, had erected a church at Frederick, Maryland during his pastorate there. When he reluctantly accepted a call to the new Baltimore congregation, partly at the urging of Methodist missionary Francis Asbury, he arrived well trained, experienced and spiritually prepared to organize the congregation, initiate class meetings, Bible study and minister to the temporal needs of persons in the community as well as immigrants. His energies and spiritual zeal led him to minister to Germans elsewhere in Maryland, at Antietam, "Pipe Creek" and Hagerstown and often to venture into the Shenandoah Valley to preach. He gathered like-minded clerics into Pipe Creek conferences 1774-76 and in 1789 the group began what in 1800 was named the Church of the United Brethren in Christ with Otterbein and Martin Boehm of Strasburg, Pennsylvania, as bishops.

In 1785, Rev. Otterbein led the congregation in erecting the present church edifice with Jacob Small as the builder and the materials ballast brick from England carefully salvaged from the nearby harbor. It was altogether fitting that a later generation should give it his name who lies buried on the grounds.

Otterbein Church established daughter congregations including Fulton Ave., Dorguth on Scott St., Otterbein in West Virginia and a church in York, Pennsylvania.

Now on the National Register and a United Methodist National Shrine, the "oldest church in Baltimore" is a centerpiece of urban renewal and "homesteading" efforts which have accompanied the revitalization of Baltimore. While German is no longer the

language of preaching, the church retains a pride in its origin and guides share the heritage with thousands of visitors each year. A small, devoted, but growing, congregation carefully cares for the properties which include the parsonage (1811), now under restoration begun in 1983, and the Nelker Sunday School Building or Parish House (1872).

The German Society of Maryland (founded 1783)

The German Society of Maryland was created to aid German and Swiss immigrants in their search for a better life as they struggled to establish themselves in their new homeland. The Society provided financial aid whenever necessary and directed the efforts to draft and pass into law legislation which would put an end to the blatant exploitation of immigrants through indentured service. In 1818, The Maryland General Assembly granted a charter incorporating the Society and soon thereafter passed a law regulating the redemptionist system.

In later years the Society has redirected its mission as the need for direct aid to new immigrants has ebbed. The most significant activity of the Society is currently the administration of the Julius Hofmann Memorial Fund, through which the Society awards thousands of dollars of scholarship aid to young men and women of German descent who attend Maryland colleges and universities. The Society also sponsors an annual Dinner Dance at which it recognizes an outstanding Marylander of German descent.

Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church (founded 1849)

According to local tradition, a visit to the Catonsville area by Father Heyer, the first Lutheran missionary to India, gave impetus to the idea for a separate church for the German residents of the area. On September 30, 1849, Gustav Lurmann, a local resident and Baltimore merchant, called a meeting to organize officially as a congregation and adopt a constitution. Among Catonsville's German Protestants Lutherans apparently predominated and were joined in the new congregation by some Reformers; the German-speaking Cath-

olics of the area eventually united with English-speaking Catholics to organize St. Agnes Roman Catholic Church. Early records included the rather lengthy name of the new church organized at the 1849 meeting: the German Evangelical Lutheran Salem Congregation.

Even in the early days of the Salem congregation there were those who agitated to drop German as the primary language of the congregation. With the death of the second pastor, George W. Ebeling, in 1901, all German services at Salem ceased. "Old Salem" as it was known to many slowly passed into memory, and the Salem Congregation moved to grow and develop as it continued to serve the needs of many residents of the rapidly increasing Catonsville community.

Arion Männerchor (founded 1850)

The Arion Männerchor, founded on October 21, 1850, began as a group of German-American immigrants who established a **Männerchor** and gave it the name "Arion" after the greek poet and musician who is considered the mythical founder of choral singing. From the very beginning, this group, has been interested in promoting the cultivation of German song and music through conceits, song festivals and **Liederabend**. In 1863, the Arion had the honor of singing for President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in a memorial service for the dedication of the National Cemetery.

The Arion Männerchor of Baltimore is one of the oldest singing societies in the United States. Since the time of its founding the chorus has been continuously active. In addition to performing at the Annual German Festivals and participating in the National Song Festivals which are held triennially in various cities, the Arion presents several concerts annually in the Baltimore/Washington Metropolitan area. As an educational, non-profit, singing society, the Arion depends solely upon these concert performances, and the faithful support and the voluntary contributions of its listeners.

The Arion always welcomes new members and requests that one have a love for singing

as well as the German language and tradition. Assistance with the language is offered, if needed. Repertoire consists of, but is not strictly limited to, German classical song and traditional German folk songs, sung in German.

Die Vereinigten Sänger von Baltimore (founded 1885)

Die Vereinigten Sänger von Baltimore were in founded in 1885 to foster song by performing at charitable affairs. The group was incorporated as the "United Singers of Baltimore" on April 13, 1893. It was made up at that time of 275 singers from various local musical societies with a Germanic heritage: "Arion," "Harmonie," "Germania Männerchor," "Frohsinn," and the "Arbeiter Männerchor." The "Liederkrantz" joined the United Singers a little later the same year, and in March, 1895, the "Thalia Männerchor," "Arbeiter Liedertafel," "Sängerrunde," "Eintracht," and "Schwäbische Sängerbund" contributed to the growth and development of the group. Subsequently, the "Mozart Männerchor," the "Eichenkrantz Society," the "Edelweiss," and the "Germania Quartette Club" became members of the organization. As happens with the passing of time, nearly all of the above-mentioned singing societies have disbanded. Presently, only three groups remain as members of the United Singers of Baltimore, namely: "Arion Männerchor," "Eichenkrantz Society," and "Deutscher Damenchor."

The United Singers continue their tradition of fostering German heritage through song by performing at concerts, at **Sängerfeste**, and at **Liederabend**. They also sing for various charity organizations, retirement and convalescent homes, at civic affairs, and patriotic gatherings.

National **Sängerfeste** are held by the North-eastern **Sängerbund**, which consists of singing societies from the Washington, D.C. area up through New York State. Singers from the entire East Coast converge on the host city for three days of concerts and festivities. One of the most memorable of these song festivals was the Thirtieth Sängerfest held at Baltimore in 1938. Prize singing has been one of the

main features of these song festivals, as a result of which the United Singers have won two prizes: a large bust of Richard Wagner located in Druid Hill Park and a bust of the composer Konrad Kreutzer in Patterson Park.

Recently, the United Singers and the Baltimore Kickers, Inc. established the "Dr. Johann H. Eitermann Music Library" on the second floor of the Baltimore Kickers' Clubhouse.

The Arion Ladies Society (founded 1891)

The Arion Ladies Society was founded a little over 100 years ago. In the beginning there were thirty members. They met at the home of a member, later at the Club House of the Arion Men's Singing Society. The Arion Ladies used to help with luncheons and dinners at the Arion Club House. At present membership is fifteen ladies, who meet once a month at the Beechfield Methodist Church on Beechfield Ave.

Der deutschamerikanische Bürgerverein von Maryland, Inc. (founded 1900)

The Deutschamerikanischer Bürgerverein von Maryland, Inc. was founded May 9, 1900, by representatives of more than fifty German clubs and organizations in Baltimore. It was originally conceived as an association of organizations to represent the large number of German-Americans living in the State of Maryland. John G. Tjarks (1865-1943), the Association's first President provided firm leadership for thirty years. On April 8, 1904, he was able to have the Association incorporated. During his presidency, he helped to define the objectives and goals of the Bürgerverein (Citizens' Association). In the beginning, the Association attempted to cultivate closer relationships between America and Germany, provide assistance to newly arrived German immigrants, advance the principles of good government and hold an annual German Day. The first German Day celebration was held on September 12, 1901, at Darley's Park with an estimated 25,000 people in attendance. German Day became an annual affair to be held in August of each year at either the old Riverview or Gwynn Oak Park and, later, at Max Blob's Park. In 1977, Ger-

man Day was held at Fells Point. In 1978, the Association was invited by the City of Baltimore to join with other ethnic groups to participate in the "Showcase of Nations" project, in which an ethnic group was allotted time on a week-end between June and October to sponsor a festival at either Hopkins Plaza, Charles Center, or Rash Field in the Inner Harbor.

The Annual German Festival is now held three days in August and is one of the Association's largest activities and is one of the principal means by which the members of the Association promote their various endeavors, e.g. native dance and costume, interests, men's and women's singing societies, crafts, language and sports displays and exhibits. The German Festival is the oldest celebration of ethnic pride in the State, having been held continuously since 1900.

As an umbrella organization the Bürgerverein strives for a closer union of the German clubs and organizations in the State of Maryland. The Association represents the German ethnic community and is the spokesman of it and its members on a city, state and national level. The Bürgerverein serves as a coordinating and facilitating body for its membership and the community as a whole by providing a forum for matters of concern and the settlement of any grievances or disputes at its regularly scheduled monthly meetings. The Bürgerverein maintains a community calendar of events to prevent date and activity conflicts among its member organizations, while planning and promoting all major cultural activities, thereby maintaining and enhancing German customs, traditions and culture within its own community while maintaining relations with the German Embassy and groups abroad and at home.

Though the specific activities of the Bürgerverein may vary from year to year, the Association generally serves as the agent for the weekly German-language newspaper articles about events in which the German member organizations are involved. The Association actively supports two German-language radio programs, participates in the Sister Cities program and the International Week program, both of which are sponsored

by the City of Baltimore.

The Bürgerverein has hosted visiting crews from German naval ships as well as other international guests, has sponsored visiting musical and dance groups from Germany and elsewhere. The Association observed the three-hundredth Anniversary of German Immigration to the United States by participating in a multitude of activities held in conjunction with various local cultural organizations and the Presidential Commission of the German American Tricentennial. In 1984, the Bürgerverein sponsored the production of a half-hour videotape program entitled, *Maryland German Heritage*, which was produced by the staff of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) for viewing on Public Television.

Deutscher Damenchor von Baltimore (founded 1933)

The Deutscher Damenchor von Baltimore was founded on October 24, 1933, with the specific purpose of preserving the German language and maintaining German sociability through the study and practice of choral music. Since its founding, the Deutscher Damenchor has completed almost sixty years of pleasant and distinguished activity. In addition to the success which its own annual concerts have always enjoyed, its reputation as a participant in musical events and celebrations of kindred organizations through out the area have made it a familiar and welcome addition to many programs.

In the years between its first concert on April 11, 1934, and the present the Deutscher Damenchor has also contributed to the musical and financial success of such affairs as **Lieder** singing at Christmas Bazaars for the benefit of the **Deutsches Haus** (for many years the home of many of our German societies). Over the years the Damenchor has performed at various garden concerts at the **Deutsches Haus** and given concerts for friends and residents of many convalescent and nursing homes.

More recently, the Deutscher Damenchor has actively participated in annual concerts by the "United Singers," at the annual German Festival in Baltimore, and in the National **Sängerfeste** of the Northeastern **Sängerbund**.

Baltimore Kickers, Inc. (founded 1953)

The Baltimore Kickers, Inc. was founded September 23, 1953, through the efforts of Eddie Thau and Werner Juergensen, who were joined by many others from the German Community in creating a Soccer team to participate in the Baltimore Unlimited Soccer League. Despite many losses in the beginning, a high spirit of competition and a desire to achieve prevailed within the group. By January, 1955, the first permanent slate of officers was elected and installed, and by April, 1955, "The Baltimore Kickers" was incorporated as a Club whose aims were, and still are, to promote soccer and fellowship through social events. Over the years, the Kickers Club has supported three soccer teams; the first team plays in the Maryland major Soccer League; the second team is the "Old Timers" (for those over thirty years of age); and the third team is a junior team for twelve-year-olds.

Between the years 1955 and 1976, the Baltimore Kickers enjoyed many achievements, both on the soccer field and in the German Community. Aside from the many outstanding successes on the soccer field, the Baltimore Kickers helped to organize the first big **Oktoberfest** held at the Fifth Regiment Armory in October, 1968. In the same period of time the Baltimore Kickers won the Stewart and Rowland Cups in the 1968-69 season and then became champions of the Maryland Major Soccer League in 1968-69. The Junior Team also won the championship in the same years.

A little over a year after the Twenty-Second Anniversary Dance was held in 1975, the Baltimore Kickers took ownership of the clubhouse at 26 S. Broadway. Through the combined efforts of Club President Alfred Baumann many members, it was possible to redecorate and furnish the inside of the Clubhouse for the grand opening on November 21, 1976. A little over a year later, a beautiful library for the membership, and an archival record center were established. There is also a room containing soccer memorabilia, and a music library for the United Singers of Baltimore, which is dedicated to Dr. Johann H. Eitermann. On September 24, 1978, the membership participated in the

ceremony of burning the mortgage.

The soccer teams of the Baltimore Kickers continue to demonstrate their prowess and love of soccer in exhibition games and tournaments, both in and outside of Maryland, thereby winning trophies and honors.

Although the Baltimore Kickers is primarily a soccer and social club, the membership avails itself of opportunities to share with others all aspects of German culture and traditions. During the year, the Baltimore Kickers sponsor and entertain visiting soccer teams as well as music groups and other visitors from Germany. Free instruction in the German language are offered weekly at the Clubhouse.

The Clubhouse is available to other clubs and organizations, and is open most Saturday and Sunday evenings for members and their guests. All Club events are announced over the German Radio Hour and are published in the Washington Journal. Since 1961, the Baltimore Kickers has also been sending out a Newsletter which provides a source of information about club events.

Club Fidelitas, Inc. (founded 1955)

Club Fidelitas was organized in 1955 by a group of business and professional men of German descent who were seeking to develop a social organization to promote friendship, fellowship and **Gemütlichkeit** in the German tradition.

The Latin word **Fidelitas** was chosen as the organization's name because it implies happiness and joy; the expression in German is **Frohsinn**.

In the beginning, membership was limited to a total of twenty-five and was restricted to men who were either professionals, executives or business proprietors. With the passage of time, the original exclusion of women was rescinded, the membership limit increased to a total of seventy and membership extended to those of German ancestry whose qualifications meet the club's high standards.

Club Fidelitas is fortunate in that its officers have consistently maintained the high standards for which its social affairs have become renowned. Its Spring Dance in May, and its End-of-the-Year Dance in December are two

bright spots on the German-American social calendar in the Baltimore area. The Annual Meeting in January, the picnic in summer and the Christmas party in December are anticipated with pleasure by all Club Fidelitas members.

Club Fidelitas is a sponsor of, and participant in, both the Annual German Festival held each summer and the Maryland **Oktoberfest** held each October.

The Edelweiss Club, Inc. (founded 1966)

Edelweiss means noble-precious white. It is a simple and beautiful flower growing in the high ranges of the Alps. Symbolically it embodies purity and beauty.

Some twenty years after the end of World War II, the moment was right to meet the desire of Germans living in the State of Maryland and the Washington, D.C. area to share publicly their cultural traditions and customs. Paul Ludtke and some of his friends, William Obermueller and Karl Dziggel attempted to address that need in 1966 by founding the Edelweiss Pleasure Club. On October 11, 1967, the Club was incorporated; on June 5, 1982, the name of the Club was amended to the current Edelweiss Club, Inc.

The purpose of the Club is to promote, foster and encourage interest in German-American tradition and culture in a non-political and a non-sectarian manner as well as to support and participate in a German music and news broadcasting program. For many, tuning in to Paul Ludtke, the "Edelweiss Hour" on Sunday is a regular occasion which keeps members and friends informed of the Club's activities.

As the membership of the Edelweiss Club, Inc. has grown, the Club has been to establish itself financially. The Club now sponsors flights to Germany, cruises to the Bahamas and the Caribbean, and bus trips to Canada, Williamsburg and the Dutch Country. There are as well Christmas dances, a children's Christmas party, picnics, Bull Roasts, the annual German Festival, **Oktoberfest** and **Fasching**. The various social activities of the Club provide fun and **Gemütlichkeit** for a vast number of members and friends. Besides parties and dinner-dances social events also

include entertaining visiting German naval vessels and singing societies. In fulfilling its by-laws, the Club also sponsors German language classes and has been generous in making annual awards to high-school, college and university students who are in need and have distinguished themselves in German studies. Contributions have also been made to the Salem Children's Home, St. Agnes Hospital, Anne Arundel Hospices and other charitable institutions. The Club contributes a substantial amount to the Edelweiss Radio Hour as well.

Maryland Oktoberfest (founded 1968)

Oktoberfest in Munich was an idea conceived in the centuries-old autumnal celebrations of Bavarian huntsmen and farmers at which gratitude was rendered to the Almighty for bountiful harvests from forest and field. The event was given new birth in 1810 with the enormous wedding celebration for King Ludwig I of Bavaria and his new bride, Princess Theresia. Since that time the **Oktoberfest** in Munich has been a well-known and popular event for the people of Munich and visitors from around the world.

The idea for a Maryland Oktoberfest was launched at the old **Deutsches Haus** in 1968, when representatives of several local German-American organizations formed a committee to organize, promote and produce a Baltimore version of Munich's famous celebration. Preceded by a parade through downtown Baltimore, this first Maryland Oktoberfest as held in the Fifth Regiment Armory on Howard Street on October 4th and 5th, 1969, and was so successful that a cry was soon raised to make the celebration an annual event.

Realizing that a broad-based committee was not a suitable apparatus for preparing and achieving such long-range plans as were then being contemplated, plans were set in motion to organize in a more permanent form and, soon thereafter, "Maryland Oktoberfest Incorporated," a stock-issuing corporation, was chartered by the State of Maryland.

For twenty-four years this family-oriented Autumn Fest has brought "A Bit of Bavaria" to the burghers of Maryland. Always held in the Fifth Regiment Armory, it has become the area's prime showcase for Bavarian entertainment, culture and **Gemütlichkeit**.

The German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C. (founded 1983)

The year 1983 was designated by Congress and proclaimed by the President as the year Americans would celebrate three hundred years of German immigration. During that year, the Society, under the name "Greater Washington, D.C. German Heritage Society, and ad hoc Committee" promoted general awareness of the part German-Americans played in the history of Washington, D.C. The Society also helped to publicize the Tricentennial events of German-American organizations in the area, such as the "Arminius Social Club," the "Schuhplattler," and the "Washington Sängerbund," as well as a lecture and art exhibition in which local German-American artists figured prominently. Members of the Society conducted a German Sites Tour of the City.

The Society has continued its efforts to promote public awareness of the German-American contribution to the community since the tricentennial. The group is now incorporated in the District of Columbia under the title, The German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C.

THE SAVANNAH RIVER INTELLIGENTSIA: 1734-1780

This article was first titled "The 'Dutch' Intelligentsia of the Savannah River," meaning the "German-speaking Intelligentsia," but the title appeared redundant after it was observed that only German-speaking inhabitants of Georgia actually fulfilled Webster's definition of the intelligentsia as "intellectuals considered as a group or class, especially, as a cultural, social, or political élite."¹

There were, of course, some quite intelligent men in Savannah, such as Col. William Stephens, the secretary of the Trustees of the colony of Georgia, and James Habersham, schoolmaster turned merchant turned President of the Council. These men, however, were pragmatic empire builders who wrote clearly and effectively without flights of fancy or classical allusions, and neither appeared interested in knowledge for knowledge's sake.² Oglethorpe, who had enjoyed a good classical education,³ was merely a visitor to Georgia, not an inhabitant.⁴ One might wish to add John Wesley and George Whitefield to the list of Savannah-River intellectuals because of their voluminous publications, but neither man settled in Georgia and the writings of both were mostly functional, being theological, inspirational, and promotional.

Perhaps the six leading members of the Savannah River intelligentsia, in order of their arrival, were: Johann Martin Boltzius (1734), Christian Gottlieb Prieber (1735), Johann Tobler (1737), Johann Joachim Züblin, later Zubly (1744), Johann Wilhelm Gerhard de Brahm (1751), and Johann Christoph Bornemann (1752).

BOLTZIUS

Johann Martin Boltzius, a teacher at the Orphanage School at Halle, was chosen along with his colleague Christian Israel Gronau to minister to a group of Protestant exiles from Salzburg who settled in Georgia in 1734. After two years in an unfavorable location, the Salzburgers moved their town of Ebenezer to the Red Bluff on the Savannah River just above Purysburg, the new Swiss settlement in South Carolina. Because of hard-

ships exacerbated by removal of the settlement, Boltzius was forced to take on so many secular duties that he became a reluctant Renaissance Man.⁵ First, as ruler of his little theocracy, he had to learn the English law of the land, which he appears to have done quickly and thoroughly. Next he had to read technical manuals, mostly in English, on agriculture, silk raising, mill building, medical practice, and other skills in order to transmit this knowledge to his parishioners.⁶

In addition to keeping a very informative journal throughout most of his thirty-year ministry, Boltzius also maintained an active correspondence with his German and English benefactors, which revealed good insights into the social and economic situation in his new home.⁷ Johann Tobler, of whom we shall hear more, wrote of Boltzius:

I have carried on for some years an edifying correspondence with this gentleman, in which I have encountered only that which is necessary for Christianity.

He is a man who is very useful to this country, and, although he makes no distant journeys into it, he nevertheless, from time to time sends out edifying books, which are very helpful to one's growth in humanity.⁸

Boltzius had an unusual ability to organize his thoughts, as can be seen in his brilliant letter to George Whitefield arguing against the importation of slaves.⁹

As an accomplished musician who could write notes and had founded a **Collegium Musicum** (music club) at Halle,¹⁰ Boltzius worked hard to improve his parishioners' choral singing. He was aided in this task when the new physician, Ernst Thilo, arrived with his good voice and thorough mastery of polyphonic singing. Boltzius keenly wished to have an organ, as Tobler did up the river at New Windsor,¹¹ but this wish was never fulfilled. When Captain Krauss, an artilleryman who had brought the third Swabian transport to Georgia in 1752, was about to return to Europe, some Salzburgers collected money for him to buy an organ there, but nothing came of this; and Boltzius was left with only

his choir. While visiting Ebenezer in 1774, the Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg greatly admired the skill of the choir, which he attributed to Boltzius.¹²

This music was, of course, not made for aesthetic or secular pleasure, but only for glorifying God in heaven: one contrite woman confessed to having used her God-given voice to sing worldly songs. Little boys who wished to join the choir had to promise to bring not only their mouth but also a devout heart.¹³ (Imagine the amazement I felt when, while driving near Metter, Georgia, some sixty miles from Ebenezer in October 1990 and listening to a radio concert by a children's gospel choir, I heard the director remind the children that they should sing not only with their mouths but also with their hearts! Could this precept have been handed down so long?) When Habersham offered Boltzius twenty-four arias by Handel, he accepted them even though they were secular, aware that he could convert them to religious **Parodien**, by which he meant contrafacts.¹⁴

Boltzius appears to have had little regard for the visual arts, which were scarcely better than graven images in his eyes. He made exception, however, for religious art; and he distributed to the children little scenes of the life of Jesus that had been engraved and donated by Martin Engelbrecht of Augsburg.¹⁵ Behind the Communion table he mounted a large picture of the **Last Supper** donated by the court chaplain Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen.¹⁶

PRIEBER

By slightly stretching the meaning of "Savannah River" in our tide, we can include the Saxon visionary, Christian Gottlieb Prieber (also written Priber and Pryber), who came to America in 1735 to save the Red Man from European encroachment." Because he dwelled seven years among the Cherokees, he must have spent some of his time on the headwaters of the Savannah River, and thus he belongs on our list.

Like the other germanophone intellectuals of Georgia, Prieber, a doctor of laws, had enjoyed a good Latin training, his doctoral thesis having been in that language.¹⁸ His

secret journal, on the other hand, was kept in French. Prieber petitioned the Trustees to send him to Georgia in 1735 and they agreed;¹⁹ but, instead of waiting, he made his way to South Carolina as a British officer. After taking out a grant for land in Purysburg, which he never developed, he sold his belongings and set out in Indian costume for the Cherokee country in order to organize the Noble Savages into a commonwealth, to be called the Kingdom of Paradise, a communistic state which would resist the British by playing the Spanish and French against them.

Hearing of Prieber's seditious actions, the authorities in South Carolina sent an envoy to ask the Cherokees to extradite him, but his hosts would not surrender their honored guest and tribal member. Foiled in this attempt, the British bribed some Creek Indians to capture him on one of his diplomatic missions to the French and Spaniards, which they did. Prieber was incarcerated in the jail at Frederica, where visitors were astounded by his education and mastery of languages. Even Oglethorpe was impressed by his involuntary guest, being surprised to find a man "who in his dress a perfect Indian, a man of politeness and gentility, who spoke Latin, French, Spanish, and German fluently, and English brokenly."²⁰ The French soldier Antoine Bonnefoy, who had been a prisoner of Prieber's Indian hosts, also attested that Prieber's French was fluent.²¹

Being polylingual, Prieber soon mastered Cherokee, and it was surely he who translated the Lord's Prayer into that language for Ulrich Driessler, the Lutheran minister at Frederica. Ludowick Grant, an Indian trader, said of Prieber:

Being a great Scholar he soon made himself master of their Tongue, and by his insinuating manner Endeavoured to gain their hearts, he trimmed his hair in the Indian manner & painted as they did, going generally naked except for a shirt and a Flap."²²

It is regrettable that Prieber's book did not survive, for it may well have been a trail blazer. To judge by what Bonnefoy, Oglethorpe, and others said of this backwoods philosopher, he may well have preceded Rousseau, his junior by some years, with his

ideas on the Noble Savage, the natural rights of man, the inequality of men, and the social contract. Verner W. Crane recognizes him as "a spiritual descendant of Plato of the Republic, of Sir Thomas More, of Campanella, and a precursor of Rousseau."²³ The similarity between Prieber's and Rousseau's ideas can be explained by the fact that they were following a common sociophilosophical tradition.²⁴ Prieber, a contemporary of Montesquieu, reached America before Rousseau wrote any of his socio-philosophical works.

During Prieber's trial, Oglethorpe sent a long letter, dated April 22, 1743, to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, summarizing the proceedings.²⁵ Most of the letter consists of a paraphrase of Prieber's journal, written in French. Oglethorpe found the journal "a little difficult to understand, the whole being written like dark hints for his Memory only."

Prieber proved himself to be not only a **philosophe**, but also a true philosopher, when a magazine next to his cell exploded and hurled bombs and shells into the air. While others fled in panic, Prieber remained calm and composed despite the explosives raining down around him. Soon after this Prieber died, thus freeing the British of the need to convict him.

TOBLER

Johann Tobler, a **Landeshauptmann** or governor of the half-canton Appenzell-Ausser Rhoden in Switzerland, contracted the **rabies Carolinae** (the Carolina madness) after losing his office.²⁶ Finding himself an exile in 1737, he led a large party of Swiss emigrants to South Carolina and founded New Windsor on the Savannah River, more or less across from Augusta, Georgia. There he established a plantation, built a fort, opened a store, served as justice of the peace, and became relatively prosperous.²⁷

In addition to these mundane pursuits, Tobler continued his hobbies of mathematics, astronomy, and almanac writing. His first almanac was the *South Carolina and Georgia Almanack*, published for many years by James Johnston in Savannah. To compile such a work, one had to understand not only mathematics and astronomy but also other

subjects such as agriculture, commerce, foreign news and the public's craving for moralizing and edifying reading matter. Because of his first success, Tobler also published an almanac in Philadelphia, which gave him a far larger market.²⁸ Because his calculations were fixed to the year 1800, almanacs using his calculations continued to be published, often under his name, in various colonies long after his death in 1765.²⁹

Of interest to South Carolina historians is a description of South Carolina that Tobler published in a Swiss almanac in 1753.³⁰ Although he was obviously writing to encourage immigration to South Carolina, he avoided the exaggerations perpetrated by Jean-Pierre Pury and other promoters. He did, however, tend to overlook some of the hardships of frontier life, such as the danger of the Indians, who were soon to scalp and kill one of his sons.

Besides his mathematical interests, Tobler loved music and owned what seems to have been the only organ in the Savannah River valley.³¹ Tobler must have had an open mind, or else he was a very good diplomat, for, despite his firm Calvinistic faith, he let Boltzius persuade him to question the **absolutum decretum** (predestination), which Boltzius was able to do by lending him a book contradicting this serious error.³²

De BRAHM

Johann Gerhard Wilhelm von Brahm, originally from Koblenz or its surroundings, had been in Imperial service before coming to Georgia with the second Swabian transport of 1751.³³ Von Brahm was from the bourgeoisie and had earned his nobility through his military service, which justified his signing his first American map with the words "William Noble of Brahm." While some noblemen to the manor born may have looked down on the **Verdienst Adel** (merit nobility), the self-made aristocrats were generally socially accepted,³⁴ and it is significant that von Brahm was married to a woman of inherited nobility. It is uncertain whether he left Imperial service because he inclined toward Protestantism or whether he exchanged religions in order to enter British service. The former

seems probable because of his inquisitive religious mind, which eventually caused him to be considered a Quaker and to write mystico-theological treatises.

Upon reaching Georgia, von Brahm set out to find a suitable place for his Swabian settlers. After examining locations on the Ogeechee and Altamaha rivers, he finally placed his party on the Blue Bluff just five miles above Ebenezer, where he founded the settlement Bethany.

Because of de Brahm's industry and careful surveying, Habersham, a good judge of men, stated that "The Trustees... are not mistaken in Mr. von Brahm's abilities: He has been at a great deal of Pains to view the country to fix on a settlement and has taken plans of all the Places he has visited, and I look upon him to be one of the most intelligent men I ever met with, and will I doubt not make a very useful colonist."³⁵ Gov. John Reynolds called von Brahm a "very able Engineer" and a "Gentleman of great Honour and Ingenuity."³⁶ A modern historian, Charles L. Mowat, has described him well in calling him "a man whose versatility of genius went beyond even that of the typical eighteenth-century dilettante: a surveyor, engineer, botanist, astronomer, meteorologist, student of ocean currents, alchemist, sociologist, historian and mystical philosopher."³⁷ Thus we see that almost³⁸ everyone praised this talented man, despite his sometimes obstinate and overbearing behavior.

In addition to founding Bethany, von Brahm, or de Brahm as he soon began calling himself,³⁹ amassed much land in Georgia and served Gov. Glen of South Carolina as a military engineer. Preserving all the "plans" and detailed descriptions of the areas he had surveyed, de Brahm compiled a *General Description of the Province of Georgia*, which followed an earlier *General Description of South Carolina*.⁴⁰ Both of these were included in his "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America," submitted to the King in 1773. Like Prieber, de Brahm also compiled a Cherokee-English and English-Cherokee dictionary.⁴¹ Subsequently he published navigational aids and performed pio-

neer work in charting the Gulf Stream.⁴² He was also credited with writing the "first history of Georgia."⁴³

As a surveyor and cartographer, de Brahm deserved all the praise heaped upon him. The extensive maps he produced in a few short years were so accurate that they remained standard for half a century. Unfortunately, de Brahm often followed accurate and objective observations with garrulous and, for a modern natural scientist, rather meaningless explanations, in which he seemed to exult in his own verbosity. After describing the grape culture at New Bordeaux, for example, he gives the precise measurements of a building, which, he states categorically, the vintners must have in order to "govern the outward Phlogistic motion through the Bung."⁴⁴ Then follow thirty lines of pedantic and wordy explanation that could make sense, if at all, only to one who believes in the unfailing power of phlogiston. Similarly, his prolix medical diagnoses and remedies reveal more enthusiasm than critical judgment⁴⁵

Perhaps de Brahm's greatest weakness was being a perfectionist in an imperfect world, an idealist and dreamer; he often insisted on undertaking what was theoretically best, even if entirely unfeasible. Asked by Gov. Glen to prepare plans for the fortification of Charleston, he produced grandiose schemes for forts that would have done honor to any nation in Europe, but at an expense far beyond the means of the financially strapped colony of South Carolina. The same occurred when he was commissioned to design a fort to block traffic on the Little Tennessee River. There he dreamed of a bastion à la Vauban, one able to repel a Grand Armada. Since only canoes plied the river, a simple stockade would have sufficed.

De Brahm also tended to exaggerate his services to the crown. He claims, for example, to have brought 160 immigrants to Georgia and to have "joined through his means 160 more."⁴⁶ Actually, the immigrants had been recruited by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Augsburg ministry and "Reverend Father" of the Salzburgers; de Brahm had only conducted the one transport of 1751. When he

described the back settlers of South Carolina as "chiefly consisting of German Protestants,"⁴⁷ he must have been exaggerating, unless the large influx of Scotch Irish occurred after his observation.

BORNEMANN

A year after de Brahm's arrival, Georgia received still another intellectual. Johann Christoph Bornemann was a man of scientific interests and an acquaintance of scholars like the physicist Samuel Christian Hollmann of the University of Göttingen and the scientist-poet Albrecht von Haller. With the support of these two gentlemen, Bornemann took his wife, two children, his parents-in-law, and a maid to Georgia, where he established a plantation that he named New Goettingen in honor of his home town.⁴⁸ On his way from Göttingen to London and from London to Georgia, Bornemann kept a most informative journal. Unfortunately this journal, which so well describes the landscape and agriculture of North Germany, stops when the ship reaches Savannah. All that is stated here about Bornemann and his family is based on the autobiographical preface to this journal and the comments added by his widow after his death.⁴⁹

Bornemann's training had been in surgery, a profession he practiced in the service of Frederick the Great during the First Silesian War. Honorably discharged, he returned to Göttingen. There he was appointed surgeon to the university, at which he studied under Hollmann and von Haller. The avowed purpose of his removal to Georgia was to collect pharmaceutical plants for study at the university. Of his letters back home, only four are known, all written to his benefactor, von Haller, then an **Ammann**, or magistrate, in Bern. These letters, now housed in the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern, describe the flora and fauna of his new home and also describe a chest of specimens and curiosities he sent to his European patrons.⁵⁰

One of Bornemann's letters to von Haller, that of January 7, 1755, is a veritable area study of Georgia's coastal plain in which he describes the terrain, climate, flora, and fauna. He apologizes that he had not studied the

natural sciences as assiduously as he should have, and he confesses that Boltzius has already described most of the important creatures. Bornemann's descriptions are, however, sometimes better.

Boltzius describes the skunk as a kind of black wildcat that sprays water when a person or a dog comes too close. He then describes the nasty stench that penetrates clothing and lasts a long time.⁵¹ Bornemann describes the same animal as being "about as large as a fox, black in color, the tips of the ears and tail are white, otherwise its fur seems to be very precious." In order to investigate the source of the stench, which he compared to a mixture of scorched corn and garlic, he shot one to dissect it, but the unbearable stench prevented him from doing so and the area stank for ten days. Bornemann was more successful in investigating the jaws of an alligator and the fangs of a rattlesnake.

Boltzius had made many references to the cattle disease that afflicted the herds of the Germans around Savannah, but only Bornemann, who had also lost some cattle to it, performed a post mortem on a bovine victim to study its affected organs. He also performed autopsies on apparently healthy hogs and found their kidneys full of tape worms. Like de Brahm, Bornemann was not satisfied with just knowing what but also wished to know how and why. It is surprising, therefore, that he states that honey and wax are softer in Georgia than in Germany, without recognizing Georgia's warmer temperature as the cause.

ZUBLY

Upon finishing his schooling at the lycée in St. Gall, Johann Joachim Züblin (later Zubly)⁵² went to London to petition the Trustees for a ministerial post in Georgia. His request was denied because of his youth and the high salary he demanded. Despite this setback, Zubly had himself ordained there in the German Reformed Church and then proceeded on his own to Purysburg, the Swiss settlement on the Savannah River, where his "wealthy"⁵³ father David lived.⁵⁴ Although unauthorized, Zubly began preaching to his countrymen in and around Savannah, partic-

ularly in Acton and Vernonburg, two new German-Swiss settlements just south of the city. There he was greatly admired, as William Stephens noted, for his "Volubility of Speech."⁵⁵

The Anglican minister in Savannah, Bartholomäus Zouberbühler,⁵⁶ was a Swiss from St. Gall and could therefore preach to his compatriots in their own tongue, but they would have none of him because he had deserted their "Calvinistical Principles" by taking Anglican orders. Consequently, they wrote a strong petition in favor of Zubly,⁵⁷ but the Trustees would only agree that Zouberbühler should give him £10 per annum from his own salary, which was deemed unsatisfactory to both of the divines.⁵⁸ Zubly then preached in several parishes in South Carolina, during which time he married Tobler's daughter Anna.

In 1760 Zubly received a call to the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, where he attracted the largest congregation in the colony. On the edge of the city he established a plantation, which he named St. Gall in honor of his native city. He also amassed a relatively large fortune and operated a ferry across the river in the area of Ebenezer. Having mastered the English language, Zubly entered politics and championed the Dissenters against the Anglicans, whose church had become the established church when the Trustees surrendered the colony to the crown. In defense of the Dissenters' rights, Zubly wrote a scathing rebuke to Samuel Frink, the rector of the Anglican church, titled *Letters to the Reverend Samuel Frink*.⁵⁹

Being a dissenter from the established church, Zubly also championed the rights of the colonies against the arbitrary rule of Parliament. This champion of the American cause was appointed to the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, where he impressed all the dignitaries and consorted with such men as Benjamin Rush and John Adams, the latter of whom called him a "warm and zealous spirit."⁶⁰ However, since Zubly refused to favor a complete break with Great Britain, he was accused of treason. Upon returning to Savannah, he found himself

exiled with half of his fortune confiscated; he was unable to return to his church and congregation until 1779, after the British had captured the city.

Zubly's fame was due to a series of sermons on freedom, which the more down-to-earth Habersham declared to be "mere Sophistry, and a jingle of Words without meaning, unless to puzzle and blind the Minds of the People, who are not capable of Judging the Subject."⁶¹ These pamphlet-sermons were "The Stamp Act Repealed," "An Humble Enquiry, Calm and Respectful Thoughts," and "The Law of Liberty."⁶² This last was written in 1775 and was no doubt a major reason that Zubly was sent to the Second Continental Congress of that year.

LIBRARIES

In praising Georgia, de Brahm claimed that within thirty years there were:

three fine Libraries in the City of Savannah; the fourth at Ebenezer, and a fifth 96 miles from the sea upon the Stream of Savannah. In these Libraries could be had books wrote in the Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Siriac, Coptic, Malabar, Greek, Latin, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, besides the English, **vide**, in thirteen Languages.⁶³

The library at Ebenezer belonged to the Salzburgers, the one up the river was owned by Tobler. Concerning the latter, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutheran patriarch, who was not given to exaggeration, said:

Dr. Zubly has a fine collection of old and new books, the like of which I have seldom seen in America. The external appearance of his library and study is hardly inferior to that of the most famous in Europe.⁶⁴

Of the two remaining libraries in Savannah, one surely belonged to Zouberbühler, who had both the means and the need to collect books. In any case, it would appear that the majority of Georgia's libraries were German, even though, as de Brahm claimed, they contained volumes in Caldaic, Arabic, Siriac, Coptic, and Malabar.⁶⁵ The only luggage Prieber carried with him was a chest of books, and we may rest assured that they were profound and mostly in French.

While the extensive library at Ebenezer consisted primarily of theological works of

Pietist persuasion, it also included technical books such as a treatise on mill-building. As Tobler attested, the Ebenezer collection served as a lending library for all the Savannah valley, and Boltzius and his successors sent books as far as Charleston, Orangeburg, and Saxe Gotha.⁶⁶

LANGUAGE

Most of the Georgia intelligentsia had studied some Greek, and all them had learned much Latin, in which they wrote their dissertations.⁶⁷ Like many other Germans of his time, including Leibnitz and Frederick the Great, Prieber preferred French to German as the language of philosophy. It has been noted that Prieber, de Brahm, and Zubly impressed people with the many languages they spoke and that Prieber and de Brahm were the only intellectuals in Georgia to master an Indian language. To judge by the English written by most of the traders, we may be sure that, even if they had a functional use of the Indian languages, they had no understanding of their grammar and nuances. Because the German intellectuals could speak English, they were never referred to as "Dutch," except in the case of de Brahm among the Indians.⁶⁸

INTELLECTUAL CURIOSITY

All the Georgia intelligentsia thought creatively, and an author in the *South Carolina Gazette* did well in mentioning Prieber's "Flights full of Invention."⁶⁹ Boltzius constantly performed agricultural experiments and theorized wisely on the economics of a colonial economy. All of our subjects showed exceptional intellectual curiosity. They were not satisfied with just observing phenomena but wished to discover why they were the way they were. Bornemann could have had practical reasons for investigating the diseases afflicting his cattle and hogs, but it was intellectual curiosity that made him describe and theorize about the arrowheads and shards of Indian pottery he plowed up. We have seen that only the unbearable stench of a skunk prevented Bornemann from dissecting it to see how it produced its overwhelming excretion.

COLLEGIALITY

Because they read the same or similar books, often in foreign languages, intellectuals tend to be members of an international fraternity who appreciate a foreign **savant** more than a domestic businessman. This was certainly true of the Georgia intelligentsia; and their learned correspondence, much of it with European intellectuals, somewhat compensated for their life in what Randall M. Miller so rightly calls "the barren intellectual desert of Georgia."⁷⁰ It is understandable that, after years among the savages and the uncultivated traders, Prieber seemed to flourish when he received intellectual visitors like Oglethorpe in his cell at Frederica.

Except for a feud between Boltzius and de Brahm, Georgia's intelligentsia enjoyed cordial relations.⁷¹ Johann Tobler, who gave his daughter Anna to Joachim Zubly, was also an admirer of Boltzius. Of the two ministers then at Ebenezer, he wrote:

One of them, who is my esteemed friend, is named Martin Boltzius. He spares no pains to make the people there happy both in this world and in the next. There are, to be sure, people who claim that he meddles too much in secular matters, but who can please everybody?⁷²

Bornemann also praised Boltzius and gave him credit for Ebenezer's useful institutions such as the mills, silk filatures, and mulberry groves.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we see that the German-speaking inhabitants of Georgia were not all dirt farmers or indentured servants: some few were better educated, more scholarly, and more intellectually curious than the leaders of the English-speaking element; and it is regrettable that we do not know more about them.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

- CGHS** = *The Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.*
CRG - *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler. Atlanta, 1904 ff.
DR = *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants...*, ed. George F. Jones. Athens, GA., 1968 ff.
GHQ = *Georgia Historical Quarterly*
SCHM = *South (Mrolina Historical Magazine)*

¹Although the word **intelligentsia** first appeared in nineteenth-century Russia, it is the best word for describing a class of educated people with philosophical, literary, scientific, or artistic interests enjoyed for their own sake.

²Stephens' witty and informative journal was edited and published by E. Merton Coulter in his *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741-1745* (Athens, GA., 1958-59), and by Allen D. Candler as supplement to Vol. IV of his **CRG**. Some of Habersham's many letters are published in **CGHQ**, Vol. VI, and many of his and of Stephens' appear throughout the **CRG**. Habersham's views are well expressed by the disgust he felt that at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) his son Joseph had stuffed his head with "useless Criticisms on Phrases and Words in Latin and Greek (**CGHS**, VI, 67)".

³See Oglethorpe's learned preface to his *Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonys in America*, ed. Rodney Baine and Phinizy Spaulding (Athens, GA., 1990), pp. 3-10. Oglethorpe had even composed a Latin panegyric as a youth (**GHQ**, 32 [1948], 29-31). He appears to have been quoting a Latin edition of Columella's *Scriptures rei rusticae* when he advised the Salzburger to plant their wheat in such a way to enjoy "duos soles" (**DR**, 11:35). Richard C. Boys has shown that Oglethorpe was a close friend of Boswell and consorted freely with the Johnson circle in London ("General Oglethorpe and the Muses," **GHQ**, 31 [1927], 19-29).

⁴Oglethorpe owned a barony near New Windsor, but never resided there.

⁵Boltzius constantly complained that his secular duties were distracting him from his more important ministerial duties, yet he seems to show satisfaction with his secular accomplishments. During the Middle Ages and into the eighteenth century the church offered almost the only opportunity for poor boys to achieve an education, and many took orders in order to satisfy their intellectual rather than spiritual needs.

⁶Jethro Tull, *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry* (London 1733); Thomas Boreman, *Compendious Account of the Silk Worm* (London 1732); Leonhard Sturm, *Vollständige Mühlen Baukunst*—(Augsburg 1718).

⁷His journal and much of his correspondence were published, badly bowdlerized, by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Lutheran Ministry in Augsburg, in his *Ausführliche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1735 ff.). The journal has been, and is being, translated in the **DR**.

⁸Walter L. Robbins, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina," **SCHM**, 71 (1970), 141-161.

⁹**CRG**, 24:434-444. He wrote a similar refutation to Urlsperger (*Ausführliche Nachrichten*, 3:30-46).

¹⁰For examples of notation, see **DR**, 5:310, **DR**, 11:150. For **Collegium Musicum**, see Hermann Winde, "Die Frühgeschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Georgia," unpublished dissertation, Martin-Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, 1960, p.159.

¹¹**DR**, 7:44.

¹²Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds.,

The Journals of Henry Melchior Mühlberg (Philadelphia 1942-48), Vol. II, p. 646.

¹³**DR**, 6:309.

¹⁴**DR**, 12:116

¹⁵**DR**, 7:44.

¹⁶**DR**, 14:192.

¹⁷Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," *Sewanee Review*, 27 (1919), 48-61; "Historical Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant...", **SCHM**, 10 (1909), pp. 58-61; Mellon Knox, Jr., "Christian Prieber's Cherokee Kingdom of Paradise," **GHQ**, 57 (1973), 319-331. See also Mellon Knox, Jr., "Christian Prieber and the Jesuit Myth," **SCGM**, 61 (1960), 75-81; Newton Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 239-240, 246-250; and Samuel Williams, *Early Travels in Tennessee* (Johnson City, TN., 1928), 149-160.

¹⁸*Usu Doctrinae Juris Romani de Ignorantia Juris in Foro Germaniae*, Erfurt 1722.

¹⁹**CRG**, 1:218.

²⁰Knox, "Chr. Prieber," p. 327. Mereness, p. 248 (see note 17).

²¹Bonnefoy called him Pierre Albert (Mereness, p. 247, see note 17).

²²**SCHM**, 10 (1919), p. 59.

²³Crane, p. 50 (see note 17).

²⁴Crane (p. 51) lists several enlightened French writers who were Prieber's spiritual kin (see note 17).

²⁵British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers,

Class 5, 655 II 171-171 v. Published in **GHQ**, 44 (1940), 100-101, and reproduced in **CR**, 36:129-131 (unpublished).

²⁶The following account is based mainly on Robbins (see note 8).

²⁷For a list of his properties, see Leo Scheiben, *Einführung in die Schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Zurich, 1976, pp. 332-335.

²⁸*The Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack*, published by Sower in Philadelphia.

²⁹There are nine clusters of almanac titles under Tobler's name in the bibliographical database **RLIN**.

³⁰This almanac, whose many-lined baroque tide begins *Alterund verbesserterSchreib-Calendar*, was published in St. Gall by Hans Jacob Hochreutiner. For the full title, see Robbins, p. 141 (see note 7).

³¹Mentioned by Boltzius, **DR**, 7:44.

³²**DR**, 12:5-6, also 32. This was Joachim Lange, *Evangelische Lehre der allgemeinen Gnade or de Gratia universali wider Electionem ex Absolute Decreto*.

³³For an excellent account of de Brahm, see Louis De Vorsey, Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, Columbia, SC., 1967.

³⁴Historians are wrong in sometimes referring to Johann von Kalb as the "so-called baron" or the "self-styled baron." Friedrich von Porbeck, the Hessian commander in Savannah during the Revolution, was also a merit nobleman.

³⁵**CR**, 26:319.

³⁶**CR**, 27:103 (new ed by Kenneth Coleman, Athens GA., 1977).

³⁷Charles L. Mowat, "That 'Odd Being,' De Brahm", *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1942), p. 323.

³⁸An exception was Boltzius, with whom he appears to have had a feud so bad that George Whitefield was called upon to reconcile them (Alan Gallay, *The Formation of a Planter Elite*, Athens, GA., 1989, p. 40). Another exception was Raymond Demere, the commander at Ft. Loudon, with whom he clashed (De Vorsey, p. 20).

³⁹The tide **de**, being French, was not only more elegant but also more intelligible, since the British were familiar with it through ancient Norman names.

⁴⁰Both published in De Vorsey, pp. 3-114; 72-166.

⁴¹De Vorsey, pp. 115-131.

⁴²*Atlantic Pilot* (London 1772).

⁴³De Brahm's report on Georgia was published in 1849 in forty-eight copies by George Wymberley-Jones at Wormsloe (Savannah) with the title *History of Georgia*.

⁴⁴De Vorsey, p. 71. Phlogiston was the component of flammable materials released by combustion. Conjectured mostly by German scholars, this substance enjoyed almost universal credance until discredited by Lavoisier some two decades after de Brahm wrote this passage.

⁴⁵Typical of his style is the footnote in De Vorsey, p. 86. See also p. 143.

⁴⁶De Vorsey p. 141.

⁴⁷De Vorsey, p. 70.

⁴⁸The major source of information about Bornemann and his family is an unpublished journal of his journey from Göttingen to London, and then on to Savannah. The manuscript is in the possession of a descendant, Andrew Burney of Brooklet, Georgia, who has promised to donate it to the Library of Congress.

⁴⁹A xerox copy of this journal, together with a translation by Gertha Reinert, is stored at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah.

⁵⁰These letters, housed in the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern, are forthcoming in the **GHQ**.

⁵¹**DR**, 10:107.

⁵²Boltzius rendered the name both as Zieblin and Züblin (**DR**, 4:60,213).

⁵³Boltzius complained that the wealthy David would not help his poor brothers Ambrosius and Johann Jacob (**DR**, 5:29, 6:174, 7:126).

⁵⁴Much of the following is indebted to Randall M. Miller, *A Warm and Zealous Spirit*, Macon, GA., 1982; see also Roger A. Martin, "Zubly comes to America." **GHQ**, 61 (1977), pp. 125-139; Lilla Hawes, ed. *The Journal of the Reverend John Joachim Zubly...*, Savannah, GA., 1989. Other works about Zubly are given in Miller (p. 7, see note 10) and Hawes (pp. 113-123).

⁵⁵E. Merton Coulter, ed., *The Journal of William Stephens 1743-1745*, Athens, GA., 1959, Vol. II, pp. 199-200. See also pp. 204, 214, 216, 222, 224, 237.

⁵⁶His father in Purysburg spelled his name Zoberbüller or Zoberbiller (**DR**, 4:61, 69).

⁵⁷**CR**, 23:483-485; Coulter, Vol. II, pp. 199-200 (see note 44).

⁵⁸**CR**, 25:95,125; **CR**, 31:52-55, 75,89 (new ed. by Kenneth Coleman, Athens, GA., 1986).

⁵⁹Published in Miller, pp. 83-94 (see note 54).

⁶⁰Cited from Miller, p. 21 (see note 54).

⁶¹CGHS, 6:185.

⁶²Published in Miller, pp. 31-51, 95-121 (see note 54).

⁶³De Vorsey, p. 144.

⁶⁴Tappert 2:596 (see note 12).

⁶⁵The "Malabar" books may have been suggested by the East Indian reports sent back to Halle by the Lutheran ministers in Malabar, copies of which were found in the Ebenezer library (*Der königlichen Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte*, Halle 1735 ff.

⁶⁶**DR**, 12:6.

⁶⁷Of our subjects, we know the tides of the dissertation of Prieber (see note 18) and Zubly, who wrote an *Exerdatio Theologica deNubis Virginis* (Charleston, SC., 1775).

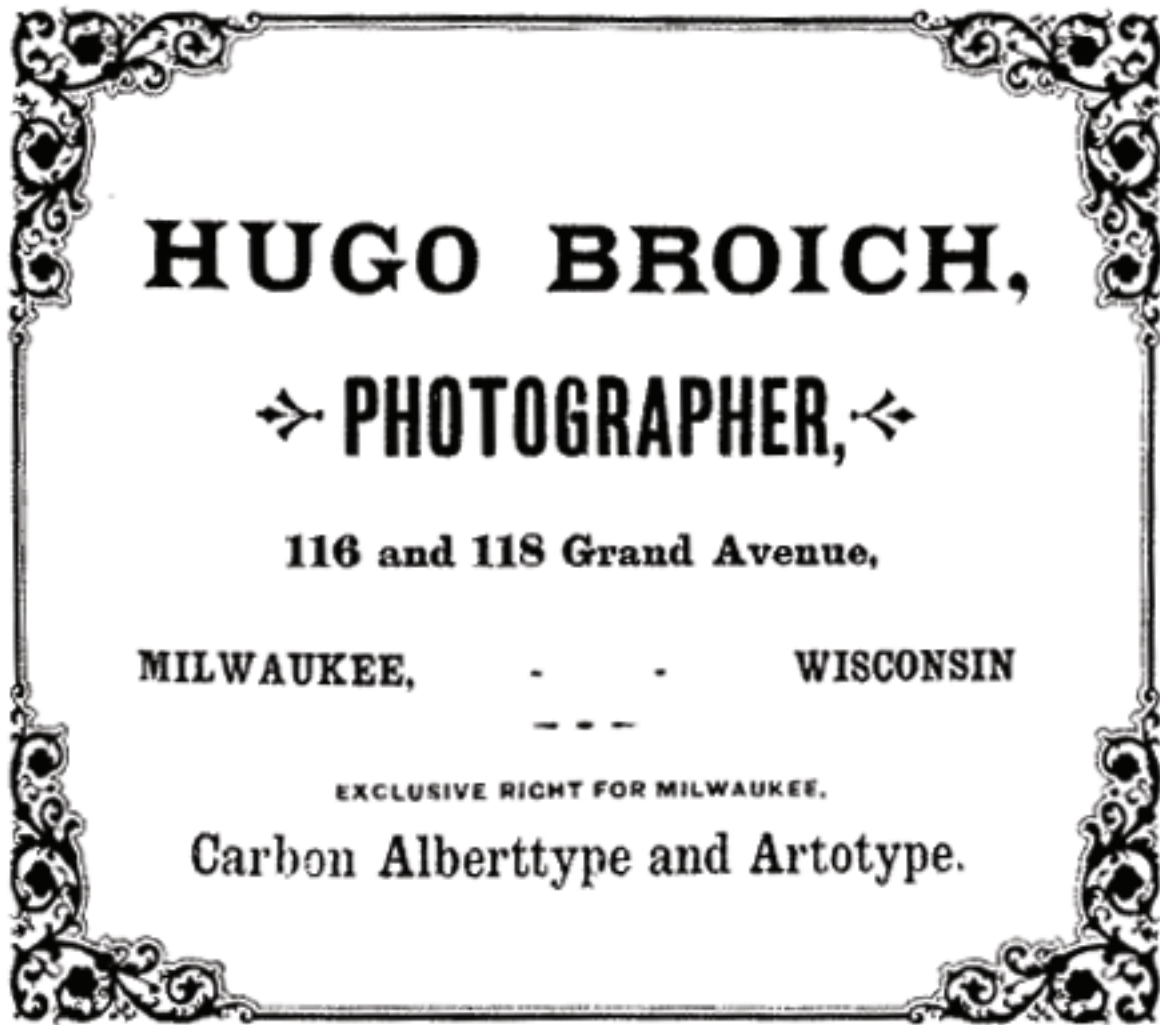
⁶⁸De Brahm relates that the Cherokees called him Shaeegunsta Dutchee (Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country 1540-1800*. Johnson City, TN., 1928, p. 193).

⁶⁹Crane, p. 48 (see note 17).

⁷⁰Miller, p. 9 (see note 54).

⁷¹It is noticeable that Boltzius is the only one of de Brahm's acquaintances that did not lavish praise upon him. Gallay (*The Formation of a Planter Elite*, Athens, GA., 1989, p. 40), says that they feuded and that George Whitefield was asked to try to reconcile them.

⁷²Robbins, p. 148 (see note 8).



HUGO BROICH,
➤ PHOTOGRAPHER, ◀
116 and 118 Grand Avenue,
MILWAUKEE, - - - WISCONSIN
- - -
EXCLUSIVE RIGHT FOR MILWAUKEE.
Carbon Alberttype and Artotype.

An advertisement from the 1895 edition of Wright's Milwaukee City Directory. Broich 's two-story photographic studio across from the Plankinton House was then a well-established firm employing several photographers and assistants. (Photo courtesy of Milwaukee County Historical Society).

HUGO BROICH: PORTRAIT ARTIST AND PHOTOGRAPHER IN EARLY MILWAUKEE

The career of Hugo Broich is interesting for several reasons. An immigrant from Germany, Broich settled in Milwaukee before the Civil War and was for several years involved in the lithography business. He is mainly remembered as a portrait photographer, though he later turned increasingly to portrait painting. Through a network of professional and family ties, Broich was brought into contact with the circle of German-American lithographers and art printers in nineteenth-century Milwaukee. Finally, his life appears to have been punctuated by capricious turns of fate, so that his name more than once found its way into the local newspapers and his life story possesses a certain intrinsic interest.

Broich was born on April 9, 1831 at Berghcim, a small community on the Erft River about fourteen miles west of Cologne. His full name was Hugo Anton Hermann von Broich, though he dropped the aristocratic von from his name after immigrating to America. His father, Hermann von Broich, was a tax collector. After receiving a classical education, Broich served for several years as an officer in the Prussian Army. Although interested in drawing and painting from an early age, there is no evidence that he ever received formal training as an artist. He left Germany in October 1856, and by December had arrived in Wisconsin. After spending a year at Ripon, Wisconsin, he settled in Milwaukee, where he found employment as a photographic painter and learned the trade of photographer, though the 1861 city directory gives his occupation as artist.¹ At that time he had a studio of his own at 359 Third Avenue near the corner of Third and Juneau. Later his business was located at 365 West Water Street near the present corner of Plankinton and Juneau, but in 1869 he moved into a spacious and handsomely furnished establishment at 116-118 Spring Street (later Grand Avenue and now Wisconsin Avenue).² Located in downtown Milwaukee across the street from the Plankinton House Hotel, Broich's studio had a carpeted reception room and picture gallery on

the ground floor as well as skylighted working rooms on the second floor. The premises continued to serve as Broich's place of business until 1897, by which time he was employing five photographers and several other assistants.

Among the photographers who were associated with Broich were Louis Hagedorf and Frederick A. Luettich. Hagedorf, born in Hamburg in 1848, came to the U.S. in 1869 after learning the trade of photographer in Europe. He worked for Broich until 1876 and later established his own studio. Luettich, who was born in Prussia around 1833, was both an artist and photographer. He left Broich's employ in 1874 to become associated with the photographer William H. Sherman and still later formed a partnership with Edwin D. Bangs in the firm of Bangs and Luettich. One of the younger Photographers who served an apprenticeship at Broich's establishment was Henry S. Klein, who was employed by Broich in 1883 and later established the Klein Studio in the "Iron Block" neighborhood.

The local press frequently reported on the changing exhibits at the picture gallery of Broich's establishment. In 1873, for example, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* encouraged its readers to see an exhibit of autotypes of Paris.³ Landscape paintings by both German and American artists were also exhibited.

In 1872 the *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported that Broich was one of the principal associates of the American Oleographic Company, a lithographic publishing firm, and that he had recently completed three chromolithographs in collaboration with the Austrian-born lithographer Louis Kurz (1833-1921).⁴ The photographer John Kremer was also associated with this enterprise. Lithographs produced by the company were sometimes exhibited at Broich's gallery and studio on Spring Street. In 1873 the *Milwaukee Sentinel* gave a full description of "The Wolf and the Shepherd," a chromolithograph by the local artist Charles Stoecklein. The same year Broich and his associates produced a lithograph entitled "Jolly Priests in Wine Cellars,"

possibly adapted from a painting by the Munich artist Edward Grtüzner (1846-1925).⁵ The American Oleographic Company was still in existence in 1874, but by the following year the business was known as Broich, Kurz and Company and operated out of Broich's Spring Street establishment. The name was changed to Broich and Kremer when Kurz withdrew from the firm in 1876. Soon afterwards the partnership of Broich and Kremer became a photography business. By 1880 Kremer had quit the partnership so that Broich was once more at the head of his own photographic studio. Kremer later had a successful career in the brewing business while Kurz had a notable career as a lithographer in Chicago.

In 1857 Broich had married Hedwig von Cotzhausen (1834-1932), a member of a socially prominent Milwaukee family which, like Broich's own family, had aristocratic antecedents.⁶ They subsequently had two sons and two daughters. Through his wife's family Broich had additional contacts with the local lithography industry. Broich's wife was an aunt of Alfred E. von Cotzhausen (1866-1941), a corporate officer in several Milwaukee lithography firms, including the Beck and Pauli Company. Alfred E. von Cotzhausen's grandson, Alexander Mueller (1872-1935), began his career as a lithographer, but later, after training in Europe, became an important local artist and art teacher. In addition to being involved with the lithography business, Broich was also one of the founders of the Standard Art Glass Manufacturing Company, a firm incorporated in 1885.⁷ This company was presumably in the business of designing and manufacturing stained glass windows.

Broich was a prosperous local businessman who could afford to maintain an impressive household. His family mansion, now demolished, had a staff which included a cook, laundress, housemaid, and even a full-time seamstress. There were horses and carriages and presumably a groom to take care of them. Not surprisingly, such an establishment was more than once the target of burglars. In 1874 a burglar entered Broich's home through a window and made off with more than a

hundred dollars in cash. Other burglaries of Broich's residence occurred in 1877 and 1880. Several hundred dollars worth of equipment was stolen from Broich's studio in 1890, and in 1875 a horse and light wagon were stolen. The horse thief was apprehended three days later in Racine and the property was recovered.⁸

Broich's career was also enlivened by two separate fires at his business premises. The first of these occurred on the morning of January 6, 1864, when his studio at 365 Third Street was completely destroyed by a fire which had started in a nearby cigar store. In 1887 a fire at Broich's studio on Grand Avenue caused damage to the extent of several hundred dollars.⁹

Broich died at Lakeside Hospital in Milwaukee on May 16, 1905. The 71-year-old artist and photographer had been brought to the hospital three days earlier after having been struck by a streetcar at the corner of National and 21 Avenue. He was buried at Forest Home Cemetery in Milwaukee. Obituaries in the local German-language press drew attention to the fact that he had been involved in various German-American activities such as the organization of a German Day celebration.

Broich's work as both a photographer and artist can be judged as competent but not outstanding. It is probably fair to say that his work in both areas possesses mainly an historical rather than artistic interest. Broich's main income presumably came from his photography business, though the city directories reported his occupation as artist rather than photographer during the last eight years of his life. By this time he was financially well established and was certainly in a position to delegate much of the work of his photography business to others. Only a few examples of Broich's work as an artist are known to have survived. Of these, the best is a fine portrait at the Milwaukee County Historical Society of William Parks Merrill, a pioneer settler and a successful land speculator. The historical society also has a small charcoal portrait by Broich of an unidentified man. A number of other works are in the possession of Broich's descendants, including seven oil paintings, three watercolors, and two oleograph prints.

The oil paintings include a large self-portrait in uniform, an oriental street scene, a harbor scene, and several landscapes. The water-colors include a portrait of Broich's daughter Eugenia, a landscape showing a lake at sunset, and a picture of ships on a stormy sea. None of these works is signed. One of the oleographs, "Love Letters," shows two young ladies reading a letter. The other, entitled "The Man with the Meerschaum Pipe," shows an old man with a brightly colored tasseled cap and a parrot. He is also reported to have done a number of drawings and sketches.¹⁰ Although Broich left only a few paintings and only one drawing which are known to have survived, he left a substantial legacy of photographic work, for the most part competently executed studio portraits.

—Peter C. Merrill
Florida Atlantic University

NOTES

¹*History of Milwaukee*, Wisconsin (Chicago: The Western Historical Company, 1881), 1543. *Milwaukee Herald*, May 17 1905, p. 4. Naturalization documents also confirm that he arrived in the United States in late 1856.

²*Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 21, 1869, p. 1.

³*Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 17, 1873, p. 8.

⁴*Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 11, 1872, p. 4.

⁵*Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 18, 1873, p. 4 and August 8, 1873, p. 8.

⁶I am indebted to the artist's granddaughter, Mrs. R.J. Cory of Mequon, Wisconsin for much information about Broich's ancestry and relations. I am also indebted to Udo Bungard of Hennef, Federal Republic of Germany, who shared with me extensive information about the Broich and von Cotzhausen families.

⁷*Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 26, 1885, p. 8.

⁸*Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 31, 1874, p. 8; February 23, 1877, p. 8; January 8, 1880, p. 5; July 29, 1890, p. 2; May 17, 1875, p. 8 and May 18, 1875, p. 8.

⁹*Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 7, 1864, p. 1 and January 12, 1887, p. 3.

¹⁰*Milwaukee Herald*, May 17, 1905, p. 4.

IMPERIAL GERMAN SOCIALISM IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF UAW PRESIDENT WALTER PHILIP REUTHER

In the minds of many Americans socialism and communism are doubtless almost synonymous, and for not a few Americans both were long associated with what used to be called the "Red Scare."¹ To Germans, on the other hand, socialism has been a clearly identifiable mode of thought which has seldom been confused with communism and Marxism. Most Germans are aware that Marx and Engels, by applying to practical social problems the Hegelian idea of dialectics, arrived at a concept of economic socialism which advocated the destruction of capitalism and the take-over of production by the proletariat. According to Marx, class struggle was inevitable. The proletariat had acquired an awareness that the bourgeoisie together with the state had to be eliminated so that a "dictatorship of the proletariat" could advance classless communism in which the exploitation of man would cease. Although many Americans would not be, most Germans are also aware that it was this brand of socialism which German governments vigorously, and at times violently opposed from the time of Kaiser Wilhelm I through the period of National Socialism and still reject today.

As H. Grebling observes, the German labor movement in the second half of the nineteenth century was divided between two streams of thought: "Lassalle's ideas of social-democratic reforms advocating the nation-state, and the international revolutionary socialism of Marx and Engels."² Like Marx and Engels, Ferdinand Lassalle, born in Breslau on April 11, 1825, had also been a student of Hegel, from whose teachings he had distilled his notion of the state, as a "unity of the individuals committed to a moral objective."³ He further defined his purpose as the education and development of mankind for a life of freedom. Lassalle's primary published work

appeared in 1861 under the title *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* in which he proposed a "scientific legal system for revolution and socialism." In various drafts he also aligned himself with the proponents of a national state without Austria in the ongoing "Großdeutsch-Kleindeutsch" debate.

In 1848/49 Lassalle joined the circles of Marx and Engels with their rallying organ, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. For a time not only did he recommend with them the foundation of a political party of socialists but he also condoned overthrowing the state, although only through the peaceful means of granting suffrage to the working classes. Strange as it may seem in the light of later developments, the goals of Lassalle and Marx were at the time not greatly divergent. Nor were the two men ever at odds about their Utopian goals. The means, of course, were very different! Instead of violence, Lassalle proposed a method of state supports and credits to establish production associations which the workers would eventually own as their share of the process. Lassalle's ideas later became the theoretical basis for the American cooperative movement, which was in part derived from late 19th century immigrants to the United States, principally those from the Scandinavian countries.⁴ Lassalle rejected class struggle and similar ideologies as devices concocted by the workers merely to help themselves. With faith in what was to become unionism, Lassalle founded the *Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein* and became its first president in May, 1863. Through his writings, he supplied the theoretical basis which ever since has served as the foundation on which German state social politics has been grounded.

The first paragraph of the new workers' union reads: "...the undersigned establish a union which, based on the conviction that

only a universal, equal, and direct franchise can secure adequate representation of the social interests of the German working class and genuine abolition of class differences in society, aims at effecting, by peaceful and lawful means... the establishment of a universal, equal, and direct franchise."⁵ Because Lassalle opposed liberalism *per se* but supported suffrage for all people, he was invited as early as 1863 for talks with Bismarck, who had been Prime Minister of Prussia since 1862. At this time, Bismarck was in a position to prevent the abdication of the Prussian king and to obstruct the constitution, even to govern against it and the diet of Prussia, whenever he chose. Although the visits between Lassalle and Bismarck remained indecisive as far as the history of state-directed socialism is concerned, there is little doubt that Lassalle's ideas eventually exerted strong influence on the social legislation which Bismarck initiated in the early 1880's.

At the inauguration of the German Reichstag in 1881, Kaiser Wilhelm I instructed Bismarck to read an imperial proclamation setting forth the principles of future German social legislation: "To find the proper ways and means for this welfare is a difficult but a leading task for any community that is based on the moral foundations of Christian existence. We hope that closer conjunction with the real forces inherent in this social life and their combination in the form of cooperatives under state protection and state assistance will also make it possible to solve tasks which the state would be unable to accomplish to the same extent by itself. It will not, however, be possible to attain this objective without substantial expenditure."⁶

Drawing upon the legacy of Lassalle, who had died in 1864, the Kaiser proposed almost verbatim the kind of socialism that would result in the world's first social security system. It was, thus, Lassalle's version of socialism that would influence the policies and actions of the German immigrant worker groups in the United States, from New York to Chicago with its Haymarket Riots, and to Detroit with its immense number of German industrial workers. Until the outbreak of World War I, many theoretical writers on socialism con-

tinued to give credit for democratic socialism to the Lassallean Imperial German model. For example, G. A. Kleene writing in 1901 in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* said:

In the same decade, Liebknecht and his young disciple, Bebel, began to preach to the German laborer the ideas of Karl Marx, ideas differing in important respects from those of Lassalle. The latter's aims were idealistic, national and state socialistic; the socialism of Karl Marx was based on materialism, was international or cosmopolitan, and hostile to the existing state and to state socialism. In the seventies, followers of Marx and Lassalle united to form the "Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei" as the German Social Democratic Party was then called, and the first platform of the party, the so-called Gotha program, which contains indications of a compromise between the two groups. As time passed, the doctrine of Marx became predominant.⁷

Because Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm I falsely concluded that an assassination attempt on the 81-year-old emperor had been perpetrated by members of the Social Democratic Party, the SPD was outlawed by the Reichstag in October, 1878, and remained under interdiction for twelve years until 1890. Partly because of the martyr image this action inspired for the delegates remaining in the Reichstag and partly because Bismarck was driven by the ideology of Lassalle as untainted by Marx, Bebel and Liebknecht, in 1883 Imperial Germany passed the program for national health insurance. In 1884 accident insurance, and in 1889 invalid and old age insurance also became law. Thereafter the German Imperial package became the model for the progressive nations of the world.

Lassallean socialism arrived in the United States in various stages and forms and at different times. Sometimes it came with the heavy overtones of Marx, especially as couched in the doctrines of Lassalle's two pupils, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht.

In this intellectual climate on both sides of the Atlantic lived the extended family of Walter Philip Reuther. Born on September 1, 1907, in Wheeling, West Virginia, on the eve of Labor Day, Walter was raised in a plain-living but high-minded German-American family.⁸ Walter was the second of four sons and a



*A group of Reuther relatives in Ruit or Schamhausen, 1933.
Courtesy The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University*

considerably younger daughter of Valentine Reuther, who had come to the United States as an eleven-year-old boy with his father, Jacob Reuther, and his mother, Christine Fuchs Reuther, in 1892. The family first settled in the small village of Effingham, Illinois.

Jacob Reuther was always non-conformist. He stood against the local Lutheran church and against Prussian militarism. But Jacob was also very Christian — the Reuthers were Christian Socialists by their own designation. Rather than attending church, Jacob usually conducted services at home every Sunday morning. Later Lutheran pastors in Illinois tried to recruit Jacob's son Valentine (Walter's father) for the ministry because he was well versed in the Bible and Christian ethics, but without success. Instead, caught in a seeming dead-end job working on the farm in Illinois, Valentine joined his older brother, Jacob, who had already gone to live in Wheeling, West Virginia, where steel industries were mushrooming in the Ohio Valley.

In Wheeling, Valentine met and eventually married Anna Stocker, the daughter of Jacob

Stocker, a German wagon maker who had left Germany. In a grimy, soot-laden section of Wheeling which was sandwiched between the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad tracks on one side, and factories intermingled with dirty coal mines on the other, Walter, like his siblings Theodore (1905), Walter (1907), Roy (1909), Victor (1912), and finally Christine (1923),⁹ was born.

In addition to the hardships typical of the times for an immigrant family, the Reuther family has been characterized by biographer Victor as one in which "the Old World persisted... prayer before every meal; music that goes wherever Germans go. Mother loved to sing Swabian folk songs and my father enjoyed both his Rhineland songs and the classical music he had learned in the formal male chorus of the Beethoven *Gesangverein*. ...According to my mother, some of their most pleasant hours in those early days were spent sitting on the stoop, making music while the neighbors either joined in or expressed their appreciation" (16). Victor also recounts the outings with the Turnverein in Mozart Park.

The Reuther family was especially taken with Philip Reuther, whom Valentine had helped bring over from Germany and who "introduced my father to the Socialist movement" (17). Although Valentine had been active in the steel mill union, he had not formally known Socialist literature and it was Philip who brought it with him from Imperial Germany. Valentine had formed his ideas by reading avidly the materials he got from the Eugene Debs organization and from the Kansas Socialist publishing houses.¹⁰

In the process the Reuthers became avid unionists. Valentine already had established a chapter of the International Brewery Workers Federation, though subsequently he ran into conflict with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters because the latter claimed jurisdiction for the drivers of beer wagons. Valentine fought against separating skilled from menial laborers. When the Schmulbach brewery later organized, Val Reuther was elected the union's delegate to the Ohio Valley Assembly where he soon learned the ideas

of other union representatives. Weak in language skills, be it English or German, Val immediately afterwards (in 1909) enrolled in correspondence courses to expand his speaking and writing skills in both languages. He also read extensively the works of Goethe, Schiller and other classicists and in time became an expert union organizer who was called to all parts of the state to assist the fledgling movement.

When Eugene V. Debs became a candidate for the presidency, Val often travelled with him on the famous "Red Special," going to workers' rallies and to meetings of ethnic Germans to make speeches and elicit their support for Debs as President on the Socialist ticket. Three times he campaigned all over West Virginia for Debs, in 1904, 1908, and 1912.¹¹ So vigorous was the elder Reuther's support for Debs, the Socialist candidate, that when Debs was imprisoned during World War I for violation of the Espionage Act, Val Reuther visited him often in the Moundsville penitentiary south of Wheeling. Walter and



*A home in the village of Ruit or Schamhausen, 1933.
Courtesy The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne
State University*

Victor accompanied their father on one such visit in 1919, just before Debs was transferred to Atlanta penitentiary, and prior to his run for the presidency from prison in 1920. Victor Reuther describes the encounter in his biography:

When the heavy iron gate slammed shut with a clang, I saw tears running down my father's cheeks. I had never seen him weep before. On the way back to Wheeling there was no conversation, until my father broke the silence, shaking his head and saying over and over again, "How can they imprison so kind and gentle a man!"¹²

More than from any other direct source, it was from his father that Walter Reuther was conditioned to be a mediator of Imperial German Socialism to the American labor movement. Summarizing the career of Valentine Reuther, Evelyn Harris and Frank J. Krebs in their history of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, *From Humble Beginnings*, write:

Valentine Reuther, whose son Walter P. Reuther became president of the United Automobile Workers and vice-president of the AFL-CIO, was a leader of the labor movement in Wheeling__ Val Reuther lived in the days when it took courage to act publicly as a labor leader. It took double courage in Valentine's case because in politics he was linked with Debs and the Socialists. Val Reuther had run unsuccessfully for the State Legislature, from the Wheeling district, on the Socialist ticket. "Socialism in American politics has been most thoroughly under German influence," according to one writer. Wheeling had a strong German element. This German influence reached back to the founding of the state of West Virginia.... Sixteen delegates at the 1912 State Federation had German names, including the three delegates Reuther, Reiber and Seidler, who introduced the "unity of workers" resolution."

During World War I, there was no question whatever about the loyalty of the Reuther family to the United States, but whether for unjustified suspicions .or for his pro-Socialist stance, Val Reuther suffered many personal and political attacks. At one point vigilantes painted the front door of the family home yellow. Others sent anonymous diatribes through the mail. Following the example of the rest of the country, the citizens of Wheeling discontinued teaching German in the

schools, closed down the Beethoven *Gesangverein* along with other German organizations, and heaped opprobrium on the German newspapers published in the area.¹⁴

Meanwhile far out west in Detroit, Henry Ford had since 1908 been building his famous "Tin Lizzie" Model T, a horseless carriage that almost any American could afford. Before the T, an automobile had been a rich man's toy, prompting Woodrow Wilson to remark ironically that it was the most important single thing that was turning the resentful common people to Socialism.¹⁵ Until the 1920s, when competitors began gaining on him, Henry Ford was synonymous with car-making. As a result of the competition, Ford reluctantly decided, in 1927, to stop producing the Model T, still virtually unchanged from the 1908 model, and to bring out a new series, the Model A. The Ford Motor Company had been shut down for months for retooling, when in February, 1927 Walter Reuther arrived in Detroit to find work.¹⁶

To everyone's surprise given his youthful age, Walter was quickly hired at the Briggs Manufacturing Company, a major supplier of bodies to Ford. Briggs was, however, the industry's worst employer. Long hours and the rapid pace of machines left workers exhausted and suffering from so many accidents that the factory had become known as "the butcher shop." Dissatisfied with the working conditions, Reuther quit and after a short time succeeded in persuading a foreman at Ford to hire him as a skilled tool and tie maker for \$1.05 an hour in an industry where the average was 50 cents.

During those early years in Detroit, Walter pursued a course of self-improvement. He was now past his twenty-first birthday and had not yet finished high school.¹⁷ When joining the YMCA he had filled out a questionnaire about his career ambitions stating that he wanted to be either a labor organizer or a chicken farmer. (Many years later automobile industry negotiators told him he would have made an excellent chicken farmer.)¹⁸ He also enrolled in Fordson High School where he could attend classes because his daytime shift at Ford did not begin until late in the afternoon.

After earning his diploma at age 22, Walter enrolled in Detroit's municipal university — now Wayne State University — where he helped organize the Social Problems Club, then affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy. This organization included charter members like Upton Sinclair, Clarence Darrow, Jack London, Walter Lippmann and Ralph Bunche.¹⁹ In reality, the Social Club was little more than a campus front for the Socialist Party which previously had been known as the Intercollegiate Socialist League and which in the 1960s would spawn the Students for a Democratic Society. As a true activist in the Social Problems Club, Walter organized a protest over the exclusion of Negro students from a local hotel swimming pool and led the fight to remove ROTC from the University. With other members, he also plunged into the 1932 presidential campaign, not in support of Franklin D. Roosevelt to be sure, but of Norman Thomas, the new candidate on the Socialist Party ticket. In spite of all their efforts, including the support generated by the depression then raging in American cities, Thomas polled fewer than 40,000 votes from Michigan.

During the same period Walter and Victor also exhibited skills as photographers by juxtaposing pictures of homes in impoverished Hooverville with mansions of corporation members and auto industry executives in Grosse Pointe. They took their text for a brochure from Lincoln's Gettysburg address:

Fourscore and seven years ago our forefathers brought forth on this continent a new economic system, conceived in the policies of "laissez faire" and dedicated to the proposition that private profit is the sole incentive to progress. Now we are engaged in a great economic struggle testing whether this nation or any nation so deceived and so dedicated to rugged individualism can long endure.²⁰

Next to the pictures were equally clever captions "Where wealth accumulates and men decay" for the Grosse Pointe houses; and for the Hooverville hovels "Homes that a dying social order is providing for its unemployed workers." At the time Detroit's unemployed were living in dugouts in the city dump where they were using discarded dump truck bodies for shelter, lard cans for stoves, rags

and newspapers for beds. The garbage itself was their only food. The Reuthers commented further about the barracks furnished workers in the American mines of West Virginia:

The American coal fields have been the scene of capitalism's most vicious exploitation. The coal barons own the shacks the miners live in. The barons own the schools their children attend. They own the church they worship in, the store they must buy from, the roads and railroads over which they must travel. The barons own the judge, the sheriff and the courtroom where the miners seek justice, and last of all the coal barons own the miners because they own the only jobs upon which the miners depend for their existence. The miners and their families are forged to these hovels and the exploitation they symbolize. They cannot leave because the company pays them in scrip. That is only good at the company store and the company always sees to it that the grocery bill and the rent are higher than the paycheck....²¹

All of this activity on the part of Reuther took place in the name of the Socialist Problems Club which attracted ever larger public audiences. Soon Walter built the rumble-seat section of his Model A into a platform that could be unfolded for speech making. During this period, too, there were Soviet technicians at the Ford River Rouge plant learning how to transfer Ford's technology to the Gorky plant in Russia where Walter and Victor would eventually work. It puzzled these Soviets when, periodically, workers would fire rocks through the windows. Wary of all union organizers during the 1932 campaign, the Detroit police watched for their chance to rid the city of both the Soviets and the Reuthers, but without success.

As the 1932 electioneering came to a close, the tired boys on the campaign trail received the following letter from their father:

Your decision to join and work for the establishment of the socialist society does not surprise me. On the contrary, unless all of you boys would at least by the time you reach maturity recognize the existence of a class struggle and take your place on the side of labor politically, I should be keenly disappointed. To me socialism is the star of hope that lights the way, leading the workers from wage slavery to social justice and to know that you boys have joined the movement and are

doing all in your power to spread a doctrine of equal opportunities for all mankind, only tends to increase my love....²²

Socialism was the Reuther ideal, an alternative to a government dominated by large financial interests. Communism, though still masked during the 1930s, was never touted by the Reuther family. They understood clearly the devastating difference between Marxism and Socialism as few living Americans did, then or now. Of course the Reuthers rethought their attitude towards Franklin Roosevelt when, as president, he pushed through the very reforms that Norman Thomas had stood for —Social Security, child labor laws and unemployment compensation among them. This teamwork between government and capitalism along the model implemented by Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard in the Federal Republic Germany beginning in 1948 was conceived already in the Bismarckian era and was proposed by Walter Reuther in his 1941 "Reuther Plan."²³

Most scholars acknowledge that, up to the October Revolution in 1917, international socialism was decidedly a German movement. The German Social Democratic Party was the largest in the world. By the time of the First World War, however, the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels predominated, and their successors had largely assumed control of the entire movement, especially following the success of Bismarck in incorporating Lassallean tenets into his 1880s legislation. Wilhelm Liebknecht, Paul Singer, August Bebel, and later Wilhelm Liebknecht's son Karl, along with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Kautsky, Eduard Bernstein and others were among the Germans promoting Soviet-style revolution and the socialism it promised. In the early Weimar period from 1919 to about 1925, there were various factions of the Socialist party in Germany, the "Mehrheits Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands" which was home to the likes of Philip Scheidemann and Friedrich Ebert. In the critical early years of the Weimar Republic, the Socialist Party of Germany was opposed by the "Unabhängige Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands," the faction supported by those of the Liebknecht and Luxemburg variety. The important point to remember is

that during these years of European, especially German, crisis, the leadership, whether moderate or extreme, was dominated entirely by the socialist party.²⁴

The socialist party in the United States was a German movement too. It was launched exclusively by and for German immigrants in the 1870s and was essentially a foreign language organization.²⁵ One need only think of Viktor Berger in Wisconsin and many others in the German-American labor movement.²⁶ During the early years of the twentieth century the socialist movement in the United States was gradually Americanized but it flourished only in those areas where densely ethnic German enclaves persisted, such as Milwaukee, Detroit and Cincinnati. Until the First World War, the American socialist movement was authentically German and a phenomenon with which the German-American worker was extremely comfortable. Rather than posing some kind of threat to democracy in the United States, the Second International was but a loose organization of socialist parties of the world whose members met dutifully for May Day parades, picnics with beer, Wurst and potato salad, all accompanied by some labor hymns and perhaps a few theoretical political resolutions.²⁷

Rather than promoting open rebellion and struggle between the bourgeois and the proletariat, the socialist movement before World War I had in fact rejected war and militarism, as articulated by the resolutions passed at the socialist international meeting in Stuttgart in 1907. In the view of German socialists, wars were brought on by the rivalries of capitalists for markets and raw materials as well as the investment opportunities they presented. The proletariat had neither fatherland nor business, and therefore no need for wars to gain or protect their property and interests. If war broke out, then it was the duty of all socialists to withhold support of the war and to counter the efforts of the countries engaging in war. This approach was followed deliberately by German-American socialists even though the United States decided to remain neutral when the First World War broke out. Within two weeks after the August 1914 outbreak, the socialists had already organized their Inter-

national Anti-War and Peace Demonstration in America. Two days following the American declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, the German-American socialists once more took up the cudgel, this time more deliberately, with their militant anti-war statement, which pledged "continuous action and public opposition to the war through demonstrations, mass petitions and all other means within our power." It was written at the St. Louis convention and remained the official position of the American socialists throughout the war.²⁸ So essentially German and Bismarckian was the notion of the Socialist movement that Samuel Gompers, the practical leader of the American Federation of Labor, claimed during the First World War that the whole international socialist movement had been invented by Chancellor Bismarck of Imperial Germany as a device for softening up the world for German conquest.²⁹

Following the October Revolution, it was the Bolsheviks, that is, the Communists of Soviet Russia, rather than the German Social Democratic Party which provided leadership for the world socialist movement. Following World War I, the Soviet Communist party was in charge rather than the ideologues of Germany. When Walter Reuther was developing his leadership skills in the 1930s, as a matter of fact, the Communists referred to his brand of socialism as "Social Fascism," led by men who had betrayed the workers. There is little evidence, however, that Walter was ever really called upon to defend his socialist tradition either from the Communists or the Fascists.

Rather, Reuther was a product of the United States Depression, and more specifically of the year 1933. In that year Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler Chancellor. On March 4 of this same year, Franklin D. Roosevelt took the oath of office. And in the Soviet Union during that year, Joseph Stalin finished consolidating his power over arch rivals, completed his first Five Year Plan, and launched a second. Finally, in January, 1933, Walter Reuther at the age of 25 was fired from his job at the Ford Motor Company.³⁰

Almost immediately Walter and Victor decided that this presented the opportunity of their lifetimes. They therefore used their

connections with a Communist Party member and fellow automobile worker in Detroit, John Rushton, to get a job promise in the Soviet Union at the new Molotov Automobile Works in Gorki, which Henry Ford had helped establish through a Russian trading company called Amtorg. On February 16, 1933 the boys set sail on a German ship from New York to Hamburg and arrived in Berlin in time to tour the smoldering ruins of the Reichstag. Here they found out that Amtorg was delaying them because construction of its barracks to house foreign workers had been hopelessly retarded. For nearly a year, therefore, the boys travelled about Germany, visiting their cousins and becoming especially impressed by their uncles, Ernst in Ruit and Adolph in Scharnhausen near Stuttgart. Incidents provoked by brown shirts happened with some frequency to the brothers' uncle Peter, who on several occasions was nearly arrested for his socialist stance on local politics.

Having given their uncle Ernst the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party as their forwarding address in Vienna, the boys experienced first hand the sense of high emotion in Austria when the brown shirts paraded and bullied outside the entrance.³¹ Here as well as in Germany the boys were impressed with the pluralities the socialists could acquire in elections, around the 70% mark, which they found logical given the fact that costs for cooperative housing programs, health centers, libraries, laundries, kindergartens, day care facilities and other services were all scaled to a worker's wage. If only they could duplicate something similar for the United States! In England later that year they met Oswald Moseley, the black-shirt fascist leader of the Nazi party in England.

Finally in December, 1933, they returned to Berlin where they were able to get their visas for their trip east to the city of Gorki, Nizhny-Novgorod. Here they resided in a two-story army-style building named Commune Ruthenberg after an early leader of the American Communist Party, which was unofficially known as "the American village" because of the many workers from the United States who were housed there. Both young men received



*Victor Reuther (back, second from left) and Walter Reuther (front, second from right) with relatives in Ruit or Schamhausen, Germany, 1933.
Courtesy The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University*

regular awards for their efficiency and productivity because they repeatedly surpassed the standards established in the first Five Year Plan, not always an easy feat in a plant that was completely unheated, even in temperatures of minus twenty-five Celsius.

Most Americans enjoyed respect in the Soviet Union at that time, not because they were thought to be sympathetic to socialism or Soviet Communism, but because of their skills and capabilities as industrial workers. The 150 or so Soviet technicians, who had been trained at the River Rouge plant in Detroit to produce the equivalent of the Model A during the time when Walter was working there, were so enamored of American mass-production techniques that at the time in the Soviet Union Henry Ford was regarded perhaps more highly than Marx or Lenin.³² To be sure the Ford company was not the sole American enterprise in the Soviet Union. By the end of 1930 the Radio Corporation of America, DuPont, Bethlehem Steel, General Electric, Westinghouse and many other large corporations operated factories there. Germans and Austrians (with their factories) were in the

Soviet Union at this time too, some 6,000 Austrian socialist workers at the Gorki plant alone.

When Walter learned about an English language newspaper being printed in Moscow, he began contributing articles, in one of which he criticized the inefficiency of management in the Molotov works at Gorki. For this he and his foreman were sternly reprimanded. The boys also met Russian girls, and Walter for a time was serious about a girl named Lucy.³³ He did not, however, end up marrying her. Before leaving home the boys had made a mutual promise that they would not become emotionally entangled and marry abroad! Filled with idealism, they were anticipating a tough struggle within the labor union movement they intended to lead upon their return. Nevertheless stir was created in 1959 when Nikita Khrushchev, visiting the United States met Walter Reuther at a dinner party and charged the labor leader with bigamy involving a woman known in the Russian press as "N". Of course Walter denied it. However, Lucy, the young woman, had confided to the Soviet Trade Union newspaper

Trud that she and Walter had been married. But after Walter's departure, she never heard from him again, typical of the Social Democrats, she said, all of whom were unreliable. During the 1959 Khrushchev visit, even the *Detroit News* (not exactly a Reuther enthusiast) came to his defense.³⁴

During his contract work-year in Gorki, Walter had also written a fateful letter to his friend Merlin Bishop in Detroit. Later the letter went through various versions as detractors published differing versions inside and outside the United Automobile Workers Union. Allegedly the letter ends with a salute, "Carry on the fight for a Soviet America. Vic and Wal." Walter never quite shook the scandal as the opprobrious letter, from 1937 onward, kept sweeping the country during sit-down strikes, then appeared in the records of the National Labor Relations Board hearings, and in 1941 in the *Detroit Press*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and in reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities under Martin Dies. During the McCarthy era of the 1950s, of course, the phrase "a Soviet America" was politically extremely dangerous, but from the perspective of the 1930s, such words from an ecumenical socialist visiting and working in the land of radical socialism, even if true, seem less than shocking.

After having left the Soviet Union, the boys travelled eastward across the Soviet Union to Japan. Here they boarded as deck hands the *S.S. Hoover* for Los Angeles where they arrived late in 1935, almost three years after their departure. Back in Detroit in 1936 and without work, they attended a socialist party meeting in Flint where Walter met a physical education teacher named May Wolf. She had been an organizer for the American Federation of Teachers and was active in the Proletarian Party of Michigan. The daughter of Jewish immigrants from Russia, the red-haired May had many suitors, and therefore baffled her parents when, after a brief courtship, she chose to marry the penniless Walter in a civil ceremony on March 13, 1936.³⁵

During this time in particular, Walter Reuther was anathema in Detroit automobile circles. Yet he was now better armed because of new Roosevelt legislation which was incor-

porated in the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), of which Section A reads:

Employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively, through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities.³⁶

Even though the NIRA was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1935, John L. Lewis had already begun his massive organizational drive for the United Mine Workers under the hyperbolic slogan, "The President wants you to join the Union." More importantly, Senator Robert Wagner of New York, another German-born American in the Bismarckian socialist tradition, chose to rescue the Supreme Court defeat by introducing a bill calling for a National Labor Relations Act, commonly called the Wagner Act, to prohibit "unfair labor practices."³⁷ This new law expressly forbade the use of retaliatory measures against employees and provided for a national committee, the National Labor Relations Board, to arbitrate disputes. Although most industries believed the Supreme Court would once again strike down such a law, in 1937 the court supported it, causing opposition in Congress to collapse.

Robert Ferdinand Wagner was born in Hessian Nastätten in 1877. In 1886, as the youngest of seven children, he immigrated with his parents to America and grew up in New York City. Disappointed with the citadel of capitalism as they had experienced it, his parents in 1896 returned to Germany but Robert stayed to study law, and at the age of 23 was admitted to the bar. Four years later his gift of rhetoric led to a seat in the state legislature. Ten years thereafter he became a judge of the Supreme Court of New York and after seven years on the bench was elected to the United States Senate, where he served for the next 21 years as a Democrat.

In his own words, Wagner claimed his career was "fulfilling our social obligations" in the German tradition. Probably due to his efforts, the state of New York well before World War I had the best laws in the nation for the protection of the working people. In the U. S. Senate, Wagner year after year



Walter Reuther (center, front) and Victor Reuther (standing, far right) with other workers at the automobile factory at Gorky in the Soviet Union, 1934.

Courtesy The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University

offered legislative proposals for security in the job place, unemployment compensation, and social security for the aged along the German Imperial model. Already in 1932 he was instrumental in passing the Relief Construction Act. Frequently Roosevelt referred to Wagner as his legislative captain of the New Deal. In 1939 Wagner offered the nation's first solid proposal for a national health care plan, which, however, did not pass and in fact is still being debated. Most of the social laws dealing with child labor, the Social Security Act, and laws establishing standards for fair performance — all derive from the initiatives of Robert Wagner, of whom President Roosevelt said in 1944, "Your name is indelibly associated with America's second Bill of Rights."³⁸ Not able to assume direct leadership in the 1937 Flint sit-in strike at General Motors because he was not officially employed in the automobile industry, Reuther and his brothers nevertheless did provide the primary initiative during that encounter which led to vic-

tory. Flushed with triumph, the United Auto Workers took on Ford in the same year. However, suspecting the worst, Ford had hired Harry Bennett, a former boxer, to head up his Ford Service Bureau, a private army composed of some 3,000 armed security guards, spies, undercover agents and strikebreakers.³⁹ Within the feudal organization that was the Ford Motor Company, only Henry Ford himself could question actions taken by Bennett and his thugs.

Reuther was catapulted to fame therefore, not from his General Motors victory but from the so-called "Battle of the Overpass" at Ford. The UAW wanted to hand out leaflets at the River Rouge plant and to do so stationed sixty UAW organizers, forty of them women auxiliaries, on the pedestrian overpass that led from the parking lot to the gates of the huge plant. Most of the women were wives whose husbands were sympathetic to the union but were too afraid to be publicly identified for fear of losing their jobs. Refusing to be intim-

idated because he held a permit to distribute leaflets from the Dearborn City Council, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein led the contingent of petitioners to the bridge. Almost immediately, the Ford Service Bureau led by Bennett turned Reuther's efforts into a bloody rout. Both men and women suffered bruised heads, broken bones and mangled bodies. Luckily for them and the labor movement, cameramen and reporters, in spite of belligerent warnings from Ford, did come out to cover the melee. Even though many cameras were smashed, notes seized and the truth badly tarnished, *Time* and newspapers across the country managed to publish the appalling pictures. Outraged at Henry Luce's UAW-favorable editorial, Henry Ford withheld advertisements from *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* for the next seventy weeks.⁴⁰

The walkway was at Gate 4 through which most of the workers entered River Rouge but the bridge over Miller Road enabled not just workers coming in by street cars to cross the highway, but also provided other pedestrians a viaduct over the highway even if they had no connection with Ford. It is true that Ford had built the walkway but then had leased it to the Detroit Railway Commission for public use. About this violent incident of May 26, 1937 Walter has written:

I got out of the car on the public highway, Miller Road, near Gate 4. Dick Frankenstein and I walked together over to the stairs. I got up the stairs and walked over near the center of the bridge. I was there a couple of minutes and then all of a sudden about 35 or 40 men surrounded us and started to beat us up. I didn't fight back. I merely tried to guard my face. The men...picked me up about eight different times and threw me down on my back on the concrete and while I was on the ground, they kicked me in the face, head and other parts of my body. After they kicked me a while, one fellow would yell "All right, let him go now." Then they would raise me up, hold my arms behind me and begin to hit me some more. They picked my feet up and my shoulders and slammed me down on the concrete and while I was on the ground, they kicked me again in the face, head and other parts of my body.... Finally they got me next to Dick who was lying on the bridge and with both of us together they kicked me again and then picked me up and threw me down the first flight of stairs. I lay there and they picked

me up and began to kick me down the total flight of steps...

There were about 150 men standing around—They started to hit me again at the bottom of the stairs, slugging me, driving me before them, never letting me get away. ...While I was being driven down I had glimpses of women being kicked and other men being kicked and when I got to the end of the fence, I found Dick

In the meantime some newspaper photographers came along and they picked us up and we managed to get away from the thugs by getting into the car—It is the only way we could have escaped. Bob Kanter was also with us. And all the time I had the permit to distribute the leaflets in my pocket, but no one would look at that. I might add, the police standing around did nothing to prevent the slugging.⁴²

Even before the brutality had stopped, Harry Bennett had issued a press release claiming innocence of any involvement, though at the hearing of the National Labor Relations Board, Reverend Raymond Sanford, chairman of the Committee for Church and Industry of the Chicago Church Federation, an observer of the affair, told board members that he saw Walter Reuther "crouched down with arms shielding his face. His face was bleached__ Blood was trickling all over his face— Eventually he was thrown down three flights of stairs with men attacking him from all sides." Walter Reuther also testified at the hearings of the NLRB. After it concluded, Ford was officially accused of unfair labor practices under terms of the Wagner Act. At the hearings Ford's lawyer, Louis J. Colombo, cross-examined Walter using the "Vic and Wal" letter to suggest that Walter was an un-American revolutionary. Among the 3,000 pages of testimony is the following exchange:

Q. One of the purposes of going there [to Russia] was to study the Soviet system of government?

A. We went to Russia to study conditions there the same as we did in Germany.

Q. What conditions: political conditions and economic conditions?

A. Social and economic conditions.

After hours of time-killing cross-examination, the NLRB found the Ford Motor Company at fault. Three months later the UAW

was once again ready to resume its attack. Reuther found himself in the middle of a factional fight in the UAW. Charges that various genuine Communists were vying for control of the union movement at that time were legitimate but Walter was never one of them.⁴¹ There were over 1,000 arrests for violations of various kinds. Intimidation by the automobile industry also continued unabated for months and years until finally in 1940 the tide gradually began to turn. The Supreme Court helped by refusing to hear the NLRB's 1937 rebuff of Ford.

Though not automatic, victory was eventually achieved when UAW campaigners openly proselytized at the gates of Ford. As a result, on April 10, 1941, Henry Ford finally approved an election allowing union representation at the bargaining table. The next month — five years after GM and Chrysler had been unionized — some 85,000 Ford workers in three Detroit plants voted by secret ballot: less than 3% wanted no union, 25% wanted the AFL and more than 70% voted for the UAW. Within the next year the UAW negotiated a \$52 million contract in additional wages for its workers.

In 1946 Walter Reuther rose to the presidency of the United Automobile Workers. A mere two years later he was severely wounded by an unknown assailant (as was his brother Victor in 1949). In 1952, Walter was elected president of the CIO following which he merged his organization into the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations).⁴² Because Reuther often clashed with the more conservative George Meany, he took the UAW out of the federation in 1968.⁴³

Walter has been credited for his important political advice to Democratic presidential candidates since 1937, including especially Roosevelt, Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy. Shortly after the fall of France in 1940, for instance, Reuther advised Roosevelt about the standardization of tank production that could be implemented in the automobile factories.⁴⁴ To avoid excess profits, Reuther also successfully persuaded Roosevelt to implement a policy that no individual in the automobile industry could be paid more than \$25,000 per year in exchange for a union

no-strike policy for the duration of the war.⁴⁵ Eleanor Roosevelt incorporated his proposal in her column "My Day."⁴⁶ Reuther is also credited for having persuaded Harry S. Truman to abandon the Henry Morgenthau Plan for the agriculturalization of Germany after the Second World War. Past UAW president Thomas had agreed with the policy of industrial demontage in Germany. On May 10, 1948, Walter sent the following letter to President Harry S. Truman spelling out how German industry should be rehabilitated:

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you in hopes that through use of the great prestige and authority of your office and of the United States Government you will be able to avert the senseless destruction of industrial capacity in Germany.

I am writing specifically with regard to six steel and three chemical plants found by the ECA to be necessary for European recovery. I hope, however, that the proposal which I shall outline in relation to these plants can be extended to cover all the non-munitions plants now scheduled to be destroyed under the reparations program.

The six steel and three chemical plants referred to were recommended for retention by Mr. Paul Hoffman — Despite that recommendation, the Three Power agreement recently concluded in Washington earmarked those plants for reparations. In the normal course this would mean dismantlement. The nature of these plants, however, makes dismantlement equivalent to destruction — The destruction of these plants would, in my opinion, be in direct conflict with the domestic and foreign objectives of your administration.

You have called for expansion of steel capacity in the United States to relieve a shortage that is world-wide in scope. Dismantlement of German steel mills would intensify that shortage. . . . and deprive American workers in the automobile and other steel-consuming industries of opportunities for full and regular employment.... Destruction of German plants able to supply these needs thrusts an unnecessary additional burden on the American taxpayer and diminishes the effectiveness of the funds which we are spending in Europe's behalf.

A major goal of your foreign policy is to prevent the spread of Communist totalitarianism and to preserve and strengthen democracy throughout the world. Establishment of a vital democracy in Western Germany is crucial to that goal. Needless dismantlement of German plants will deprive German workers of employment and will drive them, out of desperation, into the arms of the Communists....



To my friend Walter Reuther - a great American;
a leader and crusader for Progress and freedom;
and a most remarkable man - With warm regards
and admiration Hubert H. Humphrey

*A photograph of Hubert Humphrey and Walter Reuther inscribed by Senator Humphrey, c.1965.
Courtesy The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University*

We must recognize, of course, that fears still exist with respect to restoring German industrial power because of its military potential. But the security which Germany's neighbors desire can be assured by controls which will promote the purposes of the European Recovery Program rather than by destruction of Germany's productive capacity....

I suggest, in brief, that the plants in question be left intact at their present locations, operated under the Law 75 trusteeship of the Western occupying nations; and that nations entitled to reparations be assigned the output of these plants up to the value which they would have received through dismantling....⁴⁷

In his 1946 "un-mailed" letter to Walter P. Reuther, J. B. S. Hardman congratulates Reuther for coming to the head of the UAW. Given the misunderstanding of socialist ideology vs. the then threatening communist ideology, Hardman asserts "your socialist, or 'socialistic', or whatever else one may call your general philosophy has nothing to do with it. ...As I see it, in you emerges the social-engineering type of leader, whereas the established group represents the bargaining and political types.... Labor is divided into two rival, contending national centers. Can statesmanship bring about unity?...Can we perhaps develop something comparable to a United Nations, if not 'world government' for common action?...Government is in collective bargaining to stay. That 'Reuther Plan' of yours — you remember? — suggesting and telling how to bring about a rapid conversion of the auto industry to mass-production of war-essential aircraft, shocked a good many people back in 1941 but moved to action neither auto industrialists nor politicians, nor fellow-laborites... The 'Reuther Plan' was to me 'engineering' leadership and not because it dealt with an engineering problem but because it constructively emphasized and dramatized the link between labor's concern ...and the broad, national issues of defense and production."⁴⁸

Although it would take another paper of this length to present the arguments convincingly, the case should be made here that the Imperial German socialist ideas that Walter Reuther and his father brought to America were quite parallel to the ideology about the government-labor-industrial cooperation that emerged from the Freiburg School in Ger-

many following World War II, and which was implemented in the new Federal Republic of Germany under the leadership of Ludwig Erhard and others. Clearly, this concept of labor and industry teaming up with the silent but interested referee-partner of government to enact principles, e.g. of co-determination, has generated the Social Market Economy which in West Germany, and now in the United Germany, has become the envy of the world. By his letter to President Truman, Reuther in a significant way aided in giving the socialist market economy a chance to operate in West Germany beginning in 1948. Walter Reuther also played a major role in bringing a slice of that Lassallean socialist approach to the economy into the United States tradition.

—La Vern J.
Rippley
St. Olaf College

Notes

¹Marvin Wachmann, *History of the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee 1897-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1945), Errol W. Stevens, "Heartland Socialism: The Socialist Party of America in Four Midwestern Communities unpublished," Ph.D. diss., 1978, Indiana University, esp. Chapter 2, pp. 26-59.

²Bertold Spangenberg, *German Cultural History from 1860 to the Present Day* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlag, 1983), p. 13.

³Meyers Konversationslexikon "Lassalle," pp. 362-3. See also Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle. Zwischen Marx und Bismarck* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966).

⁴Stuart Dean Brandes, "Nils Haugen and the Wisconsin Progressive Movement." M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1965.

⁵Spangenberg, *German Cultural History*, p. 39.

⁶Wolfgang Bethge, *Berlins Geschichte im Überblick* (Berlin: Gebrüder Holzapfel, 1987), p. 66.- but not the quote.

⁷Vol. 18 (November, 1901), p. 391.

⁸Among several good sources about the early life of Walter Reuther is the book by Victor G. Reuther, *The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW: A Memoir* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), in German, *Die Brüder Reuther, eine Autobiographie sowie die Geschichte der amerikanischen Automobilarbeitergewerkschaft UAW* (Cologne: Bund, 1989). Also useful are R. L. Tyler, *Walter Reuther* (Grand Rapid, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1973), and John Barnard, *Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Auto Workers* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1983). See also in general Lynn A. Bonfield, "Archival Collections for California Labor History," *California History*, 66 (1987) 286-299.

- ⁹Victor Reuther, p. 16.
- ¹⁰Sidney Lens, *The Crisis of American Labor* (New York: Barnes and Co., A Perpetual Book, 1961), pp. 158 ff. deals with this period in Walter Reuther's biography.
- ¹¹Victor Reuther, p. 20.
- ¹²Victor Reuther, p. 21. See also the biographical summary of Walter Reuther by Sidney Kelman, "Reuther. 'A Called' Labor Leader," *Michigan History*, 73 (1989), 12-19.
- ¹³Quoted in Victor Reuther, p. 22.
- ¹⁴Victor Reuther, p. 23.
- ¹⁵R. L. Tyler, *Reuther*, p. 11.
- ¹⁶For a historical sketch of the Detroit in which Reuther found himself during this period, see Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York: Random House, 1949).
- ¹⁷In her small book, *A Political Biography of Walter Reuther; the Record of an Opportunist* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1969), Beatrice Hansen attempts to present a negative biography of Reuther by asserting his socialism which she says he denied. While he was careful about his Socialist Party affiliations during the McCarthyite 1950s, Walter, and especially Victor in his memoir, proudly admit to the beliefs Hansen accuses Walter of. Walter remained a member of the Socialist Party until at least 1940.
- ¹⁸Tyler, p. 13.
- ¹⁹Victor Reuther, p. 59.
- ²⁰Victor Reuther, p. 62.
- ²¹Victor Reuther, pp. 62-63.
- ²²Victor Reuther, p. 64. *John Barnard, Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Auto Workers* p. 9.
- ²³J. B. S. Hardman outlines this broad definition of socialistic, rather than communistic, leadership for the union movement in the United States in "Dear Walter: An Un-Mailed Letter to Walter P. Reuther," *Labor and Nation. Independent National Labor Magazine*, 1, No. 5 (April-May, 1946), 5-8. Two key figures in the development and implementation of this concept of socialism in the post-war Federal Republic of Germany were Joseph Alois Schumpeter and Alfred Müller-Armack, e. g. in the latter's book *Studien zur sozialen Marktwirtschaft* (1960).
- ²⁴Wolfgang Bethge, *Berlins Geschichte im Überblick* (Berlin: Gebrüder Holzapfel, 1987) pp. 90-112.
- ²⁵See Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working-Class Immigrants* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), especially Hanmut Keil, "German Working-Class Radicalism in the United States from the 1870s to World War I." See also *German Workers in Chicago. A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I*, ed., Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press 1988).
- ²⁶Sally M. Miller, *Victor Berger and the Promise of Constructive Socialism, 1910-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), about the German press in the labor movement See also La Vern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), pp. 101 ff., and Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), pp. 289-295, 303.
- ²⁷Tyler, p. 15. See also David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America. A History* (New York: MacMillan, 1955, Quadrangle paperbacks, 1967), esp. pp. 2,21 ff., 109 and, in general, Irving Howe, *Socialism and America* (New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1985). Concerning socialism and social reformers in a specific community see Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany. Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 121 ff.
- ²⁸See Rippley, *Immigrant Wisconsin*, p. 100 and Robert C. Reinders, "Daniel W. Hoan and the Milwaukee Socialist Party during the First World War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 36 (Autumn 1952), 48-55.
- ²⁹Tyler, p. 14.
- ³⁰Tyler, p. 19.
- ³¹Victor Reuther, p. 77.
- ³²Victor Reuther, p. 91.
- ³³Victor Reuther, p. 107; 113, ff.
- ³⁴Tyler, p. 24.
- ³⁵Victor Reuther, p. 127.
- ³⁶Tyler p. 26.
- ³⁷Tyler, p. 27.
- ³⁸Fritz Kurrek, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen in Michigan* (Detroit: Schenk Printing, 1981), p. 151. Robert F. Wagner died in 1953. His son, Robert F. Wagner Jr. served as Mayor of New York in the 1960s.
- ³⁹For a picture of the Harry Bennett psychology, see Irving Howe and B.J. Widick, *UAW and Reuther*, pp. 91 ff.
- ⁴⁰Tyler, pp. 39-40, Victor Reuther, pp. 200 ff. See also, in general, Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City: Anchor Doubleday, 1963), esp. pp. 418 ff.
- ⁴¹See in general Sidney Lens, *The Crisis of American Labor*, pp. 160 ff.
- ⁴²Sympathetic throughout his lifetime with the socialist movement, Walter Reuther often backed third-party candidates beginning, with Norman Thomas. He supported the Farmer-Labor Party in 1936, and ran unsuccessfully on the Unity faction for the Detroit Common Council in 1937. See the study by Marvin Persky, "Walter Reuther, the UAW-CIO, and Third Party Politics," unpublished Ph.D. diss. Michigan State University, 1974.
- ⁴³See Cathy L. Hennen, "Campaigning Against Communism: The Rhetoric of Walter P. Reuther 1946-1948," unpublished Ph.D. diss. University of Pittsburgh, 1986.
- ⁴⁴C. Wright Mills, with Helen Schneider, *The New Men of Power. America's Labor Leaders* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), pp. 107 ff. 208 ff.
- ⁴⁵Irving Howe and Burdick, pp. 107 ff.
- ⁴⁶Tyler, p. 62.
- ⁴⁷Quoted in Victor Reuther, pp. 341-2.
- ⁴⁸Hardman, pp. 5, 7.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND THE GERMAN ANTI-NAZI RESISTANCE

On July 20, 1944, a bomb exploded in Adolf Hitler's **Führerhauptquartier** near Rastenburg, East Prussia. Under the leadership of Count Claus Schenck von Stauffenberg a conspiracy to overthrow the Nazi government had come close to fruition. The conspirators wanted to create a decent Germany which would fulfill its proper role among the nations of the world. Yet the plot failed. Many of the conspirators were tried and executed through the Nazi People's Court. The activities of the anti-Nazi Resistance reach back to the early years of the Hitler regime. As early as the Sudetenland crisis of 1938, highly placed members of the Army began to play a significant role in the Resistance. Their goal of overthrowing the Nazi regime became increasingly urgent as they realized that Hitler spelled disaster for Germany.

In the immediate post-World War II years little was publicized about the story of the German Resistance. The Cold War and the birth of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 witnessed a growing flow of publications dealing with this topic. Today there is an abundance of Resistance literature. Hans Rothfels' *German Opposition to Hitler* (1948) and Gerhard Ritter's *Carl Goerdeler and the German Resistance* (1956) belong to the early major works. Today Peter Hoffman's *The History of the German Resistance* (1969) and *Der Widerstand gegen den National Sozialismus* (1985), edited by Jürgen Schmäedecke and Peter Steinbach, must be considered the leading reference works in the field. They include all aspects of Resistance history. Karl Dietrich Bracher's essay "Zur Widerstands-Problematik in 'Rechtsdiktaturen' die deutsche Erfahrung" in *Deutschland zwischen Krieg und Frieden: Festschrift für Hans-Adolf Jacobsen* (1991) is likely the most recent contribution by the noted Bonn scholar to the field of Resistance history. It presents a concise summary of Bracher's comprehensive knowledge of the history and the problems of Resistance, which addresses many of the questions pertaining to the story of the Resistance. Yet some issues continue to demand the historian's attention,

among them the problem of the generally non-productive relationship between members of the Resistance and representatives of the Roosevelt Administration and the White House itself. The major source for investigating this problem are the documents which are collectively referred to as the "Breaker Reports," which are deposited in the National Archives in Washington D.C. This article is largely based on those documents.

Contacts between members of the anti-Hitler Resistance and members of the Roosevelt Administration existed from the early years of the Hitler regime until after the July 20, 1944, assassination attempt on the dictator's life. During the late summer and early fall of 1937, Dr. Carl Gordeler, the former Lord Mayor of Leipzig and the later "motor of the Resistance," visited with the endorsement of the Hitler government Canada and the United States. The official purpose of Gordeler's journey was to gather facts about these countries and to report his findings to Berlin. In the States Gordeler met Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, George Messersmith of the Department of State and former President Hoover. Goerdeler had two goals, he wanted to strengthen the "Peace Party" in Hitler's circle by emphasizing the strength of the Western democracies. He also wanted to establish a personal relationship with influential personalities of the Administration so that a basis of operation and perhaps mutual trust could be created for the establishment of good relations between a new German government and the American government should the Hitler government be replaced.

In October, 1939, a few weeks after Germany's invasion of Poland, Adam von Trott zu Solz, Rhodes Scholar and employee of the German Foreign Office, arrived in America to participate in a convention of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Trott travelled with the approval of Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. In his request for approval of the journey he stated that through the convention he would

obtain valuable insights into power-politics in the Pacific area as well as the political and economic involvement of Great Britain and the U.S.A. He emphasized how much Great Britain relied on American support. Trott wrote that he would be able to use his many contacts, among them Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Colonel William Donovan and President Roosevelt's friend Harry Hopkins "in the service of Germany." State Secretary Weizsäcker supported Trott's request to keep the United States from entering the war.

During his approximately three-month stay in the States, Adam von Trott zu Solz met and interacted with private and public personalities, among them Hamilton Fisk Strong, editor of the journal *Foreign Affairs*, Robert Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, Felix Morley, editor of the *Washington Post*, and Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter, a personal friend of President Roosevelt.

President Roosevelt and F.B.I. Chief Edgar Hoover must have considered von Trott an important enough person to have him shadowed by agents of the Bureau throughout his stay in the United States. According to F.B.I. reports, Trott was "soliciting the assistance of prominent individuals in the U.S.A. to support a movement involving the overthrow of the present regime in Germany."¹ Hoover also pointed out that von Trott believed that the socialist circles in Germany and the Soviet Union would have to cooperate, that the future Germany would have to consist of a socialist life-style in a peaceful Europe, and that ultimately the world would be socialist. German victory, Trott said, was not obvious. The allied powers would have to give a new Germany "a chance" if the resistance effort were able to set aside Hitler, "but if these powers deny us this chance (then) we will not continue to seek their aid but we must consider them our enemies." In a memorandum for the Department of State, Trott suggests that the Allies afford the German anti-Hitler Resistance freedom of action and asks that they not take advantage of the moment of military weakness which would necessarily follow from Hitler's overthrow. He further asks that the American government not subscribe to the war-guilt thesis of World War I

and that it declare its war-aims openly. The war, von Trott insisted, should be ended quickly. An organization for European cooperation should be created. In England, von Trott maintained, there was an influential group which should not be trusted. This group might be willing to conclude a peace with Germany under non-acceptable terms.² Trott's ideas expressed in the memorandum came to the attention of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Under-Secretary Sumner Welles, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, Justice Frankfurter and President Roosevelt. Trott's immediate contact person in the Roosevelt Administration was Under-Secretary of State George Messersmith. Trott sought in vain to confer with the President himself.

Historian Margaret Boveri holds Felix Frankfurter responsible for preventing Trott's meeting the President, an allegation that Frankfurter denied.³ Moreover, Boveri asserts that "Roosevelt's temporary attention changed to mistrust and rejection. From this time on he was convinced that Germany must be punished and rendered innocuous."⁴

The State Department file on Trott's activities carries the heading "Espionage Activities."⁵ In a later memorandum to Alexander Kirk, U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Berlin, Messersmith advised caution in future dealings with Trott because of the latter's contacts with persons who were working for the Hitler government, although, so he says "this maybe the price that Trott has to pay to enjoy his freedom of movement."⁶

According to Hans Rothfels' pioneering chapter on **Friedensfühler** (peace probings) with the Allied powers, Trott's message was relayed to F.D.R. directly through the former German Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, who supposedly visited the White House in December, 1939. Initially, President Roosevelt seems to have been interested in supporting the German Resistance, but "soon thereafter and because of the influence of persons in F.D.R.'s closer environment, he declared further contacts to be uncalled for."⁷

In March 1940, Under-Secretary Sumner Welles visited Berlin on a peace mission. During his stay he met Adolf Hitler and the

former Reichminister Hjalmar Schacht. Schacht informed Sumner Welles that there were generals in Germany who were willing to overthrow the Hitler regime, if they received Allied guarantees that Germany would obtain a fitting position among the nations of the world and that it would not be treated as it had been in 1918. Essentially Schacht made the same request in Berlin that Trott had made in the States.

German military victories did not deter representatives of the Resistance from searching for opportunities to remain in contact with the Roosevelt Administration or at least with U.S. citizens who, through their position, would possibly have access to the White House. One such opportunity seemed to offer itself through the American entrepreneur Federico Stallforth. Stallforth had been involved in business deals between the U.S. and the Weimar Republic. He had personal contacts with political leaders such as Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Pope Pius XII, the Kennedys and Dwight D. Eisenhower. During late June and early July, 1940, Stallforth had seen Hermann Goring, who supposedly submitted a peace plan to him for the settlement of European issues, which was then turned down by Churchill and President Roosevelt. Stallforth travelled at this time with the official approval of the Nazi-Government⁸. For some time in 1941, Stallforth enjoyed the support of S.S. Obergruppenführer Heydrich, who was reacting positively to the American entrepreneur's plan to influence American public opinion in favor of Germany and against Great Britain. Stallforth suggested that he might be able to delay or perhaps even prevent America's anticipated entry into World War II. The Auswärtige Amt discovered early in April, 1941, that Stallforth was not to be trusted, that he served his own personal and financial interests only. Hjalmar Schacht had called Stallforth "a dubious person who was not always reliable."⁹ Ilse von Hassell, wife of the former German ambassador in Rome and prominent member of the Resistance, wrote that her husband "never totally lost his reservations in regard to the legitimacy of Stallforth."¹⁰ In spite of these suspi-

cions the American entrepreneur succeeded in meeting representatives of the anti-Hitler group, including high-ranking military leaders and Ulrich von Hassell. To them Stallforth suggested the creation of a constitutional monarchy and the overthrow of the Hitler-Göring regime. This would please the British and it would make peace with Great Britain possible.¹¹

In October, 1941, Stallforth had reported to Roosevelt about his contact with the Resistance and its plans. F.D.R. was elated over these revelations.¹² But a few weeks later Stallforth was declared *persona non grata* at the White House.¹³ Stallforth thought that F.D.R. had changed his mind about dealing with the German anti-Hitler Resistance for political reasons. In order to be re-elected, so Roosevelt thought, he needed to enter the war on the side of Great Britain. An incident which sheds light on President Roosevelt's reaction to the Resistance and its attempts to obtain American support is his refusal to receive Louis P. Lochner of the Berlin Office of the Associated Press. Lochner had met representatives of the anti-Hitler group on several occasions, especially in November, 1941, in the home of Dr. Joseph Winner, former Reichstag representative for the Catholic Center Party. Lochner was asked to inform the American President of the existence and the activities of the Resistance. The President was to let them know his preference for a future German government. A secret code was to facilitate direct radio contact between the Resistance and the White House.¹⁴

The entry of the United States into World War II with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler's subsequent declaration of war against the United States increased America's interest in the internal affairs of Nazi-Germany and the German Resistance. To have a regular channel to the highest level of the German government providing useful information offered an opportunity not to be missed. Thus, in November, 1942, Colonel William J. Donovan, head of the Office of Strategic Services, appointed Alan Welsh Dulles Legal Assistant to the American minister in Bern, Switzerland. Through Dulles and

Donovan, the German Resistance had a line of communication to the White House. The German Resistance's messenger was Hans Bernd Gisevius, officially German Vice Consul in Switzerland. Gisevius enjoyed the protection of the Abwehr, the German equivalent of the Office of Strategic Services. Another go-between for Dulles and Gisevius was Mary Bancroft, who had become a friend of both. Messages about the anti-Hitler group were sent with increasing frequency, especially as the summer of 1944 approached and plans to assassinate Adolf Hitler and topple the Nazi-regime were maturing. Especially important messages from Dulles/Donovan were accompanied by a brief cover-note from William, "Wild Bill" Donovan to Roosevelt's personal secretary Grace Tulley. These cover-notes read, "Dear Grace: Would you please make sure that the President sees this." Miss Tulley assured me in a personal interview that she did make sure that F.D.R. saw those messages. Thus we know that President Roosevelt was well informed about the German Resistance. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote a brief letter to this author stating that her husband knew about the Resistance, "but it was little."¹⁵

While the flow of information from Berlin to Bern and from Bern to Washington, including the White House, was steady, the response in the opposite direction was thin. The Resistance desired an endorsement and recognition of their existence and support of their proposed action to overthrow the Hitler regime. They desired an Allied declaration that they — the Allies — would recognize the new Germany and that they would favor a just and fair peace. The unconditional surrender formula of early 1943 was the opposite of what the anti-Nazi Resistance had asked for.

Understandably, the opposition in Germany was frustrated, but so was the O.S.S.'s spokesman in Bern, Alan Welsh Dulles. In a message of January, 1944, Dulles wrote, "I would appreciate hearing of any indication with which you would supply me regarding what you would be interested in achieving via the Breakers (code-name for the Resistance). I do not understand what our policy is and

what offers, if any, we could give to any resistance movement."¹⁶ A detailed message which Dulles forwarded to Washington notes that labor leaders of the Resistance urge F.D.R. and Churchill to reveal practical goals for the future of Central Europe. Military victory will mean little, the note insisted, if the uncertainty of the situation were not clarified in the near future; "peace will be quickly lost and new dictatorships may take the place of the one in Central Europe." The labor leaders of the German Opposition also raised the specter of a Central Europe in despair which would be a fertile field for the growth of communism. Bombs and air leaflets should not be dropped at the same time.¹⁷

Five days before the assassination attempt on July 20, 1944, O.S.S. Bern suggested to Washington that F.D.R. issue a declaration in which he should state that the Allies do not intend the destruction of Germany. The declaration should also encourage anti-Nazi forces.¹⁸ O.S.S. Chief Donovan did not react favorably. He wired back to Bern that "your jobs have all involved merely the passive acceptance of intelligence regarding the desire of the Breakers to find some way out. You have done no bargaining of any kind."¹⁹

One concern was the Soviet Union, which apparently had no knowledge of the O.S.S.'s dealings with the anti-Hitler Opposition. General Watts and Ambassador Winant in London agreed to inform the Soviets,²⁰ but Bern opposed the London position and at the same time wired to London that the Breakers were entirely on their own and had received neither encouragement nor political news.²¹ The decision to release or not release information to Moscow was left with Washington.

A description of contacts between the Roosevelt Administration or self-appointed representatives of the United States and members of the anti-Hitler Opposition and an evaluation of the reception of these "contacts" leaves one major question unanswered: why did the Resistance receive neither support nor even encouragement from the F.D.R. Administration? The answer can only be speculative. It was not President Roosevelt's prac-

tice to make marginal comments on messages that came to his desk. Nor are we privy to the deliberations in the White House Map Room, which was the place where important discussions took place. No minutes were kept. No tapes were produced. Yet, some tentative answers are possible:

- (1) Roosevelt and his administration did not entirely trust the representatives of the Resistance. Their credentials led to the fear of duplicity. Leaders of the Resistance were often identical with the conservative Prussian Junker class.
- (2) There was concern about the Soviet Union. One did not want to give Stalin more reason to suspect the loyalty and reliability of his partners in the West. The interests of the Western Allies would not be served by another Soviet-German rapprochement. Allied-Soviet cooperation was considered essential to achieve victory and had to be safeguarded.
- (3) There was no assurance that the Resistance would be successful in riding Germany of the Nazi regime. What would be the consequence of a civil war in Germany? Would such a conflict possibly see the Western powers and the Soviet Union on opposite sides?
- (4) If the anti-Hitler Opposition were to succeed, how would one deal with the new government of the "other, the decent Germany"? Again, there would be at least the potential for a West-East split which may have been an intention of the Resistance.
- (5) President Roosevelt did not relish the thought of a possible repetition of 1918/1919, when a new German government had to be dealt with. It was inside the Weimar Republic that the "stab-in-the-back legend," which helped the Nazis come to power, had grown.
- (6) By July, 1944, weeks after the successful invasion, victory, so one thought, was close at hand. A complete victory over Germany, accompanied by an uncondi-

tional surrender appeared to create a more solid basis of bringing about peace in Europe. Roosevelt was the politician who preferred to deal with political/military realities rather than with indefinite and insecure potentialities. Often, when F.D.R. was asked what his ideas were for peace, he answered "let us win the war first", and so it was with Germany and its anti-Hitler Resistance.

In retrospect it is possible to appreciate the Roosevelt Administration's non-supportive behavior. It makes the efforts of the Resistance shine the brighter. They can claim that their ultimate motivation to overthrow the Nazi regime was ethical, that they acted in spite of only slim chances of success. They acted because their conscience ordered them to do so.

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NOTES

¹Hoover to General Watson, Secretary to the President, White House, January 16, 1940.

²Department of State, MS 862.20211.

³*Der Verrat im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 1956), 72-73.

⁴Boveri, 72-73.

⁵State Department #862.20211.

⁶Messersmith to Kirk, December 8, 1939, Memorandum for the File, Department of State, Assistant Secretary, #862.20211.

⁷Rothfels, *Die deutsche Opposition gegen Hitler*, Fischer Bücherei 1958, 145.

⁸Auswärtiges Amt, Inland II G, 517, 217293, 217290, 217292.

⁹Hjalmar Schacht to author, January 6, 1958; February 9, 1957.

¹⁰Ilse von Hassell to author, June 11, 1957.

¹¹Whitney/Stallforth-Donovan Memorandum.

¹²Stallforth, in an interview with author.

¹³Stallforth, in an interview with author; cf. Georg Schöllén, *U. v. Hassell, 1881-1944 Ein Konservativer in der Opposition* (1990), 25 ff.

¹⁴Rothfels, *Verrat*, 146.

¹⁵Mrs. Roosevelt to the author, personal letter.

¹⁶O.S.S., Official Dispatch from Bern, 27 January, 1944.

¹⁷Dulles from Bern, 27 Jan. 1944.

¹⁸O.S.S. Bern, 15 July 1944, Breakers, #4111-12.

¹⁹O.S.S. director to Bern, 26 July, 1944.

²⁰Ustravic, London-Bern, Breakers #62869, 24 July, 1944.

²¹O.S.S. Bern to London, July 26, 1944, #855-7.



*Immigrant children waiting for processing at Ellis Island.
Courtesy National Park Service: Statue of Liberty National Monument.*

SAMUEL SAUR (1767-1820) GERMAN-AMERICAN PRINTER AND TYPEFOUNDER

A third-generation member of the famed Sauer dynasty of German-American printers, Samuel Saur (1767-1820)¹ made his own significant contribution to the publishing history of North America. He was a printer and publisher in Chestnut Hill and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and in Baltimore, Maryland. In Baltimore he branched out into typefounding, achieving fame as the first American founder of the exquisitely-small diamond type; according to the pioneer printing historian Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), he was the first ever to succeed in the feat of casting the diamond type in italics.²

Although the subject of several articles and mentioned with respect in histories of printing, Samuel Saur has not received full biographical treatment. The present study surveys his life and work, using dependable previous research. It further draws on family correspondence and records, known only incompletely by earlier writers, to add informative details. It concludes with a listing of Samuel Saur imprints, intended to be comprehensive; because it is a pioneer effort, it may miss that mark. Despite possible shortcomings, the list demonstrates the wide range and diversity of Saur's publishing efforts. Clearly, his contributions as printer and typefounder merit renewed attention; his efforts place him within the ranks of outstanding German-Americans in the early National Period.

Early Life

The tenth and youngest child of Christoph Sauer II (1721-1784) and Catherine Sharpnack Sauer (d. 1778), he was the second to bear the name Samuel, a predecessor dying soon after birth. According to family records, Samuel was born in Germantown, north of Philadelphia, at 3:30 AM on March 20, 1767. By that time, his father had taken over the flourishing printing business of the grandfather, Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758), who had initiated the press in 1738. The most famous products of the press were the three editions of the German bible, issued in 1743, 1763, and

1776; the first edition was published by the grandfather and the second and third by Sauer II, Samuel's father.³

Samuel was ten years old when his prosperous father worked out the elaborate terms of his will as he prepared to retire from his publishing enterprise during the turmoil of the Revolutionary War: Samuel was to receive substantial real estate in Germantown and participate equally, with other siblings, in the proceeds from the sale of the printing operation in Germantown, given over, by the bequest of the father, to the older sons Christopher (1754-1799), the third to bear that name, and Peter (1759-1783). He was also, according to the terms of the will, to profit from the sale of the large number of printed books on hand, with exact directions provided for their safekeeping in good condition.⁴

This promising future for Samuel Saur, however, was blasted by the War of Independence, which saw the Sauer estate confiscated and auctioned off (in depreciated Continental currency) for the benefit of the revolutionary American government. Christopher Sauer II, on the basis of strained evidence, and his son Christopher III, on the basis of accurate evidence, had been solemnly declared Tory traitors in May, 1777, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and their substantial property subsequently seized. Despite laws protecting minors in such proceedings, the Sauer children never recovered their rightful inheritance, given the turbulence of the times and the presence of opportunistic patriots who knew well how to fish in troubled waters. Isaiah Thomas estimated that the senior Sauer lost \$90,000 by this confiscation. In 1792 the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a law granting to his heirs any residue of the confiscated estate that remained unsold; this produced little relief.⁵

In 1784 Samuel Saur wrote to his older brother Christopher (then in London seeking compensation as a Loyalist from the Commis-

sioners of American Claims) to tell of the death of their father, which occurred on August 26 of that year. Their mother had died some six years previously. These deaths in the immediate family were not to be the only ones suffered by young Sauer. Four years later Samuel married Sarah Landes, the first of three wives; she died already in February, 1791. His second marriage, to Hannah Schlosser, was also of short duration, again terminated by death. His third wife, Elizabeth La Motte (Lamotte), was the daughter of a Baltimore businessman, a trustee of the Dunker congregation there at Paca and Lombard Streets. She bore him his only child, a dearly-beloved daughter Maria (1796-1875). This third wife outlived him by more than forty years, dying in March, 1862.⁶

Chestnut Hill

As a young man Samuel Saur became a carpenter ("housewright") and then an apothecary; finally in 1790, at the age of twenty-three, he saw his way clear to take up the family trade of printing. In that year he received a small inheritance through trustee Justus Fuchs or Fox (1736-1805), a typefounder who had worked with his father. In the same year he borrowed \$267 from his brother Daniel (1755-1818). Evidently he used these funds to set up a printshop in Chestnut Hill, a village just north of Germantown. It was located "near the tenth milestone, where the Reading and North Wales roads meet;" this was identified by local historians as the Barge house at 8502 Germantown Avenue, earlier used as a printshop by printer Nicholas Hasselbach after 1764.⁷

Samuel Saur issued a prospectus for a weekly newspaper, **Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift**, on October 8, 1790, to cost five shillings per annum.⁸ This is thought to have begun publication in December, 1790, and continued into 1794. It contained many articles favoring a nonresistant or pacifist position, reflecting Saur's Dunker training and harsh wartime experiences. One of Saur's first publications was the traditional cash cow for printers, an almanac for 1791. The title was *Der Neue Hoch Deutsche Americanische Calender*, picking up the title of his grandfather's

famous almanac; Saur was to publish this with considerable success each year (although in three different locations) through 1807. The cover page for the 1792 almanac showed the interior of a printing shop, with a press, compositor's table, and three printers at work. A flying figure of Mercury bore a sheet of paper with the inscription: "Was ich jetzt nicht offenbar, bring ich dir das nächste Jahr."⁹

Saur issued at least sixteen other imprints at his Chestnut Hill shop from 1790 through 1794. Included, among other items, were an ABC book, a Lutheran catechism, a compilation of folk medicine, accounts of supernatural appearances, pietistic essays, and Matthew Carey's account of the yellow fever epidemic that struck Philadelphia in 1793. He continued the tradition of his grandfather and father by printing hymnals for the Brethren and other sectarians, with the sixth edition of *Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel* (1791) and the small but influential first edition of *Die Kleine Harfe* (1792), which contained original hymns of the Brethren.¹⁰

Likely a best seller was the useful pocket book of calculations by Daniel Fenning, *Der Geschwinde Rechner, Oder: des Händlers Nützlicher Gehülfe* (1793), the only book he also published in the English language, using the title *The Federal, or New Ready Reckoner*. Following a typical pattern for newspaper publishers, Saur also carried on a bookselling business. An issue of his newspaper for March 20, 1792, offers nearly 200 titles of literature for sale. During this Chestnut Hill period, Samuel carried on business as well with his older brother Daniel, according to records in the latter's daybook.¹¹

Philadelphia

In 1794 he moved from Germantown Avenue in Chestnut Hill to 71 Race Street, Philadelphia, between Second and Third Streets. This location was next door to that of his brother David (1764-1835), who had maintained a business as a wholesale and retail grocer at 73 Race Street. David Sauer had fallen ill during the yellow fever incident; his long illness and generally poor economic conditions forced him to liquidate his stock and settle all his debts and liabilities, includ-

ing many notes he had co-signed. After 1794 he began a book and stationery business nearby with a partner, William Jones. It is not known why Samuel Saur's stay in Philadelphia was so brief. Perhaps the relationship with his brother did not develop as planned; perhaps also, the lively publishing activity of other German-American printers, such as Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer in Germantown or Carl Cist and Melchior Steiner in Philadelphia made for too much competition. At any rate, by early 1795 he had moved to Baltimore, where there was no one currently printing both in German and in English.¹²

In the brief months in Philadelphia, Samuel Sauer was not idle: he continued the almanac, began another weekly (*Das Philadelphier Wochenblatt*), and printed and published at least four books. These included ABC books for Reformed and Lutheran children, a sermon on James 1:25, and prophetic reflections about the French Revolution.¹³

Baltimore

On March 27 Saur announced in the *Federal Intelligencer* that he intended to begin a newspaper from his office on the "south-west corner of Howard and Fayette streets" of Baltimore; he was already selling copies of the *Ready Reckoner*, likely brought with him from Philadelphia:

Samuel Sower, printer, lately of Philadelphia, respectfully informs the public, that he has established a German and English printing office, at the south-west corner of Howard and Fayette Streets, Baltimore, and that he has commenced the publication of a German weekly paper at 10s. per annum: those gentlemen who may please to favor him with advertisements, it is presumed, will receive an ample benefit from a general advertiser. Handbills, &c. in German and English, will be executed with punctuality and dispatch, at the above-mentioned office.¹⁴

The announced newspaper had the title *Der Neue Unpartheyische Baltimore Bote und Märyländer Staats-Register*, possibly implying that he was continuing one or more previously published papers. One earlier German language periodical has been recorded for Baltimore, issued by Henry Dulheuer in 1786, although no copies are extant and the

exact title is unknown. Only one issue of Saur's paper has been preserved, but it has been calculated that the first to leave the press was probably dated March 25, 1795. The periodical continued until ca. 1798.¹⁵

Saur may have contemplated the move to Baltimore and his issuance of a newspaper two years before. According to Klaus Wust, printer Matthias Bartgis began a German-language newspaper in Frederick, *Bartgis's General Staatsbothe*, early in 1793 because "Samuel Saur was about to move to Baltimore and was trying to solicit one thousand subscribers before starting a German newspaper." Wust's interpretation is that Bartgis's initiative succeeded in delaying Saur's enterprise but not in totally discouraging him.¹⁶

Saur's first Baltimore imprints revealed that he was still printing for his brother David in Philadelphia, and that he had established early business connections with the Baltimore firms of Samuel Keating, bookseller, and of Thomas [Ebenezer T.] Andrews, and [John West] Butler.¹⁷ By 1797 at the latest (and probably sooner) he was also in the book-binding business; by 1799 he had moved his establishment to 190 Baltimore Street.

From the beginning of his Baltimore stay in 1795 he launched an ambitious printing and publishing program, about evenly divided between the German and English languages, but also in French. A bibliographical checklist of Saur imprints numbers some eighty different entries for the period from 1795 through 1807, counting newspapers only once per year (see appendix). Many of his books were religious in content. He printed doctrinal works, hymnals, catechisms, prayer books, psalters, minutes, and sermons for the Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Reformed, Friends, Brethren, and Swedenborgians, as well as general pietistic and theological essays.

An ambitious work was for the Brethren, the group with which he was loosely affiliated. This was Jeremias Felbinger's *Christliches Handbüchlein*, bound with Alexander Mack's two foundational works *Rechten und Ordnungen des Hauses Gottes* and *Grundforschende Fragen... nebst Antworten* (1799).¹⁸ One of the

intriguing publications was his reprint in 1798 of the autobiography of Dr. George de Benneville (1703-1793), the English physician of Huguenot parentage, who was an early leader of Universalism in Pennsylvania.¹⁹

In addition, he published gothic novels, poetry, farriers' handbooks, anatomical works, songsters, young people's literature, conversation cards, booksellers' catalogues, and other secular pieces. He printed for the Free Masons and the Baltimore General Dispensary. In short, his publication program gives evidence that he lived up to his claim, in a printer's card issued about 1797, that "printing and binding [was] done with neatness and dispatch, by Samuel Sower, Fayette-Street."²⁰

The summary judgment by Dieter Cunz, although overly harsh, does describe the miscellaneous nature of Saur's publications: "They certainly had no literary value, for they were schoolbooks and account books, or books with moral, religious or patriotic content." Cunz qualified his critique by adding: "However, Samuel Sower's modest attempt to turn the attention of his fellow citizens to things beyond their daily lives must not be underestimated." He seems to have gone beyond simple job printing by seeking out material to publish on his own or with other entrepreneurs.²¹

In 1799 he made plans to include his older brother Christopher in his operation; the latter had successfully prosecuted his Loyalist claims in London in 1784 and had received an appointment as king's printer and postmaster at St. John, New Brunswick. His involvement there in local politics had not been happy, so he decided to move to Baltimore to join in his youngest brother's business; wartime passions had cooled, so that a return to the United States seemed feasible. Thus, with his oldest son, Brooks Watson Sower (1783-1861), he left New Brunswick in late March, 1799, intending to bring the rest of his family after them once settled in Baltimore. However, Christopher Sower became ill and died "of an apopleptic fit" on July 19, 1799. The fifteen-year old son stayed in Baltimore, working with his uncle Samuel; he was particularly noted for his accuracy in composition of type, scarcely needing a proofreader. He later also pursued

the printing trade independently with modest success. His mother and siblings arrived in Baltimore in 1801, where Samuel Saur saw to their care.²²

One of the reasons Saur reached out to a relative was his growing wish to withdraw from the active trade of printing, the better to concentrate on a related field of endeavor, that of typefounding. An advertisement appeared in the *Baltimore Telegraph* on October 30, 1799, offering to sell a German and English printing office, almost certainly that of Samuel Saur. The description provides insight into the equipment required by an active printer at that time:

To printers. A person wishing to decline the printing business, offers for sale a German and English printing office. Consisting of two complete mahogany presses, one standing press, about 30 fonts of letter, 62 pair of letter cases, and three pair of font ditto, twelve stands, thirty-two chases, 2 imposing stones, 7 composing sticks, eight double and single copperbottomed galleys, and many other articles in his line of profession.²³

At any rate, in 1800 Saur entered into a partnership with William Gwynn, a Baltimore businessman and later editor/owner of the *Federal Gazette*, who invested several thousand dollars in the typefounding business as a silent partner. It was to this enterprise that Samuel Saur was to devote most of his undoubted skills and energies for the future, while still continuing a modest business in printing and publishing. He continued for a time to produce fewer than ten imprints from his press each year, with the number sinking to three for 1804 and 1805, and to one (the almanac) in 1806 and 1807, after which that too was given up. The almanac under the original title was continued until 1812 by the printer Christian Cleim.²⁴

In 1800 Samuel Saur published by subscription a successful book, *Washingtonia*, capitalizing on the idolization of the young nation's first chief executive. In its more than 300 pages it contained a biography of George Washington, a copy of his will, a listing of his property, details of his funeral procession, and other pertinent material. By 1800 Saur had also, after a lapse of time, relaunched a German-language newspaper, this one called

the *Baltimore Post* (or *Baltimore Postbote*). This was published in two formats, three times a week on a large half-folio page, or twice a week; he charged two and one-half dollars for the first option per year, and twelve shillings and six pence for the second option. He was hoping to be able to put it out as a weekly in large folio page size by February 1, 1800, if enough persons subscribed.²⁵

At about this same time he branched out in an auction and lottery business with Samuel Cole, which business continued until it was dissolved in 1806. He also developed a bookstore with Cole. The two partners advertised in 1804 that they carried a large assortment of English books and continually imported books from Germany. One year later they announced the sale of several thousand volumes that had belonged to the late bookseller John Rice. Saur was also associated with J. W. Butler, and again with Andrews, Thomas, and Butler in publishing ventures.

Typesetting

As mentioned previously, Saur became active in the typesetting business during the first decade of the century, assisted by a generous silent partner. When he heard of the death in Germantown of the typesetter and designer Justus Fuchs (Fox) in 1805, Saur began an intensive correspondence with the heir, Emanuel Fox. The negotiations resulted in the purchase in 1806 of Justus Fuchs' typesetting. Inasmuch as the gifted artisan had secured much of this from the forced Sauer auction of 1777, by this transaction, Samuel, the youngest son, was able to retrieve some of his late father's original equipment. It is said that some other of this foundry gear had been preserved by his brother Daniel on his farm near Phoenixville and that this, too, came to Samuel in Baltimore.²⁶

A letter of December 7, 1808, to his sister Catherine Harley in Pennsylvania reveals the extent of the business:

Whether I like it or not, I find myself chained down now more than ever—I am employing the two Kämpfers, a journeyman and a young learner [Joseph Kämpfer and Jacob Kämpfer], besides the stamp cutter and six to seven apprentices, and expect to employ one or two more journeymen. All these would have to

remain idle if I went away from home, for my partner will not bother himself with the business. As he has already invested between seven and eight thousand dollars in buildings, etc., you will very readily realize under what obligations I am to him.²⁷

Saur confided that he had undertaken to cast the "smallest type that has yet been used in the world;" this diamond type was so fine that it would take "four to five thousand spaces to weigh a pound." They had an order from New York to produce enough characters of this font to enable the printing of a bible. Concurrently, they were preparing a shipment of note type for Albany, New York, to be used in printing a hymnal. Altogether, at that time they had about 5,000 pounds of type on order. If enough antimony were found, they could produce much more. The typesetting had prepared a catalogue of their type, which was being circulated. Saur believed that no one had ever seen a "neater specimen of type." Shortly before the war cut off supplies from France, Sower announced in 1812 that he had secured a large supply of antimony, enabling him to accept orders for a variety of fonts, including diamond, French canon, music, script, and German.²⁸

Isaiah Thomas reported in 1815 that Saur's small type was used in printing a "small pocket Bible which was lately printed in that city," meaning Baltimore. This was the bible published by John Hagerty and printed by Brook Watson Sower in 1812. The title page states that this was the first edition in America to use the diamond type. The printer, Brook Watson Sower, it will be remembered, was Samuel Saur's nephew and former employee.²⁹

The economic success of the typesetting had its price. In the same letter (December 7, 1808) Samuel Saur complained that his eyes were beginning to grow dim from the strain of crafting matrices, and that his fingers were covered with blisters and blood from his long hours, day and night, at his demanding tasks. In a summary at the end of the letter, Saur related that he had eleven apprentices and six journeymen at work, and expected to need to hire yet another journeyman to take care of the blossoming enterprise. He felt fortunate in the trust extended to him by his silent partner.

Latter Years

Matters were not quite as happy in his domestic situation. His daughter Maria had decided to marry a Richard B. Spalding of the Roman Catholic faith; he was thought to be related to the well-known archbishop, Martin John Spalding (1810-1872). Samuel Saur, raised in the Dunker tradition, was not pleased by this potential mixed marriage, although he had nothing but praise for the character of his prospective son-in-law, a merchant who had read law. Saur was not a strict member of the Brethren faith, enjoying for example his attendance at Methodist class meetings and worship services; nevertheless, the projected union caused him serious conscientious concern. Despite his hesitation, he did not forbid the marriage, which took place in 1813. He could not resist recording in a later letter to a relative his sentiment that the tragedy of the stillbirth of the marriage's first offspring might have been caused by the questionable nature of the pairing.³⁰

The year 1814 brought high excitement to Baltimore, when the British shelled the town in September during the War of 1812. This reminded him of his experience as a lad during the battle of Germantown, on October 4, 1777, which raged right in front of the Sauer dwelling. He commented some weeks afterward: "We who have gone through the years of the Revolution ought not to become so easily frightened. We ought to leave that to those who have since been born and find these things strange and awful." Fearing invasion or bombardment, Saur had taken the precaution of burying much of his typefoundry equipment in the yard of his shop and moving other parts to the country. This protected his valuable equipment but also meant that he was not in a position to earn money during the crisis. He was also burdened with the care of the Kämpfer family.

Four years later found the aging Saur still complaining of poor health and of eyetrouble; evidently casting the minute diamond type had caused lasting damage to his eyesight. His family situation was not the best; although he praised the affection that his daughter showed for him, he lived apart from his family. He was gradually closing down his

typefoundry; at that point he employed only one caster, one of the Kämpfers. He complained that there was little market for his backstock, which was worth nearly \$6000. Yet, despite his troubles, he was able to take a philosophical attitude, consonant with his pietistic faith:

I don't wish to interfere with others myself —Jesus and my small chamber are a world for me; and my neighbors are all good friends. I am not molested by seals, laws, etc. etc. And though I am very feeble and suffer much from pains and colic, still my night's rest is seldom disturbed. I am indifferent to most things. The Lord has helped me along so far and I have given assistance whenever I could, without asking any in return. I have always had food and clothing and with them I am satisfied.³¹

On October 12, 1820, Samuel Saur died. His funeral services were held at the home of John H. Ewaldt on the Reister Town Road, Baltimore, probably the family with whom he had been living during his last years. His son-in-law, Richard Spalding, took over the firm, then known as the Baltimore Type Foundry; this continued to maintain its reputation for quality, under a variety of owners, until it became part of the American Type Founders Company in 1892.³²

Conclusion

The progenitor of the Sauer printing dynasty, Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758), supposedly expressed a deathbed wish that his printing business might be perpetuated indefinitely by his descendants and never leave the hands of the family. Although the disruption of the Revolutionary period put paid to that pious desire, it was in fact the case that a large number of his descendants did continue the printing tradition. A notable chapter in that story was written by his grandson, Samuel Saur, printer, publisher, and typefounder, who in the third generation made his own distinctive contribution.³³

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NOTES

¹As with other members of the family, the question of the spelling of the printer's surname is problematic. The German versions "Sauer" and "Saur" are the most common, along with the English version "Sower." Samuel used the spellings "Saur" and "Sower" interchangeably. We will use the German spelling "Saur," the form used by the latest bibliography of German-American imprints, recognizing that "Sower" might just as well be chosen; see Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States: Volume 1 (1728-1807); Volume 2 (1808-1830)*, comps., Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989), pp. 308ff.

²Most studies of printing in the United States, of the Sauer family, and of German-Americans in Maryland contain passages on Samuel Saur, usually repeating the same material. Some of the most important include, in chronological order: Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970), pp. 421-422, originally printed in 1810; Martin G. Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1899), pp. 432-433; William McCulloch, "Additions to Thomas's History of Printing," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Series 31 (1921), 89-171; James O. Knauss, "Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in German Newspapers Published in America," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 29 (1922); Douglas C. McMurtire, *A History of Printing in the United States: Volume II, Middle & South Atlantic States* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), pp. 68-86, originally published in 1932; Joseph T. Wheeler, *The Maryland Press, 1777-1790...* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938), pp. 57ff.; Edward W. Hocker, "The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 53 (1948), 120-123; Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 168-170; Rollo G. Silver, *Typefounding in America, 1787-1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), pp. 41-46. Few articles have been devoted solely to the Pennsylvania and Maryland printer. These include: [Oswald Seidensticker], "Synopsis of Prof. O. Seidensticker's Address [on Samuel Sower]," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 3 (1888-1889), 9-17; J. M. Henry, "Pathfinders in Maryland, 14/15: Samuel Sower," *Gospel Messenger* (Aug. 18, 1934), 7-8 and (Aug. 25, 1934), 20-21; Siegfried Taubert, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen und deutschsprachigen Buchdrucks und Buchhandels im Ausland: Samuel Sower, Baltimore, Maryland," *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, 9 (December 4, 1953).

³A comprehensive genealogical record (though containing some inaccuracies) is Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower, Printer, of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: C. G. Sower, 1887). The most recent summary of the Sauer printing story is Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Fam-

ily: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 23 (1988), 31-40, with bibliographical references to many of the important sources.

⁴The text of the will has been published three times: Dieter Cunz, ed., "Two Christopher Sower Documents," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 69 (1945), 60-70; [Klaus Wust, ed.], "The Last Will of Germantown Printer Christopher Sower of March 23, 1777," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 32 (1966), 61-64; and Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), pp. 389-395.

⁵The story is told in Thomas, *History*, pp. 410-414; Brumbaugh, *History*, pp. 414-422; Hocker, *Printing House*, pp. 90-106; and Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 399-405, and most recently in Stephen Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981).

⁶Christopher Sower to Samuel Sower, London, January 2, 1785; MS 91, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. The letter is published in Brumbaugh, *History*, pp. 426-429; Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 421-423; and Cunz, "Sower Documents," pp. 60-70. Data on Samuel Saur's marriages are found in Sower, *Genealogical Chart* and Henry, "Pathfinders," (Aug. 18, 1934), 8.

⁷For the Chestnut Hill period, see, besides previously-cited works the following: Samuel Fitch Hotchkin, *Ancient and Modern Germantown, Mount Airy, and Chestnut Hill* (Philadelphia: P. W. Ziegler, 1889), pp. 418-422, based on material sent the author by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker and Charles G. Sower; John J. MacFarlane, "History of Early Chestnut Hill," *Philadelphia History. Volume III* (Philadelphia: City Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 115-117; Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933* (Germantown: author, 1933), p. 124. The receipt of inherited money is found in MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA; the reference to the borrowed money is in Daniel Sower's Daybook, Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania Library.

⁸References to this and other imprints of the Samuel Saur press are found in the previously cited sources, as well as in the following bibliographical works: Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, pp. 308ff. [this supplants the earlier listing by Oswald Seidensticker, ed., *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia: German Pionier-Verein, 1893) and its supplements]; Thomas R. E. Idle and Claude W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures," *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings*, 45 (1935), 230-231, 268; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), p. 514; Milton Drake, ed., *Almanacs of the United States* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962), pp. 985-986.

⁹Samuel Saur's work with illustrations is included in the comprehensive survey, Elizabeth Carroll Reilly, *A Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations* (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1975).

¹⁰For detailed information on the Brethren hymnals,

see Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, *The German Hymnody of the Brethren, 1720-1903* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1986), pp. 41 ff.

¹¹On January 19, 1791, Daniel Sower noted: "Mr. Youngman Dbt. to Daniel Sower on New Account To 2 Dozen of Almanacs = 0/12/0;" [Jan. 20, 1791] "Send Cash by Wm. Colman — to Samuel Sower for Almanacs = 12/0/0;" [January 12, 1792] "Settled with Mr. Youngman & Received Cash for Br. Samuel Sower for 26 Doxen of almanac's for the year 1791 & 1792 — after deducting commission 10% Cent, viz. 15/7 - 7/0/5;" [Dec. 23, 1792] "Received of Samuel Sower by the stage 145 Almanacs in sheets paid Cash to Colman for the same — 10d" (Daniel Sower Daybook, Special Collections, University of Pennsylvania).

The relationship between printers and bookselling is described in great detail in Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984).

¹²On David Sower, see M. Auge, *Lives of the Eminent Dead and Biographical Notices of Prominent Living Citizens of Montgomery County, Pa.* (Norristown: author, 1879), pp. 388-401.

¹³See Arndt/Eck, *First Century*, pp. 382ff.; Arndt/Olson, *Newspapers*, pp. 577-578.

¹⁴The notice is printed in a basic source for Samuel Saur's work in Baltimore: A. Rachel Minick, *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949), p. 101; her essay on Saur is on pages 99-109, with detailed entries on the Saur imprints in the bibliographical appendix of the monograph. See also Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland. A Check List, 1768-1950," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 27 (1950), 9-70.

¹⁵Information on Dulheuer (also Dulhire) is found in Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, p. 167, and Minick, *History*, p. 100. This shadowy figure was involved in various promotional activities in the late eighteenth century; the most curious was a grand scheme to resettle large numbers of German Mennonites on the Ohio frontier; he forwarded a petition to Congress to this effect, but it failed to take action. See Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Religion and Revolution: Options in 1776," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*, 1 (June, 1978), 8-9, and James O. Lehman, "A Grand Migration Scheme," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 59 (1985), 383-397.

Information on the Saur newspaper is based on the essay by George C. Keidel, *The Earliest German Newspapers of Baltimore: I. The Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: author, 1927). Keidel cites the work by Eduard F. Leyh, *Baltimore: Seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschen Elements* (Baltimore: C. C. Bartgis & Bro., 1887), pp. 298-299, which reports on a 1799 issue of a second Saur newspaper, the *Baltimore Post*, Cunz correctly points out that Keidel was mistaken in hinting that the *Post* may have begun publication in 1780 but mistakenly doubts that Saur was connected with such a newspaper at any point — *Maryland Germans*, p. 167, fn. 28. Keidel also supplied information on the early Dulheuer newspaper, pp. 5-7.

¹⁶Klaus Wust, "The English and German Printing Office: Bilingual Printers in Maryland and Virginia," *Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland*, 32 (1966), 24-37, esp. p. 28, citing the *Staatsbothe* (March 2, 1793).

The recent German-American bibliography by Arndt and Eck lists a Saur imprint in Baltimore in the year 1794, that is in the year prior to his move from Philadelphia. This has previously been assigned to 1795. It is not clear how this anomaly can be explained. See Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, p. 370, and Reichmann, "German Printing," no. 31.

¹⁷See Arndt/Eck, eds., *First Century*, pp. 388ff. Detailed information on Saur imprints after 1800 are found in Roger P. Bristol, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1953), pp. 6ff.

¹⁸For information on Felbinger, see J. William Miller, "Felbinger, Jeremias," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, ed. D. F. Durnbaugh (Oak Brook, IL, and Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-1984), p. 482. American editions of the Felbinger treatise are listed in Donald F. Durnbaugh and Lawrence W. Shultz, "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963. Two Hundred Fifty Years of Brethren Literature," *Brethren Life and Thought*, 9 (1964), pp. 21, 25. There is a recent English edition. J. William Miller, trans., *Christian Handbook and Rights and Ordinances* (Berne, IN: Economy Printing Concern, 1975).

¹⁹For information on De Benneville, see D. F. Durnbaugh, "Benneville, George de," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, p. 117.

²⁰Quoted in Minick, *History*, p. 105.

²¹Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, pp. 169-170.

²²For information on Christopher Sauer III, see James O. Knauss, "Christopher Saur the Third," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Series 41, part 1 (1931); J. Russell Harper, "Christopher Sower: King's Printer and Loyalist," *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, 14 (1955), 67-109; and Durnbaugh, *Brethren*, pp. 386-423.

²³Quoted in Minick, *History*, p. 105.

²⁴Silver, *Typefounding*, pp. 41-46; Drake, *Almanacs*, pp. 220ff.

²⁵Keidel, *German Newspapers*, pp. 8-9, quoting from Saur's almanac for 1800, printed in 1799: "Der Herausgeber dieses Calendars bedienet sich gleichfalls dieser Gelegenheit, dem geehrten Publikum kund zu thun, dass er wieder seith geräumer Zeit eine deutsche Zeitung herausgiebt...." The quotation was reprinted in Minick, *History*, 102-103. Both Keidel and Minick incorrectly assumed that this referred to the earlier paper.

²⁶Samuel Sower to Emmanuel Fox, Baltimore, March 17, 1804; Samuel Sower to E. Fox, Baltimore, July 6, 1805; Samuel Sower to Emanuel Fox, October 9, 1805; Samuel Sower to Emanuel Fox, October 17, 1805. The correspondence is found in MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. The reference to material from Daniel Sower is in Hocker, "Printing House," p. 115.

"Samuel Sower to Catherine [Sower] Harley, Baltimore, December 7, 1808; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA

²⁸Silver, *Typefounding*, p. 44.

²⁹Thomas, *History*, p. 422.

³⁰Samuel Sower to Catherine Harley, Baltimore, November 10, 1813, with additional notes from January 12, 1814, and February 25, 1814; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. It seems unlikely, as several authorities claim, that Sower was ever called to the Brethren ministry. The claim seems to be based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Sower's letter of November 10, 1813, in which he reported that he had been urged while on a visit in Germantown to take up preaching, wh ich he declined.

³¹Samuel Sower to Catherine Harley, Baltimore, January 7, 1815; MS 102, Special Collections, Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA.

³²Silver, *Typefounding*, pp. 45-46.

³³A summary of the Sauer descendants who were related to printing and publishing is given in Dumbaugh, "Sauer Family." More detailed information is found in Sower, *Genealogical Chart*, and Hocker, "Printing House."

PUBLICATIONS OF SAMUEL SAUR/SOWER (1767-1820) FROM 1790 TO 1807

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Mr. John Rice, late Book-seller of this city.
Baltimore: 1805].

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JOHANN THOMAS SCHLEY (1712-1790) SCHOOLMASTER, MUSICIAN AND FRAKTUR ARTIST OF FREDERICK, MARYLAND

In trying to piece together the life story and achievement of German colonial immigrants most researchers are confronted with two problems. One is the dearth of contemporary material in German. Older records in German were often discarded by a posterity that could no longer read German or as was the case in World War I did not want to be identified with an enemy people. The other difficulty is the ready availability of fabricated "source" material. The true importance of the lives of certain German immigrants of the eighteenth century has been obscured by the exaggerated accounts of proud, but overly zealous descendants. One of the most common ambitions of the chronicler of a family history was (and is) to establish the ancestor as the very first settler in a given area. Next comes the desire to trace him to a prominent family in Europe and make him the leader and organizer of a group of persecuted emigrants. Schley family historians felt obliged to add such unnecessary glitter to their common ancestor's life story because several of his descendants had become prominent during the nineteenth century. Two of his grandsons who moved south did quite well in Georgia. William Schley was elected to Congress and for a brief time (1835-37) served as governor of Georgia. One of the smallest counties was given his name. His brother was a justice on the supreme bench of the state. A great-grandson, Winfield Scott Schley (1839-1909), was a successful naval officer. He achieved fame because of his participation in a very dangerous rescue operation in the arctic in 1884 and his victory in the battle of Santiago during the Spanish-American War.¹

The resulting story of Johann Thomas Schley always begins as follows: "Thomas Schley landed in America in 1735 with about one hundred Palatine families."² In several accounts it is asserted that these people all came from the Landau area, preferably from Appenhofen. This led to the claim that Schley

was the business agent of the Appenhofer colonies. Since no interesting fact about Schley's parents could be located, there was at least the often-repeated story that his wife was a daughter of General Wintz who died during the battle of Parma in Italy in 1714.³

Unfortunately there are letters extant which Thomas Schley wrote to his father-in-law, Georg Wintz, Sr., in 1752 and 1761. An entry in the Billigheim Reformed Church register in 1743 clearly shows that Schley was then still **Schuldiener** (the common word in the Palatinate for parochial school teachers) in the small village of Appenhofen. The first documented record of Schley in Maryland concerns the baptism of one of his daughters in October, 1746, in the Lutheran Church record of the Frederick congregation. Furthermore, in his letter of March, 1761, Thomas Schley complains to his brother-in-law that he had not received a letter from him in all the 16 years that he has been in Maryland. From these scattered sources it may be safely assumed that the emigration took place in 1744/45. In the absence of ship arrival records for Annapolis, a lengthy search through contemporary sources was necessary in order to locate the ship on which immigrants came directly to Maryland.

Among the papers of Charles Calvert II, Fifth Lord Baltimore, in the Maryland Archives are two letters translated from the "Dutch Language" which were transmitted to him by Daniel Dulany, a prominent merchant and lawyer in Annapolis. Both were obviously written by Germans upon Dulany's urging. They were designed to entice other Germans to come to Maryland. The first letter was composed by settlers who had come "some Years since" from Pennsylvania. It is full of praise for the fertile land and the "full Liberty of Conscience." The second letter is of particular interest because it informs us of the unexpected arrival of Germans in Annapolis, where those who could not pay for their pas-

sage were redeemed by Daniel Dulany. They were settled by him on his lands along the Monocacy which he had acquired from Benjamin Tasker in 1744. When he inspected the considerable acreage known as "Tasker's Chance" in the same year, he was impressed by the progress German farmers in the neighborhood had made in an area that had been a wilderness fifteen years before. Dulany, by the way, had had earlier dealings with the Germans on the Monocacy when he sold them supplies in 1739. Now that he owned land in the back parts and was convinced of the usefulness of German settlers, the unanticipated arrival of a shipload of emigrants from the Rhinelands found him willing to pay out £245 sterling to obtain the service and good will of more than 40 "full freights" among them.⁴

These new arrivals provided Dulany with the second letter meant to be circulated in the home villages of the emigrants. It began by telling how they had not arrived at their original destination, Philadelphia:

We take this Opportunity to Acquaint you that the Ship in w^{ch} we agreed to go Pennsylvania is not Arrived but in the province of Maryland, where we found many of our Countrymen that have Estates & Live very Comfortably, they received us wth great Kindness....

Citing Dulany's payment "to free us from the Captain's power," they added: "we are perswaded that this Gentleman will be Serviceable to Aid and Assist all Germans that will settle in this Province."⁵

The story told here by some of the passengers can be verified from other sources. A court case in 1766 in Augusta County, Virginia, concerning a dispute over an inheritance, reveals the experience of several emigrants from Hallau in Canto Schaffhausen. According to the testimony of Hans Fotsch, a group left their home village in the spring of 1744. They boarded a Philadelphia-bound vessel in Holland together with other passengers, mainly from the Palatinate. During and after the required customs stopover in Plymouth, the Hallau people suffered some loss of lives. The voyage was lengthy and perilous. Instead of landing in Philadelphia, the ship carried them to Maryland. Fotsch and

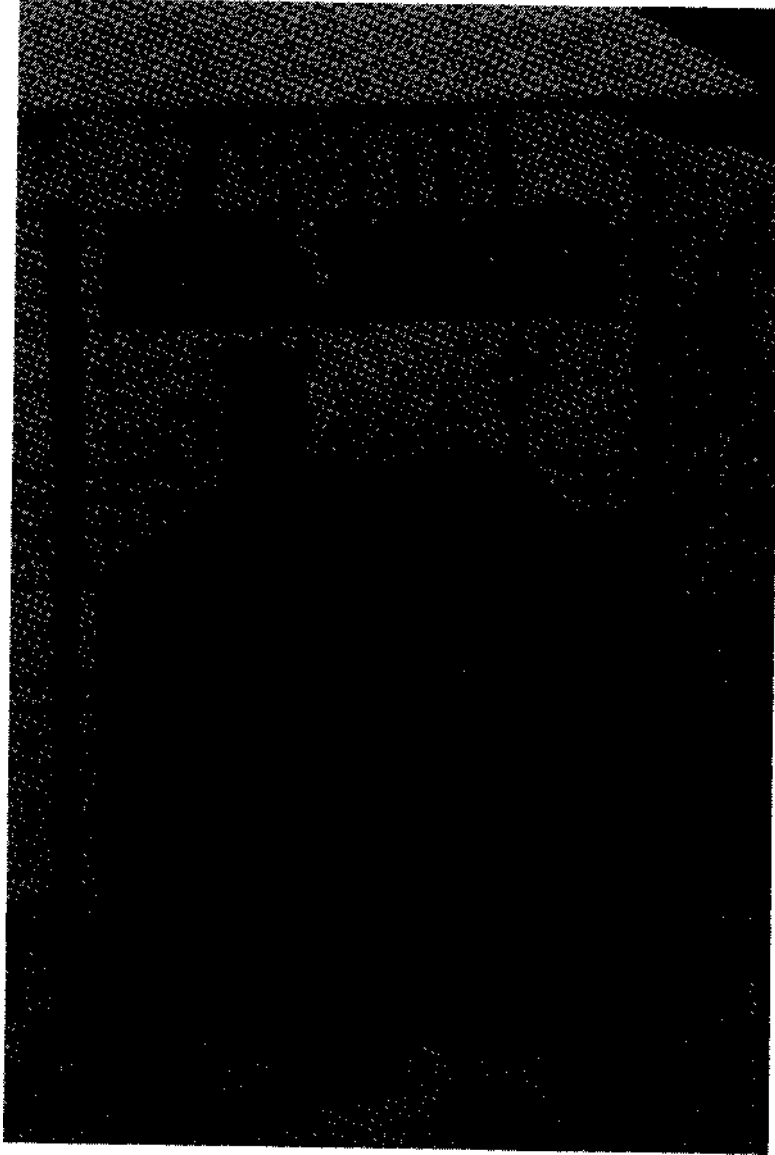
several others who still had sufficient means to pay the captain, continued the trip on their own to their original destination, the Tulpehocken settlement in Pennsylvania.⁶

Christopher Sauer's newspaper in Germantown reported in the February 16, 1744/45 issue that a ship with Germans, chartered by Captain Stedman for Philadelphia, had already entered the Delaware but went back to sea and "entered the Susquehanna and so reached Maryland."⁷ John Stedman, the Rotterdam shipper, had indeed chartered an additional ship for the Philadelphia run in May 1744. It was the *Rupert* under Captain Richard Parker to which Stedman assigned 150 "Palatine" passengers in Rotterdam.⁸ The voyage of the *Rupert* was unduly long because she did not arrive at Annapolis until early January 1744/45. A look at the entire Palatine fleet of 1744 helps to explain her erratic course. Of the nine vessels loaded with German and Swiss emigrants in Rotterdam, only one reached Philadelphia in early October after a relatively uneventful passage. The very successful operations of Spanish and French warships and privateers threw the routine North Atlantic run into complete disarray. Two vessels with Germans were captured. Others were chased by privateers and, in trying to outsail enemy ships, were forced off-course even after reaching the mouth of the Delaware. Only four more emigrant ships made it to Philadelphia after ten, even thirteen weeks at sea.

Joh. Thomas Schley-School Teacher at Appenhofen

Due to the loss of many records in the Landau area during repeated warfare in the early part of the eighteenth century, virtually nothing is known about Schley's family. In recent years a rather substantial house in Mörzheim (now incorporated into Landau) has been identified as the Schley home and a black marble tablet was put up in his memory in 1962. The name Schley appears rather frequently in the council protocols of Landau during the seventeenth century.

Johannes Thomas Schley was born on August 31, 1712, in Mörzheim, the son of Nicolaus and Eva Brigitta Schley. He must have



The stone house which was the first home of the Schley family in 1746. Above a scene from the old country, evoking the skyline of Speyer. (Photo by Allen Smith, Jr. for the Historical Society of Frederick County)



*The schoolhouse of the Reformed congregation — one of the watercolor miniatures in Thomas Schley's hymnal.
(Photo by Allen Smith, Jr. for the Historical Society of Frederick County)*

received a solid education to judge from his later activities. During his young adult life, according to a letter of 1761, he accumulated some savings "which I earned the hard way long ago." The meager salary of a village school teacher in the Palatinate at that time barely provided enough for the upkeep of a family. But all we know of Schley prior to his coming to America is the fact that he served as **Schuldiener** in the small village of Appenhofen. There he married Maria Margaretha in 1735. She was the daughter of Georg Wintz of Appenhofen. They had five children before they emigrated in 1744.⁹

Schoolmaster in the New Town of Frederick

When the redeemed passengers of the *Rupert* arrived on Daniel Dulany's land on the Monocacy, they found numerous settlers there who had come from the Palatinate and Switzerland by way of Pennsylvania. Lutherans and Reformed had already organized a union church and in 1743 built a large log

cabin just south of Jimtown, about four miles from the Monocacy, which served as their common meeting place. The coming of an experienced school teacher was a boon to the frontier community. In September, 1745, Dulany had a town laid out in the southern part of Tasker's Chance. The new place was given the name Fredericktown. He set aside lots for the Anglican, Reformed and Lutheran congregations. Since both the German Reformed and the Lutherans had now sufficient numbers to begin separate organizations, they also held their worship in the new town as soon as buildings were erected. Under Schley's leadership, the Reformed congregation built a schoolhouse which also served as a meeting place for Sunday services.¹⁰ By 1746, the Schleys had their sixth child, a daughter born in Frederick. She was the first child in the new settlement of which there is any record. When the Swedish Lutheran clergyman Gabriel Naesman visited the area on October 31, 1746, he baptized her.¹¹

From the outset Thomas Schley did not limit his work to teaching school. The full scope of his activities was best described by the leader of the German Reformed Church, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, who visited the new town of Frederick twice, in May 1747 and again a year later: "It is a great advantage to this congregation that they have the best schoolmaster that I have met in America. He spares neither labor nor pains in instructing the young and edifying the congregation according to his ability, by means of singing, and reading the word of God and printed sermons on every Lord's day." On May 7th, 1747, Schlatter had held a service in the schoolhouse. He was full of praise for the congregation. "... it appears to me to be one of the purest in the whole country,... one that is free from the sects, of which, in other places, the country is filled."¹² The last remark was somewhat premature because on March 1, 1748, Thomas Schley wrote a letter to Schlatter in Philadelphia, informing him that the Dunker sect in the vicinity had diverted two of the Reformed members from the church and was very active in trying to convert others. The letter was also signed by the five elders of the congregation. They asked not only for advice but also urged Schlatter to return for another visit to Frederick.¹³ The Reformed leader came back in May. Work on the new church had proceeded well enough that the communion service could be held in the yet unfinished building. It was a highly emotional occasion on which Schlatter wrote in his diary: "After the sermon, I administered the Holy Supper to ninety-seven members, baptized several adult persons and children, married three betrothed couples, and installed new elders and deacons." Thomas Schley was one of the latter, an office that he held until his death.¹⁴

For four years more, Schley conducted the Sunday services and read the scriptures and printed sermons until Schlatter found a young minister to assume the Frederick charge. The Rev. Theodor Frankenfeld was installed by Schlatter in May 1753 after having served in Frederick and at the rural Monocacy congregation for several months on trial. When he attended the Reformed Coetus in

Lancaster in the autumn of 1752, the minutes recorded that Frankenfeld "praises his school teacher" and asked that he may not be forgotten when new funds were received from the churches in Holland. Indeed, Thomas Schley received £6 in 1753.¹⁵

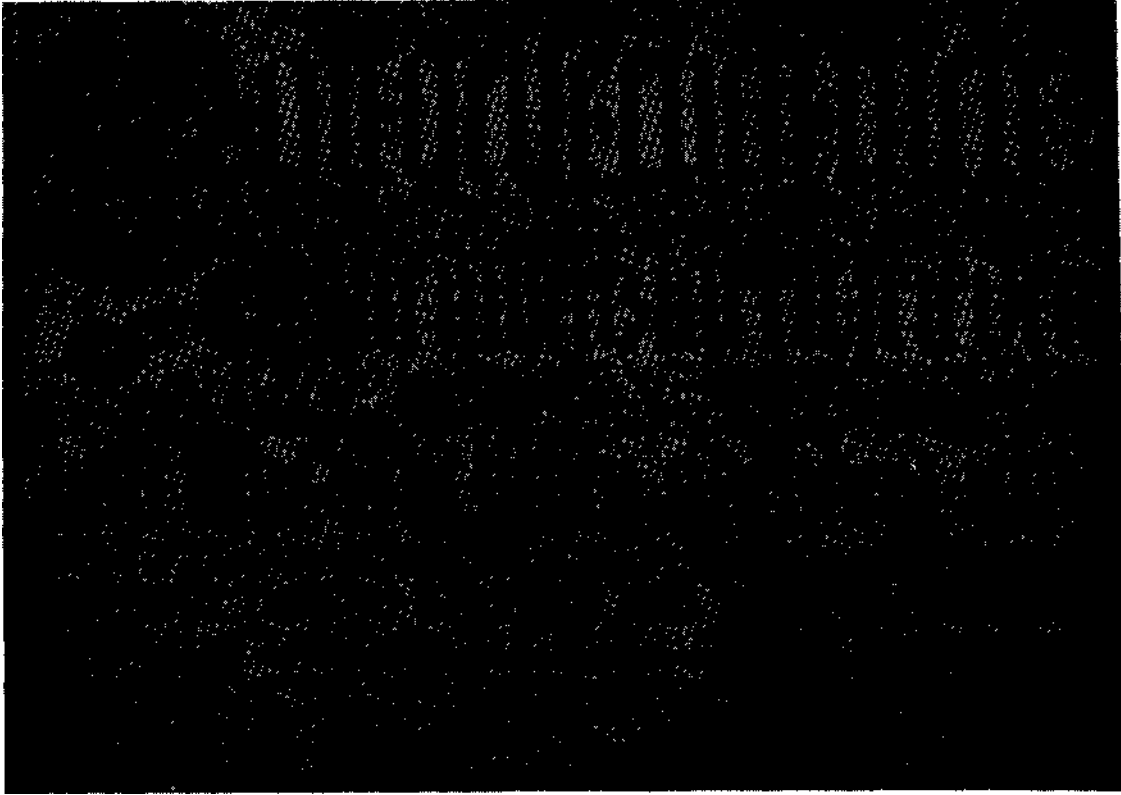
Although the church had regular pastors most of the time, there were still frequent occasions when Schley conducted the services because most of the Frederick pastors also tended to other Reformed churches in Maryland and nearby Virginia. The congregation and with it the number of pupils grew steadily. In 1756, when a church ordinance was introduced, eighty-nine heads of families put their signature under it. There were quite a few members from Schley's home area in the Palatinate apart from his own relatives, e.g. Valentin Schwartz from Mörzheim, Peter Hauck from Klingen, Andreas Eberhardt from Rohrbach and Johannes Lingenfelder from Steinweiler.¹⁶

In November 1763 Thomas Schley was heading the building committee for a new church. By the end of 1764 the new house of worship was used for the first time. The old church building was dismantled and some of the materials were sold to the schoolmaster for a consideration of £10.¹⁷

Master of Calligraphy and Song

For a long time it was only the Rev. Schlatter's remark about Schley leading the congregation in hymn singing that pointed to another gift of the schoolmaster. Only after German folk art of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century became popular in recent decades, did some of the remarkable creations of Thomas Schley come to light. Beautifully decorated sheets and entire books of hand-written church music were preserved by some of his descendants and a few collectors of local lore.

The Historical Society of Frederick County has in its collections the most striking of Schley's works that has come down to us. It is a leather-bound volume of 282 pages, measuring 11 by 20 cm. It contains the tunes and texts of 154 church hymns. While the staff lines and the lettering alone are testimony to masterful work, there are numerous illustrations and



Vorschrift of various *fraktur* styles by Thomas Schley. This example of his work was featured in the New York exhibition "American Fraktur: Graphic Folk Art 1745-1855" at Pratt Graphics Center in 1976/77.
(Photo: Manuscript Division, Maryland Historical Society)

colorful decorations in the tradition of Palatine folk art. Most of the hymns, as Schley indicates, are from the Lutheran *Hallesche Gesangbuch* (Halle Hymnal) and the *Pfälzische Gesangbuch* (the Palatine Hymnal) of the Reformed Church. But a closer look also reveals that Schley himself wrote hymns as his added words indicate: "Musicalische Melodey — meine Eigene" (Musical melody — my own). Besides the flowers, cherubs and other folk motifs, we find buildings on some pages that resemble the first stone church of the Reformed congregation or the family home in Frederick. Above the latter is a skyline that looks like the spires and towers of the Imperial City of Speyer on the Rhine. The title page in beautiful, decorative calligraphy reads: "Singet dem Herrn in euren Herzen" (sing praise to the Lord in your hearts). It may be assumed that Thomas Schley later gave this music book to his grandson, Johannes Schley.

A special page of dedication was glued into the front cover of the volume. Later on, the obituary note that appeared in a Baltimore newspaper after Schley's death was copied by hand onto the back cover.

Thomas Schley also produced other **Fraktur** pieces such as certificates of merit for his pupils. Outstanding is the **Vorschrift**, a sample of various types of Gothic writing and regular German and Latin script, which has been preserved by the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. He signed it: "Johannes Thomas Schley Reformed Schoolmaster in Frederick Town, the 30th of September anno 1773, 61 years and 26 days old."

At about the same time as the **Vorschrift**, one of Schley's dreams came true. His church ordered a pipe organ from David Tannenberger in Lititz, Pennsylvania after a successful fund-raising collection to purchase an organ and install two bells in the new church

spire. Now Thomas Schley also became the organist of the Frederick Reformed Church.¹⁸

Some Personal Notes of Schley's Life in Frederick

In the absence of any personal diaries or notes it is very difficult to describe in any fashion the life of the Schley family during the 45 years in which Thomas Schley was, as J. Thomas Scharf, the historian of Western Maryland, characterizes him, "the mainstay of the church," as the historian of western Maryland characterized Thomas Schley. In view of the extremely modest remuneration parochial schoolmasters received in most congregations in the Palatinate as well as in America, it is surprising that Schley could buy four lots in the new town on May 10th, 1746. Later we also find a "Thomas Sligh" as owner of a strip of land in the heart of present-day Baltimore. It is known that he carried on "a great variety of business" during his life in Frederick.¹⁹

A chance discovery in the Speyer archives of two letters written by him to the relatives back home proves that he had remained in touch with those he and his wife had left behind. Both letters found their way into the official files only because they dealt with family finances and were most likely submitted by the Wintz family in connection with legacy problems.²⁰ The only relatives living in Frederick County were his wife's sister Sibilla and her husband, Georg Stoeckle. In his letter of October 14, 1752, which was addressed to both his brother-in-law Jacob Baltzel and his father-in-law Georg Wintz, Sr., Schley expressed his sorrow that the latter "in his old age,...has such a hard time making ends meet, while he has been fairly well *off* in my time." Thomas Schley does not want him to suffer and encourages him "to take what he needs from my wife's inheritance, not lightly, though." There must have been a substantial legacy from his mother-in-law because he also writes that he will settle with Georg Stoeckle "matters with respect to his wife's maternal inheritance, which I bought from her, as you probably know."

In the other letter, written on March 5, 1761, partly to Georg Wintz, Sr. and partly to his son

by the same name, Schley advises them to come over, if possible bringing his own "poor old father" along. In such case, Thomas Schley writes, "sell my property as well as yours and give my father as much as he needs for the trip." Turning to his brother-in-law, Georg Wintz, Jr., he tells him not to come to Maryland if his own father does "not wish to move away with you." But in the next paragraph he assures him that "here you would be much better off than over there."

As to a home visit, he says how much he would like to do it "but my situation will hardly allow me to undertake such a costly trip, and it would be difficult to leave my large family." Only his brother-in-law Jacob Baltzel heeded the appeal to come over as the membership lists of the Frederick church reveal.²¹

Thomas and Margaretha Schley had nine children during the first twelve years of their marriage. Five were born in Germany:

Georg Jacob (1735)	Maria Anna (1741)
Johann Georg (1737)	Maria Margaretha (1743)
Georg Thomas (1738)	

The next four children were born in Frederick:

Maria Barbara (1746)	Johann Jacob (1751)
Eva Catharina (1749)	Sibilla (1754)

It is well known that the German population of Frederick was very much in favor of the separation from British rule. It was also fortunate for Thomas Schley that his church had a pastor from 1770 until 1784 with whom he could work together in full harmony. The preceding five years had placed a heavy burden on Schley's shoulders. There were long intervals without a pastor. The young minister, Friedrich Ludwig Henop, came from Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. When he assumed his pastorate in 1770 there were 192 families listed as communicants in Frederick and two nearby rural congregations. By 1776 this number had increased to 231. The parochial school had 160 pupils in 1776. Many members of the Reformed church were involved in political activities when the American Revolution began. As early as January, 1775, a Committee of Observation was formed for which Thomas Schley served as collector.²²

After the war, the congregation had



*Dedication to Schley's grandson Johannes which was glued inside the front cover of the hand-written and decorated hymnal.
(Photo by Allen Smith, Jr. for the Historical Society of Frederick County)*

another pastor who was the first one to have been trained in America, John William Runkel. There is a record of a congregational meeting one day after the new minister had assumed his duties. On November 29, 1784, the members voted to elect a new schoolmaster. Thomas Schley, who was seventy-two years old, was evidently determined to hold on to his position. It is not known who the other candidate was but he was defeated and "such a scene of confusion followed" that Reverend Runkel "wept for sorrow over the weaknesses of the people."²³ In 1785 a large German-English dictionary was acquired which bears the inscription: "Johann Thomas Schley, Reform. Schulmeister in Friedrichstadt, 1785," a sure indication that he prevailed during the voting.²⁴

Pastor Runkel made the following entry in the death of his church on November 1790:

THOMAS SCHLEY, first teacher in this congregation, born August 31, 1712 at Mörzheim in Germany, was married to Margaret Wintz

(an. 1735), which latter died in June last. They lived in wedlock nearly 55 years, had nine children, of whom 8 are still living. He had been suffering for some time with asthma, but was confined to bed for one day only. He died yesterday morning, 10 o'clock, aged 78 years, 2 months and 23 days.

The prominence of this parochial schoolmaster is also attested by a notice in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* on December 7th, 1790. More than seven years later Schley was remembered in the local newspaper *The Key* in a "Sketch of Frederick County," which appeared in the issue of January 27, 1798:

The first house was built by Mr. Thomas Schley, in 1746. This gentleman died in 1790, aged 78, after having had the satisfaction of seeing a dreary wood, late the habitation of bears, wolves, deer, and c. and the occasional hunting ground of the gloomy savage, converted into a flourishing town, surrounded by fertile country, smiling with yellow harvests, and comfortable farm-houses, interspersed with handsome seats, the happy reward of enterprising, persevering industry.

—Klaus Wust
New York City

NOTES

¹For Thomas Schley's prominent descendants see Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909) II, 175, 570-1.

²Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton, NJ, 1948), 68-9.

³Several papers contributed by Schley family historians were consulted in the collections of the Institut für Pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde in Kaiserslautern. An updated file on Thomas Schley is in the Auswanderer-Kartei of the institute. See also *Landauer Monatshefte, July-August 1976*, 160-1.

⁴Calvert Papers, No. 295½ pp. 115-6. Maryland Archives, Annapolis. Printed version in *Maryland Archives*, Vol. 44, 697. For Daniel Dulany, see Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1968).

⁵*Maryland Archives*, Vol. 44, 697. The complete text of the letter appears also in the *Report*, 37 (1978), 21.

⁶Case of Carpenter (Zimmermann) et al. vs. Fotch, November 1766, Augusta County Judgements, Book A. Abstracted in Lyman Chalkley, *Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, VA, 1912) I, 342, 495-6.

⁷*Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Bericht*, Feb. 16, 1744/5.

⁸ONA, B. van Pause 2740, 154-8, Rotterdam City Archives. The *Rupert* had to be prepared for the passengers and ready for loading by June 9, 1744. The contract also called for "breaking down the Bulk heads of the Cabin in order to make it clear and even with between decks to Lodge the said Pallentines." Captain Parker also agreed to "Build as many bedplaces throughout the ship" as needed for 150 people, "and two necessary houses, on each side of the Ship one."

⁹Auswanderer-Kartei, IPGV, Kaiserslautern. Entries about Thomas Schley in Appenhofen appear in the register of the Reformed Church in Billigheim, 1737-43.

¹⁰James B. Ranck, Dorothy S. Ranck et al., *A History of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick, MD, 1964) 7-11.

¹¹The baptism of Maria Barbara Schley is the earliest one recorded in the register of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as having taken place in the new town of Frederick.

¹²Michael Schlatter's *Wahrhafte Erzählung von dem wahren Zustand der meist Hirtenlosen Gemeinden...* (Frankfurt, 1752) was translated and appended to Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of the Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia, 1857), 87-234. The remarks by Schlatter cited here are on pages 177 and 154.

¹³Schley to Schlatter, March 1st, 1748. A copy of the original in the Archives of the Netherland Reformed Church in The Hague is in Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church in Lancaster, PA.

¹⁴Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, 176-7.

¹⁵William J. Hinke (ed), *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792* (Philadelphia, 1903), 74.

¹⁶Ranck, *Reformed Church Frederick*, 29, 190.

¹⁷Ranck, 39.

¹⁸Ranck, 51.

¹⁹J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882) I, 485, 509.

²⁰The two Thomas Schley letters were found in the Landesarchiv Speyer in 1957 by Dr. Fritz Braun. Photostats and transcripts of both are in the collection of the Frederick County Historical Society. Excerpts were published in the *Report*, 30 (1959), 112-4. In the Landesarchiv Speyer (Bestand F 11: Ausfautei Billigheim) is further material concerning the emigrated members of the Wintz family. File No. 65 contains listings of the debts of Margaretha Wintz Schley and Sibylla Wintz Stoeckle in 1759. Other financial data about the two emigrated sisters for 1752-58 are in File No. 66 (Appenhofen Ausfauteiakten).

²¹Ranck, 192.

²²See Karl Scherer, "Friedrich Ludwig Henop and Johann Thomas Schley — Two Patriots from the Palatinate in Frederick, Maryland," in Roland Paul (ed.), *300 Years Palatines in America* (Landau, 1983), 144-54.

²³Ranck, 54.

²⁴This dictionary is in the Historical Society of Frederick County.

Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds. *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America. Volume 1 (1728-1807); Volume 2 (1808-1830)*, comps. Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof, with Annelies Müller. Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989. Pp. xxx, 1-594; [iv], 595-1245. \$100.

Issued as Volumes XXI-XXII (1987-88) of the Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, the present reference work is the long-awaited updating of the classic bibliography of German-American imprints by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker (1825-1894), published in 1893 as *The First Century of German Printing in America*. The completion of this task by librarian-scholars associated with the University of Göttingen represents a satisfying completion of the circle. That university has been a leader in American studies beginning with the work of Prof. A. W. Schlözer in the late 18th century. Its library collection of North American imprints is outstanding in Germany. And finally, Göttingen was the birthplace of Oswald Seidensticker.

It does not take away from Seidensticker's pioneering achievement that soon after its appearance others published notices of items Seidensticker had missed (Whether intended or not, one of the results of efforts to compile complete bibliographies is to bring to light obscure and hidden copies of rare imprints previously unseen by scholars). Among the most active was Ammon R. Stapleton writing in *The Pennsylvania German* (1904-1905). Gerhard Griedrich added further titles in *Pennsylvania History* (1940), based on his cataloging project in the Abraham Harley Cassel Collection at Juniata College. In addition to such specific updatings of Seidensticker, a large number of regional and national bibliographies turned up additional items. Examples of the latter are A. Rachel Minick, *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (1949) and Roger P. Bristol, *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (1953). Then Wilbur H.

Oda published a number of bibliographical articles in the *Pennsylvania Dutchman* in the 1950's, as part of his revised and enlarged edition of Seidensticker's early compilation.

Professor Arndt of Clark University, well-known in the field for his massive annotated listing of German-American newspapers (with May E. Olson), sought funding in the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany to continue the Oda initiative, cut short by the latter's death. A German grant allowed Annelies Müller to pursue the project, but she soon discovered that a more broadly-based and better-funded effort was needed to do justice to the task. This came with a sizable grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft through the Göttingen library. A trained librarian, Werner Tannhof, assisted by his wife Monika, spent two years in the United States (1983-1985), visiting more than one hundred public and private collections to gather data. To ensure accuracy, the Tannhofs made extensive copies of titlepages and other significant material. Back in Germany, Werner Tannhof worked on the collected data, using computers and internationally accepted cataloging rules; when he took another position, Gerd-J. Bötte completed the task.

The result of these many years of labor is impressive. The number of German-American imprints through 1830 has been more than doubled (3151 entries). Full titles and meticulous collation (including signatures) allow much more precise identification of variant issues. A large number of locations are given (ordinarily ten is the limit), using the code-system established by the Library of Congress; specific library designations (or note of presence in private collections) are provided for those copies used for the main entries. Rather inclusive references to other bibliographical listings are appended for each entry. There are a generous number of illustrations of titlepages, often supplied from the holdings of the library at Göttingen.

The unprecedented compilation in one place of this data bank and intensive labor with it often allowed the compilers to identify places of printing and names of printers, where these were lacking on imprints. Distinctive typefaces and printers' ornamentations usually provided the distinguishing clues. The rationale is provided by the compilers: "Since no individual researcher in any collection may ever have the opportunity to compare as many individual imprints at any one time, we felt obliged to try to assign as many items as possible to individual printing offices" (xii). The same process allowed the identification of several "ghosts" (previously cited titles which never existed). They acknowledge that these procedures are not without risk and welcome corrections.

In deference to the Seidensticker model, imprints are listed year by year from 1728 through 1830, and alphabetically within each year by place of publication and printer. Also following the early pattern, sizes of imprints are given in the older manner (e.g., folio, 4vo, 8vo etc.). Judgements may vary as to the wisdom of these decisions. A number of indexes at the end of Volume 2 compensate for the limitations of this order; they provide a main index (including names of authors, editors, translators, engravers, booksellers, and composers, as well as titles), an index of printers, publishers and stereotypes, an index of places of printing and publications, and an index of genre types (derived from a thesaurus for rare books). Some considerable use suggests that the indexes are complete and accurate. It was not possible for lack of time (and likely of space) to provide a subject index based on Library of Congress headings.

By policy decision, the two volumes do not present a total picture of German-American printing. They omit newspapers (recently listed in Arndt/Olson); they also do not include broadsides, although information on some 1200 of these usually rare items were collected in the course of the project. A third volume devoted to these rare imprints will be necessary, although no specific plans for this

are reported. This absolutely necessary task should be given a high priority; it would be an useful and worthy project for a foundation grant.

The volumes are attractively designed, with the typeface well-chosen to allow concentrated text without losing legibility. The binding follows the pattern of the Pennsylvania German Society. Despite the complex process of compilation/editing and the detailed text, typographical and other errors have been held to an acceptable minimum. That there are some is revealed, for example, on the page of acknowledgments, where "truely" is found instead of "truly" and, more seriously, "Hover" is listed instead of "Hoover."

There is a mistaken attribution for a Lancaster imprint of 1788, *Der Besiegte Wiedertäufer* (#707). Following Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800* (1969), the compilers assign the authorship to a Peter Bläser. It should instead be Dr. John Christopher Kunze (1744-1807), a recognized Lutheran divine in Philadelphia and New York. It was a rebuttal of the *Apologie* (#696) by Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803); Mack responded to the refutation in another small book, *Anhang zum Widerlegten Wiedertäufer* (#695).

As monumental as is *The First Century* in this form, and as helpful as it will be to many researchers from a wide variety of disciplines, it will not be a final word. Recent auction catalogs from the extensive collection of German-American imprints by Donald R. Hinks have several references to relevant items not included. Because the Hinks collection was used in the present work and locations to it were noted, its ongoing dispersal will make such references out-of-date. Nevertheless, all those connected with the project deserve much credit for the devoted labors, great care, and exemplary scholarship manifested in it. It is a very significant achievement. All academic libraries and many individual researchers will need to acquire it. It will be indispensable for many years.

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