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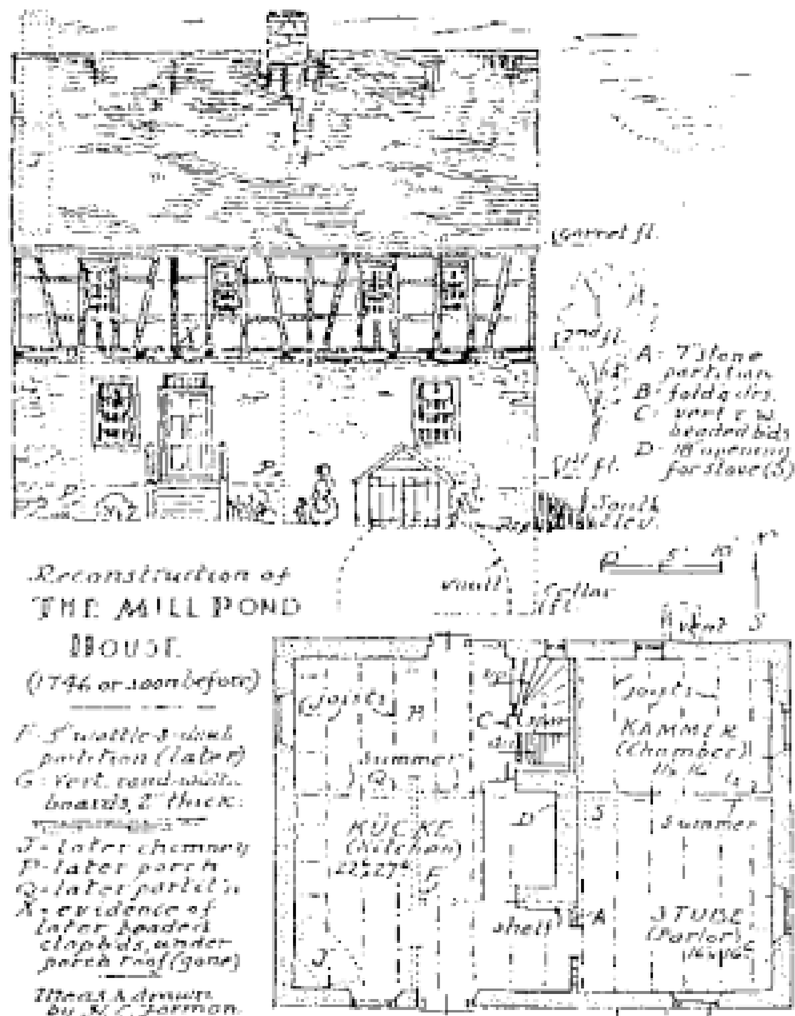

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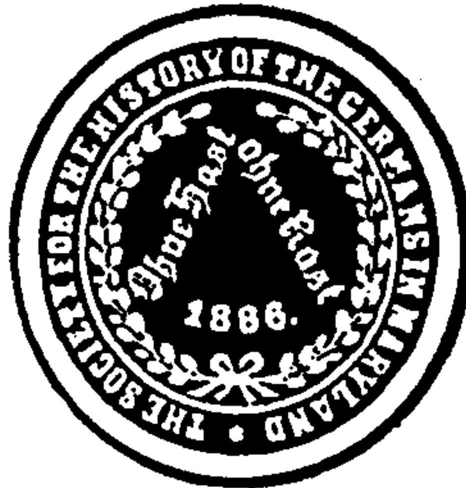

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IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM H. MCCLAIN.

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IN MEMORIAM WILLIAM H. McCLAIN
1917 -1994

This issue, the forty-third, of *The Report* is dedicated to the memory of Professor William H. McClain, who lost his life under tragic circumstances, the victim of a criminal attack, on May 16,1994.

During his long and successful career as a scholar and teacher, Bill McClain always generously shared his profound knowledge of German literature, culture and history with his colleagues, friends and countless students, and he dedicated much of his time to serving professional organizations.

In 1939 Bill began his studies of German at Case Western Reserve University in his native Cleveland. He did his graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, where he received his doctorate in 1943. His first post was as an instructor in German in the Army Specialized Training Program at Wisconsin. In the spring of 1945, he was assigned to the staff of Robert Murphy, the U.S. political advisor to General Eisenhower, and was afterwards attached to the Consular Office in Frankfurt am Main. After his service abroad he began his academic teaching career at Harvard University (1946-1952). He then taught from 1953 to 1982 at the Johns Hopkins University, where for seven years he served as the chairman of the Department of German.

As a teacher of German, Bill devoted part of his time to the instruction of undergraduates. His classes were extraordinarily popular, attracting students from various fields, many of whom would perhaps not have studied this subject, an elective for most of them, if it had not been for the contagious enthusiasm with which Bill taught the masterworks of German literature. His graduate seminars were also well attended, inspiring and highly informative, and, as an advisor of doctoral candidates, Bill guided nearly thirty dissertations. Most of his students are still following his excellent example, teaching German language and literature to young Americans, thus keeping the tradition very much alive. In a letter of appreciation, presented on the occasion of Bill's 65th birthday, one of the students who wrote a doctoral thesis with him expressed his gratitude by saying that one of the best things he had received from Bill and which he sought to emulate in his own work, was "a style of teaching and scholarship that actively elicits participation of students in real discussions and treats literature as a thing of deep human interest—not merely as 'material' to be categorized, catalogued and transported to the consumer or as mere exemplification of more important philosophical ideas or structural schemes."

Bill McClain's excellence as a teacher earned him numerous awards, among them a special citation from the Hopkins administration, the Lindback award for distinguished teaching, and the student council's Gilman Award. An honor of a different kind was the Distinguished Alumnus Award from his alma mater in 1967; and, in 1981, the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association honored him with its Heritage Award for exceptional service to the University.

As a scholar widely known and respected in his field, Bill McClain has enriched Germanistic studies with important contributions of lasting value to Romanticism, Realism and contemporary literature. He treated the writings of Goethe, Kleist, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Otto Ludwig, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Thomas Mann, in each case expanding our knowledge of the author and the works he discussed.

He also made significant contributions to the study of German-American literary relations, revealing and delineating far-reaching crosscurrents. He co-edited the letters of Gerstàcker, Bodenstedt, and Mûhlbach and published articles on the importance of their works for the American audience and on the reception of their American novels and *Reiseberichte* among German readers, whose image of the United States was profoundly influenced by these writings.

Bill McClain wrote many reviews for the Baltimore *Sun* concerned with the works of prominent German writers, among them Kleist,

Heine, Mann, Kafka, Frisch, Dürrenmatt, and Nelly Sachs, addressing the general public, conveying stimulating information which may well have encouraged many a reader to acquire these books.

Active as an officer in several professional organizations, Bill founded the Maryland Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German and was for many years (1954-1972) faculty advisor of Delta Phi Alpha, the national German honor society, of which he established a chapter at Johns Hopkins. For a number of years he served as President of the American Goethe Society, which at its monthly meetings introduced many national and international scholars to the Baltimore community.

The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland owes Bill McClain an immeasurable debt. From 1955 to the present he served on the Executive Committee, from 1983-1987 as Second Vice President. A member and, most recently, chairman of the Editorial Committee of the *The Report,* he was substantially involved in the planning and preparation of various issues of our journal. The articles he published in The Report are evidence of his fascination with the history of German-American relations in Maryland. His series of "Salutes" to the German-American business enterprises of Baltimore, beginning in 1990, is being concluded in the present issue. His very last article, on Jacob Gross, superintendent of the Stieff Piano Company, is in many ways characteristic of Bill's versatility. He was, of course, consistently interested in the academic study of great German writers and the elucidation of their famous works, but he also treated more mundane matters for the enlightenment of the general reader. He enjoyed working with others and in the process continued to make new friends with whom he then collaborated, congenially and effectively, on these projects.

Bill McClain's sudden death has saddened many. He is mourned here and abroad with deep sorrow. His friends will miss his kind and gentle ways and the eagerness with which he shared his interesting experiences with them, often with a wonderful sense of humor; his graduate students have lost a fatherly friend to whom they could always turn for advice and encouragement; the many undergraduates he taught and counseled long into his retirement will fondly remember him because of his genuine concern for their welfare and development; and our Society has lost an active and ardent supporter. All of us will often think of Bill with appreciation for his friendship and loyalty, with great esteem for his excellent scholarly work and with gratitude for his dedicated participation in our continuing contribution to the study of German-American relations.

— Lieselotte E. Kurth
The Johns Hopkins University

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-three (43) volumes of its journal entitled, *The Report: Ajournai of German-American History*. Plans now call for the regular publication of the Society's journal in January of every second year.

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

GERMAN-AMERICAN ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS OF BALTIMORE: PART III

In this issue of the *Report* the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland salutes the Schmidt Baking Company, the Potthast furniture Company, the engineering firm of Edward Renneburg and Sons, the J. Furst printing company, the *Baltimore Correspondent,* the Stein family, and the *Greisenheim,* the German home for the aged which eventually became the retirement community we now know as Edenwald.

The Schmidt Baking Company

The history of this venerable institution began in 1886 when Elizabeth and Peter Schmidt, recent German immigrants, began to operate a small bread bakery in their Baltimore home. Elizabeth Schmidt, whose maiden name was Mimms, had arrived in this country in 1867, at age seventeen, and had settled in Baltimore, where she met and later married Peter Schmidt in Emmanuel Reformed Church on Schroeder Street on April 5, 1874. Even before her marriage she had come to enjoy local renown, thanks to the savory loaves of home-baked bread with which she expressed her appreciation for her neighbors' kindnesses. It was her neighbors' compliments that eventually inspired her and her husband to experiment with a small bread baking operation in their home with Elizabeth baking the bread and Peter delivering it. The venture was a success, but during the early years the Schmidts could not have imagined, of course, that out of such modest beginnings in 1886 one of the top fifteen bakeries in the nation would ultimately develop. By the time the Schmidt Baking Company celebrated its centennial, in 1986, it had become the largest independent premium line wholesale bakery in the mid-Atlantic region, employing approximately fourteen hundred people and with seventeen distribution centers.

In spite of its great size, however, the company was still a family enterprise, for it was managed at that time by the sons of Peter and Elizabeth, Ernest and Charles Schmidt, who had both entered the business as young men. Charles Schmidt, who was president until 1929, was succeeded in that year by his son, Carl. After Carl's death in 1964 his twin sisters, Katherine and Ernestine, and his widow took over the duties of managing the company. In the centennial year, 1986, Katharine's sons, Bernard "Roddy" Smith, Jr. and Peter Smith, were respectively president and vice-president of operations, while two of Ernestine's sons, Tom Bowyer and Charles Bowyer, held the offices of vice-president for administration and vice-president for sales.

In March 1984, two years before the centennial, the Schmidt Baking Company completed construction of a forty-eight thousand square foot plant in Baltimore County. The production capacity of this new plant in 1986 was one hundred and forty-five thousand loaves of bread and seventy thousand packages of rolls daily.

In a speech during the centennial year Roddy Smith, while expressing pride in his company's impressive growth during its first hundred years, also pointed out that its success as a business enterprise was due not only to expert management, but also to its having preserved and refined the baking skills which had made people eager to buy his great-grandmother's bread in the early days: "Great-grandmother Schmidt," he recalled, "was known for the skill she put into her home-made bread. Although we've grown beyond her wildest dreams, one thing hasn't changed. We still care about the quality of our products, and each day we try to measure up to the standards of that dear German-American baker, Elizabeth. We'd like her to know that our customers still value a good loaf of Schmidt's bread."

The Potthast Furniture Company

Technical skills and craftmanship of a high order also assured the success of Baltimore's nationally known furniture firm, Potthast Brothers, Inc., founded in 1892 by William A. and Vincent Potthast who had received their training as master cabinetmakers in their native Germany. William and Vincent were later joined by their brothers, John *and* Theodore,

who had also mastered the art of cabinetmaking in the famed cabinetmaking shops of Borgholzhausen.

The Potthast brothers opened their first cabinetmaking shop at the intersection of Howard and Lexington Streets, then moved, in 1913, to a larger location at 507 North Howard Street. The beauty of the brothers' hand-made reproductions and their expert restorations of antique furniture soon brought them renown as fine craftsmen, and orders began to pour in. In 1921 Potthast Brothers, Inc. acquired a large factory at 1438 Wicomoco Street and also opened showrooms at 702 North Howard Street. Two years later salesrooms and offices were added at 924 North Charles Street. Eventually, the firm opened showrooms in New York City, Washington, D. C., and San Francisco.

One of the firm's early important commissions was furnishing the Maryland House at the Jamestown Exposition in 1907. In an interview with Fred Judd of the "Evening Sun" in 1987 Theodore J. Potthast recalled that the firm had also made a dining room set for President Wilson when ne left the White House, chairs for Hollywood film producer Cecil B. Demille, a dining set for the State House in Annapolis in addition to pieces for Elsie DeWolfe Hopper and for Tiffany in New York.

When the Potthast Company closed its doors in 1975 it had 35 employees. At that point, however, Theodore J. Potthast had no one to carry on the business, as he explained to Mr. Judd, and he also faced ever rising costs and a growing scarcity of qualified craftsmen. Happily we have a well documented record of much of the firm's work, for the copying books, as Theodore Potthast told Mr. Judd, "include sketches of all kinds of furniture" and "the State of Maryland has a record, on microfilm, of correspondence and sketches throughout the years."

When the Potthast firm closed, Richard H. Randall, Jr., the director of the Walters Art Gallery at the time, recalled that "literally hundreds of Baltimore homes" had Potthast furniture in dining rooms and hallways." Sam W. Rea, auctioneer at Sam W. Pattison and Company, commented that "the Potthast name here is just like magic;bidding is always brisk for Potthast pieces." This is still true today.

Edward Renneburg and Sons, Co.

Edward Renneburg, the founder of this engineering and steel fabricating firm, came to Baltimore from Hamburg, Germany while still in his teens and soon found an opportunity to ply his trade in a hardware store in southeast Baldmore. In time, his sons came to work with him, Philip helping with designing and Henry assisting with other aspects of the business. In the early years of the twentieth century the Renneburgs moved to larger quarters on Aliceanna Street and began to produce machinery for canning, oyster-processing, and fruit-packing. When additional space again became necessary the Renneberg purchased in 1912 a building previously owned by the Chipman Chair Factory at the intersection of Boston and Lakewood avenues in Canton. In these more spacious quarters the firm was not only able to build a more efficient steel fabricating shop, but also to outfit a wharf for the maintenance and repair of harbor craft and fishing steamers.

At this time the Chesapeake menhaden fishing industry was fast developing, and to capitalize on the possibilities offered by this expanding industry the Renneburgs began to design and manufacture cookers, presses, and dryers for converting menhaden and other small fish into fertilizers, also extracting from them in the process oils for use in manufacturing paints and varnishes and for tempering steel.

Under the able management of Philip, who succeeded his father as president, the firm's reputation continued to grow, and soon orders were coming in from Iceland, Japan, Russia and other foreign countries for renneburg machines. During World War I the company helped the war effort by extracting potash from kelp for munitions manufacturing. The war years brought yet another opportunity to expand operations. Growing scarcity of grainfeed, with resultant higher prices, was causing numerous cattlemen to turn to fishmeal as an alternative, and the Renneburg Company was easily able to help meet the ever-increasing demand by producing fishmeal.

When John N. Renneburg succeeded his father, Philip, as president in 1946 orders were coming in for Renneburg machinery from plants in the United States, Canada, India, Korea, Iran, and Jordan. By then, too, the firm's recently developed machinery for processing animal bones for photographic gelatines where also in use in Sweden, Belgium, and Germany.

In 1985 the Canton area was rezoned from heavy industrial to light commercial and residential use. The Renneburg Company was thus compelled to move to a different location, if it wished to continue production. Its historic headquarters, built shortly after the Civil War, were acquired by Historic Developers, Inc. of Philadelphia. Since the U. S. Government was then considering eliminating the tax credit allowed for preserving and restoring buildings of historic value, the Renneburg Company was forced to vacate its headquarters within three months. To meet this deadline the company sold its machinery to the Industrial Plants Corporation of New York City, which sold the machinery at auction. By 1986 the Renneburg Company had become a division of Heyl and Patterson, Inc., Engineers and Constructors of Pittsburgh, which had acquired what had remained of the company after the sale of its machinery. For a few years after that the Renneburg Company maintained an engineering and sale office in Baltimore which was its last connection with the city in which it had been founded.

The J. H. Furst Printing Company

After their arrival in this country from Germany in the 1840's John, Adam., and Joseph Furst settled in three different cities, John in New York, Adam in Cincinnati, and Joseph in Baltimore, where he found a good situation as a house-builder. In 1850 Joseph married Sophia Grace Helmling of York, Pennsylvania. Four of their seven sons, J. Harry, Jacob H., Frederick V., and Joseph A., Jr., became printers and were employed by the John Murphy Printing Company until that establishment was destroyed in the great Baltimore fire of 1904. When the John Murphy Company decided not to reopen after the fire the Furst brothers started their own printing business in a small warehouse on Light Street and began by printing publications formerly brought out by the John Murphy Company. The business prospered, and soon the Fursts were obliged to move to larger quarters on Hanover Street. From that address they moved to the Engel Building on Hopkins Place, where they remained for several years, and from there to the Candler Building on Market Place, which was their headquarters until the Candler Building was converted into offices.

A notable commission of the Furst Company's early years was the private printing in 1907 of *The Education of Henry Adams* in a limited edition of 100 copies. Another important early commission was the printing of *American Maritime Cases* from 1924 on. As years passed the firm acquired a special reputation for its ability to print copy in a number of ancient and modern languages. Thanks to this skill, the firm has able to attract as clients several institutions of higher learning, among which were The Catholic University of America, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, the University of North Carolina, and the Johns Hopkins University. By the time the four co-founders had reached retirement age Frederick's sons, Victor J., Frederick V., and William W., and his daughter, Gertrude, were already members of the firm and eventually assumed full responsibility for carrying on the firm's work. The present president, in the firm's new headquarters at 238 South Eden Street, is Francis Furst. His son, John entered the business two years ago; his wife does proofreading; and John's wife assists with sales and other aspects of the business. In recent years changes of various kinds have been made because of advances in electronic printing, but the firm continues to do letterpress, off-set, and type-setting, and also some binding, as in the past.

As the Furst Company approaches its centennial year it can look back with justifiable pride over a long history of satisfied clients. Over the years authors and editors have repeatedly praised its uncompromising standards of workmanship, diligence, and painstaking care

in executing orders. The high level of craftsmanship consistently maintained by the firm, the close working relations between employers and employees, and the firm's many contributions to the education and training of members of younger printing firms have even prompted some of its admirers to liken it, quite aptly, to a medieval guild.

The account of the J. H. Furst family submitted in 1986 by Mary Furst, Honorary Treasurer, also mentions another distinguished member of the Furst family, William Wallace Furst, whose accomplishments as a composer helped to bring renown to Baltimore as a musical center in the nineteenth century. Born in Baltimore in 1852, William Furst studied music and composition and was for a time organist and choirmaster of Immaculate Conception Church. He also wrote music and first gained recognition for his work as a composer when he was invited to join the staff of the Tivoli Opera House in San Francisco. On that stage his first and only grand opera, *Theodora,* was produced. From San Francisco Furst went to New York, where he soon acquired a reputation as a composer of incidental music. He also composed light operas. One of these, *The Electric Light,* commemorates a Baltimore first: the installation of arc lights at Marsh Market in 1881. *Princess Nicotine* premiered in 1892 with Lillian Russell as the lead. Two years later, Delia Fox starred in *The Little Trouper,* also a comic opera. The most popular of Furst's light operas was doubtless *The Isle Champagne* which had a run of six years. Furst also composed incidental music for several successful theatrical productions, including *The Girl of the Golden West* in 1905, starring Blanche Bates and Frank Kennan, and James M. Barry's *The Little Minister in* 1907 with Maude Adams and Robert Edison.

The Baltimore Correspondent During the first four decades of the nineteenth century only Germanlanguage newspapers published in other cities were available to Baltimore Germans. The first successful effort to provide a local German-language paper was Friedrich Raine's "Der deutsche Correspondent," which began appearing as a weekly in February, 1841. Two main reasons for its success were doubtless that while focusing on local matters of practical concern it also carried articles about Germans living in other parts of the country. Other papers attempted to compete with it from time to time, but none had enough appeal to displace it. Until America entered World War I it was the leading German publication in Baltimore. Like German-language newspapers in other American cities, it lost readers during the war. After the war circulation figures continued to decline, for by then English had become the household language in many German families.

The final chapter in the history of "Der deutsche Correspondent" began in 1929 when the paper, whose readership had by then declined considerably, was acquired by Valentine J. Peter of the Tribune Publishing Company in Omaha, Nebraska. Under Peter's able management the paper, with a new title, "Baltimore Correspondent," flourished. To assure its financial solvency Peter, together with several Baltimore businessmen, formed a corporation in 1935 which eventually purchased from the Tribune Publishing Company both the newspaper and the printing facility which had been producing it as a sixteen-page paper. The corporation generated additional income by printing advertising brochures and newspaper supplements for local department stores and also several weekly and monthly newspapers and trade journals owned by other companies. When Valentine Peter died in 1960 his sons, Theodore Valentine and Bernard George, became managers of the corporation and editors of the paper. When Theodore resigned from the corporation and paper in 1967 Bernard be took over the reins until declining readership and resultant decline in advertising revenue necessitated liquidating both the corporation and the paper in 1960. In the summer of that year the corporation was dissolved. For the following three years the "Baltimore Correspondent" was again printed in Omaha with Bernard Peter continuing as manager. In December, 1971, Peter sold the paper to the *New York Staatszeitung,* which incorporated the title into its masthead until December, 1975, at which time it ceased to exist.

During its 134 years the "Baltimore Correspondent" was always primarily a commercial enterprise, but it also contributed in important ways to the cultural life of its readers, as those who remember it can attest.

The Stein Family

Among the Steins of Baltimore the study of the law; has become, it would seem, a kind of family tradition. Franz Leopold von Stein had a law degree from, the University of Heidelberg when he came to America in 1833, but did not practice in this country. His son, Attila Edward, became a physician, but each generation after him produced a lawyer. The first of these, Charles Francis Stein, born in 1866, studied law at the University of Maryland and was admitted to the Bar in 1889. He became a member of the firm of Louis Hennighausen. Like Hennighausen, who devoted considerable time and energy to helping; newly-arrived Germans, Charles Francis also became involved from early on in assisting newcomers and was active in German-American organizations. In his last case as trial advocate he became a participant in an important moment in Maryland history, for the case concerned the dissolution, in 1921, of the American Colonization Society in Maryland which had been founded in 1816 to promote the emancipation of slaves and to enable blacks wishing to do so to return to Africa. In that same year Governor Ritchie appointed him to the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, on which he sat until his retirement in 1936. After his retirement from the Bench he continued to practice law with the firm of Louis Hennighausen and Stein, specializing in real estate and litigation. He also continued to be active in German-American organizations. Until his death in 1939 he was also a member of the board of director of the General German Aged People's Home, still popularly known in those days as the *Greisenheim.*

Charles Francis Stein, Jr. was born in Baltimore in 1900, received his B. P. in history from the Johns Hopkins University and was graduated from the University of Maryland School of Law in 1923. Like his father before him, he joined the law firm of Hennighausen and Stein and also specialized in wills and estates and real estate law. His continuing in history interest in history is evident in his monograph on the ground rent system in Maryland, his brief history of the German battalion in the American Revolution, his account of the Battle of Baltimore, his two books on the history of Calvert and Howard counties, and, as some readers of the *Report* will remember, his papers at meetings of the Society for the history of the Germans in Maryland, of which he was president from 1971-1975. He was also active in other American-American societies until his death in 1978.

Charles Francis Stein, III was graduated from Princeton University in 1955 and received his J. D. from the University of Virginia School of Law in 1960, where he was on the law review. Before going into practice with his father in the firm of Stein and Jett he was the law clerk of Judge William L. Henderson of the Court of Appeals of Maryland. His specialty, like his father's, is real property and estate planning. Since January, 1993, he has been of counsel for the Towson law firm of Royston, Mueller, McLean and Reid. To some people, he says, "of counsel" may mean that a lawyer has retired, but not in his case, for he still practices every day with the new firm and enjoys it. He is married to Anne Farinholt, whose father, L. Whiting Farinholt, Jr., taught for many years at the University of Maryland School of Law. She is a physical therapist whose specialty is treating mentally and physically handicapped children in the public school system. The Steins have two children, a daughter, Laura, who is presently working with autistic young adults, and a son, Charles F. Stein, IV, who is majoring in biology and minoring in geology at Dickinson College. Charles Francis Stein's sister, Jean Alexandra, is married to William Kouvenhoven and also resides in Baltimore. Like his grandfather and father, Charles Francis Stein, III is an active member of the German Society of Maryland, the Society for the history of the Germans in Maryland and the General German Aged People's Home of Baltimore. As a board member and attorney for General German, he was instrumental in the

planning for the creation of the life-care center, Edenwald and, considers this work one of the most significant accomplishments of his legal career.

The General German Aged People's Home of Baltimore and Edenwald

In April, 1881, at the suggestion of the *Allgemeine Arbeiter-Kranken-Unterstutzungsve-rein* [Workmen's Sick Benefits Alliance], a group of Baltimoreans of German extraction met in the old Mechanics Hall on Fayette Street to discuss the possibility of founding a home where aged Germans could spend their declining years in comfort and security. The sense of the meeting was that such an institution was indeed needed. An organizational plan was adopted, a charter was drafted, committees were appointed, and a Board of Directors was chosen.

On June 8, 1881, the Directors, Carl Yeber, Hermann Graue, Frederick Wehr, Joel Gutman, Ernst Hoen, Ernst Knabe, Nicholas Burkhardt, Jacob Pfister, Adolph Aichter, John Fellmann, Christoph Bartell, and Louis Henninghausen, filed a certificate of incorporation for the projected home, which they designated as *Allgemeines Deutsches Greisenheim von Baltimore* [General German Home for the Aged of Baltimore]. The first officers of the corporation were also elected, Carl Weber as President, Frederick Wehr as Vice-Président, Hermann Graue as Treasurer, John Fellmann as Secretary, and Louis Hennighausen as Financial Secretary.

The Board's first official action was to launch a fund-raising and membership drive, which brought in $7,106.00 and increased the corporation membership to 428. A rented building on the northwest corner of Lombard and Penn Streets was the first location of the *Greisenheim.* The building was dedicated on April 12, 1882, and the first resident was Friedrich Gude. Eight months later the number of residents had increased to 18. Soon the number of applicants exceeded the capacity of the rented building, and the Board began to draw up plans for a larger facility. The site chosen, which the Board acquired for $12,813.75, was he land known as Steuart's Hill, the estate of General J. E. Steuart at the northeast corner of Baltimore and Payson Streets. Initial capital of $42,000.00 was contributed by the German community of Baltimore, and the new structure rose apace. The dedication ceremonies were held in May, 1885. Since the total capital outlay for grounds, building, furnishings, and equipment had amounted to more than $100,000.00, a large debt had to be serviced. By 1888, however, energetic fund-raising efforts, especially those sponsored by the Ladies' Aid Society of the Greisenheim,[1] had brought in enough money to pay off the debt.

In its comfortable larger quarters the Greisenheim, renamed in later years the General German Aged People's Home, served a steadily growing number of elderly residents of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, in accordance with the constitution and by-laws of the Corporation, which stipulated that the home should "never be managed in any particular national, religious, political, or social tendency, but shall have as principal object that of making the later years of the residents and or patients of the facilities as pleasant, quiet, and free of worry or care as possible.…"

By 1934 a still larger building had become necessary to accommodate the growing number of applicants for admission. A bequest of more than $150,000.00 in the will of Anton Textor made it possible to plan for larger quarters. The site acquired was the estate of Louis Muller in Irvington known as "Sorrento," and on September 25, 1935 ground was broken. By early November, 1936, the new building was ready for occupancy. Generous gifts from the Ladies' Aid Society and other donors helped to finance the infirmary wing added in 1957.

Two major changes, in 1979 and 1980, were the abolition of the requirement that applicants surrender their total assets in order to qualify for admission to the home and the merger with the Silver Cross Home at 1464 Greenwich Street. By then, too, it had become evident that more space was needed and that the facilities should be modernized. The centennial year, 1981, thus found the directors busily discussing plans for a completely modern building.

Edenwald, the new facility that resulted from the directors' thoughtful planning, has two sections, an attractive eighteen-story high-rise with 241 comfortable apartments of varying size for independent living and an up-to-the-minute 115-bed Health Care Center. In the Health Center are forty-four tastefully furnished domiciliary rooms with private baths and access to medical and dental care, and, for those requiring long-term care, the Comprehensive Care Unit of seventy-one beds.

Edenwald's location at 800 Southerly Road is almost ideal from the standpoint of the residents' comfort and convenience. Directly across Fairmount Avenue is Towsontown Center; the Baltimore Beltway is nearby; several bus lines are within walking distance; and a few blocks away are churches, hospitals, senior centers, restaurants, grocery stores and other stores, and a post office. The proximity of Goucher College's large wooded campus also offers Edenwald residents some of the pleasures of country living.

If the members of the first board of directors and some of The earlier residents of the General German Aged People's Home could see Edenwald's elegant lobby, its commodious apartments, its tastefully appointed lounges and meeting rooms, and its three fine dining rooms, they would doubtless gape in amazement. While visiting Edenwald's other fine amenities, its auditorium, store, and well-stocked library, they would also be delighted to find in the new building some of the pieces which once embellished old General German, as for example, the handsomely carved sideboards throughout the building or the magnificent Stieff roller-piano which is a unique example of the craftmanship of the once renowned Baltimore piano-building firm. In speaking with present residents our visitors from the past would be happy to learn that the liberal admission policy adopted by the first board of directors in 1881 is still in force: that no applicant be refused admission on grounds of ethnic or national background or religious affiliation. They would also hear warm expressions of appreciation of the many activities available to the residents. In talking with present directors they would surely also feel proud to hear of the American Association of Homes for the Aged warm commendation of Edenwald following its accreditation by the Continuing Care Commission in 1992. This piece of information would certainly convince them, if they had any doubts, that Edenwald ranks high in comparison with top quality retirement communities in the greater Baltimore area.

— William H. McClain

NOTES

'The Ladies' Aid Society was formed on February 3, 1882, several months before the first *Greisenheim* began admitting residents. The organizers were: Louise Hennighausen, Auguste Mathes, Catherine Pfeil, Marie Plantz, Elizabeth Tripr, and Johanna Wehr. The first officers were: President, Mrs. Louise Hennigrhausen; Vice-President, Mrs. Catherine Just: Secretary, Mrs. Elsie Fellman; Financial Secretary, Mrs. Sophie Szold; Treasurer, Mrs. Rosina Sinsz.

TYPES OF GERMAN SURNAME CHANGES IN AMERICA

Our names are very much part of what defines us as a person.[1] The given name identifies us as individuals within the group in which we live and function. Normally, we are the only person identified by that particular name within the group. Most of us have given names that our parents liked for some reason or other, selected in a rather accidental fashion.

Our surname is, of course, anything but accidental. A person's surname, also called the family name, is the reference point which defines our relationship to society at large. It links us to the generations of our family which came before us as well as to our living relatives beyond the immediate family. The family name opens up vistas of ancestry, family history, national origin, religious background.

Originally all names, whether given or family, were based on meaningful words and were formed or bestowed on the basis of what they meant. Over time, changes in the language have frequently obscured the original meanings. This is particularly true of given names. In a surname the original meaning often remains obvious as long as the name stays within the language of its origin, e.g., names such as *Carpenter* and *Weaver* in English or *Zimmermann* and *Weber* in German tell us that the ancestor with whom the name originated was a carpenter or a weaver respectively. Even with less transparent names, a lingering knowledge about the meaning of the family name is handed down from generation to generation in most families.

Given that one's name is so much a part of what defines us as a person, most people would consider meddling with their names as the equivalent of an assault upon their personality. At least this would be the case in European countries.[2] But when a person moves from the country and language in which his or her name originated to a different linguistic environment, as is the case upon emigration, what is left of a name's semantic transparency is lost. Also lost is the link to the standard orthography in the original language. As a consequence the written manifestation of the name is destabilized. The move to the new linguistic environment brings with it adaptations and, in some cases, drastic changes.

As a nation of immigrants, the United States has become home to millions of families whose surnames were no longer in harmony with the prevailing language or its orthographic rules. This is certainly the reason for a *laissez-faire* attitude towards name changes as observed by Howard F. Barker:

> Changes of name have never been prohibited in this country and are rarely questioned by the law. Indeed, slight modifications are not recognized as changes, provided the same sound is retained. Given the considerable amount of illiteracy, especially in colonial times, and a continual pressure on foreign names to make them more American, numerous alterations have ensued.[3]

The overview which follows establishes a classification system for alterations to German names which occurred after the bearers of those names immigrated to America.[4]

In his book *German-American Names,* George F. Jones articulates the popular notion that the name changes originated with the captains of the immigrant ships:

> When the immigrants boarded their ships at Rotterdam, the English captains had difficulty in writing their manifests or ships [sic] lists. Knowing no German, and unfamiliar with German dialects, the scribes wrote down the names as they heard them, sometime in the form of the English names most resembling the sound. In this way, *Theiss, Weiss, and Weidmann* became *Dice,* Wise and *Whiteman* [. . .][5]

Although it is true that the ship lists frequently show the kind of spelling changes Jones describes, immigrants were under no obligation to use their names in the shape they had been spelled by the captain or his clerks after their arrival on American shores.[6] Until the immigration process was formalized by channelling all immigrants through Ellis Island, which was not until 1892, immigrants did not receive an official immigration document. As to the misspellings, it is unlikely that the immigrants even remembered in what shape

their names had been taken down—if they could read at all. As H. L. Mencken[7] observed, "[t]he early German immigrants had no very definite ideas about the spelling of their own names." Of equally little long-term consequence, as far as name spellings were concerned, was the act of putting one's signature under the oath of allegiance or signing the document abjuring the Church of Rome, as was required by law.[8]

An official act of somewhat more consequence was the registration of land purchases in the local courts. Here again, German surnames appear in all kinds of shapes, either perfectly German or totally Americanized, or in between. The American bureaucracy solved the problem by establishing the principle of *idem sonans,* that is, if different name spellings "sounded the same," a claim of an unbroken line of ownership was acknowledged.

Today, most scholars are in agreement that in the majority of cases name changes are likely to have occurred gradually rather than through an official act.[9] Immigrants pronounced their names in much the same ways they had pronounced them in the Old Country. Their English-speaking neighbors picked up the names as sounds, possibly making a mental picture of a spelling according to the rules of the English language. When it came to writing the names, those mental pictures were put onto paper. As long as the bearers of the names still knew German and understood the spelling of their name, they would either correct the misspellings or just disregard them. But the time would come when the German language was lost within the family and the feel for what was correct in German spelling no longer prevailed. Sooner or later many would get tired of the constant need to correct. As a result, the world around them would settle on spellings that would be easy to write and remember for a person used to hearing and writing the English language.[10] In most cases, and certainly in most cases where the Anglicized spelling produced a resemblance of the sound of the German original, it is therefore more appropriate to say that the names "changed" rather than "were changed." "Were changed" is the correct wording only in cases of outright translation.

The following overview of changes that were most common uses the system and terminology designed by Einar Haugen[11] in his discussion of Norwegian surnames in America. Modifications and additions accommodate the developments that specifically concern surnames that are of German origin. Examples are taken from the author's files collected over a period of almost two decades, verified and augmented by checks on the PhoneDisc[12] system. Particularly illustrative examples are also taken from existing studies.

Haugen distinguished *retention* from *revision* and *substitution.* In the case of retention, the original spelling is preserved but pronunciation shows the influence of the English-speaking environment. Revision includes respelling, elimination of unfamiliar letter combinations, and abbreviating. In the case of substitution, no trace of the name's original orthographic manifestation is preserved. Haugen noted that "in practice these alternatives might overlap, since the orthographic revision could make a name coincide with a previously existing English name."[13] Still, such cases do not invalidate the basic distinctions, which prove useful in bringing some order into what H. L. Mencken called "a dreadful mess."[14]

I. RETENTION OF THE GERMAN SPELLING

Not all German names changed or were changed. In the areas of the country that were settled when general literacy had already established a predominance of the written over the spoken medium, many names that are complicated even by German standards have retained their spellings. For the city of Milwaukee this includes, according to the city telephone directory, *Bauernfeind, Eineichner, Eisenhauer, Friedrichsohn, Harnischfeger, Heinzelmann, Neuenschwander, Pfannenstiel, Schumacher, Schwarzkopf, Schwerdtfeger, Seidensticker, Sichlassenfallen, Stadtmueller, Uihlein* and many others.

With Persistence of German Pronunciation

Names may retain their spelling but will

most likely be affected in their pronunciation. The relationship between symbol and sound is language-specific; German names transferred into an English-speaking environment will be pronounced according to the rules of English. There are very few German names which would be pronounced the same in both English and German. Most of those are one-syllable names, e.g., *Beck, Fick, Lind, Lipp, Mencken, Mett, Meyer, Misch...*

With Partial Persistence of German Pronunciation

German or near-German pronunciation may persist against the rules of English. "Individual families can make their wishes felt," Haugen[15] observed. In Wisconsin, the Jung Seed Company uses the pronunciation [jʊn] in radio and television advertising. A community with a strong German heritage helps preserve unusual pronunciation habits. A woman from Hamburg, Wisconsin, told me with reference to the name *Euler* that "in our area, we said it like 'Oiler' but now that my parents have moved away and I have married I say 'Youler'."

Persistence of near-German pronunciation against what would normally prevail in an English-speaking environment is evident in the American evolution of the German umlaut sounds symbolized by <ü> and <ö>. English does not have these front rounded vowels. Alternative German spellings are <ue> and <oe> which, if transferred into English, will allow the pronunciation [i] and [ɛɪ] to be maintained with relative ease. Names so pronounced will be understood by native Germans; it is a pronunciation actually found in many German dialects. Hence, *Kuehn* (German *Kühn* or *Kuehn)* would be pronounced [kin] (like English *keen)* and *Goebel* would be [gɛɪb∂l] (like English *gable).*

With Anglicized Spelling Pronunciation

Spelling pronunciation, or the pronunciation of the German name by giving each letter or syllable the sounds that are usual in analogous English words, rather than pronouncing them in a way that still reflects the original German pronunciation, will affect all names of German origin. Some names may get by with minor changes, such as *Fischer, Frick, Keller.* Others become unrecognizable to a German ear, such as *Ueberroth* ['jub∂, raθ].

Spelling pronunciation takes care of the two German consonant sounds not found in English, [ç] and [*x*] are both represented by <ch> in German orthography. Spelling pronunciation produces [k] (as found in *ache and mechanic)* in names such as *Schlicht* and *Eichhoff,* or (less frequently) [tʃ], e.g., in *Koch.* The most audible change concerns the letter <z>, pronounced [ts] in German but [z] in English, as in *Ziegler, Zimmerman(n), Schmelzer.* In the case of vowels, spelling pronunciation replaces German [e] by English [i] as in *Peters* and *Seemann,* and <eu> (German [ɔi]) by [u] in *Steuben* and *Euler,* to mention two of the most obvious changes.

With Translation Pronunciation

In the *Second Supplement* to *The American Language,* Mencken ridicules the "curious habit" of the people in the "somewhat decadent village of Potosi, Wis." who would preserve "the original German spelling" of the name *Schmidt* even though the pronunciation had changed to *Smith.*[16] Decadent or not, the phenomenon is quite common, especially in the case of names based on appellatives which are cognates in the two languages. Hence, the name *Koch* is heard as [koʊk] or [kɔtʃ], rarely as [kɑk] but most commonly [kʊk], that is, as though it were the English name *Cook.* The name *Freitag* has been reported as being pronounced exactly like its equivalent in English, *Friday."* Elda O. Baumann reports that in Potosi the pronunciation [miter] is used for a name spelled *Muller.*[18]

The term "translation pronunciation" was suggested by George J. Metcalf[19] in reference to the observation that certain German names that are phonetically close to English ones, will assume the pronunciation of those English names yet retain their German spelling. His examples are cognates, but it does not require a cognate relationship for a replacement to take effect. Joseph Schantz, an immigrant from Switzerland, laid out a town in western Pennsylvania in the year 1800 which he called Conemaugh, after the river that flows by it. To his

fellow citizens the name *Schantz* sounded more like "Johns," and it did not take long for this version to also be used in writing. In 1834 the borough and city was renamed *Johnstown*[20] in his honor. But all the while, the founder signed documents *as Joseph Schantz,* using the old German lettering no less.[21]

With Silencing of German Letters

Letters are silenced in names of German origin as they would be in comparable English words. Names beginning with *kn* such as *Knauer, Knieriem, Knobloch* (where the *k* is pronounced in German) but also those having the *kn* cluster medially, e.g., *Frischknecht,* drop the *k* in English.

A syllable-initial *h* is silenced in *Schonhoff* [ʃounəf] (German *Schoenhoff)*[23] and *Schoenherr* [ʃɛɪnər], also in *Gerhardt* [dʒɛrɪd]. In *Hofheinz* (also *Hofheins),* the *h* is hardly pronounced in German either but never lost in the writing because of the name's transparency.

With Pronunciation of German Silent Letters

In German, the letter *h* at the end of what is perceived as a syllable is not pronounced. In the English-speaking environment this perception is lost, and the letter is usually interpreted as the onset of the next syllable. So *Frueh\auf* becomes *Frue\hauf* in the name well known from truck mudflaps.

Another silent German *h* is the one that in older German was added to the letter *t* without affecting pronunciation *(as* in English *Thompson)* . A spelling reform abolished this tradition in 1901 but names were generally not affected. Consequently, in names such as *Thiel, Thiessen, Thode, Bethke, Rothrock, Walther, Jungbluth, Wirth,* Americans interpret the <th> sequence as representing the sound [θ] as found initially in *thin.* In names such as *Schultheis(s),* the *t* and the *h* are divided by the syllable boundary in German but combined as [θ] in English, also resulting in re-syllabification.

With Simplification of German Sound Clusters

The clusters consisting of the sound [J] (the initial sound in English "shore," represented by <sch> in German) plus *l, m, n* and *w* [v] are not found in English. As a consequence, names such as *Schlicht, Schmelzer, Schneider, Schwartz* are routinely pronounced by changing [ʃ] to [s], i.e., [slɪkt] etc. Equally difficult to pronounce for Americans is the frequent German cluster [pf]. In names such as *Pfeffer, Pfersching, Pfister, Schimmelpfennig,* either the [p] or the *[f]* is silenced in pronunciation, the latter more commonly than the former.

With Re-syllabification

Re-syllabification occurs when a speaker is not familiar with the rules of syllable boundary that apply to German. For example, in German compound names whose first element ends with an s (often indicating a genitive) and the second begins with an *h,* the <sh> will be identified as standing for the English sound [ʃ], e.g., *Wollers\heim* in German becomes *Woller\sheim* in English. Re-syllabification also occurs through the pronunciation of letters which are silent in German, see **Pronunciation of German Silent Letters,** above.

With loss of Bi-syllabic Structure

In English, word-final *e* following a single consonant modifies the quality of the stem vowel, cf. *hat vs. hate.* In German, word-final e is
pronounced. Consequently, the name *Bode* is bi-syllabic in German but will be interpreted as [boʊd] in English. Similarly, *Hase, Rothe.* Although their final *-e* does not affect the stem vowel, names such as *Heide, Olde* and *Schultze* will also be pronounced as one syllable if corrective measures (see **Respelling with an Eye to Preserving the Original Pronunciation,** below) are not taken.

II. REVISION OF THE GERMAN NAME

Respelling Necessitated by German Orthographic Symbols not Found in English

The Letter ß. The German letter ß (pronounced *es-tset,* German for "s-z", the letters from which it was originally composed) stands for the "sharp" *s* and is found in medial and word-final position. Americans normally did not recognize the letter or mistake it for a capital B.[23]

Upon immigration, it was common to change the <ß> spelling to <ss>, an option that exists in German. Other possibilities, both also (but rarely) found in Germany, are the spellings <sz> and <hs> (the latter through a misinterpretation of the symbol when written in old German longhand). Hence, we find the name *Geißler* in America becomes *Geissler* (or *Geisler)* but also *Geihsler* and *Geiszler,* as documented by *PhoneDisc.*

The umlauts.[24] In German, the symbols <ä>, <ö> and <ü> represent vowel sounds that are phonetically quite different from the sounds that are represented by the same base symbols without the diacritic. Upon immigration, several alternatives are available for spelling names with umlaut symbols in a manner acceptable in the new homeland.

Spelling with the base symbol plus *e.* This alternative is possible also in German, e.g., when umlaut symbols are not available in telegraphic transmission or, more recently, E-mail. Occasionally, even German families have settled on this spelling rather than using the umlaut symbols in their names.

Spelling with the base symbol only. This option, applied only in America, will result in spelling pronunciations which are quite different from the German umlauts except in the case of German <ä> vs. English <a> where the correspondence may be close. Examples for the two options are *Kuehn* or *Kuhn* (German *Kühn), Goebel* or *Gobel* (German *Göbel), Jaeger and Jager* (German *Jäger).*

American families who choose to resolve the umlaut problem by using the base symbol plus *e* will be able to also preserve a pronunciation that is similar to the German. The problem is that these are not the pronunciations which a speaker of English would naturally produce when seeing the name written. So the *Kuehns* who, in the family tradition, pronounce their name [kin] will constantly have to correct those who say [kjun], as the *Goebels* will have to correct those who say [goʊbl]. Over time, especially if families live in isolation from others with a similar name, there is a strong tendency to succumb to the "English" way of pronouncing their names, unless the spelling is changed to reflect the "German" sound (see **Silencing of German Letters,** above**).**

Those who changed a German <ä> to <ae> burdened successive generations with problems arising from the fact that the sequence <ae> is so much rarer in English than is <ea>. As a consequence, names such as *Yaeger (German Jäger)* were frequently misspelled *Yeager.* In due time, this became the regular spelling; *PhoneDisc* lists almost 8,000 *Yeagers* in the U.S. but only a 1,441 *Yaegers.* Similarly, the American *Kreamers* and *Creamers* were all *Krämers* originally.

Continuing to use the umlaut diacritics. Americans will generally pronounce the umlaut symbols disregarding the diacritics, as in the brand name *Löwenbräu* (American English [loʊθnbraʊ]). However, in the case of <ü>, its continued use in longhand writing seems to have been picked up by people who were not familiar with the German symbol as <ii>, i.e., double *i,* resulting in spellings such as *Biittner* (German *Büttner), Kiibler, Kiihn, Liittschwager, Miick, Miihlbach, Miiller, Reimschiissel* and dozens more.[25] Obviously, this remarkable development which resulted in a symbol sequence not otherwise found in either English or German was not at all uncommon.

Respelling with an Eye to Preserving the Original Pronunciation

Respelling is the effort, either on the part of the bearer of a name or on the part of someone who hears it pronounced, to render the German pronunciation according the rules of English orthography, or at least reasonably so. In most cases, the vowels are affected. For example, the sound of the German name *Bruckner* is preserved (and saved from the effects of spelling pronunciation) by spelling it *Brookner.* Similarly, that of *Fuss* by spelling it *Foos.* Only partially successful was the change from *Zug* to *Zook;* obviously, spelling pronunciation of the <z> had become established before the rest of the name changed its spelling. Of the **diphthong** sounds the ones most likely to require respelling to preserve their pronunciation are [aɪ] (spelled <ei> in German) and [oi] (spelled <eu> or <äu> in German). Examples of the numerous respellings are: *Heide>Hidy,*

Klein>Kline or *Cline,* also *Clyne, Kaiser>Kizer, Bäumeler> Bimeler*[26] *Neuhäuser>Nihizer.* The respel-ling in the latter examples is certainly due to the fact the [oi] became [aɪ] in the German dialects that predominated among the early immigrants. In many other cases the spelling <eu> is retained and subjected to spelling pronunciation, e.g., *Steuben.* Among the compound names, an example for respelling is *Izenhower for Eisenhauer,* even though the popularity of the name has preserved a near-German pronunciation even for the unchanged spelling.

A number of **consonant** sounds likewise needed to be respelled in order to preserve the original German sound in the English-speaking environment. Quite common is the spelling <Y> for German <J> in initial position, representing the sound [j]: *Jäger>Ya(e)ger, Jahraus> Yahraus,Jungfleisch>Yungfleisch,Jüngling> Yuengling, Joder>Yoder.*[27] In syllable-initial position <z> for German <s> is found: *Siebold>Ziebold, Kaiser>Kaizer* or *Kizer, Neuhäuser>Nihizer.* Others, such as <v> for German <w> *(Jungwirth>Yungvirt, Schwartz>Svartz, Winkler>Vinkler)* are rare and possibly influenced by languages other than German and English.

Also originally the result of respelling is <gh> where German has <ch>. We frequently find this in compound names ending in *-baugh,* German *-bach.* The German spelling <ch> represents the sound [X], the velar fricative not found in English. However, the early scribes, many of whom were of Scots-Gaelic extraction, knew the sound from Scots names such as *Laughlin*[28]*and* applied the respective spelling.[29]

A particular challenge faces persons whose German name was bi-syllabic and ended in *-e,* e.g., *Bode,*[30] *Goethe, Kade, Thode.* In English orthography, an *-e* following a single consonant is not pronounced but merely determines the shade of the stem vowel, as in *hat* vs. *hate.* A solution frequently employed that preserves the **bi-syllabic character** of the original name with a minimum of change in the pronunciation, is replacing the *-e* with a *-y.* Adding the *y* to the *e* or replacing it with *-ie* will have the same effect. As a consequence, we find names such as *Bodey, Goethie, Kadey* and *Kadie, Langey* and *Langie.* Names with more than a single letter between the stem vowel and the final *e* retain their bi-syllabic structure more easily but will often add a *y* just to make the pronunciation quite clear, or because an *-ey* or *-y* ending looks more comfortable as an English ending than just *-e. Bethkey* (German *Bethke), Willkie* (German *Willcke),*[31] *Keehney* (German *Kühne), Langie, Langey* (German *Lange), Rippley* (German *Rieple).*

"Dutchified" Names

The spellings of many of the names going back to early immigration reflect the pronunciations of the names in the dialects spoken by the immigrants. This was generally the Palatinate dialect which was gradually accepted in Pennsylvania and developed into what is today known as "Pennsylvania German" ("Pennsylvania Dutch" in the earlier notation). Donald Herbert Yoder used the term "Dutchified"[32] to characterize the dialect-based spellings. For example, German [ɪ] and [e] before [r] (and certain other sounds) is pronounced [a] in the dialect, as reflected in *Harshbarger* (German *Hirschberger)* and *Spangler* (German *Spengler).* Names spelled with <ü> or <ue> in German are spelled with <i> in Dutchified names if the German sound was [Y] (the "short" ü*),* e.g., *Guengerich>Ging(e)rich;* if it was [Y] before [r] it became [ɛ], e.g., *Zuericher>Zercher,* if it was [y] (the "long" ü*),* it became <ie> or <ee>, e.g., *Kuefer>Kieffer, Keeffer).* The [aɪ] sound, spelled <ei> or <ey> in German names, became [ɔi] and accounts for *Moyer* for German *Meyer.* Among the consonants, a widespread change is [b] to [v], as reflected in *Hoover* (German *Huber). en* in medial or final position routinely became *a,* as in *Lookabaugh* from German *Luckenbach.*

Respelling to Bring Orthography in Line with Spelling Pronunciations

The English language does not have the sounds [ç] and *[x],* both represented in German orthography by <ch>. In most cases, spelling pronunciation results in [k], as found in *ache* and *mechanic.* But the spelling <ch> for

the sound [k] is not widespread. Hence, the pronunciation tends to lead to the more familiar spelling <ck> (as in *luck, packer).* Examples are *Rickenbacker* for German *Richenbacher,* or *Eickoff for Eichhoff.*

Respelling of "Resolved" German Umlaut Vowels

As discussed earlier, the umlauts spelled <ü> and <ö> can be spelled <ue> and <oe> in German, and often are in German names upon immigration. This allows for the pronunciations [i] and [ɛɪ], respectively, close enough to the original German sounds. However, again it es not a "normal" way of spelling the sounds in English. The tendency is towards a more common English spelling. Hence we find *Bame* (also *Bahme)* for *Boehm* (German *Böhm), Gabel* or *Gable for Goebel* (German *Göbel)*[33], *Keehn* for *Kuehn* (German *Kühn), Free(h)ouf for Fruehauf* (German *Frühauf), Yingling* for *Yuengling* (German *Jüngling).*

Respelling Reflecting More Common English Orthography

The tendency to settle for a more common rather than a rare English spelling is repeated in the treatment of <el> found in unstressed syllables of German names. English has the spellings <el> *(model)* as well as <le> *(uncle)* but in the names of the earlier immigrants and still quite frequently later, the German spelling is routinely changed to the more familiar English <le>: *Engel>Engle, Goebel>Gable, Nagel>Nagle, Dunkel-berger> Dunkleberger,* etc.

For the sound [f], the spelling is <sch> in German but <sh> in English. Elimination of the "superfluous" *c* results in changes such as *Schultz>Shultz, Schwartz>Shwartz, Pfersching>Pfershing.* After *t,* because of the idiosyncrasies of English orthography the same sound is spelled <ch>, resulting in *Fritch* from German *Fritsch.*

The German cluster <tz>, pronounced [ts], is just as easily rendered if written <ts>: *Shults* from *S(c)hultz* and *Shwarts* from *S(c)hwartz.* In the case of <tz> in *Schultz (and* in *Pfal(t)zgraf as* well as others), the sound of the German name is preserved (because of the phonetic characteristics of the dental sound [1]) even if the letter *t* is dropped entirely and the names spelled *S(c)huls* and *P(f)alsgraf in* English.

Respelling Reflecting Simplified Pronunciation

The simplified pronunciations noted in **Simplification of German Sound Clusters,** above, have often resulted in the actual elimination of the "superfluous" letters. In the case of [J] becoming [s] (preceding l, *m, n* and *w),* we find the resultant spellings *Slicht* (or *Slict)* from *Schlicht, Smidt* and *Smelzer* from *Schmidt* and *Schmelzer, Snider* (frequently *Snyder)* from *Schneider, Swartz* from *Schwartz,* as well as many others.

From the simplification of [pf] with retention of either the one or the other component result the doublets *Hassenplug/Hassenflug, Palsgraf/Falsgraf, Peffer/Feffer, Pers(c)hing*[34] */Fers(c)hing, Pister/Fister, S(c)him(m)elpennig, S(c) him(m) elfennig.*

Elimination of the silenced <h> is found, in addition to various other typical respellings, in *Huffines,* from *Hofheinz;* see also **Silencing of German Letters,** above.

Elimination of "Superfluous" Letters

German orthography employs consonants, especially double consonants, to indicate that a vowel is short. In other cases, certain consonants are present for etymological reasons. Transferred into English, these graphic symbols may no longer be required or meaningful. Hence, in the case of *Schimmelpfennig,* the double consonants protect the "short" character of the <i> and the <e> in German but do nothing for the pronunciation in English that the spelling *Schimelpfenig* could not also do. Likewise, in spite of, e.g, *hitchhiker,* the English language does not easily allow two *h's* to stand next to each other in names.[35] Hence, people in this country having compound names of German origin containing *h+h* because the first element ends and the second begins with *h,* are constantly fighting a battle to prevent one *h* from getting lost. Examples are *Bachhofer, Bochholt, Buchholz, Fleischhauer* which all have American variants with one of the *hs* missing.

The "superfluous" letter most routinely dropped is one *n* from *-mann* as the base element in compounds: *Bachman, Haldeman.* The process is, of course, supported by the fact that it results in the English translation of the German word. Equally "superfluous" is one of the word-final ss that were ß in German in names such as *Ziegenfuss,* that will become *Ziegenfus.*

Clipping

German surnames tend to be longer than English ones. This easily leads to clipping part of the name off in everyday life. There may also have been a desire on the part of the immigrant to shorten the German name, especially if it is burdened with difficult spelling. Clipping affects the first part of a name more commonly than the second part: *Lautenbergef>Lauten, Lebenschweiler> Swiler*[36], *Rosenbaum Ross(!), Schrecken-berger>Berger, Seiden-spinner>Seidens*[37], *Swartzenbaugh> Swartz*[38], *Veitenheimer> Veit, Wildschuetz> Wild.*

Partial Respelling/ Translation

A large number of German surnames are compound names, consisting of a base word (often a name in its own right) and a determining element. In America, both of these can undergo changes but typically, only one of the elements is affected, e.g. in *Eisenhower* (German *Eisenhauer),* the base word is respelled whereas the equally un-American determiner remains unchanged. In this case, the respelling is just that, i.e., *hower* is not an English word, but in most cases respelling actually results in an English word which tends to be the translation of the changed element.

Examples for changes of the first element are, *Applebaum* (German *Apfelbaum), Brownstein* (German *Braunstein), Good-weiler* (German *Gutweiler), Newmeyer* (German *Neumeyer).* The second element is changed in *Baumgarden* (German *Baum-garten), Messersmith* (German *Messer-schmidt), Steinway* (German *Steinweg),* and *Haudenshield* (German *Haudenschild,* a so-called "imperative" surname). Whether the first or the last element changes seems to be determined solely by which of the elements in the German name is closer in sound to the respective English equivalent, e.g., in the case of *Apfelbaum, Apfel* is more similar to *apple* than *Baum* is to *tree. Mann* is closer to *man* than any other German-English corresponding pair and hence the element first and most frequently changed. Along these lines it is possible to establish an hierarchical order and predict, in a given example, which one of the elements is likely to be changed and which one is not.

III. SUBSTITUTION

Substitution results in surname forms that look completely English. Nothing in their spelling suggests their German origin. Yet an important difference presents itself when these names are seen side by side with the German names they replaced. Some are quite different in their spelling but their "meaning" is the same. These are the names that were consciously translated. Others also are, technically, the translations of their German counterparts. But they look quite similar to their German counterparts and in fact, simple respelling played the major role in their reshaping. Most of the latter changes result in linguistic cognates.

Substitution by Meaning: Translation

New names resulting from translation have only their meaning in common with the German names they replaced. Their spellings are completely different. To bring about the change, a conscious act was required, either an act of power on the part of an outside agent or agency, or an act of will on the part of the name bearer.

Changes imposed by outside agents seem to have taken place at the time of early German immigration. It is reported that "[w]henever William Penn could translate a German name into a corresponding English one, he did so in issuing patents for land in Pennsylvania; thus the respectable *Carpenter* family in Lancaster are the descendants of a *Zimmermann.*"[39]

In many situations and at various times in American history, German immigrants or their descendants found it desirable to hide the connections to the ancestral homeland which their

surnames betrayed, by having their names officially changed. Many such changes were enacted in response to anti-German sentiments during World War I. In general, however, translation was not very widespread and actually unusual in the wake of the German mass immigration during the 19th century.[40] Barker observed that "translation is an active factor for change only when little change in sound is necessary,"[41] i.e., primarily in the cases of "conversion" discussed in the following section.

Only the history of the individual family can determine whether a *Carpenter* or a *Taylor* family descended from immigrant ancestors named *Zimmermann* or *Schneider.* In a few cases, however, a translated name may not exist as a family name in the English-speaking world. For example, the names *Silknitter, Ironcutter* and *Turnipseed,* are not listed in the *Dictionary of English Surnames* by Reaney and Wilson and can safely be considered translations of the German names *Seidenstricker, Eisenhauer* and *Rübsam(en),* respectively, on the basis of this evidence alone.

One of the reasons behind translating is the desire to gain a name that causes no stumbling or offense in an English-speaking environment. It may, however, also lead to a name that is not all that attractive, as the name *Turnipseed* from the German *Rübsamen* shows.

Substitution by Sound: Conversion

As the discussion of **Translation Pronunciation** (above) indicated, there is a strong tendency to change the pronunciation of German surnames to similar sounding English ones, a process known as "conversion."[42] The name *Müller* changed to *Miller* by the thousands because it already sounded very much like *Miller.* Similarly, the name *Schild(t)* changed to *Shield, Weber* to *Wea-ver,* etc. Often the similar sounding names are cognates, as they are in these cases, but they do not have to be, as the examples *Graf* to *Grove* and of Margaret *Mitchell* (born Margaret *Moeschl)* indicate.

Again, in cases like these it is no longer possible to use the surname as an indication of German ancestry; only research on the individual family will discover that the change occurred. But also again, there are exceptions. The name *Wag(g)oner,* although it looks very English, clearly indicates German ancestry because the word *waggon (wagon* in American English) was not borrowed into English from the Dutch until the 16th century, far too late to become productive in forming surnames in Great Britain.[43] All *Wag(g)oners* therefore have a *Wagner as* an immigrant ancestor.

Beyond Respelling: Groping for Meaning

Names are often respelled in order to provide a suitable English spelling for a German sound. So the name *Böhm* (or *Boehm),* pronounced so as to rhyme with *came* in Pennsylvania German and also in the English rendering of the German umlaut sound) frequently became to be spelled *Bame* in this country. But the process is likely to continue beyond the simple act of respelling. Although *Bame* looks English enough, to be comfortable people like a name to have "meaning." The sound of *Bame* will quickly bring to mind the phonetically close word *beam.* Indeed, there are many Pennsylvania German families by the name of *Beam* that trace their ancestry back to an immigrant named *Böhm.* According to *PhoneDisc,* the name *Beam* holds a commanding lead in the U.S. over *Bame.*[44] Interestingly, there are variants that still retain the German *h: Bahme* and even *Beahm.*

The importance of the factor "meaning" in the adaptation of German names to the American environment is obvious when the history of the name *Böhm/Beam* is compared to that of *Göbel/Gable.* In both cases, the same vowel sound is the source. In the case of *Gable,* the product of simple respelling was a meaningful word, so no further development took place. In the case of *Bame,* the change of the vowel had to be pushed a little further to arrive at a meaningful product, hence *Beam.*

To what extremes the groping for meaning principle can be carried is evident in the name *Birckenbeuel* (meaning 'hill of birch trees') which went through the stages *Perkapeal, Pirkeypile* and *Porcabile* until ending up as *Porcupine.*[45]

Folk Etymology

The preceding example is a simple example of folk etymology, defined in *Webster's Third* as "the transformation of words so as to give them an apparent relationship to other better-known or better-understood words." Most products of folk etymology are compounds.

The German name *Rübsam* (also *Rübsamen)* means 'seed of the turnip' and is originally a nickname for a farmer growing turnips. Most occurrences in this country, according to *PhoneDisc,* are in the forms *Rubsam* and *Ruebsam.* The latter allows the pronunciation [ribsɑm] which is close to the German original and will immediately bring up the concept of a name composed of the elements *reap* and *some.* Indeed in parts of Pennsylvania, the name *Reapsome* does exist.[46] Mencken reports on the *Todenackers* in Pennsylvania who live on as the *Toothatchers.*[47] Another Pennsylvania name is *Pennypacker.* This is not originally someone who packs pennies but, as the German original *Pfannebecker* indicates, a maker of roof tiles. *Kirchthaler* is a Palatinate name, meaning 'person from the village of Kirchthal' or 'person from the valley with the church.' In the Pennsylvania German dialect, this is pronounced ['karıç,dɑlər] suggesting, with a shot of folk etymology added, *Cashdollar* — a name found 231 times in U.S. telephone directories, according to *PhoneDisc.*[48]

Substitution by an Unrelated Name

Haugen reports for Norwegian immigrants that simply abandoning an Old World name and adopting a completely unrelated English one is "not particularly common."[49] Nor was it for German immigrants. Examples are not easily available for the very reason that the change was made: The intention was to become unrecognizable.

A New Name with a Link to the Old One

Those who made a drastic change often tried to at least preserve a token of allegiance to the name they abandoned. Frequently this was achieved by selecting or constructing an English-looking name that would have the same initial letter or letters as the abandoned German one. In his desire to adopt an appealing stage *name, John Deutschendorf* changed his name to *John Denver,* and *George Birnbaum* reappeard as *George Burns.* Closer to his original name was the choice of *Charles Zwick* who had his name officially changed to *Charles Z. Wick,* known to many as the director of the U.S. Information Agency under President Reagan. A more sophisticated example is that of *Charles Cist,* Henry Miller's partner in the printing of the German version of the Declaration of Independence whose birth name was Karl Jakob Sigismund Thiel. He composed his new surname from the initials of the original names, with the first one of the given names anglicized.[50]

IV. OTHER CHANGES

German surnames underwent a number of other changes triggered by the new linguistic environment that they encountered on the American continent. That new linguistic environment was not always an English-speaking one. Germans were among the early settlers in Louisiana when the predominant language was still French. Gallicised names found on the "German Coast" include *Chance* (German *Schantz), Chauffe* (German *Schaf), Leche* and *Laiche* (German *Lesch), Oubre* and *Ouvre* (German *Huber)* and others.[51]

By the same token, hiberization occurred in areas predominantly Irish. Where names beginning with *O'* or *M(a)c* were common, some German names lent themselves easily to change. Hence, we find *O'Dekoven* (from German Ö*dekoven)* ,[52] *McAfoos* (from German *Muckenfuss), McEnheimer* (German *Mückenheimer).*

A common phenomenon in Colonial surnames, including English ones, is the excrescent *-s,* e.g., *Ames* (from *Oehm)*[53]*, Myers, Snyders.* One may think of Dutch influence where adding the patronymic *s* to names is common, e.g., *Meyers.* Barker used the term "ornamentation" for lack of a better one.[54] He applied the same label to the spreading fad of doubling the final *l* in names such as *Russell<Russel.* The change actually signals the switch of the stress to the second syllable. It is widespread also in names of German origin including but not re-

stricted to those of East Coast Jews, e.g., *Engell, Handell, Himmell, Kreidell, Markell, Vogell.* Often the stress is switched in speech without a corresponding change in the spelling, e.g., *Glickel, Markel* may be stressed on the second syllable.

V. CONCLUSION

Name changes still take place but they are minor ones. The son of a recent Swiss immigrant by the name of Grüter who spelled his name *Grueter* in America, has decided to just use *Gruter,* without difficulties so far. But it is no longer advisable to be unconcerned about the consequences of a name change. As Howard F. Barker put it, paraphrased and quoted by Mencken:

> "[t]he surnames of the American people have been greatly stabilized by the wholesale regimentation introduced by World War I. Many of the conscripts rounded up for that war had only the vaguest idea of the spelling of their names, and not a few were uncertain as to what their names were, but by the time they were discharged every man had a name that was imbedded firmly in the official records, and he had to stick to it in order to enjoy any of the benefits and usufructs of a veteran. On the heels of this came the general spread of life insurance, a powerful stabilizing force. [...] Then came the automobile registration. Automobiles not only changed the face of the American landscape; they also went a long way toward stopping changes of family names. Automobile titles soon constituted a formidable body of property records. [...] Every million cars meant another million families named for good. After some years came Social Security. [. . .] By 1940 American nomenclature was vastly more stable than it had been in 1910, or even in 1920."[55]

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NOTES

[1]This overview is based on an extensive yet possibly still incomplete collection of name changes compiled by the author. A "dinner talk" version was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland on April 18, 1995; a full-fledged book version is scheduled for the near future. We use phonetic transcriptions (in square brackets, [ ]) for the benefit of our readers in Germany who may not be able to guess the pronunciation of a name in the U.S. Pointed brackets (< >) are used for actual orthographic features, otherwise, letters are simply printed in italics. Those readers who are not familiar with these conventions may safely ignore them; care was taken to explain all pronunciations and technical terms.

[2]Goethe expressed it this way: "A man's name is not a cloak that merely hangs about him, and which, perchance, one may safely twitch and tear, but a perfectly fitting garment, grown over and over him like his skin, which one cannot scratch and scrape without wounding the man himself." *Goethe's Autobiography. Poetry and Truth From My Own Life,* 356 (Part II, Book 10).

[3]Barker, "How the American Changes His Name," 101.

[4]The many and often curious changes which German surnames underwent in this country have repeatedly attracted the attention of scholars as well as laypersons. Oscar Kuhns calls his study of 1902 "the first treatise of the kind in America," but only five pages are actually devoted to the discussion of German surname changes in America. H.L. Mencken, in his cursory but fascinating manner, provides a wealth of material especially on 479-85, 4th edition of *The American Language,* and 407-13 of *Supplement II.* Invaluable are two unpublished academic theses which are the only systematic treatments so far of German surnames in the American environment. One is the doctoral dissertation of 1938 by Elda O. Baumann on the German surnames in the small Wisconsin city of Potosi, the other a 1958 masters thesis by Frederick W. Hilbig which discusses the Americanization of German surnames on the basis of evidence lifted from city directories across the country. Although written with a different goal in mind, an overwhelming record of name change possibilities is available in John Leighly's *German Family Names in Kentucky Place Names.*

[5]Jones, *German-American Names,* 53.

[6]Actually, we do not even know when and by whom the lists were written. Glazier and Filby *(Germans to America,* vol. 42, X; also in the preface to the other volumes) claim that "[although the manifests provide significant information about nineteenth-century immigration, we know little about the compilation of these lists; we do not know who made the lists originally, or if there was any uniform standard applied in collecting the data at the various ports. Some evidence suggests that the lists were compiled first by shipping agents at the port of embarkation and initially contained the names of all prepaid passengers; the names of additional passengers were added on board, after which clerks copied the lists before depositing them with U.S. authorities at the port of debarkation."

[7]Mencken, *The American Language,* 483.

[8]Mencken, *The American Language,* 482.

[9]So already Oscar Kuhns, "Studies in Pennsylvania German Family Names," 320 ("sometimes"); see also Donald Yoder, "Dutchified Surnames" (cited after Mencken, *The American Language, Supplement II,* 410): "the immigrants and their descendants simply learned to spell their surnames as they themselves pronounced them."

[10]Yoder, however, suggests that it was actually the immigrants and their descendants themselves who brought the respelling about. See preceding note.

[11]Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America,* 201-05.

[12]Installed in a computer with CD-ROM drive, the two discs list the names, addresses and telephone numbers of (it is claimed) 80 to 90 percent of all residences in the U.S. The actual percentage is probably lower, and the list contains many errors in the spelling of the names, but it is nevertheless an invaluable tool for the study of names.

[13]Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America,* 202.

[14]*The American Language, Supplement II,* 407.

[15]*The Norwegian Language in America,* 202.

[16]*The American Language, Supplement II,* 409-10.

[17]Metcalf, "Translation Pronunciation [. . .]," 268. Bernard J. Freitag, President of the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia assures me that whereas many people including some families related to him pronounce the name [fritag], to his knowledge no one has pronounced the name like the English name for the weekday.

[18]*German Surnames in Potosi,* p.100. The pronunciation may have started as an American rendering of the German umlaut [y] but its continued existence, in spite of the spelling, is remarkable nevertheless.

[19]Metcalf, "Translation Pronunciation [. . .]," 268-70.

[20]The city gained a place in the national consciousness through the flood that swept it away in 1889 after the break of the Conemaugh dam.

[21]*Green, from trail dust to star dust,* 20-22.

[22]Baumann, *German Surnames in Potosi,* 97.

[23]As happened to the German parliamentarian Franz-Josef Strauß who during a visit of New York was robbed of, among other things, his passport by three prostitutes. For a while, the New York Police Department was unable to return the passport to his rightful owner because the German Consulate General did not recognize the name read as "Straub" as being that of the visiting dignitary. See *Der* Spiegel 13/1971,25.

[24]The umlauts are treated here as requiring respelling because of their graphic representation and because all three umlauts, <ä>, <ö> and <ü> can then be discussed together. Of course, their German acoustic value is absent in the English language and thus requires adaptation, which may result in respelling also.

[25]Many may still be familiar with the name Larry Biittner, a player for the Chicago Cubs. (I owe this first example to my former Madison colleague, Donald A. Becker.) *Reimschiissel* was reported by F.W. Hilbig, *Americanization of German Surnames [...*], 41. Now, examples can be found easily by checking *PhoneDisc* for German surnames with <ü>, replacing the <ü> with <ii> in the search command. For example, *PhoneDisc* lists *Miiller no* fewer than 103 times, *Miick* forty-nine times, *Biittner* twenty-six times.

[26]The descendants of Joseph Bäumeler who founded the communal settlement of Zoar, Ohio, in 1817, spell their name *Bimeler.* See *Zoar. An Ohio Experiment in Communalism,* 70.

[27]Surnames beginning with *Y* are practically non-existent in German; exceptions are non-native names and accidental spellings.

[28]The name is generally pronounced [laflın] today but the original pronunciation was [laxlın]. See Kenyon and Knott, *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English,* s.v. Also Jones, *German-American Names,* p.26, and Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement II,* 408.

[29]A deliberate change by a later immigrant, *Dellenbach* to *Dellenbaugh,* was reported for Buffalo, N.Y., by Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism,* 201.

[30]Ken Bode, the moderator of PBS' "Washington Week in Review," makes the extra effort pronouncing his name [boʊdi] while others use [boʊd].

[31]Mencken, *The American Language, Supplement II,* 412.

[32]"Dutchified Surnames," see Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement II,* 410.

[33]Clark Gable's ancestors were indeed immigrants by the name of *Göbel.* There was no English evidence except the American name for the entry *Gable* in Hanks and Hodges' *Dictionary of Surnames* (personal communication by the author).

[34]General John J. Pershing's ancestor Friedrich Pfoersching immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1749. See Mencken, *The American Language,* 480.

[35]In English, the name formation process just like in German resulted in situations where a first element ending in an *h* would be linked to a second beginning with the same letter, as in *church* and *hill.* However, English nomenclature will not easily allow a double *h.* Hence, the name *Churchill* There are exceptions, though. In addition to 4,794 *Churchills, PhoneDisc* lists thirty-six *Churchhills* in the United States.

[36]Mencken, *The American Language,* 485.

[37]Barker, "How the American Changes His Name," 102.

[38]Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism,* 201.

[39]Mencken, *The American Language: Supplement II,* 411 (Mencken's source could not be verified.)

[40]The same observation is made by Haugen: "translation was not a common practice among the Norwegians." *The Norwegian Language in America,* 204.

[41]"How the American Changes His Name," 102.

[42]"Conversion [. . .] amounts to the adopting of a more familiar, similar-sounding designation." Howard F. Barker, "How the American Changes His Name," 101.

[43]Hanks and Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames,* s.v. *Wagner.*

[44]*Beam* does exist as a surname in England, according to Reaney and Wilson. However, it is rare and not likely to have provided the "pull" that changed *Bame* into *Beam* in the eastern U.S.

[45]*PalatinePattern* (1995), 6.

[46]Several in Lancaster, PA. Also in Little Germany, Perry County, PA, where the tombstones in the Ludolph Church cemetery provide the transitional spelling *Reapsam.*

[47]*The American Language,* 479. *PhoneDisc* does not yield either *Todenacker* or *Toothatcher* for anywhere in the U.S. (sorry, Herb); it does list *Tootha(c)ker* and *Toothhaker.*

[48]A friend with whom I discussed *Cashdollar* mentioned that he had heard there was a name *Americandollar,* a folk etymological rendering of the German name *Mergenthaler.* Again, *PhoneDisc* does not list this name; it's likely to be a joke (sorry, Don).

[49]*The Norwegian Language in America,* 205.

[50]*Dictionary of American Biography,* vol. 4, s.v. *Cist.*

[51]Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana,* 94-105.

[52]Hilbig, *Americanization of German Surnames,* 33.

[53]Mencken, *The American Language, Supplement II,* 409.

[54]"How the American Changes His Name," 103-03.

[55]*The American Language: Supplement II,* 461.

WHO WERE THE FIRST GLASSMAKERS IN ENGLISH AMERICA?

Jamestown, Virginia, has been called the "birthplace" of America, because it is the site of the first permanent English settlement in America. While England organized this key settlement and supplied most of its colonists, a number of Continental Europeans also made their contributions as artisans and specialists. We know that among these specialists were several Continental glassmakers, but their specific country of origin is still in question. When Captain John Smith, the governor of the first permanent English colony, recorded the arrival of glassmakers at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608, he lumped them together with other craftsmen from Germany and Poland.

Recently I visited the Colonial National Historical Park, which includes the site of Jamestown. I wanted to see if I could discover any clues to the identity of these important American pioneers.

A leaflet in the Jamestown Visitors Center run by the National Park Service urges guests to "visit the GLASSHOUSE where craftsmen demonstrate the art of 17th century glass-blowing, one of Virginia's first industries, established in 1608."[1] There is no mention of the nationality of the glassmakers. A German translation of the same leaflet is equally silent on this subject.

In his *Generall Historie of Virginia,* John Smith stated that in October 1608 about seventy settlers arrived, including "eight Dutchmen and Poles."[2] He indicated that the men were hired to make pitch, tar, glass, clapboard and soap ashes.[3] Elsewhere he identifies the "Dutchmen" as Germans.[4] The eight craftsmen included three German carpenters, Adam, Franz and Samuel, as well as some glassmakers. Among the new arrivals were also several Polish makers of soap ashes and potashes, pitch, and tar. Three of the Poles are known by name, Robert, Molasco, and Matthew.

The glassmakers who came to Jamestown in 1608 were probably all of the same nationality because it is unlikely that the Virginia Company of London, which organized the colony, would have sent to Poland for one set of glassmakers and to Germany for another. A single language would have facilitated communication among the glassmakers as they went about their difficult craft. In Europe a glasshouse was run by a master and several helpers; it is probable that a particular master traveled to America with his own helpers.

It is difficult to determine how many glassmakers actually came to Jamestown. If three Poles are to be counted among the eight craftsmen who arrived in 1608, only two unnamed glassmakers, a master and an assistant, remain unaccounted for. Yet two men seem too few to operate the three ovens and the kiln which were excavated near Jamestown. J. C. Harrington, the archeologist who excavated the ovens, wrote, "The crew that actually made the glass articles would probably have consisted of two or, at the most, three experienced glass workers with one or two helpers. In addition, there would have been a number of other helpers, or 'boys,' who did the unskilled work or performed more particular jobs under the supervision of the glass workers. There may have been as many as five of these helpers. . . ."[5] It is worth noting in this regard that when the English made a second attempt to manufacture glass at Jamestown in 1621, they brought over six glassmakers plus their families, which presumably included apprentices.[6]

The American historian Conway Whittle Sams resolves the difficulty by interpreting Captain Smith's phrase "eight Dutchmen and Poles" to mean eight Dutchmen *plus* Poles.[7] The Jacobeans apparently had no expression equivalent to the modern "plus"; they had to content themselves with the word "and" to convey both meanings. In speech it would, of course, have been readily apparent which use of "and" was meant; less so in written form. Sams' interpretation would leave five glassmakers, a sufficient number to have run the operation.

The craftsmen set to work presently to build a glasshouse. Councilor William Strachey described it as "a goodly house . .. with all offices and furnaces thereto belonging." The glasshouse included three furnaces: a fritting furnace for preheating the glass ingredients; a

working furnace for melting the glass and for keeping it at a working temperature; and an annealing furnace for slowly cooling the finished pieces. There was also a kiln to fire pots used in melting the glass. The glass house was built on the mainland about a mile from James Fort, which stood on a peninsula. The glasshouse was convenient to the James River, the beaches of which supplied the sand for glassmaking. The foundations of the furnaces and the kiln have been uncovered. An historical marker at the entrance to the enclosure which protects the remains of the glassmaking furnaces reads:

GLASSMAKING -1608

HERE ON GLASSHOUSE POINT THE JAMESTOWN SETTLERS, IN 1608, BUILT FURNACES, MADE GLASS, AND SHIPPED A "TRIAL" OF IT TO ENGLAND. THIS MARKED THE BEGINNING OF OUR AMERICAN GLASS MANUFACTURE, ONE OF THE NATION'S FIRST "INDUSTRIAL" ENTERPRISES. THE JAMESTOWN GLASSHOUSE FOUNDATION, INC., IN COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, HAS MADE THIS EXHIBIT POSSIBLE. IT INCLUDES THE ORIGINAL FURNACE REMAINS AND A PERIOD TYPE GLASSHOUSE. FROM SUCH HUMBLE BEGINNINGS AMERICA'S GREAT GLASS INDUSTRY HAS GROWN. IN RECOGNITION OF THIS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT THIS PLAQUE IS PRESENTED.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A booklet on sale in the replica glasshouse, which is under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, states:

> The Dutchmen appear to have given trouble from the first, and it is doubtful if they ever contributed much to the glassmaking effort, beyond possibly assisting in the initial construction of the glasshouse. We know that some of them were carpenters, for they were sent to Chief Powhatan's village to build houses for the Indians. It appears more likely that the Poles were the glassmakers, for Smith, in his account of the fight with an Indian near the glasshouse, says that the Indian attempted to flee upon 'perceiving two of the Poles.'[8]

The booklet claims that the Dutchmen (actually Germans) contributed little to the glassmaking because they were troublemakers. However, the records show that of the Germans only the three carpenters allegedly gave trouble to Captain Smith, who was in the habit of finding fault with almost all of his associates. It is certainly possible that J. C. Harrington, the author of the booklet, draws unwarranted inferences about all the Germans from the alleged deficiencies of some of them. Harrington surmises that the Poles were the glassmakers because they came to Smith's help "near the glasshouse." Yet Smith's account reveals that he was attacked by the chief of the Paspahegh somewhere on the mile-long road from the glasshouse to James Fort.[9] The fact that Poles came to Smith's assistance somewhere in the general vicinity of the glasshouse does not seem sufficient reason for identifying the Poles as the glassmakers.

Harrington is alone among historians in assuming that all the glassmakers were Poles. The National Park Service as well as the Commonwealth of Virginia and the eminent British archeologist-historian Ivor Noël Hume count Germans among the glassmakers.[10] The question, then, is not whether some of the glassmakers were German, but whether all the glassmakers were German?

The American historian Philip L. Barbour answers the question in the affirmative. He writes:

> . .. the postulation that the Poles were hired to make glass is based on evidence that is flimsy indeed. Here is all that is known about the matter: Captain Smith was *"returning but from the glasse-house alone"* when he encountered the Werowance of Paspahegh, who first attempted to shoot Smith, but Smith grappled with him. The latter, however, prevented Smith from drawing his falchion, and the two fell into the river. *"Long they struggled in the water, from where the king [chief] perceiving two of the Poles upon the sandes, would have fled: but the President [Smith] held him by the haire and throat til the Poles came in."* The two quoted passages which I have put in italics are the sole surviving evidence that the Poles were glass experts. Indeed, my research into the history of glassmaking in Poland tends to hint that the Poles were hired for pitch and tar work, and the Germans for the glass, despite the vagueness of John Smith's account. There is no evidence that Poland had

> a glass industry of any great consequence in the days of Zygmund III (1587-1632)....[11]

In all the books available at the Library of Congress on the general history of glassmaking, there is no reference to Polish glassmaking. The German glassmaking industry of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries is, on the other hand, described at length.[12] The German glass industry was not only much older than the Polish one but far more extensive and sophisticated. Indeed, a "Glass Map of Europe" depicting areas of glass production during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries shows no production in Poland while showing three areas of concentration of German glassmaking, the Spessart, the Thuringian forest and the Iser and Riesen mountain ranges.[13]

Ada Polak states in *Glass: Its Makers and Its Public,* "Within the German-speaking areas, the forest glassmaking regions ran from the northern and central areas of Holstein and Hanover, by way of Thuringia, Franconia and Saxony to Bohemia and Silesia."[14] The type of glass produced at Jamestown in 1608-09 was identified as green glass or *Waldglas* by J. C. Harrington, the archeologist who described the ruins of the glasshouse.[15] "The name, forest glass *(waldglas)* which is generally given to the common glass made at many places in Germany in the Middle Ages is derived from the use of potash in the form of beech or other wood ash as an alkali...."[16]

To advance particular commercial ventures in the New World, the English made some effort to bring over foreign specialists from countries noted for these commercial enterprises. For example, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out in 1583 to prospect for precious metals under his patent from Queen Elizabeth, he conveyed along the mineral specialist Master Daniel the Saxon. During the Elizabethan era, Germany led in metallurgy, and the English mineral industry at that time was to a major extent created by German skill. Sir Walter Raleigh likewise brought along a German-Jewish mineral expert, Joachim Gans of Prague, when he attempted a settlement in 1585. The Virginia Company of London fetched German mineral men to Jamestown as well as French experts in viniculture. In their second attempt to start a glass industry at Jamestown, the English in 1621 brought over Italian glassmakers, who were even more skilled than the Germans, because they could produce clear glass. At no time do we see the English looking for practitioners of a particular industry in a country where that enterprise was not at a high level.

It seems highly probable that the Virginia Company of London would have been more inclined in 1608 to fetch glassmakers from a country with sophisticated glassmaking techniques, such as Germany, than from a country with a relative paucity of glassmakers who were comparatively less skilled. While Polish glassmakers might have come cheaper, the Company could have been far more certain that Germans would be able to produce glass in the Virginia wilderness that was readily salable on the English market.

The high skill of the Germans is evident from the fact that they were welcome in other countries. For example, in 1510, German glassmakers worked in the Italian cities of Perugia, Florence, Bologna and Arezzo.[17] The early glassmakers of Jutland, Denmark, were mainly of German origin.[18] Glassmaking was introduced into Sweden by German glassmakers.[19] In 1569, a London merchant named Anthony Becku tried unsuccessfully to bring German glassmakers to England.[20] While the German industry was relatively highly developed at the end of the sixteenth century, Poland had comparatively little industry. Imports to England from Poland consisted mainly of "raw materials and semi-manufactures."[21]

Although little glass was exported from Poland to England,[22] Poland did export large quantities of pitch, *tar* and soap ashes.[23] For this reason, one of the men who planned the English colony urged that "Men skilfull in burning of Sope ashes, and in making of Pitch, and Tarre, and Rozen" should be brought to Virginia "out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages, being there in the manner of slaves."[24] What was called Prussia then was part of Poland and would be known later as East Prussia. This advice was in-

deed followed, as the records of the Virginia Company show, and Poles were brought to Jamestown in 1608 to make soap ashes as well as pitch and tar.

Eleanor S. Godfrey believes that the Jamestown glasshouse was established to supply window glass for the London market:

> At a time when the scarcity of window glass in London was most acute, there was a daring attempt to supply the market from a new source. London merchants in the newly formed Virginia Company decided to establish a glasshouse in the struggling settlement at Jamestown Virginia....[25]

In the year 1567 window glass was imported into England from Normandy, Lorraine, and Hesse.[26] The province of Hesse included the Spessart Mountains, which were a center of German glassmaking as indicated by Polack and other writers.[27] Since Hesse was the German glassmaking region nearest to England and easily accessible via the Rhine, it could very well have been the place of origin of the glassmakers at Jamestown. We do know that glassmakers from Hesse were inclined to migrate. There is documentation of a Hessian glassmaker in the Duchy of Holstein in 1574 and in Sweden in 1591; later we find Hessian names appearing again and again in Dessau, Brandenburg and even in Bohemia.[28]

The glassmakers at Jamestown went to work so rapidly after their arrival in October 1608 that samples of their product were sent to England in December and arrived there 23 January 1609. More glass was produced in the spring of 1609, but there is no record of glass production after the "Starving Time" during the winter of 1609-1610, when the population shrank from 500 to about sixty.

The production of pitch and tar, as well as of potashes and soap ashes apparently continued, because Poles are referred to as makers of these products as late as 1619 and 1620. In 1619, the Company ordered that "some young men" shall be apprenticed to "the Polonians resident in Virginia," so that "their skill in making pitch and tar and soapashes shall not die with them. . . ."[29] While I found no document which establishes conclusively that all the glassmakers at Jamestown were German, there is every likelihood that this was the case. I believe that the glassmakers at Jamestown were the forerunners of those later German glassmakers, such as Kaspar Wistar, Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel and Johann Friederich Amelung who established the first successful glass factories in this country.[30]

— Gary C. Grassl
Washington, B.C.

NOTES

[1] *The Jamestown Story* (Colonial National Historical Park, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), no date.

[2]John Smith, *The Generall Histarie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning An: 1584 to the present 1624* (London: Michael Sparkes, 1624), Libro 3, 73.

[3]Smith stated, "As for the hyring of the Poles and Dutch-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes when the Country is replenished with people, and necessaries, would have done well, but to send them and seauentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should have beene" *(Historie,* 66).

[4]Smith identified the "Dutchmen" as Germans when he stated, "to send into Germany or Poleand for glassemen & the rest" while the colony was not yet on its feet was not a good idea *(Historie,* 72).

[5]J. C. Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse: The Story of Glassmaking at Jamestown.* (Richmond, VA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1972), 40.

[6]Harrington, 11.

[7]Conway Whittle Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia: The Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Co., 1929), 628.

[8]Harrington, 10.

[9]Smith says that upon "returning from the Glasse-house alone … he incountered the King of Paspahegh, a most strong stout Salvage …" *(Historie,* 84).

[10]At the Jamestown Settlement Museum (Jamestown Gallery, Jamestown Economic Experiments) run by the Commonwealth of Virginia, visitors may read, "Because Virginia possessed the natural ingredients for glass—sand, wood ashes, and lime—the [Virginia] Company [of London] hoped that glass production in Virginia would help meet the growing demand for the commodity in England. In 1608, the Company sent Polish and German craftsmen

to Jamestown to operate a glasshouse."

At the entrance to the enclosure protecting the furnace ruins, an introductory tape by the National Park Service informs the visitor that "Polish and German glassmakers" built the glassmaking furnaces.

Noel Hume refers to "Glassmakers, German" in the index to his book *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoke to James Towne: An Archeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994). On page 216, he writes, "The [glassmaking] operation was manned by some of the Dutchmen (really Germans—i.e., Deutschmänner) and Poles brought over with the Second Supply, and by 1610 they had set up what was then described as a 'goodlie howse .. . with all offices and furnaces thereto belonging" and situated 'a little without the Island where James towne standes.'"

[11]"The Identity of the First Poles in America" in *William & Mary Quarterly,* 3rd series, XXI (January 1964), 90.

[12]For example, in *A History of Technology: Volume III From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution c. 1500 - c. 1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957) there is extensive description of German glassmaking but not a word on Polish. The *Encyclopedia Americana* (International Edition, Danbury, Conn.: Grolier, 1994), 798, discusses sixteenth-century glassmaking in various German states under "Glass and Glassware" but is silent on Poland. Historical German glassmaking techniques are discussed in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Micropaedia, Vol. 5, "Glass," 296-297, but again there is no mention of Poland.

The author asked Dr. Gerhard E. Sollbach, member of the faculty of the Historical Institute of the University of Dortmund, to help with identification of the glassmakers at Jamestown. He, in turn, asked a Polish colleague,who "when he went to Poland for a research visit (University of Oppeln) this summer, checked the literature (so far as his time allowed him to do it) for any information on glassmaking in Poland around 1600—but without any success. As he told me, this seems to have been no subject for Polish historians" (personal communication of 15 November 1995).

[13]Ada Polak, *Glass: Its Makers and Its Public* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975).

[14]Polak, 44-45.

[15]Harrington, 31-33.

[16]Reginald G. Haggar, *Glass and Glassmakers* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1961), 28.

[17]Otto Stöber, *Wundersames Glas* (Linz: Landverlag, 1947), 32.

[18]Polak, 40.

[19]Stöber, 41.

[20]Eleanor S. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking, 1560-1640* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 25.

[21]Henryk Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 217.

[22]"The surviving port books reveal only small quantities of glass exported from Poland to England. In 1588 the merchant John Knapp imported one barrel of glass from Königsberg, and in 1599 English merchants collected twenty cases of glass from Elbing" [Königsberg and Elbing were Polish ports.] (Zins, 273).

[23]"In 1588 Baltic countries met 41 per cent of London's requirements in pitch and tar … almost the whole of England's imports of Baltic pitch and tar came from Danzig and Elbing. . . ." [Danzig, like Elbing, was a Polish port.] (Zins, 246).

[24]Richard Hakluyt (lawyer), "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia" written in 1585 and first published as an appendix to John Brereton's *A Brief and true Relation* . . . London, 1602.

[25]Godfrey, 58.

[26]Godfrey, 13, estimates that about 400 cases of window glass were imported in 1567 from Normandy, Lorraine and Hesse.

England imported not only window glass from Germany but also chemical glass. English port records show that in 1587-1588, 100 glass stills were imported from Dortmund and 200 "stilling glasses" from Emden. A 1621 petition against the English glass monopolist Sir Robert Mansell claimed that "chimicall glasses, as retorte heades and bodies, boulte heades and other like used for extractions distillacion and other Chimicall and Physical uses" had been imported from Germany before James I granted Mansell his monopoly and that they were better and cheaper [Ivor Noel Hume, *First and Lost: In Search of America's First English Settlement* (Manteo, NC: National Park Service, Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, 1995), 120-121.]

[27]Robert Schmidt, *Das Glas* (Berlin: Verlag Georg Reimer, 1912), 131-133, writes that in the sixteenth-century Hesse along with its adjoining forest regions was one of the two top glass-producing regions of Germany. As early as 1406 all glassmakers around the Spessart Mountains organized themselves into a union. In 1557, more than 200 glassmakers gathered at the annual session of the court in the town of Almerode in Hesse. The glass houses in Hesse appear to have conducted a significant export especially along the Rhine.

[28]Schmidt, 133.

[29]The records of the Virginia Company of 21 July 1619 state:

> Upon some dispute of the Polonians resident in Virginia, it was now agreed (notwithstanding any former order to the contrary) that they shall be enfranchised, and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever: and because their skill in making pitch and tar and soapashes shall not die with them, it is agreed that some young men shall be put unto them to learn their skill and knowledge therein for the benefit of the country hereafter [Susan Myra Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, DC.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), Vol. I, 251].

Poles are also referred to as makers of pitch and tar as well as soap ashes and potashes under entries of 17 May 1620 and 22 June 1620.

[30]Jane Shadel Spillman, *Glassmaking: America's First Industry.* (Corning, NY: The Corning Museum of Glass,

1976), 8, states: "The first successful glass manufactory in the colonies was that of Caspar Wistar, a Philadelphia brass-button manufacturer, who had immigrated from Germany. He imported German glassblowers in 1739 to staff the factory he established in southern New Jersey. . . . The second successful entrepreneur in glass was also a German. Henry William Stiegel built three glasshouses at Elizabeth Furnace and Manheim, Pennsylvania, between 1763 and 1774, and attempted to produce fine tableware as well as bottles and window glass." A few pages later Spillman continues: 'John Frederick Amelung arrived in the new republic in 1784 with men and equipment to develop a large glass factory complex for the manufacture of all types of glass. He came from a glassmaking family in Germany and was backed by a group of merchants in Bremen. Amelung's factory was established in Maryland, at a site [near Frederick] he named New Bremen and was, for a time, successful. He produced the most sophisticated glass which had been made in America up to that time. . ." (Spillman, 11).

THE APPRENTICE YEARS OF JACOB GROSS, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STIEFF PIANO COMPANY, AS RECORDED IN HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Students of history always find unpublished materials exciting, even when they illuminate only small aspects of the past. We were accordingly delighted when Mrs. George Jacob Gross agreed to share with us an unpublished autobiographical account of the apprenticeship and early journeyman experience of her late husband's grandfather, Jacob Gross, who in later years gained widespread renown as superintendent of the Charles M. Stieff Piano Company of Baltimore.

The autobiography is a touching account of young Gross's often trying and, at times, deeply disappointing experiences as an apprentice from the time he left home in 1833, as a lad of fourteen, to learn the art of piano building, to 1838, the point at which he had begun to acquire abroad the knowledge and expertise which enabled him to achieve success later in America and especially in Baltimore. While absorbing as a straightforward, at times naive account of frustrations and hardships, young Gross's reminiscences have larger significance as a historical document, for references he makes about the journeyman experiences of his co-workers indicate that the vicissitudes Gross endured were likely typical for many who received their early training in Germany and who then traveled as journeymen to complete it.

Gross recorded his recollections and impressions in a firm clear hand in a booklet measuring approximately four and one-half by seven inches. Attached to the volume are two statements. The first, written by Jacob's son, Charles Jacob, explains that the reminiscences are a partial history of his father's early life. Charles Jacob notes that his mother gave him the manuscript on April 20, 1896, and concludes with the wish that it pass to his sons after his death. As it turned out, Charles Jacob predeceased his mother, and, according to the second appended statement, written by Jacob's grandson George Jacob Gross and dated April 20, 1979, the executors of her estate decided that the document should pass to George Jacob because he had seven grandsons to carry on the family name of Gross. George Jacob's statement also contains the information that the manuscript was translated into English by a friend of his brother Robert's wife about the year 1953, in Boston.[1]

A reference to Bern late in the narrative indicates that the inspiration to record the vicissitudes of his early years came to Jacob at a time when he was already confident of realizing his ambition to become a master piano builder. At that point in his development, as he explains at the beginning of his account, he felt that it might be useful to pinpoint moments and events which in retrospect could be identified as important milestones in his progress toward mastery of his craft and in his intellectual and moral development. "Let it be a mirror," he says there of his narrative, "in which I can see the things I have done wrong and the progress I have made."

In the section following his preamble Jacob provides a brief summary of the history of Untergröningen, the town in which he was born on July 26,1819, and a short description of the geographical features of the area of Württemberg in which it is located:

> The Kocher River coming from Aalen passes a mountain slope in a very picturesque district. On the slope is the great castle of Gröningen. Partly above the castle and partly at the foot of the slope is the town of Gröningen.

Jacob's father, Johann Georg Gross, had eventually inherited the family-owned brewery and inn *Zum Adler* [At the Sign of the Eagle], which his father had built in 1800. As brewer and innkeeper, Jacob recalls, his father had to work hard, for he had also inherited debts. For years his only help came from his wife Creszencia, née Maier, the daughter of a burgher farmer, and a few hired hands.

In his early years Jacob, youngest of twelve children, was frail, and since his only brother,

Anton, wished to study for the ministry, a vocation which his parents encouraged, Johann Georg "had little hope of leaving the inn and brewery to one of us boys," as Jacob puts it, and decided to make his daughter Marian and her husband his heirs. Having reached this decision, Johann Georg drew up an agreement with Marian and her husband providing that for the duration of his life he retain "for himself and his remaining children one room which could be heated, a chamber, and a kitchen." The agreement also assured Johann Georg a yearly allowance, which he received, Jacob recalls, "mostly in fruit, meat and eggs, and daily drink" in addition to a small cash sum.

After the wedding, Jacob reports, his father and mother stayed on in the inn and continued, moreover, "to work as hard as before for the good of the young people." Jacob also had chores, helping in the brewery and inn during the winter and taking cows to and from pasture in the summer. Concerning his school experience Jacob says rather little beyond lamenting the fact that frequently changing teachers caused lacunae in his education. He learned to read and to write, to be sure, and he also acquired some knowledge of mathematics, he says, but he **had** no chance to study a foreign language, instruction in history was erratic, and he heard next to nothing in school about art or other cultural subjects.

From early childhood on it was Jacob's wish, and later also his parents' wish, that he learn a trade. An opportunity unexpectedly presented itself early in 1833 when a distant relative, an organ builder named Wilhelm who lived in nearby Gmünd and had come to Untergröningen to repair the organ in the chapel of Untergröningen Castle, offered to accept Jacob as an apprentice, with the proviso that he first "learn a little about music." Jacob and his parents quickly seized the opportunity, and on May 1, 1833, Jacob took his first piano lesson. Five months later, having learned at least the rudiments of piano technique, he left home, at age fourteen, and traveled on foot to Gmünd to begin his apprenticeship, on October 24,1833.

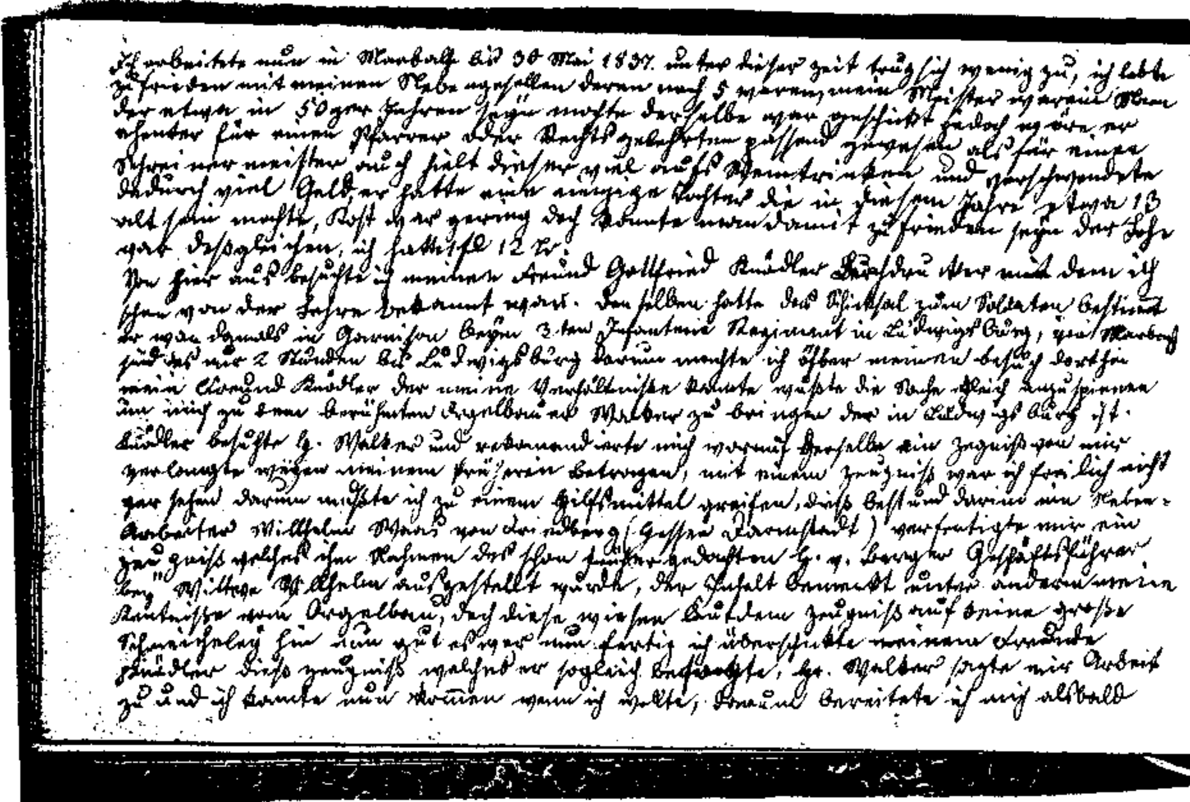
At that time young people wishing to learn a trade were apprenticed to a master craftsman, who, in exchange for a fee, offered instruction, shelter, food, sometimes also clothing, and medical care in case of illness. The apprentice was expected to bind himself to the master for a specified period of service. The terms of the agreement were set forth in written form in a contract. At the end of the specified training period the apprentice could present himself to a guild member for a practical examination, which entailed completing an assigned project. After having passed the practical examination the apprentice had to stand an oral examination. By successfully absolving these two requirements the candidate obtained a certificate authorizing him to seek further experience as a traveling journeyman and to work for wages. The additional experience acquired as traveling journeyman was considered to qualify young craftsmen to set themselves up as masters.

As will be seen from Jacob's experience over the next four years, his training was lacking in the standards considered characteristic of a German apprenticeship. His account gives revealing details of his experience with his first master:

> Mr. Wilhelm, who was still a young man, was very good to me at first; the food also was good. Regular hours for meals and work helped very much to improve my health and I was always in good physical condition. I was soon used to being there and fortunately I was not homesick. Once a week I had to visit a drawing school and Sundays I went to a school for religious education and a professional school for apprentices. In accordance with an agreement my brother-in-law had made with Mr. Wilhelm I had to serve three years as an apprentice. Board and room was included. My mother did my washing and kept my clothes in order. My brother-in-law had to pay 60 guilders[2] for my apprenticeship fee besides 1 Thaler extra to Mrs. Wilhelm. Half of the apprenticeship fee had to be paid at the beginning and the other half at the end of the three years.

> Mr. Wilhelm promised to make a good organ builder out of me; he could not keep this promise, since he had not much knowledge of organ building himself and he was only rarely busy working on organs. Once in a while he had some repair work or a refinishing or a tuning job. Thus I had to be satisfied with the things I saw and heard.

A Page from Jacob's Memoirs



I worked in Marbach until May 30, 1837. Very few important things happened here. There were five other fellows working at his place. The master was a man about fifty years old, but he would have fitted much better in a position as pastor or lawyer than a carpenter. He did like his glass of wine and spent most of his money for wine. He had an only daughter of about 13 years. The meals were meager and so was the pay. I had 1 guilder, 12 kreuzer. From here I visited my friend Gottfried Knödler, a printer. He was destined to become a soldier and he was at that time stationed with the 3rd Infantry Regiment at Ludwigsburg. It was only a distance of two hours from Marbach and I therefore visited him frequently. My friend, well acquainted with me, suggested that I see Mr. Walker, a well-known organ builder in Ludwigsburg. Knödler called on Mr. Walker and told him about me and Mr. Walker wanted to see a letter of recommendation about me regarding my experience and character, etc. Unfortunately I did not possess a single letter of recommendation, and some means of subterfuge had to be found. A co-worker Wilhelm Maas wrote one for me in the name of the earlier mentioned Mr. Berger. This mentioned my experience in organ building, in fact, it flattered me not a little. I had it delivered to my friend Knödler, who in turn brought it to Mr. Walker . . . .

Jacob could also not help noticing that the work done in the shop was poorly paid. The situation worsened when Mr. Wilhelm fell ill. From this time on he no longer "bothered too much" about his two apprentices. During this time of illness and adversity it also emerged that he was the kind of man who, as Jacob puts it, "thought that he could cure his troubles with wine, which did him more harm than good."

Since Gmünd was not far from his parents' home, Jacob could visit his family on his free days. On one of these visits, in late October, 1834, a year after he had begun his apprenticeship, he arrived at home to find his mother quite ill and was deeply saddened when the news came the following day that she had died. Shortly before Christmas that same year he also lost his paternal grandmother, the other member of the family to whom he was especially devoted.

On May 4, 1835, Mr. Wilhelm died, and, as Jacob writes, "things in the shop became critical." For some time, he explains, Wilhelm had been running his business with three helpers and two apprentices, and for quite a while Mrs. Wilhelm had been "secretly living with the oldest helper." After her husband's death, Jacob continues, Mrs. Wilhelm's first plan was to manage the business herself with the help of her lover, whom Jacob describes as an able carpenter. The hitch was that the latter was also "going steady with another girl."

The changes and uncertainties resulting from Wilhelm's untimely death prompted Jacob's family at this point to discuss his future with one of his former teachers. Following his advice, the Grosses decided that Jacob should leave Mrs. Wilhelm's shop and continue his apprenticeship elsewhere. His teacher recommended a piano builder in Kirchheim named Keim, and a few days later Jacob set out on foot for Kirchheim, carrying with him a letter of introduction. Arriving in the early evening, after a seven-hour hike, he went at once to see Mr. Keim, who received him cordially but told him that he could not take him on at that time. He suggested that Jacob see an organ builder named Walker in Ludwigsburg and even offered to accompany him there. Later that evening, however, Jacob had doubts, he says, about following Mr. Keim's advice and accordingly left Kirchheim the following day without reporting back to him as he had promised. He soon realized, he writes, that this impulsive decision had been a serious mistake which affected his entire future.

In Mrs. Wilhelm's shop conditions continued to deteriorate and for several days Jacob was uncertain what his next move should be. Again he offers rather revealing insights into practices of apprenticeship which do not conform to our perhaps idealized concept of apprenticeship:

> Someone advised me to take my examination as a full-fledged carpenter and then try to obtain work somewhere else. For my examination I had to make a pine bedstead. I tried hard to do the best I could. In a week my work was finished and it was quite satisfactory. Now I had to undergo a verbal examination, to which my brother-in-law was invited. The two of us went to see the man in charge of the examination. We reached his house a little late, and he was just ready to leave for the town hall, where he had some work to do. He said, "Why didn't you come earlier? I have to leave now."
>
> My brother-in-law was a smart man; he had a little talk with this man's wife and casually he managed to slip her some money, which worked like a charm. The man soon returned in a very pleasant mood. I did not even have to be examined any more. My apprenticeship was declared finished and a paper to that effect was made out. The fee was not so very high: for the chief master 1 guilder, also for the guildmaster and the man in charge of the examination, plus a little extra for the papers. After that the paper had to be sealed at the town hall.

The date was August 5, 1835, and Jacob had just turned sixteen. While his certificate, improperly obtained though it was, officially confirmed that he had completed his apprenticeship, technically he had not fulfilled the terms of his contract with the Wilhelms, which provided for three years of service. Once again his brother-in-law, acting on his behalf, demonstrated his shrewdness in negotiating Jacob's release with Mrs. Wilhelm.

That matter settled, Jacob and his brother-in-law returned to Untergröningen, where Jacob did some painting and carpentry work in

the *Eagle* and visited with his family until his *Wanderbuch* arrived.[3]

With his *Wanderbuch,* and "fully equipped with a new knapsack, clothes, and 12 guilders," Jacob set out from Untergröningen on September 7, 1835 to begin the next phase of his training, and here he depicts in rather moving words his fond relationship with his father and the caring advice he took on his way:

> . . . My father accompanied me to Holzhausen, about an hour's walk from Gröningen. I did not want to have my old father walk any farther with me. He handed me my knapsack and gave me also much advice. He said, "Look here, Jacob, I cannot give you any money; you know what our conditions are at home. Believe in God, do the right things in life, always try to be ambitious to learn something. Take care that you do not spend your money foolishly and lead a decent life; try to keep good company. Do not forget to pray, and God will not leave you; think also about your mother and me, wherever you may be."
>
> My father wept when he left and I could hardly control my emotions. I was thus left to myself. Everything I owned was in my knapsack; the wide world was in front of me.

Walking some fifteen kilometers, he reached Gmünd, where Mrs. Wilhelm tried to tempt him to return to her shop by telling him that an organ builder would soon be coming to work for her. Jacob had already decided, however, to try his luck in Ulm, where his sister Katherine lived. This required another walk, this time of about sixty kilometers. In Ulm he quickly found work, but was dismayed when after a few days his employer told him that he still lacked experience and offered to keep him on as an apprentice for a small fee.

Unwilling to accept such an offer after having successfully passed the examinations which qualified him to work for wages, Jacob returned to Gmünd, where Mrs. Wilhelm was still willing to hire him for a modest wage. But he soon found that he was working only from time to time, for business was sporadic. An additional disadvantage was that in the quarters assigned to him in her parents' home, where she was then living and to which she had relocated her shop, he had no privacy and was unable to lock up his belongings. One day half of the money he had left in his knapsack ("about 7 guilders") disappeared. Although he strongly suspected Mrs. Wilhelm herself, for she was always in financial straits, he said nothing.

Shortly after this unhappy episode, Mrs. Wilhelm rented a house where she could carry on her business more expeditiously; soon after the move the organ builder, whose name was Carl von Berger, did indeed arrive from Bamberg. Because von Berger was still unknown in Gmünd, his arrival had no effect on the business. To make himself known he decided to demonstrate his skill by building a piano. With Mrs. Wilhelm's approval he proceeded to carry out this plan with the assistance of Jacob and Mrs. Wilhelm's other helper. Work progressed very slowly, Jacob recalls, because everything "had to be made." The piano was finally finished in March, 1836, but there was no buyer and the beautiful piano went to the pawn shop for 60 guilders, so that some of the money spent on materials could be recouped.

At this point in the shop's declining fortunes Mrs. Wilhelm laid off her third employee, and Jacob decided to leave with him. "A few things went to the pawn broker and 2 guilders were obtained in this manner. This was my total capital."

Two days later they reached Aalen, where they collected 18 kreuzer from the head master of the carpenters' guild. In Ellwangen they found work as carpenters, but the work was hard, as Jacob describes it:

> My hands were often swollen My new employer liked his drink and went evenings to a local inn, and he slept mornings till 10 or 11 o'clock to get rid of his hangover. . . . Thus I returned to Gmünd. ... I longed for an employer where I could see and learn things, but the fulfillment of this wish was a long time off yet.

Shortly after this von Berger left to report for military service. These developments made it evident to Jacob that his future in the shop was in jeopardy. The wisest course, he decided, would be to leave before being laid off, and on January 26, 1837 he and Sachsenmeier, the co-worker whom Mrs. Wilhelm had just dis-

charged, set out together for Switzerland, hoping to find work there.

The sortie into Switzerland proved to be less a work experience than a youthful adventure. Jacob had only two guilders in his pocket. He describes his financial plight:

> I wish to remark here that Mr. von Berger in paying me off cheated me out of 20 kreuzer on my weekly pay. Instead of receiving 1 guilder and 20 kreuzer, I got only 1 guilder. I had nothing in writing and no witnesses. For the time I worked previous to making an arrangement for an increase in pay he wanted to pay nothing at all. I went to see the Stadtschultheiss—a man whose duty it is to settle debts. I received a few guilders for this time but I lost out on my 20 kreuzer weekly extra pay.

On February 3 they reached Friedrichshafen and were much impressed by their first sight of the Bodensee (Lake Constance). As they left the steamboat at Rorschach, they were able to show the travel money required for passport inspection only after a restaurant owner lent Jacob two thalers on his watch.

In St. Gallen they had the good fortune to be offered a three-hour ride, and then, joined by a soap maker from the Kingdom of Sardinia, continued on foot toward Wiel:

> Our soap maker told us that there were two monasteries here and that they always served some food to passing journeymen. This sounded mighty good to us and soon we rang the bell at the first place. We received some soup after the soap maker told the Capucine monk a hard luck story. The soup looked rather dubious and the spoon hanging on a chain near the gate looked awful rusty. I lost all my appetite and we soon started out for the other place, a cloister for nuns. Here we each received a good piece of bread, which I preferred to the Capucine soup.

In the account which Jacob kept of his expenses during this winter trip it appears that shelter and food were much costlier in the larger towns than in the villages, a fact of life for which he may have been unprepared.

Hurrying to reach their goal, Winterthur, they found that there was little work for car-

Expenses during my trip to Switzerland for my travel companion and myself:

At Donzdorf	5	kreuzer
Geiseingen	30	"
Schuserhaus	5	"
Ulm	39	"
Dorf	48	"
Biberach	5	"
Otterswang	25	"
Aulendorf	4	"
Dorf	2	"
Ravensburg	10	"
Friedrichshafen	41	"
Across Lake Constance	48	"
Roschach	34	"
	297	kreuzer
(Baden)		
Elderdingen	10	kreuzer
Engin	10	"
Small village	6	"
Duttlingen	42	"
	68	"

	297	kreuzer
St. Gallen	10	"
Village 3 hrs. from St. Gallen		
Stayed night	45	"
Wyl	4	"
Village	10	"
Winterthur	16	schilling
Zurich	10	"
Village	8	"
"	4	"
Eglisau	10	"
Rheinau	10	"
	410	kr
	and 52 schilling	
	68	kreuzer
	478	kreuzer

	=	total	7 guilders 18 kreuzer
and the schillings	=		1 guilder 48 kreuzer
	=		9 guilders 6 kreuzer

penters in cold weather. Nor was Zürich more hospitable:

> ... We did not know what to do; our money was running low and so far we had not been able to find any work and I did not want to leave my friend, since he owed me some money. Therefore our journey turned back to Germany. It was on Feb. 5 when we left Zurich. We had two traveling companions, a carpenter and a coppersmith. One of the fellows had traveled around quite a bit and called our attention to the monastery at Rheinau near Schaffhausen. Thus we marched, four men strong, into Rheinau, where a carnival was being celebrated with music, dancing etc. We went to the monastery and each of us received a loaf of fresh white bread which we took to the inn and enjoyed later in the evening.

Their search for employment in Switzerland having proved fruitless, the two found work in Tuttlingen. Jacob would have been willing to remain there, but allowed Sachsenmeier to persuade him to move on to Tübingen where Sachsenmeier's mother was living. In Tübingen the two were arrested for soliciting work from door to door and had to spend a night in jail. Jacob was released the following morning, but Sachsenmeier was detained until noon because his *Wanderbuch* indicated that he had been previously arrested for the same offense. Sachsenmeier asked Jacob to wait for him, but after his night in jail Jacob was anxious to leave and was soon headed toward Stuttgart.

After an overnight stay in Stuttgart Jacob traveled on to Marbach, where in an inn he met a master carpenter named Malsch who examined him and offered him a job as helper. Although glad to be employed again, Jacob soon realized that his new job would be neither lucrative nor of value as a learning experience. Both the pay and the meals were meager, he notes, and Mr. Malsch, a man about fifty, would have made in Jacob's opinion "a better pastor or lawyer than a carpenter." He also "liked his wine" and "spent most of his money for it."

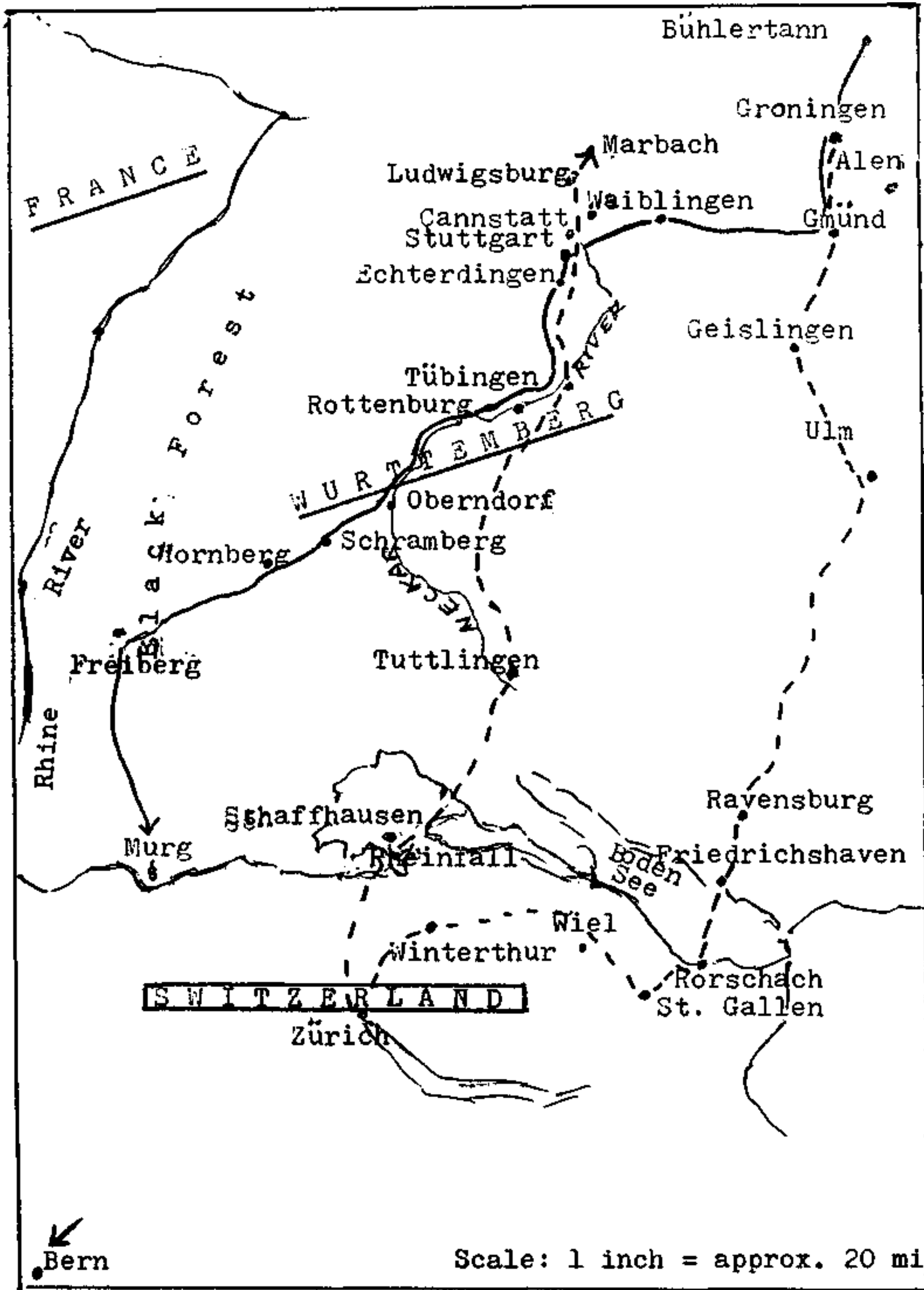
Since Marbach was not far from Ludwigsburg, Jacob was easily able to visit from time to time an old friend, Gottfried Knödler, who was fulfilling there his military service obligation. When Knödler heard about Jacob's frustrations as an employee of Mr. Malsch, he suggested that he get in touch with Mr. Walker, the Ludwigsburg organ builder whom Mr. Keim had urged him to see during his brief interview with Jacob in Kirchheim two years earlier. Knödler even offered to serve as intermediary.

When Knödler called on Mr. Walker he found him very much inclined toward hiring Jacob but not willing to do so before having seen a letter of recommendation attesting to Jacob's character, previous training, and experience. Unfortunately Jacob had no letters of recommendation, but, eager as he was to work with Mr. Walker, resorted, as he confesses, to "subterfuge" by having a fellow worker compose a letter of recommendation and sign it with Mr. von Berger's name. The stratagem worked. Favorably impressed by the letter, which praised Jacob in glowing terms, Mr. Walker told Jacob he could start work at once. On May 30, 1837, two months before his eighteenth birthday, he took leave of Mr. Malsch and his co-workers and went to Ludwigsburg.

When he began work in Mr. Walker's shop two days later, Jacob felt uneasy, he says, because he realized that his meager experience in working with organs would doubtless be quickly detected and that he "would not last long."

> . . .but things turned out all right. On the second day I was severely reprimanded for some work I had not done right. It was nothing out of the ordinary and I deserved it. There were 15-20 men working at this place in several rooms. In one section they manufactured pipes, in another wind chests, etc. At first I worked in a room together with an elderly married man. After awhile I worked with another man, by the name of Hofer, who made registers and wind chests. He received 3 guilders per register and 5 guilders per wind chest, including air valve installation. The helper was paid by Hofer himself, since he had his work on contract. Board and room for the helper was furnished by Mr. Walker. Thus I now made wind chests with Hofer; it was work which required a lot of strength.
>
> During the fall there was a considerable amount of rush work; an organ with 13 registers for Offenbach had to be built and I had to assist with the manufacturing of the mechanism. At this time the son of an organ builder from Freiburg in Breisgau (Baden) started to

Jacob's Travels On Foot To Find Work:



-------------Jacob's Travels to Find Work: Jan. 26-Feb. 18,1837

_________Jacob's Travels to Find Work: Jan. 2-10,1838

> work for Mr. Walker and we became close friends since we worked together. Mr. Walker had a large workshop where he could erect the large organs. The organs were completely finished and properly tuned, then demounted and packed and finally shipped.

Jacob admits that his attitudes toward his fellow-workers were not always pleasant and that he made enemies. "Mr. Walker always liked me," he writes, "but my enemies soon brought about my downfall." The situation which resulted in his "downfall" arose when a senior employee named Binder reported Jacob and an apprentice named Carl Pfeiffelmann for having entered a workshop after hours, which was forbidden, and for having taken there a board on which Pfeiffelmann had made sketches for a harmonica which he wished to make. For this infraction, which Binder had reported simply as "tomfoolery," Pfeiffelmann and Jacob were both reprimanded. Resenting this, Jacob overreacted by sending the errand-boy to Mr. Binder to thank him ironically in the presence of other workers for having reported his and Pfeiffelmann's misconduct. From his later more mature perspective as a craftsman who was beginning to gain recognition for his work in Bern he realized that it would have been better to remain silent, for "the other fellows kept teasing Binder until he went once again to Mr. Walker to report what had happened," with the result that Jacob was laid off.

The day after Mr. Walker had fired him, on December 5,1837, Jacob walked from Ludwigsburg to Cannstadt, where two of his friends were working for an organ builder. The older of the two advised him to apply for a job at the shop of an instrument maker named Fetzer in Waiblingen, which Jacob did and was promptly hired. Like some of his earlier employers, however, Fetzer "had hardly any orders and no money," and he proved also to be "a real bum, spending most of his time drinking." Three weeks in Fetzer's shop were all Jacob could endure.

From Waiblingen Jacob returned home to apply for a "passbook" which would authorize him to apply for work in Bavaria and Prussia.[4] While assembling in Untergröningen the data required for obtaining his passbook, Jacob stayed with his sister and brother-in-law, who had meanwhile relocated their business to Bühlertann. He also visited his father, who had moved to Bühlertann with them, regretfully, the *Eagle* having been sold.

With his passbook in hand Jacob returned to Waiblingen on January 2, 1838. Two days later, with another of Mr. Fetzer's helpers who had just left his shop, he set out for Stuttgart, which the two reached that same day. After a night in Stuttgart they walked to Tübingen, a distance of more than 50 kilometers, where Jacob looked up Knödler, who owed him money. Knödler put him up for the night, Jacob writes, and also bought him a meal the following day, but made no move to repay the money he owed.

In nearby Rottenburg Jacob stopped long enough to visit briefly with his brother Anton, who was just completing his theological studies. Although Anton, the only brother, Jacob had ever known, had disgraced his family repeatedly with his sloth, drunkenness and irresponsible conduct, they had continued to pay his debts and to support the prodigal in his efforts at reinstatement in the seminary, and Jacob visited him whenever he could:

> I often recall the day I visited Anton. There I saw him at the end of his long years of study. He had been the hope of my dear parents, but how many tears and sorrows he had caused! The black cassock looked good on him, but he was not to wear it long.

On January 8, Jacob and his traveling companion reached Obendorf, where the latter found work. The following day, in bitter cold, Jacob started out for Freiburg. He describes in detail his lonely, arduous journey over the Black Forest Mountains, through the difficult terrain with which journeymen so often had to contend in mountainous southern Germany:

> The villages were rather far apart here and soon I had to travel a road branching off from the main road. This road was entirely snowed in and sometimes hard to see. Occasionally I was afraid I would lose my direction or meet a wolf. Finally I crossed the top ridge of the

> Black Forest Mountains. It was possible to recognize the road now and then again, but just the same it was still very tiresome hiking in the high snow. Soon I left the surrounding forest behind me and crossed a plateau where the road led along a mountain ridge. On the other side was a deep valley; a farm house showed here and there through the snow.
>
> It was around noontime when I arrived in the valley, and I felt full of joy in spite of a bitter cold wind which chilled to the bone. I was proud of my accomplishment, and no matter how poor I was I felt happier than I do now here in Bern where I am writing these lines and where I have all comforts life can afford. How often have I thought in later years of the time when I stood with my possessions in my knapsack in the Black Forest Mountains.
>
> Continuing my march into the Brecht Valley I soon met a man carrying a load, and the sight of a human being was something joyful to behold. Soon I reached a pretty village; it was almost in the evening, but I could not afford to stay overnight here and kept on till late in the evening. When I came to a small village I asked at a farm if they could let me stay overnight. They were very nice people and gave me a good meal. Later the mother and the daughters sat down and spun yarns.

In Freiburg Jacob applied for work in the shop of an organ builder named Merklin whose son he had come to know in Ludwigsburg. At first, he writes, Mr. Merklin seemed rather distant and not inclined to hire him, but as soon as he spoke to the master of his son, "things changed like magic. Everyone was happy, wine and bread were placed before me, and I was hired." The date, he recalls, was January 10, 1838. As required, he reported at once to the police and deposited his passbook in exchange for a work permit. In order to pay the fee for the permit he had to pawn his watch [once again].

Although he was pleased to be working in the shop of a well-known organ builder, his salary was low, and working conditions seem to have been almost austere. In the underheated room in which he first worked, for example, he soon developed frostbitten feet and hands as well as rheumatic pains in his arms that kept him awake nights. After he had seen a physician, he writes, he was assigned to a warmer room, where he worked on organ parts. He also lacked friends, because his co-workers were all older and they kept largely to themselves.

In the spring of 1838, Merklin asked his son to come home and also hired two additional skilled workers to assist in building an organ for the Protestant church of Freiburg. With the arrival of these new co-workers, all of whom were younger men, Jacob had "plenty of friends," but soon noticed, to his growing annoyance, that Mr. Merklin was giving them all of the important work. When at this juncture an offer arrived from an organ builder named Haas in Murg, he accordingly decided to move on.

At this point Jacob's narrative suddenly breaks off. From later newspaper articles and family accounts, however, we know that after having left Mr. Merklin's shop he eventually traveled abroad and worked under several master piano builders in Switzerland, Spain and France and acquired in their shops the technical knowledge and construction skills which he brought with him to America.

Accounts differ as to whether Jacob emigrated to the United States in 1848 or 1850, and they also do not tell us where he first settled. In the early 1850's he was living in Troy, New York and building pianos there with an associate named Hulskamp. By 1857 he had moved to Baltimore at the invitation of Charles M. Stieff to supervise piano construction in Stieffs newly established piano factory. He brought with him to Baltimore one of the pianos he had built with Hulskamp. For years the instrument was on display in the Stieff factory, but was eventually moved to the home of Jacob's son Charles Jacob. Many years later, when the piano had outlived its usefulness as a musical instrument, some of the mahogany panels were incorporated into various pieces of furniture. Thus it happened that the piano's fallboard, embellished with the names of Gross and Hulskamp, became a backboard for an attractive marble-topped washstand, in the home of his grandson, George Jacob.

Like Jacob Gross, the founder of the Charles M. Stieff Piano Company was also a native of Württemberg, where he was born on July 19,

1805, and christened Karl Maximilian. A memorial speech delivered by his son Frederick Paul in July, 1892, mentions that he received "a formal classical education" in Stuttgart, taught music there for a time in the Württemberg School of Music, and married Katherine Regina Rosch in 1830. The following year the young couple emigrated to the United States, arriving in the spring of 1831 after a long and arduous crossing by sailing ship. They first took up residence in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, but soon moved to Wrightsville in York County, where Stieff taught music and science in a local school.

In 1837 he received an offer to direct the choir and teach music and languages at the Haspert School in Baltimore. After school and on weekends he also gave private music lessons and in 1842 began to import pianos for his students and other interested clients. To house these instruments he rented a storage facility at 7 Eutaw Street in 1843. The demand for pianos proved to be lively, and Stieff s business grew apace. Soon he had to relocate to larger quarters at 7 Liberty Street. Until 1855 he continued to import pianos, and by studying the features that made some superior to others he gradually became very knowledgeable about piano building. By 1852 he had already conceived the idea of building his own pianos and traveled to Europe that year to visit leading piano factories. In 1856 he opened a factory on Sharp Street and invited Jacob Gross to join him in his new enterprise as factory superintendent.[5] On December 19, 1857 fire destroyed the Sharp Street factory, and production was resumed at a new location on Baltimore Street near Greene Street. These quarters became cramped as sales increased, and Stieff moved his factory to Nos. 84 and 86 on Camden Street near Howard Street.

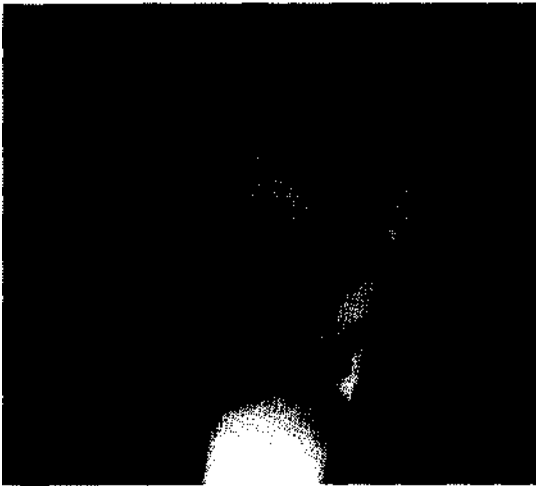
Not long after the move to Camden Street Charles M. Stieff died, on January 1, 1862, and his widow and three of their sons, John Louis, Charles, and Frederick Paul, took over the management of the company. When Katherine Stieff retired in December, 1867, her three sons became co-owners. John Louis left the company in December 1876,[6] but two years later the Stieffs' youngest son, George, joined the firm. During all of these changes and restructurings the company name remained unchanged; and under the sons' able management the business continued to flourish.[7]

During the years before and after World War I, its period of greatest prosperity, the Stieff Piano Company made grand pianos, square grands, smaller square pianos, and uprights, and, from the 1870's on, the "baby" grand introduced by Charles and Frederick Paul. The latter instrument, though smaller than the standard grand, had a rich tone, and was much less expensive. The popularity of the upright and the baby grand led the Stieff brothers to predict as early as the 1880's that those two instruments would be the pianos of the future and would entirely supersede the square piano, the former because it required less space and the latter because its three strings to each note and its longer bass strings gave it a more powerful and resonant sound than the square piano was able to produce.

In the circulars describing their pianos the Stieffs emphasized that in building all of their pianos they employed only the finest, thoroughly seasoned grain woods and also noted that every instrument was strung with the best "Pohlmann German steel wires on iron frames." They also pointed out the special attention devoted to balance of tone so that the upper and lower registers were as sweet and as powerful as the middle register and also had the same "bell-like clarity."

At the Paris Exposition of 1878 the Stieff Piano Company won international recognition when the jury of awards selected Stieff pianos for the coveted *Médaille d'Argent* and the *Diplôme d'Honneur.* The jury of awards also accorded to Jacob Gross an honorable mention for his role in supervising the construction of the prize-winning instruments.

In 1880 a Stieff piano won first premium at the California state fair at Sacramento and at the national fair in Washington, D. C. The fol-low-ing year the company's entries were also awarded first prizes in Boston; at the state fair in Worcester, Massachusetts; at the North Carolina state fair in Raleigh; and at state fairs in



Jacob Gross

Richmond, Virginia and in Martinsburg, West Virginia.

Two years later, on July 26, 1883, Jacob Gross's sixty-fourth birthday and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his superintendency, his co-workers expressed their esteem and affection by presenting to him a beautiful armchair. Deeply touched, he invited all of them to be his guests for what *Der Deutsche Correspondent* described as "a few hours of happy sociability," in the course of which "many glasses were emptied to his continuing good health" and the "wish was expressed that he might enjoy many more years as superintendent."

In 1860 Jacob had married Katherine ("Katie") Stieff, daughter of Charles M. and Katherine (Rosch) Stieff. Baltimore newspapers frequently reported happenings involving members of their family. These clearly indicate the family's social position and also reflect a level of affluence and a style of living that contrast markedly with those of Jacob's parents and brother and sisters as he describes them in his reminiscences. One article announces, for example, that Jacob's son, Charles Jacob, then a recent graduate of Baltimore City College, had ranked ninth among two hundred and forty applicants and had been admitted to the United States Naval Academy. Another reports that Charles Jacob's sisters, the Misses Nellie and Clara Gross, had been traveling in Europe for three months, and had visited the principal cities and the Paris Exposition, and had also spent time with relatives in Bremen. A personal notice imparts the information that a Mr. D. G. Pfeiffer had dedicated to Miss Nellie Gross his recently published composition entitled "Cradle Song." From the later announcement of her marriage we learn that she eventually married the gentleman who had dedicated his song to her. The marriage of Carrie Gross to Charles C. Boyd, a prominent tobacco merchant, also had extensive coverage, including a description of the bridal gown, the wedding gifts, and a list of the invited guests. The author of the article also notes that at the close of the ceremony, which was held in the Gross residence at 143 Camden Street, an uncle of the bride, Professor Michael Stieff, played Mendelssohn's *Wedding March* on "one of Stieff s instruments."

The high regard in which Jacob Gross was held by his fellow citizens is evident in the obituary notices in *The Sun, The Baltimore American, The Morning Herald,* and *Der Deutsche Correspondent* announcing his death on October 16, 1887 in the sixty-ninth year of his age. A later article in *Der Deutsche Correspondent reports* that on October 19, the day of the funeral, both Pastor Burkhart of St. John's Church on Biddle Street and Pastor Studebaker of First English Lutheran Church on Lanvale and Fremont Streets had "come to the house of mourning to bring words of comfort to the stricken family" and also notes that "a great number of mourners" had come to "accompany the deceased to his place of final rest and to pay him their loving respect." Among the mourners were all the employees of the Stieff Piano Company. The family had requested no flowers, but so many were sent, the article continues, "that two wagons completely covered with flowers followed the coffin." Among the outstanding floral arrangements mentioned in the article were "a piano made entirely of flowers" from Jacob's co-workers, a "pillow of flowers" from Mrs. Charles M. Stieff, and "a magnificent flower harp" which Charles Jacob and his two sisters laid on their father's coffin.

The spontaneous outpouring of affection at Jacob Gross's funeral and the words spoken by

friends and colleagues in praise of his accomplishments demonstrate beyond all doubt that in the eyes of those who had worked with him he had in the fullest sense realized the ambition that had started him on his quest for excellence. Although modest and never prone to boast of his accomplishments, he must have felt at the close of his life some measure of the special satisfaction that comes from knowing one has done one's best. It must also have been comforting during the last days of his illness to know that his son would succeed him as superintendent and carry on his fine work.[8]

— William H. McClain and Helen Perry Smith

NOTES

'The English translation is written on the blank pages of the notebook in which Jacob recorded his reminiscences. Members of the George J. Gross family, Jean Rathbone, and Helen Perry Smith have typewritten copies of this translation.

[2]The guilder in circulation in 1850 contained 9.55 grams of gold and would have approximated the buying power of 40 cents of the American gold dollar. It was worth 65 kreuzer, the other coins most often mentioned by Jacob.

[3]*Wanderbuch:* a document by which traveling journeymen could prove their identity and work experience. The *Wanderbuch* was also required for admission to craftsmen's guilds, and in it were recorded all infractions.

[4]During Jacob's early years what historians call "The German Confederation" was a loose union of several sovereign states and free cities governed by a central diet or assembly in Frankfurt am Main which had little authority over the individual member states. Each state, for example, could send its own representatives abroad and conduct foreign relations more or less as it pleased. If one wished to work in a state other than the one in which one legally resided, it was necessary to apply, as Jacob did, for a passport authorizing one to take up temporary residence and to seek work in the state.

[5]Three years earlier the piano builder who was to become his most important competitor, Henry Engelhard Steinway, had opened his factory in New York City, four years after his arrival in the United States.

'John Louis Stieff s son Charles Clinton became the founder of the Baltimore Silver Company, which was later incorporated as the Stieff Silver Company. The firm was known by this name until it merged with the Kirk Silver Company to form the corporation known as the Kirk Stieff Company. Among the holdings of the library of the Peabody Institute of the Johns Hopkins University is a brief history of the early years of the company: *The Stieff Company: Planned and Produced by the Barton-Gillet Company* (Baltimore, 1930).

[7]See: Alfred Dolge, *Pianos and their Makers: A Comprehensive History of the Development of the Piano* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), pp. 291-292. A fine example of the workmanship for which the Stieff Piano Company was noted is a magnificent nine-foot concert grand originally donated to the General German Aged Peoples' Home of Baltimore in memory of Corella Lynn Seeger; it is now at Edenwald in Towson. Its special significance is that it is one of the few Stieff concert grands that can also be played automatically by means of perforated paper rolls.

"We were delighted to discover, while writing our account of Jacob Gross, that some of his descendants live in Baltimore. One of them, Mrs. Jean Pontius Rathbone, is a granddaughter of Charles Jacob Gross, and hence a great-granddaughter of Jacob Gross, Her mother, Ellen Gross, married Paul Pontius. In September, 1993, during a reunion of the Pontius family, Mrs. Rathbone visited Untergröningen and several other locales mentioned by her great-grandfather in his reminiscences.

Robert Reitzel

ROBERT REITZEL (1849-1898) LUTHERAN MINISTER, FREETHINKER, AND LIBERAL FIREBRAND

Robert Reitzel's name surfaces only occasionally in scholarly works even within the relatively narrow confines of German-American studies. Yet in the late nineteenth century he was well known to many in German-America and beyond. Robert was born 27 January 1849 in Weitenau near Schopfheim in Baden as the only child of Reinhard and Katharina Uehlin Reitzel.[1] Although Reitzel's childhood years hardly augured any achievements of substantial significance for the young man, it might be noted here that Reitzel's credentials as a freethinker and potential revolutionary were impeccable from the point of view of his family heritage. He was named after Robert Blum, hero of the Baden revolution, and his uncle, Georg Uehlin, earned a reputation for himself during the Baden revolution as well. Reitzel writes:

> In the gorgeous countryside of Alemania my uncle George Uehlin was born to the family of the tanning master of the city of Schopfheim. One can't be certain whether it was the influence of the air of nearby free Switzerland or something inherited from that notorious thief [Blum], who nonetheless managed to become mayor of Schopfheim, but no matter what the reason George turned into a fine revolutionary.[2]

Young Reitzel passed his first ten years in Weitenau until he was sent to school in Mannheim, where he subsequently began a rather hapless series of attempts at preparing himself for the university. In the course of time he attended the *Gymnasien* in Mannheim, Karlsruhe, and Constance successively, but was graduated from none of them. Robert started his university preparation at the *Gymnasium* in Mannheim. He then moved to Karlsruhe, where he was expelled in the spring of 1869 for failing to obey the rules of the institution concerning proper decorum. He seems to have attempted to complete his pre-university training by enrolling at Constance the following fall as a member of the graduating class, but for reasons which remain unclear he never continued beyond the winter semester.[3]

Reitzel's university years are equally cloudy. Mrs. Doris Severance notes that her mother, Reitzel's daughter Pauline, had duelling swords which she believed to have been her father's during his university days. Moreover, Reitzel himself frequently related adventures which took place among a lively student population in Heidelberg. However, because Reitzel left the lyceums at Karlsruhe and Constance without an *Abitur* he could not have pursued his education further at the university level. Rudolf Rieder's work on Reitzel clarifies the matter considerably.[4] On the authority of Dr. Leo Müller in Karlsruhe, a childhood friend of Reitzel, Rieder states that Reitzel never studied in Heidelberg although he was anxiously awaited as an *Alemanenfuchs* by many of his friends who were already at the university. Present archival material, which is more detailed than in Rieder's day, confirms this assumption. As Rieder notes, Reitzel's role in the perpetuation of this one myth at least was at most a passive one, for nowhere does Reitzel say tht he studied in Heidelberg; he simply fails to correct a false assumption.[5] It is, in any case, clear that Robert Reitzel did not continue his studies at the lyceum in Constance. Indeed, on 4 February 1870, Reinhard Reitzel made application to the proper authorities for a visa which would permit his son to emigrate to the United States. In March 1870 Robert Reitzel was issued a passport and by the late spring he was on his way to America and his first home there, in Baltimore.

Within a year of his arrival in Maryland Reitzel took and successfully passed the examination administered by the local Lutheran synod for admission to the clergy. He wrote his parents:[6]

> Dear Parents!
>
> I left the wine shop at the beginning of the new year in order to once again devote myself to the study of theology. Now I'm staying with Pastor Pister and will leave for Washington yet this week. I gave a sample sermon there yesterday which was greeted with enthusiasm. In fact, I am now the pastor of the First Reformed Con-

> gregation of Washington D.C., elected unanimously from among three candidates. My fellow candidates were both older and more experienced ministers, and consequently it was no simple matter for me to carry the day. My salary will be the equivalent of about 1600 gulden initially. In addition there are the fees for funeral services and the tuition money for tutoring. I believe that I have outstripped all my schoolmates in Germany and you won't believe what a fine picture of preacher I will present in the pulpit.

In the matter of Reitzel's years as a preacher there is again a certain degree of uncertainty as to the exact sequence of events. Reitzel himself mentions three stages: the period between April 1871 and March 1872, when his congregation at the corner of 6th and N Streets in Washington, D. C. was fully affiliated with the synod; the period between March 1872 and October 1873, when essentially the same congregation established itself independently, severing its ties to the synod; and finally, in late 1873, Reitzel's complete break from the church, which was occasioned primarily by his increasingly liberal views, but most likely hastened by a number of negative comments from parishioners who were concerned about the pastor's apparent disinterest in orthodox practices.

The three phases Reitzel distinguishes mark a relatively quick transformation from Lutheran minister to liberal firebrand. In April 1871 Reitzel was offered his first position as pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Washington, D.C., but slightly less than eleven months later he was asked to resign. Reitzel's popularity with the majority of his parishioners was undeniable, but his unconventional dress and increasingly unorthodox views had caused considerable consternation among the more conventional individuals in the congregation as well as within the hierarchy of the synod itself. The Reverend Mr. Reitzel was finally removed from his post by order of a synodical commission; however, his appeal among his pastorate carried the day, for as he departed a large majority of the church's members followed him. Reitzel and his companions ultimately established themselves as an independent Protestant denomination in a building only a few blocks from the Lutheran church they had left. Here Reitzel was free to preach in street clothes if he desired and question the infallibility of revealed religion when he wanted. Yet even this arrangement soon proved inadequate. Although the rather bohemian pastor continued to be generally admired and respected by those to whom he preached, inevitably Reitzel seems to have become embroiled in situations which certainly did not enhance his standing, especially among those already disinclined to accept his increasingly liberal views. Apparently Reitzel himself gradually began to realize the distance which separated his own opinions from the beliefs and dogma of established religion. On 20 October 1873 he delivered a farewell sermon to his Washington congregation and within a month he was the acknowledged leader and speaker for an active group of Washington-area free religionists.

In 1874 the Association of Independent Congregations held a convention in Sauk City, Iowa. Robert Reitzel attended as a representative for the Washington affiliate and while there he met and became friends with Eduard Schroeter, the organization's founder. Schroeter was quite impressed by the young man and urged him to offer his services as a lecturer on the speaking tour being arranged by the association. Reitzel agreed, and for ten years thereafter he travelled almost full time, expounding the principles of free thought before assemblages of liberal-minded Germans around the country. By the time Reitzel moved his wife and family permanently to Detroit in early 1882, he had in fact thoroughly established his reputation as a captivating and effective speaker, whose sharp wit, keen mind, and sincere dedication to his ideals seemed to strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of his listeners.

A number of individuals remark upon Reitzel's talents as a speaker, among them Martin Drescher and Emma Goldmann. However, the comments of Fernande Richter, who wrote under the pseudonym Edna Fern, as related to Paul Werckshagen,[7] seem best to indicate the effect Reitzel might have had initially on a

group which was not necessarily predisposed to being enthusiastic. Mrs. Richter had read Reitzel's travel letters in his weekly journal, the *Arme Teufel,* while he was in Europe, and upon hearing that he was to speak in her hometown of St. Louis, she was quite anxious to see the man whose writing had so impressed her. Her reactions she reports as follows:

> The disappointment! There on the small podium stood a small, rather rotund man with disheveled hair and a leathery face. He fumbled around in his pockets and finally found a scrunched-up manuscript. He held the paper directly in front of his near-sighted eyes and began to read in a voice which was so hoarse you could hardly understand him. After a few minutes, however, he looked up from the paper, cleared his voice and spoke freely: words so full of conviction, of beauty, and of power, that your heart sang. The audience outdid itself in its applause. Disappointment in the man Reitzel turned later into admiration as a small group sat together over wine in a cozy little bar. There his humor bubbled forth. The words fly back and forth full of enthusiasm but also full of great sadness.[8]

Many of Reitzel admirers echoed Richter's ultimate sentiments. Even the move to Detroit itself was motivated in great part by friends in Detroit who pleaded that Reitzel consent to a series of weekly lectures in the local *Turnhalle.* During the first years of his Detroit journal, *Der arme Teufel,* Reitzel continued to speak weekly in the *Turnhalle.* Moreover, he reprinted a number of his speeches from the period before the advent of the paper in a column entitled *Aus meinen Vorträgen.* That these lectures were successful and ultimately popular seems obvious from the fact that a group of Detroit friends belonging to the number which had initially invited Reitzel to Detroit also advanced him the money required to begin publication of his periodical. Thus Robert Reitzel was no stranger in many quarters of Detroit by the time he decided to make his home there, and during his more than fifteen years of residence, he was eventually to become quite a well known personality, whose characteristic appearance was nearly as familiar to the local German-American citizenry as his general notoriety was to the German-American populace at large.

From December 1884 until illness confined him to bed, Reitzel could be seen each week as he sat in the storefront where his paper was printed and occupied himself energetically with his writing. He had a habit of thrusting out both lips slightly and sniffing the air occasionally as he worked, thus adding a singularly curious idiosyncrasy to an already distinctive mien. Customarily, he would settle in his shirt sleeves at an old desk situated amidst the paraphernalia of his occupation— bundles of old papers and stacks of complimentary issues from friendly competitors. Here he would sit by the hour, puffing on his long pipe with the huge, round bowl and writing rapidly. He seemed always to be wearing a clean white shirt but was otherwise inclined to be negligent in his dress. A casual viewer would likely remember him from his large head with its luxuriant growth of curly, black hair, aptly accented with a long, bushy mustache. In most other respects he struck one as normal enough. He was a man of medium build, inclined to be stout, a description that might well fit any number of men his age in the primarily German community immediately surrounding his home and office. Yet even as he took up his position as editor of *Der arme Teufel,* Robert Reitzel did not conform to a predictable mold.

Even in its infancy the new journal was likely to offer in each issue something to pique the interest of many readers and irritate the sensibilities of still others. The *Arme Teufel* was very much the personal vehicle of Robert Reitzel and his renown was practically the stuff of legend. Many knew or had heard of him; others spoke of him frequently if only to curse him. He acknowledged no party affiliation and welcomed any and all points of view; but his own opinions—at least as they appeared in print—were often bizarre, and the brutal frankness of his acerbic wit frequently caused his comments to be perceived as even more severe than originally intended. His reputation as a maverick spread quickly and by the first anniversary of his modest-sized weekly with the odd name, his credentials as a dissenter were unassailable.

In 1893 a brief illness revealed the first signs of a tubercular infection which was ultimately

to kill Reitzel. From 1893 until his death five years later Reitzel was to be afflicted with severe pain and periodic complete paralysis of the lower limbs. Moreover, he ultimately passed his last three years as a complete invalid, never leaving his sickroom. Even the medical guidance and counsel of Dr. Carl Beck, Professor of Surgery at the New York School of Medicine, could do little more than alleviate the suffering to a small degree. Despite his disability, however, Reitzel continued to oversee the publication of his paper as well as to contribute the majority of the material printed each week. The tenth anniversary issue of *Der arme Teufel,* which appeared in November of 1893, gives little indication of its editor's affliction or of any abatement in his customary pugnaciousness. His activities, in fact, continued with no appreciable diminution Reitzel's well-known reserves of strength until the day of his death, 31 March 1898.

Der arme Teufel

Arme Teufel

Reitzel's tenacity, his perseverance in the pursuit of his editorial duties despite adversity, is perhaps admirable; certainly it is remarkable. What seems even more remarkable is that the death of such a celebrated radical thinker as Robert Reitzel should have occasioned markedly positive, unabashedly laudatory press coverage in the pages of a large number of conservative German-American journals. It would seem likely that an individual who had identified himself so completely with liberal, and even radical, doctrines would not be highly esteemed in a society such as that of the Germans in America. Yet the *Detroit Abendpost,* an acknowledged spokesman for the solidly conservative values of most German-Americans, praised Robert Reitzel as doubtless one of the greatest, if not the greatest German writer in America.[9] Similar commentary appeared elsewhere as well, not only in most of the Detroit papers, but in a substantial number of journals throughout the country. Yet none of the many highly favorable critical assessments of Reitzel's career, particularly his talents as a journalist, seems to have been motivated primarily by a misplaced sense of respect for the dead.

No doubt there was some polarization of attitudes toward Reitzel. Reitzel devotees occasionally bordered on the fanatic in their impassioned enthusiasm. One gentleman in St. Louis who found himself lacking a specific number of the *Arme Teufel* which was already out of print borrowed the issue from a friend and transcribed it in its entirety in order that his own set might be complete.[10] There were others, however, who were categorically opposed to Robert Reitzel and everything he undertook. These people were appalled by his outlandish tactics, dismayed by his extreme stance on many issues, and generally disgusted by his irreverent attitude towards many of the things they held dear. Yet on the whole Reitzel seems to have had a pervasive influence on a much broader spectrum of individual opinion in the German-American community than the rather meager subscription figures for his controversial weekly would indicate. The material which supports such an assumption is relatively intangible, being most often the cumulative impression of a great deal of reading in a wide range of German-American publications and

seldom anything in the manner of hard fact. Yet one finds words of praise for the infamous editor not only from the traditionalist *Abend-post* in Detroit, but also from numerous persons of widely divergent backgrounds, from the professional revolutionary Johann Most in Boston to Dr. Carl Beck, a respected surgeon in New York City.

The relative high regard which an extremist firebrand like Robert Reitzel enjoyed among a very conventionally-minded populace is perhaps not as enigmatic as it initially appears, for closer inspection shows that there was not, in fact, an irreconcilable disparity between the more moderate views of the majority of the German-American public and the liberal tendencies of a decidedly smaller segment of the population. Undeniably, a very vocal and highly visible radical or lunatic fringe did exist. Indeed the actions of a few short-sighted, potential world reformers at the Chicago Haymarket bombing and subsequent riot in 1886 did much to politicize and finally discredit the activities of progressive thinkers of all persuasions, but the predominant majority of those German-Americans who called themselves free-thinkers or even socialists rarely espoused principles more radical than the three-part motto of the French Revolution: liberty; equality; and brotherhood.

Organizations, such as the North American Turner Union, which were founded directly after the abortive revolutions of 1848 by expatriates who were anxious to realize the aims of those European uprisings on American soil did profess ideals which might be considered vaguely socialistic even today. They oppose, for example, the extreme concentration of wealth, and political power in the hands of a few, the exploitation of labor by capital, and they defend the rights of the individual. Of course, there were other ideas considered progressive or even radical at the time which are all but self-understood today. Among the demands for change championed by the North American Turner Union were: an eight-hour day; governmental inspection of factories; child-labor laws; no more sales of public lands to individuals or corporations, except under very special conditions for improvement of the land; and mandatory and free public education.[11]

Some organizations, however, did call for changes which might be considered suspiciously socialistic even today. 'The Platform of the Radicals,"[12] which was drawn up at a meeting of radical thinkers in Philadelphia in 1876, included many of the demands made by the North American Gymnastic Union, but it incorporated as well calls for the elimination of all indirect taxes, the dismantling of all monopolies, and the introduction of progressive income and inheritance taxes with no taxes on income at or below a level necessary for adequate support of a family. Yet even in the first flush of enthusiasm prior to 1860 the goals of many groups which styled themselves socialistic, communistic, or atheistic frequently revealed nothing more dangerous or radical than a deep belief and trust in man and nature and the characteristic freedom inherent in both.

Socialism seems in any case to have meant different things to different people. In practice, the various groups frequently stood for whatever ideas were thought to be progressive at a given time, and there was confusion in the minds of *many* as to the principles for which each faction stood. Indeed, the ideals espoused by one organization usually overlapped with those defended by yet another, resulting in a confusing array of goals and aims, the majority of which were shared by all. The confusion was exacerbated by the constant attempts of the leaders of many factions to vie for the support of the members of other factions. Wilhelm Weitling, whose own brand of *Handwerkerkommunismus* never held much appeal for men like Karl Heinzen who were more aristocratically and theoretically inclined, gives a most incisive and memorable description of the situation as it existed in 1850:

> Everyone wants to publish a newsletter, everyone wants to be the head of an organization, everyone wants to found an immigrant aid society, everyone wants singlehandedly to be the spokesperson for a current popular enthusiasm. This person mixes decentralization with socialism, that one atheism with rationalism, the next person is a socialistic gymnast,

> the one after that is working for marked advances. The first person wants to introduce the spirit into club meetings, the next person mankind, the third the people, the fourth the workers, this person the singers, yet another the tailors, the gymnasts, the refugees, etc. And hundreds of others want the same thing but with a slight variation.[13]

From about 1860 on much of the ardor which had been born of the dream of actualizing freedom from oppression in Europe was channelled into more directly American concerns, such as homesteading and naturalization. The majority of immigrants tended to emphasize these and other specifically American concerns even more during the period following the Civil War, and socialistic rhetoric receded into the background. Many of the members of organizations which called themselves liberal were small businessmen, more concerned about making productive business contacts than refashioning the political system. At one point Reitzel himself warns: "Naturally anyone who comes to us to find a forum for his personal vanity, anyone who comes to us to find material advantage for his business, anyone who comes to us just to socialize, will depart very quickly."[14] Although expressed negatively, as that which is undesirable, the sentiment makes it obvious that there were at least sufficient numbers drawn to free religion for precisely such reasons that Reitzel found it necessary to mention the problem. One's suspicions are confirmed upon reading Heinrich Hoehn's remarks in *Der Nordamerikanische Turnerbund und seine Stellung zur Arbeiter-Bewegung* about those members who are "products of our capitalistic system" (1). He explains: "I mean those people, who join a dozen clubs or small groups in the hopes of gaining customers or some other advantage for their little businesses" (1).[15]

Other sources, too, reveal the problem in maintaining truly socialistic principles which resulted from the increasingly large proportion of members who were businessmen and professionals and whose ardor for socialistic and communistic ideals had cooled considerably. The groups would meet, usually on a weekly basis, to listen to a lecturer whose purpose it was to educate the assembly spiritually and intellectually with an edifying talk on the latest scientific discoveries, taxing the rich, the moral character of a life patterned after nature rather than religion, or perhaps the beauty of literature and the arts. The primary concern of any speaker's audience was, however, more likely to be the liquid and solid refreshments which were scheduled to conclude the evening's festivities rather than the speech itself. Many of the buildings in which such meetings took place were mortgaged to brewery owners who extracted the privilege of maintaining a public house on the premises.

The frequent complaints of the more serious adherents of liberal philosophies lead one to conclude that for many the appeal of an evening at the *Turnverein* or Free Thought Society was more of a social than of a scholarly nature. The scattered comments of various speakers, reviewers, and historians dealing with freethought and other liberally-oriented groups indicate that the membership was not always made up of persons whose primary interest was the serious pursuit of the ideas professed at such meetings. In fact, the lack of seriousness on the part of some supporters is frequently cited as the reason for the limited success of such groups.[16]

Thus even organizations which bore the word socialistic in their name, as well as many other German-American groups dubbed liberal by the public at large, probably served a much more broadly cultural function than has usually been assumed. Hermann Schlüter discusses the confusion within the Gymnastic Union concerning the meaning or significance of the word *sozialistisch,* which appeared in early versions of the group's name:[17]

> The socialism of the American Gymnastic Movement was more a name than a representation of truly socialistic principles. The group was never a proletraian organization and the socialism which was expressed among its members was a mix of bourgoise radicalism and vague socialistic leanings, which had their origin more in sympathic feelings than in actual understanding or philosophical conviction.[18]

It was very difficult to maintain support over an extended period for controversial theories

which heralded the freedom of the individual in a country where the matter was already largely an accomplished fact. Freethought organizations faced chronic difficulties in attempting to maintain the interest of their members in the professed ideals of the organizations. With the passage of time most German-American organizations that had debated the burning intellectual issues of contemporary Europe altered their predominantly political stance and shifted their attention to cultural concerns.

Robert Reitzel, too, although he never really lost interest in the social and political issues of the day, became increasingly concerned with cultural, and specifically literary, matters. His appeal and the appeal of *Der arme Teufel* certainly extended far beyond the circle of wild-eyed radicals with whom he is usually associated. He was able not only to introduce the notorious Emma Goldmann to the latest in European literature but also to induce a busy surgeon like Carl Beck to take time from his practice to read an article on economics. The key to Reitzel's ability to attract readers from all walks of life and from both ends of the political spectrum seems to have been the charm of his unique personality. During his days as a traveling speaker he was well-known for his striking appearance, spirited delivery, and rhetorical eloquence. Emma Goldman also gives testimony to the effectiveness of Reitzel's oratory. In her autobiography, *Living My Life,*[19] Goldman first points out Reitzel's great gift for comical recital (I, 215) and then pays tribute to him in recalling an evening spent in his home:

> It was particularly on my last visit to him that I came fully to appreciate his true greatness, the heights to which he could rise. A thinker and a poet, he was not content merely to fashion beautiful words; he wanted them to be living realities, to help in awakening the masses to the possibilities of an earth freed from the shackles the privileged few had forged. His dream was of things radiant, of love and freedom, of life and joy. He had lived and fought for that dream with all the passion of his soul (I, 222).

In his journal he molded out of these characteristics a distinctive style. His admirers were titillated by the outlandishness of his phraseology, captivated by the quality and persuasiveness of his written German, and finally won over by the sincerity of his unshakable faith in what he believed. Johannes Gaulke speaks of Reitzel's written style with positive descriptions such as the "daringness of his formulations" and the "power of his language,"[20] but Herbert Eulenberg pays Reitzel perhaps the highest compliment in saying that Reitzel's writing as he knows it is conceived "in a impecable, beautifully flowing German which could serve as a model for many newspaper people who remained in the homeland of our mother tongue."[21]

In effect, the readership of *Der arme Teufel* constituted a family with Reitzel as its spiritual and intellectual counselor. Reitzel's ability to establish an almost personal relationship with his reader is constantly cited by those who read his journal as well as those who later read about it. Johannes Gaulke is even charmed by the originality of the advertisement section of *Der arme Teufel.* In all, it would seem that many persons who read and admired Robert Reitzel were attracted to the *Arme Teufel* in part at least because of the degree to which Reitzel was able to bind his readers together as a large family or an intimate circle of friends—even over great distances. This feeling was probably enchanced by Reitzel's agents, who traveled through the United States collecting subscription money and winning new friends for the *Arme Teufel.* as well as by Reitzel's occasional visits and lectures outside of Detroit. The measure of cohesiveness which such a union of individuals provided was probably more than anything else responsible for the breadth of Reitzel's appeal, for like the church against whose dictates and dogmas he struggled and the middle-class lay organizations he generally supported, Robert Reitzel too became a sort of German-American cultural phenomenon, providing a sense of identity and a source of companionship amidst the rather unsettling struggle every immigrant endured in his attempt to preserve a semblance of the life he had left behind as he established himself in his adopted homeland.

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NOTES

[1]The presentation which follows in the text attempts the best possible coherent chronology of Reitzel's life in view of presently available documentation. It has always been difficult to construct an accurate picture of the events because of the scarcity of supportive evidence.

[2]Im wunderschönen Alemannenland ... wurde mein Onkel Georg Uehlin als der Sohn eines ehrsamen Gerbermeisters der Stadt Schopfheim geboren. Ob nun die Luft der nahen freien Schweiz dazu mehr beigetragen haben mag oder die sagenhafte Abstammung von jenem Räubergenossen, der es nachmalen in allen Ehren bis zum Stadthalter von Schopfheim brachte, kurz, dieser Georg entwickelte sich zu einem echten und gerechten Revolutionär (AT, 15.8.1885).

Translations of this and all other German quotations in the text are my own. The German originals will be included in the notes for those who wish to read them.

[3]The Badisches Generallandesarchiv has in its possession (Auswanderungsakte unter der Signatur 375/Zug. 1932 Nr. 11 Heft 330) documents which record Robert Reitzel's presence as a student at the Lyzeum in Karlsruhe during the years 1866-1869. In a visa application dated 4 February 1870 Robert is listed as an *Obersextaner,* the equivalent at the time for today's *Oberprimaner* or member of the graduating class. However, because he left the lyceums at Karlsruhe and Constance without an *Abitur he* could not have pursued his education further at the university level.

[4]Rieder, R[udolf] T[heodor], *Ein Bild Robert Reitzels und des Armen Teufel aus seinem Verhältnis zur Litteratur,* diss. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1918.

[5]...nirgends im A.T. wird ausgesagt, daß Reitzel in Heidelberg studiert hatte, er unterliess nur die Berichtigung einer irrigen Annahme (Rev. of *Robert Reitzel* by Adolf Zucker, *Monatshefte* 18 (September 1917), 218).

[6]Liebe Eltern! Das Weinetabliss[ememt] verließ ich mit Beginn des neuen Jahres, um mich dem Studium der Theologie wieder zu widmen. Jetzt bin ich bei Herrn Pastor Pister und werde diese Woche noch nach Washington abgehen. Hielt gestern daselbst Probepredigt, welche mit Begeisterung aufgenommen wurde, und bin jetzt von drei Kandidaten der einstimmig erwählte Pfarrer der ersten reformierten Gemeinde in Washington D.C. Meine Mitbewerber waren schon bejahrte und erfahrene Pfarrer, und wo wurde mir der Sieg gar nicht leicht gemacht. Mein Gehalt wird sich von Anfang auf ca. 1600 Gulden belaufen, und dazu kommen die Leichengebühren etc. und das Schulgeld. Ich denke, ich habe meine Studiengenossen in Deutschland alle überflügelt. Ihr solltet einmal sehen, welch würdiges Predigerbild ich auf der Kanzel gebe.

[7]"Robert Reitzel, seine Personlichkeit und seine Weltanschauung," Master's Thesis University of Illinois, 1908, 20-21.

[8]Die Enttäuschung! Auf dem kleinen Podium stand ein nicht sehr großer, ziemlich dicker Mann mit wirrem Haar und einem verschwiemelten Gesicht. Er fummelte in seinen Taschen herum, bis er ein zerknittertes Manuskript hervorgezogen hatte, hielt es dicht vor seine kurzsichtigen Augen und begann zu lesen mit einer Stimme, so heiser, daß man kaum ein Wort verstehen konnte. Das dauerte so ein Weilchen, dann ließ er das Papier sinken, seine Stimme klarte sich, und er sprach frei: Worte voll Überzeugung, voll Schönheit, voll Kraft, daß einem das Herz aufging. Die Zuhörer tobten in ihrem Beifall. Die Enttauschung uber den Menschen Reitzel ging nachher in Bewunderung uber, als eine kleine Gesellschaft in einem gemütlichen Kneipzimmer beim Wein zusammen saß. Da sprühte sein Humor, da flogen Worte hin und her voll Begeisterung, aber auch voll großer Traurigkeit. So habe ich Reitzel zum ersten male [sic] gesehen.

[9]*Detroit Abend-Post,* 1 April 1898, as quoted in Detroit Free Press, 2 April 1898 (no further information available; extant copy in Burton Scrapbooks of Burton Historical Collection, the Detroit Public Library, and no other copies are known to still exist.

[10]Edna Fern, "Robert Reitzel, ein deutsch-amerikanischer Heine," *Der deutsche Vorkämpfer,* 2, No. 5 (May 1908), 25-26, mentions that her own, virtually complete file of *Der arme Teufel* was lacking issues of the first volume, but that a certain Ferdinand Welb had such copies because he had obtained originals years before in Detroit and copied them off by hand.

[11]G. A. Hoehn, *Der Nordamerikanische Turnerbund und seine Stellung zur Arbeiter -Bewegung* (St. Louis, Missouri: 1892) ,4.

[12]discussed by C[arl] F[riedrich] Huch in "Die Konventionen der Freigesinnten im Jahre 1876," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pioneer-Vereins von Philadelphia,* 23 (1911), 9 ff.

[13]Jeder will ein Blättchen herausgeben, jeder will einen Verein leiten, jeder eine Kasse grunden, jeder allein auf seine Faust für irgend eine Phrase Volkslehrer sein. Da mischt der Eine Decentralisation mit Socialismus, der Andere Atheismus mit Vernunft, der Dritte turnt socialistisch, der Vierte wirkt für den entschiedenen Fortschritt. Der Eine will den Geist, der Andere die Menschheit, der Dritte die Völker, der Vierte die Arbeiter, der die Sänger, ein Anderer die Schneider, die Turner, die Flüchtlinge u.s.w. in Vereine bringen. Und hunderte Andere wollen dies Alles auch, aber mit einer kleinen Veränderung *(Republik der Arbeiter,* 1850, 180 ff., as quoted by Friedrich Kamman, *Socialism in German-American Literature* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1917), 20).

[14]In his keynote address at the Philadelphia convention of free congregations Reitzel says: "Natürlich, wer zu uns kommt, urn einen Tummelplatz seiner persönlichen Eitelkeit zu finden, wer zu uns kommt, um materielle Vortheile für sein Geschäft dabei zu finden, wer zu uns kommt um des gesellschaftlichen Vergnügens willen, der wird auch bald wieder gehen." *[Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die deutschen Freien Gemeinden von Nordamerika* (Philadelphia: Im Jahre 102 der nordamerikanischen Republik [1877]), 97].

[15]Ich meine jene Leute, welche sich nur einem Dutzend Vereinen oder Vereinchen anschließen in der Hoffnung, sich dabei Kunden zu erwerben resp. einen Vortheil für ihr Geschäftchen zu erringen.

[16]That similar arrangements were common in other German-American cultural endeavors seems confirmed by the fact that Karl Knortz finds it necessary to include in his very accurate summary of the decline of the *Turnvereine* toward the end of the last century ("Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten," in *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge,* ed. Rudolf Virchow, NS 12, Hfte. 281/2, 58) the complaint that: ...dazu kam noch der Uebelstand, daß die meisten Vereine in ihren Hallen permanente Wirthschaften eingerichtet hatten, und da dieselben ihre Haupteinnahmequelle bildeten, dem Betriebe derselben häufig ihre Hauptthätigkeit widmeten. Dies führte dazu, daß bald reiche Bierbauer die auf Aktien erbauten Hallen in ihren Besitz brachten und dann natürlich die Turnvereine nach ihrer Pfeife tanzen ließen.

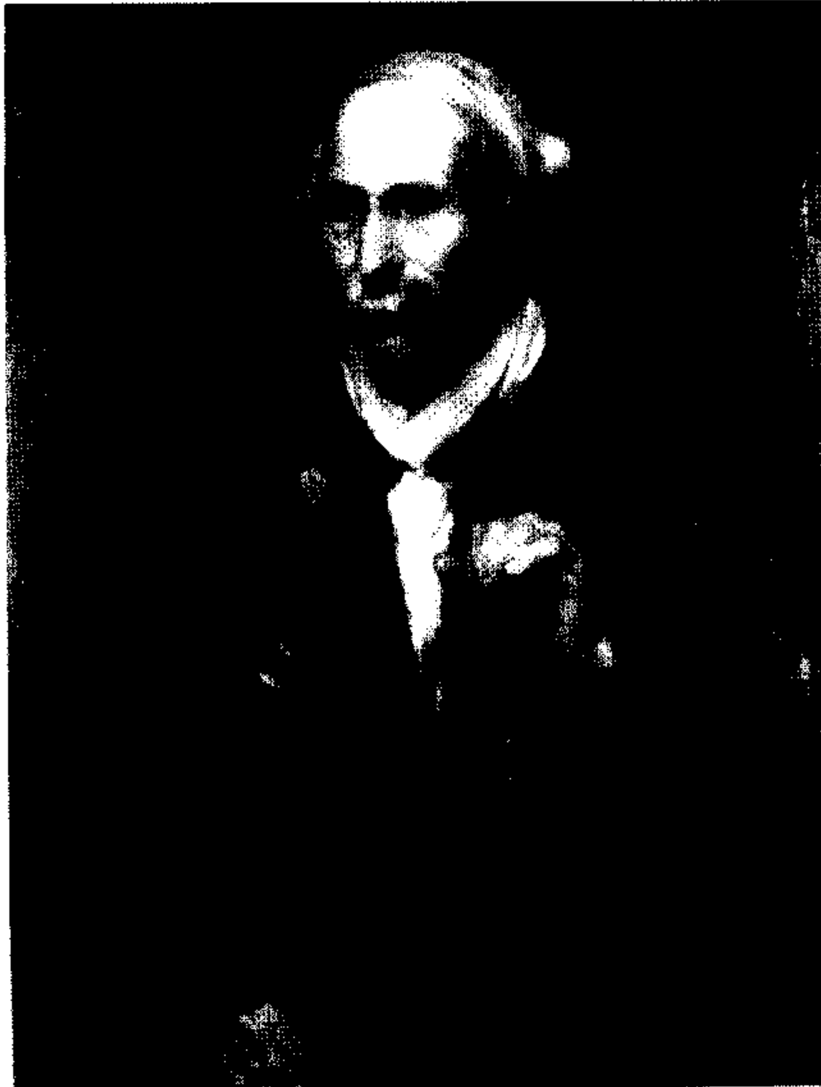
[17]*Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart:]. H. N. Dietz Nachfolger, 1907), 214.

[18]Der Sozialismus des amerikanischen Turnerbundes war mehr ein Name, als eine Vertretung wirklich sozialistischer Prinzipien. Eine proletarische Organisation ist diese Vereinigung nie gewesen, und was in ihr als Sozialismus zum Ausdruck kam, war ein Gemisch von bürgerlichem Radikalismus und unklarem sozialistischem Streben, das mehr im Gefühl, als in Einsicht und Erkenntnis seinen Ursprung hatte.

[19]2nd ed. (1933; rpt. New York: Dover, 1970)

[20]Johannes Gaulke, Das litterarische Echo, 4, No. 4 (November 1901), 231. "Kühnheit der Sentenzen" und "Kraft der Sprache"

[21]"R. R., Der arme Teufel (Ein Vergessener)," *NeueFreie Presse,* Morgenblatt, 16 December 1923, p. 2, col. 3: "in einem tadellosen, herrlich hinfließenden Deutsch, das vielen Zeitungsmännern, die zeitlebens im Mutterland unserer Sprache geblieben sind, ein strahlendes Vorbild sein



Old Man with an Umbrella *(n.d.). Oil on canvas, 34x26in. This genre portrait, possibly done when Carl von Marr was anart student in Munich, recalls the work of the Munich realist Wilhelm Leibl. Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

CARL VON MARK: POETIC REALIST

Carl von Marr (1858-1936) was an American-born artist who settled in Munich and became the director of the Munich Academy. His name was originally Carl Marr, the aristocratic *von* being added after his election to the nobility in 1909. In his early work Marr strove to emulate the dramatic historical painting of the academic tradition in which he was trained, but he soon began to turn toward the genre realism of such Munich painters as Wilhelm Leibl. In the end, Marr became a master in the portrayal of warmly intimate domestic scenes. While his success as an academic painter was initially based on the recognition accorded his early historical canvasses, it is the thesis of the present article that Marr's real achievement is best exemplified by the poetic realism of his later works.[1]

Marr was the oldest of the four children of John Marr, a German-born engraver who had settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1855. Marr was educated in Milwaukee at the German-English Academy, a liberal private school. His artistic talent was soon noticed, and from the age of nine he received private instruction from Henry Vianden, a German immigrant artist who was a pioneer art teacher in Wisconsin.

As the result of a childhood illness, Marr suffered from impaired hearing throughout his life. His deafness caused difficulties in school, where he was a shy, insecure boy. He left school at the age of fifteen and became an apprentice in his father's engraving business. In the meantime, Vianden sent some of Marr's sketches to the Weimar Art School, where they were favorably received. It was then that Marr's father resolved to send his talented son to Germany for study.

In 1875 Marr went to Weimar. He was only seventeen and because of his youth and inexperience was required to take private lessons before being regularly admitted to the Weimar Art School. His tutor during this period was Karl Gehrts, a young artist who was only five years older than Marr himself. In due course Marr was accepted by the art school and placed in the class of Ferdinand Schauss, where he followed the usual first-year program of drawing from plaster casts. The following year Marr went on to Berlin, enrolling in the Berlin Academy as a student of the genre and portrait painter Karl Gussow. Marr also received instruction in Berlin from Anton Alexander von Werner, a popular painter of historical canvasses. In 1877 Marr went on to the Munich Academy where his first teacher was Otto Seitz, an artist known for his genre portraits and drawings. From the Seitz class Marr graduated to the composition class taught by Gabriel Max, a painter of portraits and figure studies who was also an illustrator. The faculty at the Munich Academy was favorably impressed with Marr's work and in 1874 he was awarded a silver medal, the first of many such awards he was to receive in the course of a brilliant career as an academically sound artist.

Marr returned to Milwaukee in 1880 and soon opened a studio there. His presence in the city was warmly acknowledged by the local press, but though his work was viewed with interest and respect by the local public, they did not buy. By early 1882 Marr gave up trying to make a living in Milwaukee. He exhibited his work in Detroit at the end of January and then went on to Boston and New York, where he found temporary work as an illustrator. Later that year he returned to Munich, which he now made his permanent home.

In Munich Marr briefly continued his studies at the academy, this time under Wilhelm Lindenschmidt, a painter of genre and historical subjects who was also known for his landscapes in the Barbizon manner. Marr soon opened his own studio, however, where he provided instruction to classes of women, who at that time were not yet admitted to the academy for study. He also soon received a teaching post at the academy.

Marr made frequent trips back to Milwaukee to visit his relatives there and often stayed for the summer. When he returned for the summer of 1887 members of the local German-American community held a banquet in his honor at Schlitz Park with more than a hundred guests in attendance. The press in Milwaukee regarded him with reverence and his visits to the city were always an occasion for press coverage. While in Milwaukee he often painted at the studio of Francesco Spicuzza, working mostly on portraits of relatives and prominent local citizens.

The Flagellants *(1889). Oil on canvas, 13'10" x 25'8". This large canvas, which depicts a scene from Italian history, took Carl von Marr several years to complete. Although it is his undisputed masterpiece, it is perhaps less in tune with today's taste than the less dramatic scenes which he turned to in his later career. Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

Marr's training in Munich had inculcated a respect for historical painting, the artists he most admired being Adolph von Menzel (1815-1905) and Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891). During the first years after his return to Munich in 1892 Marr was much absorbed by this kind of painting. His most important work from this period is *The Flagellants* (1889), an immense painting with more than a hundred figures. Based on an incident which occurred in 1348, the subject matter for the painting was drawn from a history of Rome in the Middle Ages by the German historian Ferdinand Gregorovius. Marr made the first sketch for the painting in 1884 and by 1887 had completed the preliminary research, which included two trips to Italy. He painted the picture in his Munich studio during the next two years and won a gold medal when it was exhibited in Munich in 1889. The painting won another gold medal when it was exhibited at the International Exhibition in Berlin the following year. In 1893 Marr attended the Chicago World's Fair as a delegate of the Society of Munich Artists and exhibited *The Flagellants* at the fair. The painting was subsequently purchased by Louise Schandein, wife of the Milwaukee brewer Emil Schandein, and presented as a gift to the city of Milwaukee. It was at first hung in the Milwaukee Public Library and was later displayed for many years in the Milwaukee Auditorium Building. In 1975 the painting was thoroughly restored and installed in its present location at the West Bend Art Museum in West Bend, Wisconsin.

The Flagellants is the only important work from Marr's historical period which is now in the United States. In 1890 Marr won a Gold Medal at the International Exhibition in Berlin for the painting *Germany in 1806.* The painting, which depicts a scene from the time of the Napoleonic Wars, shows a dimly lit room in which a group of French officers is playing cards while suffering German women and children are seen in the background. *The Children of Bunzlau* (1885), which was awarded a silver

medal by the Munich Academy, is another scene from the period of the Napoleonic Wars. The large painting depicts an incident which happened in 1813. A group of hungry French prisoners were being held captive by Cossack guards who refused to let the women of the town of Bunzlau bring food to the prisoners. When the women then sent their children with baskets of provisions, the Cossack guards allowed the children to pass. The painting was at one time owned by a museum in East Prussia, but its present whereabouts is uncertain.

By the turn of the century public taste for dramatic historical painting was waning, and Marr moved on to other types of expression. Sometimes he produced paintings based on motifs from classical mythology such as *The Hesperides* and *The Fall of Icarus,* but more frequently he turned to biblical subjects. *The Widow's Son* depicts the miracle related in Luke 7:11-16 in which Christ, while visiting the town of Nain, restores to life a widow's only son.

Even before the turn of the century Marr had begun to paint interior scenes of notable warmth and intimacy. Paintings such as *Summer Afternoon* (1892) and *The Red Chair* (c. 1895) bring the same sort of warmth to scenes of domestic life in an exterior setting. *Wind and Waves* (c. 1925) is a late work which appears to reflect the influence of the Swiss neo-romantic painter Arnold Böcklin.

Marr occasionally did murals. At Schloss Stein, a castle near Nürnberg, he did a series of murals depicting the *Seven Ages of Man* on the four walls of a banquet hall. He is also reported to have done a ceiling painting at a church in Burgheim, Bavaria, northwest of Munich.

Marr's work contains many portraits, a number of which can be seen at the West Bend Art Museuma. These paintings are illuminated by the same poetic vision which is apparent in his domestic scenes. Of particular interest is *Portrait of the Artist's Father* (1891), which shows the engraver John Marr in his shop surrounded by the implements if his trade. The work recalls the type of genre portrait which was a specialty of the Munich artist Wilhelm Leibl.[2]

Like many artists who reached the peak of their powers at the turn of the century, Marr found himself cast in the role of a cultural conservative by the generation of modernists which emerged just before World War I. He was even forced to flee from Munich when the city was briefly taken over by left-wing insurgents in 1919. He was confused by German expressionist painting, which he could neither understand nor appreciate.

Summer Afternoon *(1892). Oil on canvas, 52-3/4 x 81-1/2 in. A poetic realist, Carl von Marr was able to bring matchless skill to the depiction of intimate scenes such as the one shown here. Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

The school of late nineteenth-century poetic realism which Marr's best work exemplifies has long been out of fashion, though there are currently signs of a sympathetic reappraisal. Nonetheless, the technical skill and inherent good taste of his painting distinguish him as an artist who deserves to be taken seriously despite changes in what is deemed fashionable. Despite his inability to come to grips with modernism, his work exhibits growth and evolution, the stiff formalism of his early period giving way to a mature style characterized by warmth and fluidity.

Marr probably began teaching at the Munich Academy during the 1880s, though he was not promoted to professor until 1893. He did not marry until 1916, by which time he was already in his late fifties. His wife, Elsie Fellerer Messerschmidt, was the widow of the Munich artist Pius Ferdinand Messerschmidt, who had been Marr's colleague and close friend. Marr had no children of his own but adopted his wife's two daughters by her previous marriage.

John Marr - Father *(1891). Oil on canvas, 50 ½ x 50 ½ in. Carl von Marr's skill as a portrait artist is displayed to full effect in this study of the artist's father. John Marr (1831-1921) was a metal engraver and sculptor who is shown here among the tools of his trade. Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

Although Marr's studio was near the academy in Munich, he lived with his family in a country house at Solln, a village on the outskirts of town which has now become a residential neighborhood within the city. Marr's wife died only three years after they were married.

Marr in his sixties was a fair complexioned man with blue eyes, thinning blond hair, and a pointed beard. He was short, solidly built, and agile. Quiet and dignified in manner, he nonetheless was possessed of a sense of humor which sometimes showed through his sedate manner. Among his students in Munich were the Wisconsin-born artists Alexander Mueller and Adam Emory Albright. Marr remained a professor at the academy until retiring in 1923, after which he had his own private school of painting in Munich for several years. From 1919 to 1923 he was director of the Munich Academy. In addition to the numerous decorations which he received in the course of a distinguished career he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Wisconsin in 1929.

Marr kept up his American citizenship for several years, but lost it after accepting a position as professor at the academy. When he died in 1936 there was a secular service in Munich followed by burial at the village cemetery in Solln, where his wife is also buried. There was a memorial exhibition of his work at the Milwaukee Art Institute in November 1936, which brought together thirty-four of his paintings, all from Milwaukee collections.

— Peter C. Merrill
Florida Atlantic University

Silent Devotion *(1896). Oil on canvas, 46x57 in. By the 1890s Carl von Marr had turned away from the historical painting of his early period in favor of intimate domestic scenes such as the one shown here. Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

Wind and Waves *(c. 1925). Oil on canvas, 27x39 in. This painting, from Carl von Marr's late period, reflects the influence of the Swiss painter Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901). Photo courtesy of West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, West Bend, Wisconsin.*

NOTES

[1]The list of published sources on Carl von Marr and his work is too extensive to be given here. One recent source which must be mentioned, however, is Thomas Lidtke's color-illustrated book, Carl von Marr: American-German Painter (West Bend, Wisconsin: West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts, 1986). For the biographical information on von Marr contained in the present article I have drawn particularly on the many articles about him which appeared during his lifetime in such Milwaukee newspapers as the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Milwaukee Sentinel* An index of the latter is available at the Milwaukee Public Library.

[2]Many of the paintings discussed in this article may be found at the West Bend Art Museum in West Bend, Wisconsin, which has the most comprehensive collection of Carl von Marr's works to be found anywhere in the world. I am much indebted to Thomas Lidtke, the executive director of the museum, for providing the illustrations used in this article.

JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS (1803-1895): FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANS IN MARYLAND

America went through a profound social, economic, and cultural transformation during the course of the nineteenth century. The demands of nation-building brought to the fore innovators and leaders of every variety. Among these leaders, John Gottlieb Morris of Baltimore played a major role in the arena of cultural transition. Though little known today, the Baltimore pastor and civic leader collaborated intimately in changing the nature of Lutheranism in America, creating several major cultural institutions, including the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, and materially aiding the rise of professional science.

John G. Morris' long, productive life (1803-1895) and diverse intellectual interests involved him in numerous battles which contributed to the shaping of American cultural identity. From the relationship between geology and biblical revelation to the need for American leadership in American science, he fought for principles that he believed advanced knowledge, culture, and morality.

Among Morris' achievements which had the most long-term significance was his role in founding and leading the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland. Though he began this venture late in life (in 1886 when he was 82 years old), the Society has flourished for 109 years along the lines which Morris and his colleagues laid out. To understand Morris' pioneering efforts in founding the Society, we must first begin with a biographical sketch of this strong-willed and determined man.

Biographical Sketch[1]

John G. Morris, born in York, Pennsylvania on 14 November 1803, was the last child and third surviving son born to John Samuel Gottlieb Morris and Barbara Myers Morris. Morris' father had come to America as a German immigrant to fight for the Revolution and later settled in York as a successful physician. Morris' mother, Barbara Myers, was a native of Baltimore County, Maryland and a life-long Lutheran, as was her husband. Though the elder Morris died when the boy was only five years old, John Gottlieb received an excellent education for his era, in large part because of his father's substantial estate, and because of the great interest his mother and oldest brother, Charles, took in his development.

John Gottlieb's mother and his oldest brother were the dominant influences of his early years and long after. Charles Morris, who served briefly as a Lutheran minister and founded a successful pharmaceutical company in York, was the young John Gottlieb's guardian. Under Charles's direction, John Gottlieb studied at York Academy and attended college, first at Princeton and then graduating from Dickinson in 1823. Intellectually gifted, with a strong aptitude for foreign languages, Morris mastered German, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and French. He loved books and plays and read voraciously. In addition to his intellectual skills, Morris' potential for success was bolstered by his "companionable" nature, a trait he later noted in his autobiography, *Life Reminiscences of an Old Lutheran Minister?*

In deciding on a career, the twenty-year-old graduate was strongly influenced by his family's Lutheran roots, particularly by his mother's piety and the ardent desire of Charles Morris that he become a minister. But Morris' description in *Life Reminiscences* of his decision to go into the ministry is a far cry from the intensely emotional "conversion" experiences typical of American Protestant evangelicalism in the 1820s:

The Lutheran church, Morris noted, "had less than 300 ministers at that time, and her sphere of activity was constantly enlarging, whilst the ministry was not multiplying in proportion. Providence had cast my lot within her sphere, and I concluded that this was the field for me to work in, and I entered .... The church needed my services. I thought, and I cheerfully offered them. I regarded her need

as equivalent to a call from her, and hence I concluded it was the divine will."[3]

Morris' decision was rational, though undoubtedly sincere, and was marked by emotional restraint and intellectual balance, qualities which became hallmarks of his life and career.

Because the Lutheran church did not have a seminary, Morris' theological training was eclectic and spotty, an experience typical for many clergymen of the period. For two years, he studied in New Market, Virginia with Samuel Simon Schmucker, perhaps the best educated Lutheran clergyman of the day. He next studied briefly with the Moravians in Pennsylvania and then spent seven months at the Presbyterian church's Princeton Seminary. He spent a brief time in the fall of 1826 at the new Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg before he received a call from a recently organized, struggling church in Baltimore, First English Lutheran Church.

Within a year after coming to Baltimore, Morris married Eliza Hay, daughter of a prominent York family. Devoted to his family, the Morrises had ten children, of whom four daughters survived to adulthood. Eliza Hay Morris died in 1875 at the age of sixty-eight.

Referred to as the "Nestor" of progressive, English-speaking Lutheranism in Baltimore, Morris was primarily responsible for the transformation of the church's image in the eyes of Baltimoreans. In his thirty-three years of service at First English (1827-1860), Morris increased the congregation from a few dozen to an average of 260 communicants. He helped found two other English-speaking churches before the Civil War (Second and Third English). In the decades after he left First English, Morris continued active parish work with part-time calls to Third English and to St. Paul's in Lutherville, which he had helped organize in 1856.

During his sixty-nine-year career as a clergyman, John G. Morris was elected president of the Maryland Synod seven times and twice chosen head of the first national Lutheran church body, the General Synod. Morris also served almost fifty years on the governing boards of the two Lutheran institutions at Gettysburg, the Seminary and Pennsylvania College (today known as Gettysburg College). He remained closely identified with the cause of Lutheran education throughout his career. Morris played a prominent role in the "new measures" controversy and in the bitter struggle over the nature of "American Lutheranism," eventually leading the moderate conservatives in the General Synod to victory over revivalists in the confessional battle.

John G. Morris' civic and intellectual pursuits reflected his multi-faceted talents and interests. An early member of the Maryland Historical Society, he established the Society's library and extensive natural history collection. Morris served as the first librarian of George Peabody's new philanthropic institute in Baltimore and, within six years, he created a 25,000-volume research library which combined the best European and American works.

With a personal library of over 300 volumes, Morris kept apprised of the latest developments in German theology, science and culture. His wide-ranging intellect and curiosity manifested themselves in the hundreds of books, pamphlets and articles, which he wrote on a number of topics. The topics included Luther, the Reformation era, German contributions to western civilization, Maryland history, and that recurrent nineteenth-century debate, science and religion.

Let us turn now to those activities of cultural leadership which culminated in Morris' founding of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.

Culture's Builder

As urban life in America steadily developed and expanded throughout the nineteenth century, one major aspect of this maturation was the establishment and growth of important cultural and educational institutions. Throughout the decades of his active church work, John G. Morris carried out a significant role in local, regional, and national cultural life. As a civic leader, collector, and author, Morris became intimately involved with educational institutions (the Seminary and College at Gettys-

burg), historical societies (the Lutheran Historical Society, Maryland Historical Society, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland), and research institutions (Peabody Institute, Smithsonian Institution).

John G. Morris' avid interest in natural history, particularly in the entomological study of butterflies, formed much of the basis of his work at the Seminary and College at Gettysburg. Between 1844 and 1848, Morris taught at the College as a part-time zoology instructor. He worked to obtain the scientific apparatus and specimens he needed for his lectures. He wrote to Spencer F. Baird, his friend and, at that time, professor of natural history at Dickinson College, about his efforts and the reason for them. "I arrived here [Gettysburg] last Monday," Morris informed Baird, "and have ever since been laboriously engaged in arranging minerals, shells, and *diversairia* of the cabinet. ... I lecture one hour each day in zoology and have succeeded thus far in interesting the youngsters very much."[4]

Morris' commitment to awakening student interest in natural science never faltered. He delivered numerous natural history lectures at the College during the 1860s and 1870s, and for over a quarter of a century, he gave the Seminary students a yearly series of lectures on "The Relations between Physical Science and Revealed Religion."[5] Morris' efforts to integrate natural science into the curriculum of the College and the Seminary reflected a national trend, which sought to make this branch of science a basic component in the liberal arts education provided by medium- and small-sized colleges. Morris and other like-minded educators hoped this would eventually stimulate interest in science throughout the nation.

In creating Pennsylvania College's natural history collection, John G. Morris devoted countless hours to acquiring and classifying numerous specimens. Within a year of commencing his efforts, Morris had acquired sixty-five bird specimens, ninety-two reptiles, ninety-seven fish and crustacea, 900 shells and 1100 insects.[6] Working on the collection expanded his knowledge of invertebrate animal anatomy and provided excellent illustrations for his lectures.

Morris' quest to understand the natural world included creating his own sizable collection through gathering, purchasing and exchanging specimens. He collected shells, fish and bird specimens, and many insects, particularly his beloved butterflies (lepidoptera). Morris attributed his stamina and good health to "my frequent ramblings in the fields and woods" in search of specimens.[7] In addition to his own efforts, Morris received substantial assistance from another Lutheran clergyman and scientist, John Bachman of Charleston, South Carolina. When the General Synod met at Charleston in April 1850, Bachman gave Morris all his folio volumes of botanical specimens.[8] By the end of his life, Morris' collection had grown to over 7,000 items — a rich source of scientific knowledge.

Morris also led students from the College and Seminary in forming the Linnaean Association, one of the first college natural history societies in the country. Under Morris' leadership, the Association enjoyed a decade and a half of achievement before the Civil War disrupted its activities.[9] A major accomplishment involved construction of a building on the College's campus devoted to the study of natural history. As Morris noted, the first such building "conceived, designed, erected, and completed through the agency of the students."[10] Morris' other achievements while directing the Association included editing an outstanding journal, *The Literary Record and Journal,* which provided a forum for getting scientific articles before educated segments of the American public; and creating a collection of natural history specimens, that Morris used in teaching and in furthering his own understanding of comparative anatomy.

Morris' election in 1851 to membership in the Maryland Historical Society marked the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship and signified recognition of his position as a civic leader. He held numerous positions and was elected president in 1895. Morris spoke for other men of his class when he expressed his belief that the proper role of an historical society was to "verify doubtful facts, develop and record unwritten events, correct popular er-

rors, authenticate disputed dates . . . delineate the character and deeds of illustrious men."[11]

Morris' principal service at the Maryland Historical Society was to expand and improve the Society's library and natural science collection. For decades, Morris and his colleagues on the library committee worked assiduously to increase the holdings through a merger with the Library Company of Baltimore, purchases, and donations. By 1885, the library had grown to an impressive collection of over 20,000 volumes and pamphlets.[12] A valuable collection open to the 500 members of the society and to interested Baltimoreans in general.

While working to build the library, Morris led the effort to create a natural history collection. He directed the Society's efforts to document the state's flora and fauna by acquiring animal, plant, and mineral specimens. Morris' work aided scientists in studying the state's geologic history and exploring the interaction between native plants and animals.

From the 1850's onward, John G. Morris became involved with yet another emerging cultural institution, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. In addition to periodic lectures, Morris began publishing his major scientific works through the Smithsonian. His most valuable scientific publications, *The Catalogue of the Described Lepidoptera of North America* and a subsequent *Synopsis* describing lepidoptera active during the daytime and twilight hours, reflected Morris' abiding fascination with butterflies and his keen sense of the need for American scientists to study their country's natural history. These two works, published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1860 and 1862 respectively, show Morris' scholarly abilities at their best. Morris supplemented information, gleaned from studying and classifying his own specimens and from research in European and American reference works, with data his fellow entomologists shared with him. From these sources, he pulled together all the information then known about species of the North American lepidoptera.

As Morris divided the order of lepidoptera into its various families, genera and species, he followed commonly accepted scientific classification schemes in organizing his material, carefully listed the authority for each item under review, and noted any reference work which described the item. The *Catalogue* and the *Synopsis* listed several thousand species previously described in a myriad of sources, and proved tremendously valuable reference tools."

Morris' peers in the scientific community acclaimed his compilations for their scholarly accuracy and practical usefulness. A fellow pioneer entomologist, William Henry Edwards, believed that "this [Morris' works] gave a start to American collectors and the work of describing new species went on brisker. " Herbert Osborn, professor of natural history and president of the Entomological Society of America, recognized the *Catalogue* as the only work of its era available to American students. Osborn expressed his debt to Morris when he wrote, "For many years it was the only work by which I could attempt to identify species after the few that were figured or described in popular works were covered."- Augustus R. Crote, a later expert on the lepidoptera, credited Morris' work with first acquainting him with the principles of taxonomy." These two works constituted John G. Morris' greatest scientific achievement.

Over the many active years of his career, John G. Morris received numerous marks of respect for his work as a scientist. Chosen as a founding member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1848, he served for many years as the head of the Association's Entomology Section. Numerous scientific societies in American and Europe honored him with election as a member. The most prestigious included the American Philosophical Society, the Society of Natural History in Nuremberg, Germany, the Society of Northern Antiquarians in Stockholm, and the Royal Historical Society of London.

During the tumultuous Civil War period, John G. Morris remained a staunch Union supporter. During the difficult years of the 1860's, he embarked on another venture, which he hoped wound strengthen cultural bonds in the city and state. In July 1860, he left his pastorate at First English and became the first librarian of the newly established Peabody Institute.

An avid supporter of George Peabody's dream of creating a major cultural center in Baltimore, Morris labored for years to build a premier research collection. When the library formally opened to the public in 1866, it had over 25,000 books and thousands of pamphlets. Through his diligence and skill, Morris ensured the success of a major component of George Peabody's temple of culture. The library, operating in accordance with Morris' directives on cataloguing and preserving books, was on its way to becoming a major research facility.

In the decade following the Civil War, Morris devoted much of his energy to two historical societies which meant a great deal to him. As an ardent Lutheran, who hoped to see the badly divided church eventually reunite, John G. Morris put great store in the power of historical memory to serve as a unifying force. A founding member of the Lutheran Historical Society in 1843, he served as president from 1874 until his death in 1895.

With few resources at hand, Morris successfully encouraged the many synods and national church bodies to send copies of minutes, reports, and other church papers to Gettysburg for safekeeping by the Lutheran Historical Society. He scoured newspapers and journals looking for publications by Lutheran ministers suitable for the Society's collection. By 1895, the collection had grown to over 1,998 bound volumes (books, sermons, addresses, ecclesiastical document,) and 1,000 unbound pamphlets, manuscripts, and letter [17] With the assistance of his nephew, Seminary professor Charles A. Hay, Morris had created the best collection of Lutheran documentary materials in America.

Founding of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland

In the last decade of his life, the indefatigable John G. Morris' most notable venture reflected another of his life-long concerns. From his beginnings in a German-American family through his long involvement with the German language issue in the Lutheran church, Morris always cared about German acceptance into American society. He tried to foster this by showing German contributions to history in general and American society in particular.

For example, Morris read a paper before the Maryland Historical Society on the contributions of the Nuremberg astronomer, Martin Behaim, in the Age of Discovery. Morris' most original historical piece was on "The Young and German Luther," which appeared in the *Lutheran Quarterly.* From the traditional Protestant perspective, Morris saw Luther's work as an act of Providence, a "predestinated" fact, conceived and controlled by God. At the same time, he showed an understanding of historical causation and human psychology reflective of new trends in historical scholarship by tracing the political, intellectual, and religious dissatisfaction widespread in Europe on the eve of the Reformation. Morris understood the detestation sixteenth-century Germans felt for Italian and papal control of the church. As historians do today, he analyzed the patronizing attitude of the Italians toward the Germans and the resentment that resulted.[18]

In the article, Morris expressed an interesting psychological perspective: "Most great events in Church, state, literature, art and science, etc., have been conceived and advanced by young men." His point was that, if Luther had been twenty years older, he might have recanted or at least not continued the fight; breaking away from the heavy emotional investment of Luther's increasingly prominent role in the Augustinian Order might have caused him too much stress.[19]

To further the cause of integrating Germans into American society, Morris did what had become second nature to him, he began a new cultural venture. On the evening of January 5, 1886, Morris helped create a vehicle to further this cause. Meeting in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society, Morris discussed with other prominent Baltimore German-Americans, such as Louis P. Hennighausen, Edward F. Leyh, and Charles F. Raddak, the feasibility of establishing a new historical society. After some debate, the men decided to draft a constitution for an organization "to collect and preserve material for the history… of the Ger-

mans in the growth and development of the American, Nation, especially in Maryland."[20]

A month later on February 16, twenty-three men gathered, approved the draft constitution, and elected John G. Morris as the first president of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland. Despite his devotion to his German heritage, Morris' primary identification as an American came through when he successfully argued for recording the minutes of Society meetings in English.[21] Within a year, membership grew to seventy-two. Until his death, the old scholar presided at the Society's nine monthly meetings each year and "discharged his duties faithfully."[22]

President Morris stimulated interest in the Society through a stream of papers he read at the monthly meetings. In one noteworthy paper, on the Egyptologist Gustavus Seyffarth Morris explained to members that the Society also had a duty to "exhibit the career of German individuals who have distinguished themselves in any department of human effort." With obvious pride, Morris observed that he had entertained the eminent scientist in his home.[23]

As he did in all his scholarly ventures, Morris prepared a compilation—this one a list of all printed descriptions of America published by German settlers and visitors prepared from 1673 onward. Morris also donated books on German-American topics to build up the Society's fledgling collection. In the years remaining to him, Morris continued to use the Society to build bridges with other Americans. In the many papers he presented, Morris returned over and over to the theme of German cultural and patriotic contributions to the nation. He made his points in biographical essays on the Muhlenbergs, Conrad Weiser, and Baltimore pastor John Ulhorn, among others. He explored for his listeners the treatment of black slaves by Germans, the German experience in Baltimore, along with translations of numerous articles and essays.[24]

Evaluation

Active to within three weeks of his death on October 10, 1895, John G. Morris was memorialized for his "intense patriotism" and "love of historical detail."[25] Whether in secular or religious arenas, he fought to raise the level of public appreciation for American science, American history, and the American experience in general. Essentially a man of the antebellum era, Morris believed that gentlemen of education and means had a responsibility to combat social disorder and elevate the character of public discourse.

John G. Morris, like others of his class, sought to counteract the economic, social, and political pressures tearing city, state, and nation apart. Cultural institutions were the principle vehicles in the struggle to achieve national identity and cohesiveness. What John G. Morris built as a cultural leader endures. An English-speaking Lutheranism rooted in America is a reality. The collections of the Maryland Historical Society and the Peabody Institute represent major steps in making knowledge and culture more accessible to society at large. The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland continues to recognize and honor German cultural contributions to the nation.

John G. Morris shone in that tier of talented and ambitious men who created the research collections and built the scientific and historical societies. His life work contributed significantly to the cultural journey of nineteenth-century America and in no small measure molded the era that followed. It was an enduring legacy left by the first president of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland.

— Michael J. Kurtz
The National Archives

NOTES

[1]Michael J. Kurtz, "Being a Renaissance Man in Nineteenth Century Baltimore: John Gottlieb Morris," *Maryland Historical Magazine, Vol.* 89 (Summer 1994): 156-158; Michael J. Kurtz, "John G. Morris: The Scientist Informed by Faith," *Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin,* Vol.71 (Fall 1991): 51-52.

[2]John G. Morris, *Life Reminiscences of an Old Lutheran Minister* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1896), 26, 28.

[3]Morris, *Life Reminiscences,* 47.

[4]John G. Morris to Spencer F. Baird, 18 July 1844, Papers of John G. Morris, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, PA.

[5]Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of Gettysburg Theological Seminary, 1826-1926* (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1926), 245.

[6]John G. Morris, "Cabinet of the Linnaean Association," *The Literary Record and Journal of the Linnaean Association of Pennsylvania College,* 1 (November 1844): 3-52.

[7]Morris, *Life Reminiscences,* 166-167.

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[9]Charles H. Glatfelter, A *Salutary Influence: Gettysburg College, 1832-1985* (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 1987), pp. 103-111.

[10]John G. Morris, *An Address Delivered Before the Linnaean Association of Pennsylvania College, September 14, 1847* (Gettysburg: H. C. Neinstedt, 1847), 3.

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[13]John G. Morris, *Catalogue of the Described Lepidoptera of North America* (Washington, B.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1860); John G. Morris, *Synopsis of the Described Lepidoptera of North American, Part 1: Diurnal and Crepuscular Lepidoptera* (Washington, DC, Smithsonian Institution, 1862).

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NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971), 304-308.

[17]*Proceedings of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States,* 5-13June 1895, 203.

[18]John G. Morris, "The Young and German Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* (January 1882), 7-12.

[19]Morris, "The Young and German Luther."

[20]*First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore: Isaac Friedenwald, Printer, 1887), 15.

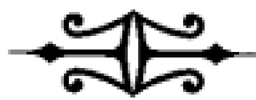
[21]*Report of the Secretary,* 16-17.

[22]*The Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore: Theo. Kroh and Sons, Printers, 1888), 9.

[23]*The Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore: Theo. Kroh and Sons, Printers, 1889), 17-20.

[24]*The Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore: C. W. Schneidereith and Sons, 1891, 1893, 1896), 4, 3-4, 11-19.

[25]Maryland Historical Society, *Minutes of Society Meetings,* 11 November 1895.



HESSIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE ATTACK ON FORT WASHINGTON, 1776 AND THE OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN NEW JERSEY, 1777

The following excerpts are taken from the journal of a Hessian battalion in British service during the American Revolution from 1776 to 1784.[1] The author, Quartermaster Carl Bauer, was a keen observer and gave a thorough account of the organization and training of the unit in Hessia and of its unpleasant voyage to England and across the Atlantic to North America. During the assault on Fort Washington, and later during the occupation of New Jersey, Bauer was serving in the Grenadier Battalion von Köhler, which was redesignated two years later, upon a change of command, as the Grenadier Battalion von Graff, and four years later as von Platte, the name of the battalion at the time that Bauer completed his journal.

Bauer gives the date of each event in a column along the left margin of the page, yet sometimes the date is incorporated into the grammar of the sentence. For the convenience of the type-setter of this translation, all dates will be embodied in the text.

§§§

October

At nine o'clock on October the 16th the commodore and various transport ships raised flags indicating, to our general joy, that they had sighted land. At about one o'clock in the afternoon we saw various promontories to the north of us. I greatly doubt that Columbus could have had greater joy than we at his first view of the New World and at the discovery he had made. Everyone seemed to revive again. The sick had themselves brought up from between decks to convince themselves of this discovery. Another sailor died.[2]

(The 17th) Because of the calm we could not sail far today. However, we were already so close to land that we cast anchor this evening.

(The 18th) Because of the scurvy raging among the sailors we could hardly raise the sails today even with the greatest effort. The land that lay so close to us last night to the west was the province of New Jersey,[3] between the Delaware River and New York. After we had finally raised the sails with great effort and through the help of the soldiers, we steered northward toward Long Island. However, because of contrary winds we could not sail into the harbor of New York but were compelled, to our general displeasure, to cast anchor at about twelve o'clock noon at Sandy Hook.

(The 18th) Sandy Hook is a small unoccupied sandy island on which stands a lighthouse toward which the ships going to New York must head. A river separates this island from New Jersey.

This morning (the 19th) at six o'clock we weighed anchor and sailed into the channel between Long Island and Staten Island that leads to New York. On Staten Island we saw a Hessian encampment. On both islands we saw pleasant farms. We dropped anchor in North River off New York at about seven o'clock in the evening in the dark of the night. Because the wind today was not the best for sailing into the harbor, the largest part of the fleet had to remain at Sandy Hook, which is thirty English miles from New York.

Today (the 20th) everyone was on deck very early, and instead of a beautiful city we saw nothing but the ruins of beautiful buildings. We were lying off the west end of the city, where the Rebels had burned down thirteen hundred houses after the city had fallen into our hands. At noon today the remainder of our fleet came to us with the flood tide. Despite our long journey, we had good reason to consider ourselves lucky that we had never had to suffer a violent and lasting storm and that the entire fleet, which consisted of sixty-three sails, had arrived here without having lost a single one.

(The 20th) In this harbor we found more than four hundred large ships and a multitude of small ones that were anchored here. New York is a large city that is said to have had five thousand houses before the fire. Some of the streets are regular, others are irregular. It is very convenient for trade. Merchant ships can come close to the wharves and unload their

wares easily. It lies on an island that is called York Island,[4] to wit, on the point to the south, where the North and the East Rivers flow together.[5] On this point near the water lies a fort called Fort George.

(The 20th) The Rebels had dug trenches and thrown up earthworks everywhere, which, however, were of no use to them since our army made its attack on this island in their rear. With regard to population, the island was waste and empty, for most of its inhabitants had fled through fear and the houses in entire streets stood empty. Most of these were converted into barracks. New York has eighteen churches and meeting-houses, of these St. Paul's and George's Chapel were the most splendid. Two of these eighteen had been victims of the flames during the fire. There was also a beautiful college there which, however, has now been converted into a hospital for the army. There is a royal shipyard here; however, no new ships can be built but only old ones repaired. The area around New York is very pleasant. Two more grenadiers died today.

On the 21st we lay quietly at anchor. Today, the 22nd, the so eagerly awaited moment finally arrived when, after a sojourn of a hundred and forty-two days, we left the dwelling in which we had suffered so much fear, worry, and sad hours. We were loaded aboard a schooner; and for a while everyone in it seemed as melancholy as if we were once again remembering all the dangers from which we had been so fortunately released.

We sailed up the East River between Long Island and York Island until we finally reached an eddy where there are great rocks. The route between these rocks is very narrow and dangerous and is called Hell's Gate. Here one sees the remains of many wrecked ships. The passage is so narrow that one can throw an object from the ship to the land on either side. Nevertheless, transport ships and frigates can go through it safely with a good wind. The master of our schooner told us that a boat with British grenadiers and artillery had sunk here during the landing of our troops.

Pro nota. Subsequently, Sir James Wallace passed through Hell's Gate in the year 1778 with the warship *Experiment* with fifty canons. Today we sailed some fourteen English miles and had to drop anchor toward evening, which would not have been necessary if we had not run up on sandbanks twice because of the uncertainty of the master of our schooner.

Today, the 23rd, we weighed anchor at break of day and were disembarked on dry land at about ten o'clock at New Rochelle about three miles from where General Howe was camped.[6] Here we met all the troops of the Second Division who had come with us from Europe and who had been disembarked on flatboats and had come ashore before us. We had to leave our baggage behind us on the ships and could take nothing with us but the tents. After all the troops had landed and four two-span wagons had been supplied to each regiment for the transport of the tents (for, indeed, no more could be loaded on them), we set out on our march toward New Rochelle. This actually begins where the church stands. After we had marched for several miles we had to march past His Excellency Lieutenant General von Heister.[7] Although we had marched for only three English miles, a large number of exhausted men remained behind.

Near the New Rochelle church we made camp in the army line. This place is a colony of French who were settled here under British sovereignty. The entire colony is divided into farms that lie scattered about. It belongs to the province of New York. This evening the Yeager Company[8] that disembarked with us today has already had an engagement with the Rebels, in which Lieutenant [Karl][9] von Rau was severely wounded in his leg. Most of the area around here has been laid waste by the Rebels.

On the 24th we remained quietly in our camp.

At daybreak on the 25th we received orders to break camp and to be ready to march. The entire army marched away from us. However, at about midday the Second Division under the command of Lieutenant General von Knyphausen[10] returned to the old camp, but to deceive the enemy the tents were pitched in two lines, for which reason our front extended twice as far as yesterday. This evening, because

of a heavy cannonade from the army on our right, we had to withdraw; but nothing else occurred.

On the 26th we were still standing in our former position, and we received provisions for the second time. A man receives daily one pound of Zwieback or wheat flour, a pound of fresh beef or three quarters of a pound of salted pork, and one and one third gills of rum, which is as much as one and one third quarts or one twelfth measure. For this, two and a half pence are deducted from his pay.

On the 27th we had a rest day. The region appears rather fertile. Cattle raising is still in a right good condition now even though a great many cattle were taken away. The inhabitants, of whom one finds few in their dwellings, all appear to have lived in a happy condition. The houses are beautiful and regular, not built in the way our peasant houses are. In all the abandoned houses we found fine furniture, which was ruined and from which one can conclude that the occupants were above the taste of German peasants.

The crops we found around here were wheat, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, flax, and buckwheat. Rye could also be found, but not much of it. We found whole fields of squash. The other European garden plants had already been harvested by our predecessors, yet we still found traces of them proving that they had grown here. Fruits of all sorts, with the exception of *Zwetzschen,*[11] were found here in great quantities, but especially very many peach trees. The wild trees were various kinds of oaks, walnuts, leafnut trees,[12] cedars, acacia, tulip trees, beeches, white beeches, alders, willows, and a quantity of ???.[13] There are also many chestnut trees, the ripe fruit of which we could gather in the morning in our camp.

A multitude of shrubs and bushes were entirely unknown to us. The inhabitants' knowledge of botany was very limited, for often they could not give us any names for the trees with which we were not familiar. Birches and lindens were to be found individually here and there, and we found a kind of mulberry here that looked like a linden with respect to trunk and leaves but bore a black mulberry. Wild cherry trees, whose fruit grows like a bunch of grapes and is black and the size of a pea, grow here in great quantities. Its wood is said to be very good for working by cabinet makers, and it is especially good for gun stocks.

On the 28th the Corps under the command of Lieutenant General von Knyphausen marched to Mile Square.[14] It consisted of 1) the Grenadier Battalion Köhler, 2) the von Wutginau Regiment, 3) von Stein, 4) von Wissenbach, 5) von Huyn, 6) von Bünau, and 7) Regiment Waldeck from New Rochelle.[15] The march was about six English miles. The way was very bad and stony. All the houses we passed were empty and wasted. We came to the rear of the army of Lieutenant General Howe.

The 29th. Day of rest in Mile Square. It is a hilly region which forced us to pitch our camp on various hills. Yesterday evening, the 30th, at nine o'clock, First Lieutenant [Wilhelm Ludwig] von Romrodt of the von Wutginau Regiment was commanded to march from the camp at midnight with three hundred men of the said regiment. After midnight at about three o'clock the entire Corps, under the command of Lieutenant General Knyphausen, broke camp and arrived an hour after daybreak at a knoll on the eastern side of Kingsbridge.

En route we saw several burned down huts that were built in the form of a barracks. We also found the remains of ruined magazines. On the above-mentioned height, ndhl??[16] First Lieutenant von Romrodt and his command had taken possession of a fort named Independence, which the enemy left last night. It was rather large. For its defense at least nine hundred or a thousand men would have been required. The enemy had left the cannons and ammunition behind. The fort has several small redoubts, past which we marched this morning on either side. Fort Independence covers the entire region and is especially situated to cover the passage over the King's Bridge from the land side.

At a distance of about three quarters of an English mile and between the hills and cliffs there is a creek that unites the North or Hudson River with the East River.[17] By means of this creek both rivers form an island which is called

York Island and on which stands New York City. The mainland and this island are connected by a little wooden bridge called Kingsbridge, from which the area around here gets its name of Kingsbridge.

The enemy are now occupied with tearing down the bridge to deny us passage to York Island. They are also bringing the magazines that are still standing on both sides of the bridge further towards their camp below Fort Washington. This fort lies, reckoned in a straight line, about an hour in front of us on the highest summit, one might well say cliff, of York Island. It is surrounded on all sides by thick forests and marshes and high cliffs. Nature has contributed far more than skill to its fortification. The enemy consider it invincible. However, since it appears that our sojourn here was coined for the capture of this fort, it is questionable how long they will be able to maintain this adjective.

On the 31st we are lying camped quietly on the height of Fort Independence. King's Bridge, which was ruined by the Rebels, was repaired again last night; and Captain [Johannes] Neumann of our battalion crossed Harlem Creek this morning with a hundred men by means of this bridge and drove back the enemy outposts into the forests below Fort Washington and took firm possession of a height across the bridge with his command. The unit that crossed Harlem Creek today has sent back several lightly wounded.

November

On the 1st we were still lying quietly in our camp. We had to have supplies sent up from New Rochelle.

This morning, the 2nd, our battalion marched over Kingsbridge and pitched camp on a height, On the 3rd the Kohler Grenadier Battalion's outposts were engaged almost all day with the enemy's patrols and had seven wounded.

On the 4th three more men from Köhler's outposts were wounded. Today the entire battalion advanced into a forest lying to the right front of the camp, which the enemy had still held until now, but they were compelled to abandon it and to withdraw into their abatises closer to Fort Washington. Our battalion's tents remained standing. The von Wutginau and von Stein regiments also crossed Kingsbridge. When the von Stein regiment wished to pitch camp on a plain before our camp, the enemy began to cannonade the regiment violently from Fort Washington, and because of this it was forced to leave the place chosen for a camp and to withdraw behind a height next to the von Wutginau regiment.

Today, the 5th, the Wissenbach regiment occupied the camp of the grenadier battalion Kohler. At eight o'clock in the evening the grenadier battalion was detached from all the other regiments by a *meliertes* command,[18] and it occupied the camp on the right wing of the regiments von Wutginau and von Stein. Today we again had several severely wounded. On the 6th we remained quiet. The outposts were engaged constantly.

(The 16th) From the 6th until now nothing has occurred except that we have suffered wounded and dead on the outposts. The entire army, under the command of General Howe, came from White Plains and pitched camp across King's Bridge on a high ground behind Fort Independence. A battery for heavy artillery was erected on this high ground opposite Fort Washington. At daybreak today the following regiments under the command of Lieutenant General von Knyphausen marched into the forest lying on North River to the right of our camp: 1) One unit of yeagers under the command of Capt. Loreis,[19] 2) Grenadier Battalion Köhler, 3) Regiment von Wutginau, 4) Regiment von Losberg, 5) Regiment Rall,[20] Regiment von Huine,[21] 8) Regiment von Bünau, and 9) Regiment Waldeck. Regiment von Stein occupied a redoubt on a plain to the left.

At about seven o'clock the previously mentioned nine regiments, battalion, and corps formed the main attack from the forest against Fort Washington. However, the many and strong abatises and marshes forced them to stand still until about ten o'clock until they could clear away enough area to get through. At ten o'clock the main attack began against a large and tree-covered cliff, which they had to

occupy before they could attack the fort. By eleven o'clock they were masters of this cliff. Between this and Fort Washington nature had formed an entrenchment, or rather a breastwork, of rocks, which the Rebels had occupied with cannons without Avetten.[22] This breastwork was seized at the same time, but not without great loss on our side, which the Wutginau Regiment felt especially severely. This was because it, like the largest part of the left wing of this corps, was flanked by the cannons with grape shot that were placed on the cliffs. We halted as soon as this entrenchment, called the Stone Entrenchment,[23] was in our hands. In addition to Lieutenant General von Knyphausen's corps, the fort was bombarded by various frigates on North River from the direction of New York. It was also attacked by an English division that crossed Harlem Creek in flatboats and made an assault below Laurel Hill.

The fire from all sides was very heavy until the capture of the Stone Entrenchment, at which time it entirely stopped. The troops there halted and began surrendering. In the afternoon the fort capitulated and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. The number is said to amount to more than three thousand. The losses on our side from the crossing of Kingsbridge to the surrender of the fort are said to amount to nearly four hundred dead and wounded. The grenadier battalion Kohler had in all thirty-eight men dead and wounded.

On the 17th the prisoners were transported to New York and the wounded to Harlem, where a Hessian sick bay was established. On the 18th the grenadier battalion Kohler and the von Stein and Wissenbach regiments pitched camp at Fort Washington. Several English regiments, likewise 1) the von Wutginau regiment, 2) the von Ditfurth, 3) the Leip Regiment,[24] 4) the Prince Karl[25] 5) the von Huyne, and 6) the von Bünau marched to New York and pitched camp near the city and received orders to submit embarktion lists.

On the 18th we received orders to submit embarkation lists.

On the 19th Lord Cornwallis went with a corps across North River. Of the Hessians, the three grenadier battalions and 1) von Linsing, 2) Block, and 3) Minnigerode, as well as the two yeager companies crossed with him. (The 21st) According to today's general orders, Fort Washington will henceforth be called Fort Knyphausen.

December

(The 19th) Since the previous date the regiments 1) von Stein and 2) von Wissenbach and 3) the grenadier battalion Köhler remained in camp near Fort Knyphausen. During this time work was done continuously on the barracks that are to be built for those by the fort. However, today the grenadier battalion received orders to march tomorrow from here to New York. All other regiments, battalions, and corps were moved into winter quarters or into cantonment quarters.

On the 20th the grenadier battalion Köhler was relieved by the von Trümbach regiment, which came from New York.[26] The former occupied the quarters left by the above-mentioned regiment. This evening we received orders to stand ready for embarkation tomorrow.

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Hessian Operations in New Jersey
Dec. 21,1776-July 6,1777

After reporting the capture of Fort Washington, Bauer tells what disposition was made of the various Hessian units. On December 19, 1776, he reports that the Grenadier Battalion Kohler has received orders to prepare for embarkation the next day. He then continues:

On the 21st the aforesaid grenadier battalion was embarked, to wit: 1) the staff on the transport ship *Aeolus,* 2) Capt. [Friedrich Wilhelm] Boden's and Capt. [Heinrich Christian] Hessenmüller's companies on the ship *Symmetry,*[27] Capt. [Johannes] Neumann's and Capt. [Georg] Hohenstein's companies on the ship *Royal Exchange.*

At 8 o'clock this morning, the 22nd, our ships set sail. We took our course toward Perth Amboy but dropped anchor in Prince's Bay off Staten Island. Until today, the 27th, we remained on our ships in Prince's Bay. During all these days we had to put up with a great deal. The weather was so very cold and frightfully

stormy that we were forced to drop three anchors to keep the ship from being anchorless. The Second Day of Christmas was the saddest of all for us since we thought at every moment that the storm would carry the ship away.

Our suffering was greatly intensified because we had no foodstuffs with us. In New York we had been told that we would be disembarked on the 23rd or the 24th and did not need to take any provisions along because they would have to be left behind when debarking. Having relied on this, we had nothing more with us but what was necessary for our subsistence until the 23rd at the longest. Unfortunately, the ships had no provisions either, and we had to get along as best we could in these most pitiful circumstances until today, when the storm abated and we received fresh provisions from Perth Amboy.

Here in Amboy[28] we received news that Col. Rail's brigade in Trenton was captured on the 26th of this month. Here in Amboy we inquired concerning our horses that had been sent from New York with four grooms in a separate sloop, but no one could give us any information about them.

The battalion was debarked at South Amboy in Jersey today, the 28th. No troops from the army had come into this region. We marched almost all day in nothing but forest. The region is scarcely cultivated and, with the exception of a few houses, we found nothing but some miserable shacks that were built on newly cleared fields. In the evening we arrived at a little village named Spottswood, where we were quartered. Here there was a handsome forge.

Today, the 29th, we marched in a region just as distressing as yesterday from Spottswood to New Brunswick on the Raritan River.[29] Although we thought that we would be quartered here according to our orders, we learned the contrary here and had to inarch ten English miles farther to Hillsborough.[30] Here we joined three English regiments, which were part of Col. [Charles} Mawhood's brigade. Because they had already taken possession of all houses in the village, our battalion had to make do with two barns.

The 30th, rest day in Hillsborough. On the 31st we made cantonment quarters in the houses on the eastern side of Mill River.

January 1, 1777. Instead of occupying the cantonment quarters as we expected, we received orders last night to break camp at once. At two past midnight the three English regiments and our grenadier battalion inarched to Princeton. The baggage remained behind in Hillsborough. These three English regiments remained under the command of Col. Mawhood in Princeton. The Grenadier Battalion Köhler joined Col. [Carl Emil Ulrich] von Donop's brigade in Trenton.

On the 3rd General Washington marched to Princeton and attacked Col. Mawhood, who lost very many men from the three regiments he had with him.[31] Today, from the Battalion Köhler, one grenadier was shot dead and one man was wounded.

On the 4th the corps under Lord Cornwallis marched from Trenton back to New Brunswick on the Raritan. The entire corps consisted of sixteen battalions and regiments and two companies of yeagers.[32] All these troops established winter quarters in and around Brunswick[33] on both sides of the Raritan in a line of about one and a half hours. In view of the many men, these quarters had to be bad. All the officers of the Grenadier Battalion Kohler received two rooms. Small redoubts were established all around Brunswick.

Brunswick is an open place, built in a square; and it is pleasingly situated with many lovely houses. All in all, the number of houses amounts to about one hundred and fifty. Two-masted and one-masted ships can come close to the wharves when the tide is high. A sloop of twenty guns came close to the city. About one English mile up the Raritan River lies Raritan Landing, where a wooden bridge spans the river. The tide goes up to this bridge. Here at Brunswick are copper mines, which are not being operated at present. They are the property of a local family named French. The Rebel army had encircled us so that our outposts could be alarmed constantly from all sides, and all too often they were.

General Washington had his headquarters in Morristown. This town lies very much in the

mountains and was strongly entrenched on all sides. We had no other outpost in Jersey but Perth Amboy, which is on the point at the mouth of the Raritan River. It is approximately sixteen or eighteen miles from Brunswick. However, we had no other contact with the corps there but what could be made on several occasions by strong detachments that had to consist of closed regiments. The only communication between New York and Amboy was maintained by way of the river, yet it too was sometimes very unsafe because of the hostile patrols on land, from which the ships were often attacked.

With the exception of two fruitless expeditions to, or rather attacks against, Bound Brook,[34] we remained on the defensive all winter except when we foraged. For this, often five or six regiments had to be taken in order to dislodge the enemy first. The service was extremely difficult and very strenuous for the men. Everyone who served had to lie in the open air. The snow fell very often and deep. It seemed to us that the weather here is generally colder than in Europe.

The men were unable to buy anything to supplement the provisions supplied us, which at first were not of the best. If one also adds the poor and miserable quarters, it is easy to conclude that sickness could not stay away. This had a particularly bad effect on the Grenadier Battalion Köhler, which consisted of young people who were still full of scurvy from the ships.[35] Because of the cold, the scurvy diminished and changed itself into sicknesses. Naturally, for those who were still healthy the service became heavier and heavier because of the sick who were increasing daily and because of the additional circumstance that those who were convalescing in the hospital in New York often had to remain there for a month before finding an opportunity to return to the battalion. As a result of this, the healthy decreased daily until finally the battalion was no longer in a condition to perform like the other three grenadier battalions.

May 10. So far, nothing has changed except that we have been alarmed and disquieted, especially the two Hessian yeager companies that held the outposts before Bound Brook and Quibbletown. At about five o'clock today, in the direction of Piscataway on the road to Perth Amboy, we heard a heavy cannonade and small arms fire, which not only was very violent but also lasted a long time. The 42nd regiment of Scots had intended to attack the enemy in their quarters, but they were driven back with a loss of fifty men dead and wounded. In the meanwhile this regiment had thirty-six men dead, captured, and wounded, among the latter the major.

On May 11 the garrison of Bound Brook and surrounding places made an attack against the yeager companies and the English guards, but they, likewise, had to retreat with loss. From captives and deserters we now learned that there was a misunderstanding in yesterday's attack. According to their report, the enemy had firmly determined to launch a general attack against Brunswick at four o'clock this morning.

Because we had occupied the side toward Princeton most strongly, the main attack was to be made from this direction and, in their expectation of achieving their goal, their forces were to be detached to the other side toward Amboy, which was our weakest. This they were going to do in hopes of destroying the troops there completely or at least of causing our side to withdraw, whereby we would naturally have to suffer frightfully many losses as well as being forced into a corner.

On the 16th of May the garrison in and around Brunswick on both sides of the Raritan pitched camp on the heights. From then on hardly a day passed that our outposts were not attacked by the rebels. We were now more shut in than in the winter, we could not venture out any more than in winter; and to this the forests and fields, which had become green, contributed much.

On the 5th of June we received orders to hold ourselves ready for an impending embarkation. The place where this will occur still remains undetermined. Every battalion is to take no more than seven riding horses and five wagons without horses. On the 6th we were told the names of the transport ships that will hold each of our battalions. The Grenadier

Battalion Köhler is getting one called *Bird* of 277 tons and *Twiet of* 162 tons.

Today a rebel captain, who has been in Brunswick as a spy for some time and has been practicing merchandizing, was hanged on a tree near our camp. A letter that he had written to General Washington promised to ignite all the magazines in Brunswick on His Royal Majesty's birthday. He had given it for forwarding to an English grenadier who had offered to desert for a promised number of guineas. However, the said grenadier brought it to Lord Cornwallis. The plan had been made for General Washington to be ready on that day to attack as soon as the fires were set. This spy's enthusiasm was so great that, when he came to the ladder, he climbed it very calmly and, as he pulled the white mask over his eyes, he said to those standing around, "I die for liberty."[36]

On June the 9th the first recruits from Lt. [Friedrich Adam Julius] von Wangenheim's transport came to us here in Brunswick. On the 12th arrived in Brunswick the commanding general-in-chief Sir William Howe and also Lt. Gen. [Philip] von Heister with many English regiments and Maj. Gen. [Johann Daniel] von Stirn's brigade, consisting of the Prince's Own Regiment, the regiments of von Donop and von Mirbach, and also the Combined Battalion.[37] As soon as the regiments had reached the camp, large redoubts were thrown up on both sides of the Raritan.

On June the 13th many flatboats from New York came up the Raritan River. In every flatboat was a wagon which could be launched in the water with little effort and on which the boat could be loaded very quickly. In a short time we saw the boats that had come by water proceed further on land. With the coming of night the army set out in two columns on their march to Princeton. They stopped, however, on Mills River in the vicinity of Hillsborough and Middlebush. The rebels have moved into the mountains across the Mills River and fortified themselves. Various English regiments, the Grenadier Battalion Kohler, and the Combined Battalion remained in Brunswick under the command of Gen. [Edward] Matthew.

On June the 19th the army came back here without having undertaken anything against the enemy. On the 20th, in compliance with the orders we received yesterday, our battalion had to break camp today with Maj. Gen. [John] Vaughn and escort the flatboats on the wagons to Perth Amboy. Here we encountered two yeager companies that had just come from Hessia, also two regiments from Anspach and the Waldeck regiment.[38]

On the 22nd the entire army also came here from New Brunswick and pitched camp on the heights before us. The English light infantry suffered more than forty dead and wounded in their rear guard. The region between Brunswick and Amboy is an uninterrupted forest and very suitable for the rebel's manner of fighting. Between the two places there is a small and pleasant village named Bonhamtown. Six English regiments and Maj. Gen. von Stirn's brigade embarked today and went to Staten Island, from where they went aboard their transport ships. Today in Amboy[39] Lt. Gen. von Heister received their call back to Hessia and they had themselves ferried at once to Staten Island in order to go to New York.

On June the 25th six embarked English regiments and Stirn's brigade arrived at Amboy on their transport ships and were debarked here already this evening. On the 26th the army broke camp again and marched to Brunswick in several columns in order to fall upon the rebels, who had moved out of their entrenched camp. With a loss of sixty prisoners and many dead and three metal[40] cannons they returned to their mountains. Many of our men lay dead from the heat.[41]

With regard to our crossing the Hudson, when one calculates the advantages that this last expedition has brought us, the losses on both sides seem to balance out. Several of the regiments that returned from the expedition were embarked today. The Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode captured two of the three previously mentioned metal cannons.

Today, the 26th, a large part of the army's baggage was ferried over to Staten Island. On the 28th Gen. Howe returned from the expedition with his army.[42] Several English regiments, the Regiment von Mirbach, and the Prince's

Own Regiment were immediately embarked on the transports assigned to them. Some English regiments and the Grenadier Regiments von Linsing, von Lengercke, and von Minnigerode were ferried over to Staten Island today.

On June the 29th six English regiments, the two Anspach regiments, the Waldeck regiment, and the Grenadier Battalion Kohler were ferried over to Staten Island and pitched camp near the ferry. At three o'clock in the afternoon today, the 30th, our Light Infantry, and the Hessian Jägers, who formed the rear guard, crossed the Hudson River. With these we were aban-doning New Jersey, which had brought us little profit and had cost us many men. Perhaps it would have been better if we had not invaded it or else had held on to it. The enemy's light cavalry was already in Perth Amboy before the last boats shoved off.

New Jersey is undeniably one of the most fertile and pleasing provinces in North America. One finds there many beautiful, splendid, and pleasant farms that supply an excess of everything needed for human subsistence. However, this province does not yet have nearly enough people to cultivate it. It could nourish at least four times as many people as it actually has. There are still considerable large and uncultivated regions where one sees only forests and where one finds no other trace of culture than what nature provides. Perth Amboy has some beautiful houses.

The location of the city is exceptionally pleasant because it lies on a gradually sloping mountain and gives a very glorious view of all parts of the city. It lies on a spit of land that is made by an arm of the Hudson River, the Kills, and the Raritan River. Toward the south one sees the open sea across a large bay in the direction of Sandy Hook. Up to now there are still few houses, but the streets are laid out regularly. It is convenient for commerce because merchant and transport ships can come up close to the wharves.

On July 2 the army on Staten Island marched out. The march went very slowly because on Staten Island only one road goes from southwest to northeast and we had to march on it. This road is seventeen English miles long and is the same length as Staten Island. We pitched camp at Cole's Ferry, just opposite New York. This area is also called "the watering place" because ships are accus-tomed to take on water here.

On July the 6th Lt. Gen. [Henry] Clinton arrived from England on a frigate, which had eight transport ships under its protection. On the 7th to the 9th the troops assigned to the expedition[43] were embarked on the fleet that was lying here. With warships and all other vessels the fleet had a strength of three to four hundred ships, the strongest fleet that any of the inhabitants here had ever seen. Staten Island is rather well cultivated and has many hills and fresh water springs. On the 14th the Grenadier Battalion Köhler and two English regiments marched to Cole's Ferry and were ferried to New York. It is ten miles from Cole's Ferry to New York. Two miles behind New York we pitched camp at Greenwich Road.

§ § §

The Hessians' morale had been badly shaken by the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne at Saratoga, and it suffered another blow when Gen. Johann Gottlieb Rail's crack Hessian regiment was captured at Trenton just five days after the Kohler Battalion arrived in New Jersey. Bauer probably reflected the general Hessian sentiment when he concluded that the entire expedition to New Jersey had been useless.

After more than two years spent, mostly inactively, in the area of New York City, the von Kohler Battalian had the opportunity to prove itself in the siege of Charleston, South Carolina, which capitulated on May 11, 1780. Bauer's account of the campaign is very informative.[44]

— George Fenwick Jones
University of Maryland

NOTES

'Journal vom Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Grenadier-Battalion Platte vom 16then Februar: 1776 bis den 24then May 1784, geführt durch den Regiments-Quartier Meister Carl Bauer (Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Signatur I B a 16)

The sailors, even more than the soldiers, were suffering from scurvy.

[3]Bauer writes "New yersey."

[4]Manhattan Island.

[5]By North River, Bauer meant the Hudson. Instead of "East River" he writes "Edisto."

[6]General Sir William Howe, commander of British troops in New York.

[7]Lieutenant General Philip von Heister, senior Hessian officer in the New World.

[8]The Jager (called "yeagers" by the Americans) were chasseurs, or light infantry recruited among foresters and gamekeepers, who were therefore good marksmen and familiar with the forest. The most famous of these was Capt. Johann Ewald, best known for his trail-blazing military account of his experiences in the War of Independence (trans, and ed. by Joseph P. Tustin as *Diary of the American* War, New Haven, 1979).

[9]Names in brackets have been added. The first names of the Hessians can be found in Hetrina, *Hessische Truppen im amerikanischm Unabhängig-keitskrieg* (Marburg 1974).

[10]Lt. Gen. Wilhelm von Knyphausen, honorary commander of the Fuselier Regiment.

[11]A kind of plum.

[12]"Blatnussbäume," unidentified.

[13]The text appears to read "hier," but the context calls for a kind of fruit tree.

[14]Bauer consistently writes Knyphausen.

[15]

1) Bauer fails to note that this was his own bat talion, which later became Grenadier Battalion von Platte (See note 1).

2) Usually called the Regiment Landgraf. Frederick II, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, was the honorary commander, but Lt. Gen. Henrich Wilhelm Wutginau actually led it.

3) Garnisons Regiment von Stein, honorary commander Lt. Gen. Johann Ludwig Ferdinand von Stein, but actually commanded by Franz Erdmann Carl von Seitz.

4) Garnisons Regiment Wissenbach, honorary commander Lt. Gen. Christoph Moritz von Wissenbach, but actually commanded by Lt. Cols. Friedrich von Porbeck and Carl von Kitzel.

5) Garnisons Regiment von Huyn. The name appears mostly as 'Von Huyn" or 'Von Huyne," Bauer writes von Hine. Honorary commander Johann Christoph von Huyne, actually commanded by Lt. Col. Hubert Frantz Kurtz.

6) Garnisons Regiment von Bunau, honorary commander Col. Rudolph von Bunau, actually commanded by Lt. Col. Johann Adam Scheffer.

7) The Waldeckers were not Hessians. The principality of Waldeck had its own Prince Friedrich.

[16]"ndhl" is not explained.

"Later identified as Harlem Creek.

[18]The common meaning of meliert is "mixed," but its meaning in this context is unclear.

[19]This would appear to have been Capt. Friedrich Heinrich Lohrey of the Courier Corps (Feldjäger-Korps).

[20]This was the Hessian regiment captured by Washington at Trenton. In 1777 the remnants and returned prisoners were reorganized as the Wöllwarth Regiment, which was redesignated a year later as the von Trumbach Regiment.

[21]The von Huyn Garrison Regiment was redesignated in 1780 as the von Benning Regiment.

[22]Mounted sentinels.

[23]"Steinschantze."

[24]Leib-Infanterie-Regiment (the Prince's Own In-fantry Regiment).

[25]Regiment Printz Karl.

[26]Von Trumbach.

[27]Bauer, who tended to write phonetically, wrote "Cymetry."

[28]Bauer sometimes writes Perth Amboy and sometimes just Amboy, just as he writes both New Brunswick and just Brunswick.

[29]Bauer consistently writes Rarington.

[30]Bauer writes Hillsboury.

[31]This was the Battle of Princeton.

[32]The Jager were recruited among foresters and gamekeepers and were therefore good shots and familiar with the woods. The Americans usually called them "yeagers."

[33]Bauer fluctuates between Brunswick and New Brunswick, as he does between Amboy and Perth Amboy.

[34]Bauer consistently writes "Baumbrouck."

[35]Bauer had previously mentioned the scurvy among his troops, which had been even more severe among the seamen.

[36]Considerable inquiry has failed to reveal the name of this hero, who should be remembered along with Nathan Hale.

[37]Gen. Leopold von Heister was the commander-in-chief of the Hessians serving in North America. Gen. Johann Daniel Stirn's brigade consisted of the Leib-Infanterie-Regiment, the regiments of Wilhelm Henrich August von Donop and Werner von Mirbach, and the Combinierte Battalion under the command of Capt. Eman Anselm von Wilmovsky.

[38]The auxilliary troops from Anspach and Waldeck were not actually Hessians, being from independent states, yet they are usually included in the term "Hessian."

[39]See note 33.

[40]"Metal" must have meant "brass," as opposed to iron.

[41]Almost exactly a year later at the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, Maria Ludwig (Molly Pitcher) took over her husband's cannon when he was prostrated by the heat.

[42]This would appear to be Howe's unsuccessful attempt to come to the aid of Gen. Burgoyne.

[43]At this time Bauer does not seem to know the destination of the impending expedition. Since Howe's expedition up the Hudson has failed, he must be referring to the impending campaign against Charleston.

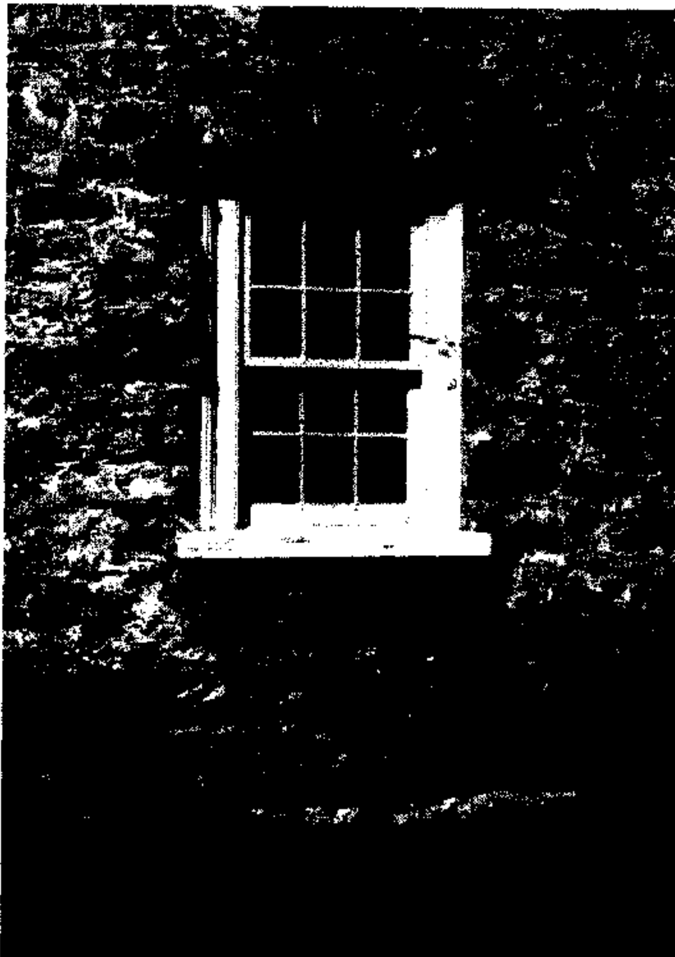
[44]See The 1780 Siege of Charleston as Experienced by a Hessian Officer," *South Carolina Historical Magazine,* 88 (1987), 23-33, 63-75.

GERMAN COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN FREDERICK COUNTY: THE MILL POND HOUSE — DEARBOUGHT — THE HESSIAN BARRACKS

History leaves behind many records; they can be in writing, illustrations and photographs, artifacts, or buildings. This survey will focus on examples of colonial architecture left behind by German settlers in Frederick County.

Frederick County is the only region in Maryland which abounds in German colonial (and German colonial style) architecture. Three buildings and their sites — Mill Pond House, Dearbought Farm, and the Hessian Barracks — are of special interest to the author for their architectural as well as historical qualities; many more examples throughout the county are waiting to be discovered and admired.

All three buildings exist today in their original location: Mill Pond House, located between between Frederick and Walkersville on a tract of land called "Broadview Acres" near Harmony Grove along the Monocacy River, unfortunately has been allowed to deteriorte and is in ruins. Nearby Dearbought Farm, the fate of which is uncertain, is in need of immediate restoration and protection. The Hessian Barracks represent historical preservation at its best and are listed on the National Register of Historical Places. The buildings, located in the southeastern part of Frederick, are in excellent condition. They have been used by the Maryland School for the Deaf for many years and are well maintained.



The Mill Pond House.Photo courtesy of Bridgitte Voelkel Fessenden.

Historical Overview

Daniel Nead writes, that "... it was not until the coming of the German settlers, who by their thrift and industry showed the possibilities of the fertile fields, that the colony began to make rapid strides forward..." *(The Pennsylvania German).* The major impetus for German immigration to Frederick County came in 1732, when Lord Baltimore offered two hundred free acres to prospective settlers at a rent of one percent per year, starting after three years. German families from southeastern Pennsylvania moved into the area along the Monocacy to cultivate the land that was offered to them. Many Germans also left Pennsylvani-

a's back counties because they provided little protection from Indian attacks. Pennsylvania's legislature, with a Quaker majority, refused to provide defense funds.

One of the first recorded German settlements in Maryland was called Village of Monocacy . It was settled in 1729 in the area which would later become Frederick. Houses were constructed from logs, as was a small church which is considered to be the mother church of the Lutheran and German Reform denominations in Maryland (replaced by a brick building in 1834). Families sometimes lived one or two decades in such simple log dwellings before they had accumulated enough wealth to construct the "mansion" of their dreams. Two distinctive types of building methods and materials were used by Maryland-Germans in the construction of their homes: medieval half-timber work with wattles (Mill Pond House) and solid stone (Dearbought, Hessian Barracks). Although Mill Pond House was the only known medieval house to survive into the twentieth century, several stone houses from the colonial period, including Dearbought and the Hessian Barracks, are still standing in Frederick County. It is the stone houses built by the second generation of Maryland-Germans which are generally referred to as "German Colonial" and which radiate strength and permanence, simplicity, sincerity and, above all, prosperity of their owners who had fully assimilated "im neuen Land" (in the New World) and intended to stay.

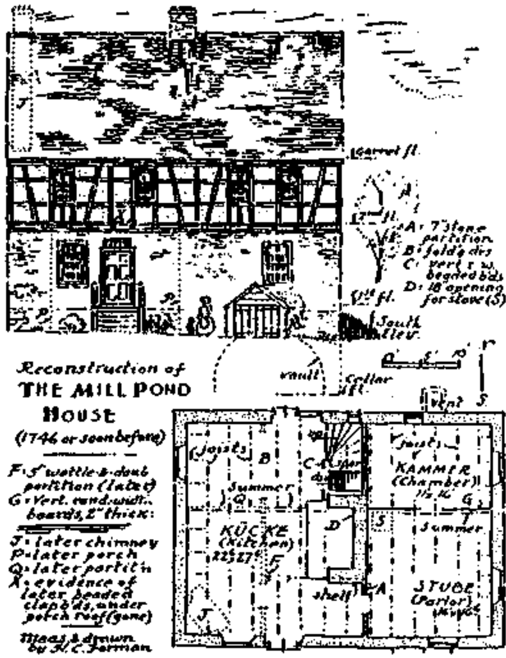
The major characteristics of both building styles are: large, vaulted cellars (generally located directly below the kitchen and accessible from there); four-room arrangements with a central hall *[Hausflur],* the stair (located on one side of the hall near the front door), the kitchen *[Küche],* and a small chamber *[Kammer]* for sleeping or storage purposes directly behind it. The rest of the chambers are situated to the rear of the house and upstairs. Chimneys are massive and in the center of the house; the fireplace services the kitchen. High pitched roofs frame spacious, vented attics covered with thatched roofs at first, later with shingles and then tin.

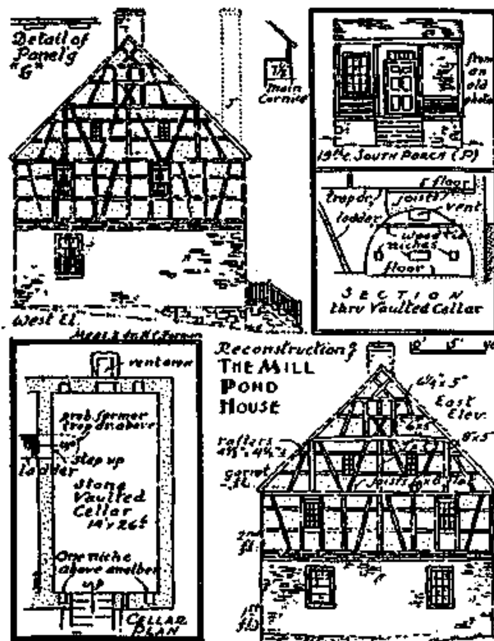
MILL POND HOUSE

This house no longer exists as a recognizable structure and is physically only evidenced by fragmented ruins and its cellar, but it was nevertheless the only known surviving Maryland example of half-timber, wattle-and-daub construction, popular in German countries and England from the middle ages up to the nineteenth century. The land called the "Mill Pond" was conveyed by Daniel Dulaney to the miller Jacob Stoner (Steiner) in 1746, and it can be assumed that the house was built shortly thereafter. A mill which had probably been constructed in the 1730's was already operating nearby. The house fronted on the old Annapolis road which once connected the Frederick-Woodsboro Turnpike and the Frederick-Emmitsburg Turnpike.

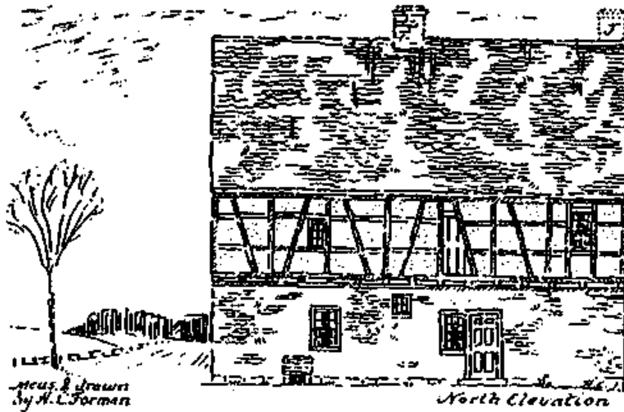
H. Chandlee Forman describes the Mill Pond House in his book *In Tidewater Maryland* complete with detailed plans. His drawings show a structure measuring approximately 30 feet by 40 feet, two and one-half stories in height, with a four-bay facade on the south side. The first floor and the foundation were built of native stone, the second floor and the east- and west-end gables above the second floor of the house were of half-timbered construction with a wattle-and-daub filling (a type of basketwork made up of evenly spaced saplings interwoven on both sides with split branches, over which are daubed layers of mud mixed with chopped straw to hold the mud together) Early on this part was covered on the exterior with clapboards in order to protect the plaster from the elements. A central chimney served one large cooking fireplace in the kitchen and the master chamber directly above; a second chimney was added later in the southwest corner of the house. The roofing, probably originally wooden shingles, had been replaced with slate.

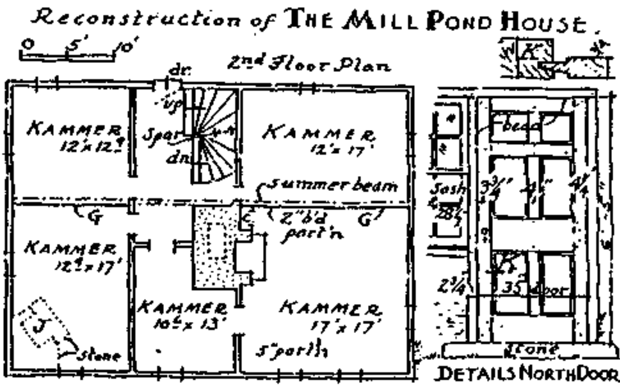
Mill Pond House's interior followed the so-called "Quaker Plan," which featured a good sized *Kueche* (main or keeping room) with a large fireplace and a partition with a door near the center of the house, leading to two rooms beyond: a *Stube* (parlor) and a *Kam-*

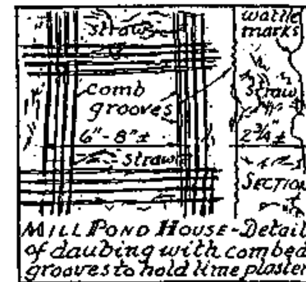


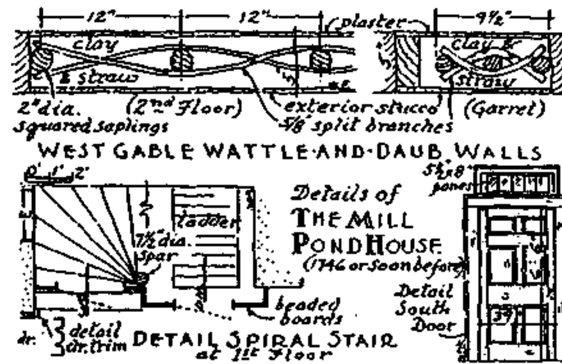


Drawings by H. C. Forman. Courtesy of the Estate ofH. C. Forman









Drawings by H. C. Forman. Courtesy of the Estate ofH. C. Forman

mer (bedroom) the *Stube* being the larger room of the two. The size of the *Kueche* was 22 feet, 6 inches by 27 feet, 6 inches, and represented one of the largest residential rooms in Maryland (before the addition of wattle-and-daub partitions which divided the spaces into four sections). Five additional bedrooms were located on the second floor and could be reached by a circular staircase which wound around a pole made of one piece of wood approximately 23 feet tall. Wide floor joists had layers of clay and straw between them, and large summer beams 6 1/2 inches by 9 inches ran longitudinally from one end of the house to the other on both floors. A vaulted cellar 14 feet wide located under the eastern end of the building and accessible by an outside cellarway with stone steps as well as from the inside via a stepladder, was used for storing perishable goods.

While it is unfortunate that Mill Pond House was allowed to deteriorate, Mr. Forman's research and drawings are unique and offer detailed, clear information on the half-timbered building technique which marks the transition from all-timber to masonry construction and which was practiced by *early* German settlers in Maryland.

DEARBOUGHT FARM

Situated on over 300 acres near Ceresville, just south of the former Frederick-Woodsboro Turnpike (the present-day Maryland Route 26), on a tract of land that was part of the Dulaney Lands and bought by Sebastian Derr, a barrel maker, in 1755. A house of log and stone was built during the same year and represents one of the oldest houses in the county. A second house for one of Sebastian's sons was built in 1775, as well as several smaller structures, including a cooper's house, serving various purposes. Passing from one generation to the next, the property is still owned by the same family and run as a dairy farm, although the original houses have not been occupied for quite some time and are in poor condition.

The Dearbought Farm houses are another fine example of German colonial architecture. The two and one-half story first house, which was built by Sebastian Derr in 1755, is constructed out of log and stone with clapboard siding added later to all but the western wall. Different quality stone was used, with the front facade receiving better treatment. Two two-story, same-height additions feature some brick in the gable section on the south wall. These

Dearbought Farm, 1755, West Side. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

additions are attached to the main house on its south wall and cover only a little bit more than half of its depth.

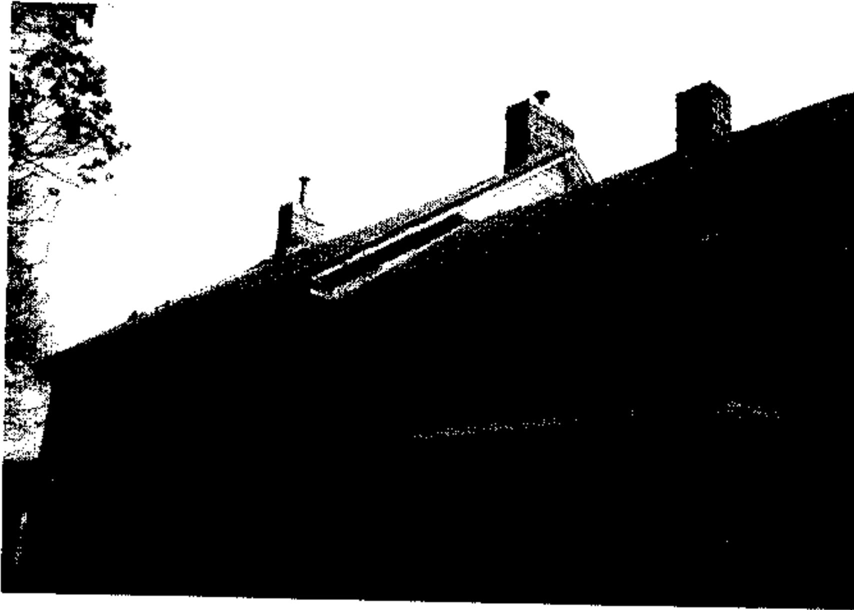
Measuring approximately 40 feet by 40 feet, the main house has a three-bay facade, with the main entry door to the side, and two windows with a semi-circular brick arch topping the window openings on the first floor. The front porch, a nineteenth-century addition, stretches from the center of the west wall across the north wall and along the east wall. A back door on the eastern side of the house is located exactly opposite the main entry door on the west wall, as are the windows on the second floor directly above those doors. The roofs original wooden shingles were replaced with tin; its steep pitch and the delicately carved brackets under the roof overhang in the north wall and around two small gable windows contribute to the Germanic character of the house. The original central chimney has been replaced by two chimneys, one each on the north and south walls, built probably during the middle of the nineteenth century. Both additions have their chimneys in the original location on the south wall.

Dearbought's original interior layout probably consisted of a "Küche" which took up about half the space on the first floor and a central chimney serving the kitchen and the room above the kitchen, similar to the layout in the Mill Pond House. Two rooms behind the "Küche," partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall, functioned as parlor and chamber. It is possible that the location of the staircase was different from the present; the access area to the cellar might provide clues as to the original location. The second floor most likely contained four chambers.

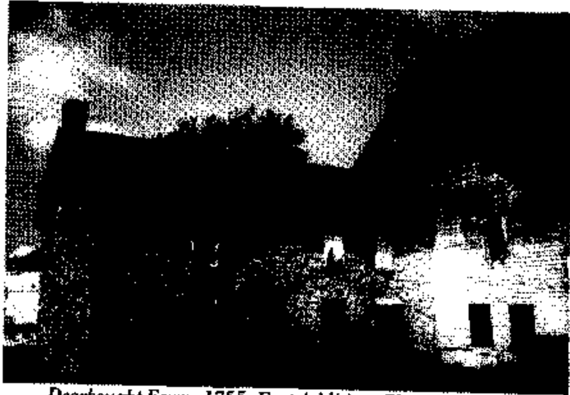
Dearbought Farm, 1755, NorthSide. Photos courtsey ofBrigitte VoelkelFessenden.

While the first addition to the original building could be accessed from the older main house on both the first- and the second-floor level, the second addition was accessible from the first-floor level only. Both additions consisted of one room on the first and second floor and have an eastern orientation; further research is needed to determine their function and purpose.

Dearbought Farm is unique in that all of the additions and accessory buildings have survived the current day and are still owned by the same family. One can only hope that a faithful restoration will take place in the near future.



DearboughtFarm, 1755, West. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voetkel Fessenden.



Dearbought Farm, 1755, East Addition. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

Dearbought Second House, 1755. Photos courtsey ofBrigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

Hessian Barracks, 1777. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

THE HESSIAN BARRACKS

Built in 1777 as a military post, the Hessian Barracks (also called 'The Old Revolutionary Barracks") consisted of two "L"-shaped, two-story, stone buildings with the short arms of the "L's" facing each other. Situated on an eminence at the south end of Frederick, the barracks were first occupied by a large number of Germans captured as prisoners of war at Bennington and Saratoga. The prisoners had been rented out to George III of England by the Landgraf of Hessen-Kassel to help subdue the revolution in the American colonies. Some sources insist that the Hessian prisoners built the barracks, but the official version credits Abraham Faw, a local builder, with contracting and building the Barracks. Records show that he received 1500 pounds currency in June of 1777 and 1000 pounds in November of the same year. It is most likely that local labor was used first and that the prisoners helped with the construction and the completion of the project after their arrival in May of 1777. Maryland-German regiments under Captain Brown were ordered to act as the Hessian's guards, which surely must have caused some conflict among those Germans.

Hessian Barracks, 1777. Photos courtsey ofBrigitte Voelkel

The Barracks were used to house English and Hessian prisoners from 1777 to 1783 and French prisoners during the undeclared naval war with France in 1799. After that time the buildings functioned as a public arsenal, being the main arms depository in western Maryland, and as an army in-

specter's office. During the Civil War, the Barracks were used by both armies as a hospital. Since 1867 the Barracks have been home to the Maryland School for the Deaf.

The West Barracks Building was torn down in 1874 to make room for a new large main building, with the remaining Barracks being put to various uses, such as storage and living quarters for employees of the School. An extensive renovation took place in 1971, which restored the building to its colonial character. Today the Barracks are in excellent condition and are used as a museum, depicting the history of the Hessian Barracks from 1777 until 1868.

The Hessian Barracks represent another good example of German Colonial architecture and are probably the only non-residential colonial building left in Maryland. Despite the removal of one of the two twin structures, the historic atmosphere of the site has been retained and serves its educational purpose. Nearly one hundred years of American history can be learned by studying the history of the Hessian Barracks.

— Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden
Baltimore, Maryland

Hessian Barracks, 1777. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

Hessian Barracks, 1777. Photos courtsey of Brigitte Voelkel Fessenden.

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Froeschle, Hartmut. ***Americana Germanica: Bibliographic zur deutschen Sprache und deutschsprachigen Literatur in Nord- und Lateinamerika.*** **Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart, Vol. 15. Hildesheim: Olms, 1991. 233 pp. DM 49.80**

Since the 1970s, Hartmut Froeschle has published widely in the field of German-American Studies (see my reviews in *Journal of German-American Studies,* 15:3-4, 1980, 95-97, *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* 24, 1989, 163-65, and 27, 1992, 175-76). Although he has dealt with German-American topics, his primary focus has been on the German-Canadians and the Latin American Germans. Indeed, one of his major accomplishments has been to contribute to the definition of the field which includes the entire hemisphere, from north to south.

As Froeschle notes in *Americana Germanica,* "Bibliographische Arbeit ist sehr zeitraubend (und zumeist undankbar, da die Benutzer der gedruckten Resultate nicht selten eher die unvermeidlichen Schwächen und Lücken einer Bibliographic sehen, als die zähen, hingebungsvolle Tätigkeit, die hinter bibliographischen Veröffentlichungen steht" (v.). At the same time, Froeschle correctly has recognized that the growth and development of the field rests on bibliographical foundations.

Americana Germanica aims to provide bibliographical coverage of German language and literature of the German elements in North and South America. It aims to provide coverage for the fifty-five years since the appearance of Karl Kurt Klein, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums im Ausland* (1939). This half century is important, as it witnessed the Second World War together with the related anti-German hysteria, and the eventual postwar upswing and ethnic revival. Since the 1970s, there has been a veritable avalanche of publications dealing with the topic, as is reflected in this work.

The volume contains bibliographical sections on Canada, the U.S., and the various Latin American countries, each of which carries the name of the scholar responsible for that particular section. Of particular interest to readers of *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* are the sections dealing with the "U.S.A." by Randall Donaldson, editor of this journal. It should be noted that roughly half the work deals with Canada and the U.S. (pp. 3-130), and that the U.S. actually is the lengthiest section (pp. 47-130).

The section dealing with the U.S. is subdivided into six sections dealing with: 1. Bibliographien; Forschungsberichte; Literaturgeschichte; 2. Arbeiten zur Geschichte, Kulturgeschichte und Geistesgeschichte; 3. Arbeiten zur deutschen Sprache; 4. Arbeiten zur deutschsprachigen Literatur; 5. Anthologien und Publikationen in Reihen; and 6. Zeitungen und Zeitschriften. Prof. Donaldson has accomplished an outstanding contribution to the field of German-American Studies by means of his chapter on the U.S. It will serve as a basic and essential tool for students and scholars.

In each section, the arrangement is not alphabetical by author, but rather chronological by date of publication, which is useful for viewing the historical development of the field in specific categories and countries. The mere compilation of this work is a major achievement, and is without question of exceptional value, as it will be a basic source for anyone interested in the German elements and their language and literature in the Americas.

In my own research, which often deals with the wide-ranging interrelationships and cross-cultural relations between the German elements in the America, I have already found that this work is one of my favorite reference works. It is my hope that this work will lead to further comparative studies between the German elements in the Americas, as the possibilities are manifold. This work is one which all libraries, scholars, and students interested in German-American Studies should obtain.

— Don Heinrich Tolzmann
University of Cincinnati

Miller, Randall M., editor. ***States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years.*** **Ephrata, Pennsylvania: Science Press, 1989. xiii & 101 pp. $12.00**

States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years commemorates the 300th anniversary of the first formal protest against slavery (1688). This volume has five of the original six lectures given in Philadelphia during the 1988 celebration and a lengthy introduction. The documented participation of German-American Quakers in this momentous protest provides the stimulus for the exploration of German- and African-American interaction in

America. The essays, following a chronological order, focus on Black-German perceptions, relationships, or conflicts in the eighteenth and antebellum nineteenth century.

Randall M. Miller's introduction offers an informative and fairly comprehensive overview of 300 years of Black-German interaction. His essay also sets the stage for critical inquiry and thought-provoking discussion. Like the other authors of essays he is committed to debunking popular myths about German-American attitude toward and participation in the anti-slavery movement. Therefore, while Germans did indeed participate in this historic protest, he argues persuasively that their involvement was more the result of their religious belief than their ethnic background. One significant and recurring fact is that *no one* German-American viewpoint emerged on any single issue—including slavery. In short, German-American attitude toward slavery and slaves varied according to local conditions.

Gary B. Nash traces and documents the anti-slavery movement in Pennsylvania in light of the paradox between the establishment of Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment" and the relatively effortless acceptance of slavery by Quakers. It is worth noting that the anti-slavery movement was able to be successful only after it shifted its focus to the moral implications of slavery. In other words, the movement became successful when it concerned itself with the harmful effects of slavery on the slaveowners, rather than on the slaves. Finally, he examines the actual ramifications of the Gradual Abolition Act of 1780 which, initially at least, did not inconvenience the slaveowners all that much. Nonetheless, this law is important in American history since Pennsylvania was the first abolition state.

Black-German interaction is deftly explored by Richard Blackett against the three turbulent and interdependent forces of Colonization, Abolition, and Immigration. The issue of Americanism, that is, "who is American?," confronted both German- and African-Americans—but along racial lines. The growing nativist movement prompted German-Americans at times to assume a stance which was in conflict with the interests of free African-Americans who were struggling for acceptance as contributing American citizens. This essay also looks at the strategy of "entanglement," which the abolition movement employed with Europe with varying degrees of success.

While it is difficult to speak of one German-American response to the various issues in mid-nineteenth century American society, James M. Bergquist convincingly argues that German-Americans nonetheless became an important political force for the Democratic and Republican Parties. This phenomenon had a number of causes, most notably the role of the Forty-eighters who were vehemently opposed to slavery and who exerted a disproportionate amount of influence in the Republican Party.

Leroy T. Hopkins examines the Black-German interaction in antebellum Lancaster County (PA). Although Blacks and Germans had been there almost from the earliest settlement, race caused their relations to be uneasy. Economic competition between whites and blacks fueled racism and discrimination. Thus, the Columbia race riots of 1834 and 1835 can be attributed to the fears of the white working class that Black economic power could lead to Black social equality.

Finally, Terry G. Jordan debunks the popular myth of the Texas Unionist Germans. While some Texas Germans, especially the liberal intellectuals, supported the abolitionist movement, others were pro-slavery. For the most part, Germans tended to be indifferent to the institution of slavery or "careless of its existence" (95).

In addition to a reprint of the Germantown Protest Against Slavery text, the illustrations, historical documents and photographs interspersed throughout the book add to the relevancy of this topic. Excellent documentation is provided at the end of each essay for further reference. The German Society of Pennsylvania and the contributors of this volume are to be commended for beginning dialogue about the interaction between Blacks and Germans in America. Readable and thought-provoking, *States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in American over 300 Years* is a welcome and important contribution to German-American and multicultural studies and should generate much discussion. One can only hope that more such volumes will follow.

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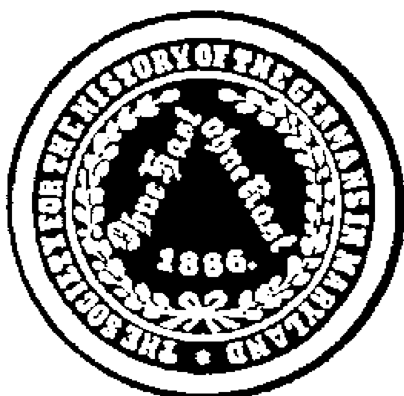
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