

FRANK MEHRING

The Democratic Gap

Transcultural Confrontations
of German Immigrants
and the Promise
of American Democracy

European Views of the United States Volume 5



Universitätsverlag
WINTER
Heidelberg



Table of Contents

Preface	vii
List of Publications under the Auspices of the European Association for American Studies	xi
List of Illustrations, Musical Examples, and Color Plates	xv
Acknowledgment	xix
Introduction	1
I Transcultural Confrontations	13
(Dis)continuities: Re-evaluating the German-American Experience	13
Who Are They/We? Patriotism, Identity, and Democracy	31
Nation <i>qua</i> Thing: Response Patterns to the Democratic Gap	40
Thrills of Citizenship: German Declarations of Americanness	49
II Unconditional Abolitionism: Charles Follen	59
Great Expectations: Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity	63
Foreign Meddlers: Between Integration and Dissent	75
Revolution or Reform: Charles Follen and David Walker	84
Summary	94
III Declarations of Emancipation: Otilie Assing	99
Children of the Failed Revolution: Transatlantic Political Activism	104
Neither Pariah nor Parvenu: Between Domesticity and Independence	113
Performing Emancipation: Otilie Assing and Sojourner Truth	131
Summary	146
IV Transcultural Pluralism: Winold Reiss	149
Inter-Cultural Fault Lines: American Vistas in Germany	153
Transcultural America: A Plea for Color	165
Unfinished Democracy: Winold Reiss and Alain Locke	180
Summary	195
V Staging Americanness: Kurt Weill	197
Self-Americanization: Performing the “Self” as “Other”	202
Imaginary Spaces: Patriotic Musicals	223

Theatricality of “America”: Kurt Weill and Langston Hughes	234
Summary	251
VI Afro-German-American Dissent: Hans J. Massaquoi	255
Afro-German Vistas: The Racial Dilemma of Recognition	260
Transatlantic Double V: Politics of Afro-German Recognition	271
Nazi Jim Crow: Hans J. Massaquoi and Malcolm X	285
Summary	297
VII Holocaust Consciousness: Hannah Arendt	301
Unmasterable Future? Jewish-German Identity and the Fiction of Fascism	307
For the Sake of Freedom: Nay-Saying in the Shadow of the Holocaust	316
Transatlantic Traumas: Hannah Arendt and Toni Morrison	336
Summary	352
Conclusion	355
Bibliography	363
Archives	363
Musical Scores	363
Primary German-American Literature	364
Secondary Literature	367
Filmography	396
Index	397

List of Illustrations, Musical Examples, and Color Plates

Illustrations

- Fig. 1: Frederick Graetz, “A Family Party—The 200th Birthday of the Healthiest of Uncle Sam’s Adopted Children,” *Puck* 3 Oct. 1883: 129
- Fig. 2: Walt Whitman, portrait, frontispiece of *Leaves of Grass* (1854), Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division29
- Fig. 3: Carl Guttenberg, “Ungewitter entstanden durch die Mißlage auf den Thee in Amerika,” copper engraving, Nuremberg, 177866
- Fig. 4: *Follen Reports and Papers: 1826–28*, Harvard University, Dept. of Modern Languages, Houghton Archives77
- Fig. 5: Frontispiece and title page of Otilie Assing’s biography *Jean Baptiste Baison: Ein Lebensbild* (1851)108
- Fig. 6: Sojourner Truth, seated at table, portrait, Library of Congress, carte de visite, 1864142
- Fig. 7: Franklin C. Courter, President Lincoln showing Sojourner Truth the Bible presented by colored people of Baltimore. Executive Mansion Washington, D.C., 29 October 1864 (1893), black-and-white photograph, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division142
- Fig. 8: Winold Reiss and his son Winold Tjark Reiss during their introduction to Chief Shot-in-Both-Sides of the Canada Blood Tribe at Glacier National Park, detail from a photograph in the *New York Times* 2 Dec. 1928161
- Fig. 9: Fritz Reiss, *Vernunftete*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 19½ x 25¾ inches, Augustiner Museum, Freiburg/Breisgau163
- Fig. 10: Fritz Reiss, *Woman with Breadbasket*, undated. Graphite on paper, 13 x 8¼ inches163
- Fig. 11: Winold Reiss, *Sophie Wiggert*, Göschweiler, 1907. Graphite on paper, 13 x 8¼ inches, private collection164
- Fig. 12: Winold Reiss, *Matthei Effinger*, Göschweiler, 1907. Graphite on paper, 13 x 8¼ inches, private collection164
- Fig. 13: Kurt Weill, “The Ice-Cream Sextet,” *Street Scene*, Staatsphilharmonie Rheinland Pfalz, Theater des Westens, Berlin (1995), two screenshots from DVD246
- Fig. 14: Cover, Hans J. Massaquoi, “*Neger, Neger, Schornsteinfeger!*” Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1999266
- Fig. 15: Cover, Hans J. Massaquoi, *Hänschen klein, ging allein ...*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2004266
- Fig. 16: Photos reprinted in Massaquoi’s second biography *Hänschen klein, ging allein...*. Clockwise: with Muhammad Ali and his daughter Myriam in Miami, pop star Bootsie, rock ’n’ roll king Fats Domino in Las Vegas, and presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, unpaginated280
- Fig. 17: Hannah Arendt, Certificate of Naturalization, 10 Dec. 1951, Hannah Arendt Papers, Library of Congress318

Fig. 18: Hannah Arendt, Emerson-Thoreau Medal lecture, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1969 (Series: Speeches and Writings File, 1923–1975, n.d.), Hannah Arendt Papers, Library of Congress, Ms 023162329

Fig. 19: Hannah Arendt, “Home to Roost,” speech, Bicentennial Forum, Boston, Mass. 1975 (Series: Speeches and Writings File, 1923-1975, n.d.), Hannah Arendt Papers, Library of Congress334

Fig. 20: Bookstore on 12th Street, Washington, D.C.
Photograph: Frank Mehring, 2009362

Musical Examples

Ex. 1: Kurt Weill, “Tango Angèle,” *Der Zar läßt sich photographieren*, Vienna: Universal Edition, 1927, 209208

Ex. 2: Bertolt Brecht/Kurt Weill, “Vorstellung des Fliegers Charles Lindbergh,” *Der Lindberghflug*, Vienna: Universal Edition, 1927, 6212

Ex. 3: “Alabama-Song,” Blues from Bertolt Brecht/Kurt Weill’s political-satirical opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny*, score for voice and piano, Vienna: Universal Edition, 1930, 3221

Ex. 4: Kurt Weill, “How can you tell an American?” *Knickerbocker Holiday*, Washington, D.C.: Anderson House, 1938, 40233

Ex. 5: Kurt Weill, “Ice Cream Sextet,” *Street Scene*, New York Chappell, 1948, 84247

Ex. 6: Kurt Weill, “Ice Cream Sextet,” *Street Scene*, New York: Chappell, 1948, 77248

Color Plates¹

All works are by Winold Reiss, except plate 35, which is a photogravure by Edward S. Curtis. The plates are organized in different categories including graphic designs for magazines, book illustrations, portraiture of ethnic and national groups (Mexicans, Germans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Indians), and murals. The works depicted in this section are in private collections unless stated otherwise. Images are courtesy of The Reiss Archives except where noted otherwise.

Pl. 1: *Henriette Reiss*, ca. 1917. Pastel on board, 15 x 10 inches.

Pl. 2: *Self-Portrait*, 1914. Pastel on paper, 15 x 11 inches.

Pl. 3: Cover for *M.A.C. (Modern Art Collector)*, vol. 1.1, September 1915.

Pl. 4: Cover for *M.A.C. (Modern Art Collector)*, vol. 1.2, October 1915.

Pl. 5: *Indian Chief*, 1914. Poster design, 16½ x 10 inches, reprinted in *M.A.C. (Modern Art Collector)*, vol. 1.3, November 1915.

Pl. 6: *Tea Boy*, 1912. Poster design, 49 x 34½ inches, reprinted in *M.A.C. (Modern Art Collector)*, vol. 1.2, October 1915.

Pl. 7: Cover for *Opportunity*, February 1925. Print on paper, 11 x 7¾ inches.

Pl. 8: Cover for *Survey Graphic*, March 1925. Print on paper, 12 x 9 inches.

¹ Unpaginated centerfold section.

- Pl. 9: Frontispiece and title page for *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, ed. Alain Locke, New York: Boni, 1925.
- Pl. 10: Sketch A for *Survey Graphic*, 1942. Mixed media on paper, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 11: Sketch B for *Survey Graphic*, 1942. Mixed media on paper, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 12: Sketch C for *Survey Graphic*, 1942. Mixed media on paper, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 1942.
- Pl. 13: Sketch D for *Survey Graphic*, 1942. Mixed media on paper, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 14: *The Unfinished Business of Democracy*, Cover for *Survey Graphic*, November 1942. Print on paper, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 15: *Mexican Fantasy*, 1920. Tempera on paper, 20 x 16 inches.
- Pl. 16: *Montezuma's Death*, 1920. Tempera on paper, 20 x 16 inches.
- Pl. 17: *Brothers-in-Arms at Zapata's Headquarters in Cuernavaca, Mexico*, 1920. Pastel on paper, 15 x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 18: *Aztec Indian from Tepozotlán, Mexico*, 1920. Color pencil and pastel on paper, 20 x 16 inches.
- Pl. 19: *Oberammergau Christ* (Anton Lang), 1922. Pastel and conté on Bristol paper, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 20: *Watchman of the Rothenburg Tower* (Michael Ment), 1922. Colored pencil on paper, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 21: *Woman and Girl from Kirchzarten*, 1922. Colored pencil on paper, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 inches.
- Pl. 22: *Alain Locke* (second version), 1925. Pastel on Whatman board, 30 x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Pl. 23: *Zora Neale Hurston*, 1925. Conté crayon and graphite on board, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, Fisk University Museum of Art, Nashville, Tennessee.
- Pl. 24: *Two Harlem Girls*, 1924. Pastel and conté crayon on board, 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 30 inches.
- Pl. 25: *Langston Hughes*, 1926. Pastel on Whatman board, 30 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 21 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Pl. 26: *Two Girls, St. Helena, S.C.* (Ruby and Marie beginning Their Education in the Primary Grade), 1927. Pastel and conté crayon on board, 30 x 22 inches.
- Pl. 27: *An Island Mother*, St. Helena, S.C., 1927. Mixed media on board, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Pl. 28: *Dr. York Bailey*, St. Helena, S.C., 1927. Pastel and conté crayon on board, 30 x 22 inches.
- Pl. 29: *Chinese Student* (Wei Lin), from Fukien, China, 1926. Pastel on Whatman board, 20 x 15 inches.
- Pl. 30: *Chinese Businessman* (Mark Ten Sui), 1926. Pastel on Whatman board, 20 x 15 inches.
- Pl. 31: *Chinese Woman in Headdress*. Cover of *Survey Graphic*, May 1926. Print on paper.
- Pl. 32: *Isamu Noguchi*, 1929. Pastel on paper mounted on board, 28 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Pl. 33: *Japanese Woman* (Tama), before 1930. Mixed media on Whatman board, 39 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 26 inches.
- Pl. 34: *Calls Last* (Blood Boy), 1936. Pastel on Whatman board, 30 x 22 inches.
- Pl. 35: Edward S. Curtis, *Oksóyapiw-Blackfoot*, 1926. Photogravure, 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{9}{16}$ inches, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Pl. 36: *Eagle Head* (Strong), 1928. Pastel and tempera on board, 30 x 22 inches.

xviii List of Illustrations

Pl. 37: Mosaic Mural, south wall, Union Terminal Rotunda, Cincinnati, Ohio. Photograph: Frank Mehring, 2009.

Pl. 38: Mosaic Mural, north wall, Union Terminal Rotunda, Cincinnati, Ohio. Photograph: Frank Mehring, 2009.

Introduction

The history of German-American encounters represents a complex system of cultural exchange and confrontations over a period of more than three centuries. The significance of immigrant response patterns to pressures of acculturation, xenophobia, and cultural misunderstandings have received comparatively little attention among scholars. Instead, a harmonized history of cultural achievements created the impression that German-American traditions played a leading role in American culture. Despite its undeniable influence, the significance and function of the German cultural impact in the US is often closer to myth than to reality, this is demonstrated for example in the persisting Muhlenberg legend concerning how German almost became the official language of the United States. Although immigrants such as the Prussian officer Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben or the scientist Albert Einstein could become American heroes, some American leaders including such as Benjamin Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt had a strong aversion to Germans. We should not continue to perceive the German-American experience as a success story *par excellence* in which roughly seven million immigrants acculturated to the American mainstream. This book follows a revisionist trajectory. I am interested in German-American encounters resulting from a clash of competing, ultimately conflicting, visions of democracy.

Many German-American immigrants organized themselves in groups. They considered themselves “Uncle Sam’s healthiest adopted children” and the best representatives of American ideals.³ In my analysis, I will shift the focus to intellectual immigrants who became disenchanted with German-Americana and fashioned themselves into model American democrats. By calling attention to their Americanness they unintentionally complicated the process of socio-cultural integration.⁴ From this perspective, German-

³ See fig. 1 Frederick Graetz, “A Family Party—The 200th Birthday of the Healthiest of Uncle Sam’s Adopted Children,” *Puck* 3 Oct. 1883. The artist celebrates the history of German-American immigration. The ethnic group identity of the German-Americans on display must be acknowledged, as Kathleen Neils Conzen argues, as an “invention” (131).

⁴ There has never been a coherent image of “America” in Germany. German immigrants responded in a multifaceted manner to the actual challenges of acculturation they

American encounters might reveal a history not so much marked by harmony but rather by discontinuity.

Critical reflections regarding disconcerting encounters with what I call “the democratic gap,” namely the discrepancy between democratic ideals and reality, recur like a leitmotif in German-American history. What happens when an immigrant becomes a proud naturalized American yet is denied recognition as an American citizen or when his Americanness comes under question due to allegedly un-American activities? Such a question demands a focus that is both national and transnational.⁵ I am particularly interested

encountered in their new homeland. Just like the concept of “America” needs to be contextualized in each chapter, so does the term “German.” It needs further clarification since this analysis will cover more than two hundred years of immigration history during which the borders of Germany have changed dramatically. In his memoirs *Five Germanys I have Known* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 2006), the German-born historian Fritz Stern emphasizes these changes in politics, cultural aspirations, racial discourses, and borders. I will introduce the term “German” as a reference point in a linguistic, cultural, and ethnic sense. Before 1806, my analysis will include the German-speaking immigrants and their descendants of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Afterwards, I will use the term to refer to the German Confederation with its follow-up organization the North German Confederation (1815–1871), and the German Empire (1871–1918). In the twentieth century, “Germany” is represented, respectively, by the Weimar Republic (1919–1933), Nazi Germany (1933–1945), the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) (1949–1990), and by the re-united Germany after 1990. As a matter of course, these “Germanies” also exemplify shifting notions of what constitutes a German national identity.

⁵ My approach follows along efforts to internationalize American studies in the sense of Djelal Kadir, Carolyn Porter, Amy Kaplan, and other pioneers in the internationalization of American studies, to go beyond the American nation state, and to include international relations and public policy in order to better understand developments in American culture. See in this context Djelal Kadir, “To World, To Globalize: Comparative Literature’s Crossroads,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 41.1 (2004): 1–9; Amy Kaplan, “The Tenacious Grasp of American Exceptionalism,” *Comparative American Studies* 2 (2004): 153–59; Carolyn Porter, “What We Know That We Don’t Know: Remapping Literary Studies,” *American Literary History* 6.3 (1994): 467–526. However, I do not propose an oppositional counter-perspective from national outsiders or focus on non-American national agendas. By paying special attention to naturalized foreigners from Germany, I hope to bring into perspective the dissent of the national outsider who has become an insider with an international background. Winfried Fluck rightfully reminds us that a theorist or artist from another country does not automatically offer a transnational point of view. We need to be careful to identify what kind of perspectives really hold the potential to be transnational and what approaches become complicit in an agenda established by U.S.-American institutions. The analytical trajectory of American society and culture would be “still guided by American ideals, albeit now more inclusively defined” (Fluck, “Inside” 27). My

in those people in Germany who dream of becoming Americans and then fashion themselves into what they consider to be an “exemplary American.” The degree of enthusiasm invested in the promise of American democracy determines the intensity of the immigrant’s commitment to demonstrate his or her Americanness. From this assumption, a number of questions arise: Why has the promise of American democracy been so persuasive since the founding year of the United States despite the prejudice regarding cultural inferiority, a history of slavery and genocide, violations of human rights, imperial self-righteousness, and media manipulations? What kinds of response patterns evolve after the shock of arrival in the United States and the realization of its democratic shortcomings? What happens when the declaration of one’s personal independence and freedom results in an experience that is disconcerting rather than a fulfillment of expectations?⁶ In order to answer these questions I will focus on special cases of transcultural confrontations and comparisons.

As far as the history of immigration is concerned, a comparative perspective has much to offer. Monographs and studies on individual immigrant groups in specific time periods and places abound. However, much of the scholarly material on immigration and cross-national comparative history has a rather narrow focus. For example, scholars compared present-day immigrants with their predecessors, or analyzed time-bound, culture-bound, or city-bound assumptions. My study tries to avoid the pitfalls of what George Frederickson has identified as the “illusion of total regularity” or the “illusion of absolute uniqueness,” which often serves as a basis of ethnic

approach aims to focus on intercultural spaces and diasporic conditions without losing sight of the persuasive powers of the conception of the nation state.

⁶ In addition, it is important to ask to what extent German intellectual constructions of their own American identity resemble claims African Americans have brought forth during different stages of their struggle for freedom and equality. While acknowledging the difference between ethnicity and race in the American cultural context, one could argue that German intellectual émigrés developed a sense of what W.E.B. Du Bois called a “double consciousness” (9) in their struggle to become model Americans. While this specific African American pattern of finding one’s identity through one’s cultural “otherness” has been productively applied to the “black Atlantic” and the formation of modernity by Paul Gilroy, certain elements of identity constructions in the African American experience can be transferred to the experience of German émigrés. This aspect represents a particularly fruitful topic for the discussion of German-American confrontations since the socio-cultural situation of African Americans has often achieved the status of a test case regarding the principles of American democracy. Gilroy explained that the “problem of weighing the claims of national identity against other contrasting varieties of subjectivity and identification has a special place in the intellectual history of blacks in the west” (30).

immigrant scholarship (65). The analysis regarding constructions of an imaginary America and the actual experience of becoming an American citizen will be contextualized with the struggles of another group whose fate many immigrants perceived to be a test case of American democracy: the socio-political, economic, and cultural struggle for equality of African Americans. I will describe different forms of confrontations including confrontations of the idealized notions of “America” and the actual experience of living in the United States, confrontations of naturalized foreigners and nativists, confrontations of inside and outside perspectives, and finally confrontations of reform strategies by German immigrants and by African American intellectuals.⁷

In a first step, I will address the history of German-American encounters and discuss alternative approaches beyond the emphasis on cultural contributions. Rather than arguing in favor of a familiar narrative of successful acculturation, I will investigate questions about acculturation, which bring elements of discontinuity and confrontation to the forefront.⁸ The first chapter will include a close analysis of the function of patriotism among German immigrants, response patterns to the democratic gap, and the notion of a thrill created, staged, and perpetuated in the ritual of the naturalization process. I will introduce a theoretical framework to identify competing conceptions of national identity, and the promise of American democracy in both Germany and the United States respectively.⁹ Patriotic declarations of

⁷ The focus on German intellectual immigrants results from the fact that they repeatedly addressed the failures of American culture to recognize the social, economic, and political rights of African Americans and, what is equally important, reflected on their dissent in one way or another.

⁸ While The Federal Republic of Germany experienced phases in which young people in particular voiced dissent against American politics, for example during the escalation of the Vietnam War or the change of the U.S. Arms Control Policy in the 1980s, the responses after 9/11 had a different quality. The more American culture has become a staple in a globalized world, the more intensified have frictions become. The accusations range from unrestricted self-righteousness in international affairs to the charge of imperialistic strategies in Afghanistan and Iraq, violations of human rights in Guantánamo, and political isolationism. Demonstrations of dissent spread across a broad spectrum of the German population and included in addition to public intellectual figures, liberals and conservatives, teenagers and older people and the average people from the streets as well as intellectuals. The many causes of this dissident among many Germans includes the disparity between the idealized image of “America” as a democratic beacon for the world and its evident inconsistencies in maintaining this fantasy.

⁹ With Alexis de Tocqueville’s observations regarding the effect of a democratic environment to distinguish oneself from others in the cultural sphere, this book takes a fresh look at immigrant acts of patriotism. Frictions between natives and naturalized

Americanness function as a means to distinguish oneself from other Americans who appear to lack enthusiasm for the moral responsibility of American citizenship or who take it for granted. The claim of being an American can be described in aesthetic terms as a “thrill” since many immigrants describe their naturalization as an “intense emotion or excitement,” which is the standard definition for the term.¹⁰ This excitement results from the creation of a fantasy space and a fictitious self-fashioning into an American prior to their actual arrival on American soil. Not being Americans by birthright, immigrants repeatedly emphasize the special experience of having had to earn their citizenship and democratic rights. In this context, patriotism seems to acquire a dimension of self-fashioning. By concentrating on the function of patriotism, I will reveal hidden motives behind German immigrants’ declarations of Americanness.

The trajectory of mapping the confrontation of inside and outside perspectives on the promise of American Democracy calls for a specific focus and a fresh structural approach. Instead of creating a chronological narrative of the German immigrant experience, I will focus on six fields of conflict, which emerged during different phases of transatlantic encounters. At the center will be the conflict between the fantasy construct of “America” and the experience of arriving in the socio-cultural reality of the United States. In order to frame these conflicting moments of the imaginary with actual spaces, I adopt the term “force field” which was first developed by the German-American social scientist Kurt Lewin.¹¹ Lewin’s concept is the

foreigners over questions of racial equality, liberty, and freedom are thereby transferred from the political to the cultural sphere. Patriotic performances can be observed in moments of conflict and discussions about issues ranging from abolitionism, emancipation, human rights, civil rights, or how to confront national traumas. The comparisons I offer in my analysis produce transcultural confrontations that will, among other things, show how immigrants and African Americans combine patriotism and dissent to turn the promise of American democracy into reality.

¹⁰ I refer to the first definition of the noun in category three. “1. a. A subtle nervous tremor caused by intense emotion or excitement (as pleasure, fear, etc.), producing a slight shudder or tingling through the body; a penetrating influx of feeling or emotion.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, 7 Dec. 2009, <<http://dictionary.oed.com>>.

¹¹ Lewin was responsible for establishing the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1945. As Lewin pointed out, the center was “devoted to the development of scientific concepts, methods, and theories of group life which should lead to a deeper understanding and permit a more intelligent management of social problems in small and large settings” (“Research” 135). Though less known today than his contemporaries Sigmund Freud and C.G. Jung, some scholars such as Christopher Kuipers go so far as to argue that the key founder of social and organizational psychology had an even greater impact on contemporary psy-

result of his biographical experience as an immigrant and evolved under the impression of a looming World War after his emigration to the United States in 1933.¹² Conflicts are central to his force field theory and tied to the experience of frustration. A “field” is dynamic and defined by a person’s (or a group’s) motives, values, needs, moods, goals, anxieties, and ideals. He argues that an individual’s or a collective group mind can be described in a topological constellation of constructs.¹³ Lewin’s force field analysis offers a series of steps including a description of the current situation, a notion of the desired situation, an analysis regarding in which direction the situation will develop if action is not being taken, a list of the forces needed to bring about change, and a list of the forces resisting change (“Defining” 201). The analysis of cause relations and the nature of conditions of change described by Lewin¹⁴ are helpful to approach the transcultural confrontations of intellectual German émigrés in the American socio-cultural and political context.

For my project, I define a force field as an interplay of motivating factors to emigrate to the United States, cultural aspirations, expectations and the encounter with forces which seem to render the fantasy of “America” and “becoming an American” a disenchanting experience. However, in order to apply this approach to the sphere of German-American confrontations I need to move beyond the organizational level which Lewin had in mind towards the sphere of culture. From an émigré perspective, “America” functions both as a physical and an imaginary space. Therefore, Lewin’s approach needs to be modified. One of the most prominent theoreticians of properties of fields

chology than the two iconographic thinkers. See Christopher M. Kuipers, “The Anthology/Corpus Dynamic: A Field Theory of the Canon,” *College Literature* 30.2 (Spring 2003): 51–71; 52.

¹² One of Lewin’s interests lay in the challenge to turn Nazi-Germany into a modern democracy. In essays such as “Some Social-Psychological Differences between the United States and Germany” (1936) or “The Special Case of Germany” (1943) he argued for changing the constellation of forces in order to bring about change. He used the term force field to find operational terms to describe what it means to be a democratic leader and to create a democratic group structure. Lewin describes a force field as a “distribution of forces in space” in order to achieve a certain goal (197).

¹³ Lewin’s concept is useful for my analysis of transcultural confrontations because it offers means to investigate the balance of power involved in an issue, to identify the key players and target groups, the opponents and allies, and to define the ways how to influence the target groups.

¹⁴ See in this context particularly his article “Defining the ‘Field at a Given Time’” (1943), *Resolving Social Conflicts and Field Theory in Social Science: Kurt Lewin*, ed. Gertrud Weiss Lewin (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2008) 200–11.

is Pierre Bourdieu who defines fields as synchronically structured spaces in which agents and social positions are positioned. In order to understand the competition between a newcomer to a field and the dominant agents, the agent's capital and habitus are crucial. Bourdieu rightly emphasizes the complicity between the antagonists in a force field since they "share a certain number of fundamental interests, namely everything that is linked to the very existence of the field" (73). For my analysis of force fields from an immigrant perspective, however, Bourdieu's emphasis on hierarchies based on the agent's capital does not represent the key element in the struggle over democratic shortcomings in which I am interested.¹⁵ I need to take into account the function of the agent's national background and his/her construction of Americanness before and after the moment of immigration. In the immigrant experience, the image of "America" had been based on literary or pictorial representations prior to emigration. These representations are, as Winfried Fluck emphasizes, always in some way or another distorting since they "redefine (and thereby recreate) it in the act of representation" ("Imaginary" 25).

The experience of disillusion and certain response patterns of reformist impulses can only be accounted for if the immigrants had already assumed a certain attitude towards "America." This attitude can be defined in aesthetic terms.¹⁶ For German immigrants, "America" represented a complex "text" consisting of the mediated construct of spatial representations, cultural products, and the implications of political democratic promises. In this context it is crucial to ask about the kind of uses the imaginary space of "America" offers to the reader or spectator. What are the reasons for Germans to engage at some point in their lives with the cultural construct of "America"? How do expectations of American culture shape the wish to apply for American citizenship? What are the consequences of socio-

¹⁵ Bourdieu emphasized the structure of a field as being defined as a "state of power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle" (*Sociology* 73). He brought into focus the distribution of the specific capital of the agents in a power struggle. This led him to the thesis that subversive actions are most likely to be initiated by those players who are "least endowed with capital" (73). For my approach to analyze German-American encounters, I am less interested in questions of capital but rather in the cultural confrontations and imaginary constructions of what it means to position oneself as a representative naturalized American after the experience of immigration.

¹⁶ I follow Winfried Fluck's re-definition of "aesthetic" from a philosophy of art to an aesthetic experience which he outlined in his essay "Why We Need Fiction: Reception Aesthetics, Literary Anthropology, *Funktionsgeschichte*" published in the collection of his essays: *Romance with America? Essays on Culture, Literature, and American Studies*, ed. Laura Bieger, Johannes Voelz (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 2009) 365–84.

political activism for immigrants? These questions will lead me to sketch out certain socio-cultural and political force fields which are crucial to understand what kind of cultural background the recipient brings to the aesthetic transfer which Fluck defines as a necessity to constitute an aesthetic experience.¹⁷

The force fields of confrontation, which are crucial in German-American encounters, concern responses to abolitionism, female emancipation, debates over cultural pluralism, patriotism in times of war, and the evolution of a Holocaust consciousness. In addition, during the last decade, the issue of growing up black in Germany and the American experience of Afro-Germans has emerged as a new field of research, which I will address within the context of transcultural confrontations. The different force fields I selected define the kind of material I will use for my evaluation. The richness of sources, resources, and the overwhelming number of involved in such an undertaking require limitations. I decided to present case studies of those artists who best represent the confrontations involved in the force fields at stake. In some cases, the protagonists are well known cultural mediators such as Otilie Assing, Kurt Weill, or Hannah Arendt. However, they have not been thoroughly analyzed from the perspective of transcultural confrontations in the corresponding force fields. Other examples draw on intellectuals or artists including Charles Follen, Winold Reiss, and Hans Jürgen Massaquoi who, over time, have either fallen underneath the radar of German-American scholarship or who have only recently emerged as crucial figures in transcultural confrontations.

My approach of analyzing force fields from the perspective of immigrant fantasies about what it means to become an American demands a specific structure.¹⁸ Each chapter consists of a three-part structure in order to trace

¹⁷ In order to come to terms with transcultural confrontations in various force fields, it is helpful to reconceptualize space as aesthetic object in the sense of Winfried Fluck. Starting from the assumption that all perceptions of space are constructs, he argues in "Imaginary Space; or, Space as Object" that "physical space has to become mental space, or, more precisely, imaginary space" in order to attain cultural meaning (25). This insight is particularly important in order to understand the moment of disillusion or even shock that many immigrants reported when they arrived in the United States.

¹⁸ Another important force field concerns issues of linguistic contact zones and multilingualism. For example, dialects can be used as starting points to compare the function of vernacular traditions in the United States with German-American identity constructions. Thereby, the nexus of language, patriotism, and xenophobia in American culture will become apparent. German immigrants brought with them not only a vision of a free democratic society beyond the Atlantic but also their traditions and dialects. English as the official language of the United States created particular challenges.

back German images of American democracy, the moment of intercultural encounters, and the confrontation between German intellectual immigrants and African American artists. The chapter titles refer to a force field and the transatlantic confrontation of a German immigrant. The emphasis lies on the German-American experience in the first two parts. In the third section, the cultural imaginary and the encounter with the democratic gap of German intellectual immigrants will be confronted and contextualized with the African American experience.

The first section of each chapter deals with the political and cultural situation in Germany and the function of the American Dream. The Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution have played a crucial role for Germans to contrast their own cultural situation with the struggle for a national identity. In order to bring the clash between the vision of *Amerika* and the experience of “America” into focus, the particular concepts of German patriotism in the European context need to be assessed. The late eighteenth century is significant for the development of a patriotic code in Germany. Compared to France and Great Britain, Germany could not define national identity on the basis of political unity. Only by referring to special categories found in German culture could patriotism create a bond among people. These patriotic codes differ in the era of Enlightenment, romanticism, the revolutionary *Vormärz* of 1848, and the decades preceding the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. Afterwards, codes of patriotism moved from the cultural realm into practical politics. Germany appears as a latecomer in the development of patriotism within the European nation building process. This delay marks the corner stone of a German *Sonderweg* in the history of democracy compared to other major European countries such as Great Britain and France.¹⁹ When the Weimar Republic was founded

German immigrants produced a remarkably rich body of literature celebrating linguistic diversity in the United States through a creative use of languages and representations of ethnic speech. Among those who wanted to incorporate authentic dialect speech patterns in their poetry were the Pennsylvania Germans. They competed with popular poetry labeled “Dutch” dialect, which used an artificial *lingua franca* to mock certain characteristics of German immigrant culture. Aspects of inferiority, crudeness, or primitivity were not only detected in sentimental efforts of preserving German traditions but also in the alleged lack of command of the dominant English language. Poetry written in the “Pennsylvanisch” dialect demonstrates how contact zones of languages can become ambivalent means to perform American patriotism. See in this context my essay “Deutsch, Dutch, Double Dutch: Authentic and Artificial German-American Dialects,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, eds. Heike Paul and Werner Sollors 51.1 (2006): 93–114.

¹⁹ Historians have used the term “Sonderweg” applying different connotations to it in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After its use as a source of pride within nineteenth

in 1919 or the Federal Republic of Germany came into existence in 1949, democratic political structures were more or less imposed by foreign powers. Only in 1989 did Germany experience a (peaceful) revolution and chose, by its own free will, to become a unified democratic nation. The slogan of East German dissenters “Wir sind das Volk” (we are the people) refers not only to the basic right stated in the *Basic Law*, that all state power is derived from the people: “Alle Staatsgewalt geht vom Volke aus” (German Constitution, article 20, part 2). There are also transatlantic echoes of the opening sentence of the American Constitution “We the People... .”²⁰

The second section of each chapter addresses moments of friction and various response patterns. The difference between utopian expectations and the disconcerting experience of living in the United States, between principle and practice regarding the promise of American democracy activates certain

century imperialism, historians like Fritz Fischer and Hans-Ulrich Wehler have turned to the term in a negative sense to explain the rise of Nazism. They argued that there was a fateful connection between a reciprocal development in the modernization process in the economic and political sphere. See Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte: Vom Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs bis zur Gründung der beiden deutschen Staaten 1914–1949* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2003) 601–02. The “meta-narrative” of the exceptional development in Germany also functioned as an excuse to accept the separation of the country and the political success story of people in West Germany. See *Die historische Meistererzählung: Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach 1945*, eds. Konrad H. Jarausch and Martin Sabrow (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002) 11–12. While I agree with Geoff Eley’s and David Blackbourn’s objection that the term “Sonderweg” inherently proposes the notion of a “normal” historical development, I find it useful as a reference to the multifaceted history of democracy in Germany compared to different developments in Great Britain and France.

²⁰ It is crucial to recognize the agents of the ideology labeled German *Kulturnation* before Bismarck forged the German Empire. Therefore, this book will refer to constructions of national identity and patriotism in the writings and works of intellectuals as a basis to understand the nature of different transcultural confrontations. I will distinguish between the aesthetic notion of German folk culture during the romantic period, the democratic notion of a German nation in the *Vormärz* era, the *Realpolitik* before the foundation of the German Empire, the politicized discourse of patriotism before World War I, the democracy of the Weimar Republic, the concept of imperialism under the Nazi regime, and the search for normalcy as the United States ally after 1945. For a discussion of the importance of intellectual groups within the *Bildungsbürgertum* between 1770 and 1870 see Bernhard Giesen, *Die Intellektuellen und die Nation: Eine deutsche Achsenzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993) 233–35.

response patterns to the democratic gap.²¹ I am particularly interested in responses based on dissent in the name of American patriotism and reformist activities. As a social and cultural construction, the category of “race” undermines the promise of equality by offering privileges to certain groups. It creates hierarchies, which challenge the basic principles of the “Declaration of Independence.” In American culture, the concept of “race” has infiltrated the law, institutions, everyday practices, and behavior. German immigrants have struggled with the ideological friction points caused by the construct of “race.” The encounter of what Nancy Foner and George Frederickson describe as “‘racism’ in the full and unambiguous sense of the term” (3) became an unbearable stigma for those naturalized foreigners who set out to fashion themselves into representatives of American democratic culture.

In section three of each chapter, I will compare the line of argumentation and patriotic performances of German immigrants with those of prominent African Americans. I follow Jeffrey Stewart’s claim that African Americans present “the most important exception to American citizenship” (13). German intellectual immigrants responded to this exceptional situation by drawing on their own cultural and political position. By confronting imaginary constructions of American democracy with the reality of American cultural life, racial differences emerge as a continuing cause of friction. The comparison of German immigrants and African American voices of dissent create confrontations, which are transcultural by nature. They will shed light on transatlantic concepts and (mis)conceptions regarding the promise of American democracy.²²

²¹ When I speak of concepts of “America,” I follow the conviction of new historicists that these concepts are not static but characterized by dynamic, openness, and instability. Thus, it is important to assess the function of “America” in the corresponding contexts of the individual authors I selected.

²² Thomas Mann’s assessment after World War II that Germany never had a revolution and thus “has never learned to combine the concept of the nation with the concept of liberty” (*Addresses* 56) has far-reaching consequences for the German perspective on the United States and the democratic visions of German immigrants. To Thomas Mann’s son, the historian Golo Mann, West Germany appeared to be an “artificial homunculus,” a product created by foreign powers rather than active democratic commitment of its people (45).

Index

- Adams, Charles Follen 96
Adams, Henry Brooks 264
Addams, Jane 45
Adams, John Quincy 36, 53–54
Adams, Samuel 230
Adenauer, Konrad 333
Adorno, Theodor W. 197, 250–51, 301, 303, 321–23
Alcott, Amos Bronson 62
Ali, Muhammad 279–80
Anderson, James Maxwell 217, 225, 229–32
Angelou, Maya 279
Anneke, Franziska Mathilde 103, 105, 110–13, 126–31, 137, 147
Anneke, Fritz 111, 130–31
Antheil, George 211
Anthony, Susan B. 110, 127, 131
Antin, Mary 30, 52, 264
Arendt, Hannah xix, 8, 22, 114, 116, 120, 125, 165, 288–89, 291, 301–354, 358
Armstrong, Louis 270
Arndt, Ernst Moritz 62, 64, 359
Assing, David Assur 108
Assing, Ottilie 8, 22, 99, 102, 104–10, 113–39, 145–48, 358
Assing, Rosa Maria 108
Aston, Louise 109
Auden, W.H. 308–11
Auerbach, Elias 156, 192
Ayim, May 283, 287 (see also Opitz, May)
- Bacherat, Therese 105
Baeck, Leo 327
Bailey, York 159
Baison, Jean Baptiste 106–08, 113–15
Baker, Josephine 188, 198–99, 261
Baldwin, James A. 43, 195, 279, 302, 310, 338, 343–44
Bancroft, George 77, 124
Baresel, Alfred 207
- Basie, William James “Count” 298
Bastian, Adolf 155
Beaver Child 152, 160 (see also Reiss, Fritz Winold)
Bechet, Sidney 199
Beck, Karl 75, 124
Bedford, Sybille 307
Beecher, Catherine 139
Beethoven, Ludwig van 232
Benedict, Ruth 184
Berlin, Irving 219
Biow, Hermann 107
Bismarck, Otto von 11, 23, 102, 123, 149–50
Blackwell, Lucy Stone 125
Blacher, Boris 199, 207
Blassingame, John W. 103
Blücher, Heinrich 303
Boas, Franz 21–22, 155–56, 180, 184, 187, 192, 358
Bodmer, Karl 154, 168
Bois, W.E.B. Du 3, 13, 46, 171, 181, 183–184, 187, 191, 267, 270–71
Bontemps, Arna W. 103
Bourne, Randolph Silliman 30–31, 45, 58, 196
Brâncuși, Constantin 158
Brandeis, Louis Dembitz 45
Brecht, Bertolt 157, 201, 204, 208–23, 225, 227–28, 232–33, 244, 252–53, 304, 308–16, 324, 347, 352
Brinton, Bradford 167
Brooks, Gwendolyn Elizabeth 279
Broch, Hermann 310
Brown, John 116, 135, 137
Brown, Oliver L. 339, 344–45
Brown, William Wells 347
Buchner, Karl 61, 76, 82
Buffalo Bill 162 (see also Cody, William Frederick)
Bülow, Bernhard von 164
Bultmann, Rudolf Karl 302
Burbank, Elbridge Ayer 168

- Bush, Georg W. 13, 54, 57, 297, 360
 Butting, Max 207, 220
- Capra, Frank Russell 51
 Cameron, Clarence 240
 Calloway, Cabell "Cab" 244
 Catlin, George 168
 Cellini, Benvenuto 157
 Chamisso, Adalbert von 159
 Channing, William Ellery 60–61, 79–80, 82, 85, 95
 Chaplin, Charles Spencer "Charlie" 209
 Chesnutt, Charles W. 103
 Chief Little Dog 152
 Chewing Black Bone 174
 Child, Lydia Maria 81, 85
 Chodowiecki, Daniel Nikolaus 65
 Chomsky, Noam 34–35
 Christ, Jesus 62, 82–3, 108, 139, 188
 Claudel, Paul 213
 Clurman, Harold 197
 Cody, William Frederick (see also Buffalo Bill)
 Cole, Philip 167
 Colin, Paul 188
 Collins, William Earl "Bootsy" 280
 Columbus, Christopher 40, 243
 Cooley, Rossa B. 152
 Cooper, Anna Julia 42
 Cooper, James Fenimore 113, 119, 159, 176
 Cotta, Johann Friedrich 73, 138
 Count Basie (see also Basie, William James)
 Counts, Will 339
 Courter, Franklin C. 144
 Crèvecoeur, Michel Guillaume Jean de 75
 Crow Woman 152
 Curtis, Edward S. 169–70
- Dalcour, Pierre 238
 Daldrey, Stephen 20
 Damas, Léon 238
 Dawes, George G. 197
 Debs, Eugene Victor 46
 Debussy, Claude 157
- Dempsey, Jack 215
 Dewey, John 34, 46
 Dietrich, Marlene 198
 Diez, Julius 158
 Disney, Walt 244
 Dollfuß, Engelbert 225
 Domino, Antoine "Fats" Jr 280
 Douglas, Aaron 153, 180–82, 186, 199, 257
 Douglas, Louis 199
 Douglass, Anna Murray 146
 Douglass, Frederick 63, 90, 92, 103–04, 106, 108, 116, 123, 131–37, 145–47, 257, 265, 278, 347, 358
 Duden, Gottfried 26, 62, 95, 113
 Durand, Asher B. 176
 Duveneck, Frank 178
 Dvořák, Antonín Leopold 205
- Eagle Head 168–70
 Easton, Hosea 86
 Echtermeyer, Theodor 108
 Eckford, Elizabeth 339, 344–46
 Effinger, Matthei 164
 Eichmann, Otto Adolf 288, 301–02, 304, 314, 325–28, 331–32, 342, 347
 Einstein, Albert 1, 22, 51
 Eisenhower, Dwight David "Ike" 345
 Ellison, Ralph Waldo 194–95, 302, 310, 338, 341–42
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo 28, 39, 62, 76–78, 80, 95, 189, 264, 308, 310, 328–30, 336, 342, 346, 353, 360
 Emmerich, Roland 21, 34, 360
 Engels, Friedrich 312
 Equiano, Olaudah 347
 Essellen, Christian 111
 Everett, Edward 79
- Farny, Henry François 178
 Faulkner, William 309, 340
 Ferres, Veronica 259
 Fischer, Eugen 263, 264
 Fischer, Joschka 361
 Follen, August Adolf Ludwig 64–65

- Follen, Charles 8, 59–65, 69–97, 113, 123–24, 131, 147, 358 (see also Follen, Karl)
- Follen, Eliza Lee Cabot 59–61, 76, 85
- Follen, Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich (see also Follen, Charles) 61–63, 65, 76, 82
- Follen, Paul 75
- Follenius, Christoph 64
- Folsom, Charles Follen 96
- Ford, Gerald Rudolph "Jerry" Jr. 335
- Ford, Henry 202
- Foster, Stephen Collins 218–19
- Fraenkel, Ernst 301, 303
- Frank, Anne 259
- Frank, Bruno 228
- Franklin, Benjamin 1, 107, 144, 264,
- Freud, Sigmund 5, 329
- Fröbel, Friedrich Wilhelm August 109
- Fröhlich, Peter 43 (see also Gay, Peter)
- Fuller, Sarah Margaret 62, 119, 123–24
- Gall, Ludwig 26, 95
- Garner, Margaret 349–50
- Garrison, William Lloyd 80, 82, 85, 91, 94, 96
- Gast, John 176
- Gaugin, Paul 158
- Gaus, Günter 305, 310
- Gay, Peter 16, 43, 52, 259, 266, 270 (see also Fröhlich, Peter)
- George III (George William Frederick) 68–69, 87
- Gershwin, George 234
- Gerstäcker, Friedrich 15, 95, 154, 159
- Giacometti, Alberto 158
- Gide, André 213
- Gilbert, Olive 137
- Giordano, Ralph 275
- Godey, Louis Antoine 139
- Godfrey, Mary 176
- Goebbels, Josef 225
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 60, 63, 72, 77–78, 95, 124–25, 161, 310, 315
- Goldman, Emma 52
- Goldwater, Barry Morris 296
- Goldwater, Robert 159
- Goll, Claire 261
- Goll, Yvan 157
- Gorelik, Mordecai 232
- Graetz, Frederick 1, 28–30
- Greeley, Horace 122
- Green, Paul 225
- Greenough, Horatio 176
- Grimké, Sarah Moore 126
- Guillén, Nicolás 238
- Guttenberg, Carl Gottlieb 66
- Hagenbeck, Carl 256, 294
- Hagern, Friedrich von 161
- Hahn–Hahn, Ida 105, 113
- Haldeman, Samuel Stehmann 118
- Haley, Alex 279, 291
- Halfeld, Adolf 202
- Hammacher, Friedrich Adolf 111
- Hammerstein II, Oscar Greeley Clendenning 242
- Hanfstaengl, Ernst Franz Sedgwick 167
- Hayes, Helen 229
- Hayes, Roland 185–86, 261
- Hayes, Rutherford B. 36
- Heckel, Erich 158
- Hecker, Friedrich Franz Karl 99–100
- Hedge, Frederic Henry 95
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 95, 135, 262–63
- Heidegger, Martin 302, 309, 323, 326
- Herder, Johann Gottfried 63, 77
- Hindemith, Paul 157, 199, 204, 207, 209–10, 215
- Hindenburg, Paul von 225
- Hitler, Adolf 20, 172, 217, 222–23, 225, 228, 258, 263, 265, 267, 270–74, 277, 280, 282, 285, 288–89, 295, 301, 307, 312–13, 315, 322, 331, 333–34, 352
- Hohlwein, Ludwig 153, 182, 185
- Holitscher, Arthur 202
- Honegger, Arthur 157
- Hoover, Herbert Clark 41
- Howe, Jemima 176
- Horkheimer, Max 301, 303, 321, 323
- Hügel–Marshall, Ika 258, 283, 287

- Hughes, James Mercer Langston 159,
183, 188–89, 197, 201, 225, 234–
35, 237–42, 244, 247, 249, 252–53,
257, 277, 279, 358, 361
- Humboldt, Alexander von 63, 103, 159,
162, 175
- Hurston, Zora Neale 183–84, 240, 358
- Hustvedt, Siri 36, 48–49
- Irving, Washington 230–31
- Ives, Charles Edward 206, 230
- Jackson, Andrew 59, 63, 76, 97, 175
- Jackson, Jesse Louis 279–80
- Jacobs, Harriet A. 140, 347
- Jahn, Friedrich Ludwig 64, 71
- James, William 45
- Jaspers, Karl 320
- Jefferson, Thomas 53–54, 56–57, 68,
84, 87–88, 96, 184
- Johnson, Charles Spurgeon 180
- Johnson, Eastman 134
- Johnson, John H. 278–79, 281, 290
- Jung, C.G. 5
- Kaiser, Georg 213, 222
- Kafka, Franz 308–10, 317
- Kallen, Horace Meyer 31–33, 45–46,
50, 188
- Kandinsky, Vassily Vassilyevich 158
- Kanon, Joseph 20
- Kant, Immanuel 63, 69, 95, 155, 314,
322
- Kapp, Friedrich 100, 111
- Kayser, Rudolf 203
- Keaton, Buster 209
- Keller, Carl 111
- Kellogg, Paul 179
- Kennedy, John Fitzgerald 42, 291–92,
299, 335
- Kennedy, John Pendleton 134
- King, Martin Luther Jr. 29, 42, 96,
279–80, 286, 290, 295
- Klaatsch, Hermann 187
- Klee, Paul 157–58
- Klein, Naomi 57–58
- Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb 77
- Körner, Carl Theodor 64, 69–70
- Kotzebue, August von 62, 72–73
- Kotzebue, Otto von 159
- Krenek, Ernst 157, 188, 199, 203–04,
207, 218–20, 262
- Kürnberger, Ferdinand 14, 19, 25–26,
120–22, 205, 358–59
- Lafayette, Marie-Joseph Motier,
Marquis de 28
- Lander, Jeannette 205, 267
- Lang, Fritz 203
- Langsdorff, George von 159
- Lanuss, Armand 238
- Lawrence, D.H. 226
- Lederer, John 159
- Lee, Spike 296
- Leif Ericson 243
- Lenau, Nikolaus 120
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich 312
- Leo, Sophie 105
- Leopold II (King of Belgium) 165
- Levi, Primo 325
- Lessing, Johann Gottfried 77
- Lessing, Karl Friedrich 81–82
- Leutze, Emmanuel Gottlieb 134
- Lewald, Fanny 105, 113
- Lewin, Kurt 5–7, 23, 355
- Liebenfels, Jörg Lanz von 187
- Lieber, Francis 75, 124
- Lincoln, Abraham 142, 144–45
- Lindbergh, Charles Augustus 209–12,
214, 232
- Linderman, Frank Bird 152
- Lindsay, Thomas Corwin 178
- Locke, Alain Leroy 28, 85, 96, 149,
151–03, 159, 172, 180, 182–96
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 19, 176
- Lorca, Federico Garcia 238
- Lorde, Audre 257, 283
- Louis, Joe 269, 279, 293
- Luschan, Felix von 155–56, 187, 192
- Luther, Martin 91
- Malcolm X 255, 257, 260, 264, 279,
286, 288–96, 298–300, 302, 335,
341, 357
- Mann, Erika Julia Hedwig 228
- Mann, Horace 122

- Mann, Golo 11
 Mann, Thomas 11, 51, 223, 274
 Marc, Franz 158
 Marcuse, Herbert 301, 303, 321
 Marshall, George Catlett 21, 41, 284
 Marshall, William H. 223
 Martineau, Harriet 80–82
 Marx, Karl Heinrich 61, 213, 215–16, 252, 272, 312
 Massaquoi, Hans–Jürgen 8, 22, 255, 259–71, 264–300
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir 238
 May, Karl 15, 154, 159–61, 177
 May, Samuel Joseph 61, 81, 83–84
 McDougald, Elise Johnson 261
 McKim, Charles Follen 96
 McNarney, Joseph T. 282
 McCarthy, Joseph Raymond “Joe” 303, 308, 324, 331–32
 Melville, Herman 308–09, 321
 Mendel, Gregor Johann 263–64
 Mendelsohn, Erich 218
 Metternich, Klemens Wenzel Lothar Fürst von 108
 Meyerheim, Paul Friedrich 161
 Meysenbug, Malwida van 105
 Middle Rider 174
 Milhaud, Darius 157
 Möllhausen, Balduin 154, 159
 Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) 77
 Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de 330
 Moorland, Jessey E. 184
 Morrison, Toni 305–06, 310, 336–38, 344–54, 358
 Mosler, Henry 178
 Moskowitz, Henry 183
 Moton, Robert R. 261
 Mott, Lucretia 110, 125–26
 Mühlbach, Luise (Clara Mundt) 105
 Münter, Gabriele 158
 Muhammad, Elijah 279–80, 289, 296, 299
 Muhlenberg, Frederick Augustus Conrad 1
 Münch, Friedrich 61, 75
 Mussolini, Benito Amilcare Andrea 333
 Neher, Caspar 214
 Nicolai, Friedrich 64
 Nipson, Herbert 279
 Nixon, Richard Milhous 303, 324, 333–35
 Noguchi, Isamu 159, 179
 Nolde, Emil 157–58
 Oguntoye, Katharina 257, 282
 Oksóyapiw 169–70
 Opitz, May 257, 282 (see also Ayim, May)
 Otto, Louise 109
 Ovington, Mary White 183
 Owens, James Cleveland “Jesse” 43, 270, 279, 293
 Paine, Thomas 67
 Park, Robert E. 184
 Parker, Theodore 61–62, 77, 81–82
 Parks, Rosa Louise McCauley 345–46
 Passos, John Dos 204
 Paulding, James Kirke 134
 Peabody, George Foster 196
 Pechstein, Max 158
 Pedroso, Regino 238
 Petersen, Wolfgang 21
 Pfeiffer, Ida Laura 105, 113
 Phillips, Wendell 122, 124, 127–29, 136
 Picasso, Pablo 156–59, 162, 192
 Plato 308, 322
 Postl, Karl Anton 159 (see also Sealsfield, Charles)
 Pound, Ezra 315
 Powell, Colin Luther 41
 Prokofiev, Sergey Sergeyeovich 157
 Proust, Marcel 310
 Pullman, William James “Bill” 360
 Rainer, Luise 51–52
 Ravel, Maurice 157
 Red Could 169
 Reed-Anderson, Paulette 258
 Reichenbach, Mathilde Gräfin von 62
 Reiss, Fritz 158, 162–63
 Reiss, Fritz Winold 8, 149–96, 261, 358, 361 (see also Beaver Child)

- Reiss, Henriette 153, 166
 Reiss, W. Tjark 161, 170, 173, 175, 177
 Rice, Elmer 225, 234–35, 238–39, 244, 247, 253
 Richter, Johann Paul Friedrich 77
 Riefenstahl, Leni 270
 Rilke, Rainer Maria 308, 310, 319, 352
 Ripley, George 95, 124
 Rivera, Diego 171, 174
 Robinson, Bill “Bojangles” 269
 Rockefeller, John D. Jr. 171, 174
 Rogers, Richard 232, 242
 Rockwell, Norman Perceval 191
 Röhm, Ernst Julius Günther 225
 Roosevelt, Anne Eleanor 280
 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano 51, 190, 231, 247, 252, 332
 Roosevelt, Theodore “T.R.” 1
 Rose, Ernestine Potowski 125
 Roumain, Jacques 238
 Roundtree, Richard 279
 Rouzeau, Edgar T. 273
 Rowlandson, Mary 176
 Ruckteschell, Walter von 186–87
 Ruge, Arnold 108

 Sand, Karl Ludwig 62, 72–73
 Sapir, Edward 184
 Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von 60, 69–72, 77, 95, 232
 Schlemmer, Oskar 203
 Schopenhauer, Johanna 105
 Schlink, Bernhard 20
 Schmeling, Maximilian “Max” 269
 Schubert, Franz 261
 Schulhoff, Erwin 199, 207
 Schultz, Dagmar 257, 283
 Schultz, James Willard 152
 Schurz, Carl Christian 36–37, 99–100, 194
 Sealsfield, Charles 15, 26, 62, 95, 134, 1542, 159 (see also Postl, Karl)
 Shakespeare, William 27, 106–07, 238, 322
 Shostakovich, Dmitri Dmitriyevich 157
 Shot-in-Both-Sides 161
 Shufeldt, Robert W. 187

 Sigel, Franz 99–100
 Singer, Bryan 20
 Slevogt, Max 186
 Smith, William Benjamin 187
 Snell, Ludwig 74
 Soderbergh, Steven 20
 Sontag, Susan 346–47
 Spielberg, Steven Allan 20
 Staël, Anne Louise Germaine de 77
 Stalin, Joseph 288, 315–16, 331, 333
 Stanton, Elisabeth Cady 110, 126–27, 129–31
 Stauffenberg, Claus Schenck Graf von 20
 Stein, Gertrude 311
 Stella, Giuseppe (Joseph) 245
 Steller, Georg Wilhelm 159
 Stemmle, Robert 285
 Steuben, Friedrich Wilhelm Baron von 1, 16, 28
 Stokowski, Leopold 206, 211
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher 133, 136–37, 142–44
 Strauss, David Friedrich 108
 Stravinsky, Igor Fyodorovich 157, 205
 Strubberg, Friedrich Arman 154
 Struve, Gustav von 102
 Stuck, Franz von 158, 261
 Stuyvesant, Peter 231
 Sui, Mark Ten 179

 Thannhauser, Heinrich 156
 Tell, William (Wilhelm) 67, 72
 Temple, Shirley 269, 279
 Tittmann, Clara 105
 Titus, Frances 144
 Thompson, Era Bell 279
 Thompson, George 80
 Thoreau, Henry David 62, 231, 264, 328–30, 342, 346
 Tocqueville, Alexis de 4, 32, 37–38, 42–43, 46–47, 54, 60, 75, 79, 93, 96, 303, 324, 359
 Toomer, Jean 184, 261
 Tressler, Georg 284–85
 Treidler, Adolph 52
 Trollope, Frances “Fanny” 113, 120, 122

- Trotha, Lothar von 164
 Truman, Harry S. 41
 Trumbull, John 53
 Truth, Sojourner (Isabella van Wagenen) 104, 131, 136–48, 257
 Tubman, Harriet 137
 Tucker, George 134
 Turtle 174
 Twain, Mark 264
 Twachtman, John Henry 178

 Uncle Sam 1, 27–30, 291

 Vanderlyn, John 176
 Varnhagen von Ense, Karl August 109
 Varnhagen von Ense, Rahel 108, 114–16, 125, 307–08, 316, 326, 352
 Verdi, Giuseppe 213, 236, 246
 Vinci, Leonardo da 30
 Virchow, Rudolph Carl 155

 Wagner, Richard 207, 216
 Walker, David 60, 63, 79, 84–89, 92–96, 358
 Walling, William English 183
 Warren, William Penn 341
 Washington, Booker T. 103, 181, 187
 Washington, George 28, 42, 178, 204
 Weber, Carl Maria von 219–20
 Weber, Marek 218
 Weber, Mathilde 105
 Webster, Daniel 79
 Wehl, Feodor 109
 Weil, Louise 105
 Weill, Kurt 8, 15, 22, 55, 157, 197, 199–253, 295, 358
 Wenders, Wim 21, 359–61
 Wette, Ludwig de 62
 Wied–Neuwied, Prinz Maximilian Alexander 62, 154, 159
 Wiesel, Elie 259, 266, 325
 Whiteman, Paul Samuel 199
 Whitman, Walter “Walt” 28–29, 34, 204, 224–25, 229, 239, 321
 Whittier, John Greenleaf 60
 Whittredge, Thomas Worthington 178
 Wieland, Christoph Martin 64, 77
 Wiggert, Sophie 164
 Wigglesworth, Michael 89
 Wilhelm II (German Emperor) 164, 302, 319
 Wilson, Thomas Woodrow 39
 Winthrop, John 40
 Wolf, Hugo 261
 Woodson, Carter G. 184
 Wooding, Sam 199, 204
 Wright, Richard Nathaniel 272–73, 302

 Zangwill, Israel 75, 205, 227



European Association
for American Studies

EUROPEAN VIEWS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Edited on Behalf
of the European Association
for American Studies
by HANS-JÜRGEN GRABBE
Volume 5

MEHRING · The Democratic Gap

Why has the promise of American democracy been so persuasive to immigrants despite prejudice regarding cultural inferiority, a history of slavery and genocide, violations of human rights, media manipulations, and imperial self-righteousness? How can we analyze, understand, and evaluate the response patterns of immigrants, which evolved after the shock of arrival in the United States and the encounter with severe democratic shortcomings?

This book investigates patriotic dissent of naturalized German immigrants to overcome what I call “the democratic gap,” namely the discrepancy between democratic ideals and practices. By turning to six force fields (abolitionism, female emancipation, cultural pluralism, patriotic performance culture, the civil rights movement, and Holocaust consciousness), a comparison of democratic criticism between German immigrants and African American writers reveals the underlying premises of transcultural confrontations and hidden motives behind declarations of Americanness. The response patterns discussed are also relevant for other immigrant groups such as Asian Americans, Arab Americans, or Hispanic and Latino Americans.

ISBN 978-3-8253-6170-9