

werden nicht mehr angelegt. Seit 1935 setzt man mit besonderer Vorliebe die *PINUS BRUTIA*.

Die *PINUS BRUTIA* gehört dem erweiterten Formenkreis der Aleppo-Kiefer an, zeigt aber größere Unempfindlichkeit gegen Dürre, Wind und Kälte, wächst daher auch in größeren Höhen und ist noch dazu raschwüchsiger. Neuerdings sind erfreulich verlaufende Versuche mit der aus Nordamerika eingeführten *CUPRESSUS ARIZONA* durchgeführt worden, die sich durch noch größere Frostunempfindlichkeit auszeichnen.

Die griechischen Forstbehörden sind auf dem besten Wege einer periodischen forstwirtschaftlichen Planung. Der Weg für die griechischen Forstleute wird sehr lang und mühevoll sein; aber eines Tages werden die Mühen und Anstrengungen der Männer belohnt werden, die heute unter denkbar schwierigsten finanziellen und technischen Verhältnissen und unter vielfachen Anfeindungen der ländlichen Bevölkerung ihrem großen Ziele entgegengehen.

Gerade für die Waldverhältnisse im Peloponnes, die walderhaltenden und aufbauenden Kräfte, gilt der treffende Satz *W. Mantels* (1949, S. 4):

„Eine angewandte Forstpolitik ist forstliche Landesplanung!“

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BERICHTE UND KLEINE MITTEILUNGEN

EVOLUTION OF THE AREAL PATTERNS OF GERMAN AND POLISH SETTLEMENT IN MILWAUKEE

Gwen Schultz

With 5 maps

Entwicklung und Verteilung deutscher und polnischer Niederlassungen in Milwaukee

Zusammenfassung: Deutsche und Polen stellen die beiden größten Nationalitätengruppen Milwaukees und machen zusammen mehr als die Hälfte der Bevölkerung aus. In ihrer Siedlungsweise verhalten sie sich grundverschieden. Die Deutschen — die größere Gruppe — finden sich fast gleichmäßig über die ganze Stadt hin verteilt. Die Polen dagegen zeigen starke Tendenz zum Zusammenschluß. Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt den Versuch einer Erklärung der unterschiedlichen Siedlungsweise dar.

Seit 1839 trafen Deutsche in Milwaukee ein, das von da ab Umschlagplatz auf dem Wege der Einwanderer in das Innere Amerikas war. Sie fanden günstiges Klima und reichliche natürliche Hilfsquellen, und die vorhandenen Arbeitsmöglichkeiten waren ihnen bekannt. Gelernte Arbeiter wurden zusätzlich aus Deutschland herangezogen. Um 1900 waren 70% der Bevölkerung Milwaukees deutscher Abstammung. Ihre große Zahl, der damit gegebene Zusammenhalt bewahrte den Charakter der Gruppe. Erfahren im Handel und vielen Gewerbezweigen, setzten sie sich nicht nur in bestimmten Bezirken, sondern in der ganzen Stadt durch. Sie paßten sich der Stadtentwicklung an und gliederten sich dem anwachsenden Siedlungskörper ein.

Polen trafen erst gegen 1870 ein, als Milwaukee das größte deutsche Zentrum in den Vereinigten Staaten war. Viele Polen mit deutschen Sprachkenntnissen gingen gerade deshalb dorthin. Darüber hinaus bot die Industrie ungelerten Arbeitern Beschäftigung. Die Polen ließen sich in der Nähe der Werksanlagen in 2 Bezirken nieder.

1. im NE entlang dem Milwaukee River, 2. im südlichen Zentrum der Stadt. Während sich das erste Gebiet auf natürliche Weise im Laufe der Zeit auflöste, blieb die Hauptniederlassung der Polen im südlichen Zentrum der Stadt rein polnisch und in Ausdehnung begriffen. Ursprünglich bot diese Gegend Beschäftigung in der Industrie und unbegrenzte, billige Siedlungsflächen und war außerdem Mittelpunkt des kirchlichen Lebens.

2. Mit ihren großen Familien ist die polnische Bevölkerungsgruppe auch heute noch zahlenmäßig im Wachsen. In den übrigen Stadtteilen tritt sie kaum in Erscheinung und nimmt im NO sogar zahlenmäßig ab. Aber sie besitzt die unbestrittene Vormacht im südlichen Zentrum. Der deutsche Bevölkerungsanteil ist in seiner relativen zahlenmäßigen Bedeutung ständig zurückgegangen, stellt aber noch immer bei weitem den größten Prozentsatz der Gesamtbevölkerung. Im Zuge der Entwicklung von Milwaukee durch mehr als ein Jahrhundert ging das allgegenwärtige und bestimmende deutsche Element in der wachsenden Stadt auf und bildet heute einen integrierenden Bestandteil der städtischen Bevölkerung.

Milwaukee's two largest nationality groups are the Germans and the Poles. About a third of its people are of German birth or descent¹⁾, and a fifth of Polish. Together they comprise over half the city's population, which numbers about 640,000. (Milwaukee is the largest city in the state of Wisconsin, and thirteenth largest in the United States.)

Of the foreign-born persons in the city, nearly half are either German or Polish. In no other large city in the United States do just two nationalities make up so high a proportion of the foreign-born population.

One might ask, "Why are these two groups present in such numbers?" and "Why has the settlement distribution pattern of each evolved so differently?" for today the Germans are everywhere, but the Poles are mainly in two distinct districts. Following is at least a partial answer to these questions.

The Germans

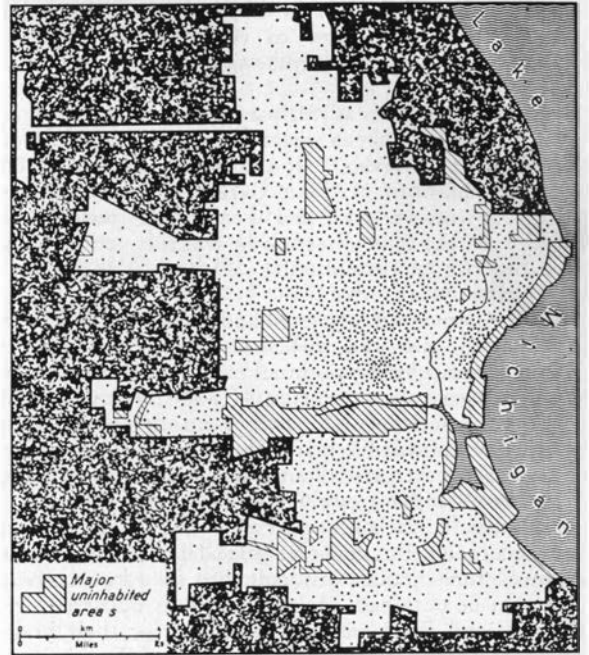
The base of Milwaukee's population is German. Milwaukee, by a substantial margin, has a greater proportion of German stock than any other United States city of significant size²⁾. At the start of this century, persons of German birth or descent made up 70 per cent of Milwaukee's population, and even today, despite the more recent influx of eastern and southern Europeans, they are still predominant. Covering the city like a carpet, they are the warp and woof into which the other elements have been heterogeneously woven to produce the present population pattern.

¹⁾ It should be pointed out that although this paper concerns itself with Germans, as such, Milwaukee does have substantial numbers of other German-speaking nationalities. Most numerous among these are the Austrians, the city's third largest nationality group. The presence of these other German-speaking groups adds to the German "character" of the city considerably.

²⁾ Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Population, Series PC-14, No. 20, Table 13: "Nativity and Parentage of the Foreign White Stock... for Cities with 50,000 or More Foreign White Stock"; Paul McMahon: "Customs of Old World Still Alive in Milwaukee", The Milwaukee Journal, October 5, 1947.

One of the best available guides to the distribution of a given nationality group as a whole is the location of its foreign-born. The location of German foreign-born (that is, persons born in Germany) in Milwaukee is indicative of the high degree of dispersion of the entire German element there.

Compare MAP I (Distribution of Total Population in Milwaukee, 1950) with MAP II (Distribution of German Foreign-Born in Milwaukee, 1950), both prepared from census tract figures of the 1950 United States Census of Population. In spite of some noticeable differences, there is an over-all similarity between the two distribution patterns, which illustrates the uniformity of German assimilation. How did this come about?



Map I: Distribution of total population in Milwaukee, 1950

Each dot represents 300 persons.
Total population, 1950: 637, 392.

In 1839 the first sizable band of Germans landed in Milwaukee. At that time, before an integrated railroad system reached westward, it was a transfer point on the Great Lakes water route which many immigrants followed into America's agricultural interior. Because the rough trip on the lakes was fatiguing—often more so than the ocean voyage—these people stopped off to rest in the village of Milwaukee before moving inland to take up farms. They had heard that land in the region ahead, to the west, was both productive and cheap. The climate was similar to that of their former homes. The law was liberal and just. There they would be able to practise farming successfully with the methods they knew. And so most of them moved on, but a few remained in the village—the nucleus of a new German settlement.

The trail, once laid, widened into a highway. Arrival in Milwaukee of over a thousand Germans a week during the summers of 1843 and 1844 was not unusual. Unrest in Europe and the Revolution of 1848 in Germany resulted in a continuing flood of emigration, a considerable part of which was attracted to Milwaukee by reports emanating from the prosperous, growing settlement. Literature praising the favorable climate and plentiful resources was printed in Milwaukee and sent to Germany. Printed guides for immigrants proved effective in bringing settlers. Letters, too, were successful propaganda (those of one man alone reportedly having brought two thousand people from Darmstadt). And in New York, where immigrants first landed, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* agency and representatives from Wisconsin were solicitous about forwarding baggage and supplying information on how to reach Milwaukee. The number of Germans in Milwaukee increased at a rapid rate³⁾.

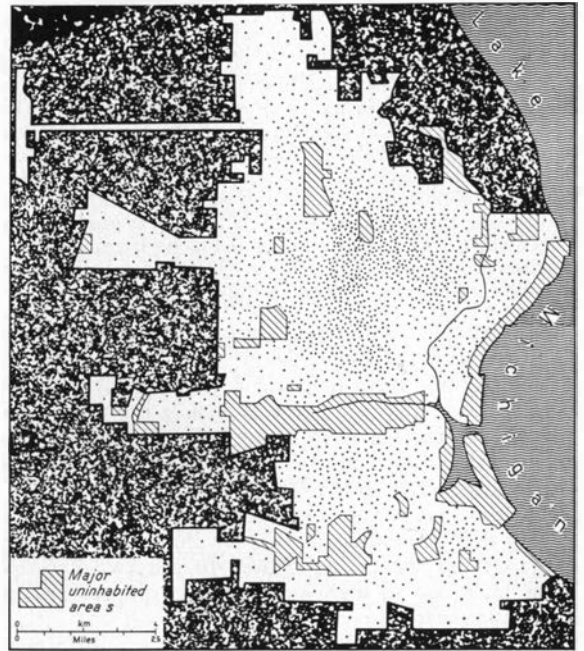
In 1846, the year of Milwaukee's incorporation as a city, and only seven years after the first group of Germans had arrived, half the population of 10,000 was German-born. A "little Germany" appeared first in the downtown area, and then spread toward the northwest, the only direction in which it could freely expand without encountering undesirable land or sections already inhabited.

The German immigrants had a wide variety of occupations and were therefore able to find employment or set up businesses in all parts of the city. Many of these Germans were artisans. The city experienced an ever-increasing industrial trend, which in turn further stimulated German immigration. Industrialists found their enterprises flourishing, due to the growing markets and to the proximity of bountiful resources—grains, cattle, lumber, and so on. However, they could not secure, locally, enough skilled labor trained in the manufacture of their products. But they knew where it might be obtained. Maltsters, such as Pabst, Miller, Schlitz, and Blatz, sent to Germany for their braumeisters. The Galluns, the Pfisters and Vogels, and the Trostels asked for tanners. Industry was in a stage of growth. Butcher shops were growing into packing plants; cabinet-making shops into furniture establishments; and bakeries into bread and biscuit factories. Tailor shops were becoming clothing factories, and tanneries began manufacturing boots and shoes. All these industries utilized trained German workers.

The year 1870 found Milwaukee the largest German settlement in the United States. The majority of Germans lived in what was then the northwest section (the near north central section now). In one ward (civil subdivision) of this predominantly German section every adult was a native of Germany.

Relinquishing old areas then, German settlement gradually spread in all directions but mainly to the

north and west into the area that appears densest on MAP II, and which is where even now the greatest concentration of them is found. This concentration does not depart strikingly from the total population distribution pattern, but it is the only concentration of any sort to be found among the Germans.



Map II: Distribution of German foreign-born in Milwaukee, 1950

Each dot represents 10 German foreign-born, to the nearest 10.

Total German foreign-born: 18, 259.

Source of data: U. S. Census, 1950.

The peak of German dominance was 1900, when 70 per cent of Milwaukeeans stemmed from German origins. After that, the strong federation Bismarck had built and unstable economic conditions in the United States caused a decline in German emigration. At the same time the wave of immigration from eastern and southern Europe had begun and was decreasing the relative numerical importance of the Germans. In 1910, only 53 per cent of Milwaukeeans were of German descent. By 1930 the figure had dropped to about 45 per cent, and by 1940 to 41 per cent. Since then it has declined somewhat further, but exact percentages are difficult to obtain⁴⁾.

But during all this time, over a hundred years, the process of assimilation was active. Because of their large numbers, clinging together to preserve identification as a group early outgrew its usefulness. The Germans were skilled in a wide variety of trades and occupations and so found their opportunities not only in certain districts but throughout the city. They adjusted with the city through its formative stages and were amalgamated into its mass as it grew and spread.

³⁾ William George Bruce: *A Short History of Milwaukee*, Milwaukee 1936, p. 67; H. Russell Austin: *The Milwaukee Story*, Milwaukee 1946, p. 66; Patricia E. Gilbert: "Milwaukee Once Known as Athens of America", *The Milwaukee Journal*, April 22, 1939; Bayrd Still: *Milwaukee: the History of a City*, Madison 1948, pp. 74, 113, 131.

⁴⁾ Austin (1), p. 140; Still (18), pp. 259, 453.

Today, therefore, the Germans are numerous in all parts of the city in proportion to the total population, and numbering well over 200,000, are Milwaukee's predominant nationality group.

The Poles

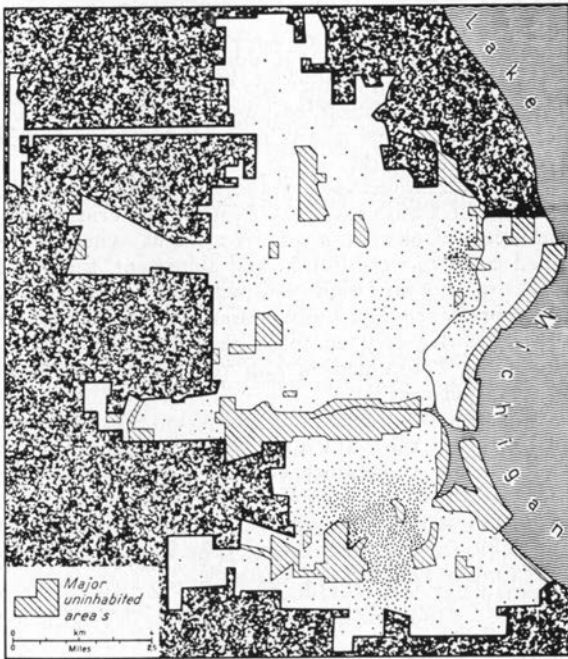
The Poles, in contrast to the Germans, have shown marked segregative tendencies.

There are more than 120,000 persons of Polish birth or descent in Milwaukee. In spite of their substantial number, most of them live in two distinct localities:

(1) the south central section (the main Polish district);

(2) along the Milwaukee River in the northeast.

Both these areas appear prominently on MAP III, which shows the distribution of Polish foreign-born in 1950.



Map III: Distribution of Polish foreign-born in Milwaukee, 1950

Each dot represents 10 Polish foreign-born, to the nearest 10.

Total Polish foreign-born: 10, 989.

Source of data: U. S. Census, 1950.

The Poles did not begin arriving in Milwaukee until the Germans were well established. They were few in number prior to 1870, at which time, as stated earlier, Milwaukee was already the largest German settlement in the country.

Yet by 1880 they emerged conspicuously as the fourth largest foreign-born group in the city and by 1890 they had reached second place in that category, which is where they have remained to the present time. In 1939 Milwaukee had become the seventh

largest Polish center in the United States. The Poles began leaving Europe, of course, because of economic hardships and a desire for religious and political freedom.

But why did so many of them come to Milwaukee? The exodus of Poles from Europe did not occur until the time Milwaukee was attaining recognition as the largest German center in the United States. Prussian Poles knew the German language. Large numbers of them came directly to Milwaukee for that very reason. Also, Milwaukee was one among several industrial centers on the Great Lakes that offered ready employment to newly arrived unskilled laborers.

Among the first to leave Poland and among the first to arrive in Milwaukee were the Kaszubas who left small villages in the Gdansk (Danzig) region of the Baltic coast. These were fishermen, accustomed to living near water.

Some of the Kaszubas settled on Jones Island, which was then just a sandbar in the southern part of the Milwaukee harbor, but which now has been joined to the mainland and resembles a peninsula jutting northward. They chose that lakeshore site because it was an ideal place for fishing and was reminiscent of their Baltic Sea. Trout was abundant there. Furthermore, the fact that they could settle there as "squatters" without actually buying the land was inviting. Their settlement on Jones Island was destined to be only temporary though⁵).

Other Kaszubas settled in the north along the Milwaukee River. The factories and large tanneries built on the river hired them, and were responsible for preserving the strength of the Polish element in that district for many years. It remained solidly Polish until about thirty years ago when the normal trend toward dispersal began. Now, in those parts of the Milwaukee River district where the Polish element is considered strongest, fewer than 50 per cent of the inhabitants are of Polish extraction. But it is still an appreciable number⁶).

The main Polish district, however, and the one where segregation strongly persists, is the south central section. The historical beginning of this Polish colony was 1866, when some of the first Jones Island Kaszubas and other early south side settlers, thirty families in all, bought a church building which became the first Polish church in Milwaukee. Its location (church 1 on MAP IV) indicates in what general area the Poles were then settling, but just as important, it was a powerful determinant of where later-arriving Poles would live, since they tend to cluster closely about their churches.

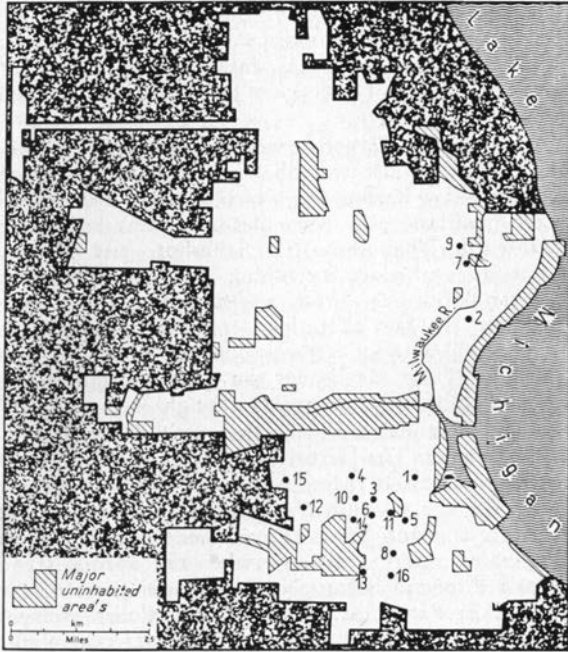
The church stood near what was at that time the southern city limits. In the then sparsely populated,

⁵) Edward Kerstein: "Polish Pioneers, Lovers of Freedom, Laid Firm Foundations", The Milwaukee Journal, February 9, 1941; Thaddens Borun: We, the Milwaukee Poles, Milwaukee 1946, p. 151.

⁶) "East Side Polish Community Is Scattering Fast Today", The Milwaukee Journal, January 29, 1939; Patricia E. Gilbert: "Play Leading Roles in Industry, Politics and Business of City", The Milwaukee Journal, May 19, 1939; Still (18), p. 270; Borun (4), p. 154.

wooded area near the church, the Poles, who were poor, could inexpensively fulfill their longing for land ownership and a home, even though it were just a log cabin.

The fact that Poles are zealous churchgoers and found a church as soon as they become at all numerous makes "the chronology of the founding of their churches to all intents and purposes an outline of the dates and locations of their settlements"⁷). It has also been said that, "the story of early Polish settlement is largely a chronicle of the expansion of their . . . parishes"⁸).



Map IV: Locations and founding dates of Polish churches in Milwaukee

1 1866	9 1907
2 1871	10 1908
3 1882	11 1914
4 1888	12 1923
5 1888	13 1925
6 1893	14 1925
7 1894	15 1926
8 1907	16 1926

MAP IV shows chronologically when and where new Polish churches (Catholic and Protestant) were founded, and is a direct reflection of how Polish population spread, at least until 1926. (Churches founded elsewhere in later years cannot, it seems, be considered true Polish churches in a strict sense as the early ones were.) Immigrant families were offered lots elsewhere in the city but preferred to settle around their churches and among their own people.

Ridicule incurred from other groups, and poverty, strengthened segregative tendencies. Other factors,

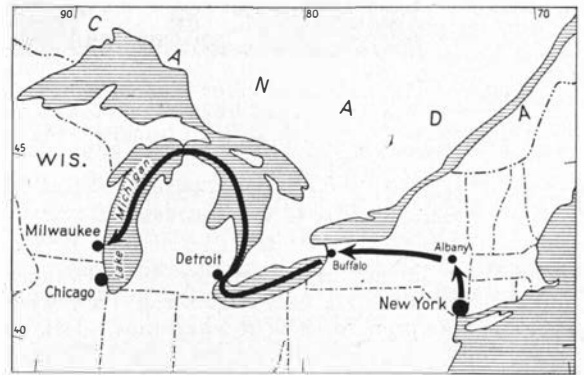
too, were influential in concentrating Poles in the south central section, namely, (1) their forced exodus from Jones Island and (2) industry.

Even though the Polish Kaszubas on Jones Island lived undisturbed for many years, they were merely "squatters", and it was inevitable that the expanding metropolis would some day encroach upon their simple fishing settlement. In 1897 the Illinois Steel Company filed suit against them; in 1916 a carferry dock was begun; in 1920 the land was condemned in order that harbor facilities and a sewage disposal plant could be built there. The Kaszubas had to move out. Many of them helped to swell the near-by south side colony, desiring as usual to live among their own kind.

The important role of industry—attracting Poles to the city and strengthening their concentration on the south side—cannot be overlooked. As stated previously, growing cities of the Great Lakes region afforded ready employment to immigrant laborers. Milwaukee's five leading industries between 1870 and 1910 were iron and steel, flour-milling, meat-packing, tanning, and brewing. And her main industrial area developed in the south. Polish immigrants were recruited to meet factory needs for unskilled labor. Their children also were employed. So it was natural that they should live near their work.

South side industries did and still do employ large numbers of Polish workers. Ninety per cent of the employees of one south side iron works, when established in 1899, were Polish, and at present, the figure at that plant is still high—60 per cent. This is typical. Other prominent south side manufacturing companies have recently reported that the percentage of employees of Polish descent still runs as high as from 60 to 85 per cent⁹).

Although the number of Poles in the northeast district along the Milwaukee River is declining, this south central community continues to grow. Of the four city wards in the heart of the south central community as of 1946, one was 98 per cent Polish and the others 89, 70, and 65 per cent. The Polish element is increasing in neighboring wards¹⁰).



Map V: Route followed by early German immigrants to Milwaukee

⁷) *Emily Greene Balch*: Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, New York 1910, p. 230.

⁸) *Still* (18), p. 269.

⁹) *Borun* (4) p. 242.

¹⁰) *Borun* (4), pp. 154—158.

The south central section, then, had a variety of attractions for the Polish people. It had unlimited, inexpensive land for settlement. This likewise was an attraction for industry and the presence of industry further encouraged Polish settlement there. Also, whether cause or effect—probably both, this section was the original focus of their church life.

Here, in the south central section, the Poles' early tendency toward segregation strongly persists. They still "prefer life among their own people to the movement and intermingling which was... characteristic of the older German stock..."¹¹).

Conclusion

The population patterns of the Polish and German nationality groups are therefore quite different.

The Polish group, with its large families, is increasing, and though sparse in the greater part of the city and decreasing in the northeast Milwaukee River district, has unchallenged supremacy in the south central section.

The German group, though it has decreased in relative numerical importance, is still by far the main component of the population. For over a century as Milwaukee developed and expanded, the German element—always present, always dominant—was being assimilated into the growing city, until now it is an integrated, thoroughly-distributed ingredient.

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DAS PROBLEM DER KULTURELLEN KONTAKTE ZWISCHEN DER NEUEN UND DER ALTEN WELT IN VORCOLUMBISCHER ZEIT IM LICHT DER PFLANZENGEOGRAPHIE

Hugo Groß

*The problem of contacts
between the New and the Old World
in the light of plant geography*

Summary: The similarity of cultural elements which exists between the American Indians and Oceania, as well as the pre-Columbian civilisations of America and those of Egypt and the Near and Middle East, have repeatedly been explained by the assumption of cultural contacts between the Old and the New World in pre-Columbian and pre-Magellan times. This was done especially by ethnologists and anthropologists, but also by prehistorians and geographers, despite the established fact that the New World was settled by man via north-east Asia as late as the late Pleistocene period. Some diffusionists assume trans-Atlantic, but most of them trans-Pacific transfer of cultural elements in both directions. If noteworthy contacts did exist, they would have been bound

to leave their mark in domestic animals, cultivated plants and weeds. By studying the oldest possible herbaria, manuscripts, reports about the flora and general reports of travels, the botanist, *E. D. Merrill*, came however to the conclusion that, out of about 1500 cultigens of the world which existed at the time prior to Columbus and Magellan, only three species were common to both hemispheres, namely the sweet potato, the coconut, and the common gourd, and that the distribution of the cultigens (with the exception of the three mentioned above) which today are common to both the Old and the New World, is the result of shipping communications during the last 450 years. Thus the botanical data point against notable cultural contacts between the two hemispheres prior to this time. Consequently one has to conclude that the prehistoric civilisations of America must on the whole have developed independently.

Die Vorgeschichte Amerikas ist ein besonders interessantes Kapitel der prähistorischen Kulturgeschichte; sie wirft die Frage auf, ob hier Übertragung (Diffusion) von Kulturelementen aus der Alten Welt oder ganz oder hauptsächlich selbständige Erfindung anzunehmen ist. Amerika wurde ja bekanntlich von der Alten Welt aus besiedelt, und zwar von NO-Sibirien aus über die nur 90 km breite Bering-Straße mit