Traveling between Worlds

GERMAN-AMERICAN ENCOUNTERS

Edited by

THOMAS ADAM *and* RUTH GROSS

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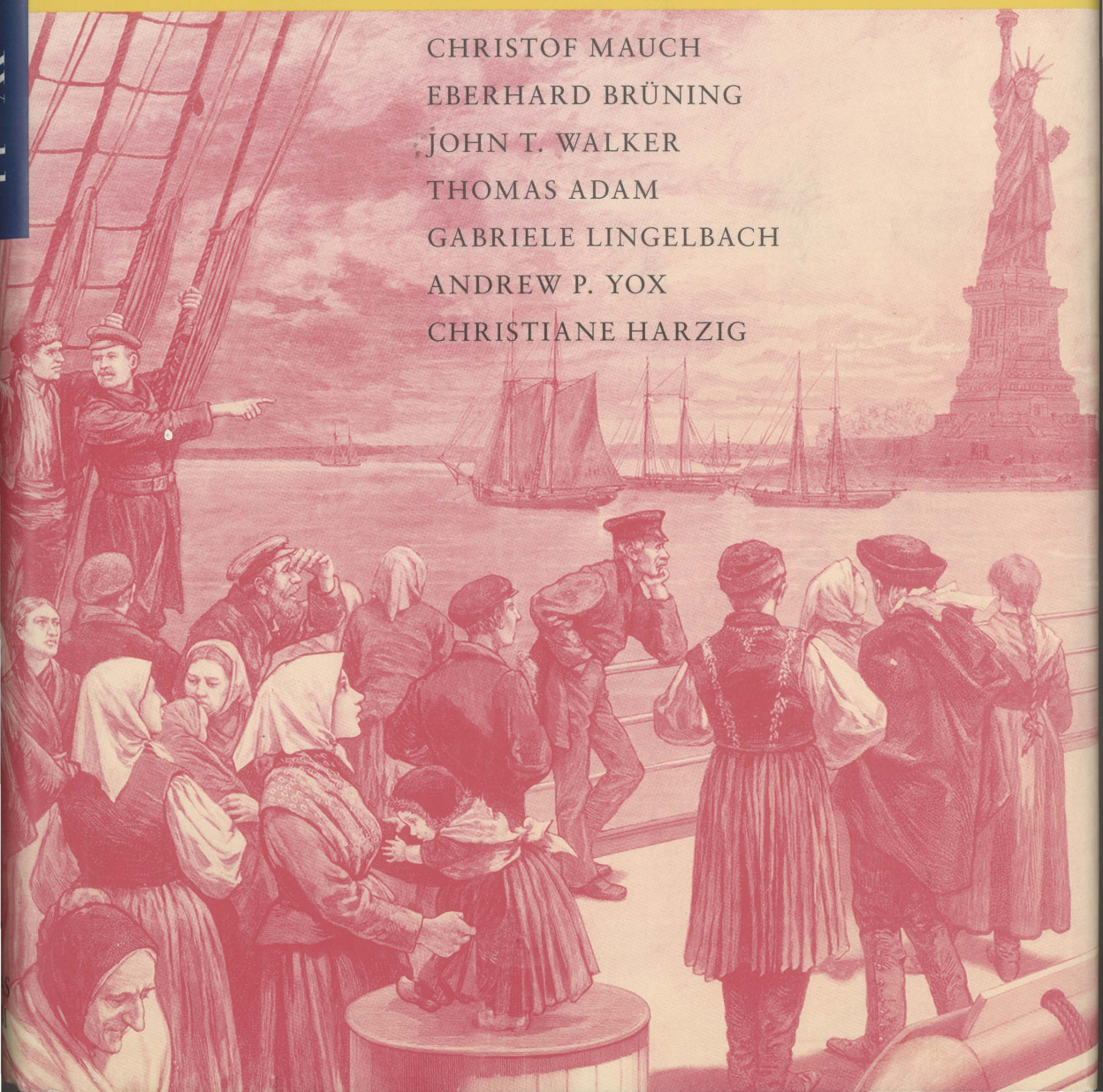

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PREFACE

The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lecture series was inaugurated in 1965 by professors Will Holmes, Harold Hollingsworth, and E. C. Barksdale. In the 1970s and 1980s, under the leadership of Richard G. Miller, Stanley Palmer, and Kenneth R. Philp (successors to Barksdale as chair of the Department of History of the University of Texas at Arlington), the lecture series and publications grew in stature and have gained a national reputation. The presentations are published by means of a generous endowment from C. B. Smith Sr. of Austin, a graduate of the University of Texas at Arlington and a former student of Walter Prescott Webb at the University of Texas at Austin. Smith also provided funds for the annual prize given for the best essay on the year's theme.

The Thirty-Eighth Annual Webb Lecture series, held at the University of Texas at Arlington in March 2003, focused on German-American contributions to modern transatlantic history. In the tradition of Erich Angermann and Daniel T. Rodgers, the contributors to this volume emphasize the interconnectedness of the Atlantic world and discuss the processes of transatlantic transfers and mutual perception of Germans and Americans. The chapters by Gabriele Lingelbach (University of Trier), Christiane Harzig (Arizona State University), Eberhard Brüning (University of Leipzig), and Thomas Adam (University of Texas at Arlington) are based on the talks they gave at that event. Dennis P. Reinhartz, Dana Dunn, Margaret Menninger, and Ruth V. Gross introduced the four speakers and offered helpful comments. Menninger (Southwest Texas State University) went well beyond the call of duty: Since Brüning fell ill just two days before his planned trip to Arlington, she assumed the task of not

only introducing him and his topic but also of giving the lecture in his stead. The chapters by Andrew P. Yox (Northeast Texas Community College) and John T. Walker (Fullerton College) were chosen from a large number of studies submitted for our Webb-Smith Essay Competition. We are very grateful to Christof Mauch (German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C.) for agreeing to write the introduction to this volume.

The success of the Webb Lecture Series depends on the support of many people. First we would like to thank colleagues from the Department of History at the University of Texas at Arlington for their assistance and generous support. Joyce Goldberg, who chairs the Webb Lectures Committee, was of immense help in organizing the conference. Ruth Gross and Scott Williams, both with the Modern Language Department at our university at the time of this conference, as well as Tilmann Hein from the Dallas Goethe Center helped in making the stay of our guest speakers from Germany a very pleasant one. In the process of translating and editing the studies for this collection we were fortunate to have the editorial help and support of Sarah Wobick (University of Wisconsin at Madison), who invested much time and energy in improving the quality of this work.

This volume is dedicated to Steven Reinhardt, who, after many years of admirable service and accomplishment, stepped down as chair of the Webb Lectures Committee.

THOMAS ADAM *and* RUTH V. GROSS

Traveling between Worlds

CHRISTOF MAUCH

Oceans Apart?

Paradigms in German-American History and Historiography

Two Worlds

In the controversy over the U.S.-led war against Iraq in 2003, tensions between the United States and Europe in general and Germany in particular reached a level unprecedented in the postwar era. The perception of the threat that Iraq might pose to the world was very different on the two sides of the Atlantic, and Europeans grew more critical of U.S. global leadership. In his study on European-American relations, Robert Kagan exclaims that "Americans are from Mars—Europeans from Venus."[1] He sees the dispute over the invasion of Iraq as the result of two very different worldviews: an Anglo-American outlook inspired by Hobbes and a German or European one inspired by Kant.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the common threat that once held Western Europe and the United States together disappeared. Ever since then, the United States has become more and more concerned—both diplomatically and economically—with countries outside of Europe. Germany features less prominently in the mind of American politicians, and Germans increasingly express an unambiguous preference for Europe over the United States.[2]

In terms of social and cultural developments as well, the Old World and the New have grown apart. Since the late 1980s, population has increased much more quickly in the United States than anywhere else in the Western world. The fertility rate has been on the rise, and today it is almost twice as high in the United States as in Germany. In addition, Americans have become increasingly religious in recent years. While churches

remain empty in today's Europe and Germany, 41 percent of all Americans attended church services regularly in 2003, and religious fundamentalism continues to win new adherents.

Furthermore, the ethnic composition of society is changing quite rapidly in the United States. Americans continue to claim German origins more than any other ethnic ancestry, and the European share of the American population is still predominant, although it is shrinking. The number of Hispanics and Asians immigrating to the United States has long exceeded the number of Europeans. If ethnicity is an indicator, North America, South America, and Asia are growing together, while Europe and North America are drifting apart.[3]

These social differences are compounded by historical experience, particularly over the past century. The course of U.S. history has been characterized by continuity and a steady rise to world power (or dominance). European history, in contrast, has been marked by repeated ruptures. Germany alone has seen the collapse of five different regimes in less than a century. Furthermore, while U.S. patriotism has reached an unprecedented level in recent years, Germans have an uneasy relationship with their nation. They and their European neighbors are often irritated by Americans' nationalist pride and unshakeable belief in their country.[4]

Transatlantic Ties and Late Cultural Transfer

Even though the political, social, and cultural divisions and the "intellectual dissonances" between Germany and the United States have often been deep,[5] historians have primarily been concerned with the close ties between the two countries.[6] This is particularly true of the post–World War II period. Today we know more, and in greater detail, about the complex relationship between Germany and the United States in this period than about the relationship between the United States and any other country.[7] To be sure, the United States had a profound influence on West Germany after 1945. It not only constructed and defined the framework of West German security and economic welfare but also exercised a more subtle but equally far-reaching influence over West German society and culture. After 1945, media, science, art, and architecture were increasingly inspired by the United States, and the introduction of American mass culture and consumerism had a major impact on everyday life in West Germany.[8]

It has been argued that cultural transfer cannot be a one-way con-

nection, that it is mutual and intercultural, and that it always affects both sides involved.[9] Nevertheless, in the case of postwar West Germany and the United States, the German influence on American culture seems insignificant in comparison to the influence of the United States on Germany. Many of the discussions in recent decades about Germany's future—whether they have emphasized the military or economic well-being, city planning, or the restructuring of universities—are debates about "American models." Germans have often embraced and, perhaps more often, rejected those models, but they have rarely ignored the "American option." The United States, in other words, is very much on the Germans' mental map.

In their worldviews, Germans and Americans may have grown apart since the height of the Cold War, but their lifestyles have grown closer. The economies of the two countries are inextricably connected, and a dense network of institutional ties exists between them. Interestingly, when the ideological gap between Germany and the United States widened, the transatlantic dialogue on culture and politics intensified almost immediately. During the Cold War, a "natural partnership" seemed to exist between Germany and America; in more recent years it has become clear to analysts on both sides of the Atlantic that such a relationship is never natural and must be continuously constructed and reconstructed, negotiated and promoted, if it is to remain vital.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Atlantic was still a geographic obstacle to frequent cross-continental encounters and a barrier to communication. Radio, television, airplanes, and the Internet had not yet come into existence. A round-trip voyage across the ocean by passenger ship took several weeks. Only a few of the more prominent German scholars and none of the leading German politicians or members of the ruling nobility visited the United States in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.[10] German foreign policy focused almost exclusively on matters that arose within Europe, and America's concern with Old World politics—with the exception perhaps of the Cuba controversy and the resulting war with Spain—was incidental as well.

By most measures, the United States was still isolated in 1900. German-American political relations were of little relevance for the course of world history.[11] But German-American encounters were nonetheless extensive throughout the nineteenth century. The very fact alone

that 5.5 million Germans immigrated to the United States in the century before World War I had an enormous impact on U.S. society.[12] If German society began to experience increasing Americanization after World War I, the preceding century saw equally strong German influence on American institutions and communities.[13] Transatlantic travel and direct contacts were infrequent, but the cultural and intellectual exchange between Germans and Americans was nevertheless intense. For most of the nineteenth century, the immigrant subculture of German Americans was more diverse and visible than that of any other group in the United States.[14] Germans were concerned about slavery, outspoken in labor conflicts, active in religious communities, dedicated to education and school reform, and notoriously involved in the *Wirtshaus* (tavern) business.[15] In "frontier cities" such as Milwaukee and Ann Arbor, German Americans, especially women, were often the first group to establish insurance and pension programs, banks, schools, hospitals, churches and synagogues, charities, and theaters.[16] Moreover, they were involved in architecture, engineering, and the design of an urban infrastructure and were often responsible for the introduction of new methods in agriculture and forestry.[17]

"Intercultural transfer" from Germany to the United States was thus a multilayered and far-reaching process in nineteenth-century America. German institutions and ideas served continuously as models. Often those who adopted them were not aware of the transfer or its dynamics. In some cases, German-American agents of intercultural transfer played a significant role in promoting a collective German-American identity. German Americans such as General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, Johann Jakob Astor, August Roebling, and Carl Schurz, as well as prominent German visitors to the United States such as Alexander von Humboldt, were celebrated as "cultural heroes."[18]

In the absence of common religious and social roots, German-American ethnic festivals—*Sängerfeste* (songfests), *Turnfeste* (gymnastic events), and *Volksfeste* (folk festivals)—played an important role in the construction of a collective identity and ethnicity. In the course of World War I, however, when Germany and America faced each other as enemies, this distinctive culture disappeared almost entirely, and German immigration to the United States was never again to reach its pre–World War I level.[19] This caesura is reflected in the studies collected here, all of which deal with the period before World War I.

American Perceptions of Germany and German-American Encounters

For decades, historians have written about the German perception of America, but little research has been done on the American perception of Germany, the focal point of this book.[20] A number of issues account for this historiographical imbalance, which is related in part to the constellation of political circumstances and ideologies that prevailed after World War II. The U.S. military presence in Europe and the Americanization of German institutions triggered scholarly research on the origins and precedents of U.S. influence in Germany. Historians began to explore topics such as the *Amerikabild* (image of America) of the German revolution of 1848.[21] Another reason for the strong focus on German perceptions of the United States was the weight of sheer numbers. After all, many more Germans traveled to the United States than Americans to Germany during the nineteenth century, and they produced a rich body of materials—ranging from scholarly investigations to advice books for immigrants—that scholars have examined in detail.[22]

The chapters in this volume go beyond the analysis of cultural stereotypes. Most of them deal with individual travelers and their role as transatlantic intermediaries. In his study of American views of the kingdom of Saxony in the nineteenth century, Eberhard Brüning discusses the journeys of notable American scholars and writers for whom Saxony, particularly its capital, Dresden, was a favorite destination. The travels that Brüning describes are the cultural pilgrimages of an American elite. These travelers took their extended transatlantic journeys before the age of mass travel, but their observations touch upon the concerns of modern tourism as well. Practical hints about the prices of hotels, for instance, are as much a part of their writings as their comments about outstanding tourist sites and destinations. The scholars who set sail for the old continent were surely interested in university life and academic contacts, but they also came to Germany as for pleasure.[23] The American scholars' observations had great influence because they were often published in the form of travel books or guidebooks. This genre was intended, as Brüning points out, "to satisfy the curiosity" of potential travelers and "to provide them with all sorts of valuable information on where to go and what to see."[24] Clearly, the writings of nineteenth-century American travelers were among the most popular sources of

information on Germany, and they provide a highly romanticized view of the Old World.

Many nineteenth-century Germans traveled to the United States in order to encounter "the other": everything that their country was not.[25] The same is true for Americans who went to Germany. For Germans, "the other" consisted of phenomena such as American democracy, the diverse ethnic composition of American society, and the "untouched" landscapes of the West. For those Americans who went to Germany, on the other hand, "the other" might be found in royal courts with their ancient ceremonies and regal splendor, as in Brüning's example of Saxony; in the old libraries and theaters; and in the picturesque landscapes such as "Saxon Switzerland." The focus on (and in some cases the obsession with) symbols, sites, and ceremonies of bygone times was rooted in what one might call the voyeurism of the New World. Because aristocracy had no place in the United States, getting a glimpse of its splendor was intriguing to American visitors. The old continent and the new were separated in time as well as in space. If Germany symbolized the aristocratic past as it preserved the cultural traditions of old, America represented the "land of the future" for Germans.[26]

In their travel writings, Americans constructed mental maps that gave special meaning to a few selected sites, while many places remained unnoticed. In this cultural construction, Dresden embodied the tradition of a provincial court and capital, Leipzig was the city of international fairs, Weimar symbolized the tradition of classical literature, Göttingen represented the German university tradition, and so on. Germany, in other words, was not a unified scene in the eyes of Americans; instead—and this is one of the insights that Brüning's chapter offers—regional sites and the meaning that was attributed to them figured prominently in nineteenth-century American perceptions of Germany.

In his chapter on John Lothrop Motley, John T. Walker takes a close look at the role that one prominent scholar and diplomat played as a transatlantic actor and "interpreter of German culture" in the early nineteenth century. Motley's case is interesting for a number of reasons. First, he chose to travel to Germany and to learn the German language at a time when very few colleges in the United States offered German as a foreign language. Furthermore, he championed Goethe in a New England that was hostile toward the German writer's seemingly atheistic Weltanschauung.[27] Later on, Motley engaged in a transatlantic dialogue with

Otto von Bismarck, whom he had met as a university student in Göttingen in the 1830s.

By the mid-nineteenth century, only about two hundred American students had spent time at German universities.[28] Nonetheless, their influence in establishing cultural ties to Germany through their writings and the institutions they led can hardly be overstated.[29] The establishment of Round Hill School in Northampton, Massachusetts, by two Americans who were inspired by German school models—Joseph Green Cogswell and George Bancroft—was one of the early developments in cultural transfer and transnational institution building. Motley, who had attended Roundhill School, was moved to study in Göttingen by the examples of Cogswell and Bancroft, and he became one of the American promoters of contemporary German literature and philosophy in the early nineteenth century. Walker calls Motley a "transatlantic man" not only because he spent more than half of his life in Europe but also because the idea of "America as a product of European historical development" was at the core of Motley's worldview. For Motley, freedom was a transatlantic concept, and he used a progressive model to describe the evolution and dissemination of the idea of freedom; he believed that the origins of freedom could be found in Germany; he emphasized that the Anglo Saxons had spread the idea of freedom across the Atlantic; and he expected their example to play a role in Germany's future as "Prussian despotism" eventually gave way to the spreading of liberties.[30] What is remarkable about Motley's view of Germany is his optimism and his belief in the existence of a German-American community of values.

In a study of public institutions and urban communities in a "transatlantic world," Thomas Adam goes one step further. His interest lies in both the intellectual exchange and the actual transfer of ideas and organizational concepts across the Atlantic. Adam's study focuses on the establishment of two urban cultural projects, the Boston Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Both institutions would not have been founded without the engagement of two American scholars who had studied in Göttingen and Berlin, George Ticknor and George Fisk Comfort. Adam argues that Ticknor and Comfort formed the new American institutions according to European blueprints: The Boston Public Library was modeled after the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art followed the example of

German art museums founded on the initiative of middle-class civic associations.

In the case of the Boston Public Library, George Ticknor insisted on the introduction of a system of free book circulation to replace the older model of reference libraries that granted only restricted access to users. With regard to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, George Comfort borrowed the German model of using a private association as the organizational basis for establishing an art museum. These two institutions served in turn as models for subsequent projects in the United States. Furthermore, some of the ideas that evolved in the transatlantic process of adaptation—such as museum associations and popular education for social betterment (in the case of the Boston Library)—would later be "reimported" to Germany. Adam's contribution to this volume makes clear that the "transatlantic community" was constantly negotiated and renegotiated in a process of "cultural borrowing": The United States imitated and adapted European models, and Europe responded in kind.

Gabriele Lingelbach is more critical of the concept of transatlantic transfer than Brüning, Walker, and Adam. Her chapter focuses more on the transfer of structures from Germany to the United States and less on the role of individual actors and their ideas. In her sophisticated assessment of the institutional development of universities in Germany and the United States, Lingelbach rejects the traditional view that American college reform in the nineteenth century was heavily influenced by the German university model.[31] She not only questions the very existence of a unified "German model" but also convincingly demonstrates that cultural transfer was generally selective. Only individual elements of the German university system were imported, and many of them were adapted or "reinvented" to fit the American system. Lingelbach reminds us that any transfer "across cultural borders" is a complex process that cannot be described in simple terms.[32]

One of the complicating factors in the analysis of cultural transfer from Germany to the United States is the fact that the receiving society itself was very diverse. "American culture" was in reality a mix of multiple subcultures. In their contributions to this volume, Andrew P. Yox and Christiane Harzig focus on the German-American subculture. Their chapters are less concerned with the import of ideas, concepts, or institutions and more with the German migration experience itself. Yox uses German-American poetry as a source for understanding "the German-American mindset."[33]

German-American poetry has not been a topic of serious historical study.[34] Yox deserves special credit, therefore, for the "rediscovery" of this body of primary sources. In his chapter, he argues that "lost love" was one of the dominant themes of nineteenth-century German-American poetry. In contrast to poetry published at the same time in Germany, according to Yox, German-American poems showed almost no awareness of erotic love. In general, German-American poetry was descriptive rather than reflective or self-referential. It was less concerned with literary and philosophical traditions than its counterpart in Germany. "The heroes of the German poets" were, as Yox puts it, "scholars—such as Socrates, Plato, and Shelley—whereas those of the German-American poets" were "political and religious leaders."

German-American poetry displayed a set of emotions that was closely connected to the loss of enduring ties to Germany. It can thus help us reconstruct aspects of German-American identity. But we know very little about the social place of belles lettres in the German-American community; the production, distribution, and reception of this literature; and the authors and the way they saw themselves. Accordingly, much more research needs to be done.

In her contribution to this volume, Christiane Harzig argues that German-speaking immigrants in North America were much more subtly connected to Europe and Germany than most of the existing literature assumes. While earlier generations of scholars focused on socioeconomic or structural elements—such as the push-pull paradigm of migration—to describe the interaction between immigrants and their home country, Harzig demonstrates that the interconnection between German Americans and Germans affected virtually every aspect of life. She points out that, in Germany, there was great familiarity with the United States—and vice versa—even though the connection between the two continents was often based on imagination. The permanence and the intensity of this exchange, which took place in a number of different spheres (political, economic, institutional, and discursive), result in the construction of what Harzig calls "transatlantic space." Ultimately, she suggests, we should conceive of transcultural encounters "as taking place, not so much in two separate worlds," but as exchanges within a space that is characterized by "similarities and familiarities," by "subtle translations and adaptations."[35]

Some of the findings presented in this collection seem incompatible, at least at first glance. For Lingelbach and Yox, Germany and the United

States are separate worlds, oceans apart. The structures of German universities were never actually "transplanted" to America (Lingelbach), and German-American poets expressed sentiments of "uprootedness," not of an intimate connection with the homeland (Yox). For the other authors, the German and American worlds are much more closely connected through intellectual exchange (Brüning), shared traditions and values (Walker), the "borrowing" of institutional concepts (Adam), and the transcultural nature of everyday experience (Harzig). Nevertheless, taken together, the studies in this collection provide us with a picture of a transatlantic world that was based on the continuous exchange of ideas.

Even the chapters that emphasize close transatlantic ties make it very clear that each and every idea was *transformed* in the process of intercultural transfer. Nothing crossed the Atlantic without adaptation and change. Literary and personal encounters were common, but there were also barriers such as language and cultural prejudice. At the same time, the authors who claim that the ocean was a major impediment in the transplantation of institutions emphasize that transatlantic models shaped American discourse and structures. A variety of obstacles stood in the way of cultural transfer. It was easier, for instance, to create a *new* type of institution in America—like a public library or an art association—than to radically reform or restructure a larger *existing* body—such as the college or university system. In both cases, however, transatlantic models were central points of reference. The same is true for German-American poetry. The difference between works written by Germans and those penned by German Americans was unmistakable, but German Americans constantly referred to the Old World and its traditions.

With their focus on exchange, all of the chapters in this collection are written in the tradition of what Erich Angermann has called "Atlantic history," a conceptual approach that views "American history as part of an integrated history of North America and Europe."[36] All of them assume that the Atlantic was a sphere shared by both the Old World and the New. Rather than emphasizing the difference in developments on either side of the Atlantic—the German "Sonderweg" and American "exceptionalism"—the contributors to this collection suggest that the reference to concepts and ideas, if not the actual transfer, was vital throughout the nineteenth century.

It should not surprise us that cultural and social questions are at the

core of a collection that deals with German-American encounters before World War I. Whereas earlier generations of Atlantic historians were concerned mostly with the diplomatic, political, and economic ties between Europe and America, these chapters reconstruct the reciprocal images of Germany and America. They reveal prejudices, visions, and literary stereotypes; they discuss actual and virtual travel across the Atlantic; and they explain the role of individuals in the various processes of cultural and institutional transfer. All of these studies rest on the understanding of the fact that in the nineteenth century—much more so than in the twentieth or the present—it was not the major political or corporate players in Germany and the United States who set the tone of German-American relations but the educators and philanthropists, writers and scientists, and, above all, immigrants: ordinary women and men.

NOTES

1. Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Knopf, 2003); cf. also Kenneth W. Stein, "Americans Are from Mars—Europeans from Venus," in *Orlando Sentinel,* Apr. 21, 2003.

2. Cf. *Transatlantic Trends 2003: A Project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo* (Washington, D.C.: German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2003), 3.

3. Cf. Thomas Frankenfeld and Cornel Faltin, "Am Glauben scheiden sich die Kontinente," *Hamburger Abendblatt,* Dec. 30, 2003. Frankenfeld and Faltin also report that 95 percent of all Americans believe in God, and nine out of 10 U.S. citizens pray on a regular basis. Hartmut Lehmann, who has analyzed religion in a comparative transatlantic perspective and over a longer period of time, has argued that American society experienced a re-Christianization while secularization progressed in European societies. However, he also points out that there are many contradictory elements that need to be studied further. Cf. Hartmut Lehmann, "The Role of Religion in Germany and America in the 19th and 20th centuries," in *Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective,* edited by Elisabeth Glaser and Hermann Wellenreuther (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 69–81.

4. According to a new survey of American values by the Pew Research Center, 91 percent of Americans say they are very patriotic. Cf. "A Survey of America," in *Economist* (Nov. 8, 2003): 14.

5. This term is used by Konrad Jarausch in an excellent article about German-American misperceptions during the 1990s. Konrad H. Jarausch, "Intellektuelle Dissonanzen: Deutsch-amerikanische (Miss-)Verständnisse in den neunziger Jahren," in *Deutsch-amerikanische Begegnungen: Konflikt und Kooperation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* edited by Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001), 276–92.

6. For a plea to study both the differences and commonalities, cf. Erich Angermann, *Challenges of Ambiguity: Doing Comparative History,* German Historical Institute Annual Lecture series, no. 4 (New York: Berg, 1991); Erich Angermann and Marie-Luise Frings, eds., *Oceans Apart: Comparing Germany and the United States* (Stuttgart: Clett-Cotta, 1981); Elisabeth Glaser and Hermann Wellenreuther, eds., *Bridging the Atlantic: The Question of American Exceptionalism in Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999).

7. Cf. the 146 essays on German-American relations assembled by Detlef Junker, ed., and Philipp Gassert, Wilfried Mausbach, and David B. Morris, associate eds., *Die USA und Deutschland im Zeitalter des Kalten Krieges, 1945–1990: ein Handbuch,* 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999, German edition); published in English as *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also Axel Schäfer, "The Study of Americanization and German Unification: Institutional Transfer, Popular Culture, and the East," in *Central European History* 12 (2003): 129–44.

8. Cf. Alf Lüdtke, Inge Marssolek, and Adelheid von Saldern, eds., *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996); Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds., *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre* (Bonn: Dietz, 1998); Bernd Greiner, "Test the West: Über die 'Amerikanisierung' der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in *Mittelweg* 36 (1997): 4–40; Volker Berghahn, Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, and Christof Mauch, eds., *The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization in Transatlantic Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1999).

9. Among the best theoretical studies on intercultural transfer and on the related aspects of comparative history are Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung* (New York: Campus, 1996); Johannes Paulmann, "Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Historische Zeitschrift* 267 (1998): 649–85; Deborah Cohen, "Comparative History: Buyer Beware," in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 29 (2001): 23–34; Michel Espagne, "Sur les limites du comparatisme en histoire culturelle," in *Genèses* 17 (1994): 102–21.

10. Among them are Alexander von Humboldt, Friedrich List, Friedrich Ratzel, and Friedrich Engels. None of the German kings or emperors visited America, and neither did Otto von Bismarck. Ernst Fraenkel points out that, in order to reconstruct Bismarck's attitudes toward America, one has to study interviews with American visitors, such as Carl Schurz and Henry Villard. Ernst Fraenkel, *Amerika im Spiegel des deutschen politischen Denkens* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959), 33–34.

11. Certainly nobody could have foreseen that the next century would bring about the involvement of Germans and Americans in two world wars. For a general overview of German-American relations in the twentieth century, see Klaus Larres and Torsten Oppeland, eds., *Deutschland und die USA im 20. Jahrhundert: Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen* (Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997); for a comparative approach see Ragnhild Fiebig von Hase and Jürgen Heideking, eds., *Zwei Wege in die moderne Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Trier, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1998); also Christof Mauch, "Pazifismus und politische Kultur: die organisierte Friedensbewegung in Deutschland und den USA in vergleichender Perspektive, 1900–1917," in ibid., 261–92.

12. Cf. Günter Moltmann, "Charakteristische Züge der deutschen Amerika-Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestandsaufnahme einer 300 jährigen Geschichte,* edited by Frank Trommler (Opladen, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 40–49, 40. Cf. also Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, *Vor der grossen Flut: die europäische Einwanderung in die USA 1783–1820* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001); Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, eds., *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Perhaps the most notable exception of massive earlier exchange between Germany and America was the employment of the so-called Hessians by the British during the Revolutionary War. Cf. Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in Amerika, 1776–1783* (Darmstadt, Germany: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1996), and, more recently, Christof Mauch, "Images of America, Political Myths, Historiography: 'Hessians' in the War of Independence" in *Amerikastudien* [American Studies] 48(3) (2003), 411–24.

13. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) (A German translation is scheduled to appear in 2006 as part of the Transatlantische Historische Studien Series of Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.); Egbert Klautke, *Unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten: "Amerikanisierung" in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1900–1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003); Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin: American Cinema and Weimar Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Peter Berg, *Deutschland und Amerika, 1918–1929: über das deutsche Amerikabild der zwanziger Jahre* (Lübeck, Germany: Matthiesen, 1963); Manfred Berg, *Gustav Stresemann und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: weltwirtschaftliche Verflechtung und Revisionspolitik, 1907–1929* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1990); Michael Wala, *Weimar und Amerika: Botschafter Friedrich von Prittwitz und Gaffron und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen von 1927 bis 1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001); Gesine Schwan, "Das deutsche Amerikabild seit der Weimarer Republik," in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B26 (1986): 3–15; Philipp Gassert, *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda, und Volksmeinung, 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997); Philipp Gassert, "Amerikanismus, Antiamerikanismus, Amerikanisierung in der deutschen Gesellschaft," in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 35 (1995): 1–34.

14. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Phantomlandschaften der Kolonisierung: die

Deutschen und die Entstehung des pluralistischen Amerika," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Begegnungen,* edited by Trommler and Shore, 31–45, 34.

15. Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); Christof Mauch, "Zwischen Edelmut und Roheit: Indianer und Schwarze aus deutscher Perspektive: Sichtweisen des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Amerikastudien* 40 (1995): 619–36. With regard to labor conflicts, cf., for instance, Hartmut Keil, ed., *German Workers' Culture in the United States, 1850–1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850–1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1983). With regard to religion, see Christof Mauch and Joseph Salmons, eds., *German-Jewish Identities in America* (Madison: Max Kade Institute and the University of Wisconsin Press, 2003); Michael Hochgeschwender, "Wahrheit, Einheit, Ordnung: der US-amerikanische Katholizismus und die Sklavenfrage, 1835–1870," Habilitationsschrift, Universität Tübingen, 2003; Tobias Brinkmann, *Von der Gemeinde zur "Community": jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago, 1840–1900* (Osnabrück, Germany: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 2002). With regard to school reform, see Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). With regard to the taverns, see Ulrike Skorsetz, "Der Franzose wechselt die Mode, wir Deutschen dagegen wechseln die Wirtshäuser: Wirtshäuser und Bierkonsum aus der Sicht deutscher Einwanderer im neunzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996): 37–44.

16. Cf. Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Germans in Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003). On the role of women, cf. especially Anke Ortlepp: *"Auf denn, Ihr Schwester!" deutschamerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844–1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004); Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit, und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt: Deutschamerikanerinnen in Chicago um die Jahrhundertwende* (St. Katharinen, Germany: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991); Irene Häderle, *Deutsche kirchliche Frauenvereine in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1870–1930: eine Studie über die Bedingungen und Formen der Akkulturation deutscher Einwanderinnen und ihrer Töchter in den USA* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997); Anja Schüler, *Frauenbewegung und soziale Reform: Jane Addams und Alice Salomon im transatlantischen Dialog, 1889–1933* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004).

17. John Augustus Roebling, who constructed New York's Brooklyn Bridge, was perhaps the most prominent German-American engineer. Another example is architect Adolf Cluss, a Forty-eighter who was born in Heilbronn and had a major influence on architecture, city planning, and environmental politics in Washington, D.C., in the post–Civil War era. With regard to forestry, cf., for instance, Charles Hallock, "What the Germans Say about Wood Cutting," in *Forest and Stream* (Sept. 18, 1873), 89.

18. Willi Paul Adams, "Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutsch-

amerikaner," in Trommler, *Amerika und die Deutschen,* 165–76, 169f. On Alexander von Humboldt, cf. Andreas Daum, "The Invention of a Hero: Alexander von Humboldt in American Memory and Culture," paper presented at the Historikertag, Halle an der Saale, Germany, Sept. 12, 2002. Cf. also the report on this panel, Christof Mauch, "America in Germany, Germany in America," in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 32 (2003): 127–30.

19. Cf. Heike Bungert, "Die Festkultur der Deutschamerikanischer im Spannungsfeld zwischen deutscher und amerikanischer Identität, 1848–1925," Habilitationsschrift, Universität zu Köln, 2004. Bungert argues that German-American festive culture did not disappear entirely after World War I, but sites of German-American memory were now located in America rather than Germany. For a variety of issues relating to festive culture in U.S. history, cf. Jürgen Heideking, Geneviève Fabre, and Kai Dreisbach, eds., *Celebrating Ethnicity and Nation: American Festive Culture from the Revolution to the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn, 2001). According to many scholars, the vanishing of German-American culture was already well on its way before the onset of World War I; cf., for instance, Charles Thomas Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901–1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); Jörg Nagler, *Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: "Feindliche Ausländer" und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000); Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

20. Among the exceptions are Hermann Wellenreuther, "Germans Make Cows and Women Work": American Perceptions of Germans as Reported in American Travel Books, 1800–1840," in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776,* edited by David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 41–63; Jörg Nagler, "From Culture to Kultur: Changing American Perceptions of Imperial Germany, 1870–1914," in *Transatlantic Images,* edited by Glaser and Barclay, 131–54; Holger Kersten, "A Tramp Abroad: Mark Twain sieht Deutschland," in *Amerikanisches Deutschlandbild und deutsches Amerikabild,* edited by Frank Krampikowski (Baltmannsweiler, Germany: Pädagogischer Verlag Burgbücherei Schneider, 1990), 136–55.

21. Cf., for instance, Eckhart G. Franz, *Das Amerikabild der deutschen Revolution von 1848/1849: zum Problem der Übertragung gewachsener Verfassungsformen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1958); Günter Moltmann, *Altantische Blockpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert: die Vereinigten Staaten und der deutsche Liberalismus während der Revolution von 1848/1849* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1973). One of the prominent examples of U.S. institutional influences after World War II is the impact of the United States on the German *Grundgesetz* (constitutional law). Cf. Edmund Spevack, *Allied Control and German Freedom: American Political and Ideological Influences on the Framing of the West German Basic Law* (Münster, Germany: Lit, 2001).

22. Cf., for instance, Ingrid Schöberl, *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland, 1845–1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990); Peter Brenner, *Die*

Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen, Germany: Max Niemeyer, 1991); Günter Moltmann, ed., *Aufbruch nach Amerika: die Auswanderungswelle von 1816/1817* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989); Juliane Mikoletzky, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur* (Tübingen, Germany: Niemeyer, 1988).

23. Brüning's analysis does not seem to confirm the view of Hermann Wellenreuther, who suggests that the first American scholars who visited Germany were mainly interested in German scholarship, whereas later generations came either with an interest in European (rather than German) culture or as curiosity seekers. Hermann Wellenreuther, "Germans Make Cows and Women Work," 47–48.

24. Brüning, 3.

25. This is the case with Julius Fröbel, Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg, Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, and many others. Cf. Peter Brenner, *Reisen in die Neue Welt,* 188ff.

26. Hegel had coined the term "the land of the future" in his lectures on the philosophy of history. Cf. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Sämtliche Werke,* edited by Hermann Glockner, 20 vols. (Stuttgart: Frommans, 1949), vol. 11, 120.

27. Edmund Spevack, in his study on Karl Follen, Motley's professor at Harvard, points out that the image of Goethe "had been almost entirely negative in America until the 1830s." Edmund Spevack, *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796–1840* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997), 157.

28. Daniel Fallon, "Deutsche Einflüsse auf das amerikanische Erziehungswesen," in Trommler, *Deutsch-amerikanische Begegnungen,* 99; Charles Franklin Thwing, *The American and the German University: One Hundred Years of History* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 42.

29. One of the finest case studies is Axel Schäfer, "W. E. B. Du Bois, "German Social Thought and the Racial Divide in American Progressivism, 1892–1909," in *Journal of American History* 88 (2001): 925–49.

30. On the idea of freedom in U.S. and German history, cf. these two essays: Eric Foner, "The Idea of Freedom in American History," 25–39, and Jürgen Kocka, "The Idea of Freedom in German History," 41–47, both in *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 34 (2004).

31. Cf. John A[lbrecht] Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1936), and Edward Shils, "Die Beziehungen zwischen deutschen und amerikanischen Universitäten," in *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne: Politik, Gesellschaft, und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert,* edited by Wolfgang Hartwig and Harm-Hinrich Brandt (Munich: Beck, 1993), 185–200.

32. Cf. also Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey, eds., *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002); Kiran Klaus Patel, "Transatlantische Perspektiven transnationaler Historiographie," in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 29 (2003): 625–47.

33. Andrew P. Yox, "The Fate of Love," this volume, 1–2.

34. Brent O. Peterson has been one of the very few scholars who has argued that we should study German-American literature; Brent O. Peterson, "Wie—und warum—man deutsch-amerikanische Literatur lesen sollte," in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Begegnungen,* edited by Trommler and Shore, 117–34.

35. Harzig, 43f; cf. also Dirk Hoerder, Christiane Harzig, and Adrian Shubert, eds., *The Historical Practice of Diversity: Transcultural Interactions from the Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World* (New York: Berghahn, 2003).

36. Glaser and Wellenreuther, "Introduction," in *Bridging the Atlantic,* 1; Erich Angermann, *Challenges of Ambiguity: Doing Comparative History* (New York: Berg, 1991).

EBERHARD BRÜNING

"Saxony Is a Prosperous and Happy Country"

American Views of the Kingdom of Saxony in the Nineteenth Century

> As far as I have yet seen, Saxony is a prosperous and happy country. The people are noted all over Germany for their honest, social character, which is written on their cheerful, open countenances.
>
> BAYARD TAYLOR, 1845

Right from their very beginnings, American cultural life in general and American literature in particular have been both nationalistic/provincial and international/cosmopolitan, both "New World" oriented and European minded. Because of this historic dualism, a considerable amount of ambiguity—affection and condescension, transatlantic understanding and cultural misreading—has developed over the past centuries and influenced positions and opinions on both sides of the Atlantic. American intellectuals past and present have always revealed a lively interest in Europe to which they usually refer as the "old country" or the "Old World."

When shortly after the end of the Napoleonic Wars a considerable number of well-to-do citizens and members of the intellectual elite of the United States—writers, artists, scholars, clergymen, journalists, and education-minded people of the New England states and the Old South—set sail for Europe, eager to absorb the admired and highly valued literary, cultural, and scientific treasures of the Old World, Germany became a much sought-after and favored target. Most of the young American intellectuals, who very often took up positions as influential representatives of American science, culture, and diplomacy in their later years, at first gave preference to Göttingen and Berlin as places for learning (Leipzig took the lead in the second half of the nineteenth century). However, when it came to the question of personal enrichment in the realms of aesthetics and fine arts or the cultivation of a refined cultural

and human intercourse—even learning the German language—"the little kingdom of Saxony" achieved priority from the beginning. This phenomenon soon developed into a fruitful and interesting transatlantic dialogue and German-American cultural exchange. American authors such as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and James Russell Lowell, all of whom played an eminent role in the development of early American literature, were full of praise for Saxony and especially appreciated the sights and manifold cultural and social advantages of Dresden, the "Florence on the Elbe." A few days in Dresden in the spring weather in 1860 satisfied Henry Adams that it was "a better spot in general education than Berlin. . . . The Sixtine Madonna and the Correggios were famous; the theatre and opera were sometimes excellent, and the Elbe was prettier than the Spree."[1]

The first, and one of the most important, of all of the prominent and high-ranking citizens of the United States who traveled in Saxony and took up residence for a shorter or longer period in Dresden or Leipzig was John Quincy Adams, the diplomat and scholar ("the father of German studies in America"), son of the second president, and himself the sixth president of the United States (1825–1829). As early as the summer of 1781, he passed through Saxony and spent one day in Leipzig while en route to St. Petersburg to serve as a private secretary and French interpreter for the U.S. minister to the Russian court. After his own appointment as U.S. minister to the Prussian court in Berlin (1797–1801), Adams twice traveled with his wife and servants through Saxony ("The land is everywhere as much cultivated as its nature will admit") and stayed at the Dresden Hôtel de Pologne for nearly two and a half months in 1799. In 1800 he again paid a short visit to Leipzig.[2]

George Ticknor, Boston scholar and first occupant of the famous Harvard chair in Spanish and Italian literature, visited Saxony extensively in 1816, 1835–1836, and 1856. Another visitor was John Lothrop Motley, historian, author, and U.S. minister to Vienna and London. These two outstanding Americans, by their intimate knowledge of Dresden and the court of the House of Wettin, broadened the American view of Saxony in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their letters, diaries, and travel chronicles reflect both their spontaneous and vague impressions and their earnest endeavors to understand the history and the social and cultural daily life of this little German kingdom with its two main urban centers, Dresden and Leipzig.

Dresden from the right bank of the Elbe River on the lower side of the Augustus Bridge by Bernardo Bellotto, 1748. Courtesy of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Galerie Alte Meister.

The rapid increase in travel by Americans naturally furthered the demand for travel literature. Popular travel books and guidebooks presenting overviews of the European tour came into vogue. Intending to satisfy the curiosity of the potential "innocents abroad" as well as to prepare them to deal with unfamiliar and unexpected experiences and encounters, they provided all sorts of valuable information on where to go and what to see. For those who would stay at home, such "travel books"—in spite of all of their authors' obvious bias and subjectivity—fulfilled a function very similar to our modern media. Here, testimony, instruction, firsthand information, and on-the-spot observations, often combined with entertainment, were offered to the astounded reader, though, of course, in comparison with our day, with a considerable lapse of time.

One of the most interesting and historically informative descriptions of an American's impressions while traveling in Germany is Henry Edwin Dwight's book *Travels in the North of Germany, in the Years of 1825 and 1826,* written in the then much-appreciated "letters from Europe" style. Dwight, the eighth son of the famous "Connecticut Wit" Timothy Dwight, graduated from Yale after having studied at the University of Göttingen from 1824 to 1828. After his return to the United States, he established a boarding school called the "New Hampshire Gymnasium" and lectured in New York and Philadelphia on his European experiences. Dwight's travel book was widely read by the New England intellectual

The Sixtine Madonna by Raphael (Raffaello Santi, 1483–1520), 1512–1513. Courtesy of Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Galerie Alte Meister.

elite. The prestigious *North American Review* reviewed it extensively and welcomed its "many valuable details."[3] The Germanophile John Lothrop Motley must also have been familiar with Dwight's book before he went to Europe to enroll at Göttingen University in 1832, for immediately after his arrival he wrote to his mother that the accounts of the German duels about which she, too, had read in *The Travels in the North of Germany* were very accurate and "not in the slightest degree exaggerated."[4]

The diverse impressions, experiences, and observations about their

journeys through Saxony in the 1840s and 1850s that globe-trotters such as Bayard Taylor, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and Charles Loring Brace laid down in their "travel chronicles" are no less revealing and informative than Dwight's reports. At times amusing and entertaining, some even poke fun at what their authors thought were rather "exotic" or odd customs of the Saxon lifestyle, thus successfully catering to the humorous sensibility of their curious American readers.

Taylor, world traveler, author, professor of German (world-famous translator of Goethe's *Faust*), and U.S. minister to Berlin, was a man of wide mental range and unusual capacity. He had, first and foremost, made a name for himself as the author of a great number of travel chronicles about Europe, Africa, and Asia. In the United States, he became the unchallenged authority on foreign countries during this time. One of the best-known travel books of the midcentury and the direct offspring of his popular letters-from-Europe series as a correspondent of the *New York Tribune* carries the effective and suggestive title *Views A-Foot, or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff* (1846).[5] This book contains portrayals of Leipzig and Dresden that are outstanding for that period of travel writing. Above all, the capital of Saxony and the landscape surrounding it must have made a deep and lasting impression on him. Years later, Taylor took many of the travel accounts published in *Views A-Foot* and, under the title "Dresden and the Saxon Switzerland with Illustrations," included them in his large-sized, representative series, *Picturesque Europe* (1879).

In his loosely arranged assembly of sketches titled "Invalid Rambles in Germany, in the Summer of 1845," Nathaniel Parker Willis—author of many literary works and a prolific and very popular Boston journalist who had become America's first paid foreign correspondent—successfully attempted to amuse his "naïve readers" back home with a number of seemingly strange and absurd, old-fashioned, and humorous episodes from his day-to-day experiences in a foreign culture. Again the two main cities of Saxony—Dresden and Leipzig—with all of their distinctive characteristics and peculiarities provided him with ample material that was easily marketable to and well received by a clientele hungering for "exotic food" and adventures in "terra incognita."

Charles Loring Brace—a New England travel writer and philanthropist—was more concerned with serious instruction and less interested in the amusement or popular entertainment of his reading audience. In his *Home-Life in Germany* (1853), a whole chapter is dedicated to Dresden.

He also clearly defined the precarious political and geographical situation of the Kingdom of Saxony, encircled and always hard pressed by Austria and Prussia, two great powers continually lusting after lucrative booty. Brace particularly stressed the peacefulness of the inhabitants of this "quiet, inoffensive territory."[6]

Various autobiographical notes, letters, and diary entries by prominent Americans of the nineteenth century such as Henry Adams (author, historian, and grandson of John Quincy Adams), Hugh Swinton Legaré (scholar, U.S. attorney general, and secretary of state), Theodore Roosevelt (author and twenty-sixth president of the United States), Theodore Parker (Unitarian clergyman and transcendentalist), Charles Eliot Norton (art historian and literary critic), William James (philosopher and psychologist), Granville Stanley Hall (student of Wilhelm Wundt, author, and "father" of modern psychology in the United States), Horace Mann (educator, school reformer, and author), Horatio King (U.S. postmaster general and author), Philip Schaff (professor of theology, church historian, and author), and Lincoln Steffens ("muckraker" journalist and author) greatly enriched, sustained, and supplemented these main sources of the American image of Saxony.

In his insightful literary and cultural analysis, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (1994), William W. Stowe made the following remark: "By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the relatively steady rise of a leisured class of property owners and capitalists and the growing ability of the economy to support a class of educated professionals were creating a pool of privileged individuals who could act on their desire for the social and cultural distinction that Europe offered. These same developments, furthermore, were creating a large number of newly rich, socially insecure Americans, who used the trip to Europe to claim membership in a cultured upper class."[7]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, shortly after the Civil War and, in particular, during the so-called Gilded Age, a growing number of members of the leisured classes as well as of ambitious professional men and women started on their transatlantic "grand tour" ("Everybody was going to Europe—I, too, was going to Europe" [Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad,* 1869]).[8] However, more and more U.S. citizens, together with their families, also settled in European capitals or other places of interest in the Old World and thus became "American residents" there for quite some time. Often financial calculations and tempting pecuniary advantages fostered such a long-term settlement abroad.

In addition to this general aspect of money saving, one could allow oneself a much higher standard of living with less spending than at home. This helped to promote a sense of personal well-being and prestige. Mark Twain's long stay in Berlin (1891–1893) provides a good example. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany had a reputation as an extremely inexpensive country where the living costs were much below the average standard of the United States—"The living, in fact, is wonderfully cheap in many of the finest cities of Germany" (Washington Irving, 1822).[9] American travelers especially praised Dresden, a peaceful German residence that was not only rich in marvelous works of art and abounding with cultural events of all sorts but, in addition, blessed with lovely natural scenery and situated close to the romantic mountain range of Saxon Switzerland—"some of the most picturesque scenery in Europe" (Edward S. Joynes).[10]

A few days after his arrival in Dresden in November 1822, Washington Irving addressed a letter to C. R. Leslie in which he noted the following: "In Dresden, for example, I have a very neat, comfortable, and prettily furnished apartment on the first floor of a hotel; it consists of a cabinet with a bed in it, and a cheerful sitting-room that looks on the finest square. I am offered this apartment for the winter at the rate of thirty-six shillings a month. Would to heaven that I could get such quarters in London for anything like the money."[11]

James Fenimore Cooper, who visited Dresden with his family from May to August 1830, first took up residence in the elegant Hôtel de Pologne and later moved to "a cheerful apartment overlooking the Altmarkt." He, too, thought the Saxon capital a very inexpensive place: "Dresden is the cheapest place we have inhabited. . . . One can live in Dresden for about the same money as in New York."[12] Knowing where and how to get bargain prices and exploiting his fame as one of the leading authors of the New World, Cooper had the first English edition of his recently finished novel, *The Water-Witch,* printed under very favorable conditions by C. C. Meinhold and Sons in Dresden for the German bookseller Walthersche Hofbuchhandlung and then supplied the work to his translators and other publishers.

Such a favorable constellation makes it all the more understandable that the "German Florence" could boast of having a considerable "American colony" within its city walls, at least since the second half of the nineteenth century. "Of all the German capitals, none unites so many charms to invite the traveler, and especially to attract and detain for-

eign residents, as Dresden, the capital of Saxony," wrote Henry M. Field, Presbyterian clergyman and author of the travel book *Summer Pictures: From Copenhagen to Venice* (1859).[13] In May 1873, the editor of the *Baltimore American,* Charles Carroll Fulton, after visiting Dresden stated in his travel narrative, *Europe Viewed through American Spectacles* (1874), that Dresden is "the favorite city of Saxony for American residents."[14] On April 21, 1898, Andrew D. White, the U.S. ambassador to the German Empire, traveled from Berlin to Dresden in order to congratulate, in the name of the U.S. government, the Saxon king Albert on his seventieth birthday. In his *Autobiography* (1905), White reflects on this event: "Throughout our country are large numbers of Saxons, who, while thoroughly loyal to our republic, cherish a kindly and even affectionate feeling toward their former King and Queen. Moreover, there was a special reason. For many years Dresden had been a center in which very many American families congregated for the purpose of educating their children, especially in the German language and literature, in music, and in the fine arts; no court in Europe had been so courteous to Americans properly introduced, and in various ways the sovereigns had personally shown their good feeling toward our countrymen."[15] The final statement of this quotation shows why the Kingdom of Saxony and its capital were at the forefront of other central European tourist attractions and places of interest in the eyes of American globe-trotters and residents.

Even those representatives of the New World who presented themselves as strict antimonarchists and never got tired of praising the democratic and liberal principles and advantages of their republic considered the royals of the House of Wettin as exceptional personalities and the Dresden court as an institution that demanded their esteem and thankfulness. On the one hand, William Dean Howells, after a short stop at Stuttgart on his way to Venice in 1861, was deeply shocked at the immoral lifestyle of this "little German capital" and its dynasty. His impressions became an all-out condemnation: "Germany is socially rotten—and the Germans have a filthy frankness in their vice, which is unspeakably hideous and abominable to me" (letter to his sister Victoria, April 26, 1862).[16] Henry Adams, who had experienced Berlin in 1858 as "a nightmare . . . in the remote Prussian wilderness . . . overridden by military methods and bureaucratic pettiness," came to the conclusion that "German manners, even at Court, were sometimes brutal."[17] On the other hand, George Ticknor, who was well acquainted with Germany and many of its courts, noted the following in his diary as early as 1836:

"Fortunately, the Court of Saxony is a truly moral, respectable, and, in many respects, quite an intellectual Court, so that the tone of the society about it is good."[18]

When traveling from Prussia to Saxony via Weimar in November 1835, Ticknor had already recognized that wherever the dynasty of the House of Wettin (in both its lineages) ruled, there prevailed "that peculiar air of advanced civilization which provides not only for the physical well-being of the whole people, but for their enjoyment of what is beautiful in nature and the arts, which I think is characteristic of the rule and influence of the Saxon families, wherever they have been extended. . . . Everybody here can read and write, and it is even a punishable offence in parents not to send their children to school. The love of what is beautiful, too, descends much lower in society, I think, than it does anywhere else."[19]

George Ticknor was presented to the king on December 26, 1835. The respective entries in his journals describe not only the colorful, old-fashioned ceremonies that had the flavor of bygone times but at the same time stress the agreeable atmosphere, the pleasant conversation, and the unconstrained form of communication between the royal family and the company. According to Ticknor's observations, kindliness and intellectual refinement mingled so largely with the regal splendor of this court that it truly formed the heart of society for the Saxon nobility, as well as for the foreigners who then visited Dresden.

A dozen years earlier Washington Irving had felt himself deeply impressed by "this little Kingdom of Saxony" and its court, which took pride in both the encouragement of fine arts and education and a kind, unrestrained, and respectable intercourse with foreign visitors. The attention and homage the Germans paid to authors and scholars and, in particular, the warm-hearted welcome that Irving had received from his Dresden admirers fascinated and downright flattered him: "I have been most hospitably received and even caressed in this little capital, and have experienced nothing but the most marked kindness from the king downwards. My reception, indeed, at court has been peculiarly flattering, and every branch of the royal family has taken occasion to show me particular attention, whenever I made my appearance" (letter to his brother, Dresden, March 10, 1823).[20]

There was, however, one outstanding member of the royal family, Prince John, who, as the very symbol and shining light of the "intellectual Saxon Court," became a first-rate partner for all learned Americans

whenever they paid a visit to Dresden. This scholarly pretender to the throne of Saxony, enthroned in 1854, not only was an efficient administrator but also made a name for himself and was highly respected by international experts as an excellent translator and commentator of Dante's *Inferno*. Ticknor characterized Prince (King) John as a very agreeable man "of quiet, studious habits and a good deal of learning" whose "manner is simple and frank, sometimes a little modest and distrustful." He also considered him a well-informed statesman who "spoke pretty good English, as well as excellent French."[21] Particularly during Ticknor's second stay in Dresden (1835–1836), Prince John repeatedly invited the American scholar to his residential quarters to converse with him on literary matters or to discuss various subjects of common interest. This was the beginning of an acquaintance that ripened into friendship and produced frequent correspondence that lasted until Ticknor's death in 1871.[22]

In 1852 John Lothrop Motley, another prominent New England historian and expert in German literature and language, presented himself at the court in Dresden and paid his respects to Prince John of Saxony, who received him "informally" with "great kindness" and "politeness": "He spoke with much affection and respect of Mr. Ticknor, and alluded in terms of high praise to his History. He also spoke of Prescott's works, particularly the 'Conquest of Mexico,' with admiration. . . . You are perhaps aware that the said Prince John would have been a distinguished professor, if he had not happened to be born in the purple. It is not as a Prince merely, that his acquaintance was worth cultivating. . . . Prince John's translation of Dante's 'Divina Commedia' has really great merit. The notes and illustrations, furnishing a running commentary on that great poem, have been translated and are much esteemed in Italy" (letter to his father, Dresden, May 18, 1852).[23]

Motley's first encounter with Dresden's high culture, however, dates back to the spring of 1834, when, on his way from Berlin to Vienna, he made a short stopover in the Saxon capital. Provided with a letter from "Madame de Goethe . . . to a Countess Finkenstein of Dresden, an old lady who lives in Tieck's family,"[24] he was introduced to Ludwig Tieck—"since Goethe's death . . . the acknowledged head of German literature"—with whom he was deeply impressed and whose play *Ritter Blaubart* he would translate into English in 1840.[25]

In 1851 Motley returned to Germany mainly to research his history of

the early Dutch Republic. Together with his wife and children, he then settled in Dresden, where they became American residents for a period of two years. He especially appreciated the quietness, the low living costs, and the excellent library facilities offered by this cultural metropolis on the Elbe: "It is a dull little place no doubt, but I like it the better for that. It is better for dull little people like ourselves. If I could get the hang of it, I could live as well for $2500 as in Boston for $5000. . . . And now add to the advantages here enumerated a magnificent library of 450,000 volumes, and very excellent opportunities for education, besides a very beautiful and picturesque country surrounding the city in all directions, and you will understand why Dresden is so often selected as a residence" (letter to his mother, Dresden, September 13, 1852).[26]

Indeed, here we are confronted with an extraordinary social and cultural phenomenon in nineteenth-century central Europe, no less exceptional and hitherto unheard of among his contemporary peers: a prince and monarch of an old German dynasty with a long autocratic tradition, profoundly, knowledgeably, and on an equal, unprejudiced basis—not insisting on strict court practices—communicating on friendly terms with foreign residents, outspoken American republicans and partisans of a democratic constitution, and freely exchanging opinions on social, philological, literary, and cultural questions of the past and the present. "If I were to see many more princes in Europe than I shall see, I should not find one so good a scholar, and few so entirely respectable in their whole characters, public and private," noted Ticknor in his journal on May 10, 1836.[27]

There was yet another member of the royal family, John's sister, Princess Amalia, who effectively contributed to the favorable American image of Dresden's cultural and intellectual scene. Ticknor was a great admirer of hers, often dined and conversed with her, and particularly cherished her plays (written and produced under the pseudonym "Amalia Heiter").[28] Back in the United States, Ticknor mailed two newspapers from New York and Boston to Prince John, containing translations of Princess Amalia's plays *Der Oheim* and *Die Verlobung* ("It will amuse her to see how popular she is in the New World," Boston, March 15, 1842).[29]

Besides those two prominent figures of the House of Wettin, a host of lesser-positioned members of the Saxon nobility and of the educated middle classes helped to contour this much-admired, highly cultivated atmosphere of the Kingdom of Saxony in that period. Outstanding rep-

resentatives of the middle classes, authors, artists, scholars, and scientists such as Ludwig Tieck, C. G. Carus, Karl Förster, Heinrich G. L. Reichenbach, Christoph A. Tiedge, and Moritz Retzsch or learned aristocrats such as Count Baudissin, Baron Bülow, Baron Herder, and Baron Lindenau ("I think he is, on the whole, the wisest man I have seen since I left America" [Ticknor, 1836]) are just a few of the locally and internationally respected celebrities who were frequently mentioned by American visitors of standing.[30]

Two years before his death, recollecting his rich Dresden experiences of bygone times, George Ticknor, in a long letter to his royal friend in Dresden, very convincingly pointed out some of the essentials of the mid-nineteenth-century American image of the Saxon residence and court: "No small number of the richer, and more favoured of my countrymen and their families are now in Europe, led there by the attractions of its great capitals and the cheapness of living, which here owing to our taxes is become costly. But, I think, that, in proportion to its size, no city draws so many as Dresden. . . . I think, that it is now become for Americans, who seek a pleasant residence and a good place for the education of their children, the favourite city of Europe. It is a capital of moderate size, with the intellectual and artistic resources of one of the largest—all under a kindly and faithful government, which, as we know, protects and favours strangers" (letter to King John, Boston, July 4, 1869).[31]

Saxony—its people, its court, and especially its residence—were held in high esteem and very often provoked feelings of sympathy and great respect in most of the transatlantic travelers and visitors who have written their impressions of this German state. Some American authors of travel narratives became so enthusiastic that they seemed to have forgotten the republican and antifeudal standpoints they had persistently expressed elsewhere. The "idyllic" Saxon city (under monarchical tutelage) was not only idealized but also praised as an attractive model for U.S. cities. In his travel book *Home-Life in Germany* (1853), Charles Loring Brace declares pathetically, "I have found Dresden in its full spring beauty—so green, sunny, quiet, trustful—a beautiful city now. The parks and gardens and squares full of pleasant groups, the women sitting sewing, and the children playing in the sunlight, or listening to the bands of music. Oh! When will an American city learn so to provide its free population health, beauty, broad fields and cheerful landscapes, as these German princes have done for their subjects?"[32]

Americans rated the Dresden sovereign and his government high and

placed them at the top of all those things they admired in Saxony. They saw a close correlation between "the wise and liberal administration of the government" ("There is more freedom in Saxony than in any other part of Germany. By this I mean, a greater freedom of speech, and a comparative exemption from taxes" [Dwight][33]) and the industry, prosperity, education, and peacefulness of its inhabitants. Ticknor, very much distressed at the news he had received from Dresden about the "terrible outbreak" of May 6, 1849, found it "absolutely incredible, that there should be any large body of the people of Saxony so dissatisfied or so suffering, as to be willing to risque their lives to obtain changes which the King finds it contrary to his duty to grant."[34] In his letter to Prince John, he raises the suspicion that these "violent men" who plotted a revolution and the overthrow of the government were mainly foreign "agents provocateurs" and very unlikely to be people born and bred in Saxony. Ticknor argues further: "The government of your family has been too kind, too faithful, too paternal;—the people are too well off in their material resources and have been too well taught to understand their own position and rights, as well as what they owe to others to be much infected with a spirit of violence."[35]

Brace, too, described the inhabitants of Saxony as a peace-loving people who deeply abhorred war and social turbulence: "It did not need a day's intercourse with my friends and acquaintances, to show that I was among an entirely different population, from what I had seen in Prussia. Saxony has been a small, unimportant country, having most to fear from contentions, and very little to expect in war, so that gradually the whole nation has acquired a peaceful, ease-loving, almost effeminate character. National pride it has not—only national fear; and the whole mind and strength of the country have turned to art and quiet intellectual pursuit. . . . Their scholars . . . rather hide their heads in their books and specimens, that they may not hear the storms which are raging all around them."[36]

As early as 1826, Henry E. Dwight, traveling in the north of Germany, recognized the great differences in the socioeconomic situation and the character of the people of Prussia and Saxony. He contrasted the "prosperous and intelligent Saxons," who "are more cultivated, and possess a superior character, to any equal number of subjects on the continent," with the poverty-stricken Prussians.[37] He also observed the obvious antipathy both had built up against each other: "But little cordiality of feeling exists between the Saxons and the Prussians. The former complain of

the latter as cold, proud, insolent, and inferior to themselves in the love of learning, which has for so long a period distinguished Saxony, even in Germany. This dislike, which commenced as early as the invasion of this kingdom by Frederick the Great, has acquired new strength by its recent divisions."[38]

Dwight's sympathy for Saxony is striking. In his comment on the Pressburg peace treaty of May 1815, he severely criticized the extension of the boundary line of Prussia far into Saxony, which had been decided by the Holy Alliance and obliged the Saxon monarch to renounce approximately one-third of his territory and population. He condemned such conduct as an "act of injustice" and called it "a robbery," unworthy of the civilized world—"posterity will brand the authors of it with the infamy they deserve."[39]

It is remarkable how exactly and knowledgeably this American traveler and author described and explained the sociopolitical situation of Saxony in the post-Napoleonic era and how precisely he defined the behavior and feelings of the Saxon population at that time. Dwight's observations and generalizations of what he thought significant and characteristic of Saxon mentality were based primarily on his experiences and impressions of Leipzig, a city that had attracted his attention as a flourishing urban center of commerce, culture, and learning as well as of great historical importance, especially in connection with Napoleon's defeat in the famous Battle of the Nations in 1813. Leipzig, in all its complexity of present activities and memorable events of the past, seemed to him an almost ideal place for reflecting and speculating on Saxony's fate in general and its problems and assets in particular:

> Saxony has long been the great battle-ground of Germany, and Germany more than any other country, the battle-ground of Europe. The unfortunate situation of this country, placed as it is between the two great rival nations of the German Alliance, exposes it to invasion whenever either of the two powers shall sound the trumpet of war. . . . Saxony, which lies between Prussia and Austria, was so diminished in its territory by the Congress of Vienna, that it now forms one of the weakest European monarchies. . . . It is almost literally filled with inhabitants; but so rich is the soil, and so comparatively light are the taxes, that the peasants here are better clad, better educated, and enjoy more of the comforts of life, than in any part of Europe I have seen. They can universally read and write, while some of them take one or more newspapers, and have some knowledge of the literature of Germany. A few of them have libraries, and in this respect, as well as in the amount of

> their incomes, and in the comforts of life, they resemble our farmers of the northern states, more than any of the peasantry of the continent, many of whom are but little elevated above the blacks of the southern states. The villages here are much larger, cleaner, and better built, than any others in Europe, and are truly gladdening in the eye of the traveler, so long accustomed to the dirty villages of France and to the miserable-looking houses of the peasantry of sandy Prussia.[40]

As far as Saxony is concerned, American travel writing of the nineteenth century concentrated primarily on two cities and one scenic area—namely, Dresden, Leipzig, and Saxon Switzerland. Both urban centers of the Kingdom of Saxony were of great interest to the visitors from the New World and contributed markedly in all their diversities and singularities to the generally friendly and positive American image of Saxony.

Needless to say, Dresden, which "from a short distance . . . looks more Italian than German," became, as Willis put it, "the most lovely of halting-places for the traveller" with a special interest in European culture.[41] This quiet, "gemütliche," civilized, and culture-minded Saxon residence with its beautiful architecture, fine public gardens, and cultivated landscape transmogrified itself in the thinking and feeling of most American travelers and residents into some sort of idealized and glorified oasis or refuge where, "far from the madding crowd," they would be able to submit themselves to the influence of older civilizations and acquire choice tidbits of culture, experience, and education at a reasonable price.

All book-length travel chronicles of the nineteenth century that deal with Saxony actually grant unstinted praise to this peculiar atmosphere, one that made Dresden so attractive to foreign visitors. Bayard Taylor, the most famous travel expert of the United States, wrote the following in *Views A-Foot:* "We are now in the 'Florence on the Elbe,' as the Saxons have christened Dresden. Exclusive of its galleries of art, which are scarcely surpassed by any in Europe, Dresden charms the traveller by the natural beauty of its environs. It stands in a curve of the Elbe, in the midst of green meadows, gardens, and fine old woods, with the hills of Saxony sweeping around like an amphitheatre, and the craggy peaks of the Highlands looking at [*sic*] from afar. The domes and the spires at a distance give it a rich Italian look, which is heightened by the white villas, embowered in trees, gleaming on the hills around. In the streets there is no bustle of business—nothing of the din and confusion of traffic which mark most cities; it seems like a place for study and quiet enjoyment."[42]

Nathaniel Parker Willis, "pioneer" of popular magazine literature in

the United States and author of many travel narratives, had followed practically on the heels of his friend Taylor to Saxony. Adopting his countryman's perspective almost down to the smallest detail, Willis, who had also written an introduction to Taylor's *Views A-Foot,* summarized his own "Invalid Rambles in Germany, in the Summer of 1845" with respect to the "enchanting capital of 'Saxony, where the pretty maidens grow.'"[43] He says, "By general testimony, it is the most agreeable of the German capitals, as a residence for the tasteful and quiet, and a charming perch for the traveller tired of being on the wing."[44]

World-famous author Harriet Beecher Stowe, too, felt herself greatly attracted to the Saxon residence when, after the publication and sensational success of her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* she toured Europe in 1853. In her travel book *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands,* she warmly praises Dresden: "We almost think the Elbe another Seine: these Brühlsche gardens and terraces, these majestic old bridges, and cleft city, another Paris!"[45]

Twenty years later the journalist and newspaper editor Charles Carroll Fulton, viewing Dresden through his "American Spectacles" in 1873, found the city "almost as lively as Paris": "Our first impressions of Dresden have been more than realized by a five-hour drive through all its thoroughfares and suburbs, and we do not wonder at its being selected as the favorite resort for Americans residing in Europe. . . . The ancient city of Dresden was inclosed by a wall and moat, the site of which now forms a magnificent promenade, extending through the heart of the present city. Extensive palatial residences, surrounded by flower-gardens, statuary, and fountains, border this grand public square, which, to-day being bright and beautiful, is now thronged with people and blooming with flowers. The whole city has a gay and lively appearance, and the display of the stores far exceeds that of Berlin. The hotels are also better."[46]

An absolute must for all visitors to Dresden was, of course, an extensive round of the city's various museums and galleries. *Harper's Hand-Book for Travelers in Europe and the East* (1864) makes the following statement: "There are few capitals in Europe [that] can compete with Dresden in works of art, and none in the values of its immense collections of precious stones, curiosities, and objects of virtu [*sic*]."[47] The chief attraction of Dresden in the way of sight-seeing was the Gemäldegalerie (picture gallery), "one of the finest collections in Europe."[48] To Americans who appreciated art, it unanimously appeared "beyond comparison, the finest in Germany, . . . surpassed only by the great collections of

Paris and of Italy."[49] One picture, however, considered by far the most precious treasure of all in the gallery, was "Raphael's heavenly picture of the Madonna and Child . . . a miracle of art . . . a picture which one can scarce look upon without tears."[50] The universal enthusiasm for and admiration of this famous picture is without limit and defies rationality.

In a letter to his mother, dated September 13, 1852, Motley stated: "I am pretty well persuaded that the 'Madonna di San Sisto' is the first [*sic*] picture in the world." And after a detailed analysis of the picture, he summarized as follows: "I don't think that it is possible to exaggerate the beauties of this picture with regard to its suggestive effects. It has no fault as a composition, which is a great virtue, for even Raphael often has something which jars upon the mind, even in his most harmonious pictures. But here there is nothing discordant—everything is musical."[51]

Harriet Beecher Stowe, not less impressed by Raphael's masterpiece than Taylor and Motley, confessed in 1854: "I went back to Dresden as an art-pilgrim, principally to see Raphael's great picture of the Madonna di San Sisto, supposing that to be the best specimen of his genius out of Italy. . . . This picture, as unattractive to the fancy in merely physical recommendations, has formed a deeper part of my inner consciousness than any I have yet seen. I can recall it with perfect distinctness, and often return to ponder it in my heart."[52]

Besides the gallery of pictures that has made Dresden so famous throughout the world, the Green Vaults, "a collection of jewels and costly articles, unsurpassed in Europe,"[53] and the Royal Library were two other attractions frequented by American visitors and given attention to by earlier American travel chronicles and guidebooks.

Leipzig, the second important urban center of the Wettin territory, is another good reason for the favorable American image of Saxony in the nineteenth century. Because of its renowned university and conservatory, its international fairs and lively trade relations with the New World, and the fact that it harbored the first U.S consulate in the Kingdom of Saxony (established in 1826), the city had attracted the attention and curiosity of many an American commercial entrepreneur, traveler, and student as far back as colonial times.[54] It has, however, always ranked below Dresden in the favor of U.S. citizens visiting Saxony. Leipzig could never compete with the charming "Florence on the Elbe" with respect to its architecture, refined cultural life, or surrounding landscape. The attractions of this metropolis in the northwest of Saxony were of a different kind—more of interest to businesspeople, scholars, and students and less to leisure-

seeking travelers or sightseeing tourists. For some prominent American travelers, such as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, Leipzig simply became a more or less convenient stopover en route to or returning from Dresden.

Irving, on his way from the Saxon capital to the Harz mountains in the summer of 1823, stopped for a weekend in Leipzig, where he stayed at the Hôtel de Hamburg ("very clean—prettily furnished—people extremely civil") and later walked to the observatory for a quick look over the city and its environs ("Old Keeper pointed out the whole scene of the Battle of Leipsic [*sic*]" and "Lützen where Gustavus Adolphus was killed").[55] He then visited the monument of the Polish general Poniatowski on the banks of the Elster River, where the latter had drowned, hurried to Auerbach's Cellar to drink a glass of lemonade, and, in the evening, went to the theater to listen to Madame Weisserman, who played the "Schöne Müllerin" and "sang charmingly." The final statement in Irving's journal reads as follows: "Some of the Streets in Leipsick [*sic*] are very picturesque."[56] Cooper also interrupted his journey from Dresden to Paris in Leipzig for a couple of days in August 1830. There is only one brief entry in his journal: "Town small, but clean. The boulevards beautiful."[57]

Stowe allowed herself only one day in Leipzig to meet the publisher Tauchnitz and to see the city and the spot where Napoleon stood during the Battle of the Nations in 1813. As early as 1816, however, George Ticknor had, in passing, already presented an intelligent and a truthful portrayal of this interesting city. Outlining its merits and advantages, he generalized in his letter to Edward T. Channing:

> Leipsic [*sic*] is a very remarkable place, and presents itself to everybody who comes with a judicious acquaintance with it, under three distinct forms, a city associated with many famous recollections in early history, and the Marathon of our own times, where the inroads of a tumultuous barbarism were finally stopped; as a trading city, for its size the most important in Europe; and as a University, one of the largest, most respectable, and ancient in the world.
>
> The Second is, of course, the aspect in which it is first seen by a stranger; and I assure you, when I came again into the crowded streets and noisy population of a commercial city, after having lived an entire year in the silence and desolation of Göttingen, I felt almost as I did when I was cast among the multitudes of London, or as Cato did when he complained of the "magna civitas, magna solitude." But that, of course, is wearing off. I am making acquaintance with the people

> attached to the University, and thus begin to forget that I am in a trading city, to whose semiannual fair twenty thousand strangers resort.[58]

The American consul to Leipzig, Johann Gottfried Flügel, in his letters and reports to the U.S. government, also repeatedly outlined the great importance of this city for U.S. mercantile and intellectual interests. In a letter addressed to Martin Van Buren, eighth president of the United States, dated February 2, 1839, he wrote: "Leipsic [*sic*], from its central position, as a commercial place of the first magnitude, nay, as an emporium of European commerce, as a first rate University and resort of literature and its consequent very extensive booktrade, is resorted to by merchants and learned men from every quarter of the globe."[59]

Straightforward economic interests on both sides as well as great expectations of mutual advantage and profit were the real momentum and driving force of Saxon-American relations as they developed after the Revolutionary War. As a commercial center of the first rank in Europe, which, with its international fairs, had for a long time been the unchallenged distribution point for central Europe as well as an outstanding meeting place for buyers and sellers of goods from all over the world, Leipzig played a leading role in this dynamic process. High-ranking men of great political influence in the New World, such as Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, the two special emissaries sent to Europe by the Continental Congress, also took notice of Leipzig and the extensive trade that Saxony already had with products exported to the United States. Thus, when John Adams, later second president of the United States, submitted his *Reflections . . . on the general State of Affairs in Europe. So far as they relate to the Interests of the United States* (Aug. 4, 1779) to the president of the Congress, George Washington, he referred to the "Fairs of Leipzic [*sic*]" and their importance for the east-west trade in Europe as follows: "The Electorate of Saxony, with its fruitful soil, contains a numerous and industrious People, and most of the Commerce, between the East and the West of Europe passes through it. The Fairs of Leipzic [*sic*], have drawn considerable Advantages for these four Years from our Trade. This Power will see with Pleasure, the Moment which shall put the last Hand to our Independence."[60]

Drawing attention to the American interest in commerce with Saxony, W. E. Lingelbach, in an article titled "Saxon-American Relations, 1778–1828" (1912), describes the situation in 1779 as follows: "In the mean-

time, also, the Saxon merchants were invited in a more direct way to trade with America by William Lee during his mission as special commissioner to the courts of Prussia and Austria. He visited Leipzig and represented the opportunities and advantages of trade with the American colonies. Lists and samples of Saxon manufactures were given him, and much was expected in Leipzig from his efforts."[61]

The great fairs that were held in Leipzig at New Year's, Easter, and Michaelmas transformed the whole city into one large bazaar of almost oriental dimension and character, abounding with all sorts of wares and crowded with people of many nations—the so-called Messfremden—no small number of them clad in "exotic" costumes. In the center of the city were seemingly endless rows of booths (real "booth-villages") and open stalls with a rich and tempting display of goods. On the outside of the promenade that encircled the town were clusters of theatrical and show booths, refreshment stands, and stalls devoted to merrymaking. No less noteworthy, however, were additional markets like the "fruit market" and the "book market," which offered an intriguing variety of culinary and intellectual products. All of these would strike the visiting strangers as curious and naturally pique their interest. It is small wonder that especially transatlantic globe-trotters were taken by this fantastic "Welt im kleinen" (microcosm) and thought it the most entertaining and remarkable attraction in Leipzig.

Again, Dwight has to be credited with the first authentic description of and introduction to the peculiarities of the Leipzig fairs that set their singular stamp so visibly upon the face of this Saxon city two or three times a year: "The fair at Easter is much the longest, and at that time merchants resort here from every part of Europe. Eighty thousand strangers have been registered at the police-office at a single fair, but of these probably not more than one thousand were booksellers. They come from every country in Europe, from Russian Asia, and even from Persia. At this fair you hear every language, and behold every variety of physiognomy and costume, from the sea of Aral to Philadelphia, and from Archangel to Portugal. Europe and Asia are then brought together in the streets of this city. The traveller who wishes to write a description of lands which he has never seen, may here find materials to enliven the pages of his work."[62]

Almost twenty years later Willis amused his curious American readers with another eye-witness account of the Leipzig fairs and their picturesque scenes in his travel book *Rural Letters and Other Records of*

Thought at Leisure, which, besides some additional episodes and humorous "extras," did not differ very much from Dwight's earlier description. Willis enjoyed his strolls through the crowded city and its streets divided into two by a double line of booths placed back to back: "The rambles among the booths in the squares," he informs us, "are the most amusing, because the lanes are as narrow as a church aisle, and you pass between two rows of little shops with the goods on either side within reach of your arm—meanwhile, moreover, running a gauntlet of persuasions to purchase." He continues:

> The great values exchanged at the Fair are, of course, managed by samples and in warehouses out of sight, but there is a retail, apparently of every article on earth, carried on out of doors at the same time, and no museum could be more interesting than this strange aggregation, at one time and place, of supplies for the wants of all climates and customs. Everything is here. All that you could find in the Strand of London, in the Bezestein of Constantinople, in the Bazaars of Persia, in the windows of Maiden Lane, in the porticoes of the tropics, in the studios of Italy, in the tents of Hudson's Bay, or in the shops of Paris or Pekin, is laid out on these open counters in an array of "parlous" temptation! One should put his money into the hands of an "assignee" before he takes a walk in the Fair of Leipsic [*sic*].[63]

As a man versed in light literature, Willis knew how to write a story that was interesting and entertaining as well as informative and instructive based on the ample material of his observations and impressions. At least two of these fascinated him extraordinarily and inspired him to a couple of semiliterary excursions that still make good reading.

First, there was the fruit market, where Willis usually commenced his daily stroll. With wondering eyes he watched the pretty apple women of the fragrant apple lane, sitting in their open booths "below on a low stool, up to [their] knees in pears and apples," as well as the strange habit of the apple merchants of settling themselves for the night in a barrel filled with straw and laid on its side.[64] Second, there was the great variety of colorful and fancifully ornamented costumes—"bold experiments in coats, trousers, and moustaches"—which Willis compared to "the luxuriance of the city architecture."[65] These induced him to witty and ironic reflections on the character and nationality of those who wore them: "And I wonder, apropos, that artists do not make a yearly pilgrimage to Leipsic [*sic*], where they might copy from life, in one month, figures of

greater variety and picturesqueness, than could be met with in years of travel."[66]

Dwight and Taylor showed a special interest in the fair's flourishing book market and book trade. In particular, they stood in awe of the productivity and efficiency of the Leipzig publishing houses, which were of great importance for the city's commercial efforts and image. Taylor remarks on this phenomenon in his travel book of 1846 *(Views A-Foot):* "The streets of Leipsic [*sic*] abound with book stores, and one half the business of the inhabitants appears to consist in printing, paper-making and binding. The publishers have a handsome Exchange of their own, and during the Fairs, the amount of business transacted is enormous. The establishment of Brockhaus is contained in an immense building, adjoining which stands his dwelling, in the midst of magnificent gardens. That of Tauchnitz is not less extensive."[67]

Leipzig presented itself to the American intellectual elite and the learned traveler as both the central book market of Europe and Germany's most important metropolis of book publishing and printing. Works of classic and oriental literature and of all the modern languages of Europe, as well as books in German, were printed and distributed here: "The great book-sellers of Leipzig transact an amount of business unequalled by any in Europe," Dwight writes. He remarks further that the catalogue of books published at the fair in April 1826 contained the titles of almost six thousand works. Not a small number of these works consisted of up to five volumes—"the number of comparatively ponderous tomes must greatly exceed that of Paris or London."[68]

Leipzig was known as the predominant center for the distribution of material and intellectual goods, but, according to Dwight, it was no less distinguished for its "literary reputation" and its university, "one of the oldest, and one of the most celebrated in Germany": "This university, for a very long period, has been distinguished for the learning and talents of its professors, as well as for the number of its students. . . . For centuries it has been an intellectual Stromboli, or perpetual lighthouse to the mind. Over Saxony it has poured a flood of intelligence, rendering this land for ages the intellectual garden of Germany. Its influence on the world has probably been greater than that of any other institution on the continent, with the exception of the university of Paris. . . . Ask an inhabitant of the Rhine, the Vistula, the Danube, or the Baltic, where is the Attica of Germany, and he will answer, Saxony."[69]

In classical philology Leipzig University has always been preeminent. Among its professors was Gottfried Hermann (1772–1848), the most outstanding Greek scholar of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. Before he took up the Greek professorship at Yale in 1831, Theodore Dwight Woolsey (nephew of the "Hartford Wits" Timothy and Theodore Dwight and descendant of Jonathan Edwards), who, as president of Yale University, became one of the most powerful leaders in the United States, attended Hermann's lectures at Leipzig.

The fine reputation of Leipzig University continued and even increased in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was, therefore, by no means accidental that James Morgan Hart, professor of rhetoric and English philology at Cornell University, in his thorough study titled *German Universities* (1874), focused his attention on the *alma mater lipsiensis:* "I have selected Leipsic [*sic*]," Hart argued, "because it is, beyond question, the leading German university at the present day. . . . For breadth and variety of learning, and for activity, the Leipsic [*sic*] faculty is unrivaled."[70]

Though much absorbed in his studies and research of university life during his visits to Leipzig in 1872 and 1873, this well-informed American scholar nevertheless took careful note of the world around him, studying the outward manifestations of intellectual activities that were characteristic of the city's image. He was greatly impressed by the concentration and wealth of scientific and literary institutions and intellectual life—the scholars, instructors, and students at the university and the Conservatory of Music as well as the authors, highly educated teachers of the city's secondary schools, and expert personnel of the great publishing houses and countless periodicals—in a mainly commercial city. Hart states: "The city throbs with the pulsations of intense and sustained intellectual effort. Leipsic [*sic*] is the head-centre for the culture of the most productive nation of the present day."[71]

Commercial and intellectual activities, business efficiency, and academic reputation were, however, not the only distinctive indications of quality that induced American globe-trotters and travel-book writers to stop in Leipzig for at least a brief sightseeing tour. Leipzig, in spite of not being blessed with a "rich Italian look," a river of respectable size, or a mountainous environment of romantic character, offered quite a few architectural and natural attractions worth seeing. In his repeatedly cited travel book, *Travels in the North of Germany, in the Years 1825 and 1826,* Henry E. Dwight outlines all of these picturesque sights of the city that

later authors of travel narratives and guidebooks proudly presented to their readers as their own independent discoveries. Dwight praises the solid construction of the city's buildings, many of them adorned with projecting bays, typical of Leipzig town houses. He was also pleased with the beautiful promenades and gardens encircling the inner city and with the nearby recreation areas, such as the Rosental, to which Leipzig citizens, tired of the hectic and noisy city life, would resort for relaxation:

> This city is built of brick and stone covered with cement, which does not break off like that of Berlin. An appendage to many of the houses is peculiar. Over the doors, from the second story upward to the fourth or fifth, is a projection of four feet, by a breadth of eight to ten. Here are placed windows, through which the ladies can look up and down the street, without being observed. . . .
>
> Leipzig was formerly a fortified town. After the seven years' war, the fortifications were destroyed, the ditches filled up, and the ground converted into an English garden, which now entirely surrounds the city. It is laid out in very great taste, and is for its extent, one of the most beautiful promenades of Europe. . . .
>
> The rambles around this town are very beautiful, among which the "Rosental," the rosy valley, is the favourite one of the students and citizens. I know not whence it received its name, for not a rose blossoms there. The noble oaks which border it, render it much more beautiful than a vale of flowers; and as they stretch their arms out into the air, and shoot their tops towards the heavens, they strongly remind me of our western forests.[72]

Remembering the impressions and observations he had absorbed during his pleasant walks through the cultivated gardens and spacious parks outside the city during the summer of 1825, Dwight, who knew Germany and its attractive places well enough, gives full credit to this particular asset of Leipzig and waxes rather enthusiastic about it: "In the vicinity of this city are a number of gardens, to which the inhabitants resort every afternoon, at an early hour. In some of them you find from fifty to seventy arbours, with a table in each, around which the family is seated. On entering, a 'groschen' or two is paid by each individual, as a compensation to the musicians, who for this limited sum fill the air with melody. These bands of musicians . . . have obtained an excellence unknown in our own country. The most difficult pieces of Beethoven, and other distinguished composers of Germany, are there played with great animation."[73]

Taylor, too, greatly enjoyed "the chain of beautiful promenades" on which he took his first walk around the city after his arrival in Leipzig in May 1845: "Following their course through walks shaded by large trees and bordered with flowering shrubs. I passed a small but chaste monument to Sebastian Bach, the composer, which was erected almost entirely at the private cost of Mendelssohn, and stands opposite the building in which Bach once directed the choirs. As I was standing beside it, a glorious chorale, swelled by a hundred voices, came through the open windows, like a tribute to the genius of the great master."[74]

An excursion to the Rosental seemed to him all the more reason for expressing his sympathy with this Saxon city and its environs: "There are some lovely walks around Leipsic [*sic*]. We went in the afternoon with a few friends to the Rosental, a beautiful meadow, bordered by forests of the German oak. . . . There are Swiss cottages embowered in the foliage, where every afternoon the social citizens assemble to drink their coffee and enjoy a few hours' escape from the noisy and dusty streets. One can walk for miles along these lovely paths by the side of the velvet meadows, or the banks of some shaded stream."[75]

In spite of all this, however, Leipzig never became a real tourists' Mecca or a place for long-time American residents (except for students). Therefore, Taylor's conclusion at the end of his altogether very friendly portrait of Leipzig acquires an almost paradigmatic character: "In no place in Germany have I found more knowledge of our country, her men and her institutions, than in Leipsic [*sic*], and as yet I have seen few that would be preferable as a place of residence. Its attractions do not consist in its scenery, but in the social and intellectual character of its inhabitants."[76]

Inevitably, all those who longed for "Gemütlichkeit" (leisure and quietness), a refined cultural ambience, and a charming landscape had to leave Leipzig—"the second city in Saxony, and one of the most industrious and commercial cities in Europe"—out of their itinerary and wend their way to the world-famous "Florence on the Elbe."[77] A certain sensibility to the polarity of the two urban centers of Saxony is obvious. Notwithstanding all the commendable and appreciative comments about Leipzig by Dwight, Taylor, Willis, and other American travel writers of the nineteenth century, "Saxony viewed through American spectacles" first and foremost meant "Dresden viewed through American spectacles." Especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, American

travel books and guidebooks for the European tour concentrated on Dresden. Thus, the "image of Dresden" became more or less the "image of Saxony." Far from being a problem, this fixation on Dresden, "the loveliest city that most of the Americans had ever seen," steadily increased the appreciation of Saxony in the years that followed.[78]

Notable American Visitors to Saxony (1779–1914)

John J. Abel	1857–1938	Pharmacologist
Henry Adams	1838–1918	Historian, author
John Quincy Adams	1767–1848	Sixth president of the United States
Frederic de Forest Allen	1844–1897	First professor of classical philology at Harvard University
George Bancroft	1800–1891	Historian, U.S. secretary of the navy, minister to Great Britain and Germany
Henry Pickering Bowditch	1840–1911	First president of the American Physiological Society, dean of Harvard Medical School
Charles Loring Brace	1826–1890	Philanthropist, travel writer
James McKeen Cattell	1860–1944	Educator, psychologist
Joseph Green Cogswell	1786–1871	Educator, editor, librarian
James Fenimore Cooper	1769–1851	Author
William Edward Dodd	1869–1940	Historian, ambassador to Germany (Ph.D., Leipzig University)
W. E. B. Du Bois	1868–1963	Historian, author, founder of NAACP
Henry E. Dwight	1797–1832	Educator, travel writer
Ephraim Emerton	1851–1935	Educator, historian (Ph.D., Leipzig University)
Nathan Kirk Greggs	1844–1910	Lawyer, author, U.S. consul to Chemnitz
Dorothy Anna Hahn	1876–1950	Chemist, professor of organic chemistry

(continued)

Notable American Visitors to Saxony (1779–1914), *(continued)*

Granville Stanley Hall	1844–1924	Psychologist, first president of the American Psychological Association
James Morgan Hart	1839–1916	Professor of rhetoric and philology
Washington Irving	1783–1859	Author
William James	1842–1910	Psychologist, philosopher
Charles Hubbard Judd	1873–1946	Psychologist (Ph.D., Leipzig University)
Horatio King	1811–1897	U.S. postmaster general
James Hampton Kirkland	1859–1939	Educator, professor of classical philology, chancellor of Vanderbilt University (Ph.D., Leipzig University)
John H. B. Latrobe	1803–1891	Philanthropist, lawyer
William Lee	1739–1795	Diplomatic agent of the Continental Congress, special commissioner to the courts of Prussia and Austria
Hugh Swinton Legaré	1797–1843	U.S. attorney general, U.S. secretary of state
George Cabot Lodge	1873–1909	Author
Walter P. Lombard	1855–1939	Professor of physiology
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	1807–1882	Author
James Russell Lowell	1819–1891	Author
Horace Mann	1796–1859	Educator, school reformer
John Lothrop Motley	1814–1877	Historian, U.S. minister to Vienna and London
Charles Eliot Norton	1827–1908	Art historian, literary critic
Theodore Parker	1810–1860	Unitarian clergyman, transcendentalist
James Phelan	1856–1891	Historian, congressman (Ph.D., Leipzig University)
Theodore Roosevelt	1858–1919	Twenty-sixth president of the United States
Philip Schaff	1819–1893	Church historian

Ellen Churchill Semple	1863–1932	Geographer, president of the Association of American Geographers, professor of anthropogeography
Thomas Day Seymor	1848–1907	Professor of Greek
Hernando de Soto	1866–1928	Diplomat, vice consul to Chemnitz and Dresden, consul to Leipzig
Lincoln Steffens	1866–1936	Journalist, author
Harriet Beecher Stowe	1811–1896	Author
Bayard Taylor	1825–1878	World traveler, professor of German, U.S. minister to Berlin
George Ticknor	1791–1871	Literary historian, first professor of Spanish and Italian literature at Harvard University
Minton Warren	1850–1907	Professor of Latin, director of the American School in Rome
Edith Wharton	1862–1937	Author
Andrew Dickson White	1832–1918	Historian, ambassador to Germany
William Carlos Williams	1883–1963	Author
Nathaniel Parker Willis	1806–1867	Journalist, travel writer
Theodore Dwight Woolsey	1801–1889	Professor of Greek, president of Yale University

NOTES

1. *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography,* with a new introduction by D. W. Brogan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 82.

2. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848,* vol. 1, edited by Charles Francis Adams (Freeport, N.Y.: Libraries Press, 1969), 228.

3. Henry Edwin Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany, in the Years of 1825 and 1826* (New York: G. and C. and H. Carvill, 1829); *North American Review* 29 (Boston, 1829): 417.

4. *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley,* vol. 1, edited by George William Curtis (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1889), 20.

5. Bayard Taylor, *Views A-Foot, or Europe Seen with Knapsack and Staff.* Household edition, rev. (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1887).

6. Charles Loring Brace, *Home-Life in Germany* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1853), 159.

7. William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 6.

8. Ibid., 125.

9. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving: By His Nephew Pierce M. Irving,* vol. 1 (New York: Putnam and Son, 1869), 428.

10. Edward S. Joynes, "Old Letters of a Student in Germany, 1856–1857," *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina* 45 (1916): 24.

11. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving,* 429.

12. *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper,* vol. 1, edited by James Franklin Beard (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 418.

13. Henry M. Field, *Summer Pictures: From Copenhagen to Venice* (New York: Sheldon, 1859), 182.

14. Charles Carroll Fulton, *Europe Viewed through American Spectacles* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874), 19. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the number of American residents had increased to such an extent that the American colony could afford its own minister and church building near the Dresden Central Station, the American Church of St. John (1883–1945).

15. *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White,* vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1905), 165f.

16. *The Life and Letters of William Dean Howell,* vol. 1, edited by Mildred Howells (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1928), 59. Cf. Howells's essay on Stuttgart, "A Little German Capital," in *Nation* (Jan. 4, 1866): 11–13.

17. *The Education of Henry Adams,* 76f.

18. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* vol. 1 (Boston: Osgood, 1877), 491.

19. Ibid., 454.

20. *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving,* 429. Cf. letter to C. R. Leslie (Mar. 15, 1823): "The king is a capital character himself, a complete old gentleman of the ancient school, and very tenacious in keeping up the old style. He has treated me with the most marked kindness, and every member of the royal family has shown me great civility" (435).

21. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* 467.

22. See *Briefwechsel König Johanns von Sachsen mit George Ticknor,* edited by Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachsen im Verein mit E. Daenell (Berlin: Teubner, 1920). Cf. Eberhard Brüning, "König Johann von Sachsen und sein amerikanischer Bewunderer und Freund," in *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 1 (1992): 48–52.

23. *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley,* 144.

24. Ibid., 97.

25. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* 457.

26. *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley,* 140.

27. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* 489.

28. Ibid., 469.

29. *Briefwechsel König Johanns von Sachsen mit George Ticknor,* 14.

30. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* 489.

31. *Briefwechsel König Johanns von Sachsen mit George Ticknor,* 156.

32. Brace, *Home-Life in Germany,* 352.

33. Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany,* 343.

34. *Briefwechsel König Johanns von Sachsen mit George Ticknor,* 39.

35. Ibid.

36. Brace, *Home-Life in Germany,* 160.

37. Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany,* 357.

38. Ibid., 346.

39. Ibid., 342f.

40. Ibid., 339.

41. N. Parker Willis, *Rural Letters and Other Records of Thought at Leisure, Written in the Intervals of More Hurried Literary Labor* (Rochester, N.Y.: Wanzer, Beardsley, 1853), 289.

42. Taylor, *Views A-Foot,* 198.

43. Willis, "Invalid Rambles in Germany in the Summer of 1845," in Willis, *Rural Letters,* 290.

44. Ibid., 304.

45. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands.* Author's edition, with illustrations (London: S. Low, Son and Co., 1854), 472.

46. Fulton, *Europe Viewed through American Spectacles,* 20.

47. W. Pembroke Fetridge, *Harper's Hand-Book for Travelers in Europe and the East,* third year (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1864), 220.

48. John Quincy Adams, 1799, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* 230. See also Eberhard Brüning, " 'It Is a Glorious Collection': amerikanische Bildungsbürger des 19. Jahrhunderts auf 'Pilgerfahrt' zur dresdner Gemäldegalerie," in *Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Beiträge, Berichte 1996–1997* (Dresden, 1999), 99–105.

49. Henry M. Field, *Summer Pictures: From Copenhagen to Venice* (New York: Sheldon, 1859), 184.

50. Taylor, *Views A-Foot,* 199f.

51. Motley, *The Correspondence of John Lothrop,* 135f.

52. Stowe, *Sunny Memories,* 474.

53. Taylor, *Views A-Foot,* 200.

54. All together, nine U.S. government representatives (consuls, consular agents, and commercial agents) operated in the Kingdom of Saxony during the nineteenth century. They were also accredited in cities such as Annaberg, Chemnitz, Dresden, Eibenstock, Glauchau, Markneukirchen, Plauen, and Zittau. The number of consular appointments reflected the increasing interest of the U.S. government and American companies in this region.

55. *The Journal of Washington Irving (1823–1824),* edited by Stanley T. Williams (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 4f.

56. Ibid.

57. *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper,* 436.

58. *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor,* 107f. Cf. Eberhard

Brüning, "Entdeckung eines 'sehr bemerkenswerten Ortes': Reiseeindrücke amerikanischer Bildungsbürger im 19. Jahrhundert in und um Leipzig," in *Stadtgeschichte: Mitteilungen des leipziger Geschichtsvereins e.V.* (Jan. 2001): 5–17; (Feb. 2001): 18–27.

59. Eberhard Brüning, "Das Konsulat der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu Leipzig: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Konsuls Dr. J. G. Flügel (1839–1855)." Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Klasse 134(1) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), 59.

60. *Papers of John Adams,* vol. 8, edited by Gregg L. Lint, Robert J. Taylor, Richard Alan Ryerson, Celeste Walker, and Joanna M. Revelas (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 116.

61. W. E. Lingelbach, "Saxon-American Relations, 1778–1828," in *American Historical Review* 17(3) (Apr. 1912): 520.

62. Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany,* 313.

63. Willis, *Rural Letters,* 276f.

64. Ibid., 273.

65. Ibid., 280.

66. Ibid., 284.

67. Taylor, *Views A-Foot,* 197.

68. Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany,* 334.

69. Ibid., 335.

70. James Morgan Hart, *German Universities: A Narrative of personal experience together with recent statistical information, practical suggestions, and a comparison of the German, English, and American systems of higher education* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874), 373. See also Eberhard Brüning, "Die Universität Leipzig im 19. Jahrhundert aus amerikanischer Sicht," in *Jahrbuch der Regionalgeschichte und Landeskunde* 20 (1995–1996): 101–11; Anja Becker, "'To Think of It; Here I Am in Leipzig!' American Students at Leipzig University 1850–1914," master's thesis, University of Leipzig, 2002.

71. Hart, *German Universities,* 382.

72. Dwight, *Travels in the North of Germany,* 315f.

73. Ibid., 324.

74. Taylor, *Views A-Foot,* 195.

75. Ibid., 196.

76. Ibid., 197f.

77. Fetridge, *Harper's Hand-Book for Travelers,* 224.

78. Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse-Five; or, The Children's Crusade: A Duty-Dance with Death* (London: Cape, 1970), 100.

JOHN T. WALKER

John Lothrop Motley

Boston Brahmin and Transatlantic Man

> Ever since the great rising for freedom against the Roman empire, down to this hour, Germany has been the main source of European and American culture.
>
> JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY
> *Historic Progress and American Democracy (1869)*

Contemporary historians have paid comparatively little attention to John Lothrop Motley (1814–1877), historian, diplomat, and man of letters. Those intensely interested in historiography or who teach required courses in that area are likely to be aware of his reputation as a "romantic historian" who wrote *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* in 1856, thus establishing his transatlantic fame.[1] Some may be vaguely cognizant of his subsequent works, *History of the United Netherlands* (London: Murray, 1860) and *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874). Students and professors who have focused upon the life and deeds of Otto von Bismarck have undoubtedly noted the remarkable friendship between the two men, established during their student days and terminated only by the death of the American historian. And students of American diplomatic history are aware of the unhappy conclusions of Motley's tours of duty as ambassador to Austria and subsequently to Great Britain.

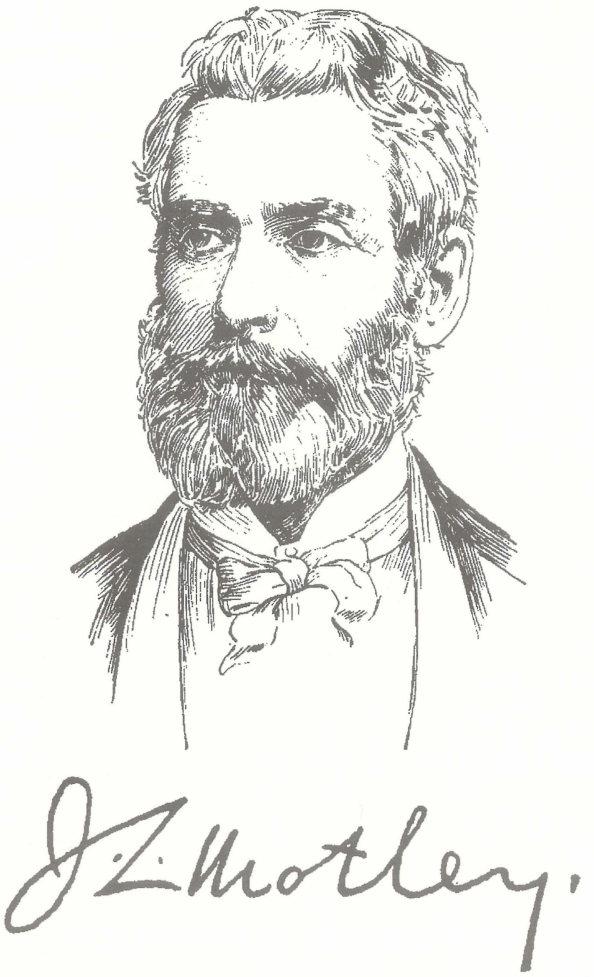
Less noted, however, is Motley's role as a cultural intermediary between Germany and his native country. In his literary reviews he was an incisive interpreter of German culture; at the same time, much of the impetus for his historical work was derived from German authors, above all Goethe and Schiller. His studies of Dutch history as well as his views of the American past were infused with a belief in the supremacy of German culture, and his lifelong friendship with Bismarck acquainted him with German power as well as German intellect.[2]

John Lothrop Motley, a "Boston Brahmin," was born into a New England world that knew little about the German language and culture.[3]

German was not to be offered at any U.S. college until 1826, though French had been taught at Harvard College since the early eighteenth century. In 1814 George Ticknor, a young Bostonian and recent Dartmouth graduate, set about to learn German. To do so, he turned to private instruction, having found an Alsatian tutor in Boston and utilizing a borrowed German grammar written in French and a dictionary he located in New Hampshire. After German was introduced into the Harvard curriculum in the following decade, a student in the first German class described his impression: "We were looked upon with very much the amazement with which a class in some obscure tribal dialect of the remotest Orient would now be regarded."[4] However, the seeds had been planted, and luxuriant growth would quickly follow.

The eventual flowering of interest in German culture in New England was attributable to the arrival in Germany of a number of young scholars—Harvard graduates or those about to join the faculty at that institution (or both). In 1815 George Ticknor and Edward Everett began their studies at Göttingen, a university that was to become a de facto graduate school for New England scholars. Everett remained there to receive a Ph.D., while Ticknor went on to study at other locations in order to concentrate on Romance languages and literatures, which he would later teach at Harvard. While in Germany he established relationships with a number of German literary figures, above all Goethe, whom he and Everett had met shortly after their arrival in Göttingen. Later it was Ticknor who was primarily responsible for the hiring of Karl Follen, the first professor of German at Harvard.[5] At the same time Everett wrote an article on Goethe for the *North American Review* in 1817, the "first significant paper on Goethe in any American journal."[6]

Within a few years other Harvard scholars joined Ticknor and Everett in Göttingen, where they immersed themselves in learning German. Joseph Green Cogswell arrived in 1816 and ultimately received a doctorate in the sciences. However, he became very much enamored of German literature: He also met the great Goethe, visited various locations associated with Goethe's life and works, and became acquainted with authors and intellectuals in various parts of Germany. He returned to New England with considerable enthusiasm for German letters, libraries, and educational institutions.[7] In 1818 George Bancroft began his studies in Göttingen, where he also earned a Ph.D. Within a short time after his arrival, he found the path to Weimar taken by his fellow New Englanders. While he did not share his contemporaries' whole-hearted admiration for



John Lothrop Motley. Courtesy of Stan Klos, FamousAmericans.net.

Goethe, he acknowledged his genius. Bancroft also wrote a brief article on Johann Gottfried Herder for the *North American Review,* perhaps the first on that author to appear in the United States. Bancroft returned to New England with an abiding devotion to German literature, philosophy, and intellectual life.[8]

Both Cogswell and Bancroft had a decisive impact on John Lothrop Motley's early intellectual development. After having been disappointed with their respective positions at Harvard, the two men founded the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1823. This school, modeled after the German and Swiss secondary schools, emphasized a

solid liberal education combined with physical education. In addition to the traditional offerings in Latin and Greek, the school offered instruction in four modern European languages, including two sections of German.[9] After his initial schooling in Boston, Motley arrived at Round Hill School in 1825 at the age of eleven and completed his studies in 1827.[10]

In 1827 he was admitted at the age of thirteen to the class of 1831 at Harvard College, where he immersed himself in his studies of languages and literature, often devoting considerably more time to his own intellectual pursuits than to his courses. He continued his studies of German under Karl Follen. During his junior year Motley may have published a translation of Goethe's poems in the *Collegian,* a short-lived student magazine, but solid confirmation of this publishing event is lacking.[11] The soundest evidence of Motley's interest in that poet is an essay titled "The Genius and Character of Goethe," presented at a college exhibition during his senior year. In it he clearly exhibits a youthful penchant for hyperbole (which he did not entirely overcome in his mature years): "His efforts in every kind of literature have been equally successful: and there is hardly a path through which he has not freely wandered, not a strain of music which has not sounded in his shell; and thus with the delicate finger of genius and taste he has gathered from all things the requisite aroma of beauty and fragrance and melody and has thus impregnated every work of his hand with the very essence of genius." Nonetheless, in this paper Motley demonstrates a solid and mature understanding of the sudden flowering of German literature and of Goethe's role in that development. He pays tribute to Goethe's skill in "pourtraying [*sic*] human character." In this trait Goethe compares favorably with Shakespeare. Finally, the Harvard senior states, "There is no attribute of Goethe's mind more admirable than its versatility." In short, Goethe can express the full range of human emotions.[12]

After graduation from Harvard in late 1831, Motley stayed in Boston for a few months and in the following year left for Göttingen, undoubtedly influenced by the examples of Cogswell, Bancroft, and Ticknor. During the voyage to Europe he was so eager to learn German that he conversed with the German-speaking ship's pilot and sometimes served as an interpreter between him and the Anglophone captain (a claim that raises questions about the navigational safety of that particular vessel). Upon his arrival in Göttingen, Motley was unfavorably impressed with the physical environment: The town was "excessively

dull," and the surroundings were unpleasant; however, he was pleased with the library, which, by American standards, possessed an immense collection of books, which he estimated at four hundred thousand. Undoubtedly Cogswell and Bancroft had left him with high expectations concerning the Göttingen law faculty, but Motley was soon disappointed. The renowned Professor Hugo was now "a noble wreck in ruinous perfection," and his lectures were "dull and stupid," attracting very few students. Motley came to the conclusion that the university's most famous professors were either "dead or decayed."[13]

The American student was clearly fascinated by his German counterparts, whom he described with considerable wit. As he wrote his mother, "The German students are certainly an original race of beings, and can be compared to nothing." Motley was taken by their dress: "You can hardly meet a student in the streets whose dress would not collect a mob anywhere else, and, at the same time, you hardly meet two in a day who are dressed alike, every man consulting his own taste and fashioning himself according to his beau-ideal." Someone dressing like "a Christian or an ordinary man" would stand out by contrast.[14]

Above all, Motley was drawn to the student duels—but only as an observer. "These were . . . on the whole, stupid affairs, and I think, could exist nowhere but in Germany." Even though few students were killed, "the face is often most barbarously mangled, and indeed it is almost an impossibility to meet a student who has not at least one or two large scars in his visage." Motley went on to say that he recently saw a student who "received a wound that laid his face open from the left eye to the mouth, and will probably enhance the beauty of his countenance for the rest of his life." In order to allay parental anxieties, Motley assured his mother that foreigners were "seldom or never insulted, and if he be, has the right of choosing his own weapons (which, in my case would be pistols or rifles, and the Germans have an aversion to gunpowder), in which event the offender generally makes an apology and backs out of the business." It is not recorded whether this explanation reassured his mother.[15]

In spite of his criticisms of Göttingen, Motley adjusted himself well to life there. He soon realized that he would have to devote most of his energies to the study of the German language before he could understand academic lectures. Because of initial difficulties with the language and then his concentration on law, the young student was probably not exposed to the flourishing school of history at Göttingen. He personally

came to feel very much at home in Germany. Motley clearly liked the Germans, whom he described as "the most musical nation on earth." In addition, they were "the most affectionate and (but you will not think of it) the most enthusiastic people on earth. Certainly they are infinitely the most industrious and serious." He quickly made friends at the university, first with several American students and then with Germans, with whom, as he explained to his parents, he drank "brotherhood." These social contacts, along with the efforts of a German tutor, enabled Motley to speak that language fluently within a fairly short time.[16]

Motley's closest German companion at Göttingen and a friend for the remainder of his life was Otto von Bismarck, who was one year younger than he. The two students met in the Easter term of 1832 and were quickly attracted to one another even though they were in many ways opposites. As the German later recalled, Motley was "more addicted to study" than were Bismarck and his fellow fraternity members. Motley's temperament was "mild and amiable" compared to that of the boisterous, irascible, and hard-drinking German, who quickly distinguished himself in that university town by the number of duels he fought. In spite of Motley's halting German in the beginning, Bismarck appreciated the young American's "wit, humor, and originality." Bismarck also noted Motley's striking good looks, which caught the attention of the women as soon as he entered a room.[17] To Bismarck, Motley must have been a curiosity: Here was a man from a supposedly rough-hewn frontier society whose knowledge of European literature exceeded his own. In fact, the young American apparently increased Bismarck's appreciation of Shakespeare, Byron, and Goethe. Whatever their mutual affinities, during their time in Göttingen they often shared meals and studied with Alexander von Keyserling, a Baltic nobleman who joined the two in nocturnal debates on politics, religion, and literature.[18]

When Motley went on to Berlin in the fall of 1833 to hear the lectures of Friedrich Karl von Savigny on Roman law, Bismarck, who had his own reasons for the change, accompanied him. They shared accommodations on the Friedrichstrasse and proceeded to build a storehouse of memories of their student days. More than thirty years later Bismarck repeatedly turned to fond reminiscences of Motley sitting in one of their rooms in Berlin: "I never pass by old Logier's house, in the Friedrichstrasse without looking up at the windows that used to be ornamented by a pair of red slippers sustained on the wall by the feet of a gentleman sitting in the Yankee way, his head below and out of sight." For years Bis-

marck enjoyed the memory of their ejection from a local restaurant because Motley had put his feet up on the chairs. In old age Bismarck could still quote from (and probably sing) a song called "In Good Old Colony Times," which Motley had taught him during their student days. Looking back over the years, Bismarck wrote that Motley would patiently wait for him to wake up in the morning in order to continue an argument that had begun the previous evening. He also recalled that these disagreements proceeded without rancor, given Motley's even-tempered personality.[19]

In addition to his literary influence on Bismarck, Motley, with his liberal, republican outlook, may have had some influence on the political and social views of the young Prussian. Ernst Engelberg, in his Bismarck biography, argues that the discussions during their student days may have reinforced Bismarck's youthful tendency toward liberalism, a short-term failure to which he later admitted in his memoirs. Motley was highly critical of the restrictive class distinctions in Prussia, stating in a letter from Berlin to his parents that "The Germans generally may be divided very conveniently into two great classes—the Vons and the not-Vons. Those who are lucky enough to have the three magical letters V O N before their names belong to the nobility, and are of course aristocratic to the last degree. Those who have not these three may have all the other letters of the alphabet in all possible combinations, and are still nothing but plebeians."[20] Within a short time Bismarck echoed Motley's view in a letter to a friend. In subsequent years, when Bismarck was trying out the role of rural landowner prior to his entry into politics, he was often exceedingly critical of the narrowness of the hidebound Junkers with whom he associated.[21]

Then there is the question of Bismarck's influence on his American colleague. In Bismarck, Motley observed a representative of a political culture and society far different from his own. However, his impact on Motley went beyond any representative function: Bismarck was a unique, strong, and complicated personality who made a powerful impression on Motley, not to mention the course of European history. Most concretely, he was the thinly disguised protagonist of Motley's unsuccessful autobiographical novel, *Morton's Hope,* published in 1839, approximately five years after his return to New England. In spite of Motley's exaggerations and poetic license, historians have long recognized Bismarck in the figure of Otto von Rabenmark, the dueling, drunken, rebellious student at Göttingen:

> He was very young . . . for at the time I write of, he was not yet quite seventeen; but in precocity of character, in every respect, he went immeasurably beyond any person I have ever known. . . . He had coarse scrubby hair, of a mixed colour, something between a red and a whity-brown. His face was peppered all over with freckles, and his eyes were colourless in the center, and looked as if edged with red tape. An enormous scar, the relic of a recent duel, in which . . . he was constantly engaged, extended from the tip of his nose to the edge of his right ear. . . . His figure was slender, and not yet mature, but already of a tolerable height. His dress was in the extreme of the then Göttingen fashion. He wore a chaotic coat, without collar or buttons, and as destitute of colour as of shape; enormously wide trowsers [*sic*], and boots with iron heels and portentous spurs. . . . He was gifted with talents and acquirements immeasurably beyond his years. He spoke half a dozen languages—Heaven knows when he had picked them up—was an excellent classical scholar, and well read in history . . . and if not a dexterous was at least a desperate and daring swordsman.[22]

Motley then presents a semicomical scene in which von Rabenmark challenges a student to a duel on highly frivolous grounds. However, in spite of his carousing and rebelliousness, von Rabenmark states his intention to become a leader: "I wish to take the university as a school for action. I intend to lead my companions here, as I intend to lead them in later life." However, in the novel Rabenmark-Bismarck does not have an opportunity to develop his leadership skills. At the end of a poorly constructed, improbable tale of brigandage and intrigue, he meets with a violent death.[23]

It can be argued that Bismarck's influence on his American friend went beyond providing material for a character in a novel. In an insightful and provocative essay on John Lothrop Motley, Owen Dudley Edwards argues that Bismarck had a profound impact on Motley's view of politics and history. He suggests that Motley's belief in historical German supremacy was likely attributable to Bismarck's influence. In spite of its irredeemable faults, *Morton's Hope* presents an intricate portrait of an extraordinary man who was to reach the heights of political power: This was a man "with resourcefulness and contempt for authority quite beyond the ordinary." Motley was, in effect, Bismarck's first biographer.

Through his experiences with Bismarck, Motley had recognized a "Great Man" years before the chancelleries and foreign ministries of Europe discovered him. According to Edwards, "Probably no historian of that eminence has ever had an education quite like Motley's. Gibbon

knew from experience what legislative assemblies were, Macaulay what cabinets were, but Motley got Bismarck in the raw." To Edwards it is understandable that Motley, in *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* later expressed anger toward Philip II because of his use of force; after all, in Bismarck he had met a man who was attracted to its use. This is certainly an intriguing idea; however, Bismarck and his American friend were merely in their late teens during their student days in Göttingen and Berlin. Edwards may be crediting the young Motley with undue prescience since their student days predate Bismarck's appearance on the world stage by almost three decades.[24]

During his three-year stay in Europe, Motley further developed his interests in German literature. He made a pilgrimage to Weimar, following the paths of his Round Hill and Harvard mentors. Much to his regret, the "Nestor of literature" had died two years earlier. However, the literary pilgrim had the pleasure of meeting his daughter-in-law, Ottilie von Goethe, with whom he established a long-lasting relationship through correspondence and personal visits. Madame de Goethe, as Motley called her, also arranged his introduction to Ludwig Tieck, the "German Boccaccio," who, in spite of his vanity, made a generally good impression on the young American. Given his literary interests, Motley was particularly interested in Tieck's translations of Shakespeare, an effort that he had undertaken with August Wilhelm Schlegel.[25] Motley's efforts to find good performances of Goethe and Schiller on the stage in Berlin went unrewarded, chiefly because the major works of Goethe and Schiller had not been skillfully adapted to the stage. His letters indicate that Motley was already a discerning admirer of German literature at the age of nineteen.[26]

In 1835 John Lothrop Motley brought his own Wanderjahre to an end, at least temporarily, and returned to Boston, where he spent several years trying to find his place in life. He studied law at Harvard, passed the bar exam on the second try, and then practiced law in Boston with little enthusiasm and apparently scant success. During those years he published his novel *Morton's Hope.* He dabbled in local Whig politics; with the electoral success of that party in 1840 he was able to pursue his interest in a diplomatic career with an appointment in 1841 as secretary of legation at St. Petersburg. Because of a sense of isolation and his separation from his young family, he returned to Boston after a few months. Motley then turned more seriously to politics, resulting in his election in 1848 to a two-year term in the state legislature. Finding politics unrewarding,

he made his final attempt as a novelist with the publication in 1849 of his *Merry Mount,* a novel set in colonial New England. It was better received than his first novel, though neither was a literary sensation. It was about this time that Motley decided to turn his efforts to history.[27]

While exploring diverse paths for his future during the 1830s and 1840s, Motley played a significant role as an interpreter of German life and culture in America. Even his *Morton's Hope* conveyed certain images of Germany, not always positive ones, to American readers. Among these was the account of the raucous life of German students, with their immoderate drinking and love of dueling, embodied in von Rabenmark (whom Americans would obviously not be able to identify until at least three decades later). Also present is a merciless caricature of the German nobleman Hermann Leopold Caspar Bernard Adolph Ulrich Count Trump von Toggenburg-Hohenstaufer, whose "family was the main object of his thoughts. . . . As there were no less than twelve distinct branches of the Toggenburg family in North Germany, and as each branch was very poor and consequently very prolific, this single occupation employed most of his time." This passage is remarkably similar to Bismarck's description of such aristocrats, written several years earlier.[28] Motley's account of student life also includes a scene from "Auerbach's Cellar," a scene that took place when "Göthe [*sic*] had not yet written *Faust.*" Here Motley presents his own version of the revelry among students but without the intervention of a Mephistophelean character.[29]

Motley also published various translations and articles on German literature during these years of exploration. In 1839 he published translations of Schiller's "The Diver" and "The Wine Song" by Novalis (from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*) in the *New Yorker.* The following year he translated Tieck's *Bluebeard in the New World.* Motley's most significant contribution to the understanding of German literature consists of two articles he wrote on Goethe in the *New York Review* in 1838 and 1839. Publication was likely facilitated by Joseph Green Cogswell, his former teacher from the Round Hill School, who became editor and owner of that journal around that time.[30]

The first of these is a review of three works: Goethe's autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Poetry and Truth), an English translation of that work, and a compendium of essays on the poet. In his lengthy review Motley presents extensive commentary on the various chapters of the autobiography while defending the great poet from his critics and praising his genius. In answer to the charge, current in Germany, that Goethe

lacked patriotism, his American defender argues that such criticism was based only on Goethe's abstention from politics: "In creating that which will never die while art lives, he did more for Germany, as well as the rest of the world, than he could have done by devoting himself to her service in any other way."[31]

Another criticism of Goethe, common in Germany as well as in America (and soon to be echoed by George Bancroft in an article in the *Christian Examiner)* was that Goethe was immoral. Motley proceeds gingerly in his defense of the great poet, stating that "morals and aesthetics constitute two different distinct provinces." Perhaps Goethe had gone too far in his tendency to observe all natural phenomena, including immorality, objectively and scientifically, but he would leave it to the reader to make that judgment.[32] Motley also notes the common criticism that Goethe's mind wandered from one topic to another, but the Boston critic turned this negative evaluation into an affirmation of Goethe's universality. Countering the charge that Goethe did not create a school or a system, Motley asserts that Goethe had that in common with the "artists of all ages," including Homer, Shakespeare, and Raphael.[33]

In an article written in the same journal the following year, Motley focuses on three of Goethe's major works: both volumes of *Wilhelm Meister, Wahlverwandschaften,* and *Faust.* He prefaces these discussions with fulsome praise of Goethe as a poet and thinker, elaborating on some of the ideas expressed in his first essay. According to Motley, "The great characteristic of his genius is its universality; or rather, we would express our idea of Goethe thus: he was a great naturalist. His whole life was spent in an ardent and systematic study of nature; and as he was unwilling to attach himself to any particular science, we find that his genius and time were devoted to the universal investigation of all." His literary and scientific accomplishments sprang from his "pursuit of truth as it has been revealed by nature." Motley again defends Goethe's lack of attention to the tumultuous political upheavals of his time by stating that these would have distracted him from his larger pursuits.[34] Goethe's merits as a man of letters were manifold. He was "the greatest critic of modern times," as his incisive analysis of the character of Shakespeare's Hamlet demonstrated. As for Goethe's own literary production, his "prose we consider as perfect a style of writing as we are acquainted with," though it is difficult to translate his style into English. Many of the passages from his works appear to be proverbs but are presented in a style that is "graceful, natural, and lively."[35]

Motley devotes most of his attention to *Faust,* "Goethe's greatest poem, and the greatest poem of the age." In presenting his argument for this claim, Motley cites numerous passages from the work, based on his own translation, a project that he had begun while living with Bismarck in Berlin.[36] With his characteristic hyperbole, the critic praises the poem as "perhaps the most perfect model of versification, and of every kind of versification, which exists in any language."[37] As for the theme of the work, Motley sees in Faust "the eternal type of a mind in which the equilibrium between human ambition and human ability is destroyed; a mind which is disgusted with the insufficiency of all human knowledge."[38] The two protagonists, Faust and Mephistopheles, are "the separate embodiments of the two principles which exist, mixed in every human nature; the bestial and the angelic."[39] Motley was clearly fascinated by the character of Mephistopheles, "the greatest conception in poetry since Shakespeare."[40] Hardly a fallen angel like Milton's Satan, Mephistopheles is the "human-bestial separated from the diviner ingredients of human nature."[41] Although he "despises everything," he "is the essence of good nature." In fact, "one envies Faust so delightful a companion, so lively, so agreeable, so jocose." It was little wonder that Faust often addresses his companion in familiar terms.[42] In short, at the age of twenty-five Motley wrote a sophisticated and nuanced analysis of the relationship between Faust and his adversary. He could clearly see that Goethe's Mephistopheles went well beyond the traditional Christian literary portrayal of Satan, not to mention the evil figure in the folktale of the devil's pact.

These review articles favorably impressed Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, recently appointed to the Harvard faculty. He wrote the following to a friend: "Please tell Mr. Cogswell that his last number is *excellent.* Motley has said the best thing on Faust (so far as it went) that I have ever heard or read." Longfellow was in a good position to make such an evaluation. Within the past two years he had begun to give lectures on Goethe and his work; these would continue for the next eighteen years. The two men, who soon became close friends, played a leading role in creating a veritable Goethe cult among prominent American intellectuals.[43]

Several years later Motley reestablished personal contact with Germany, albeit briefly. In 1841 and1842 he visited several German cities en route to St. Petersburg and on his return trip to the United States following his unhappy stint as a fledgling diplomat. Describing his stopover in Königsberg to his wife, Motley wrote: "Prussia is a camp, and its whole population drilled to the bayonet." Perhaps because of his experiences in

Russia, he could soften his criticism slightly: "Prussia is a mild despotism, to be sure."[44]

On his return trip home in 1842 he found Weimar and Frankfurt more congenial. He visited Madame de Goethe and stayed as a guest for two days: "She is the same lively, agreeable, and intelligent person that she was eight years ago; but she has grown much older, her hair entirely gray, and I fear that she is in a decline." Motley gave her a copy of "my article on Goethe," presumably the one from 1839 that Longfellow had praised. He reported that she read the article and found it pleasing. However, still embarrassed by his unsuccessful novel *Morton's Hope,* he declined to tell her its name. In spite of his pleasure at renewing an old acquaintance, Motley was saddened by the present state of Weimar: "Of that splendid army of genius the coffins of Goethe and Schiller are all that remain."[45] On his travels he continued to pursue that genius. He spent a day in Frankfurt, visiting the house where Goethe was born, and enjoyed the architecture of that historic city.[46]

Upon his return to Boston, several years were to elapse before John Lothrop Motley would turn his attention to writing the history of the Netherlands. The course of this process is not well documented: His first biographer, his good friend Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr., was quite vague in this respect.[47] Speculation on that subject abounds. It has long been suggested that Motley was attracted by the parallels between the Dutch and the American struggles for independence, but he showed comparatively little interest in the American Revolution during the course of his life. In *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* he makes few allusions to the American revolt or the obvious similarity between George Washington and William of Orange. Nor did his brief visit to Brussels and Antwerp in 1842 seem to engender historical reflection; at that time his letter to his wife focused on architecture and art.[48] Motley later stated that he had not chosen to write history and then sought a subject; on the contrary, the theme had taken possession of him. He chose to write on that theme and no other.[49]

Most likely the main impetus for his choice of subject stemmed from his longstanding passion for German literature, specifically the works of Goethe and Schiller. In *Egmont* Goethe had dealt with the Dutch revolt against Spain, even though he had de-emphasized its political content as he reworked it over the years.[50] Nonetheless, the political unrest is clearly evident in the crowd scenes, and in the foreground we find some of the most important protagonists of Motley's later works: the Duke of Alva,

Margaret of Parma, William of Orange, and, of course, Egmont himself. In this drama Goethe presents some of the main reasons for the Dutch revolt: the abrogation of ancient liberties and customs, religious persecution, particularly in the form of the Inquisition, and the presence of foreign troops in the provinces.[51] These were to be some of the salient themes of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*

Apparently Friedrich Schiller had an even greater impact upon Motley's choice and treatment of his historical theme than did Goethe. Schiller had written a study of the Dutch revolt *(Geschichte des Abfalls der Niederlande)* in an effort to obtain a professorship in history; shortly thereafter he wrote a history of the Thirty Years' War. Motley undoubtedly read the latter work since it was part of the German curriculum during the years he studied at the Round Hill School and at Harvard. Moreover, we know that Motley's original plan, when he began to write on the Dutch revolt, was to conclude his multivolume study with an account of the Thirty Years' War, a project that he never completed.

Both Schiller and Motley treated the Dutch revolt in a similar manner, as a struggle for political and religious freedom against a foreign despot, an emphasis attributable either to Schiller's influence on the American or to their reliance on some of the same sources (or both).[52] There are some marked differences in tone, however. Perhaps the most striking of these is that Schiller de-emphasized the heroic element in the Dutch revolt. He stated that it was not heroism or extraordinary events that drew him to his subject. Instead, he saw how circumstances (necessity) forced a peaceful, industrious people into temporary greatness and valor. Surprisingly, in the course of his study, Schiller, the Romantic poet, is more restrained than Motley in his treatment of William of Orange, who is the almost unblemished, heroic figure of the latter's study.[53]

It has been suggested that Motley's dramatic narrative stems more from Schiller's Romantic dramas than from his historical works. *Don Carlos* readily comes to mind, given the prince's plans to restore the freedom of the Netherlands, a theme that admittedly remains in the background of the drama. Here Philip II is a formidable presence, but Schiller treats him more sympathetically than does Motley, whose condemnation of Philip is without qualification, at least in his initial volumes, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* Schiller's Philip is often more a pathetic figure than an utter villain.[54] Most interesting is the grotesque figure of the cardinal, Grand Inquisitor, who appears to personify Motley's later account of the Inquisition.[55]

Schiller's *Wallenstein,* set in the Thirty Years' War, could have further influenced the American's choice of historical themes as well as his interest in portraying a great historical figure. In addition, *Wilhelm Tell,* although set in another part of Europe, tells the story of people who rebel against foreign despotism. In the scene on the Rütli meadow, the Swiss take an oath to defend their "inherited rights" against tyranny, an undertaking similar to the later Dutch struggle.[56] The villainous Gessler foreshadows the tyrannical Duke of Alva, while Tell, who is gradually drawn into the struggle against the Austrians, appears to be a forerunner of William of Orange.[57]

When Motley became increasingly interested in writing the history of the Dutch Republic sometime in the late 1840s, he collected materials locally and within a short time wrote the initial drafts of the work. After some time he decided, however, that his study, based chiefly on secondary sources, was inadequate. Accordingly, he and his family sailed for Europe in 1851, where he planned to consult primary sources in the archives. For Motley and his family, this was a turning point: He was to spend most of the remainder of his life in Europe. Over the next few years he worked indefatigably in archival collections in Dresden, The Hague, and Brussels.[58]

Motley was clearly happy to return to Germany, where he feasted upon the Romantic landscapes, but most of his energy was devoted to the arduous tasks of reading ancient documents and resuming his writing.[59] He began his archival work in Dresden, an important location, because the archives there contained significant manuscripts pertaining to William of Orange, who had been married to Anna of Saxony. Entry into the archives was facilitated by George Ticknor, who had written a letter of introduction to Prince John of Saxony, the king's brother. The Motleys' stay in Dresden, interspersed with visits to other European locations and additional archival visits, lasted two years. During that time, "working as hard as a wood-sawyer," as he wrote his father, he completed his writing at the end of 1852, ending with the death of William of Orange. While he planned to continue his research in subsequent volumes, he would seek a publisher for the ones he had already written.[60]

After having labored in the archives in The Hague and Brussels and successfully arranged for publication in London, Motley found time for a reunion with Otto von Bismarck after two decades. This took place in July 1855 in Frankfurt, where Bismarck had been Prussian envoy to the diet of the German Confederation since 1851.[61] The reception accorded

Motley was more than cordial. As Frau Bismarck later told him, his friend had been "nearly out of his wits with delight" when he received Motley's card. As Motley wrote his wife, his friend had changed little over the years, aside from a gain in weight. His affection for Bismarck actually exceeded what he had recalled from the past, and that was already considerable. Bismarck "is a man of very noble character and of very great powers of mind." He had not sought the high office that he held; instead, the office had sought him. During Motley's visit, they had ample opportunity to catch up on the past and discuss contemporary politics. Bismarck entertained him with his account of the role he had played in the revolutionary events of 1848. Motley wrote that he would not comment on the "wrongs and rights" of Bismarck's actions. What impressed Motley was that his friend had taken a stand based on principle. Though they differed in their political views, Motley reported that they could express these with complete frankness.[62]

Motley was clearly enthralled by his old friend, who could indeed reach the highest position in his government: "Strict integrity and courage of character, a high sense of honor, a firm religious belief, united with remarkable talents, make up necessarily a combination which cannot be found any day in any court; and I have no doubt that he is destined to be prime minister, unless his obstinate truthfulness, which is apt to be a stumbling-block for politicians, stands in his way."[63] Motley wrote these lines as his *Rise of the Dutch Republic* was being prepared for publication. Undoubtedly influenced to some degree by Carlyle, with whom he became personally acquainted during his stays in England, Motley was about to present the world with Great Man or hero, William of Orange. In his subsequent works he would seek additional heroes, though not always with success. It is tempting to conclude that Motley had found another one in the friend of his youth. Minimally, Motley believed that the rebellious and anarchic Otto von Rabenmark had been transformed into a responsible political leader with a promising future, at least within the context of the Prussian system. Motley clearly admired Bismarck's abundant political skills, but Bismarck had yet to attain heroic stature.[64]

At this point, Motley was not blind to what, in his worldview, were the faults of Prussia or of his long-time friend. As late as 1863 he wrote a British friend that Bismarck "is a frank *reactionaire* and makes no secret of it. Supports the King in his view that House of Commons majority is not the Prussian form of government, whatever may be the case in England."[65] For many years Motley had viewed Prussia as an artificial construction,

welded together by a military despotism of which he was highly critical. Twenty years later (in 1863) he still believed that military monarchy was essential to the state: "I am a great Liberal myself, but I believe that Prussia is by the necessary conditions of its existence a military monarchy, and when it ceases to be that, it is nothing."[66] On the surface it appears that Motley's views of Bismarck and his state in the mid-1850s were consistent with what one would expect from the historian who had written a stirring narrative of the Dutch struggle for freedom against the sinister power of despotism.

However, even if Bismarck was not yet one of his heroes, apparently he had a glimpse of the bold initiatives his conservative friend might undertake if he were to become Prussian prime minister. After their reunion in 1855 Motley wrote the following to his wife: "My politics are very different from his, although not so antipodal as you may suppose."[67] Apparently the two men had found some common ground in their long round of political discussions. In his usual discourse Bismarck was not known to be circumspect in revealing his various political schemes to diplomats and political leaders. Buoyed by the spirit of friendship and a copious amount of wine in conversations with his American friend, he could be completely unguarded in speculating about various political stratagems. Unfortunately, we do not have a record of their conversations. It is, however, likely that Bismarck regaled Motley with an idea he was then considering: an alliance between the Prussian state and German nationalism.[68] Such an initiative could further historical progress, which Motley viewed as a law of history. In this way Bismarck could be an agent of change even if he represented a monarchial, military state. Perhaps their politics indeed were not entirely "antipodal." In the struggle between despotism and freedom, Motley believed that time was on his side.

Motley was fervently convinced of the ultimate triumph of freedom in Germany, the original European home of liberty. In his recently completed *Rise of the Dutch Republic,* he had presented the ancient Germans as the vanguard of the historic struggle for freedom, a belief based on Tacitus's account of the ancient Batavians, who, under the leadership of Claudius Civilis, revolted against the Romans. In the early sixteenth century, Dutch humanists believed that the Batavians had been inhabitants of the northern Netherlands, an assertion that bolstered Dutch claims to political and cultural leadership.

Motley, most likely following Schiller's lead, took up this claim.[69] With his characteristic zeal Motley contrasts the Germans (the Batavians as

well as the Frisians) with their neighbors, the Gauls (Celts): The Germans were democratic, with chieftains elected by universal suffrage, whereas the Gauls were dominated by nobles and priests; in religion the Germans had a "purer belief . . . than that of the sensuous Roman or the superstitious Gaul." The Germans worshipped a single, supreme God, while the Gauls were polytheistic, although it is not possible to completely understand "the principles of their wild Theology."[70] Underlying all of the contrasts that Motley presents is his belief in the superiority of the ancient Germans and that of the Anglo-Saxon race in more modern times. He was not the first American writer to hold these beliefs; in fact, he shared them with a number of his contemporaries, especially his former mentor, George Bancroft, and they were to become even more widespread as the century progressed.[71]

Motley views the struggle for freedom in transatlantic terms, for it is the Anglo-Saxon race that has carried the Germanic love of liberty to the New World: "Love of freedom, readiness to strike and bleed at any moment in her cause, manly resistance to despotism, however overshadowing, were the leading characteristics of the race in all regions or periods, whether among Frisian swamps, Dutch dykes, the gentle hills and dales of England, or the pathless forests of America."[72] To be sure, Motley showed how the Romans and later Charlemagne had eventually suppressed the ancient German freedoms in most of the German lands. However, as a Romantic historian, Motley was optimistic about the future. Human progress was inevitable and would result in the ultimate triumph of political and religious liberty on both sides of the Atlantic, thanks to the ongoing efforts of the Anglo-Saxon race.[73]

The two university comrades did not have an opportunity to meet again until 1864. By that time Bismarck had become Prussian prime minister after two years in St. Petersburg and a brief appointment as an envoy in Paris. His American friend had in the meantime received international acclaim as a historian and been appointed by President Lincoln in 1861 to serve as ambassador to Austria. In the summer of 1862 Motley had initiated a correspondence with Bismarck, who was then rumored to become prime minister. At that point Motley assured Bismarck that he could write him anything in the strictest confidence; it would be like writing to "some one on the Planet Jupiter." Bismarck replied graciously, interspersing his contempt for the Prussian parliament with a sentimental reference to their student days in Berlin. Over the next two years he was unable to accept Bismarck's repeated invitations to visit him in Berlin. By

1864 Motley feared that such a visit during the Schleswig-Holstein crisis would cause a journalistic furor. Instead, Motley hoped that Bismarck could come to Vienna on business and have time for a personal visit with his old friend.[74] In fact, that visit took place in July 1864, when Bismarck came to Vienna to negotiate the treaty that was to end the war over Schleswig-Holstein.

It was indeed a joyful reunion when Bismarck visited the Motleys the second evening after his arrival. Describing her first meeting with Bismarck to her daughter, Mrs. Motley stated that she had fallen entirely under his spell despite her view that Prussia had acquired "ill-gotten gains" in the Danish war and that he "treats democracy in Europe with the same contempt your father does aristocracy in America." She proudly noted that Bismarck had immediately embraced her husband upon arrival and that the Prussian had treated Motley with affection and listened respectfully to his views when Bismarck came to dinner the following evening. There was, of course, much talk of politics, though we do not have a precise account of these conversations.

It appears that Bismarck scored some political points with his friend's wife. Undoubtedly reflecting her husband's views at that time, Mary Motley wrote that perhaps Bismarck was right about German affairs: "[A]t all events [*sic*] their ideas of self-government are very different from ours. . . . Prussia, for instance has always been a military despotism and is likely to be one to the end." Future developments in Germany would determine which side would triumph. After that evening, more formal gatherings replaced intimate political discussions. The following evening the Motleys gave a dinner for Bismarck, to which selected members of the German diplomatic corps were invited. Still later they had an opportunity to view Bismarck only at a distance at a theater party. Subsequently, the two old friends did not have a personal meeting until 1872 despite good intentions on both sides.[75]

During his tenure of office in Vienna, Motley was able to represent his country at least adequately, if not brilliantly. He was one of several American literary figures, such as Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and James Russell Lowell, who served as ambassadors to Europe during this era. An overall appraisal of Motley's role in international politics is outside the scope of this study.[76] Certainly, Motley was linguistically, culturally, and socially qualified to represent his country in the Austrian capital, and his fluency in German facilitated his contact with the Austrian political and social elite. As Motley later reported, the emperor,

upon his initial meeting with Motley, asked whether the new ambassador was a German, a question that may have had an unspecified political implication.

The new ambassador, with his long-standing interest in cultural matters, was somewhat disappointed in Vienna. Even though he enjoyed the opera and theater in that city, he regretted his lack of contact with literary, cultural, and even political leaders, who were excluded from aristocratic society there, in contrast to London, where they were welcomed. Consequently, conversations in society were generally not on a high plane. For example, at a ball an unnamed Austrian princess told Mary Motley that she did not recognize the name Goethe, a gap in knowledge that her husband must have found unforgivable. Eventually, however, the Motleys enjoyed their social life in Vienna, especially the dinners given by the diplomatic corps. After they had found suitable lodgings, they organized balls and dinners for their guests from the diplomatic corps as well as the Austrian nobility. In short, they were socially successful in Vienna.[77]

The ambassador was able to report objectively on German affairs in spite of his admiration for Bismarck. After the end of the Civil War in the United States, he increasingly turned his attention to the impending civil war in Germany. Writing to his daughter in June 1866, at the outbreak of the war, he admitted that "I hardly know which way my sympathies lie in this struggle just opening." He then stated the case for both sides in the dispute, while presenting a sound analysis of the possible outcomes of the struggle. He recognized that the Austrians fervently believed in their ancient social order, divine right, and the treaty system of 1815 "as devoutly as Abraham Lincoln ever believed in the sovereignty of the people." An Austrian victory would confirm Austria in its traditional role as the leading German power. On the other hand, as he successfully predicted, a Prussian victory would clearly lead to its aggrandizement, with the incorporation of not only Schleswig-Holstein but also Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Saxony, thus extending its boundaries to the Main River.

Motley repeated his long-standing belief that Prussia was "a military despotism." Whereas he had formerly believed that Prussia would always remain so, he now saw the possibility that "constitutionally it may become free." He said, "The hard-cutting instrument, which is now personified in my old friend Bismarck, may do its work by cutting away all obstacles and smoothing the geographical path to Prussia's great future."

After the Prussian victories, Motley was clearly on the side of Prussia: "Prussian military despotism, by the grace of God, is perhaps opening the way more rapidly for liberty in Europe than all the Kossuths, Garibaldis, and Mazzinis could effect in half a century." In short, Motley believed that Prussia could lead Germany to freedom, the goal that he had extolled in his works on the Dutch Republic.[78]

As the war clouds gathered, Motley was circumspect in his minimal contacts with Bismarck. Motley faced a dilemma that was probably unprecedented and unrepeated in diplomatic history: His old university roommate was about to make war on the country to which Motley was accredited. Accordingly, in a personal letter to Bismarck in January 1866, he confined himself chiefly to personal matters. He explicitly told his friend that he would not advise the Prussian on the Schleswig-Holstein affair; however, he obliquely indicated that he would drink to his friend's intentions, regardless of whether they were virtuous. Beyond that point he did not proceed. By the following month Motley correctly informed his government that war was inevitable.[79]

After the war Motley would have an opportunity to praise Bismarck's achievements before an audience of the educated elite in the United States. After resigning his post in Vienna in 1868, he returned to Boston, where he immersed himself in political and literary activities. In December of that year he addressed the New York Historical Society on the topic "Historic Progress and American Democracy," an address that was later published in the United States and England as a short book. In it he reiterated his long-held belief that there was a law to be discovered in history, and that law was progress. And its result was democracy. There he sounded the theme with which this chapter begins: "Ever since the great rising for freedom against the Roman empire, down to this hour, Germany has been the main source of European and American culture."

Abandoning his long-standing belief in the permanence of Prussian despotism, he now placed that state in the vanguard of the historical movement toward freedom, which, he argued, is transatlantic: "Time will show that progress and liberty are identical. It is impossible that the success of Prussia is to end in the establishment of one great military empire the more [*sic*]. The example and the retroaction of America; the success here of freedom and progress—forbid the result. The great statesman of Prussia is distinguished for courage, insight, breadth of vision, iron will, and a power of governing by conforming to the spirit of the age. No one knows better than Bismarck, to read the signs of the times."[80] His

old friend had clearly become a hero; he was advancing the cause of freedom in Germany.

With Motley's appointment as U.S. ambassador to Great Britain in 1869, the two men once again had an opportunity for a reunion, but this event did not take place until 1872 because of official duties and the cataclysmic events of 1870 and 1871. Interspersed with reminiscences of their student days, the letters of the two men indicate their repeated efforts to arrange such a meeting. Writing from his estate in Pomerania in August 1869, Bismarck extended an invitation: "Transform your wigwam to the Pomeranian coast." However, the newly appointed ambassador was not able to obtain a leave of absence from his job. He would have to wait until the following year. Teasingly (and prophetically) he wrote his friend: "As I hope that you don't mean to amuse yourself by turning Europe upside down next summer, I trust that one will be able to travel into North Germany again." In addition, Motley begged for time to learn the newly drawn maps of Europe. Since it would take him some time to do so, Bismarck should leave Europe alone.[81]

The reunion did not take place that summer, however, because the Franco-Prussian War turned Europe "upside down." Shortly after the battle of Sedan, Motley wrote Bismarck, eloquently praising the "friend of his youth" for his extraordinary accomplishments. At the same time, while disassociating his own view from those of his government, he delicately suggested that the conqueror exercise moderation in his treatment of the conquered. Prussian moderation, he wrote, would inspire confidence on the part of Europe. It is difficult to evaluate the results of Motley's benign and vague attempt at intervention. Bismarck's immediate reaction, which he wrote on the margin of the letter, was "Damn confidence." Perhaps he regarded his friend as too idealistic and even naïve. Regardless of his emotional reaction to Motley's counsel, Bismarck was himself soon to advocate moderation in his heated arguments with the German military over the conclusion of the war. In this matter, it is likely that Bismarck was more motivated by his innate sound political judgment than the restrained suggestion of his American friend.[82]

The long postponed reunion between Bismarck and Motley finally took place in the summer of 1872, forty years after their initial meeting in Göttingen. Accompanied by one of his daughters, Motley made the long trip by train and coach to visit his friend at his estate in the hinterlands of Pomerania. It was a reunion marked by nostalgia and exultation

over Bismarck's stupendous political triumphs. Motley, still depressed because of his inglorious dismissal from his London post two years earlier, was awed by the presence of his friend, "one of the greatest historical characters that ever lived." Nonetheless, Bismarck also impressed Motley with his simplicity and modesty. Over the next few days the two men spoke about recent events, while taking long walks in the woods, eating dinner, and drinking in the parlor late at night. Bismarck gave his account of the last two Prussian wars and their aftermath, and they also discussed other European themes. Unfortunately, because of his reluctance to "Boswellize Bismarck any more," Motley did not write a detailed account of their conversations. Nonetheless, he reported that Bismarck had no further interests in territorial expansion, whether that be in Holland or the Baltic region.[83]

The occasion was even more festive because it was the Bismarcks' twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. Prompted by their daughter, Motley proposed a toast to the couple, which, as Motley wrote, was "a masterly effort in the German tongue, lasted twenty-five seconds, and ended with much clinking of glasses and hip, hip, hurraying." Afterward, the group celebrated the event with local villagers and read the many telegrams that had been sent to the Bismarcks.[84]

On the following morning, Motley and his daughter departed for Berlin. It was the last time the two men would see each other. It was also Motley's final visit to Germany. Appropriately, one of his last excursions in Germany on his way home was a visit to Mount Brocken, where he reread the scene from *Faust* that has immortalized the Harz Mountain peak in German and world literature. Motley had just honored the master of Potsdam, but he did not forget the spirit of Weimar.[85]

John Lothrop Motley certainly met the criteria for a Boston Brahmin, which were set by his close friend Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr., but he did not share Holmes's provincial view of the Boston statehouse as the "hub of the solar system."[86] Motley, who spent more than half of his adult life in Europe, was a transatlantic man who viewed the United States as a product of European historical development.[87] Freedom itself was transatlantic; it had originally sprung up among the ancient Germans, above all the Batavians and Frisians, but was eventually spread by the Anglo-Saxons across the Atlantic to America after its suppression in most of continental Europe.

Even before his student days in Göttingen and Berlin, Motley had

developed a passionate interest in German culture that would eventually lead him to become an intermediary between the two cultures. His experiences in Germany not only increased his respect for the German intellect but also led to a lifelong relationship with Otto von Bismarck, who would come to symbolize German power. In a personal and figurative sense he knew the spirit of both Weimar and Potsdam, having interpreted Goethe and Bismarck to educated opinion in the United States for more than three decades. Long a critic of Prussian despotism, Motley eventually came to believe that it would ultimately give way to the freedom the ancient Germans enjoyed because of the American example as well as the stunning military and political achievements of his old university roommate. There appeared to be symmetry in both transatlantic history and his own life. He did not live long enough to become disappointed in the friend of his youth or in the German empire Bismarck created.

NOTES

1. Motley is one of four such historians treated in David Levin's masterful *History as Romantic Art* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959).

2. Orie Long, in *Literary Pioneers,* devotes a relatively brief chapter to Motley's contribution as a cultural link between America and Germany. Orie Long, *Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 199–224.

3. This term was coined by Motley's close friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. According to Holmes, a Brahmin was one who was both an intellectual and a product of a respected family. See Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001), 6.

4. The quotation is in Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 42. See also 5, 42, 133n113.

5. Ibid., 9–27, 65–68, 42.

6. Ibid., 68.

7. Ibid., 77–94.

8. Ibid., 108ff.

9. Marjorie Frye Gutheim, "John Lothrop Motley," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1955, 21–28; Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 93–99, 244n61.

10. Oliver Wendell Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley: A Memoir* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 7–8; John Lothrop Motley, *The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley,* edited by George William Curtis, 3 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1889), vol. 1, 4–7; Gutheim, "Motley," 20–34. While there is little record of which German authors Motley read while at Round Hill, it is known that the German teacher at that time used Schiller's history of the Thirty Years' War for German instruction—heavy intellectual fare for children of that age. See Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 199, 244n61.

11. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 11–15; Gutheim, "Motley," 47–50; Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 199–200, 258n2–3.

12. The quotations from the essay are from Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 200–203.

13. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 15, 18–25, 32.

14. Ibid., 24–26.

15. Ibid., 27–29.

16. Ibid., 18, 30–32; Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 17–19; Owen Dudley Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (1984); Gale Group online, http://www.Galenet.com/servlet/LitRC?c=3&ASB2=AND&ASB1=AND&ste=71&docNum=H, accessed Feb. 21, 2002, 6–7.

17. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 18–19.

18. Ibid.; Gutheim, "Motley," 64–68; Ernst Engelberg, *Bismarck: Urpreusse und Reichsgründer* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1991), 105–109, 113–16.

19. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 18–19; Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, 327–28; Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 16–17; Engelberg, *Bismarck,* 112–16; Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification, 1815–1871* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 41; Lothar Gall, *Bismarck: Der weisse Revolutionär* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1980), 35–37. Looking back on their Berlin days more than three decades later, Bismarck whimsically proposed that the two of them visit their former student home, play chess, and "dispute whether Byron and Goethe can be compared to each other." Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 231. Bismarck's abbreviated version of the song "In Good Old Colony Times" is in Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, 327–28. The full text can be found at http://www.contemplator.com/america/colony.html (accessed May 12, 2005). It does not matter that Bismarck did not quite get the lyrics right after all those years, though it is amusing that he, the monarchist, omitted the words "when we were under the king." Bismarck later quoted from the song in a speech he gave before the Reichstag in 1888. See Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 259n40, and Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, 328. Interestingly, Motley's letters to his parents make no mention of Bismarck. See Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 18–44. Motley may have engaged in self-censorship in writing his New England parents. It is also possible that his family deleted letters or passages when they published his letters after his death.

20. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 41. For Bismarck's liberalism see Otto von Bismarck, *Gedanken und Erinnerungen,* 2 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1898), vol. 1, 1–2.

21. Within ten days of Motley's letter to his parents, Bismarck satirized the narrowness of his aristocratic acquaintances: "Sie essen nicht, sie trinken nicht, was thun sie denn? Sie zählen ihre Ahnen." In the same letter Bismarck mentioned Motley's name. See Engelberg, *Bismarck,* 114. See also Gall, *Bismarck,* 41–43; Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* 48; and Erich Eyck, *Bismarck,* 2 vols. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch, 1941), vol. 1, 33–34.

22. John Lothrop Motley, *Morton's Hope: or the Memoirs of a Provincial,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1839), vol. 1, 125–26.

23. Ibid., vol. 1, 164; Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* 42.

24. Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 5–7.

25. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 45–56, 132–33.

26. Ibid., vol. 1, 40–41.

27. Gutheim, "Motley," 75–105; Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 36–60.

28. Motley, *Morton's Hope,* vol. 1, 127–29. For the similarities in Motley's and Bismarck's language, see vol. 1, 125–26.

29. Ibid., vol. 1, 123–41.

30. Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 103–104, 214.

31. John Lothrop Motley, "Goethe," in *New York Review* 3 (Oct. 1838): 416.

32. Ibid., 438; Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 154–55.

33. Motley, "Goethe," 438–42.

34. John Lothrop Motley, "Goethe's Works," in *New York Review* 5 (July 1839): 4–5, 7–9.

35. Ibid., 14, 18.

36. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 18–19.

37. Motley, "Goethe's Works," 34.

38. Ibid., 31.

39. Ibid., 34.

40. Ibid., 35.

41. Ibid., 45.

42. Ibid., 36.

43. Longfellow, quoted in Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 219. See also Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 179–90, 214, and Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York: Dutton, 1940), 189–95, 238–44.

44. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 90–91.

45. Ottilie von Goethe was to live for another thirty years; when Motley arrived in Vienna in 1861 as U.S. ambassador, she was living in that city. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 132–33. As late as 1866 Motley was still corresponding with her. See letter from Motley to Franz Lieber, Jan. 24, 1866, Letters of John Lothrop Motley, Special Collections, Dartmouth College Library.

46. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 134–35.

47. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 57–66.

48. Ibid.; Gutheim, "Motley," 111–13; Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 12; Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 137–38; C. P. Higby and B. T. Schantz, *John Lothrop Motley: Representative Selections* (New York: American Book, 1939), lxxx–lxxxii.

49. Gutheim, "Motley," 112.

50. Nicholas Boyle, *Goethe, the Poet and the Age.* Vol. 1: *The Poetry of Desire (1749–1790)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 356–61, 518–20.

51. Goethe, *Egmont,* acts 1–4, passim.

52. Long, *Literary Pioneers,* 200, 233–34n113, 244n61; Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 87–91, 191–92; Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 2, 4–5, 13.

53. Friedrich Schiller, *Historische Schriften: Erster Teil: Geschichte des Abfalls der Niederlande* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1966), 29–32, 85, 157, 217–

18, 236. Although Motley warned against the dangers of hero worship or "excessive enthusiasm" in regard to Orange, he engages in that practice in numerous passages. Contrast these warnings in John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* 3 vols. (New York: Harper, 1856), vol. 3, 627, 623, with the following passage: "Was it necessary that . . . desolation should be spread over a happy land, in order that the pure and heroic character of a William of Orange should stand forth more conspicuously, like an antique statue of spotless marble against a stormy sky?" Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* vol. 2, 425.

54. Philip is alienated from his son, in despair because of the popular uprising, and tortured by the rumors of his queen's infidelity. And, to the king's credit, the idealistic hero, the Marquis of Posa, captivates Philip with his plea for freedom. Schiller, *Don Carlos,* 3.4, 3.10, 5.4, 5.5, 5.9. References are to act and scene.

55. *Don Carlos,* 5.10; Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* vol. 1, 322–47.

56. *Wilhelm Tell,* act 2.

57. Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 4, 12–13.

58. Holmes, *John Lothrop Motley,* 67–73, 229–30; Gutheim, "Motley," 113–17. By that time Motley realized the inadequacy of Schiller's study, which was based chiefly on the writings of Robert Watson (d. 1781), a Scottish historian. He also had an advantage over Schiller in that he could read Dutch, whereas the German poet could not. See Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 2–5.

59. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 159–61.

60. Gutheim, "Motley," 115–19; Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 184, 187, 196–97.

61. Gutheim, "Motley," 119–22, 125–27.

62. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 223–27.

63. Ibid., vol. 1, 225.

64. For a discussion of Motley's concept of a hero, see Levin, *History as Romantic Art,* 59–73.

65. Susan Mildmay and Herbert St. John Mildmay, eds., *John Lothrop Motley and His Family: Further Letters and Records* (New York: John Lane, 1910), 178.

66. Motley, quoted in Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 178–79. See also Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 90–91.

67. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 1, 226.

68. Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany,* 150–55.

69. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (New York: Clarendon, 1995), 44, 57–58; Schiller, *Abfall,* 41.

70. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* vol. 1, 5–11.

71. Edwards provocatively suggests that Bismarck may be the source of Motley's belief in Germanic superiority, although he admits that it is a matter of speculation. See Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 5. David Levin states that Bismarck's successes of the 1860s and 1870s reinforced Motley's belief in Germanic preeminence. See Levin, *History as Romantic Art,* 78–79, especially chapter 4, "Teutonic Germans." Of course, Motley's first work predated the great wave of

belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority that swept the United States later in the nineteenth century. This conviction had much more to do with changing immigration patterns than with Motley's influence. See Alex Zwerdling, *Improvised Europeans: American Literary Expatriates and the Siege of London* (New York: Basic Books, 1998), 43–60.

72. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* vol. 1, 39, v.

73. Ibid., vol. 1, 21–25; Levin, *History as Romantic Art,* 24–45.

74. Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 133–38, 205; Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, 325ff, and vol. 3, 16–17, 20–22.

75. Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 209–15.

76. His performance has been variously judged by contemporary critics and by twentieth-century historians and should be reexamined in further research. One study, written in 1955, takes a rather positive, though not uncritical, view of Motley's performance, while another, submitted in 1942, is decidedly negative. See Gutheim, "Motley," 264–77, and Sr. M. Claire Lynch, "The Diplomatic Mission of John Lothrop Motley to Austria, 1861–1867," PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1944, 140–51.

77. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 2, 215–16, 231; Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 189–91; Gutheim, "Motley," 235–44.

78. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 104–109, 131. One is, of course, tempted to compare Motley's change of mind with the liberals' well-known capitulation to Bismarck. See Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Germany* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), 157–63. However, Motley had admired and exchanged views with Bismarck for years, whereas the liberals had despised and feared him. And Motley seemed to be changing his mind before rather than after the Prussian victories.

79. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 90–93, 109.

80. "Historic Progress and American Democracy," in Higby and Schantz, *John Lothrop Motley,* 87, 109. Apparently Motley later sent this essay to Bismarck, who gently poked fun at it. See Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 226.

81. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 221, 230–31; Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 279–88.

82. Mildmay and Mildmay, *John Lothrop Motley and His Family,* 288–93; for Bismarck's conflict with the military, see Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Scepter: The Problem of Militarism in Germany.* Vol. 1: *The Prussian Tradition, 1730–1890* (Princeton, N.J.: Scholar's Bookshelf, 1988), 219–27.

83. Motley, *Correspondence,* vol. 3, 266–70.

84. Ibid., vol. 3, 272–73.

85. Ibid., vol. 3, 273–78. Also appropriate was his visit to his old teacher George Bancroft, who was then serving as U.S. ambassador to Berlin. See ibid., vol. 3, 277.

86. Menand, *The Metaphysical Club,* 7.

87. Edwards, "John Lothrop Motley," 12.

THOMAS ADAM

Cultural Baggage

The Building of the Urban Community in a Transatlantic World

Daniel T. Rodgers begins his historiographical article on U.S. exceptionalism with the following statement: "To the question 'Is America different?' the professional historian is expected to respond with a list of the circumstances and exemptions that have distinguished the history of the United States: a land radically underpopulated by European standards and (given the vast inequalities in biological immunities and technological inheritances between its inhabitants and its invaders) relatively costly conquered, abundant in readily exploitable natural resources, far from the great powers and the central cockpit of great power warfare, without an hereditary aristocracy monopolizing landed property and the offices of the state and therefore (in contrast to the anciens régimes of Europe) relatively costlessly democratized, . . . and so on."[1]

Rodgers, who does not hide his dislike for the concept of U.S. exceptionalism, concedes that all of this is certainly true and reflects important characteristics of American history. However, especially during the Cold War, historians in the United States stressed these differences not to point out the valid characteristics of American society but to emphasize the uniqueness of the United States. Exceptionalism, as Rodgers reminds us, "differs from difference. Difference requires contrast; exceptionalism requires a rule."[2] Proponents of American exceptionalism, therefore, have claimed that "the laws of historical motion which held Europe by the throat did not run in the United States."[3] No Robespierre, no Marx, no Goebbels, and no Stalin would disturb the quietness of American society. The "Americans, by the chance conditions of their founding, had slipped free of the underlying motor of historical change. Starting differently,

they were fated to be eternally the same—and eternally different from everyone else."[4] This exceptionalism, the exception from the rule that seemed to apply to Europe, led to the concept of U.S. superiority. Being different, unique, and exceptional was synonymous with being the best. For an American society so conceived, the Atlantic was more than a mere geographic division; it represented a moral and political abyss.

This historical interpretation came under criticism from new social historians who focused on migration and the class structure of American society. At the core of the exceptionalist's argument lay the assumption that American society was classless and immune to social upheaval and political ideologies such as socialism. These new social historians pointed out that social mobility in the United States had never been as far reaching as the old-style "rags-to-riches" mythology suggested. However, in the end, even this critical historical school proved the exceptionalist's thesis right—"there was not enough socialism in America after all."[5]

Only transnational comparative and transatlantic approaches opened a new window toward an integrated U.S. history. Alfred W. Crosby, Bernard Bailyn, and Daniel T. Rodgers put the American story back into its (trans-)Atlantic context and showed the interconnectedness of American and European societies by demonstrating that both underwent similar social and cultural changes. Crosby "revealed an Atlantic filled with plants, food crops, and pathogens—not a barrier at all but a broad highway of biological exchange."[6] Bailyn "filled the Atlantic with migrants and land speculators,"[7] and Rodgers described the countries surrounding the Atlantic as parts of a unified world of steel and iron, an Atlantic economy instead of national economies that bordered one another.[8] All of these writings have one common denominator: The Atlantic is seen less as a barrier and more as a connective lifeline between the Old World and the New.

This chapter explores an important aspect of this transatlantic community: the cultural borrowing, imitation, adaptation, and transformation of European models for the creation of a social and cultural urban infrastructure in American society during the nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, wealthy Americans crossed the Atlantic several times in search of ideas of how to organize, finance, and maintain public libraries, museums, art galleries, social housing projects,

and even schools and universities. Focusing on the travels of George Ticknor (Boston) and George Fisk Comfort (New York City)—the organizers of the Boston Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, respectively—this chapter discusses the way in which people became instrumental in this transatlantic transfer of ideas and models. Without Ticknor and Comfort, Boston would never have received a public library, and New York would not have had its prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Both Ticknor and Comfort were instrumental in creating an urban infrastructure that was deeply influenced by German models. However, it would be wrong to assume that the American urban structures narrowly followed their European blueprints. The cultural transfer of models and blueprints rarely results in the creation of an exact copy of the paradigm but rather in the establishment of a remodeled and transformed version of the original. The main focus of transfer studies should therefore be the observation and interpretation of changes that occurred in the transfer and transformational process. In other words, which ideas and concepts were chosen and why? Some ideas never made the voyage, others sank in midocean, as Rodgers puts it, and others made the voyage but were so extensively modified that they had barely anything in common with the original. Which ideas were seen as suitable for the American environment and became objects of cultural transfer?

From a review of the transfer of concepts for the organization of urban communities, it is obvious that American society depended on and borrowed heavily from its European counterparts. Major cultural and social institutions in the United States were based on European blueprints. The Metropolitan Museum of Art followed the basic organizational model of bourgeois art museums in Germany, the Boston Public Library is indebted to the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden, and the social housing projects of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York were founded on the experience of London philanthropists. European cities became laboratories for experiments with the social and cultural effects of urbanization and industrialization. London, Berlin, and Leipzig developed concepts of different aspects of modern urban life that were observed, evaluated, and copied by Americans throughout the nineteenth century. If a certain model appealed to American visitors, chances were that they would bring it back to the United States with them and put it to work at home. To speak of American exceptionalism when looking at this extensive cultural and social transfer of ideas would be inappropriate. While

both Germany and the United States represented very different political systems, both countries shared many social, economic, and cultural similarities that made this transatlantic exchange of ideas possible.[9]

Both Ticknor and Comfort went to Germany as part of their university education in the humanities and fine arts. The universities of Göttingen, Berlin, and Leipzig attracted many young American students who sought a solid academic training in history, literature, and, naturally, languages. As Peter Novick reminds us, "Graduate or professional training worthy of the name hardly existed in the United States until the century was well advanced. English universities were concerned with turning out gentlemen, not scholars—and until 1871 required degree candidates to sign the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican church."[10]

Throughout the nineteenth century, thousands of students went to Germany to complete a university degree. According to Gabriele Lingelbach, about half of all historians who became professors during the 1880s and 1890s in the United States received their academic training at a German university.[11] Ticknor and Comfort participated in this great academic migration and went to the universities of Göttingen and Berlin. However, a solid education and an academic degree were not the only purposes of their transatlantic sojourn. Both traveled extensively all over Germany in order to enjoy and participate in the cultural life of the time. Visiting museums, libraries, and art galleries and meeting important poets, politicians, and even kings were part of this transatlantic experience. Ticknor was invited for a visit by both the Saxon and the Prussian kings, participated in the court life of Dresden, and enjoyed a lifelong friendship with King John of Saxony.[12] Comfort spent more than two years (1863–1865) in Berlin, "where he pursued his studies in the University, the Academy of Fine Arts and the Royal Library. He was received in social circles of leading artists, critics, connoisseurs, and the professors of art and archeology of that great literary capital of the world, as Cornelius Keinlbach, Lepsius, Waagen, Gerhart Pieper, Von Ranke, and others."[13]

Both Comfort and Ticknor brought something back to the United States that can best be described as "cultural baggage." This term refers to their knowledge of different cultural practices and of models, blueprints, and ideas on how to organize the social and cultural infrastructure of an urban society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Based on his experience with the Royal Saxon Library, Ticknor introduced the

idea of a public lending library to Boston. And Comfort, after having visited many art museums in German cities, became one of the conceptualizers of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The founders of Boston's Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art relied heavily on German models and employed characteristic elements of comparable German institutions.

The art galleries of Dresden and Leipzig attracted large numbers of American and Canadian visitors who found there what they lacked back home. William Cullen Bryant, George Ticknor, George Fisk Comfort, and James Mavor spent much time in Dresden's and Leipzig's art galleries. The rich collections of the first and the financing scheme of the second impressed and influenced wealthy North American visitors and sparked imitations in New York and Toronto. After decades of having to cross the Atlantic in order to enjoy a rich cultural life, New York's upper class became impatient with the quality of urban life in the New World. At the end of the 1860s a public demand for the establishment of a major art museum had emerged. Bryant's and Comfort's experiences with Saxony's well-known art galleries proved to be important in the establishing of an art museum in New York.

The poet William Cullen Bryant had stayed in Europe from May to November 1845. After arriving in Liverpool, he spent most of his time traveling all over Germany; however, Bryant was especially impressed by the art museums he found in the small kingdom of Saxony. After John Jay, an eminent lawyer and the president of the Union League Club, suggested the establishment of an art museum in New York City in a speech he gave to Americans in Paris (who, in 1866, were celebrating the ninetieth anniversary of American independence), Bryant became involved in the club's attempts to popularize such an enterprise.[14] For this purpose, the Union League Club set up an art committee with George P. Putnam as chair. The club was one of the most exclusive social organizations in New York City, and its members came mainly from the old Dutch and English families (the so-called Knickerbocker families).[15] Bryant accepted Putnam's invitation to preside over a meeting on November 23, 1869, in the club's theater and to which anyone interested in establishing such an art museum was invited.[16] Some three hundred citizens—members of the Union League Club, the National Academy of Design, the New York Historical Society, the Century, the Manhattan, and other social clubs—attended this meeting. In his introductory speech, Bryant

reminded his fellow citizens that, in terms of cultural life and atmosphere, New York could not compete with even the tiniest European city or kingdom. Remembering his travels to Saxony and evoking similar memories among the listeners in his audience, Bryant said, "Yet beyond the sea there is the little kingdom of Saxony, which, with an area less than that of Massachusetts, and a population but little larger, possesses a Museum of the Fine Arts marvelously rich, which no man who visits the continent of Europe is willing to own that he has not seen."[17]

Following Bryant's emotional speech, George Fisk Comfort, who was regarded as an expert on the organization of art museums, gave an enthusiastic and informed talk about art museums and the organizing principles of art collections.[18] After having received a thorough education in French, German, Italian, and Spanish, Comfort left for Europe in 1860. For five years he traveled extensively through Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, Austria, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Great Britain. Not much is known about his travels—how much time he spent in each country or which universities and museums he visited—however, we know from his letters and notes that he spent several years in Germany. In a letter to Rev. John Makan (Allegheny College) dated Apr. 14, 1866, Comfort states that he had spent "nearly five years in traveling through most of the classic lands of ancient and medieval art, studying the monuments and museums, and devoting nearly half of [his] time to formal study in the German universities."[19] In the same letter Comfort points out that he had "paid much attention to the organization of academies of art and museums of art."[20] While studying in Berlin, Comfort visited art museums in Nuremberg, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, Posen, and Bremen in order to collect information about the organization of the art institutions in these cities and the objects shown in their exhibits.[21]

While exploring these cities, Comfort encountered a rich, cultural urban life that included art museums, private art exhibitions, and art associations. By 1850 nearly every German city had its own art association *(Kunstverein)*.[22] Wealthy and art-loving bourgeois citizens founded these groups in order to organize art exhibits and support artists. Within the context of nineteenth-century German society, art associations represented the drive for bourgeois emancipation from a feudal monopoly over art. By establishing their own art scene, the bourgeoisie claimed a leading position within urban society and by financing artistic endeavors proved its economic power and its desire to produce a new, middle-class culture. Such organizations could easily bring together several hundred

George Fisk Comfort. Illustration provided courtesy of Syracuse University. All rights reserved.

members. The Leipzig art association, for example, received support from about 980 members in 1837.[23]

Art museums became the focal point of cultural life in German cities. In most cases, local art associations provided their organizational and financial basis. The first such museum was built in Bremen between 1845 and 1849.[24] Generally, these museums were financed by a large number of wealthy citizens who provided the money for the buildings and the collections they housed.[25] The museums in Leipzig, Bremen, and Hamburg were the result of collective philanthropy; that is, hundreds of well-to-do citizens gave money for the museum building and the exhibitions: "Influenced by the cultural life Comfort had encountered in many German cities, he expressed himself as 'overwhelmingly impressed by the vast gulf, wider and deeper than the Atlantic Ocean, that separated the institutions and conditions of education and culture in continental Europe

from those in America,' speaking especially of that time, the early sixties. And he felt impelled to dedicate his life, as far as his circumstances should permit, to awaking a more active interest in higher culture, especially in esthetic and artistic lines, in his native country, particularly by establishing institutions, as schools and museums, for promoting and diffusing artistic education and culture in the people at large."[26]

Using his knowledge of how museums had been set up and run in German cities, Comfort intended to propagate the idea of establishing art museums in the United States when he returned in 1865.[27] He seized an opportunity to realize his dreams by instituting the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. While New York's middle class certainly possessed the financial means to create the desired institution, they lacked an organizer who could supervise its founding. Since Bryant and Comfort were close friends, Bryant suggested inviting Comfort to the organizational meeting.

Following the German example, Comfort recommended the formation of a membership group, the American version of the German art association, to collect enough financial and material support for the project from prosperous citizens. At the initial gathering in November 1869, a provisional committee of fifty prominent New Yorkers was formed to set up the Metropolitan Art Museum Association. Among its members were William H. Aspinwall, William T. Blodgett, George Fisk Comfort, Fredrick Law Olmsted, and Rutherford Stuyvesant.[28] Within this committee, a subcommittee of thirteen men under the leadership of George P. Putnam was appointed to prepare a constitution for the association. In May 1870 this organization was incorporated and its constitution published.

The structure of this new group adopted some features from the German art associations Comfort had observed and some from the social clubs of New York City. Similar to the Union Club and the Union League Club, membership in the Metropolitan Art Museum Association was initially limited to 250. People who aspired to belong to the organization had to be nominated by its trustees. Only if two-thirds of the members approved the nomination was the aspirant accepted.[29] This procedure was evidently copied from the Union Club and the Union League Club to ensure that only New York's well-established families would gain access to the group. However, compared to the nomination process in both of those clubs, the membership of the new art association was even more exclusive. While membership in both the Union Club and the Union League

Club was limited in number and restricted to Knickerbocker families, it was sufficient that a new member be proposed by one existing member and seconded by another. Neither of the two clubs required a two-thirds majority vote for the acceptance of new members. The nomination and election procedure would ensure the exclusion of newer families.[30]

The founding of an art association, which was in fact not an association of artists but of philanthropists, closely followed the Leipzig model. As Margaret Menninger and Anett Müller have shown, Leipzig's art association differed from other German art associations in the social profile of its membership. While, for instance, the Dresden art association had a large number of artists among its members, the Leipzig art group was almost exclusively an organization of wealthy citizens who were interested in the promotion and funding of art. In 1876 less than 7 percent of the members of Leipzig's art association and less than 5 percent of the members of the Metropolitan Art Museum Association were artists.[31]

In Leipzig and New York, the primary goal of these groups was to establish an art museum and create a membership organization that would provide the financial basis for the operation of the museum. Similar to Leipzig's, the organizational committee in New York decided to establish several membership classes; however, while the Leipzig organizers considered two classes sufficient, New York's museum makers insisted on a three-tier system. For a contribution of $1,000 one could become a Patron of the Museum, for $500 a Fellow in Perpetuity, and for $200 a Fellow for Life.[32] In the end, this tiered arrangement represented the system of collective philanthropy as it had been propounded by the Leipzig art association decades earlier.

The transatlantic transfer of models and ideas has never been a one-way street. After New York had imported the model of an art museum in the 1860s and 1870s that itself became a model for subsequent museums in the United States and Canada, German museum reformers attempted—around 1900—to reimport the idea of museum associations.[33] The example of the library reform movement shows how ideas traveled from Dresden and Göttingen to Boston in the first half of the nineteenth century and back to Germany at the turn of the twentieth century.[34]

It is considered common knowledge among historians of the public library movement in Germany that the concept of the lending library was developed in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth

century and brought to Germany by Constantin Nörrenberg in the late 1890s.[35] Historians have assumed that the public library in Boston provided the model for subsequent ones in the United States and Europe;[36] however, researchers have failed to determine what sparked the establishment of the Boston Public Library. Two eminent scholars and Bostonians, George Ticknor and Edward Everett, engaged in this project and convinced the city government of Boston and wealthy Bostonians to support the enterprise. However, as in the case of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the foundation of the Boston Public Library would have been inconceivable without German models and examples. George Ticknor, who spent several years in Germany, used his experience with the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden to organize the Boston Public Library.[37]

Ticknor went to Europe several times, first between 1815 and 1819 to study at the University of Göttingen, then between 1835 and 1838 for research and enjoyment, and again during the 1850s to purchase books for the Boston Public Library.[38] In contrast to Comfort, Ticknor gives a detailed account of his encounters in Germany in his extensive diaries. His European travel journals "consist of eighteen volumes, numbering some 8,900 manuscript pages."[39] In 1815 Ticknor, together with Everett, went from Liverpool and London to Göttingen, "the foremost university in Germany."[40] He stayed there for more than two years studying literature, philosophy, history, and the classics. During this time Ticknor enjoyed using the university library, which had a collection of two hundred thousand volumes and was by far one of the largest in the German Confederation. At his disposal were not only books he had ordered for use in Boston "at great expense from Europe, [but also] works he had known only by name, and volumes totally new to him."[41]

What impressed Ticknor even more than the number of books was the easy access to the library. He noted in his diary that "Every student can take out six separate works, and exchange them if he pleases, every day; and those of us, who come from a great distance and may, therefore, be supposed to be particularly anxious to use the library freely, are not restricted as to the number of books we may take out. I have received assurance that I may call for them indefinitely. The mode of taking them out is simple and at the same time singular. You send in the name of the book you want on a slip of paper with your own name and the librarians look out [for] the book in the course of twenty four hours."[42]

After a year in Göttingen, Ticknor embarked together with Everett on a trip through Leipzig, Dresden, Jena, Weimar, Halle, and Berlin. During

his stay in Dresden, Ticknor was introduced to the royal family and visited Dresden's famous art gallery and the Royal Saxon Library, which he described as being "beyond praise."[43] This library housed about 200,000 books, 2,000 manuscripts, 90,000 pamphlets, and 12,000 maps. Among its rarities were the first book printed in German (in 1459), the first edition of the Vulgate Bible, a beautifully illustrated copy of the Koran, and a copy of a pre-Columbian book from Mexico. Most important, this library was open to the public for four hours every day. Comparing the Göttingen and Dresden libraries, Ticknor noted that "[e]ach has its advantages—This has a greater number of old books and the Göttingen a greater number of recent ones—This is better managed with shelves and more elegant—the Göttingen has a catalogue . . . and is a more practical library."[44]

Many American visitors echoed this praise for the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden. For Henry E. Dwight, author of the widely read travel guide *Travels in the North of Germany* (1829), the Dresden library was "one of the most valuable in Germany."[45] The library occupied "the second story of the Japanese palace, where it was removed to in the year 1788, and is arranged, according to the different subjects, in twenty-two of the saloons [*sic*] and rooms of this edifice. One is devoted to manuscripts, another to geography; one of the saloons [*sic*] and five of the rooms to history, the history of literature, andc. Oriental literature,

Dresden, Japanese palace at the Wilhelmsplatz around 1845 by J. C. A. Richter. Courtesy of Städtische Galerie Dresden, Kunstsammlung.

works on the fine arts, romance, lexicography, medicine, andc., have each a separate apartment."[46]

Dwight judged that though "the library of Göttingen can boast of a more valuable historical collection, it is inferior to this in works on classical literature."[47] More important, access to the library was, according to Dwight, open to everyone: "Students, and many of the inhabitants, are allowed to take books to their houses, with almost the same freedom as from a circulating library."[48] Furthermore, the "library is open every day, except the Sabbath." The organization of the book collections was considered to be very convenient "and perfectly intelligible. Even a stranger would be able, in a very short period, to lay his hand on any work which is to be found on its shelves."[49]

In 1819 Ticknor returned to Boston to assume a professorship in French and Spanish (both language and literature) at Harvard University. Having enjoyed the advantages of the libraries of Göttingen and Dresden, he was determined to enlarge Harvard's library and create a new public library in Boston using those European examples. When "he returned from Europe in 1819, after enjoying great advantages from the public libraries of the large cities and universities which he visited, the idea of a grand, free library, to supply similar resources in this country, was"—according to the memoir his wife and oldest daughter prepared—"talked of by him with a few of his friends, and was for a time uppermost in his thoughts."[50] During his second visit to Europe (1835–1838), Ticknor spent nearly half a year in Dresden (November 20, 1835 to May 12, 1836) in order to use the public library for his research. Enjoying the advantages of this great institution, Ticknor noted the following in his diary: "I have sometimes had fifty or sixty volumes at my lodgings, and there is no limit on the time a stranger may keep them, unless somebody else asks for them. . . . I have books now, that I have had three months."[51] Given these excellent conditions, Ticknor was even more aware of the greater advantages of German libraries.[52]

When he returned to Boston, Ticknor "watched with interest every symptom of the awakening of public attention in America to this subject, and every promise of opportunity for creating similar institutions."[53] The establishment of a great public library in New York by John Jacob Astor prompted a number of Boston's Brahmins to agree that their city needed a public library; otherwise, it would have to "yield to New York in letters and in commerce."[54] As early as July 1838, Astor publicly announced that

he considered leaving a substantial amount of money to the city of New York for the establishment of a public library.[55] In his last will and testament of August 22, 1839, Astor "set aside four hundred thousand dollars as a bequest for the establishment of a public library 'to be accessible at all reasonable hours and times, for general use, free of expense to persons resorting thereto, subject only to such control and regulations as the trustees may from time to time exercise and establish for general convenience'; specifying the location as the corner of Lafayette Place and Art Street (now Astor Place), fixing the sum to be expended for books at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars."[56] The money for this project would become available only after Astor's death, which occurred on March 29, 1848. The library building, stocked with nearly ninety thousand volumes, was opened to the public in January 1854.[57]

It was Joseph Green Cogswell who convinced John Jacob Astor to dedicate part of his fortune to the founding of a public library in New York. Cogswell, like so many young Americans, had spent four years in Europe (1816–1820), where he studied with George Ticknor and Edward Everett at the University of Göttingen. Cogswell, Ticknor, and Everett not only studied together but also traveled all over Europe as a group and explored the cultural life in Berlin, Dresden, London, and Paris. Like Ticknor, Cogswell taught at Harvard after he returned to his home country. Between 1820 and 1823, he also served as assistant librarian for Harvard's library.

In 1836 Cogswell moved to New York and became a private tutor for the children of Samuel Ward, an eminent New York banker and friend of John Jacob Astor. Ward introduced Cogswell and Astor, "who had given up active connection with business" and was searching for ideas on how he could leave some of his fortune for public purposes.[58] Cogswell, who frequently exchanged letters with George Ticknor, wrote the following to him on July 20, 1838: "I must tell you a word of what I have been doing for some months past, or you may think I have been wasting time. Early in January Mr. Astor consulted me about an appropriation of some three or four hundred thousand dollars, which he intended to leave for public purposes, and I urged him to give it for a library, which I finally brought him to agree to do."[59] One week later Cogswell traveled to Boston to meet Ticknor and discuss this issue. In subsequent years, Ticknor and Cogswell exchanged letters informing each other of the progress of the library question in New York and Boston, and Ticknor probably shared his

fresh experiences of the royal library in Dresden with Cogswell.[60] However, Cogswell did not share Ticknor's enthusiasm for a public lending library.[61] This issue was hotly debated by Ticknor and Everett during the founding of the Boston Public Library.

Following the example set by the royal library in Dresden, Ticknor favored a library that "should circulate its books freely—that is, citizens should be allowed to take books home rather than having to read them at the library."[62] Furthermore, Ticknor demanded that, in such a library, "any popular books, tending to moral and intellectual improvement, should be furnished in such numbers of copies that many persons, if they desired it, could be reading the same work at the same time."[63] Ticknor also suggested establishing a department of consultation that would hold newspapers, encyclopedias, and dictionaries that should never be removed from the library.[64] Everett, however, was skeptical of the concept of allowing citizens to take books out of the library. In a letter to Ticknor, he pointed out that those "who have been connected with the administration of such libraries [i.e., lending libraries] are apt to get discouraged, by the loss and damage resulting from the loan of books. My present impressions are in favour of making the amplest provision in the library for the use of books here."[65] In the end, Ticknor convinced the other Bostonians involved in the founding of the public library to allow the free circulation of books.

As early as the 1840s, the city government had collected some four or five thousand books and pamphlets and stocked them in the attic at city hall. This collection was "entirely unsuited to stimulate either the popular taste for reading, or the disposition of the Common Council to make appropriations."[66] The city council provided $1,000 for a public library, which was used for the purchase of books. However, the library itself did not yet exist. In this situation, Ticknor authored a report for the trustees of the Boston Public Library (a committee of wealthy Bostonians interested in the establishment of a public library), in which he explained his plan for the founding of such an institution. This plan came to the attention of Joshua Bates, "a self-made banker who had grown up in Boston and who had become a partner in the London firm of Baring Brothers." Bates, who enjoyed reading, informed Ticknor in October 1852 that he would provide $50,000 for this future library if the city would finance a building to house it.[67]

Bates's donation was significantly smaller than the amount that Astor had provided for a public library in New York just a few years earlier.

However, it was sufficient to realize Ticknor's and Everett's dream of establishing a municipal library. Ticknor convinced Bates "that his donation should be funded, the income only to be applied to the purchase of books."[68] In this way, an annual income of $3,000 would be available for the acquisition of new books. In the following years Bates donated thousands of books to the new library, which received its own building in January 1858. Wealthy Bostonians joined him in donating books and money. By 1862 the Boston Public Library administered five funds totaling $95,000 and producing an annual income of $5,700, which was devoted to the purchase of books.[69]

It was the Boston Public Library's policy on book circulation and not the financing scheme that made this institution the starting point of the public library movement in the United States, where the early libraries were mostly reference libraries with restricted access. As we have seen, Ticknor had insisted that the public library should serve as an educational institution for everyone and that books should be freely circulated: "[C]itizens should be allowed to take books home rather than having to read them at the library."[70] The library was thus seen as an institution for the betterment of the "lower classes" and their integration into society. This concept was adopted by many other American cities and found its admirers among German library reformers of the 1890s.

In 1893 Constantin Nörrenberg, the chief librarian of the university library in Kiel, traveled to the United States to participate in the World's Congress of Librarians in Chicago.[71] During his stay in the United States, Nörrenberg collected material on the public library movement there. He was impressed by the positive results achieved by this interest group and was convinced that the concept of the public library should be brought to German cities. Back in Germany, Nörrenberg called for a reform of the German libraries informed and guided by the experiences of the public library movement in the United States. In 1895 he published a detailed explanation of the main goals and functions of a public library.[72] This was the beginning of the public library movement in Germany; eventually it led to the establishment of public libraries based on a perceived U.S. model—the circulating library—in all major German cities.[73] That the American public library movement, strictly speaking, goes back to the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden was known neither to the people actually involved in the similar interest group in Germany nor to the scholars

researching the history of the movement in both the United States and Germany.

Nevertheless, the model of the free public library brought (back) to Germany by Nörrenberg differed greatly from the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden. The latter was intended to be a collection of the most important and influential writings in several academic disciplines. As such, the Dresden library displayed the economic and cultural power of its owner, the king of Saxony, and was meant for use by scholars from all over the world and not only by average readers from Dresden. As one of the eminent scholars of his time, Ticknor profited from the use of this library's rich collections. The Boston library was not planned as a scholarly library but rather one that was to serve the greater community by providing books that were of interest to that city's normal readers. While the Royal Saxon Library in Dresden attempted to present a universal collection—buying books in every field of knowledge—the Boston Public Library limited its field of collection to books that would educate the readers morally and esthetically. By providing multiple copies of high-demand novels and short stories, the Boston Public Library appealed to a very different readership. It was this concept of popular education and social betterment that traveled back to Germany.[74]

NOTES

1. Daniel T. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," in *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past,* edited by Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 21. See also Seymour Martin Lipset, "American Society in European Perspective," in *Civic Engagement in the Atlantic Community,* edited by Josef Janning, Charles Kupchan, and Dirk Rumberg (Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 1999), 23–54; Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45 (1993): 1–43; Ian Tyrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1031–55; Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism* (New York: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1991).

2. Rodgers, "Exceptionalism," 22.

3. Ibid., 28.

4. Ibid., 29.

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GABRIELE LINGELBACH

Cultural Borrowing or Autonomous Development

American and German Universities in the Late Nineteenth Century

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the German university system is in the midst of a far-reaching process of transformation: The content and forms of the various programs of study are just as subject to these changes as the structures of leadership and the career paths of their faculty. In this process, American universities are often cited by German commentators as models for the imminent changes. However, this reference to the superiority of U.S. institutions is seldom made without a nostalgic reference to the nineteenth century, when the relationship (so it is argued) was reversed: University reformers in the United States looked enviously to Germany, and the "German model" inspired and guided them in their plans for reforming the postsecondary educational system. Following the logic of this argument, this relationship remained turned upside down until the decline of the German university in the twentieth century.[1]

This topic is found in research as well: In many portrayals of German or American university history or of German-American relations, one reads that the German university system was exported to the United States and that the reform of U.S. colleges, especially since the 1860s, was oriented toward the German university model. On the other side of the Atlantic, John A. Walz, for instance, asserted this quite early on: "The influence of German universities upon higher education in the United States has been profound."[2] And as late as 1995, Hermann Röhrs, a scholar of German education, echoed: "During the decisive phase of the expansion of the American university, the influence from Germany was predominant."[3]

Critical voices expressing doubt about this thesis are generally ignored.[4] Most are much more content to describe "pilgrimages" to Germany by young American scholars, who, after their studies in Berlin, Heidelberg, or Leipzig, these authors say, returned to the United States in order to erect or transform the universities in their native country based on the German example.[5] If we examine these periods of study in Germany more closely, however, it becomes apparent that they did not always result in extensive knowledge of the German university system. Many Americans stayed abroad only briefly and visited a wide variety of German institutions of higher education for one or sometimes two years, frequently in a rather erratic manner. Contact with German fellow students and professors was rare, as the American travelers often lived in so-called American colonies and thus generally spent their everyday university life with their compatriots. Only a small portion penetrated the inner circle of young scholars working with a German professor. As a result, most American travelers in Europe gained rather superficial and fragmentary knowledge of the German system. Thus, every tour of study in Germany paved the way for the potential importation of German university structures to the United States.

One can call the validity of the idea of the German university model into question for other reasons as well. One of them concerns the assumptions implicit in the concept of the German model—for example, that international contacts more or less "automatically" lead to cultural transfer and that national university systems (or at least parts of these) can be imported and then adapted to the conditions in another country. But are not university systems autonomous structures that instead develop endogenously within national structures? Does the national determination of university systems, their path dependency, and complex structuring not prevent an actual, empirically provable takeover?

Discussion of this question starts with a brief characterization of the American university landscape around the middle of the nineteenth century. This is followed by a depiction of the reforms in that system between the 1860s and the turn of the century. The next section takes up the parallels and differences between German and American universities in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the German system was presumed to function as a model for the reforms in the United States. The final section illustrates, by means of a concrete example, the magnitude and limitations of cultural transfer among university systems.[6]

Shortly before the Civil War, observers of the educational landscape in the United States noted a fairly desolate picture: Around 1860 the post-secondary education sector was highly fragmented.[7] Approximately 250 colleges were attended by the few young Americans who continued their education after completing secondary school. Most of these post-secondary institutions were relatively small and suffered from a chronic lack of funds, as they received only meager grants from the state and thus depended on support from churches, tuition, and donations. They were generally under denominational direction; that is, the trustees, university presidents, and instructors were usually all members and officials of the same church. In addition to these, there were several colleges run by individual states as well as a number of technically oriented institutions and a few professional schools.

Because there were no prescribed rules as to how such institutions were to be organized and administered, their structures were very heterogeneous. Also quite diverse was the educational background of the students, who began their studies with widely varying academic preparation due to the irregular and poorly developed school system. On the whole, the quality of this schooling, and thus that of university instruction as well, was rather low. The duration of instruction was generally four years, and students entering in any given year attended all courses together as a class. Their curriculum was fixed, with ancient languages, religion, metaphysics, and moral philosophy playing a central role.[8]

Specialization was just as rare as research; rather, the goal of instruction was defined as the learning of knowledge already known, with the intention of building character, developing intellectual capabilities, and improving mental discipline. Accordingly, an acroamatic form of instruction developed (i.e., the teacher read aloud while the students took notes and learned by heart what they heard along with information from their textbooks). Their successful memorization was examined orally in what were known as "recitations." Lectures, as such, were a rare form of instruction, and seminars were entirely unknown. In these colleges no true scientific education occurred, and students were not prepared for a profession, apart from clerical training. Rather, the colleges acted in loco parentis and were run like boarding schools, with the instructors expected to not only teach but also supervise the students.

Over the course of the final third of the nineteenth century, postsecondary education in the United States underwent a decisive transformation.[9] First, there was an expanding demand for university education: Not only did the total number of students rise, but an ever-increasing share of each age group opted to study at a college or university. At the same time, the fragmentation process of the university system was halted; as a consequence, it was no longer the number of institutions that increased, but their average size. As a result, a number of larger universities emerged. The endowment activities of wealthy philanthropists such as Rockefeller, who called into being institutions of a previously unknown magnitude, intensified this trend. The process of concentration was a prerequisite for the emergence of disciplines at the universities, for only now were their faculties large enough to warrant the instructors' specialization in specific subjects.

The concentration process was also a precondition for the establishment of university libraries and laboratories, which for the first time created at least the potential for research. This development was reinforced by the introduction of electives: More institutions opted not to dictate a fixed curriculum for their students and instead allowed them to choose more freely among the courses offered. As a result, the bonds between the members of each class loosened. The objectives of studying changed as well: The goals (of the larger institutions at least) were no longer seen to be mental discipline and religious instruction but rather the education of the next generation of scholars and/or the students' preparation for certain careers.

These institutions established specific schools for the education of professionals and were granted the right of certification; thus they increasingly controlled the access of specialists to the market of free professions. In addition to the professional schools, several universities also founded what were known as "graduate departments," in which young scholars were educated in specific fields to enter the expanding field of postsecondary education. Increasingly, the education of these doctoral students became so regularized and professionalized that a standardized academic career pattern developed within the academic sector. This, in turn, was a prerequisite for any chance of receiving an appointment in the quickly nationalizing academic job market.[10]

In keeping with the transformation of the universities, career-oriented and scientific disciplines (e.g., technical subjects, natural sciences, and several social sciences) enjoyed an increasing popularity, while ancient languages and moral philosophy experienced a clear decline. As a consequence of this new orientation, both the administrative and instructional personnel of the universities became secularized. Last but not least, the forms of instruction changed: In graduate departments, recitations were thrust aside more and more and replaced by lectures and seminars. The acroamatic form of instruction was discarded in favor of dialogic instruction, in which—according to the ideal—instructors and students participated equally in the expansion of knowledge.

The question now arises as to whether German models influenced this development in the final third of the nineteenth century, as descriptions of university history frequently assert, and, if so, to what extent. The answer is complicated by three facts: First, German universities themselves were going through a transformation process during this period; that is, the supposed "model" was not static but undergoing decisive changes.[11] Depending on when university reformers in the United States looked to Germany, perhaps for inspiration from the structures there, they discovered very different elements: After the middle of the century they still saw remnants of the traditional family university, but in the 1890s many universities had already become the large-scale, scientific enterprises that had begun to develop in the 1870s.[12]

Second, the German university system was more differentiated than the term "model" would lead one to believe; after all, in Germany there was a wide range of variation with regard to institutional structuring:[13] In 1880 it made a big difference whether Tübingen, with its very specific faculty divisions, or Berlin, with the conditions in the capital that set the University of Berlin apart from all others, was used as an example.

Third, the reformers in the United States were only selectively informed about the German university system. Either they had studied in Germany and were familiar with it from their own personal experience, in which case their conceptions of what a "German university" was differed widely (depending on where, how long, and how intensively they had been there), or their understanding of German universities was acquired only indirectly, from documents or oral reports, neither of which presented an unadulterated picture of the reality: Indeed, they were

highly selective and in some cases clearly inaccurate.[14] These three phenomena create methodological difficulties in investigating the so-called influence of the German university model on postsecondary education in the United States. They must be kept in mind to avoid our falling into the trap of oversimplified analysis of the cultural transfer between German and U.S. universities.

In investigating the possible influence of a German university model (however conceived) in the United States, the comparative method presents one way to approach this problem. A comparative analysis can clarify the magnitude and limits of cultural transfer: Only where parallels exist was it possible that the reformers had oriented themselves toward Germany in the reform decades from about 1870 to 1900.

The parallels are basically the consequence of the preceding described reforms of the postsecondary education in the United States since the 1860s. As in the United States, in part at the same time and in part slightly before, five processes are ascertainable in Germany. First, in both countries it is clear that a university boom took place in the scope, frequency, financing, and societal relevance of this institution: Ever more students and increasing numbers of instructors populated the universities, whose budgets experienced significant growth. At the same time, studying became an increasingly recognized path to social advancement, which was also enjoyed by the professors, who now received more recognition from society than they had at the beginning of the century. To an increased degree, universities took on functions of orientation within society, for which the public gave them newfound respect.

Second, there was a far-reaching monopolization of research and higher professional education (which, however, was dismantled in the twentieth century) on the part of the universities. Germany still had its academies (i.e., state-financed institutions at which only research but no instruction took place), but many of these were closely linked with universities. In the United States the academies had never achieved the recognition their European counterparts enjoyed and thus hardly constituted competition to the universities in the field of research. "Research" in the United States had been instead a matter of private scholars and learned societies, whose importance waned in favor of the universities over the course of the nineteenth century. In the 1800s the state research institutions were chiefly dedicated to a few application-oriented disciplines such as the agricultural sciences.

With regard to professional training, the demands on the qualification

and specialization of education for the senior career paths in both countries rose with the diversification and differentiation of economic and state structures. For a certain segment of the population, university studies became a prerequisite for a professional career.[15] Professionalization referred not only to the students attending the universities but also—and this is the third essential trend—to the university faculties.[16]

During the early nineteenth century the training of some of the young scientists had been somewhat erratic and in some cases hardly existed, especially in the United States; in the second half of the century, a standardized career path developed, complete with required examinations. Professors who entered their fields from other professions through what was known as "horizontal recruiting" became the exception. This was also connected with the universities' becoming more "scientific" and with the standardization of research and instruction, which constitute the fourth process that produced parallel developments in Germany and the United States. More elaborate methods in research were used, and at the same time the transmission of knowledge was subjected to norms and rules that were formulated quite similarly throughout both Germany and North America.

Finally, the trend toward "becoming more scientific" led to more specialization and differentiation among the disciplines: As knowledge of a subject continued to grow and could no longer be surveyed at a glance—let alone taught—by an individual, previously large disciplines such as physics and history disintegrated into subdisciplines that became increasingly independent of their parent fields.[17]

At first glance these parallels between developments in Germany and the United States are astounding; however, significant differences become apparent when we investigate the concrete forms of these processes (i.e., the actual ways in which these processes were manifested). This is already evident in the institutional structures observed: First of all, what was called the "university revolution" in the United States encompassed only a minority of institutions. Very few new "research universities" were founded, and only a few of the existing colleges underwent the reform process described earlier.[18] The majority of colleges remained small, could not afford equipment for research and specialization, did not create graduate departments, continued to prescribe a curriculum, carried on the conventional forms of instruction, and so on. This went on for quite some time. Even today, foreign visitors to the United States tend to focus on the Ivy League universities with their excellent research

achievements but fail to recognize that behind these elite institutions lies a majority of smaller and medium-sized institutions that offer only a four-year education, do not grant any doctoral degrees, and produce hardly any of the Nobel prize winners with which the U.S. research environment so impresses the international community.

The picture of the American "university revolution" is also the product of a historiography that can be described as "whiggish," in that it reproduces a teleologically created success story without noting the remnants of tradition, continuities, and drawbacks.[19] However, if one includes the entire sector of postsecondary education in a comparison with Germany, it becomes apparent that the German university environment was significantly less fragmented and certainly more concentrated and homogeneous than its counterpart in the United States.

Moreover, in those locations where the described reform process actually occurred at American universities, it involved not the entire institution but only part of it: the graduate department. The undergraduate departments, by contrast, remained significantly more traditional and schooled. Because the acroamatic form of instruction remained dominant there, freedom of learning and teaching remained just as limited as the development toward becoming more scientific and specialized. Research was not within the range of activities at undergraduate institutions. This bifurcation of universities was and remains completely unknown in Germany and had a decisive influence on teachers' and students' activities.

Another difference between Germany and the United States is that the majority of the universities in North America remained private institutions, whereas their German counterparts fell under the jurisdiction of the individual states. This had major consequences, which are manifested first of all in the management structures: Colleges and universities in the United States were directed by trustees who made, or at least approved, decisions on fundamental issues and who also selected a president to supervise the everyday business affairs and to be responsible for a larger or smaller area of university affairs. The rights of the faculty to participate in decisions were expanded only very gradually.

In Germany, on the other hand, the everyday affairs of the universities were dealt with autonomously. The faculty itself made decisions of lesser or greater import, and the rector was weak in comparison to university presidents in the United States. The faculties found their adversary not in the rector but rather in the state, which interfered in the supposed

autonomy of the universities time and again, especially on issues of appointments. These decision-making structures, in turn, had implications for the confessional composition and the ideological orientation of chairs in Germany: Professorial mentalities formed by anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic prejudices, traditional and conservative ideologies, and fears of social deprivation functioned as barriers to becoming faculty, not only for Jews and Catholics but also for Social Democrats.[20]

Furthermore, the state not only made personnel decisions (along with the faculty) in Germany but was also the source of funding. Thus universities ultimately depended on their governments for their existence.[21] The situation was different for universities in the United States, for they were financed by three sources: first, the individual states, which provided larger or smaller sums according to the status of the university; second, private donations; and finally, tuitions. American universities were thus acting in a market where they competed for support from various funding sources. Thus, in contrast to German universities, they not only tried to attract students but also considered actual or potential donors in their public relations and policies. Academic freedom in the United States was, therefore, restricted by structures and interests that were very different from those in Germany, where they were primarily limited by state interference and where—another significant difference—the professors were civil servants who received their authority (and also their self-confidence) from their role as servants of the state. In the United States, professors had to be useful to society in one way or another; at the very least, society had to grant them their right to exist—a right that could, of course, be rescinded.

In Germany, the different structures of management and financing caused academic freedom to be restricted by the state on the one hand and by the faculty on the other.[22] Consequently, there was great pressure especially on the extremely dependent young academics to conform. In the United States, it was the public and especially the donors who exacted conformist behavior. This is apparent in the cases of dismissal in the 1880s and 1890s, when a number of social scientists critically confronted the capitalist system and employers' strategies during social conflicts.[23] The University of Chicago, for instance, dismissed national economist E. W. Bemis after he criticized the railroad companies during the Pullman strike in 1894.

The internal structures of German universities and of the few larger research universities in the United States were also very different. Ger-

man universities were generally divided into four departments: theology, law, medicine, and philosophy, which included the humanities and natural sciences. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the departments increasingly differentiated internally because of the establishment of more and more disciplines, as can be concluded from the seminars and institutes founded at this time.[24] At universities in the United States, a different internal structure in the form of undergraduate departments, graduate departments, and, in some cases, professional schools, prevailed. The first of these were sometimes broken up into divisions—groups of subjects headed by a dean. To date, a significant difference between German and American universities is the strong position and wide scope of decision-making power of these deans, who are much better able to implement changes than their German counterparts.

The established career pattern of faculty at U.S. and German universities also differed: In the German academic system, the *Habilitation* (postdoctoral dissertation) and *Privatdozentur* (unpaid university lectureship) were significant components.[25] A great part of the international influence of German science in the nineteenth century is attributed to the compulsion for research achievement and originality inherent in this design. American career patterns, by contrast, were less dependent upon a person's social background (in Germany, aspiring academics in most cases needed financial support from their families as long as they had only an unpaid university lectureship). And it was not especially important for the candidates to know the "rules of the game" if they had a certain academic *habitus* (which was required for a successful Habilitation). The lowest level of the educational hierarchy in the United States consisted of a paid position, which, at least theoretically, diminished the motivation for research but at the same time reduced the pressure to conform. After completing their dissertation, American scholars did not have to write a second book but could increase their career chances by means other than scientific achievements, for instance through good teaching or administrative competence.

Finally, differences were also apparent in the students in both countries, especially with regard to the representation of the sexes. Whereas in the United States, women were permitted at a number of colleges as early as 1833, the first German female students were not allowed to enroll until around the turn of the century—and in Prussia not until 1908. At that time more than twenty thousand women were studying at 80 percent of colleges and universities in the United States.[26] The social

mechanism of recruiting the student body was, on the whole, more open than in Germany. In both countries, this had consequences for everyday life at the university.[27]

Even on the basis of seemingly unimportant elements, it is clear that American universities stuck to their traditions and refused to adopt German university structures. For instance, tuition was charged in both countries, but in Germany the students participating in any given course paid their fees directly to the professors. Therefore, established professors (who had a pecuniary interest in such lectures) taught the more popular courses. In the United States, the introductory courses, which generally had many students, were instead taught by younger lecturers. This can perhaps explain why—during generational changes—paradigm shifts occurred in the United States and may be one of the reasons that, in America, disciplines are often less traditionalist than in Germany, a phenomenon that is particularly evident in the humanities.

To sum up, parallels with regard to institutional structures exist along the broad lines of development in both countries but are primarily found in only a relatively limited part of the whole system. Their concrete manifestations, however, were marked by great differences between Germany and the United States, and these dissimilarities are the reason those lines of development do not run entirely parallel to each other. Even today, fundamental differences remain between the two university systems.

Some would maintain that the institutional structures were not the core of the German university but only the less important mantle for the more important *idea* of the university (i.e., for the essential features of German science). This objection can be countered by showing that institutional structures in scientific organizations have essential formative power on cognitive contents. Nevertheless, a comparison of the ideas developed in the universities in Germany and the United States concerning their own role and mission may be helpful here.

There were many differences in the ways that German and American universities saw themselves, that is, in the roles they assigned to themselves in the nineteenth century. During a significant part of that century, the former pursued primarily the education of civil servants—the academic career training for future officials. Research, in contrast, was for quite some time not an objective in Germany. This finally changed over the course of the nineteenth century. Around 1900 professional training,

research, and the education of the next generation of academics were recognized goals at most institutions. The universities took on the additional task of general academic education.

Thus, the way German universities saw themselves was marked by a clear difference between their ideal and their reality: In the depiction of the German concept of the university, one generally thinks of Wilhelm von Humboldt's characterization of it as a place of autonomy and the unity of research and instruction, where teachers and students carry out the research ideal together in solitude and freedom and thereby develop into well-educated personalities.[28] However, more recent research has established that this conceptualization was not adopted as a discourse for German universities until around 1900.[29] Only at the turn of the century, when German universities reached the peak of their international dominance but were also at the beginning of a spreading crisis, was Humboldt's key text edited. He thus became a leading light in educational reform and the crucial reference of the German academic identity.

With this development, the central concepts of "unity of teaching and research," the "freedom to teach and learn," and the "education of the moral man through science" were established as being the outstanding features of German universities. This rhetoric concealed the underlying realities, however: Studies were generally oriented toward a livelihood; the education of practitioners of a certain profession was a greater focus of university life than the formation of personalities; and the unity of research and teaching had long since been undermined by this development.

Furthermore, the growing hierarchical differentiation of the major research centers rendered meaningless the Humboldtian corporative principle of collegiality. The rhetoric also concealed the fact that the state, in contrast to Humboldt's liberal conceptions, cultivated academic control over the institutions and frequently rescinded academic autonomy, often because it wanted university research to serve the needs of the industrial state. Specialization, too, had undermined Humboldt's idea of the unity of the sciences as embodied in the philosophy department.

In the United States, the situation was somewhat different. The striking discrepancy between the interior world and its external image, so characteristic of German universities around 1900, was missing. Nevertheless, there was a lack of unity with regard to the external image. In an influential study, Laurence Veysey has established that the university system in the United States differed with regard to its own objectives:[30] For

the majority of colleges, religious instruction, mental discipline, and the transmission of the canon of classical education remained of prime importance. However, after the Civil War, three other institutional models emerged: One group of institutions of higher education, especially those under the influence of individual states (in Veysey's words) dedicated itself to the goal of social utility; another group—the majority of which belonged to the private Eastern universities—saw its main task as spreading what was known as "liberal culture" in the cultivation of a cultural aristocracy against the predominant materialism and utilitarianism of American society. A final group defined itself by means of the research ideal and thus saw as its objective the expansion of knowledge through research. In these latter institutions the graduate departments took precedence over the undergraduate departments; the seminar-oriented, dialogic form of instruction was more predominant than at the other types of institutions; and more value was placed on publications by the instructors and doctoral students than, for example, at the more utilitarian universities.

Consequently, the American view of German institutions varied depending on the general orientation of the observers: Presidents who directed utilitarian-oriented state universities were more likely to emphasize those innovations of German universities that provided utility for society, such as technical inventions and the training of social scientists who promoted efficiency in public administrations. Here, however, one was not necessarily limited to German models; rather, the French model of the special school and of a university faculty closely linked with the state school system constituted the standards to be emulated.

Representatives of the model of liberal culture found German universities to be even less advantageous and worth emulating; for them, the premier English universities of Oxford and Cambridge remained the preferred points of reference. Yet, for research universities such as Johns Hopkins University (JHU), references to the German system were frequent and positive. Such institutions emphasized the research achievements of German professors and their high frequency of publication, erected natural science laboratories modeled on similar institutions in Germany, and established seminars for the individual disciplines of the humanities.[31] Here it was emphasized that the founders had been inspired by the rules of the more "scientific," "objective," and unselfish research that was thought to have been adopted in Germany.

Ultimately the research model prevailed at the Ivy League universities,

where the imperative of research gained acceptance as the essential feature of distinction. However, this does not necessarily imply its importation from German universities; it may merely indicate that the ideal of research fits the traditional objectives of the earlier colleges, too, as a number of instructors discovered that research helped them to acquire mental discipline, develop character, achieve self-control, and so on. Furthermore, the research university was not widely accepted until the second half of the twentieth century, when the U.S. government began investing large sums in universities in order to advance research. It certainly did not do this in order to imitate Germany but rather to keep the upper hand in relevant international competition—also militarily. Furthermore, at that time there were practically no research institutions outside of the university in which the government could have invested.

Nonetheless, even for research institutions, which were more oriented toward Germany than their compatriots, there was no simple adoption of German structures but rather—starting from a perception of the German university that was itself discerning from the outset—a selective reception and considerable adaptation of "German" structures. A concrete example from the history of the historical sciences can illustrate: The department of history at JHU, founded in 1876, was and is even today regarded as strongly influenced by German models.[32] Along with Clark University, Johns Hopkins was the outstanding exponent of a research university. The director of the history department, Herbert Baxter Adams, had received his doctorate at Heidelberg in the mid-1870s.[33] In the 1880s and 1890s he turned the history department into the main production center for those historians in the United States who were to determine the development of academic historiography in the coming decades. Adams erected institutional structures that, in part, resembled a German *historisches Seminar* [advanced study program in history]: He succeeded in establishing a seminary library in which upper-level students could work and where the seminars were held. Besides establishing an inventory of books, Adams also created a small "historical museum" like those often found in Germany. It boasted a separate room with statistical material and a reading room with current periodicals. Scholarships were distributed to the better students, and, as in Germany, the best junior scholars were honored with prizes. As director of the program, Adams had a small budget at his disposal, and with it he created his own series of publications to showcase the final papers of the doctoral candidates.

With regard to university instruction, Adams claimed that he followed the German model: In meetings of the doctoral seminar, candidates introduced their own research work, which the other participants then discussed—a practice that had already been in place for some time in Germany.[34] However, the research seminars familiar to German students, in which participants were introduced to techniques of critiquing sources on the basis of selected original documents, were not established. All in all, the history seminary at JHU came relatively close to the American conception of a German history seminar, and JHU frequently publicized this fact in its external communications.

However, Adams said about JHU as a whole and his seminar in particular, "There was no intention of establishing in this country a German university, or of slavishly following foreign methods. The institution was to be pre-eminently American, but it did not hesitate to adapt the best results of European experience, to American educational wants."[35] Thus, differences also existed. Graduate students had no free choice of subjects and were required to participate in classes rather than concentrate on research (as they would have done in Germany). Students were anything but free in their selection of instruction units. Furthermore, besides attending seminars and lectures, they also gave recitations and participated in "quizzes," in which their factual knowledge was examined orally. Written tests were also given regularly. All of these elements were unknown at German advanced study programs in history and contradicted the principles of the "freedom of learning," the "unity of research and teaching," and the "formation of the personality through science."

In fact, in structuring his seminar, Adams followed the guidelines set down by JHU president Daniel Coit Gilman, who intended to establish—by a special strategy—the newly founded university within the differentiated American university landscape. Johns Hopkins was the first university in the United States to concentrate primarily on educating graduates.[36] Here it found a gap in the market that had been left by the other existing universities; thus JHU produced the next generation for the exploding academic job market, which quickly became professionalized and nationalized. This was also apparent in the history seminar: Adams educated young historians for the history departments, which were flourishing elsewhere and desperately seeking qualified faculty. The institutional structures he created were designed for this purpose: Both in the lectures and in the quizzes, doctoral students learned the general

knowledge of their subject, which they in turn would impart to their own students. In Adams's words:

> I early discovered that there was not sufficient historical training and positive knowledge on the part of the average college or university student. . . . My present conviction is that a long period of college and university study . . . in general history should precede specialization. . . . The college or university teacher . . . should seek to give his pupils a proper background of English, European, classical, and Oriental history before allowing them to specialize in the history of their country. . . . It seems to me a mistaken policy for instructors to allow their college students to specialize prematurely in narrow fields . . . , when the great empire of universal history is all uncovered. . . . It is enough for the ordinary collegian if he is introduced to a few good books of history and politics. It is too much of a burden to load him down with documents and references to archives and sources.[37]

This outlook blatantly contradicted the imperative of research, whose dominance in Germany was supposedly so admired. At the same time, however, the students in the seminar were also taught "esoteric" research knowledge and a certain deportment for academic habitus: These were necessary in order to help junior scholars attain prominence in the increasingly professionalized and nationalized academic job market and to demonstrate the "credentials" that both set them above the competition and were, at the same time, compatible with the national market. These were the "purely American educational wants" that guided Adams's behavior. However, the seminar was often not especially particular about the objectives of imparting research techniques and generating new knowledge discovered through original research. The description of a conversation between Adams and one of his students, J. Franklin Jameson, about his final paper during his first year of study provides some insight. Adams gave Jameson a few instructions about its form, but, his pupil alleges, "They weren't in the least intended to make my paper any better, but only to make it strike a committee favorably. . . . He advised me to write it on one side, for looks, prefix a table of contents and insert in a preface a statement of the means and books employed, and say that this sort of thing hadn't been done before and suppress the mention I made of Part I being antiquarian rather than historical, and sprinkle footnotes liberally, for effect, and use up those who had gone before me. . . . He said Gilman and Co. wouldn't look at much more than the contents,

preface, and first few pages, and the paper ought to have a large and imposing appearance."[38]

Even the imperative of research, which is often cited as the most important German innovation that has been imported by the academic community in the United States, was apparently not always internalized. In some cases it was instead used for strategic interests of finding the university a niche in the academic community.

As a strategy for positioning itself in a competitive market, the history seminar of Johns Hopkins University found a gap in the market that it filled for several decades until other universities instituted similar forums, offered competition, and ended Adams's monopoly. Adams would probably have implemented these strategies and decisions for certain forms of institutionalization, instruction, and curricula even if he had not known the German university system: His initiative was a result of the university president's fundamental decision to define and cover a market niche within the U.S. university system. The publicly advanced claim that this orientation was inspired by German institutions primarily served the need of public relations; in other words, JHU and its history department attempted to profit from the prestige of the German universities. The assertion that JHU adopted structures from them in establishing its history seminar served the interests of the academics involved in gaining attention and credibility for the new department, in advertising for the course of study itself, and in placing its alumni at the head of an expanding academic job market.

My observations can be generalized as follows: On the level of institutionalization, scientific cultural transfer quickly reaches its limits. While it is relatively easy for researchers, and especially their writings, to cross national boundaries, the transfer of institutional structures is much more complex. This is due in part to path dependency and in part to the complexity of these structures. If at all, processes of institutional internationalization are more likely to be achieved by establishing new organizations than by reforming existing institutions such as universities.

Nevertheless, even for newly founded structures, the recourse to supposed models from abroad often is mostly of a strategic nature: Structures declared to be "adoptions" of foreign elements may, upon closer inspection, simply prove to be attempts at making the institution prominent. The institution may proclaim orientation to a foreign model to the

outside world but all the while perpetuate its internally existing traditions or further develop already established structures so that they appear to the observer to constitute parallels to the foreign paradigm.

Alternatively, smaller components of the complex construction of institutions abroad are adopted and must undergo considerable adaptation to fit their new environment; thus they take on a form and an effect that differ from those that exist in their country of origin. Even for the rather "soft" components that determine university structure (i.e., in the institution's conception of itself), such strategic references to other national university models can be found: The supposedly exemplary foreign country is used as an argument to carry out the self-interest of the institution (e.g., advertisement of the institution) or the reformers (e.g., pursuing their own career goals).

Thus many people referred to the German structures as superior in order to carry out their own reform projects and legitimate their own ideas. Praise for the prestigious German universities, whose world reputation was regarded jealously, even by the government and American university donors, was thus strategically used to implement their own interests. Such reformers did not always stick closely to the "truth"; rather, they projected their own objectives onto Germany in order to reimport these constructs as a "model." The cultural background of observers influences their perception of a foreign country; thus, in our case, a specifically Americanized view of the German university system existed in the minds of the reformers. This does not mean that the German paradigm was thoroughly ineffective; after all, it functioned as a catalyst in a process of transformation. However, this process should not be described as an "import" or "export" of German structures.

A similar phenomenon is apparent in the current discussion of reform in Germany, although the signs are reversed: When German reformers refer to the supposedly superior structures of universities in the United States, this reference is not necessarily based on actual knowledge of the U.S. academic environment. Instead, it attracts attention and gives credibility to its proclaimers, thereby increasing the reformers' chances of implementing their suggestions, which may well arise from their own individual interests and ideas. At the very least, the suggestions come from their own world of experience. Recourse to the American model will be one factor among many in the concrete implementation of reforms in Germany; ultimately, those who use this recourse have strategic advantages in terms of their proposals' chances of being implemented. Never-

theless, there is reason to doubt that German universities will actually become quite similar to their counterparts in the United States after the reform process.

NOTES

1. This reversal in argumentation is also described in Konrad H. Jarausch, "Amerika—Alptraum oder Vorbild? Transatlantische Bemerkungen zum Problem der Universitätsreform," in *Deutschland und die USA in der internationalen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts: Festschrift für Detlef Junker,* edited by Manfred Berg and Philipp Gassert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 571–88.

2. John A. Walz, *German Influence on American Education and Culture* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1936), 51.

3. Hermann Röhrs, *Der Einfluss der klassischen deutschen Universitätsidee auf die Higher Education in Amerika* (Weinheim, Germany: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1995), 11. Edward Shils also deals with the German-American contacts on the university level in "Die Beziehungen zwischen deutschen und amerikanischen Universitäten," in *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne: Politik, Gesellschaft, und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert,* edited by Wolfgang Hardtwig and Harm-Hinrich Brandt (Munich: Beck, 1993), 185–200. See also Daniel Fallon, "German Influences on American Education," in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000,* edited by Frank Trommler (New York: Berghahn, 2001), 77–87.

4. As, for instance, Diehl in reference to the period before 1870, in Carl Diehl, *Americans and German Scholarship, 1770–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978). In another example, the notion of the "German model" is examined critically by James Turner and Paul Bernhard in "The Prussian Road to University? German Models and the University of Michigan, 1837–1895," in *Intellectual History and Academic Culture at the University of Michigan: Fresh Explorations,* edited by Margaret A. Lourie (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 9–37. This phenomenon of ignoring critical voices is also valid with reference to the history of individual disciplines. Thus, for example, as early as 1953 Richard S. Barnes placed a question mark after the frequently expressed claim that American historical science had been particularly influenced by its German counterpart; see Richard S. Barnes, "German Influence on American Historical Studies, 1884–1914," PhD diss., Yale University, 1953.

5. See, for instance, Cynthia S. Brown, "The American Discovery of the German University: Four Students in Göttingen, 1815–1822," PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1966; Dietrich Goldschmidt, "Historical Interaction between Higher Education in Germany and in the United States," in *German and American Universities: Mutual Influences Past and Present,* edited by Ulrich Teichler (Kassel, Germany: Wiss. Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung, 1992), 11–34; Winfried Herget, "Overcoming the 'Mortifying Distance': American Impressions of German Universities in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," in

Transatlantische Partnerschaft: kulturelle Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, edited by Dieter Gutzen (Bonn: Bouvier, 1992), 196–209. Konrad H. Jarausch offers a social study, "American Students in Germany, 1815–1914: The Structure of German and U.S. Matriculants at Göttingen University," in *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917,* edited by Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jurgen Herbst (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 195–211. The German-American exchange of scholars in the field of medicine is investigated in Thomas N. Bonner, *American Doctors and German Universities: A Chapter in International Intellectual Relations, 1870–1914* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

6. On the theory and criticism of cultural transfer, see, for instance, Michael Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer als Forschungsgegenstand: eine Problemskizze," in *Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe–XIXe siècle),* edited by Michael Espagne and Michael Werner (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988), 11–34; Gabriele Lingelbach, "Erträge und Grenzen zweier Ansätze: Kulturtransfer und Vergleich am Beispiel der französischen und amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft während des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Nation schreiben: Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich,* edited by Christoph Conrad and Sebastian Conrad (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2002), 333–59; Matthias Middell, "Kulturtransfer und historische Komparatistik: Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis," *Comparativ* 10(1) (2000): 7–41; Johannes Paulmann, "Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer: zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 267 (1998): 649–85.

7. The literature on the history of U.S. colleges and universities is extensive. The following works offer introductions to this topic: John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: An American History, 1636–1956* (New York: Harper, 1958); Gerald L. Gutek, *A Historical Introduction to American Education* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1991); Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Knopf, 1962); George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957); Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

8. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).

9. In addition to the general literature on U.S. university history mentioned in footnote 7, the following works contain information on the reforms during the last third of the nineteenth century: Joseph Ben-David and Awraham Zloczower, "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies," *European Journal of*

Sociology 3 (1962): 45–84; Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlack, *Education in the United States: An Interpretative History* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 227ff; Roger L. Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850–1890," *History of Higher Education: Annual* 15 (1995): 51–92; Harry Liebersohn, "The American Academic Community before the First World War: A Comparison with the German 'Bildungsbürgertum,'" in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, Teil 1*, edited by Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985), 163–85.

10. A case study on this process of professionalization is analyzed in Alan Creutz, "From College Teacher to University Scholar: The Evolution and Professionalization of Academics at the University of Michigan, 1841–1900," PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1981.

11. The German university system has been the subject of many works, but there is still no standard work on the developments in the nineteenth century. A more recent depiction of the developments in Europe as a whole is offered by Wolfgang Weber, *Geschichte der europäischen Universität* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer-Verlag, 2001). Specific to the German case, see the overview by Boockmann, who, however, places his emphasis on the period before 1800: Hartmut Boockmann, *Wissen und Widerstand: Geschichte der deutschen Universität* (Berlin: Siedler, 1999). See also Thomas Ellwein, *Die deutsche Universität* (Königstein, Germany: Athenäum, 1985); Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Modern Germany, 1700–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Rainer A. Müller, *Geschichte der Universität: von der mittelalterlichen Universitas zur deutschen Hochschule* (Munich: Callwey, 1990). An overview of the development in Europe is given in *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800–1945)*, edited by Walter Rüegg (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Introductions to the German developments in the nineteenth century are presented in R. Steven Turner, "Universitäten," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 3: *1800–1870*, edited by Karl-Ernst Jeismann and Peter Lundgreen (Munich: Beck, 1987), 221–49; Konrad H. Jarausch, "Universität und Hochschule," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 4: *1870–1918*, edited by Christa Berg (Munich: Beck, 1991), 313–45.

12. The development of the university from the family university to the performance institution is described by Peter Moraw, "Humboldt in Giessen: zur Professorenberufung an einer deutschen Universität des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 10 (1984): 47–71. On the situation of the German institutions of higher learning around 1900, see Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Abschied von Humboldt? Die deutsche Universität vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Die deutsche Universität im 20. Jahrhundert: die Entwicklung einer Institution zwischen Tradition, Autonomie, historischen und sozialen Rahmenbedingungen*, edited by Karl Strobel (Vierow bei Greifswald, Germany: SH-Verlag, 1994), 17–29; Reinhard Riese, *Die Hochschule auf dem Weg zum wissenschaftlichen Grossbetrieb:*

die Universität Heidelberg und das badische Hochschulwesen, 1860–1914 (Stuttgart: Klett, 1977).

13. This is emphasized, for instance, by Sylvia Paletschek, *Die permanente Erfindung einer Tradition: die Universität Tübingen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 29ff.

14. Reports of the experiences of American academics in Germany and first-hand descriptions are numerous. See, for example, Charles K. Adams, "The Educational System of Germany," *Academy* 1 (1886): 33–54; Herbert B. Adams, "From Germany," *Amherst Student* 16(5) (1874): 66; 30(5) (1874): 75; 31(10) (1874): 137; 14(11) (1874): 146; James M. Hart, *German Universities: A Narrative of Personal Experience* (New York: Putnam, 1874); Charles P. Taft, *The German University and the American College* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1871).

15. For a German-American comparison of this phenomenon, see Liebersohn, "The American Academic Community."

16. For the German side, see Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert: zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1997). The professionalization of academia in the United States is discussed in Richard J. Storr, *The Beginning of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). For a theoretical approach, see Rudolf Stichweh, *Wissenschaft, Universität, Professionen: soziologische Analysen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1994).

17. Cf. the example of political economy in the United States elucidated by John B. Parrish, "Rise of Economics as an Academic Discipline: The Formative Years to 1900," *Southern Economic Journal* 34 (1967/1968): 1–16. A case study of physics in Germany is provided in David Cahan, "The Institutional Revolution in German Physics, 1865–1914," *Historical Studies in Physical Sciences* 15 (1985): 1–65.

18. The development of the research universities is traced in Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

19. On this, see Roy Steven Turner, "Humboldt in North America? Reflections on the Research University and Its Historians," in *Humboldt international: der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert,* edited by Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 299.

20. Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969). The social backgrounds of German academics are analyzed in Fritz Ringer, "A Sociography of German Academics, 1863–1938," *Central European History* 25 (1992): 251–80.

21. Bernhard vom Brocke, "Hochschul- und Wissenschaftspolitik in Preussen und im deutschen Kaiserreich, 1882–1907: das System 'Althoff,' " in *Bildungspolitik in Preussen zur Zeit des Kaiserreichs,* edited by Peter Baumgart (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 9–118.

22. Peter Mast, *Künstlerische und wissenschaftliche Freiheit im deutschen*

Reich: 1890–1901: Umsturzvorlage und Lex Heinze sowie die Fälle Arons und Spahn im Schnittpunkt der Interessen von Besitzbürgertum, Katholizismus, und Staat (Rheinfelden, Germany: Schäuble, 1986), 101ff.

23. Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 277ff. For the period from 1860 to 1914, Walter P. Metzger counts sixty-eight dismissals and four near dismissals (numbers in Liebersohn, "The American Academic Community," 182).

24. Bernhard vom Brocke, "Wege aus der Krise: Universitätsseminar, Akademiekommission, oder Forschungsinstitut: Formen der Institutionalisierung in den Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften 1810–1900–1995," in *Konkurrenten in der Fakultät: Kultur, Wissen, und Universität um 1900,* edited by Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1999), 191–215.

25. Alexander Busch, *Die Geschichte des Privatdozenten: eine soziologische Studie zur grossbetrieblichen Entwicklung der deutschen Universitäten* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1959).

26. Ilse Costas, "Die Öffnung der Universitäten für Frauen: ein internationaler Vergleich für die Zeit vor 1914," *Leviathan* 23 (1995): 496–516.

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29. See, for instance, Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Langsamer Abschied von Humboldt? Etappen deutscher Universitätsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert," *Forschung and Lehre* 12 (1995): 667–73; Ulrich Herrmann, *Bildung durch Wissenschaft? Mythos "Humboldt"* (Ulm, Germany: Universitätsverlag, 1999); Sylvia Paletschek, "Verbreitete sich ein 'Humboldt'sches Modell' an den deutschen Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert?" in *Humboldt international,* edited by Schwinges, 75–104; Peter Lundgreen, "Humboldt international: Schlussbemerkungen zu einer Tagung," in *Humboldt international,* edited by Schwinges, 485–90.

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31. As early as 1939, W. H. Cowley performed a dynamic analysis of these references to the European university systems. He proceeded from a phase model: In the colonial period, universities were oriented toward Great Britain; up to the early nineteenth century, France served as the model; this role was then fulfilled by Germany until World War I; and after 1918 the universities returned to their English roots (W. H. Cowley, "European Influences upon American Higher Education," *Educational Record* [Apr. 1939]: 165–90).

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ANDREW P. YOX

The Fate of Love

Nineteenth-Century German American Poetry

German Americans developed some fine choirs and rifles in the colonial period and even today can pass as the largest ethnic group in the United States. Nevertheless, the nineteenth century was the golden age of *Deutschtum,* a period in which the German newspaper count surpassed eight hundred and major cities elected German-born mayors.[1] We know much about the likes and dislikes, the religions, and the ideologies of German Americans during the nineteenth century. We know less about their mentality. Mentality is a cast of mind and a hierarchy of concerns, fixed by thought. Thought is expensive, and in the mentality in which it is exercised, primary concerns emerge. Such ultimate interests can "thoughtfully" color, upstage, and epiphenomenalize other values and commitments.

Nineteenth-century German Americans cared about their identity, working-class issues, religion, and material success. But what did they really think about? How did the German American mentality, expressed by the most earnest thought, compare to the German mentality? How did the German American mentality inch away from German precedents? How—at the tail end of this golden age—could German Americans even disavow their homeland and, in 1917, acquiesce in a war against Germany?[2]

German Americans were not inarticulate, and they have left one of the best and least explored treasures of immigrant interpretation that is extant in the world today. Clues about their mentality abound in thousands of poems published by the immigrants in newspapers, journals, and books—by physicians, businesspeople, artisans, clerics—people from

all parts of the United States. The most acclaimed poems within this great cache of sophisticated thought indicate that the German American mentality was fundamentally about building a sense of unity and common purpose amid the ruins of tragic social developments. The dominant theme was love in the face of lost love. As the most articulate of German Americans treated the theme of love differently from the leading German poets of the nineteenth century, the German American mentality diverged from German precedents. These differences abetted a tradition of criticism that anticipated the German American reaction to Germany in World War I.[3]

Emigration became a fixation of nineteenth-century German American poets, and the anger, guilt, and sadness of their poetry related readily to the mentality of lost love.[4] Nineteenth-century transoceanic emigration, as historians have noted, even to a bountiful country such as the United States, involved a good deal of anguish. The associations of going to hell, dying, penal servitude, divorce, and imprisonment loomed alongside what to many spelled a final rupture with family members and friends.[5]

One response to this assault on human relations was anger, which was fervent among émigrés of the German revolutions of 1848. When Caspar Butz fled to the United States in the aftermath of the failed effort to unseat the German princes in 1848, he experienced a revelation by Niagara Falls. He gloried in this New World landmark because to him the misty steam rising from the foamy rapids conveyed the righteous anger of free souls. The water he saw looked as if it were boiling. It was resolute water that had its way with everything. This, Butz fantasized, was what the entrenched powers in Germany foolishly thought they could contain. Rocks obstructed the mighty Niagara at key points, but the water nevertheless pushed its way to the sea. Thus, lovers of freedom were a mighty river, too. They had been temporarily thwarted, but many would return to Germany. The opposition to German tyranny would swell, and the obstinate "crags" and "rock[s]" of German society would be overwhelmed.[6]

Hatred, in this case, promised to collect the debt owed to love, for Butz had aspired to remain with friends in Germany. Another emotion connected to emigration, its watery road, and the sense of lost love was guilt. Carl de Haas, an editor of the *Buffalo Demokrat,* wrote one of the more heart-rending German American poems in a tale of two Indians. A man and his wife, Niabra and Nemarettah, live by the raging Niagara River.

Niabra has found solace and inspiration for life with Nemarettah, and Nemarettah has found bliss in Niabra's embrace. One day, Niabra spots a buck, but the deer escapes and swims to a small island in the river. A determined hunter, Niabra swims the river and kills the stag. But alas, he barely survives the swim and finds himself separated from Nemarettah. Day after day they can only glimpse one another from afar. Niabra's guilt mounts as he views the effect of his ambition and realizes how his fear of the raging waters and of death now prevents them from reuniting. As he finally risks his life, Nemarettah sees him being swept downriver. She attempts to rescue him, but she, too, is carried downstream by the current and drowns. The emigration of the ambitious, in other words, had involved the pursuit of a less worthy aim than the love that had been left behind.[7]

Sadness is a third major motif in the German American poetry of emigration. The poems of Theodor Kirchhoff, described by one reviewer as "kernels of gold gathered from the Cordilleras," reach an emotional climax in "My Dead Father." On New Year's eve in San Francisco, a letter arrives at Kirchhoff's home, which is filled with high-spirited guests. He goes into a room alone, reads the letter, and learns of his father's death, and only the clock on the wall hears his sobbing. Memories from childhood flood to the surface. Recalling his father's singing, Kirchhoff also remembers how he once felt the locks of his father's hair. In a little while, his own life too will end.

Otto Brethauer's "Voices of Love" is another of the more moving works of German American poetry. This poem skirts the issue of emigration but perhaps best suggests the powerful German American sensibility of having lost a previous life. A young woman reproaches an older man for looking intently at her. The man explains that he once loved a girl who looked exactly like her. That girl also had silky hair, a statuesque physique, and a dimple on her cheek. She had also played the piano and demonstrated a sprightly wit in conversation. Was this explanation a ruse to cover up his yearning looks? Not in German American poetry. The girl was his daughter, the nearest and dearest image of his long-lost wife.[8]

From the experience of their emigration, German Americans brought skepticism and sadness into their consideration of love. How different in spirit this is from the leading poets of Germany. Friedrich Hebbel, a distinguished German dramatist, proved one of the more hopeful and idealistic proponents of love in the nineteenth century. In his poem "You and I," Hebbel features an image of two raindrops spiraling down the cup of

a lily and merging. In a more sensational poem, Hebbel, who came from a poor family in Schleswig-Holstein, describes two "gleaming swans." When apart from one another, they suffered the torment of separation. But when concealed by the mists, they threw aside all restraints. They came together to caress each other. Interlocked as one, they defied the raging waves and currents on which they swam. Unlike de Haas's tale in which Niabra and Nemarettah are separated, heading for a steep plunge over Niagara Falls, Hebbel's swans glide down gentler cascades and, together, slip safely past the rocks in their way.[9]

The leading German poets refused to let the kind of skepticism about love found in German American poetry stifle their elation. In "My Love Is Near," the most famous German poet, Goethe, finds love all around him. The image of his beloved appears in the glimmering ocean, the shimmering stream, the deep swelling waves, and even a "dust cloud." This love-rich group of sensations is akin to pantheism and transcendentalism, where the soul is capable of complete intercommunication with the soul of nature.

From this binge of romanticism, however, we move to the disclosures of men such as Eduard Dorsch, a Michigan physician, and Boston radical Karl Heinzen, who felt they had been booted out of Germany. The German romantics found in "love" a means and a reason for intellectual unification in the style of Hegel, a potential political unification, and an ultimate means of self-exoneration. Dorsch, however, believed that real love was impossible. Two hearts could never—and should never—be joined as one. Heinzen proclaimed that love is not blind, for "it has the eyes of a hawk." Another great pessimist, Friedrich Hassaurek, in "Gooseberries," notes that love is like an effort to pick gooseberries. One finds some good fruit, but one must lacerate one's flesh to reach it.[10]

We need not turn to the pages of bona-fide pessimists such as Heinzen and Hassaurek to get at this German American disquiet about love. As a whole, the German American poets exhibit virtually no awareness of erotic love. This represents a notable culture of restraint, one that must stand out in the history of literature. One interesting clue to this absence is the poetry of Albert Wolff, a St. Paul businessman and journalist, who describes how Germans were banned from Germany, much as a woman orders a man who has wooed her to stay away.[11]

Jilted early in life, German Americans are not inclined to be naïve about love. Indeed, with the desperate imperatives that greeted them in the New World to build new businesses, schools, churches, and homes,

as well as to erect a wholly other culture in America, they may have had difficulty fitting all of the dimensions of their lives together. If their poetry is any indication, their own romantic lives suffered.

The mid-to-late-nineteenth-century Victorian or Wilhelmine culture discouraged public allusions to sex. Still, German Americans seem to have developed a remarkably restrictive mindset. In a German American joke of the 1890s, a physician comes to the home of a bed-ridden young woman. He speculates out loud—does she have an aneurysm or perhaps a mental disorder? No, says the pallid girl, "It is a grocery clerk named Henry." Sexual attraction and illness went together.

Throughout the nineteenth century, German immigrants showed a markedly low level of tolerance for illicit sex. David Gerber notes that, in Buffalo, New York, in the period from 1825 to 1860, the only case of mob violence involving the Germans was an 1842 attack by some twenty men throwing stones at a brothel that had begun operating in their neighborhood. Ernst Meyer has described a German American Puritanism that was evident later in the century. It was so severe that when a neighbor saw scantily clad nymphs encircling a lamp fixture in the Meyer home, they never returned to that "house of sin." Even in the socialist circles of the German Americans, according to Ruth Seifert, there was an entrenched assumption that love should always lead to monogamous marriage and ultimately to motherhood.[12]

An extraordinary poem in this context is Konrad Krez's "Courtship." The Milwaukee poet begins with a protagonist telling a girl to kiss him. He then kisses her on the neck, cheek, and forehead. She flings herself away from him with a look of shame on her face. At first he naively pursues her and then hides from her parents' wrath. But even in this lurid poem—unusual by German American standards—we note a culture of restraint at work. First, the couple does not appear to have kissed on the lips because Krez is very specific on this point. Second, Krez, who admits he is the man in the poem, also says that he was a "donkey" for following the girl, an indication that, in his rapture, he had lost his head. Third, most of the poem features Krez's effort to hide in the basement and escape discovery by the girl's parents. The emphasis is on the consequences of the illicit thrill, not the thrill itself. Krez ends the poem by revealing that the young woman he kissed became his wife. The work that promised to introduce the issue of illicit sex becomes instead a humorous poem about an inept, though ultimately successful, courtship.[13]

Across the ocean, the German spirit was much different. Detlev von

Liliencron, a German poet of aristocratic background, reached some of his most inspired moments while portraying a frenzy of sexual desire. In one of his best poems, he describes a summer-long affair with a blushing girl, which took place while the lovers were hidden by an expanse of hedges. The prolific German writer Theodor Storm managed a precipitous buildup and release of sexual tension in a poem about an aroused miller's daughter and a surprised apprentice. The poetry of Goethe, Schiller, Brentano, and Hölderlin reflects the series of illicit love affairs that these writers experienced. Even Eduard Mörike, a German minister, shows a nimble sensuality in "The Song of a Couple in the Night," in which the sweet breath of the wind and the turning of a lawn to black velvet suggest an awakening of libidinous energy.[14]

The German American disdain for illicit sex reflects a dissatisfaction with short-term relationships, the pain of emigration-divorce, and the fear of isolation in the fly-by-night social fabric of American society. Anton Zuendt, one of the most gifted German American poets, addresses what he calls the "Saus und Braus" of American society: the riotous living, disorder, and tumult that he encountered in many unsuccessful bids to establish himself in various U.S. cities. August Becker, in one of the most revered of German American poems, describes the response of Americans to the singers and poets who emigrated from Germany. To Americans, such artists were "German blackbirds." One American tells a particular blackbird, "poor fool, you are only singing for the cat." Others say that the Germans sing like Africans, and still others remark that their songs are unpatriotic. A distinguishing feature of Becker's poem is the apathy for the blackbirds that lurks behind the feigned concern of American respondents. The cold response to the immigrants is also a theme in the "The Germans in America," a poem by Ernst Franz Ludwig Gauss, pastor of an evangelical church. Again, what is notable is the sweeping generalization—not of the nativist 1850s but of the post–Civil War era—that the United States is characterized by a "rigid" and empty "Puritanism."[15]

German American poets were not unduly negative or pessimistic, and we should not conclude that their discomfort with American society was itself a strong, explicit motif. It was important, however, and substantial in a subliminal way. The German American restiveness with America was reflected in an uneasiness with nature, a subject that German poets, by contrast, always seemed to be falling in love with.

The crossing of the ocean, for instance, was an important initiation

into American society. The more German American poetry one reads about the sea, the more one finds that it functions as a prelude of things to come. Whereas Swiss poet Conrad Meyer and German poet Julius Moser treat the ocean as a place for introspective dreaming, the German American poets seem never to have forgotten the seasickness and bewilderment of their crossing.

Most notable in this regard is Philipp Haimbach's "On the Sea." Haimbach, who became a Philadelphia merchant, pictured the ocean in ways that run parallel to other critiques of American society. For Haimbach, the ocean is large, enigmatic, impersonal, largely inhospitable, filled with shifting currents, and ultimately triumphant. The waves represent longings that capsize and change and sometimes even smash themselves to pieces. Intrepid emigrants may think that the sea is merely a means to fulfill their destiny, but the "uncreated" sea will soon confound these travelers and teach them an unforgettable lesson about life, for the day will come when an ocean storm will flood the deck. This idea of an inundated deck appears akin to the power of assimilation into American society.[16]

The sun, which provides light and gives coherence to our world, is a central symbol of the Romantic era. Seen as the center of the heavenly bodies and not a periphery, the sun was a valuable synecdoche of nature itself. For the German romantics, the sun offered an opportunity for unfettered excitement and adoration. No one did this better than Friedrich Hölderlin, who, in his poem "Descend Beautiful Sun," poses as the worshiper, lover, and defender of this wondrous radiance. Imagine the sun as a woman, and all of the German American poets in the end would have no more than a platonic crush on her. Hölderlin alone would go up and kiss her and perhaps even walk off with her. Referring to that celestial body as the "holy one," he calls her "O Light!" He frets about how people fail to acknowledge the sun's ascension in the morning and states his own subjective response to her brilliance. His eyes turn "shining, and grateful."[17]

Whereas Hölderlin shows little concern over the fact that his romanticism sounds increasingly like paganism, the German American poets seem unable to cross this line. For Ernst Anton Zuendt in "Sunshine," the sun is like a philanthropist, giving the gift of light that causes the brook to laugh and the soul to be merry. It is perhaps notable that, although Zuendt has written one of the more memorable poems in the German language about the night, his poem on the sun falls flat.

A much more serious competitor with Hölderlin in the German American camp is Friedrich Albert Schmitt, who composed "Hymn to the Sun." Schmitt shows that German romanticism was not necessarily repudiated by the German Americans but was meddled with and changed. In some respects, in fact, Schmitt covers certain bases of sun worship that Hölderlin neglects. Schmitt's poem, and not Hölderlin's, connects with ancient mythology of the sun and sun worship across the ages; it also offers a better summary of the orb's attributes than Hölderlin's. One of Schmitt's interesting asides is that the purple clouds, or "robes," that surround the sun in the sky at night prove its kingship.[18]

Though Schmitt's work seems liturgical and thus even more seriously romantic (if not pagan) than Hölderlin's, the ultimate values here have diverged from the German precedent. Schmitt does not seriously offer a prayer to the sun. He provides interesting facts about the solar body and exhibits an impressive level of erudition. Hölderlin speaks tenderly to the sun; he mentions her "quiet" and "effortless" rising and her "divine calm." Soon all of the friction ceases, and the reader is encouraged to go on and experience euphonious alliteration, short exclamatory bursts, and ecstasy.

With Schmitt, however, one is reminded of the goal of the *Turnvereine* (gymnastics clubs) and other German associations in the United States—to cultivate the spirit, advance in education, and "look truth in the eye." This is not to say that the German American poets prized scholarship per se. The heroes of the German poets are artists and scholars such as Socrates, Spinoza, Michelangelo, and Shelley, whereas those of the German American poets are political and religious leaders (Barbarossa, Luther, Washington, and Grant); nonetheless, this difference points to the fact that being educated and knowledgeable, particularly about the subjects of antiquity, marked a German liberal in the United States. Schmitt showed finesse with his classical knowledge of the sun that other liberal German Americans longed to have when topics such as war, beer, or song came up at their clubs *(Vereine)* or in the taverns.[19]

The German Americans seem reluctant to immerse themselves in nature. They are reluctant to get personal with the sun, and they are also hesitant to idealize another favorite object of romanticism, flowers. German poems such as Goethe's famed "Rose in the Heather," Christian Wagner's "Lilacs," and Friedrich Hebbel's breathless accounts of blood-red roses and angelic lilies readily identify flowers with love, reincarnation, desire, and divinity.

The German Americans, however, simply do not get drunk on flowers. In fact, flowers seem to have almost an ominous sense about them. New York merchant Julius Loeb writes of a dream in "The Lost Flower," where a magical bloom appears before him. He is convinced that his divinity is in that flower. It has dropped from heaven, and as long as that flower is with him, all of the most glorious art and song will be his. But he never actually describes the flower or says what kind it is. Moreover, it vanishes as he awakens and thus becomes a symbol not of power but of lost ecstasy. Perhaps Loeb is implying that he has lost access to the art of the homeland. Chicago druggist Emil Dietsch, for instance, uses the image of forget-me-nots to represent his nostalgia for the homeland.[20]

One final example of the German American unease with nature occurs in poems about spring, one of the most popular topics on both sides of the Atlantic. Here the Germans show an exquisite aesthetic sensibility. August Graf von Platen notes that the spring sun is different from other suns. The sun that rescues nature at the end of winter is a "flame in blue majesty," whereas the summer sun is more a furnace in the sky. In "Faith of Spring," Ludwig Uhland explains why progressives gloried in this season: In spring "the world grows fairer every day." Spring represents unlimited possibility, and Uhland illustrates this by giving the reader the sense of a dramatic, primal encounter with the season. Suddenly gray turns green, flowers unfold, birds return, and songs are sung. The continuing sense of surprise is gripping and wondrous. What is yet to come, he notes, "one cannot say."[21]

With spring, the German Americans show their colors. To be sure, there are ordinary poems such as Heinrich Rattermann's "On Spring" that resemble poetry in the German tradition. Even then, however, Rattermann shows more concern for unprecedented description than with the spiritual implications of a transformation. More telling, though, are poems such as Anton Thormaehlen's "Beginning of Spring," which features a collapse of spring and the return of winter. This theme, also explored in Friedrich Lexow's "April Snow," suggests that the German revolutions of 1848 could have created a "spring nation." Instead, the revolutions failed and hope died.

One of the most perverse poems of this genre is Albert Wolff's "May." Wolff begins in the idiom of a luscious romantic poem about the spring. The earth is liberated from the thralldom of winter, and buds appear as if unshackled. A farmer plants seeds. Then suddenly—and this is set in Minnesota during the Civil War in the United States—a primal scream

rips the scene in two. An Indian emerges from the underbrush and pronounces a curse on everything—from the mouth of a rifle. The farmer is hit with a "Kugel," the whole globe in the shape of a bullet. The Indian, then, by way of taking a trophy, slashes the planter's face in half.[22]

The German American disquiet with nature suggests an impending ambiguity about the self. By contrast, German poets typically projected a love of self. Their protagonists were sometimes unsuccessful and sometimes lost but were usually well attuned to their ideals. In "The Bold Knight and the Gruesome Dragon" by Wilhelm Busch, the knight is bold, audacious, uncommonly true to his wife of long standing, and unfazed by the allure of wealth. In "My Smallest Problem Is Jealousy," Busch notes that he feels no need to be envious of anyone. Goethe, in "Night Thoughts," pities the stars that, unlike him, cannot linger in love's embrace and are continually on the move. Hölderlin argues: "In arms divine, I grew to manhood."

"The Lad of the Mountain" by Ludwig Uhland is close to nature, perceptive, and at peace. The German poets' ecstatic response to love often implies a soul at rest. German romanticism, in a sense, does not die in the nineteenth century but merely culminates with Friedrich Nietzsche. In "Ecce Homo," this German philosopher describes his soul as a flame that will scorch the stars. Hubris and great spiritual ambition evoke the Superman, a soul that is expansive and sure of its quest.[23]

German Americans freely admit a more divided and haunting self-conception. With a plethora of other images to choose from, both Johann Straubenmueller, who became the director of the Free German School in New York City, and Robert Clemen, a Lutheran pastor, highlight the grace of the glowworm. Clemen explicitly identifies the glowworm with man. As he probes the biblical teaching of original sin and Jesus' bestowal of His light to the believer, Clemen develops a finely honed image. But the glowworm idea looms close to the German American expression of the late nineteenth century, in which Americans treated the immigrants as if their choirs and poetry were merely "fertilizer" for American culture and nothing more. Philipp Bickel, a German Baptist preacher from Ohio, represents incoming German immigrants as lowly gray sparrows. As we have seen, August Becker uses the blackbird for the same purpose, as does Zuendt in "Woodland Bird."[24]

To be sure, German Americans at times saw themselves as stout oaks of rectitude or pioneers of free thought. Nevertheless, it is the split conception that prevails. Zuendt's blackbird has a golden beak but is still a

blackbird. Clemen's worm glows like a little star but is still a worm. Perhaps the most memorable self-image in German American poetry, Theodor Kirchhoff's vision of Mount Davidson, supports this split conception. For Kirchhoff, one of the best of the German American poets, Mount Davidson, in Nevada's Virginia Range, represented both himself and other German Americans. The poet had started out as a shopkeeper and worked his way up in dusty Clarksville, Texas, only to face ruin during the Civil War. Nevertheless, he persevered, opened a business in New Orleans, and eventually became a wealthy gold merchant in California. According to Kirchhoff, Mount Davidson usually appears as a dusty and desolate badland, a "sad sight." But in the spring of every seventh year, the rains bring forth a swath of goldenrod flowers that crown the mountaintop and fill the surrounding valley. The "gold coat of Mount Davidson," then, is both the prosperity he earned twice after years of nondescript toil and also the crown that German Americans will eventually wear. To bolster the latter contention, Kirchhoff notes that Davidson bloomed in 1871, the year of German unification. The Nevada mountain had not only a symbolic but also a mystical connection with the very being of German Americans.[25]

One cannot imagine a German romantic either succumbing to Kirchhoff's materialism or allowing the conception of self to be so two sided. Like Walt Whitman, the German romantics were forerunners of the twentieth-century psychoanalytical priority that one should love oneself. Friedrich von Hardenberg illustrates this point in a memorable poem in which he maintains that what loves itself must find itself. The more liberal German Americans were philosophically prepared to tolerate this position. One had to love oneself, especially in a world where love seemed rare. Poets like Becker, Brethauer, de Haas, Wolff, and Zuendt would not, like the Lutheran poets, expect a deluge of love from God to supply the affection that their often unloved and grieving souls craved.

Though they basically affirmed the self, even German American liberals, however, were restrained in their love of self. One liberal poet, the renowned political scientist Francis Lieber, arranged for a discussion of Hardenberg's position in his work "The Debate over Love." Even though Lieber's poem ends with Hardenberg's position intact, the opposition he raises to the German poet's words is more intense than the affirmation. Lieber undercuts his own desperate agreement with Hardenberg. In the iconoclastic section of the poem, Lieber argues, "that which loves itself will be torn asunder," for the self will always let itself down. It will never

be faithful, and it will attempt to prevent itself from ever being revealed. Just as a lover is spurned, so the self makes a mockery of one's own effort at self-love by being unworthy and by not living up to one's hopes. Lieber appears to have considered an idea that brings to mind one of the main themes of Sören Kierkegaard's philosophy. He suggests Kierkegaard's "sickness unto death"—the irreconcilability of the divided heart.[26]

Exposed as they were to the bountiful conditions in the United States, German Americans obviously had reasons for optimism and means of expressing it. Still, few scholars have highlighted the essential darkness and sense of isolation in the German American worldview, for material abundance was not, in the end, a substitute for a deficit of love. This was an emigrating people who felt in various degrees that they had been unwanted in or, in some ways, even pushed out of their homeland. Yet, they did not feel at home in the United States, either, or resoundingly comfortable with nature. A "love deficit" thus colors the German American consciousness, and this fact also helps to explain much of what was distinctive about the German Americans.[27]

In the poetry of the German Americans, the most energetic response to the love deficit was German nationalism. This may seem strange considering the tragic legacy of their earlier departure from the homeland and their lack of direct connection to Germany's fate, but the nationalism of the leading German American poets is astonishing. To my mind, Milwaukee lawyer Konrad Krez has composed the most surprisingly nationalistic utterance ever made by a German in the nineteenth century. It surpasses Johann Gottlieb Fichte's announced affinity for Germany and appears without a cause. Indeed twentieth-century Nazis in the United States later remembered it fondly:

> Still holier than love was the fire,
> That burned for you in my breast;
> Never was a Bride more desired by a Bridegroom
> Than you are by me, my dear Fatherland!

Krez, a holdout in the Badenese resistance of 1848, fled Germany to save his life. He had ample cause to develop some patriotism in the United States since he rose to the rank of brigadier general during the Civil War and afterward achieved success in the practice of law. Even though he claimed that he had never owned land or even a tree in Germany, his poem reaches an epic profession of attraction for his native land. Here is a description of a love so extreme that it transcends love itself. In its

attempt to surpass an already defined state of radical love, Krez's work is reminiscent of the classic romantic fantasies of Catullus and Petrarch.[28]

And what were the strong ideals of Goethe, Hölderlin, Storm, Fontane, Hebbel, Mörike, and Nietzsche compared to the bold desire of the Milwaukee lawyer? The values that made it to the cultural apogee in Germany—the ones that were the most honed, the most refined, and the most vigorously projected—had little to do with German nationalism. Indeed, in reading the best of nineteenth-century German poetry, one senses why German liberals never had a chance in 1848 and why Bismarck could impose such an idiosyncratic will on the rest of Germany in 1871.

The leading German poets wanted little to do with politics. As Goethe once said, "political life is a loathsome life." They were the intellectual elite expressing the true soul of the German people; others could be left to live out their empty fantasies in actual politics. Several of the leading poets, such as Goethe, Schiller, Droste-Hülshoff, Eichendorff, Hardenberg, Hebbel, Hölderlin, and Liliencron, either came from aristocratic families or received significant help from upper-class patrons. Others such as Fontane, Nietzsche, and Uhland, though of middle-class background, cherished the values and élan of the old nobility. Detached from the Prussian military circles, the German poets had a fascination for all that was smooth, soft, and still—and not for war. They showed apathy—and often contempt—for liberal interests. With their strong aristocratic yearnings, the leading German poets qualify as the very opponents of the large, revolutionary element of the Forty-eighters in the United States.[29]

German American nationalism provided a means to address the anger, guilt, and homesickness of emigration. The celebration of the homeland showed that German Americans were not giving up on past loves, but there was even more to it. Nationalism in the United States was also a protest: It indicated that, though pushed, they would not be shoved. In "Song of the Emigrant," Friedrich Muench argued that the true blossoming of German culture would occur in the United States. In 1871, when Germany united, German Americans showed more united jubilation than at any other time in their history. Though part of this cheer expressed their affinity for Germany, part also showed that they gloried in their own correctness. They had said all along that Germany needed to change.

Years before, in "German Faith," Friedrich Lexow had noted that the German people, though a "people of power" and a "people of truth,"

would have to undergo painful adjustments before they could realize their destiny. In 1865 Leopold Alberti, a German American theologian, advised the homeland: "Unite, unite, you German people!" Especially before 1871, Germany had had a problem, and German Americans were not going to take the blame for their emigration. Then, when Germany did unite, the German American poets could salute the homeland for taking their advice. In "Germany Awake," a poem that celebrates German unification in 1871, Ernst A. Zuendt notes that only now had Germany become the strongest nation on earth.[30]

A remarkable aspect of this nationalism is that it appears even in the work of poets whose ideals led away from it. This special glue—this spiritualization of cultural commonality—seemed too wonderful to ignore. As a German American lawyer in Buffalo noted in 1908, "the love for fatherland is such a powerful factor . . . that we must view it as a gift of heaven." Nationalism summoned up feelings of affection among German Americans. Outsiders to the movement embraced its theme. Franz Nagler, a German Methodist preacher who had reasons to extol an American denomination's endorsement of Arminianism and the itinerant ministry, nevertheless retained a warm preference for the land of his birth. In his poem "Germania," he calls his homeland the "land of heroes without number." He refers to himself as "Germania's son," which is ironic, considering key New Testament allusions to Christians as the "sons of God." In this poem Nagler does not grieve over his sins, but he admits that he does lament the fact that he will not be able to return to Germany.

Wilhelm Faerber, a St. Louis Roman Catholic, committed not just words but also serious poetry to express his love of things German. In his poem "The Mother Tongue," Faerber treats the German language as a beautiful woman to whom he has pledged undying love—a remarkable image considering that Faerber was a priest. He pledges never to shame or forget her. Indeed, if he forgets his pledge and falls in with the crowd, he will become a "little coward." Finally, socialist poet Carl Heinrich Schnausser, who published some striking poems about the need for workers to unite, also wrote other verses about the magnificence of German lieder, German associations (*Vereine*), and German contributions to America. For Schnausser, his longing for Germany was "the beam of a candle from heaven."[31]

The social crisis that launched this eager, mildly seditious nationalism encouraged other worldviews as well. The divided sense of self, the feel-

ing that human relations were fragile, and the concern about the isolation caused by sin also stirred theological thought. J. W. Herzberger's "Easter Hymn," perhaps the best example of German American devotional poetry, provides an interesting contrast with a leading nineteenth-century German work of devotion, Annette von Droste-Hülshoff's "Gethsemane." Both Herzberger's and Droste-Hülshoff's poems are steeped in biblical and Christian values, and both show the fanaticism of Christ's love.

However, whereas the German poem shows the influence of aestheticism and romanticism, the poem by the Lutheran pastor of the Missouri Synod involves a more striking sense of psychological realism and theological irony. Droste-Hülshoff has Christ in Gethsemane, imagining his crucifixion, which is to come. Every thorn in Christ's crown produces a scarlet tear, and his body is ripped and pulled like a cord. Overhead, the sun dies and becomes a corpse of black smoke. But amid the bold images and lyricism, Droste-Hülshoff simply does not enter the scene as movingly as Herzberger does in the Easter story. In this realm, the German Americans have Hölderlin, the poet who evokes utter sincerity and achieves an astonishing coherence.[32]

Herzberger's poem breathlessly proclaims new life. The believer appears, a languishing minion of the Foe. But short, intricately rhymed lines build a rhythm that, in its perseverance, trembles with the power of the resurrection, a power that destroys the foundations of Satan's empire. Gusts of brief repetition simulate the resonance of the songs and shouts that resound from heaven. Jesus asks Mary Magdalene why she is weeping, and another rhymed tempest follows, where the now bittersweet crying is intensified both by the sinner's confessions of sins and by the joy of the believer's profession that Christ has redeemed the sinner. Changes in meter that cascade down to four-syllable shouts in the lines of the conclusion convey the final freedom and joy of the believer.

Herzberger's poem is truer to the biblical account. He does not introduce lilies or bolts of lightning (which are absent from the biblical account) as Droste-Hülshoff does. Droste-Hülshoff, on the other hand, has a more graphic sense of description. Her metaphors are more surprising; her visual imagery more inviting. Taken together, these superb devotional works recall a distinction with regard to art once made by the American historian Brooks Adams. He argued that as civilization passed from devotion to the invisible to devotion to the visible, art lost its inspi-

ration. In other words, the more barbaric medieval era sustained a more imaginative approach to culture as reflected in the greatest artistic synthesis of all time: the cathedral. In this comparison, Herzberger appears the more "medieval." His poem is more obviously stirred by faith; it is wilder in conception and daring. Droste-Hülshoff's poem is more studied and fashionable. Herzberger conveys an awareness of the invisible, whereas Droste-Hülshoff revels in pictorial literalness.[33]

From the seventeenth-century Pilgrims and Pietists to the nineteenth-century ethnic groups, emigration has been linked to a theological awakening. The German Americans appear to have experienced this, just as German American religious communities were typically more vibrant than their German counterparts. As for a third ideological stream in the United States, however—socialism—I perceive that the German American contribution was less impressive. Here again, there was an impetus to find a sense of community amid the rupture of human relations brought about by emigration. The problem with German socialism in America—if German American socialist poetry is any indication—is that it failed to project an appealing answer to the problem of lost love. To love-starved people, it was cold, metallic, and better able to intensify anger than to sustain a sense of mutual caring.

Carl Schnausser wrote one of the most influential socialist poems to come from a German American during the nineteenth century. He pictured the socialist movement as a bid to unite all of nature's forces. Even though fire and water both have power, they are nevertheless more effective as a team, in combination, as steam. Similarly, the socialist movement would eventually harness a formidable power—of every nationality, every free-spirited individual attuned to nature, and thus nature itself—to effect a utopia. The poem brings together socialist dogma and a romantic faith in nature. It is visionary, and yet it subsists not on personified images but on images of brute natural power.

Other socialist poems by German Americans such as Martin Drescher, Maurice Reinhold von Stern, and Robert Reitzel are often so laced with criticism that they can project only a sense of future love. In "World Idyll," von Stern takes the image of the crucifixion to task. How can starving people commit themselves to the idolatrous altar of a man similarly racked by pain? Martin Drescher maintains that the true "Easter" of working people cannot arrive until its redeemer, the united working class, arises (it has been said that Drescher lost his shirt as a

socialist poet). Robert Reitzel, though humorous, sometimes mocks the very people he wants to appeal to, in a manner unlike the nationalist and Christian poets:

> Courageous we were
> In Saloons well filled
> And bravely watched
> While others were killed.
>
> For now, we said,
> We must keep cheer!
> And grimly ordered
> Another beer.

It was perhaps because of this cold voice that socialist poets like Reitzel and Schnausser also celebrate Germanic themes.[34]

German American poets diverged from German poets in the nineteenth century in both their conception of love and their prognosis for society. The former were more restive with romantic love, trust, and desire. The pining voices of Brethauer's widower and of de Haas's Niabra have little in common with the romantic ecstasies of Goethe, Hebbel, and Mörike. The German Americans were more suspicious of nature, more realistic, and more inclined to want to know and manipulate than feel and esteem. With a sense of having lived in shattered societies, they were more apt to be extreme in religious movements that stressed new types of spiritual unity.

The German Americans' conception of socialism appears to have been weaker than in Germany, not so much because they felt less pain but because they lacked that elemental trust in the community of their peers that could have made a revolution seem auspicious. They fit into the American scheme of individualism in a way that their German counterparts could not, and it was not just because they thought differently but also because they were conditioned differently. It was not necessarily a matter of proto-Americans in Europe coming to the United States so much as proto-Germans experiencing an American way of life. The German Americans were more ready than their German counterparts to fit into American society; yet that same readiness was tinged with a remarkable degree of reluctance. One can ransack German American

poetry and still not find a single positive reference to Anglo-American culture.

The German American mentality indeed shows a remarkable power of displacement. Their German world and German parents had disappeared, so the immigrants would make a new family and a new world. Either German nationalism or God's amazing love would serve as a source of endearment to build that new reality, and their new world would be *Deutschtum,* the realm of things German, or a *Gemeinde,* a confessional German church. But if this is so, is it then even possible to suggest that the average German American was as German as the average German of the nineteenth century? It seems obvious that the answer is "no." Being German in America had more to do with relationships than with culture or politics.

The immigrants and their children gradually forgot how to speak the German language. Nevertheless, it is also true that they devoted more of their higher poetic energy to the cause of German nationalism than did the Germans in the Old World. The German Americans were willing to betray the attitudes of their compatriots across the ocean but not to depose themselves as Germans or as experts of what it meant to be German. This pretension, in turn, made for an anti-German tradition that ironically coexisted within the sense of German nationalism.

Recall that Caspar Butz had implied that German Americans would one day return to Europe to complete the work of reforming Germany that freedom fighters had begun in the revolutions of 1848. In a sense, the German Americans who fought alongside John Pershing and Eddie Rickenbacker did exactly that in World War I. The love that had stretched across the Atlantic carried with it, too, a sense of hurt and sometimes anger. By World War I, leading spokesmen of the German Americans—Kuno Francke of Harvard, Charles John Hexamer of the German American Alliance, and Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois—had professed that the cultures of Deutschtum and Germany had diverged. Although they ultimately supported America's war against Germany, they retained the belief that their business in being German and claiming what was really German was not over.[35]

NOTES

1. *Deutschtum* in this case refers to the German American community, specifically the bilingual society that produced German churches, banks, hospi-

tals, and schools. A supplementary survey profile of the 2000 census lists 46 million Americans with German ancestry, 33 million with Irish ancestry, 28 million with English origins, 20 million who described themselves simply as American, and 16 million of Italian descent. U.S. Census Bureau, table 2, Profile of Selected Characteristics, http://www.census.gov/acs/www/Products/Profiles/Single/2000/c2ss/Tabular/010/01000US2.htm (accessed June 10, 2005).

2. Wolfgang Johannes Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *Briefe aus Amerika: deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt, 1830–1930* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988), 30. German immigrants served as mayors in Buffalo, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and St. Louis during the 1870s and 1880s. Melvin G. Holli and Peter d'A. Jones, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of American Mayors 1820–1980* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1981), 4–380. George Santayana has observed that ultimate concerns and values achieve aesthetic luster precisely because they are the values that artists and their patrons most want to maintain. My purpose in exploring poetry is to determine those aspects of German American thought that reached a level of primary significance. The leading concerns in poetry then provide access to that "hidden diary" of leading values and thoughts that constitute mentality. George Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty* (New York: Random House, 1955), 20–23. Recent work in German American and ethnic history has included several important initiatives in the effort to better understand mentality through the examination of literature and pageantry. See Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Johannes Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as a Festive Culture: Nineteenth-century German America on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity,* edited by Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46–76; Brent O. Peterson, *Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in die Abendschule* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Werner Sollors, ed., *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

3. Gustav Adolf Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika: Beitrage zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* (Chicago: Ackermann and Eyler, 1892), vi, 62. Zimmermann's anthology appears to have been the best collection of German American poetry ever published. The work contains more than 270 pages of German American poetry, about one thousand poems, all in German, with entries ranging from the colonial period through the nineteenth century. Zimmermann compiled many of the best poems not only from the liberal press but also from religious publications, works of poetry, and the socialist press. The work also features poets from every section of the United States. Zimmermann endeavored both to provide a sense of poetic development and to demonstrate how much talent and ability had left Germany. In this chapter I have treated this work as the canon of German American poetry in an effort to isolate the themes that mattered most in the best of nineteenth-century German American poetry.

4. There are exceptions, such as a celebratory poem on emigration by Friedrich Muench that anticipates a better Germany in the United States, but I think that this was not really about emigration but about a phase in German nationalism that I discuss later as a way to deal with the crisis of emigration. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 14–15.

5. Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 3–4, 563; Samuel L. Bailey, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 98; Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1990); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989).

6. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 38.

7. Ibid., 26–27.

8. Ibid., xxxix, 62, 118.

9. Alexander Gode and Frederick Ungar, eds., *Anthology of German Poetry through the Nineteenth Century* (New York: F. Ungar, 1964), 275; Stanley Appelbaum, ed. and trans., *Great German Poems of the Romantic Era* (New York: Dover, 1995), 175.

10. Gode and Ungar, *Anthology,* 96–97; Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 45, 49, 53.

11. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 73.

12. *Buffalo Sonntagspost* (Aug. 25, 1895); David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 86; Ernest L. Meyer, *Bucket Boy: A Milwaukee Legend* (New York: Hastings House, 1947), 112; Ruth Seifert, "The Portrayal of Women in the German American Labor Movement," in *German Workers' Culture in the United States, 1850 to 1920,* edited by Hartmut Keil (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 115–30.

13. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 66–67.

14. Ibid.; Appelbaum, *Great German Poems,* 157, 179, 219.

15. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 46, and 9 at the end of the book.

16. Ibid., 104–105.

17. Gode and Ungar, *German Poetry,* 168–69.

18. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 122–23, 147–48.

19. Ibid.; Gode and Ungar, *German Poetry,* 168–69. Jacob Heintz, a prize turnverein poet, notes that it was the duty of the turners (gymnasts) to cultivate education and to look truth in the eye. Though many a society was considered merely a "gymnastics circus," others sponsored clubs in literature and drama. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 128; Noel Iverson, *Germania, U.S.A.: Social Change in New Ulm, Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), 52. A word should perhaps be said about German American depictions of American heroes. Though German Americans exhibit much admiration for a Washington or a Grant, these heroes are cut out from their cultural context. In German American hands they are simply brave freedom fighters, not representatives of the American culture.

20. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 68, 101.

21. E. L. Stahl, *The Oxford Book of German Verse, from the 12th to the 20th Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 289–90; Gode and Ungar, *German Poetry,* 200–201.

22. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 58, 72–73, 88, 131.

23. Gode and Ungar, *German Poetry,* 99, 161, 199, 327–29; Appelbaum, Great *German Poems,* 223.

24. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 19, 75, 121–22, 220; Psalm 22:6; Matthew 5:14; Julius Goebel, *Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur in Amerika* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1914), 38.

25. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 52, 75–76, 115.

26. Ibid., 11; Robert Bretall, *A Kierkegaard Anthology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 151.

27. Darkness provides a context for darkness. As mentioned earlier, one of the most notable of the German American poems is "The Night" by Ernst Anton Zuendt. Zuendt observes that the authority of the night is so absolute that the moon and stars are but shy, deceptive lights (Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 123–24). Other "dark" motifs mentioned here include two poems about blackbirds, the disappearance of Loeb's night dream, and the deaths of Niabra, Nemarettah, and Wolff's farmer. One important exception to the filiopietistic and positivistic idiom in German American historiography is John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German America* (New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1940).

28. Krez, along with August Becker, Caspar Butz, Karl Heinzen, and Friedrich Hassaurek, represented a group of the German American immigrant population in the United States known as the Forty-eighters. The Forty-eighters were liberal and radical activists whose support for the ill-fated German revolutions of 1848 had made their continued residence in the German lands untenable. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 64; *Buffalo Volksfreund* (Aug. 9, 1930).

29. Goethe's quote was cited in the *Buffalo Volksfreund* (Sept. 28, 1909).

30. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 15, 31, 59, 123.

31. Ibid., 31, 42–43, 235; *Buffalo Freie Presse* (Aug. 17, 1908).

32. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 230–31; Stahl, *German Verse,* 295–96.

33. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 230–31; Stahl, *German Verse,* 295–96; Arthur F. Beringause, *Brooks Adams: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1955), 108–23.

34. Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83 (Dec. 1978): 1155–61; Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika,* 43–44, 166; Keil, *German Workers' Culture,* 213–14.

35. Kuno Francke, in *A German American's Confession of Faith* (New York: B. W. Heubsch, 1915), 11, argues that Prussian militarism diverged from the true German character. Charles Hexamer resigned as president of the alliance in 1917 after he had taken what many German Americans felt was a surprisingly pro-American stand after the United States' declaration of war. The son of a distinguished Forty-eighter, Hexamer believed that Wilhelmine Germany was morally and intellectually out of sync with the American Deutschtum. James Clifton

Child, *The German Americans in Politics 1914–1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), 9, 168. In 1914 Julius Goebel noted that "The American *Deutschtum* is no political annex of the German Reich; it acknowledges or confesses rather an ideal German character" (*Der Kampf um deutsche Kultur,* 129). This mainstream German American position, represented by Francke, Hexamer, and Goebel, differed from the path taken by Hugo Muensterberg and Sylvester Viereck, who often betrayed a more pro-German than pro–German American stance. It was also different in orientation from the road advocated by Americanizers such as Reinhold Niebuhr and Hermann Hagedorn, who believed that the attempt to sustain an alternate German culture in the United States was ruinous. Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 91, 101, 142, 205; Hugo Muensterberg, *Aus Deutsch-Amerika* (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1909), 46, 77, 223; Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Failure of German Americanism," *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1916), 13.

CHRISTIANE HARZIG

Gender, Transatlantic Space, and the Presence of German-Speaking People in North America

In a letter to her parents-in-law, Annette Buthmann wrote the following: "Everything here is more handy than in Germany, not so much unnecessary labor. . . . I believe if we were back home we would return to America as soon as possible. Everything is much easier, you don't have to work as hard, here horses do the work."[1] She continued with a warm welcome for and an invitation to her father-in-law. Heinrich and Annette Buthmann were proud of their accomplishments and wanted those who were left behind in the home country to share their comforts: "Certainly it will give you great pleasure and you will like it. . . . We will make it as pleasant and comfortable for you as we possibly can." And she emphasized: "Therefore, *please* come."[2]

As a young woman, Annette Buthmann had emigrated shortly after the turn of the century and worked as a *Kleinmagd* [maidservant], performing both household duties and farmwork on various farms in Iowa before marrying Heinrich in 1910. Since she and her husband both came from Fischerhude and were part of a small Baptist community, most likely they had known each other at home. However, Annette had emigrated alone—and before Heinrich. She was the pioneer in the family. The couple prospered as fairly successful farmers in Victor, Iowa, and had two children, a boy and a girl. Annette died in 1979. Their lives, which we know about through a series of fifty letters written between 1909 and 1976, are of historical value not because they were exceptional but because they were fairly typical. Their story is of interest, however, not for that reason but because they show how the lives of the Buthmanns

at home and the Buthmanns abroad are intertwined in what I call *transcultural space*—a space filled with the manifold relationships that weave the fabric of the transatlantic world beginning in the seventeenth century.[3]

The transatlantic world, as Daniel T. Rogers has pointed out, was and is part of a web of global interdependencies in which the Atlantic functions not as a barrier but as a lifeline along which ideas, capital, and people moved freely.[4] The concept of an Atlantic world leads us to pursue the many physical and mental crossings that the Buthmanns expressed in their letters. Thus, we may move beyond emigration and immigration history, which has a mostly national perspective. However, since German-speaking people not only inhabited this transatlantic world but, by force of numbers, were also influential agents in shaping and constructing it, the study of the various facets of their encounters provides valuable insights into the functioning of this world.

Historiography on German emigration and German-speaking communities abroad has prospered since the time of Thistlethwaite's call to their proponents to cross "the salt water curtain."[5] Emigration from Germany is no longer one of the best-kept secrets of the historical profession, as was long the case, but the inroads into the master narrative are still slow in coming. This has led to a number of reconceptualizations and the deconstruction of well-worn stereotypes. The push-pull paradigm that once prevailed in research enabled historians to analyze the economic and social conditions that triggered emigration and allowed for speculation as to whether the emigration effort was actually worthwhile, that is, whether social and economic mobility were in fact enhanced by moves across national borders.

At the same time, at the receiving end, fascination grew with the manifestations of ethnicity and the realization of North America's multicultural past and its roots. The hyphen in one's identity, once rediscovered, became a badge of honor. Community studies of prominent cities, particularly in the Midwest and New York[6] (and less so in the South[7] and Far West) have provided us with a fairly good understanding of the retention of ethnic identity, community cohesion (or lack of it), and the role of ethnicity in weaving the fabric of urban America. There are fewer studies of German Americans in rural settings despite the fact that, for a long time, the image of rural German America dominated immigration and emigration stereotypes.[8]

Diversity as an Analytical Tool in the German Migration Experience

The new studies on emigration from Germany and subsequent settlement in North America have taught us many things, especially the need to differentiate between region, class, religion, and time. These four sociocultural variables may help us to understand the scope and diversity of Germans on the move.

Territory

Perceived as a geosocial category, territory indicates not only a rural-urban dichotomy but also a margin-to-center relationship, as is the case with the German-speaking diasporic settlements in the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. Furthermore, it heightens awareness of the many sociocultural differences in the German heartland. These various regions within the German Reich differ by language and dialect, religion, cuisine, inheritance rights, and politics. Thus, territory is not only an important category when outlining the chronology of German mass emigration, starting in the southwest in the 1820s and moving to the northeast in the 1890s, but also a relevant category for explaining different forms of "cultural baggage" or cultural resources.[9]

Class

Factors that are related to "class" are here defined in broader terms than the familiar Marxist relationship to the means of production or indications of economic wealth. Of course, the question of how much money people had available when starting on their journey was of great importance, and having some financial security no doubt made a successful transition more likely. Unlike the money transfer from the United States to Europe (i.e., in form of prepaid tickets for friends and family members or monthly allowances for wives or aging parents), the reverse transfer has received much less historical attention. Arguing about money transfers, access, and claims to inheritance and demanding one's personal share were ongoing themes in immigrant letters.[10]

However, money was by no means everything. Other factors—more difficult for historians to assess—such as education and related emotional resources, perceived in Bourdieu's terms as cultural capital, were just as important, if not more so.[11] Cultural capital not only refers to traditional forms of (classical or higher) education but also includes person-

ality traits (which may come with education and upbringing), such as stability, balance, perseverance, and self-confidence in embracing the unknown. Easier to transfer and less subject to economic cycles and crises, cultural capital has always been an important category in migration. The same innovative spirit and capacity to adjust to changing conditions and demands in the new environment were instrumental in turning a Korean store owner in Los Angeles as well as a Lutheran family from northern Germany, farming on the Kansas prairies, into immigration success stories. Both groups also fared much better when they received help from others. The availability of networks and the ability to build and sustain such systems of friends, neighbors, coreligionists, and family members are additional important aspects of cultural capital.

Last but not least, health, very often as much a socioeconomic category as personal luck or fate, was just as important to the Korean store owner as to the Lutheran farmer. The illness of one major worker in the family enterprise brought many a promising immigrant story to an end. In the urban environment of late nineteenth-century Chicago, the failing health of one of the family members, often the single working mother, was the reason most often given when immigrants asked for help from German charities.[12]

As historians have learned in working with life writings—oral testimonies, autobiographies, and letters—financial resources, education, emotional capacity, and health were thus elements of cultural capital that have had a major bearing on the migration experience.

Religion

For early analysts of emigration, religion—as in religious persecution or striving for religious freedom—was an obvious and important incentive to emigrate. In fact, the right to leave one's birthplace *(ius emigrandi)* when one was not allowed to practice one's religion because it differed from that of the territorial lord—a right established in 1555 by the Augsburger Reichsabschied and confirmed for serfs in negotiations of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648[13]—was long considered the starting point of European migration history.[14] Religious communities settling in William Penn's woods (i.e., Pennsylvania), attracted by promises of religious freedom and escaping the pressures of Protestant unification in 1817 or Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* in the 1870s, have long captured the German imagination.[15] This is evident in the frequent pictorial representations in illustrated magazines in nineteenth-century Germany and in

the construction of Franz Daniel Pastorius as heralding figure in the founding myth of German America.[16]

However, over time, the impact of religion varied. The late nineteenth-century observer Friedrich Bodenstedt noticed its tangible relevance to urban German Americans: "[T]hough German immigration is growing each year this has little bearing on today's transatlantic church affairs. Visiting the Germans in New York and surroundings it seemed to me as if the saltwater of the ocean had washed away all religious beliefs. Throughout my travels this impression was confirmed with the majority of my fellow countrymen who live in cities. I was never asked to visit a church service conducted in German, nor listened to a famous German preacher. Thus I can not tell whether they still preach in German in urban communities. However, I can say for sure that this is the case in synagogues, since many rabbis, who received their education in Germany, gave me a warm welcome."[17]

Not surprisingly, then, considering Bodenstedt's comments, the study of religion in migration history has undergone a seesaw trajectory. When, in the 1970s, German historiography again began to notice German emigration and immigration, religion had receded into the background as an analytical category. The predominant sociohistorical interest in economic structure and social processes pushed the issues of urbanization and industrialization, class formation, labor migration, and social mobility to the foreground, and the concepts of meaning and identity, however socially differentiating, fell by the wayside. Following the cultural turn, these issues have been picked up by more recent studies.

In current analyses, religion is not a spiritual but rather a socioethnic category, and it is not clear whether religious affiliation serves as a dependent or an independent variable. Each of these studies addresses the comprehensive processes—acculturation, Americanization, community formation, ethnicization, changes and development in agrarian and urban societies, adjustments in gender roles, and modernization. Religion, in conjunction with origin or ethnicity, serves only as an organizing principle or selection criterion. On the other hand, perceived as a cultural form influencing people's behavior and perception and providing an emotional tool placed in conjunction with institutional forms, religion—priests, pastors, elders, personal networks, and church buildings—shaped and influenced the way people experienced these sociohistorical processes.

Time

Time, the fourth variable of differentiation, is not only a device to measure sequence and progress but also an indicator of form and content, chance, and outlook of the migration experience. Since German migration in the North Atlantic context lasted, in a tangible form, for more than three and a half centuries—we may consider the eighteenth century as an introductory phase, the nineteenth century as the core period, and the twentieth century as a phasing-out period—the migrants' reality changed greatly, and so did their characteristics, prospects, and imaginations.

Whereas for male labor, time determined whether skills and settlement could work together successfully, it assumed a more universal character for female employment. Skilled shoemakers or bakers arriving in Chicago in the 1860s and 1870s could expect to make profitable use of their trade and to assume a lower middle-class existence in the burgeoning city, whereas the same crafts were of less value in the industrializing 1890s. However, a young woman who was willing to employ her skills by working as a domestic was equally in demand, whether in the 1840s or the 1950s. Household employment was always readily available.

As a differentiating factor, time is even more apparent when looking at post–World War II migration. Arrival in Toronto in the 1950s meant that immigrants could participate in an expanding economy, adjusting to the demands of an urban life and economy.[18] Arrival in the 1920s had demanded different, often more difficult, kinds of adjustments.[19] Thus, not only did the migration experience of the eighteenth century obviously differ from that of the mid-twentieth century, but being in the right place at the right time with the right mind-set (i.e., cultural and material resources, including skills, and making the appropriate adjustments) proved to be just as relevant.

Transatlantic Space and Transcultural Relationships

New research has not only taught us to differentiate when analyzing the German migratory experience but also introduced a number of new concepts to help us comprehend this experience. Indicating that people negotiated migration in ways that were more multifaceted than the push-pull paradigm suggests, Leslie Moch and James Jackson

describe migration as a circular, self-modifying system and a complex of interacting elements.[20] Their approach, however, still appears to be rather structural and hides people's agency. I submit that, by looking at the growing body of literature that weaves a tighter cloth of knowledge, we see that Germany, Europe, and North America were interconnected in more ways than has been assumed in traditional emigration and immigration literature. These interconnections involved every aspect of the social fabric—the political, economic, cultural, and, of course, the personal/individual threat—and affected those who stayed at home as much as those who went abroad.

In order to show how the transatlantic space was filled and how gender impacted transcultural relations, I discuss four realms of interaction: (a) migration-related political negotiations and state policies, (b) economics, (c) the institutions on the mesolevel (e.g., churches, schools, village communities), which all communicated across the Atlantic, and (d) the manifold discursive relationships that influence and change people's mental maps and perceptions of self and other.

The Political Aspect

The political aspect of migration has recently received rather divided attention. Scholars studying post–World War II and contemporary migration find it necessary to pay close attention to changes in immigration policy and its impact on migratory options. For those studying nineteenth-century migration, politics and policies seem to be of secondary importance and rightly so because migrants left, no matter how strenuously bureaucracies tried to prevent them from doing so; they entered Castle Garden, Grosse Isle, and Ellis Island through the "Dutch door," not very much hindered by the various immigration restrictions in effect since the 1880s.[21]

The attempt to control—if not prevent—mobility in German-speaking territory found its legal form in the ius emigrandi, which first became law in 1648 and again in 1815, when people were given the right to move within the borders of the Deutsche Bund (German League). Transborder movement fell under the jurisdiction of the various German states. However, throughout the nineteenth century, the ius emigrandi was restricted by both military obligation and the right to settlement. That is, although people were allowed to leave, once they received permission, they were not always granted a right to settle, and those who

were eligible for military service were restricted in their mobility, no matter what.

Since German emigration policies, as varied as they may have been in the many different states, had to respond to social developments at the national level, some patterns emerged.[22] Over time, the impetus changed from ban to control to (limited and discretionary) support to channeling emigration in the national interest. The turning point in this development came in the 1840s, when the economic and demographic tenor of the debate changed from population policies *(Peuplierungspolitik)* to the crisis of pauperism.

Although the ideas of the French Revolution established the right of people to move, politics within German territory remained tied to mercantilistic concepts until the mid-nineteenth century. State rulers wanted to enhance their power by increasing the number of their subjects. They were interested in restricting the movement of highly skilled craftspeople to prevent trade secrets and technological know-how from spreading beyond state borders. Experienced miners from the Harz mountains or glassworkers from the Brunswick area were in high demand and sought after by headhunters from Scotland, New England, and Russia. Authorities responded to requests to leave according to the needs of the labor market. Sometimes they withheld consent when the applicants had too many skills and too much time and money had been invested in their training.[23]

My intention here is not to outline the practice of restrictionist emigration policies by self-interested state rulers but rather to show how the state constantly reacted and responded politically to the transatlantic phenomenon. No matter how strongly bureaucracies preferred a static social system, people defied stasis by seeking better options elsewhere.

In addition to skilled craftspeople who eventually wrote back about their success or failure in that "other place," the territorial lords themselves, in particular the Duke of Brunswick, indirectly participated in igniting the spirit of emigration. Forced—or obliged—by dynastic relations and the desire to reduce state debts, the duke supplied troops in support of Great Britain to fight the revolutionary movement in North America. These troops became part of a growing information system. While the soldiers were still rather ignorant about the New World, the amount of literature providing information about "America" multiplied after 1776. The message was clear: Nobles and the well-educated, rich

bourgeoisie should stay home, but those who wanted to work hard and till the land would most likely find better chances to enhance their prospects in America.[24]

In the 1840s, when agrarian restructuring processes, population growth, crop failures, and subsequent famines created severe social and economic crises and growing political unrest, the political and social elite responded by discussing the phenomenon called "pauperism." The idea of solving the many problems by ridding the land of its "surplus" people became part of everyday political discourse. The desire of lower-class people to leave in search of work and the desire of the upper class to get rid of them began to give rise to a fruitful alliance, albeit not always making happy matches. It was not always the very poor who wanted to leave. Rather, those with some financial resources and entrepreneurial spirit decided to try for a better future elsewhere. Colonization projects, deportation of minor (and not so minor) criminals, and financial support for those who would otherwise become a burden on charity were strategies to solve the discrepancy between population growth and the needs of the labor market. Emigration, once restricted and forbidden, became a social safety valve.[25]

In the revolutionary year of 1848, partly in response to pressing social needs and partly to promote the idea of freedom of movement as a general human right, the Frankfurt National Assembly, the first elected national body representing the idea of a unified German state, introduced a bill to legalize unrestricted mobility of people within the borders of the Deutsche Bund and beyond. A number of prominent representatives (such as Heinrich von Gagern) vigorously promoted the idea of emigration.[26] However, with the failure of the national ideal and the dissolution of the national assembly, the liberal legislative project also failed.[27] Nevertheless, the idea of solving social issues via emigration remained on the political agenda of prominent politicians and business people. In 1868, the same year that the U.S. government and the government of the North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund) ratified the Bancroft treaty, mutually recognizing the right to emigrate and to acquire citizenship, a *Reichskommissariat* (a federal agency) for emigration affairs was established in Hamburg. Its task was to supervise the business and legal aspects of emigration.[28]

The activities of the Mainzer Adelsverein, also known as the Texas Verein, to establish a colony in Texas are well documented.[29] That association captured the imagination of contemporaries and historians,

not so much for its daring prospects and success but more for its inept execution, the naiveté of its promoters, and its ultimate failure. From the beginning, the project's subtext was nationalistic, promoting a thinly veiled dream of turning Texas, or at least part of it, into a colony of the Deutsche Bund. Other projects were better managed but failed nonetheless from the promoter's point of view.[30] German settlers were rather less enthusiastic about nationalist schemes. Once they themselves experienced total freedom of movement, they tended to follow their own interests, searching for better work and pay rather than making the promotion of German national interests part of their agenda.[31]

In the 1880s, the emigration debate took on new importance politically because Germany began to compete with England and France on the international scene. Germany's lack of colonies was painfully realized. Now, emigrants were to be of economic and cultural use in support of larger imperialist claims, and emigration policies could serve these interests. However, when the emigration law was passed in 1897—it had been in the making for almost ten years—mass emigration had ceased to be an issue. That law, which promoted emigration to Southwest Africa and regulated the transportation business, was largely ineffective.[32]

Economic Relationships

Economic relationships were equally diverse and often closely related to, or a consequence of, emigration policies. A large number of people, institutions, and organizations were involved in the emigration business, and, as is obvious in the case of Bremen and Hamburg, large segments of the cities' economies depended on it.

Little research has been done on the economic entrepreneurs who transported business know-how, technical skills, and capital in their baggage. So far, the paradigm of the emigrant who left Europe with nothing, went from rags to riches in the United States, and sent home the occasional dollar to pay for others' tickets to America has dominated our concepts and research questions. Yet what about the younger of the two Amelung brothers, who left Brunswick in the 1780s to escape the business decline and, together with sixty-eight of his workers and their families, started producing fancy glassware in New Bremen, near Baltimore? Although he received financial support from merchants in Bremen, Germany, his business failed because the colonists had little use for fancy glassware; this, however, is a different aspect of the story.[33]

All those who participated in colonial societies were required to invest

heavily in order to receive land grants and build the necessary infrastructures. The Texas Verein commanded a basic capital of 250,000 gulden; each prospective colonist had to invest 300 gulden (about $120) and each family, 600 gulden. Although this sum proved insufficient and the Duke of Nassau had to provide additional credit of 200,000 gulden, for individual colonists it was a large sum.[34] Another colonial project brought money as well as knowledge of glass production to Michigan. Based on preceding trade connections, the plan was initiated by an astute businessman who, in the 1830s, had ventured into new markets for his products in the United States.[35]

While people from rural areas such as Mecklenburg and Brandenburg brought mainly their agricultural skills to the new areas of settlement,[36] people from the industrial areas in Middle Germany had additional craft and trade skills to invest in the New World. A number of publications catered to the interests of those who wanted to enter business in the United States. A book titled *Der Geschäftsmann in Amerika* is a German translation of *Freedley's Treatise of Business,* although the publisher claimed that it was much more than a mere translation because it provided additional information and thus could also serve as a reference and advice book. Originally published in 1857, *Der Geschäftsmann in Amerika* went through seven editions before it was thoroughly revised and published for an eighth time. It was obviously in great demand.[37] A systematic analysis of the flow of knowledge and capital across the Atlantic that includes an account of the many private payments, not only in terms of prepaid tickets or support money for aging parents (west-east flow) but also inheritance and other financial assistance from east to west, has yet to be undertaken.

Agents were intimately involved in the economic exchange in the transatlantic world, and they were often situated at a political crossroads. Those who wanted to control emigration because they had an interest in an abundant and cheap labor force—such as estate owners and industrialists—considered agents a source of all evil, as *Seelenverkäufer* (merchants of souls). Others, however, who had come to the conclusion that emigration would improve their future prospects, turned to agents for advice and information. The state, partly for paternalistic reasons and partly to prevent too much emigration, tried to keep a tight control on their business operations; the government's assumption was always that the emigrant was uneducated, uninformed, and easily cheated—and thus in need of protection.

Although agents were often accused of fabricating their information and inventing stories that their clientele wanted to hear about the United States, their task was to provide the necessary information, organize transportation to the port of emigration, and make sure that space aboard a ship was available. By the 1840s, a system of agencies had emerged covering the whole country with a close network of primary agents and subagents. A rather conservative contemporary estimate claims that there were 150 legal main agencies in Germany. These main agents needed permission to operate their businesses and usually had contracts with the various shipping companies in Bremen, Hamburg, or Le Havre. They received a base salary and a percentage of the price per passenger. Agents were able to realize three to six thaler per emigrant. No doubt operating a successful agency in the 1850s and 1860s, well situated in the middle of Germany, was a very profitable enterprise.[38]

The position of the subagents was more tangible. Because they were the first contact for and link between the emigrant and the larger world, their main capital was their network of contacts and accessibility. These agents operated strictly on commission and may have been local teachers or, more likely, merchants or tavern owners. Since they were required to inform potential customers about their business and the possible travel options through posters, they were often accused of advertising and tempting people to emigrate. However, as Uwe Reich has shown for Brandenburg, people rarely went to an agent to be enticed. Rather, after they had come to a decision on their own, they sought out an agent to get the necessary information.[39] The agents were always caught between being accused of profiteering and providing much-needed knowledge. At the same time, they also circulated cash in an often-impoverished countryside.

In the development of port cities, the economic relationships in the transatlantic world were most manifest. The economic profile of these cities depended on the trade in emigrants (more so for Bremen than for Hamburg). However, even before the emigrants arrived in a port city, many people had taken advantage of the opportunity to fleece them. The railroads, especially the Prussian and Saxon lines, the various hostels along the way and in the ports, doctors and personnel working at the control stations along the Prussian-Polish borders, and, in Berlin, store owners catering to the taste of their "Russian" clientele all profited from the transportation of emigrants. In Hamburg, most of the transit passengers were housed in privately run hostels at first. After a severe cholera

epidemic struck the city in 1892, emigration halls were built on the Veddel (a district close to the harbor) in 1901; in the following years, their rooms housed more than fifty thousand people annually.[40]

Although Bremen was a latecomer in the emigration business, it began to develop the trade at the right time, catered to the right people, and made the right business decisions. Whereas in the 1830s, emigrants had arrived by coach or traveled up the Weser River by boat, coach hostels along the road provided accommodations. This was often a profitable business since emigrants would sometimes spend up to two months in the city waiting for a sailing ship to give them passage across the Atlantic. From 1832 to 1855 the trade in emigrants took in an estimated four to five million thaler.[41]

Business became even more profitable for the city and more comfortable for the travelers when, beginning in the 1850s, a system of railroads connected the Hanover area with Bremen and Bremen with Bremerhaven. In 1852 an information bureau was organized to provide people with free and correct information on accommodations, prices for equipment, trustworthy money changers, and other necessary items. Controlled by the senate (the governing body) and financed by private enterprises, the bureau was thus the first of those publicly controlled but privately financed operations that typified Bremen's emigration business. The information bureau as well as a number of laws controlling the standards of accommodation on board the ships did much to promote Bremen's reputation as a desirable port of departure. By 1855 it had overtaken Le Havre and Hamburg in the transportation of emigrants.

From the 1880s until the beginning of World War I, the emigration business dominated Bremen's economy. Although a variety of products—tobacco, rice, and cotton—entered its port, emigrants were the dominant export. From 1883 to 1893, the peak years of German emigration, almost 100,000 people passed through the city annually. When German emigration declined, the Missler Agency targeted eastern and southeastern Europe for new customers. Because of its astute business practices (i.e., facilitating the transfer of prepaid tickets), it was able to direct emigrants from these areas through Bremen and on to New York, turning Bremen into the most important port of emigration in Europe and the North German Lloyd into the largest passenger-transporting shipping company. In 1907 the number of people passing through Bremen equaled the city's own population. From 1885 to 1923 Missler handled 1.8 million passengers, generating 325 million marks from fares. In 1913, when 240,000

people moved through the city, the North German Lloyd employed 15,000 seamen, 600 clerical and 4,000 technical staff, as well as 6,000 dockworkers, coopers, and stevedores. At that time, however, the Hamburg-based shipping company Hapag was surpassing it.[42]

The significance of the mass immigration that was experienced in the United States as a singularly important aspect of national development was different from (though similarly relevant to) national development on the European side of the Atlantic. Emigration did not change the national trajectory of Germany, but it certainly kept many people in business and had an important impact on politics and economic growth. It also tied many personal and institutional knots across the Atlantic.

The Mesolevel of Organizational Forms and Structures

The mesolevel of organizational forms and structures of the migrants' making is situated between the microlevel of individual agency and the macrolevel of state development and global processes. An analysis of it gives form and content to transcultural exchanges and provides a forum for discourse on gender, ethnicity, and identity. For the past two decades, community studies have been the favored form of analysis. They have also been successful in setting the historical stage for the recognition of immigrant women and an analysis of the impact of gender. While acknowledging the broad scope of research on both rural and urban ethnic communities, I summarize those aspects that bring to the fore the role of women and the complexity of gender relations in transatlantic exchanges.

Results from fifteen years of (often feminist-inspired) research have provided us with a better understanding of how women's participation in rural life created and shaped German-American agrarian communities, how they structured the urban labor market, and how their activities altered religious groups and provided cohesion to urban neighborhoods. We know now that they participated in the labor movement and were hesitant observers of the women's movement—active, nonetheless, in building their own ethnic female public sphere. However, this research has most of all brought to light the way in which gender became a very strong marker of ethnic identity in the transcultural exchange.

Historians (especially those with a feminist perspective) of rural German-American settlements often confront difficult interpretive decisions in assessing the position of women in an environment that seems to have been obviously patriarchal and socially conservative.[43] German-

American women were rarely allowed to own and run their own farms, and only occasionally was a widow successful in acquiring control of her homestead. When married, women seldom sought gainful employment outside the home; they rarely held public positions, and they were not allowed to speak (nor were they were listened to) in church or in the community. In their letters written to loved ones still at home, they complained about ongoing hard work, too many children, and loneliness.[44] However, historians have also uncovered the important input women had in structuring and influencing the immigration project. Their emotional, financial, and, most of all, physical investment often made the difference between success and failure. Their contributions also made ethnic distinctiveness visible.

Linda Pickle, who has studied German-speaking immigrants farming on the Great Plains, argues that the environment imposed a certain uniformity of behavior on all farmers, but cultural differences grew out of Old World agricultural practices and family habits. She suggests that differences in agricultural practices between German-speaking immigrants and Anglo-Americans resulted from certain patterns in women's roles.[45] To the casual onlooker of German-American farming methods (1840s to 1920s), the most striking differentiating feature is that women worked the land alongside their men. It was, indeed, the labor input of women that enabled farmers to maintain yeomen farming methods longer than other groups. Diversified crops, greater subsistence production, and the raising of poultry, cattle, and dairy cows as well as swine and sheep were markers of a German-American farmstead. Women who participated in these farm activities most likely knew what they were doing because they had received training.

A young girl in rural Germany, perhaps Mecklenburg, one of the most agrarian provinces of the German Reich, would leave her parents' household around the age of twelve to take a job as a Kleinmagd on one of the nearby estates or a neighboring farm. There she would begin her apprenticeship by taking care of the chickens and feeding the other animals.[46] She would then learn how to milk cows, preserve meat, make sausages, and cure ham. At harvest time she would not only preserve fruits and vegetables but also rake and bind the wheat, which was cut by the men. The expertise of these young women and their knowledge of dairy production constituted an important financial contribution to estate farming. Their skills were of great value when starting a new farm

on the plains of Nebraska and enabled farm families to live on a subsistence basis, minimizing the need for cash. Furthermore, the ability to sell eggs and dairy products—transactions usually under women's control—brought ready cash into the household on a daily basis.

With women's labor taking on such prominence, it is easy to see that success very much depended on the farmwife's health and emotional adjustment. Although coping with loneliness, homesickness, and the death of a family member was part of the daily experience, factors such as age at emigration, the presence of other (especially female) family members, the strength of the ethnic community and its institutions, economic security, and the support and affection of the husband all affected the women's sense of well-being.[47]

Using Chicago as an example, we may outline the contours of family life in German-American urban communities around the turn of the century. The most striking feature was their ethnic homogeneity and stability paired with patriarchal dominance. Most of the women had left the Germanies when they were between nineteen and thirty years of age and had married five years before or after emigration. Thus, emigration and family formation were very closely related, so it is not surprising that 95 percent of the population had German-born partners. Even second-generation women and men chose spouses from the German-American community.

Unlike in other immigrant families, German-American women in Chicago did not add to the family income by renting out to boarders. However, they were quite willing to take in family members who were unable to run their own households. Elderly widowed mothers and aunts and grown-up daughters with children were often part of an extended household. And while teenaged daughters tended to leave the household in order to find employment as a domestic, grown-up sons remained in the home until they were able to start their own family. Thus, they added part of their income to the family economy but also profited from their mother's household skills and labor.

Adolescence and family formation produced experiences different from those in the home country. Young men and women in German-American Chicago were able to start their own families earlier than in the Old Country. The average man was about twenty-six, and the average woman twenty-two at time of marriage, so they behaved according to the trend of urban life in the United States. They were also allowed to decide

for themselves when and whom to marry. The timing was not determined by inheritance of the family farm, an appropriate dowry, a place to live, or a suitable partner.

Other factors such as the ability to work, steady employment and adequate income, health, and even love and peer-group acceptance became important. German-American women in urban environments also bore fewer children than their mothers and sisters at home, and the death rate among children declined. In these aspects they had adjusted to the modernizing urban trend in the United States. Communications to members of their peer group—siblings, cousins, and friends—were part of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century transatlantic exchange and inspired further immigration.

Although married German-American women were hardly members of the paid labor force, their grown-up daughters almost inevitably went outside the home to work. Outside employment constituted a distinctive period in their lives, situated tightly between school and marriage. Most of these young women worked as domestic servants, an occupation that was shunned by native-born American women. For German-American women, however, it was a respectable form of employment because, as was argued, it prepared them for married life. Besides domestic service they sought employment in trade and industry, mainly in the many neighborhood-based sites of production and trade such as clothing factories, bakeries, laundries, box factories, and dry-goods stores. Although being a salesgirl, either in one of the neighborhood stores or in the fashionable department stores, ranked higher in the unwritten employment hierarchy than being a domestic servant or a factory worker, the wages and working conditions did not warrant such a position. The young women's workdays were marked by long hours of standing on their feet, often elaborate systems of fines and punishments, and high turnover rates.

German Americans were not among the up-and-coming, well-educated professional women of the American bourgeoisie, nor did they belong to the growing group of working wives and mothers that became noticeable around the turn of the century. They were also not among the increasing numbers of well-educated daughters who took their chances in an expanding and more diversified female labor market. Nevertheless, they were well represented in the urban labor market at the turn of the century, and their demographic and social features determined its structure. Their focus on family and work, first as supporting

daughters and later as competent housewives and mothers, came to be an important ethnic marker for German America.

Unlike research on religious communities among the Irish or Italians that focuses solely on Catholic communities, research on German-speaking immigrants has to consider Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Mennonite contexts, to name only the larger groups. Although it has often been argued that the church provided continuity and stability in the migrants' lives, it is, in fact, the separation of church and state that imposed new structural forms on religious communities and demanded an altered form of religiosity from the German-speaking migrants.

Irene Häderle has studied the way in which these differences played out over time. Although primarily interested in German-American women in a midsized Midwestern urban community, Häderle provides insight into the relationship between gender, acculturation, organized religion, and institutional change. Her analysis of two Protestant groups in Ann Arbor, Michigan, shows that the women's initiatives and activities eventually enhanced and fostered Americanization. This result is somewhat unexpected since not only were Lutheran communities considered the fortress of Germanness in North America but women were also seen as the preservers of ethnic identity and tradition. In Ann Arbor, however, they acted as agents of change. Women's aid societies, charity work, and financial contributions to the church (e.g., the pastor's salary) and the local church community were indicators of this Americanization process. In addition, a shift was made from a pastor-centered church structure to a community that revolved around laypeople's activism. All of these changes centered on women's activities.[48]

As chronicled and analyzed by Tobias Brinkmann, the Jewish community in Chicago, situated at the crossroads of German-American and Jewish-American cultural contexts in the nineteenth century, provides another example of how religion structured identity processes. It offers a mode of distinction for constructing a sense of otherness, while at the same time serving as a blueprint for interaction in an urban environment, both adding to and diversifying urban society. Members of the Jewish community, dominated by Jews from Germany, used reform—both social and religious—to insert themselves into urbanism. In a transcultural exchange, they had recourse to German and American concepts of reform.[49]

Jewish refugee-immigrants from Germany in the 1930s and 1940s experienced yet another form of transcultural encounter. Persecuted in

Nazi Germany for being Jewish, they were often confronted with great skepticism once they found refuge in New York, precisely for being German. They were considered "enemy aliens." Their incorporation into American life was characterized by the crude urbanism of New York, where the vast majority of German Jewish refugees found a new home. The desperate search for work was often related to downward social mobility, and exchanges with American social workers tended to be marked by cultural misunderstandings. Gender roles often had to be reconfigured. Many of the refugees had left comfortable, middle-class homes behind. In New York they had to come to terms with altered circumstances since men were rarely able to find employment in their previous professions. Women were frequently better able to accept the inevitable in providing a livelihood. They found employment in semiskilled occupations and pursued what came to be a "career pattern": from domestic servant to factory worker to office clerk. Entering the labor force was later remembered as a crucial experience in their lives. The desire to become independent of social welfare, learn the English language well, and provide their children with a good start on a new future in the United States marked their transcultural trajectory. Only some of them maintained contact with those across the Atlantic.[50]

At the other end of the urban-rural spectrum are studies by Linda Pickle, Carol Coburn, and Kathleen Conzen that make use of the ethnoreligious paradigm. In more ways than is often acknowledged, conservative Protestantism, the German language, and the agrarian environment and modes of production blended to create a lifestyle that may be termed either specific or typical and may also have been influential in shaping the Midwestern agrarian society: "They [German-speaking immigrants] left a distinctive mark on the landscape through the names and layout of the villages they founded, the architecture of the private and public buildings they constructed, and the characteristic neatness of their farmsteads. Like other settlers, they planted trees, orchards, and windbreaks on the prairies, and everywhere they altered the landscape to suit agricultural purposes, forever changing the natural environment."[51]

However, we are interested in more than just the material signs that left their mark on the outlook of the Midwest. It is the broader concept of "culture" that has left its imprint on Midwestern society—"the socially produced structures of meaning expressed in and engendered by public behaviors, languages, images," the interactions and negotiations among meaning and belief systems, social development, and the envi-

ronment.[52] Conzen's study of German-speaking Catholic immigrants in Stearns County, Minnesota, tells a story similar to the one Pickle relates, a story about differentiation and assimilation and, in the process, a tale of "making their own America." Religion, together with the institution of the Catholic Church, served as a guide as well as a filter to bring pioneer settlers into the Sauk Valley. German origin and Catholicism merged to produce a way of life that was also influenced by the prairie environment. The German peasants of the Sauk Valley made their own America from local life and materials structured by traditional patterns of meaning they adapted and developed. It was a world defined initially by its alien origins, but over time, it ceased to be foreign and simply became "the way we do things here," a local charter culture.[53]

These traditional patterns of meaning were influenced by the discursive construction of German women as cultural preservers and carriers of ethnic identity. Since the 1970s, historians of German America have been reluctant to cater to the contributionist paradigm of ethnic historiography. However, Kathleen Conzen suggests that we should listen more closely to contemporary German Americans and take their own words more seriously. They insisted on the right to influence the broader society around them, assuming an exceptional understanding of civilization. They invited society at large to participate in their supposedly superior cultural understanding. Conzen points to the Forty-eighters' quest for liberal democracy and the abolition of slavery, the workers' questioning of existing relationships between capital and labor, the attempt of bourgeois Germans to reform schools and local governments, the effort to elevate America's musical taste, and, most of all, the enthusiastic belief that moderate drinking and frolicking in beer gardens was not only possible but also socially advisable.[54] I would like to add one more important element to that list: German observers of the United States together with German Americans assumed that they had a "better class of women" and a superior understanding of family. Despite a prevalent admiration for "the American women"—their self-assertiveness, knowledge of social and cultural affairs, intellectual striving, and social astuteness—upon closer scrutiny German-American women were still of higher quality. The American woman may have symbolized modernity and progress, as was often suggested; however, the German-American woman promised a future development based on solid foundations, moderation, and wise judgment.

Contemporary commentators on German America have found much

evidence to support that claim. Thriftiness was one indicator: In a cookbook catering to the specific needs of German-American women published in 1879—that is, in the midst of a depression—the authors argued that the period of surplus and waste was over; hence, this book was intended to teach thriftiness in the home. Since American households, to the detriment of budget and health, often used too much sugar and butter and too many eggs and seasonings, this cookbook provided clever ways to use leftovers.[55] Another publication, titled the *German Element in the United States,* published by Georg von Bosse in 1905, emphasizes the importance of the wife to her husband's well-being: "After a German immigrant has found employment, his next goal is to have a home to himself. He imposes a number of deprivations upon himself in order to save and to reach his goal. Once accomplished he knows how to arrange everything most comfortably and he is content. And within this home the German housewife reigns in her quiet ways. She is not of the kind as to speak and function in public, her whole attention revolves around her husband and her children, and she feels comfortable and happy in this intimate circle. Her husband is her comrade and partner. She calls him by his first name and does not talk of him as Mr. but as her husband. It is beyond our imagination to think about the bliss that spreads beyond that intimate circle and which is the most beautiful treasure for growing children."[56]

However, according to von Bosse, it is not just domestic bliss that the German-American woman can create. He continues: "The German woman also has physical strength, her many healthy sons and daughters are proof of that, and when it was necessary, in honor of the Fatherland, she willingly offered up her sons. Not just a few of the most accomplished men of the United States are descendants of German mothers and the most important heirlooms of their parents was German faithfulness, the German soul [Gemüt] and a strong sense of family cohesion [das rechte Familienleben]."[57]

Hugo Münsterberg, a renowned professor of psychology at Harvard (1863–1916), was a little more careful when reflecting on womanhood in the United States. First, he praised the American woman, admiring her slim figure, gracious appearance, and driving thirst for knowledge; then he outlined the various social reforms for working women in Germany, only to point out what was most important to him: "[T]he basic idea behind all these movements in Germany, however, is the conviction that marriage is the natural fulfillment of the female fate." Moreover, he con-

tinued, because the German woman is so dedicated to marriage, housework and its economics are a source of great pleasure to her. In this she differed fundamentally from the American woman.[58]

German-American women, who discussed the issue of urban bourgeois womanhood, had a strong sense of their merits in a cultural environment that was not perceived as multicultural but as bicultural. Their point of reference was the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. Although the various newspapers written and edited by women, addressing female readers, did not necessarily express uniform opinions, they nonetheless agreed on the central importance of the family. They also appreciated the more moderate forms and demands of the German women's movement and rejected the perceived radicalism of the American women's movement. Most important, they considered themselves the better housewives, and, much as the cookbook mentioned earlier, they promoted thriftiness and charged American housewives with wastefulness. With visionary insight they demanded economic recognition of the macroeconomic value of their domestic work and thus anticipated a debate on wages for household labor, a discussion that would dominate the women's movement seven decades later.[59] They also accused American women of neglecting their children.

Despite all this inward-looking rhetoric focusing on husband, children, and housework, not all German-American women acted accordingly. Women of the German-American bourgeoisie in Chicago, for example, actively constructed a female public sphere and thus participated in building a viable and vibrant ethnic community. Women's groups within the *Turn-* and *Gesangsvereine* (gymnastic and singing groups) and charity organizations were as much a part of this public sphere as were women's pages and women's newspapers. They often formed women's auxiliaries that were responsible for the social aspects of club life. Not only did they stage festive events in honor of successful athletes and choirs, but they also insisted on organizing gymnastic groups for young girls and established all-female choirs. Built around the desire to socialize with other women, women's clubs provided educational lectures and cultural entertainment. The German-American woman, situated firmly within the context of the family, either as supporting daughter or competent housewife and mother, was a prominent topic supported and discussed in women's pages and bourgeois German-American newspapers.

Charity work was the most important and successful aspect of the

female public sphere. Organizing and maintaining a home for the elderly in Harlem near Chicago became the central concern of women's charity projects in the 1880s. Eventually they were able to engage large segments of the German-American community, and working together with the *Frauenverein Altenheim* in support of the home for the elderly became a popular activity and united many portions of an otherwise very fractured community. It also provided an opportunity to demonstrate ethnic potential. The charity ball in support of the home developed into the major social event for the elite. Here the German-American upper class proudly presented itself to Chicago-at-large.[60]

In religious communities, especially the Lutheran ones, women's positions within the family and their subordination to men were ideologically enhanced and regarded as God-given and God's will. For German Lutheran pastors, these conservative gender ideologies became the mortar that kept together the German community, which was beginning to split apart in other ways. The position of women became an important indicator of German *Kultur.* As long as one could unite on these essentials, the existence of the Lutheran community and, with it, the position of the pastor were guaranteed. Although women were able to expand their spheres of activity and, through their fund-raising efforts, contributed to the continuity and stability of the community, their activities continued to be regarded with great skepticism. Häderle concludes that their function as preservers and bearers of ethnic culture and identity hampered their chance to integrate with American society. German Lutherans, however, were not alone in situating women in the center of the family and ascribing to them the roles of bearers and maintainers of culture (i.e., as identity markers). A discourse across the transatlantic space argued along the same lines.

Communication

The fourth category to outline the tightly knit pattern constituting the transatlantic and transcultural space is communication, or discursive relationships. These interactions indicate the many literary and visual constructions of the "other" that circulated "here" and "there." Their task was to enable people to "keep in touch," to promote an ongoing understanding, if not knowledge, of ideas and concepts, lifestyles and realities, organizational forms, and modes of thinking about those on the other side of the Atlantic. The "other" varied, depending on where one was situated.[61] Focusing on the nineteenth and early twentieth century,

the written form clearly dominated in the construction of images; however, visual images such as woodcuts in newspapers, photographs, and postcards were also part of the cultural imaginary.

A number of print genres were significant in constructing discursive relationships. Advice and travel literature, newspapers, novels, fictional accounts of emigration, and scholarly writings were prominent in the print market. Letters, of course, enhanced, supported, or contradicted the public constructions. Seldom were these letters purely private or intimate communications; rather, they filled the semipublic space of families, villages, and communities of friends.

Advice literature has not yet received the systematic scholarly attention it deserves. We know very little about its distribution, volume, and readership. There is no publicly accessible, comprehensive collection. However, a number of archives, namely in Hessen (a state in west central Germany) and at the library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, have valuable collections, and studies have been based on them.[62] In her master's thesis, Ruth Roebke looked at nineteenth-century publications that offered advice for emigrants *(Auswandererratgeber),* focusing on the information they provided for women and the female images they promoted. Roebke studied forty-four pamphlets and books published between 1822 and 1889, of which the most prolific period was 1847 to 1853. She has discerned four different types of advice publications: (1) those that informed "objectively" about the whole emigration process, (2) accounts published as letters in order to claim authenticity, (3) autobiographical reports of successful or failed emigration experiences, and (4) travel descriptions.

Although we can assume that, by the turn of the twentieth century, images of "the other" were well established, travel accounts continued to be published and underwent a renaissance in the 1910s and 1920s. They provided information about a variety of issues related to transatlantic crossings, such as arrival, continental travel, clothing, food, prices, and seasickness. They also discussed "the land," people, politics, employment opportunities, working, and farming conditions. None of these various types of advice literature can claim to be "truly objective," Roebke argues. They were all written with a class and gender bias and either supported or rejected the idea of emigration.[63]

Although these books were often elaborately produced, rather expensive, and thus directed at an educated and well-to-do audience, they were widely distributed. Some—the more important ones by Gottfried Duden

and Traugott Bromme—were published in many subsequent editions.[64] Others were directed at specific audiences, such as prospective farmers, and provided details about how to build a pioneer home, which seeds to plant, and which tools to bring.[65] Despite their often unreliable content, the impact of these publications should not be underestimated because their role in the construction of cultural images is of central importance.

Travel accounts may have addressed those who wanted to emigrate, but they were also written to inform an audience that wanted to be in the know about various issues such as financial investments, trading conditions, technological advances, and engineering innovations. In addition, they described nature, geography, and exotic cultures—"Indians and Eskimos." These accounts almost inevitably included information about German America. Sometimes the authors traveled and wrote with the intention of telling about German Americans, and occasionally they were hosted by members of these communities (in New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, etc.). German America was an integral part of published reflections about the United States, whether in popular accounts or as part of the academic exchange.

While we know fairly little about advice literature, fictionalized emigration accounts have been well researched by Juliane Mikoletzky.[66] Novels, especially adventure accounts, helped to construct the cultural imaginary: Karl May is the best known but certainly not the only case in point.[67] Titles such as *Der deutsche Lausbub in Amerika* (A German Rascal in America) or *Die Flucht ins Paradies* (The Escape to Paradise) were distributed through reading clubs *(Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, Deutsche Hausbücherei)* in the second and third decades of the twentieth century; the 1960 publication by the Bertelsmann Lesering (reading club) of Louis Trenker's *Der Kaiser von Kalifornien* (The Emperor of California) about the Sutter family continued in the same vein. We may assume that these books were widely distributed and read and familiarized a large reading public with images of the United States that always included a German presence.[68]

Newspapers are among the most prominent products of the print market, and those that cater to ethnic communities have been well researched.[69] They constitute one of the most important sources of information on ethnic-community formation as well as for the historical reconstruction of ethnic-community life and cultural identity. Newspapers in German America negotiated the various realities in Germany, the United States, and German America, interpreting those actualities for the

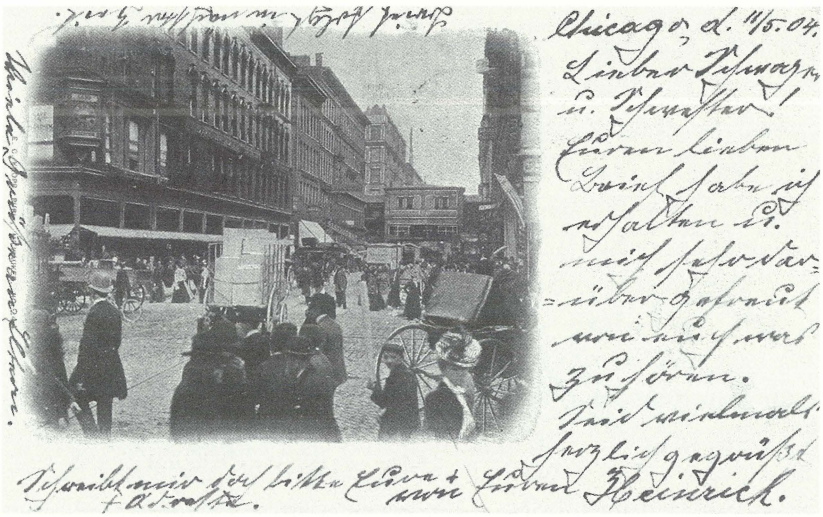
respective groups. They not only enabled German Americans to remain informed about political developments in the homeland but also attempted to influence them.[70] At the same time, German newspapers reported on German America, albeit to a lesser extent, and, accordingly, the subject received less scholarly attention. Although pronounced in the mid-nineteenth century, by century's end the interest had dwindled. At that point the political entity of the United States as a competitor in the international arena, rather than the homelier aspects of ethnic communities abroad, became the focus of journalistic attention.

A book titled *Beschreibung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Description of the United States of America), first published in 1831 and revised in 1839, may well be considered the beginning of American studies in Germany. The book is both a research monograph and an advice book, directed at the "knowledgeable and well-educated" reader. It reports on geography, the sciences (medicine and agriculture), and the topography of the various states and also chronicles German settlement.[71] Many books followed in this vein and became more sophisticated in content and analysis. Concentrating on culture and society, they critically and admiringly discussed crude forms of capitalism and the quest for profit, politics, customs, and race and class relations and always commented on women and the family. While the author of the 1830s' volume did not write from firsthand experience but consulted trustworthy friends and scholarly books, authors at the turn of the twentieth century did report from their own experiences. Friedrich Schönemann's 1932 publication on the United States represents the turning point from a preliminary development to the beginning of institutionalized American studies.[72]

Visual images are the more tangible forms of image production in nineteenth-century communications. In the mid-nineteenth century certain newspapers, such as the *Leibziger Illustrirte* [*sic*] *Zeitung, Über Land und Meer, Daheim, Die Gartenlaube,* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung* were particularly well illustrated. They documented the emigration experiences, showing images (wood carvings) of ships and their interiors, Castle Garden and immigrant reception, landmarks in the various German-American communities, as well as their festivals, parades, and the various celebratory activities. These images were produced by woodcutting (eighteenth century) and wood carving (nineteenth century). At first they were carefully executed pieces of art, showing intricate shadings and details. Under the pressure of mass production, however, the artistic aspects tended to decline, and "reality" fell by the wayside.

For lack of authentic models, pictorial news reporters took liberties: Scenes were imagined, events invented, and previously used images inserted. However, since reporters had to use images that were familiar to their readers, these pictures are still of historical value, although they need to be critically evaluated.[73]

Postcards were another means of communicating visual images. From the 1880s on, messages were often scribbled on the front across the picture, which left room for the address on the back, and became a way to keep in touch. The medium rather than the transported information (usually just greetings) was of importance: The means was the message. The postcard message documented a number of things: The writer was thinking about the recipient of the message and thus made that person think of the writer, and the writer was a traveler seeing the sights of the world. Postcards also expressed pride of place, the grandeur of an urban environment, or the beauty of nature; in addition, they situated the writer in a context of leisure and fun and provided the receiver of the visual message with a sense of the "other" place. As in Canada, writing and collecting postcards became favorite pastimes during the Edwardian era (1890s to World War I), catering to the (Canadian) Edwardian sense of home, fun, and outdoor leisure activities. These postcards were used for quick and easy communication—the scribbled gossip of everyday trivia. With frequent and efficient mail delivery, they performed the function of the modern-day telephone.[74]



Adams Street, looking east from State Street, Chicago.

A busy day on Dearborn and Randolph Streets, Chicago.

Within the tapestry covering the transatlantic space, postcards preserved memories and casually pointed to the enormity of the new environment. They documented the impressive sights of Bremen's town hall, market square, train station, the North German Lloyd building, and the Missler Halls, Bremen's accommodations for departing emigrants. They also showed the harbor, the docks, busy crowds of passengers and onlookers, and the enormous ships. The arrival at Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor were equally well documented. Once settled, if only for the time being, people sent home postcards that showed high-rises, bustling traffic, and examples of technology. Sent to impress, these cards show a fascination with the new environment, its technology, its crowdedness, and its engineering grandeur. They demonstrate the vigor of the New World, albeit sometimes tongue-in-cheek: A postcard depicting a traffic jam on Dearborn Street in Chicago, sent without any message and addressed to someone in Berlin, obviously needed no explanation or comment.[75]

When sent across the Atlantic, personal photographs may transport the most private form of transcultural communications. They figured prominently from 1910 on. Serious-looking people, dressed in their Sunday best or wearing suits, shawls, or hats borrowed from the photographer, expressed family relationships and family hierarchies, and these family groupings thus became a standard feature of transatlantic communications, demonstrating prosperity, establishment, and respectabil-

Straus Building, Michigan Boulevard, Chicago.

ity. If a picture was taken outdoors instead of in a studio, a farmhouse in the background was meant to indicate proud ownership. A picture sometimes showed a young woman dressed in fashionable urban attire, the prominent hat figuring as the center of attention. The picture suggested that the woman, who may have been a maid before she left, had turned into a lady who could afford to wear a fancy hat.

Often these pictures were necessary to introduce a new son- or daughter-in-law to the family at home (or abroad). But the postcards also com-

municated more complex messages: We have made it; the effort was not in vain; we were, after all, right in deciding to leave; the pain of departure is justified by our success—as you can see for yourself. Why don't you follow us? Later in the 1920s, when photographic technology had become more accessible, photos that captured everyday life and daily activities, as well as festivities and celebrations, could be communicated. Life on both sides of the Atlantic literally became more obvious and thus more "real." It became easier for people to maintain familiarity with and an understanding of "the other" across the Atlantic, and the transatlantic space became filled with even more personal, more detailed information.

Conclusion

We in the twenty-first century often believe that it is the new technology that enables us to build a transatlantic space and to maintain transnational contact. True, fast and mass travel and internet technology support our relationships with people afar and have produced a world that is closely interconnected on a political, economic, and environmental level. The prerequisites have been established by the people who left their birthplace, settled across the Atlantic, and maintained contact over the course of three centuries. And because their desire to seek better prospects for the future was an indication of a universal human condition, politics and economics reacted, cooperated, and supported a vast and manifold system of exchanges. This chapter has made use of recent research on German-American encounters, published mainly in German, to show the interconnectedness of the transatlantic world, and we may assume, at least since the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, great familiarity with the world across the Atlantic, however imagined it may have been. If we continue to conceive of these encounters as taking place not so much in two separate worlds, involving uprootedness and resettlement, but as movements in transatlantic space, we may discover more similarities and familiarities, as well as subtle translations and adaptations.

NOTES

1. Letter, Aug. 13, 1913. Annette Buthmann (1888–1979) to her father-in-law (translation by author). I thank Ingrid Brandt for assembling and transcribing the letters. The effort was part of a project on migrant women in the village of Fischerhude, Ottersberg, Lower Saxony, Germany.

2. Ibid.

3. Though the bulk of research on German America is dedicated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some recent excellent studies chronicle the earlier period: Mark Häberlein, "Transatlantische Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert: die Kontakte südwestdeutscher und schweizer Einwanderer in Pennsylvania zu ihrer Heimatregion," in *Menschen zwischen zwei Welten: Auswanderung, Ansiedlung, Akkulturation,* edited by Walter G. Rödel und Helmut Schmahl (Trier, Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2002), 45–61; Mark Häberlein, *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1993); Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Hans Jürgen Grabbe, *Vor der grossen Flut: die europäische Migration in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1783–1820* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 2001).

4. Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1998), 2–5.

5. Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Rapports du Xie Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* 5 (Stockholm: Congrès International, 1960), 32–60.

6. See, for example, Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1981); Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class, 1845–1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit, und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt: Deutschamerikanerinnen in Chicago um die Jahrhundertwende* (St. Katharinen, Germany: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991).

7. Andrea Mehrländer, *In Dixieland I'll Take My Stand: The German Communities of Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans during the Civil War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Hartmut Keil, "Ethnizität und Rasse: die deutsche Bevölkerung und die Kritik der Sklaverei in der deutschen Presse von New Orleans," in *Gesellschaft und Diplomatie im transatlantischen Kontext,* edited by Michael Wala (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 9–27.

8. Good examples are Linda Schelbitzki Pickle, *Contented among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Carol K. Coburn, *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868–1945* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992). See also Kathleen N. Conzen, *Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer* (New York: Berg, 1990).

9. The most thorough structural analysis of German emigration is still Peter Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1973).

10. Cf. Walter Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home,* translated by Susan Carter Vogel (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991).

11. Cf. Markus Schwingel, *Pierre Bourdieu zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius, 1995), 85f, in reference to *Die verborgenen Mechanismen der Macht* (The Hidden Mechanisms of Power).

12. Cf. Christiane Harzig, "Creating a Community: German-American Women in Chicago," in *Peasant Maids, City Women: From the European Countryside to Urban America,* edited by Christiane Harzig (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 185–222. Of course, the temporarily unwell but otherwise hardworking mother, constituting the best example of the "deserving poor," was also the most likely to receive assistance from the severely discriminating German Aid Society.

13. This right, however, was slowly being eroded by mercantilistic interests in population growth and subsequent economic development. Cf. Cornelia Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig im Kräftespiel staatlicher Einflussnahme und öffentlicher Resonanz 1720–1897* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), 40.

14. This identity-producing moment, however, has been deconstructed by recently published research that analyzes a millennium of migration. See Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002).

15. Religion was also used to attract certain kinds of immigrants, sometimes Protestants, who were sought to counterbalance a Catholic majority. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 46.

16. Frank Trommler, "Franz Daniel Pastorius: ein Franke als Begründer deutschamerikanischer Identität," in *Good Bye Bayern, Grüss Gott America: Auswanderung aus Bayern nach Amerika seit 1683* (Katalogbuch zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung), edited by Margot Hamm, Michael Henker, Evamaria Brockhoff. *Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur* 48(4), Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Augsburg, 2004, 91–94.

17. Friedrich Bodenstedt, *Vom Atlantischen zum stillen Ocean* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1882), 105. Bodenstedt, professor of Slavic languages and English in the 1850s and well known for his poetry, traveled through North America from October 1879 to July 1880. He obviously moved freely in German Christian and German Jewish circles. His account contains a number of insightful observations on German America.

18. Christiane Harzig, "'When You Are a New Immigrant You Are Just Half and Half': The Process of Becoming Canadian among Post–World War Two German Immigrants," in *Selbst und Anderes: von Begegnungen und Grenzziehungen,* edited by Doris Eibl and Christina Strobel, *Beiträge zur Kanadistik,* vol. 7 (Augsburg: Bernd Wiessner, 1998), 66–79; Alexander Freund, *Aufbrüche nach dem Zusammenbruch: die deutsche Nord Amerika Auswanderung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht Press, 2004).

19. See, for example, Dirk Hoerder, *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

20. James Jackson Jr. and Leslie Page Moch, "Migration and Social History in Modern Europe," in *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives,* edited by Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 61.

21. This, however, changed when the Quota Act went into effect in 1921.

22. Whereas Brunswick, for example, had rather liberal emigration laws, Prussia tended to restrict emigration altogether; agents and emigration advocates in that state were not allowed to operate on its territory.

23. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 42f.

24. Ibid., 73.

25. See Christine Hansen, "Die deutsche Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: ein Mittel zur Lösung sozialer und sozialpolitischer Probleme?" and Günter Moltmann, "Die Transportation von Sträflingen im Rahmen der deutschen Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert," both in Günter Moltmann, ed., *Deutsche Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert,* Schriftenreihe Amerikastudien Bd. 44 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976), 8–62, 174–96.

26. Rudolf Möhlenbruch, "Freier Zug, Ius Emigrandi, Auswanderungsfreiheit: eine verfassungsgeschichtliche Studie," PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1977.

27. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 83.

28. Möhlenbruch, *Freier Zug,* 158.

29. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 141; Hermann von Freeden und Georg Smolka, *Auswanderer: Bilder und Skizzen aus der Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung: ein Schicksalsbuch der Deutschen, die ausserhalb ihres Vaterlandes eine neue Heimat suchten* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1937); Dietmar Kögler, *Die Deutschen in Amerika: die Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung in die USA seit 1683* (Stuttgart: Motorbuch Verlag, 1983).

30. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 110. The Blumenau Project, a settlement in South Brazil, clearly demonstrated the relationship between the safety-valve concept and nationalist-imperialist interests.

31. Another telling case in point for the transatlantic exchanges between North Germany and Texas is documented by Walter Struve, *Die Republik Texas, Bremen, und das Hildesheimische: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Auswanderung, Handel, und gesellschaftlichem Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert mit den Briefen eines deutschen Kaufmanns und Landwirts in Texas, 1844–1945* (Hildesheim, Germany: August Lax, 1983).

32. The constitution of the Weimar Republic granted a right to emigrate; however, during the depression in Germany it was qualified (restricted) by heavy taxation (Reichsfluchtsteuer) in order to prevent high-income citizens from "fleeing" the country. During the era of Nazi dictatorship, the right to emigrate, as a human privilege, was ineffective. The right to emigrate was granted on an indi-

vidual basis and used opportunely. Usually it was related to the confiscation of property (Möhlenbruch, *Freier Zug,* 161, 163).

33. See Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 56; Agnes Bretting, "Funktion und Bedeutung von Auswandereragenturen in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," in Agnes Bretting and Hartmut Bickelmann, eds., *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Frank Steiner, 1991), 21.

34. Pohlmann, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig,* 148.

35. Ibid., chapter 4.2, "Kolonie des Grünenplaner Koch im U.S. Bundesstaat Michigan."

36. In the 1820s, the highly skilled cloth makers (Tuchmacher) from the Frankfurt (Oder) area emigrated to Poland. Uwe Reich, *Aus Cottbus und Arnswalde in die Neue Welt: Amerika-Auswanderung aus Ostelbien im 19. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück, Germany: Rasch, 1997), 52–59.

37. As was often the case in nineteenth-century publishing, the title of the book reveals the whole content: *Der Geschäftsmann in America, wie er sein und was er wissen muss, um in allen Geschäftszweigen mit Vortheil zu arbeiten, Verluste zu vermeiden, und Wohlstand zu erwerben: ein Handbuch für Alle, die vorwärts wollen, mit Benutzung von* Freedley's Treatise on Business *bearbeitet. Nebst den, das tägliche Leben und Geschäft beruhenden in den verschiedenen einzelnen Staaten geltenden gesetzlichen Bestimmungen, die Jedem, der ein Geschäft betreibt, zu wissen nöthig sind, den gesetzlich gültigen Formularen zu gerichtlichen und aussergerichtlichen Dokumenten, einer Anleitung zum Buchhalten u.s.w., u.s.w.* (New York: Verlag von Friedrich Gerhard, 1873).

38. Cf. the example of Washington Finlay, an American who operated from Mainz and worked for a major U.S. shipping company. Washington had a reputation for dishonesty (Bretting, "Funktion und Bedeutung von Auswandereragenturen," 51). Bretting provides the best analysis so far of emigration agencies.

39. Reich, *Aus Cottbus und Arnswalde in die Neue Welt,* 141.

40. Michael Just, *Ost- und Südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung, 1881–1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1988), 66.

41. The price of a ticket was 30–40 thaler for per adult (the monthly wages for a journeyman carpenter in the city of Bremen was about 16 thaler).

42. Arno Armgort, *Bremen, Bremerhaven, New York, 1683–1960: Geschichte der Auswanderung über die bremischen Häfen* (Bremen: Steintor, 1991), 74.

43. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, about one-fourth of workers born in Germany were employed in agriculture, and they were a prominent group among the foreign-born settlers who owned farms (in 1910 and 1920, about one-third of all foreign-born independent farmers). They settled mainly in the Midwest. See Kathleen N. Conzen, "Deutsche Einwanderer im ländlichen Amerika: Problemfelder und Forschungsergebnisse," in *Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter,* vol. 1, edited by Klaus J. Bade (Ostfildern, Germany: Stripta Mercaturae, 1984), 350–75.

44. See, for example, Silke Schütter, ed., *Ein Auswanderinnenschicksal in*

Briefen und Dokumenten (Warendorf, Germany: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Kreises Warendorf, 1989). Henriett Bruns Geisberg, who reported home from Missouri in nearly 250 letters, had emigrated from Westphalia in the 1830s.

45. Pickle, *Contented among Strangers,* 70.

46. The word *Kleinmagd* was never used in the context of German-American female farm labor, but we can very well interpret it as such.

47. Pickle, *Contented among Strangers,* 127.

48. Irene Häderle, *Deutsche kirchliche Frauenvereine in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1870–1930: eine Studie über die Bedingungen und Formen der Akkulturation deutscher Einwanderinnen und ihrer Töchter in den USA* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1997).

49. Tobias Brinkmann, *Von der Gemeinde zur "Community": Jüdische Einwanderer in Chicago, 1840–1900* (Osnabrück, Germany: Rasch, 2002), 407.

50. Sibylle Quack, *Zuflucht Amerika: zur Sozialgeschichte der Emigration deutsch-jüdischer Frauen in die USA, 1933–1945* (Bonn: Dietz, 1995).

51. Pickle, *Contented among Strangers,* 194.

52. Conzen, *Making Their Own America,* 7 (with reference to Medick and Geertz).

53. Ibid., 31.

54. Kathleen N. Conzen, "Phantom Landscapes of Colonization: Germans in the Making of a Pluralist America," in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000,* edited by Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 7–21.

55. Henriette Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die Deutschen in Amerika: eine Bearbeitung des anerkannten besten deutschen Kochbuchs der Frau Henriette Davidis* (Milwaukee: Georg Brumder, 1879).

56. Georg von Bosse, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten* (New York: Steiger, 1908), 346–47. On Bosse and his prominent position in Philadelphia, see Russel A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).

57. Ibid.

58. Hugo Münsterberg, *Die Amerikaner.* Vol. 2, *Das geistige und soziale Leben* (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1912), 296–300.

59. Clara Michaelis in the women's page of the *Chicagoer Freie Presse.* See Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit,* 238–42.

60. On the female public sphere in Chicago, see Christiane Harzig, "The Ethnic Female Public Sphere: German-American Women in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago," in *Midwestern Women: Work, Community, and Leadership at the Crossroads,* edited by Lucy E. Murphy and Wendy H. Venet (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 141–57.

61. See Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States,* vol. 1 (New York: Steuben Society of America, 1927); Hugo Münsterberg, *Die Amerikaner.* Vol. 1: *Das politische und wirtschaftliche Leben* (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1912).

62. See, for example, Peter Assion, ed., *Der grosse Aufbruch: Studien zur Amerikaauswanderung* (Marburg, Germany: Jonas, 1985).

63. Ruth Roebke, "Informationen für Frauen und das Frauenbild in den Auswandererratgebern aus dem 19. Jahrhundert," master's thesis, Philipps-Universität, Marburg, Germany, 1986), 47f.

64. Gottfried Duden, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826, und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Überbevölkerung* (Elberfeld, Germany, 1829); Traugott Bromme, *Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer aus allen Klassen und jedem Stand nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika, Texas, Ober- und Unter-Canada, Neu Braunschweig, Neu-Schottland, Santo Thomas in Guatemala, und den Mosquitoküsten* (Bamberg, Germany: Buchner, 1853).

65. Friedemann Fegert, *"Ihr ghönt es Eich gar nicht vorstelen wie es in Amerigha zu ged": Auswanderung aus den jungen Rodungsdörfern des Passauer Abteilandes nach Nordamerika seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Karlsruhe, Germany: Fegert Books on Demand, 2001), 129.

66. Juliane Mikoletzky, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur* (Tübingen, Germany: Niemeyer, 1988).

67. Other prominent and widely read authors were Friedrich Gerstäcker and Karl Anton Postl (alias Charles Sealsfield).

68. Mikoletzky points out that it is impossible to determine exact publication figures because publishers often used them for advertising purposes. For the mid-nineteenth century, figures range between five and ten thousand. See Mikoletzky, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung,* 45–47.

69. See, for example, Beate Hinrichs, *Deutschamerikanische Presse zwischen Tradition und Anpassung: die Illinois Staatszeitung und Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung 1879–1890* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989).

70. Anneliese Edelmann, "Das Verhältnis der Deutschamerikaner zum deutschen Reich (vom deutsch-französischen Krieg bis zur Samoa Krise, 1870–1900), anhand ausgewählter Beispiele aus der deutschamerikanischen Presse," erste wissenschaftliche Staatsprüfung für das Amt des Studienrats, Berlin, 1988.

71. H. W. C. Eggerling, *Beschreibung der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Mannheim, Germany: Tobias Löffler, 1839).

72. Friedrich Schönemann, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: die amerikanische Demokratie von Heute,* vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1932). On the origin of American studies in Germany, see Philipp Gassert, "Vor der DGfA: Deutsche Amerikaforschung zwischen Erstem Weltkrieg and früher Bundesrepublik," in *Amerikaforschung in Deutschland: Themen und Institutionen der Politikwissenschaft nach 1945,* edited by Michael Dreyer, Markus Kaim, und Markus Lang (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 15–39.

73. Siegfried Stölting, ed., *Auswanderer auf alter Zeitungsgraphik* (Worpswede, Germany: Worpsweder Verlag, 1987), 6. See also Christina Deggim and Christiane Harzig, eds., *Deutschland im Gepäck: deutsche Auswanderung zwis-*

chen 1875 und 1880, dokumentiert in Berichten und Grafiken aus "Frank Leslie's Illustrierter Zeitung" (Bremerhaven, Germany: Wirtschaftsverlag, 1987).

74. Allan Anderson and Betty Tomlinson, *Greetings from Canada: An Album of Unique Canadian Postcards from the Edwardian Era, 1900–1916* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), xi.

75. This analysis of postcards is based on a large collection in the author's possession. The collection focuses on Bremen, Bremerhaven, New York, and Chicago. The cards best document the period between the turn of the century and World War I, similar to the Edwardian period in the case of Canada. During World War I, postcards *(Feldpostkarten)* became an even more important means of communication, when German soldiers used them to keep in touch with family at home.

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