

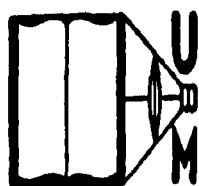
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TITLE ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN TRAVELERS  
IN GERMANY 1815-1890: A STUDY IN THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF SOME AMERICAN IDEAS

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ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN GERMANY 1815-1890:  
A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME AMERICAN IDEAS

AN ABSTRACT

By

Ruth Ann Lusselman

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan  
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Although the American traveler in Europe has long been a recognized phenomenon of American civilization, little research has been done in the extensive historical record of the American traveler --- the travel narrative. A large body of literature, especially of nineteenth century Americans in Europe, recounts the travelers' impressions of the countries they visited. Utilizing this material concerning the American traveler in Germany, this investigator attempts to determine why the American traveled to Germany, what his attitudes were toward German society, culture, and government, and how his ideas were related to the development of American thought.

The early nineteenth century American's interest in Germany stemmed primarily from an intellectual impulse generated by the tremendous development in German thought and letters at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries and from the awakening of the German national spirit during the Napoleonic Wars. This idea ran parallel to the nationalistic optimism about the future of his own nation that colored the thought of the early nineteenth century American. For this reason, he traveled to Germany during the first half of the century with three images in his mind: he saw himself as a "pilgrim" seeking the culture of Germany or seeking enlightenment

on the lives and customs of other peoples; he saw his own nation as the great example that would teach and lead other nations of the world in the establishment of democratic governments and societies; and he visualized, and liked, Germany as the potential Protestant leader in Europe both in culture and in liberal government.

The experience of the American traveler in Germany in the nineteenth century witnessed the gradual breakdown of these images. Socially, he found many aspects of German civilization that were far less refined and intellectualized than he had imagined. Culturally, he granted German superiority in the cultivation of arts and letters, but he felt that this culture did not embrace the whole of German life. Politically, he found that, in spite of the existence of both liberalism and nationalism in Germany, the traditions of militarism, paternalism, autocracy, a state controlled church, and great economic inequality promised little in the eventual establishment of a democratic nation in Central Europe. The ultimate unification of Germany under Bismarck and the resulting new German Empire dashed the American's hopes for the creation of a liberal German state after the pattern of the United States.

On the other hand, the late nineteenth century American traveler showed less optimism than the early traveler in

regard to the future of his own nation and in his view of himself. He indicated that, while he appreciated the superior political and economic advantages of life in the United States, he felt a sense of dissatisfaction with the social life in materialistic post-Civil War America. He became somewhat skeptical of the purpose and value of travel and of the destiny of both the United States and mankind. Finally, he still experienced the magnetism of the tradition and culture of European civilization.

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## INTRODUCTION

When the end of World War II provided the world with a chance to engage in peaceful pursuits, American travelers flocked to Europe in record numbers. They jammed available ships and planes and penetrated the entire continent this side of the Iron Curtain. So common has the American traveler become in the twentieth century that some categories of American tourists in Europe have achieved the recognition of stereotypes: the school teacher on summer vacation, the youth hosteling students, the business man who has accumulated a fortune and a culture deficiency. In fact, the American who spends a few months in Europe and returns home to write a book about it has come to be regarded as a rather tiresome joke.

Although the numbers of Americans traveling in Europe has elicited a good deal of comment from the press, the American traveler himself is not a social phenomenon peculiar to the twentieth century. Actually, the custom of a "trip to Europe" is deeply embedded in the American heritage. In colonial times, the Virginia gentleman frequently received his formal education in England, as in the case of William Byrd of Westover, and the eighteenth century American of the Enlightenment was attracted by the

glow of French thought under the Old Regime. In the nineteenth century, the "grand tour" was still considered the mark of a cultivated gentleman, and others, scientists like Oliver Wendell Holmes who sought the hospitals of Paris and Vienna, scholars like Edward Everett who sought the libraries of Germany, artists like Washington Allston who sought the inspiration of Italy, and intellectuals like Henry James who sought the refined society of England, contributed to the flood of Americans in Europe. In the twentieth century, the self-sentenced expatriate of the twenties was, perhaps, only a peculiar expression of a basic impulse in American culture.

This does not mean that Americans have been the only people who traveled and wrote about their travels. The United States has been the object of European curiosity, and French, British, and German visitors, distinctly different from the immigrants, have traveled extensively in this country. American sensibilities were severely wounded by the criticism of a Charles Dickens or a Mrs. Trollope who wrote travel narratives of their experiences, while a work like Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America has achieved an almost classic position for its insight and intelligence. In fact, one nineteenth century American traveler in Europe claimed that Americans should have the same right to use

their travels as a basis for critical comment upon Europe.<sup>1</sup> Even in the area of this particular study, Germany, the British and French were frequent travelers, and the British writers on Germany, William Howitt, John Russell, John Aiton, and others, undoubtedly influenced American travelers in Germany.

Yet certain features of the American traveler in Europe have been so distinctive that a study of the subject merits attention apart from the other movements of peoples. In the first place, the American traveler of the nineteenth century was distinguishable from his colonial counterpart in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the latter had a dual attachment: to his home in the New World and to the Mother Country.<sup>2</sup> The American traveler in Europe was equally different from the European immigrant who established a permanent residence, who sent down roots, who adopted a new nationality in the New World. For, in most cases, the American traveler remained just that---an American traveler---to the end. Even though his trip extended into a residence of several years, his status in his own mind was always

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Ruggles, "Introduction," Germany Seen without Spectacles (Boston, 1883).

<sup>2</sup> Philip Rahv, ed., Discovery of Europe: the Story of American Experience in the Old World (Boston, 1947), p. xi.

that of a temporary sojourner, peculiarly detached from the scene he witnessed. And, finally, the American traveler was thrust into a scene much farther removed in space and time from his homeland than the British or French traveler on the continent.

The problem of the American traveler in Europe would seem to be worth analysis. Like any problem, it raises a number of questions. Why did (and do) Americans feel the necessity of going to Europe? What were they seeking? How did the different areas and cultures of Europe affect them? And what did they bring back from the continent beyond the souvenirs, the mementos, the books, the paintings, the Parisian fashions? What made Europe a Mecca to Americans? A good many Americans have speculated on the answers to these questions. The novelist has not left untouched such a fertile field for exploitation. Nathaniel Hawthorne in The Marble Faun, Washington Irving in Sketch Book and Tales of a Traveller, Herman Melville in Redburn, and, of course, Henry James in The American, The Ambassadors and Daisy Miller, to name a few, have presented artistic interpretations of the American in Europe. In the twentieth century, writers like John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, Ring Lardner, Sinclair Lewis, and Thomas Wolfe have all worked over this theme.

But aside from these treatments on a philosophical and psychological plane, there remains a large body of material that represents the historical record of the American travelers. These were the travel narratives, in which ordinary citizens, at least in relation to masters like Hawthorne, Melville, and James, recorded their impressions of Europe. These were the writers who represent the factual basis for the truism about the man going to Europe and writing a book about it. Many of these books were series of letters and were first published in the local papers of Flint, Nashville, Cincinnati, or St. Louis. Many were by individuals whose sole claim to literary achievement is confined within the covers of one book concerning a trip to Europe. Many closely parallel a guide-book. But, as a whole, they represent the written record of Americans who went to Europe and recorded their impressions.

Social and literary historians have utilized this material to some extent to answer the questions raised by the problem of the American in Europe,<sup>1</sup> but the area most neglected by all the studies has been Germany. To many

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<sup>1</sup> See Robert L. Scott, American Travelers in France 1830-1860 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1940); Robert E. Spiller, The American in England during the First Half-Century of Independence (New York, 1926); R. B. Mowat, Americans in England (Boston, 1935); et al.

individuals supremely conscious of the nation which has involved the world in two terrible conflicts in the twentieth century, this may appear paradoxical. Telling the story of modern history and omitting the impact of Germany upon world consciousness is like describing a boxing match with only one contestant for the title. Yet, in the light of nineteenth century history, it is not astonishing that relatively few travelers from America went to Germany until well into the nineteenth century and that the scholars have concerned themselves far more deeply with American travelers in England and France.

In spite of the indelible impression made by German culture upon American philosophy and education in the nineteenth century, in 1815 most Americans were only dimly aware of the great stretch of Europe between a familiar France and an enigmatic Russia. They knew it, perhaps, as the remnant of the Holy Roman Empire that Napoleon had declared dead in 1806, as the eternal battlefield of European history, as the home of the Hessian mercenaries who fought for the British in the Revolutionary War, as the little known and little understood dominions of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns, or as the European origin of hundreds of back country farmers in Pennsylvania, the Ohio Valley, New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Van Wyck Brooks stated that George Ticknor and Edward Everett had



real difficulty locating a German grammar and a German dictionary with which to study the language before going to the University of Göttingen.<sup>1</sup> John Quincy Adams, who had been to Prussia on a mission in 1797,<sup>2</sup> possessed a copy of Goethe's The Sorrows of Werther, and a few other New England scholars had German books.<sup>3</sup> But Germany itself, in cultural New England, was virtually an unknown quantity.

Aflame with curiosity and enthusiasm for Germany that Madame de Staël's D'Allemagne and a pamphlet by Charles de Villers on the University of Göttingen had aroused,<sup>4</sup> the New England literary lights blazed the trail to Germany. Everett and Ticknor were followed by Joseph Green Cogswell, George Bancroft, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Lothrop Motley, James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams, and William James. More significant, perhaps, they were also followed, not necessarily to the universities but to Germany, by dozens of lesser Americans from the middle states and the South and the West who brought back ideas about Germany

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<sup>1</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England (Modern Library Edition, New York, 1926), pp. 73-75.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., Memoirs of John Quincy Adams (New York, 1913-17), I.

<sup>3</sup> Brooks, Flowering of New England, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Orin William Long, Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture (Cambridge, 1935), p. 10.

and Germany's culture. The trickle of American travelers to Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century had become a flood by the end of it.

A brief sketch of nineteenth century German history in part explains the apparent early neglect of that nation by the American traveler in Europe.<sup>1</sup> In one sense, the course of Germany parallels the course of the United States in the nineteenth century, for both nations emerged at the end of the century as national states of formidable power. But at the beginning of the century, the position of the United States was far more promising than that of Germany, for the latter was at that time, in fact, not a "nation" at all.

In spite of a burst of nationalism in the German states during the Napoleonic Wars, the peace settlement at the Congress of Vienna successfully thwarted German hopes for a united nation. Instead, the settlement left her a heterogeneous group of thirty-nine sovereign states, loosely organized into a weak confederation and governed on the principle of "legitimacy." The Bund had neither the means nor the power to enforce unity among the ruling

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<sup>1</sup> The historical material in the following paragraphs is based on Sir Adolphus William Ward, Germany 1815-1890 (Cambridge, 1916) and Veit Valentin, The German People: Their History and Civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich (New York, 1946).

houses of the independent states and principalities. Furthermore, the reactionary sentiment at the Congress of Vienna buttressed the power of the ruling families and prevented the Diet at Frankfort from being anything more than a gathering of ambassadors from the states of independent rulers.

The two chief forces of nineteenth century German history were a drive toward unification and a drive toward liberalization of the autocratic governments. In the end, the latter was sacrificed to the former, but at the beginning when most liberals were under the sway of French Revolutionary principles and philosophy, it was hoped that both a national and a liberal state could be achieved simultaneously. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the two most powerful states, Austria and Prussia, were jealous of each other's power as well as frightened by the democratic ideas which threatened the control of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. They were determined that nationalism meant Prussian or Austrian domination of Germany and that any concession to the liberals meant a loss of monarchical power and prestige.

For over thirty years, Prince Metternich of Austria and the Quadruple Alliance kept these two forces of liberalism and nationalism firmly under control. The promised constitutions of 1814 and 1815 were either not

forthcoming at all in the German states or were mere pretenses of representative government. Any eruptions of liberal sentiment like the Burschenschaft movement of 1817 were quashed by autocratic rulers. Yet the liberal and national forces were by no means spent, and in spite of the reaction, the growing middle class in the Germanies and the Prussian Zollverein or customs union indicated the urgency of the pressure for a unified Germany with a constitutional government. South Germany became a stronghold of liberal sentiment, and when the Revolution of 1848 broke out in France, it touched off revolutionary uprisings all over Germany.

The center for the "pan-German" revolution was at Frankfort, although most of the states were individually affected and Berlin and Vienna were temporarily under the control of the insurgents. A Parliament of representatives elected from all the German states, primarily composed of liberals, met in Frankfort to write a constitution for a unified Germany. This was the so-called "Professor's Parliament" which began in hope and ended in failure. It could not resolve the basic question of how to reconcile a Catholic Austria and a Lutheran Prussia to a national state without giving either power the lion's share of control. While the Parliament debated, the traditional bulwarks of the monarchy in Berlin and Vienna, the army, consolidated the forces of reaction against the tide of

liberalism. When the Parliament finally proffered the headship of the new Germany to the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV refused to accept and relied upon the forces of reaction to halt abruptly the progress of the revolution.

Although the Revolution had forced a written constitution of sorts upon Germany, without the support of either Prussia or Austria and at the mercy of the armies of the two powers, it ended in dismal defeat. The movement for unification was equally ended, for the moment, when Frederick William, who had hoped to establish a united Germany on his own terms, submitted to Austria at Olmütz in the face of a strong Austrian army.

Yet actual unification was not far off. In the course of the next two decades, Prince Otto von Bismarck rose to prominence in Prussian politics and became Minister-President of Prussia. This shrewd Prussian Junker intrigued with and manipulated foreign powers to suit his purposes, bewitched and tricked and ran roughshod over the liberals, scrapped the old Bund, helped create an efficient and modern Prussian army, and succeeded in unifying Germany under Prussian domination and Austrian exclusion. The final goal of Bismarck, the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership, was accomplished by a series of three contrived wars; the Danish War of 1864, the Austrian War of 1866, and

the Franco-German War of 1870. For the next two decades, he dominated German and European politics. Germany was a power to be reckoned with, and it was a new Germany, based upon the Prussian system of a strong, paternal, autocratic government supported by an invincible military arm and using a sham constitution as a sop to recognized nineteenth century liberalism.

On the other hand, America emerged from the conclusion of her second struggle with Great Britain in 1815 on the crest of a great wave of hope. The purchase of Louisiana under the Jefferson administration had opened up immense new lands for settlement, and the beginnings of the industrial revolution promised economic, as well as geographical, expansion. For a good many years, Americans were too busy with this growth and with the new ideas that cropped up in American society to pay too much attention to developments in central Europe. It was not until the middle years of the century that the majority of American travelers in Europe became interested in something more than a trip down the Rhine in Germany on a European tour. By that time, the ideas of American scholars who had gone to Germany had begun to seep into the American mind, the new west had begun to fill up with nineteenth century Germans, and improved travel facilities made a trip to Germany more feasible. Until then, the standard European

tour included England (and perhaps Scotland and Ireland), France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Low Countries.

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the attitudes of American travelers in Germany from 1815 to 1890. This involves an investigation of the political ideas of American travelers in Germany, but it also entails an analysis of the American traveler's ideas of the whole fabric of German culture, including the nature of the people, the social life and customs, and the intellectual and religious life. The chapters are, therefore, organized on this basis with discussion of the American traveler's ideas about German social and cultural life forming two separate chapters and discussion of the American traveler's ideas about German political and economic life forming two other chapters.

Furthermore, since this thesis is concerned with American intellectual history, an attempt has been made to determine how the attitudes of the American traveler in Germany illustrated or reflected the development in American thought over the course of the century. This involves analyzing the American traveler's attitudes to determine their relationship to the whole fabric of American thought. It involves examining what the American traveler felt about himself as a traveler and about the significance of his own nation in the destiny of western civilization. The ideas

discussed here were determined by the material in the travel narratives themselves when the traveler indicated how he felt about his own nation and his own culture viewed in contrast with German culture.

It is this writer's contention that the political experience of the American traveler in Germany over the course of the century contributed to the growing suspicion of the American intellectual that the future was not nearly so rosy and the world was not nearly so simple and susceptible to improvement as the early nineteenth century American had supposed. A good many of the notions that early nineteenth century Americans held as the surest and straightest roads to the realization of the American dream for all nations appeared at the end of the century to be only cul-de-sacs, leading right back to tyranny, injustice, oppression, and inhumanity to man. The early nineteenth century enthusiasm for a future German nation, resting upon the democratic system, universal education, and material progress, turned out to be one of those cul-de-sacs. Like so many other visions of the early nineteenth century, it became, in reality, a bitter disappointment, one with which a wiser and more mature American nation would have to deal.

On the other hand, it was equally apparent in the second half of the nineteenth century, in spite of the disappointment Americans experienced in the ultimate



unification of Germany, that the picture was no more all black than it had been all white at the beginning of the century. Certain aspects of German life appealed to the travelers with such a force and intensity that they sharply pointed up an unsuspected drabness and shallowness in American life. If some Americans were disillusioned in the new Germany, they were also disappointed in the concrete realization of American culture in the post-Civil War years in the United States. According to one writer on the subject, Europe acted as one pole of culture while the frontier operated as the other---catching Americans in a two-way pull.<sup>1</sup> Most of the travelers in Germany experienced the attraction of that culture, and their reflections upon it seem related in motive and spirit to the social criticism of the late nineteenth century American thought.

No investigation so interpretive and inferential in nature should be attempted without some comment about the hazards involved in arriving at any accurate and indisputable

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<sup>1</sup> Ferner Nuhn, The Wind Blew from the East. A Study in the Orientation of American Culture (New York, 1942), p. 18. Nuhn classifies Europe as part of the pull of the "east" upon American culture as opposed to the west and the frontier. It includes, of course, the settled east as opposed to the unsettled west, or even the eastern part of the state as opposed to the western part. He says, "West for work and money, back East for ease and grace. West for profanity, East for piety. West for action, East for status. West for function, East for ornament. West for democratic color, East for aristocratic form." p. 14.

judgments. This writer is well aware of those hazards. In the first place, the travelers were human before they were American. They were different from one another--- in age, disposition, health, occupation, and social position. Even if all these things had been equal, the travelers still would probably not have felt exactly the same way about the same thing. A particularly harsh statement might have been as much the result of immediate circumstances---a sleepless night on a cramped, narrow, German bed, a bad cup of coffee for breakfast, a rainy day--as the result of a considered opinion based upon observation and reflection. The travelers frequently recorded their impressions in letters and journals, which reflect the spirit of the moment, and, for this reason, generalization about their feelings, in any permanent or comprehensive sense, must take cognizance of the ever-present exception. The attitudes of the travelers do not submit easily to a hard and fast classification, and although this thesis attempts to seek out the overall pattern, contrasting opinions, when they have occurred, have been noted.

Secondly, this study investigates an attitude, rather than an opinion. The travelers did not always state an opinion in so many words. They did not often debate or argue a point. On the contrary, their feelings toward a particular situation or state of affairs were usually

enveloped in descriptions of the scenery, the buildings, or historic points of interest. They were as inconsistent as they were genuine and natural, and as unreasoned as they were serious in intent and purpose. Conclusions based upon an analysis of the travel narratives are necessarily subject to the error of exaggerating the implications of the narratives into full-blown convictions.

And, finally, the American traveler who wrote about his experiences did not necessarily speak for all American travelers or for all Americans back home. He was usually more literate than many of his countrymen, and his position in the American world was usually higher, intellectually, socially, professionally, or financially. A chart is furnished in the Appendix to indicate as far as possible the background of the travelers whose works have been used in this investigation.<sup>1</sup> Although business men are represented, the travelers who wrote narratives tended to be from the professional classes: law, education, the ministry. A good many writers and journalists as well as politicians and Americans traveling in a diplomatic capacity have been included. The majority of the writers were from New England and the Middle Atlantic states, especially in the first half of the century, but the list does include some from the

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

South and West as well. A fairly large proportion of the narratives were by women.

In spite of these complications of the problem, this writer believes that valid conclusions and generalizations can be made from the material, which contribute significantly to an understanding of the American attitude toward Germany and to nineteenth century thought as a whole. Although the narratives do reflect the spirit of the moment, many of them were revised for publication in book form with the express purpose of winnowing out such weaknesses. Furthermore, an "attitude," for all its inconsistent, unstable, unreasoned, and elusive qualities, operates as a very real force in life. Locked into an inflexible position, it becomes a prejudice; slipping into mere vagueness, it becomes confusion. It does not simply "arise" nor is it isolated from other ideas. The American attitude toward Germany has a long history, founded on ascertainable historical facts, part of which were the experiences of the American travelers in Germany. Furthermore, this attitude is intimately connected with the American's attitude toward himself and the world.

Finally, although the bibliography utilized in this study is selective, both from the standpoint of the travelers who wrote and from the standpoint of the materials available to the writer, it is exhaustive as far as the resources

have allowed.<sup>1</sup> One cannot read nearly two hundred American travel experiences in Germany without drawing some distinct conclusions regarding those experiences. The writers taken as a whole must be assumed to represent Americans in Europe fairly, at least as far as the writers of any limited area of time or space may be said to represent that area. The use of other travel narratives, this writer feels, might duplicate the examples, might call for revision of minor points, but they would not substantially alter the overall picture of American travelers in Germany in the nineteenth century.

Because this investigation is aimed primarily at examining American attitudes in Germany, it is necessary, first of all, to find out what the traveler felt about himself, his country, and Germany, to discover his reasons for going to Europe or Germany and his sensitivity to his own nationality. For the most part, the travelers speak for themselves, in the "prefaces" to their books or in their "hints to travelers" which made the trip to Europe such an accepted phenomenon in nineteenth century American civilization. The first chapter is devoted, therefore, to a discussion of the American traveler and the area of his travels with which this study is concerned. The third

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<sup>1</sup> See Bibliographical Note, p. 283.

and fourth chapters cover the American attitude toward the social life and the culture of Germany. The next two chapters analyze American reaction to German political life and, finally, a chapter is devoted to a discussion of some representative American travelers.

## CHAPTER II

### THE AMERICAN TRAVELER

The year 1815 was a portentous one in the history of the western world. For Europe, it meant a desperate attempt by the ruling houses of Europe to return to a stable, familiar past in the peace settlement of the Congress of Vienna. It signaled the conclusion of two and a half decades of chaos with a momentary termination of both the glory and bloodshed of war and revolution. For England, it opened the threshold of a century of ascendancy; for France, it closed, but did not bar, the door on experiments in social and political organization. For Germany, it marked the beginning of a nation frustratingly confederated; for the United States, it represented the successful conclusion of a twenty-five year infancy of the new Republic.

Yet the moods of the New and Old Worlds were entirely different in 1815. Reaction set in at the Congress of Vienna. It restored the Bourbons in France, hamstrung the Frankfort Diet of the German Bund, recognized Austrian domination of Italy, and created the Quadruple Alliance to halt the progress of French Revolutionary thought. On the other hand, America was afflicted with no such reaction.

To the successful completion of her struggle for independence from Great Britain, thirty years' history had added a vigorous growth and a marked taste for that new wine of the French Revolution, nationalism. While Europe attempted to restore an old continent, America looked forward with enthusiasm to the development of a new one.

The American traveler was conscious of his own nationality in his travel narrative and of the prestige of that nationality in Europe. He carefully recorded all European reaction to America and Americans. Because nationalism conquered not only the United States but the entire western world, American self-consciousness persisted in American travelers in Europe until the end of the century. Even though the traveler's idea of himself and his nation evolved in expression in the course of the century, he did not forget that he was an American and, therefore, different from the German or the Frenchman or the Englishman. He was convinced of the unique position of the United States in western civilization.

Yet, herein lies a paradox. Such a chauvinistic nation might have been content to stay at home to bask in the superiority of its advantages. This was not the case, for the travelers, as they themselves admitted, went to Europe in ever-increasing numbers. In the early part of the century, Americans in Germany were primarily scholars



studying at the universities, but even as early as 1840, descriptive travel narratives of Europe were beginning to be a drug on the market. Horace Greeley told the young Bayard Taylor who was about to depart for Europe: "I am sick of descriptive letters, and will have no more of them. But I should like some sketches of German life and society, after you have been there and know something about it."<sup>1</sup>

By the second half of the century, the travelers reported that Americans were a commonplace in Europe and Germany. One writer called Americans a "locomotive people"---far more traveled than Europeans whose mobility was limited to the scholars and aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> Another pointed out: "Traveling seems to be the rule of life,---for Americans especially,---and staying home the exception."<sup>3</sup> Still another commented similarly: "A friend of mine declares he will not go, it is so vulgar. The distinction, he says, is now in staying at home."<sup>4</sup> In 1867, George Bancroft reported that there were more American students at Berlin than students from Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark,

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<sup>1</sup> Bayard Taylor, "A Familiar Letter to the Reader," Views A-Foot (New York, 1853), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolas Murray [Kirwan, pseud.], Men and Things as I Saw Them in Europe (New York, 1853), pp. 211-212.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret J. Sweet, Highways of Travel or a Summer in Europe (Boston, 1859), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Erastus C. Benedict, "Preface," A Run through Europe (New York, 1860), p. 16.

France, Great Britain, Ireland, Spain, and Portugal combined--not only students, but "professors from Ann Arbor and elsewhere" and ministers of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> Another writer made an estimate in 1885 "There are some hundreds of Americans now in Berlin,---just how many I cannot say; but 250 sat down at Thanksgiving dinner yesterday."<sup>2</sup>

For all their nationalism, Americans felt a magnetic pull from European culture and, as a distinct part of that pull, from German culture. They were consciously American but they were also interested in Europe. Before attempting to resolve this apparent paradox and to determine what American travelers felt about their own nation and about Germany, it is necessary to examine what they felt about themselves as travelers, what reasons they gave for going to Europe, what they hoped to gain (or lose) by the trip, and whether they felt traveling produced satisfactory results.

### The Traveler's Image of Himself as a Traveler

There is a peculiarly earnest diffidence in the "prefaces" and introductions" to the travel narratives.

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<sup>1</sup> M. A. DeWolfe Howe, ed., The Life and Letters of George Bancroft (New York, 1908), II, 191.

<sup>2</sup> William Leonard Gaze, A Leisurely Journey (Boston, 1836), p. 96.

Not only did most of the writers seem to feel obliged to go, but, with American utilitarianism, they felt, apparently, obliged to justify the endeavor on high cultural, intellectual, or educational grounds.<sup>1</sup> Not one of the writers, by his own admission, ever went for a good time, pure and simple. He went for any number of reasons which fall loosely within two classifications: a greater enrichment of his own culture by living in the presence of great paintings, operas, concerts, libraries, and coming in contact, if possible, with great literary and philosophic minds; or, enrichment of society by a more widely extended knowledge of men, manners, societies, and nationalities.

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<sup>1</sup> This seems particularly true of some of the American travelers in Germany. A large proportion of the travelers went to study "peasant life" or "home life" or "education" or "politics." Although the evidence is as yet insufficient to support the point, this writer believes that the high-minded purpose of the traveler in Germany was more pronounced than that of the traveler in England, France, or Italy. Compare, for instance, some of the titles of French, English, and Italian narratives with those by travelers in Germany: Old Wine in New Bottles, Tricolored Sketches of Paris, Parisian Sights and French Principles, About Paris, A Walk from London to Land's End and Back, Old England: Its Scenery, Art and People, Certain Delightful English Towns cf. Home Life in Germany, Peasant Life in Germany, Life Among the Germans, Germany Seen without Spectacles. It seems that the American took travel in England, France and Italy much more for granted than travel in Germany, and the German narrative is permeated with this earnestness.

One of the most eloquent spokesmen for the first group was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. He said he regarded Europe as a "kind of holy Land" and "when its shores first rose upon my sight, looming through the hazy atmosphere of the sea, my heart swelled with the deep emotions of the pilgrim, when he sees afar the spire which rises above the shrine of his devotion."<sup>1</sup> Bayard Taylor, an almost professional traveler, expressed a similar sentiment when he wrote, "I cannot disconnect my early longings for a knowledge of the Old World from a still earlier passion for Art and Literature."<sup>2</sup> Many Americans shared this longing for an actual experience with cultural masterpieces and, as one writer noted, a "goodly number" of Americans lived in Dresden for "educational purposes in art, literature, and music."<sup>3</sup> In fact, one young woman cautioned her countrymen against disillusionment: "Unless people have an enthusiasm for art I don't see the least use in their coming abroad. If they cannot appreciate the culture of Europe, they are much better off in America."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Outre-Mer and Driftwood, The Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Riverside Edition, Boston, 1885), VII, 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, Views A-Foot, pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> Maturin Murray Ballou, Foot-Prints of Travel or Journeyings in Many Lands (Boston, 1896), p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Fay Pierce, ed., Music Study in Germany from the Home Correspondence of Amy Fay (New York, 1900), p. 159.

The seekers of culture were prominent among American travelers throughout the century,<sup>1</sup> but for some of the travelers the goal was something deeper and more intangible than mere aesthetic enrichment. They sought a sense of alignment with the past that the newness of American society failed to provide. It was, perhaps, that rootlessness, that mobility, that ephemerality, which a dynamic nation and culture produced which drove some travelers forth to sense, momentarily, that heritage of history. This sense of the past occurred to most of the travelers when they witnessed a particularly historic sight like the old castles on the Rhine or the Cathedral of Cologne, but for some it constituted a reason for making the trip. One writer said he was glad Americans were "...visiting for themselves the classic spots which have for so many ages inspired the soul of the poet, and guided the pencil of the painter."<sup>2</sup> Another wrote, "I have always held a doctrine that to give an American balance, he should have a trip through the mother-world....The transatlantic world is to us the mother

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<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the "culture-seeking" Americans embarrassed their fellow-countrymen. One writer tells the story of the American who offered to purchase a particular picture in Europe provided the artist painted a bottle of his patent medicine on a mantel in the background. Curtis Guild, Over the Ocean or Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands (Boston, 1875), pp. 324-325.

<sup>2</sup> Randall MacGavock, "Preface," A Tennessean Abroad; or Letters from Europe, Africa, and Asia (New York, 1854).

world in every phase of human life---of art and thought---except as to our peculiar American freedom...."<sup>1</sup>

Aside from the "cultural" motivation, the other significant reason stated by the travelers for going to Europe was to gain an increased understanding of men and affairs through observation of different cultures. These travelers did not want to observe the great cultural treasures of the western world as much as they wished to know the people. In fact, a number of books were written for the express purpose of enlightening the reader on the writer's discoveries concerning the social life of the people.<sup>2</sup>

"There is nothing we so much wish to know as the daily life and habits of a people....,"<sup>3</sup> wrote one traveler. Another stated that he intended to avoid the usual guide books and objects of interest to tourists in order to study and observe the middle class. "These [the middle classes] ---the men of business, the farmers, the merchants, the lawyers and

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<sup>1</sup> William Hemstreet, The Economical European Tourist: A Journalist's Three Months Abroad for \$430 including Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia (New York, 1878), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For example: Charles Loring Brace, Home Life in Germany (New York, 1856); Anna C. Johnson, Peasant Life in Germany (New York, 1858); Emma Louise Parry, Life among the Germans (Flint, Michigan, 1887); et al.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 25.

scholars---are the influential portion of a People, who stamp especially its social character," he wrote.<sup>1</sup>

Many a writer eschewed the guide books and the standard means and routes of travel. (The walking tour became very popular during the century.) One traveler wrote, "The first class tourist may see the beauties of a country's landscape and scenery from a window of a palace-car, but his vision goes no further---does not penetrate below the surface. To know a country one must fraternize with its people, must live with them, sympathize with them, win their confidence."<sup>2</sup> Bayard Taylor concurred in this statement when he said that one could not feel the "pulse of foreign life" by living in a great hotel but only by living in a simple home.<sup>3</sup> Another hoped that American travelers in Europe, by an increased consciousness of the life of the ordinary people, "would become travelers and not mere tourists."<sup>4</sup>

Most American travelers who studied the social and political life of a nation did so not simply for the

<sup>1</sup> Brace, "Preface," Home Life in Germany, p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Lee Meriwether, "Preface," A Tramp Trip; How to See Europe on Fifty Cents a Day (New York, 1887).

<sup>3</sup> Bayard Taylor, At Home and Abroad, a Sketchbook of Life, Scenery, and Men, Second Series (New York, 1864), p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Hezekiah Hartley Wright, "Preface," Desultory Reminiscences of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and France (Boston, 1838), p. x.

intrinsic merit of such an enterprise but because they felt it contributed significantly to better social relationships on both the domestic and international level. Even as early as 1845, one traveler remarked that American relations with Europe were increasing constantly and demanded of American citizens a real knowledge and understanding of other peoples and nations.<sup>1</sup> Another felt that knowledge of other people made current history real by translating it into personal experience.<sup>2</sup> Another described the benefit as an increase in American humility: "Nothing, perhaps, within the range of moderate expenditure, can confer so rich a fund of knowledge to the intelligent observer as the conclusions deduced from personal and faithful study of the governments, manners, customs and institutions visited. An American needs to learn that his countrymen do not monopolize all the intelligence and enterprise of the world...."<sup>3</sup>

Some travelers limited the scope of their observations of the social structure. A traveler like Horace Mann was

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<sup>1</sup> John Mitchell, "Preface," Notes from over the Sea: Consisting of Observations Made in Europe in the Years 1843 and 1844 (New York, 1845), I, ix.

<sup>2</sup> Orlando William Wight, "Preface," Peoples and Countries Visited in a Winding Journey around the World (New York, 1888), p. v.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Charles Sessions, "Introduction," On the Wing through Europe (New York, 1881).



primarily interested in the schools and in studying the educational systems of Europe.<sup>1</sup> One like James E. Scripps limited his investigation to things he thought would be of interest "...to western people of ordinary information--- to the intelligent farmers and mechanics of Michigan and neighboring states...."<sup>2</sup>

However, it would be a serious mistake to leave the impression that all American travelers journeyed forth with a clear-cut purpose of noble proportions. The majority, it is true, were rather depressingly earnest of heart and spirit, at least from the point of view of the reader. But a few wrote introductions to their narratives that must have struck the majority of travelers like a dash of cold water. One particularly attractive writer maintained in forthright fashion:

I do not make any pretensions to the character of a serious traveler whose business is to enlighten the world. It is my misfortune to possess an innate repugnance to hard labor of all kinds; and as for valuable facts and useful information, my proclivities in that line were thoroughly eradicated by long experience in the government service, where both facts and information, as I very soon discovered, were regarded as irrelevant and impertinent in official correspondence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Horace Mann, Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland, Being part of the Seventh Annual Report of Horace Mann, Esq. (London, 1846), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> James E. Scripps, "Preface," Five Months Abroad (Detroit, 1882), p. vi.

<sup>3</sup> J. Ross Browne, "Introduction," An American Family in Germany (New York, 1866), p. xiii.

Julian Hawthorne was equally skeptical concerning the proposed aims of the travelers. "The true end of travel is," he wrote, "to reconcile us to our homes. We study foreign countries and customs, not for their intrinsic sake, but in order to compare them disadvantageously with our own..."<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the travelers returned home, by and large, happily "reconciled" to their homeland. Overwhelmingly they agreed that America was, after all, the best place to live. They felt that the greater material comforts, wider opportunity and freer movement and expression which America provided for its citizens more than compensated for the glaring newness of American cities, the rough life on the frontier, and the lack of gracious refinement and cultivated manners in much American society. Such a conclusion is hardly astonishing. The immigrants pouring into American ports from Europe acted in accordance with the verdict of American travelers. At least the ordinary man seemed to cast an overwhelming vote of confidence for life in the United States in the nineteenth century.

Most writers took pains to express their sentiments upon their return to America. David Ross Locke

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<sup>1</sup> Julian Hawthorne, Saxon Studies (Boston, 1876), pp. 10-11.

(Petroleum V. Nasby) summed up the balance sheet incisively:

An American has no idea how good America is, till he sees Europe. He does not know how good a government he has, till he lives for a time under others. It requires a glimpse of...King-ridden Prussia, to make him properly appreciate a Republic. We have no palaces, but we have no soldiers. We have no Cathedrals, but we have no paupers. We have no ruins, and shall never have, for under our system, the ephemeral structures of today will be replaced tomorrow with what will be eternal. Every American should go abroad once at least, that he may, with sufficient fervor, thank the fates that cast his lines in pleasant places.<sup>1</sup>

Another writer maintained that before her trip she was prejudiced, if at all, in favor of Germany, expecting to find elegance and refinement in the people. But her expectations were not realized.<sup>2</sup> Another one admitted that the traveler was more appreciative of the freedom from tyranny and oppression in the United States when he viewed it from the European shore than when he was enfolded within the bosom of his native land.<sup>3</sup> Still another stated firmly in defense of the basic criticism of American society, "If any American be alarmed at the noisiness and boisterousness of his own country, which must, of necessity, always show

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<sup>1</sup> David Ross Locke [Petroleum V. Nasby, pseud.], Nasby in Exile (Toledo, 1882), p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> S. S. Cox, A Buckeye Abroad; or, Wanderings in Europe, and in the Orient (New York, 1852), pp. 442-443.

the worst side to the world, just let him rub off a little in Europe; and he will find no cause for dissatisfaction with Republicanism."<sup>1</sup> One writer summed up what he felt to be the basis for American superiority after returning from a trip to Europe. He said Americans were justified in the conceit which boasted of a "superior condition in the three cardinal points of a nation's glory---the general diffusion of the comforts and conveniences of life, the diffusion of education among the people, and the universal enjoyment of civil and religious liberty."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this overwhelming "majority vote" in favor of the United States, not all the travelers were convinced that travel accomplished the ordained purposes set for it. Mark Twain took a somewhat skeptical view of the actual value of travel when he wrote, "...I perceive that each of us, by observing and noting and inquiring, diligently and day-by-day, had managed to lay in a most varied and opulent stock of misinformation."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler remarked that travel in Europe did not necessarily

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Wright, "Preface," Doré, by a Stroller in Europe (New York, 1856), p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> William Furniss, "Preface," The Old World; or Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands (New York, 1850), pp. iii-iv.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Langhorne Clemens [Mark Twain, pseud.], A Tramp Abroad (New York, 1921), I, 164-165.

make the American a happier man, but it did make him wiser by sloughing off national prejudices and individual vanity.<sup>1</sup> Joseph Green Cogswell admitted that Europe had taught him to admire a leisurely enjoyment of life that he did not have in the United States. He said he had developed a taste for sitting quietly in a garden enjoying a new sympathy with nature.<sup>2</sup>

Henry James, of course, was the classic nineteenth century case of an American who was not easily persuaded to trade the cultural tradition of Europe, a sense of the past, and the stability of an ordered pattern of society for the obvious advantages of a freer, more active, and more demanding American life. When still comparatively young, he felt more at home in England than in the United States, and he settled there permanently in 1875, finally adopting it as his native land in 1915. It was not as simple for him as this action indicates, for his Jamesian insight was much too penetrating to let the matter rest quietly. He channeled his international dilemma into a series of "international" novels, and he wrote searchingly of the peculiar position of the American in Europe. Although

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<sup>1</sup> H. H. Wright, Desultory Reminiscences, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Anna Eliot Ticknor, ed., The Life of Joseph Green Cogswell as Sketched in His Letters (Privately printed, Cambridge, 1874), p. 99.

European life suited his taste and temperament, his reason plagued him with self-doubt and self-distrust for the decision to remain abroad. He saw the American as a product of modern civilization, successful and in harmony with it by every criterion of it. Yet the American appeared to be rootless. He lacked the serenity and sense of belonging that a traditional civilization produced. In one of his travel essays, he described this rootless and ill-at-ease wanderer of Europe and his curiosity in regard to peoples of other nationalities:

The observations of the "cultivated American" bear chiefly, I think, upon the great topic of national idiosyncrasies. He is apt to have a keener sense of them than Europeans; it matters more to his imagination that his neighbor is English, French, or German...He often seems to me to be a creature wandering aloof, but half-naturalized himself. His neighbors are outlined, defined, imprisoned, if you will, by their respective national moulds, pleasing or otherwise; but his own type has not hardened yet into the old-world bronze. Superficially, no people carry more signs and tokens of what they are than Americans.... The signs, however, are all of the negative kind, and seem to assure you, first of all, that the individual belongs to a country in which the social atmosphere, like the material, is extremely thin.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing brief survey of the American traveler's view of himself as a traveler indicates a number of things about him fundamental to an understanding of his experience in Europe. For one thing, the standard traveler from America, a mythical creature, of course, departed for Europe

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<sup>1</sup> Henry James, Transatlantic Sketches (Boston, 1900), p. 359.

with a definite purpose in mind.<sup>1</sup> He was, on the whole, satisfied with American civilization, but a vague suspicion nibbled at his mind that perhaps his own nation lacked some ornamental, if not functional, thread in the fabric of its culture which somehow made life richer, more significant, more satisfying. He returned home convinced that the advantages of life in America adequately compensated for this lack. This was the standard pattern for the standard traveler, the story that is repeated over and over again in the travel narratives.

Occasionally, however, the chilly light of skepticism was focused not only upon the American scene but upon the traveler himself--his purposes, his conclusions, and the value of travel itself. Yet, the dates of publication of the more critical writers reveal a significant fact. Henry James and Mark Twain flourished in the post-Civil War period. The latter's work The Innocents Abroad poked a good deal of fun at the American mania for a trip to Europe and the standard travel narrative. J. Ross Browne wrote in the sixties and Julian Hawthorne in the seventies.

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<sup>1</sup> Usually, the traveler modestly assured the reader that he did not begin the trip with the intention of writing a book. Publication of the book was in most cases, according to the writers, at the insistence of friends or newspaper readers who had enjoyed his letters or his journals and felt others might profit from reading them.

On the other hand, the writers who enthusiastically embraced the doctrine of the educational value of travel did their traveling and writing in the pre-Civil War period. Such writers as Horace Mann, Bayard Taylor, William Furniss, Anna Johnson, John Mitchell and others belong to the period before 1860. It would seem safe to conclude that traveling, like other phases of American life, came in for its share of criticism in the growing skepticism of the late nineteenth century. This shift of attitude becomes even more evident in the changing feeling toward American civilization.

#### The American Traveler's Consciousness of America

The American traveler in Europe in the nineteenth century exhibited his consciousness of his nationality and its significance in the minds of Europeans. In the early part of the century, he received a flattering adulation from a war-weary European continent. The friendly interest in America that bloomed in Europe after 1815 was gratifying to the American who pointed with pride to the concrete embodiment of principles into an actual and forceful Constitution of 1789. It was gratifying to American travelers because they were prepared to spread the news of the success of the new nation like true apostles.



They agreed with Europeans who found life in America good. They were self-conscious, to be sure, because the experiment in a republican form of government was new, but they were not yet defensive. French Revolutionary liberalism, as well as the new Romanticism, still colored early nineteenth century thought. If that liberalism had failed to achieve success in France, it had not failed in America.

The early travelers to Germany from America exhibited a noticeable consciousness of the enthusiasm and interest which was felt in Europe toward America. As early as 1797, in fact, John Quincy Adams related a conversation he had with Prince Henry of Prussia on a mission to that state. He wrote:

His conversation discovered more knowledge of America, and a mind more turned to speculation, than any of the other Princes whom I have seen. He said that America was a rising, while Europe was a declining part of the world, and that in the course of two or three centuries the seat of the arts and sciences and empire would be with us, and Europe would lose them all....But he asked whether we should have a center of union sufficiently strong to keep us together, and to stand the trials of the inconveniences incident to republican, and especially to federative, governments.<sup>1</sup>

By 1815 the doubts of the ability of the United States to remain united had been dispelled to some extent, and Washington Irving reported a remarkably similar statement

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<sup>1</sup> J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, I, 210.

in 1823 from Prince John of Saxony. The latter said "America was in its increase and Europe in its decline."<sup>1</sup> Another writer, ten years later, commented on the interest in America shown by the Prussian nobility.<sup>2</sup> Still another wrote from Germany: "'The Future is with you.'----How often have I heard it in Germany...."<sup>3</sup>

Other writers reiterated the friendly interest in the new nation of the western hemisphere, particularly among the scholars and aristocracy, throughout the early years of the century. Joseph Cogswell reported a conversation he had with Goethe in 1816 in which the great German writer "...turned the conversation to America, and spoke of its hopes and promises, in a manner that showed it had been the subject of his inquiries, and made juster and more rational observations, upon its literary pretensions and character, than I ever heard from any man in Europe."<sup>4</sup> Cogswell also remarked that the Grand Duke of Weimar "Supposed we were free from moral and political corruption..."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre M. Irving, ed., The Life and Letters of Washington Irving (New York, 1864), I, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Hiestand, Travels in Germany, Prussia and Switzerland (New York, 1837), pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> Cogswell, Life, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

George Bancroft similarly noted that Professor Eickhorn of Göttingen in 1818 said that America "was now making gigantic strides in improvement...."<sup>1</sup>

The interest manifested by German leaders in American government seems to have been coupled with the principles of eighteenth century liberalism still forceful in European thought. America was associated with that liberalism and was, therefore, the object of admiration of the liberals. That this was sometimes surprising to Americans, whose liberal ideas were rooted as much in actual political experience as in theoretical principles, was evidenced by George Calvert's astonishment at the enthusiasm accorded Tom Paine at Göttingen. He remarked that in 1824, "I, who had never heard or seen the name of Thomas Paine uncoupled with derision and scorn, looked up with sudden surprise into the excited countenance of the professor, as he pronounced Common Sense the most important pamphlet in history."<sup>2</sup> The liberals' admiration of the American nation continued through the 1848 revolutions, and America became the great point of reference for the practice of democratic principles. Charles Loring Brace stated in 1851: "People have become so well informed on these matters [American

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 43.

<sup>2</sup> George Henry Calvert, First Years in Europe (Boston, 1866), p. 100.

republicanism] , that here in Germany for instance, no discussion is ever carried on in the Parliaments, or through Pamphlets, on any great change in government, without at once the example of the United States being adduced."<sup>1</sup>

The European enthusiasm for America was expressed in another way that the American travelers recognized and commented upon. This was the emigration to America, and it was an expression of enthusiasm of the lower classes. A young American woman commented: "I have been much amused with the sudden mania for emigrating with which every one seems bitten; the tailor, the baker, down even to the little boy in the hotel, wish to swell our suite; apparently thinking us a very great people at home."<sup>2</sup> Another mentioned that the "vast resources of our Western country" seemed to fascinate the Germans.<sup>3</sup> Henry Philip Tappan mentioned visiting a public beer garden called "Texas" at Ehrenbrietstein. He wrote, "Frequent conversations with

<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 355-356.

<sup>2</sup> Martha Babcock Amory, The Wedding Journey of Charles and Martha Babcock Amory, Letters of Mrs. Amory to Her Mother, Mrs. Gardner Greene 1833-34 (Privately printed, Boston, 1922), II, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Sweat, Highways of Travel, p. 160.

the middling and lower classes in Germany and Switzerland made it clear to me how strong were their aspirations after the boundless and glorious west."<sup>1</sup>

It was not unusual, in the light of the vast migratory movement of the nineteenth century, that Americans who traveled in Germany found themselves objects of curiosity and were flattered by the admiration of the common people. The ante-bellum travelers commented frequently upon the friendly hospitality of the German people. "I find, indeed," wrote one, "that Germans take great pleasure in everything connected with America and that they consider it a favored land."<sup>2</sup> Another said that he had found in traveling in the primitive parts of Germany that "however rude their knowledge may be of his country, the simple name of an American is a better opener of the heart's hospitality of the people than even the purse."<sup>3</sup> Another maintained that at first he was taken for an Englishman and treated with some disdain. After his nationality was really established, he gained the good will of the Germans.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Philip Tappan, A Step from the New World to the Old and Back Again: With Thoughts on the Good and Evil of Both (New York, 1852), II, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Amory, The Wedding Journey, II, 239.

<sup>3</sup> James Mason Hoppin, Notes of a Theological Student (New York, 1854), p. 86.

"America," he said, "---the land of freedom, and the new home of so many thousands of their countrymen---is a theme of the liveliest interest of the German people."<sup>1</sup>

Yet, as the Civil War drew near in America and the Revolution of 1848 ended in dismal failure in Germany, the honeymoon of the American traveler in Germany was over. His nation was no longer regarded with unqualified favor. Even in 1833, after the revolutionary outbreaks in France and Germany of 1830, John Lothrop Motley noted a divergence in thought and sentiment toward the United States between the German aristocracy and the German people. He wrote with mild disgust:

The opinions in Germany concerning America are singularly contradictory...It is as impossible to persuade...the aristocracy that in the United States anything exists but democracy and demagogues as it is to convince the others, particularly those of the lowest and emigrating class, that they will not find the streets paved with dollars and their pockets stuffed with banknotes as soon as they arrive in New York, that El Dorado of their expectations.<sup>2</sup>

The American controversy over slavery, which reached fever heat at mid-century, made many American travelers, especially those from the North, sensitive to criticism in

<sup>1</sup> Henry Philip Tappan, A Step from the New World to the Old, and Back Again: With Thoughts on the Good and Evil of Both (New York, 1852), II, 16.

<sup>2</sup> George William Curtis, ed., The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley (New York, 1900), I, 42-43.

Germany. No longer was the American traveler universally greeted with enthusiasm and acclaim by European liberals. Americans met criticism of their political system for its limited liberties. Even in 1836, George Ticknor wrote that "...all the leading papers throughout Germany, who repeat these reproaches against us in perfect good faith cause us to be set down for a good deal of humbug in our pretensions of freedom."<sup>1</sup> Criticism was especially forthcoming after the European publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin.<sup>2</sup> Another traveler wrote in a similar vein in 1851 when he described an Austrian army officer who "...was very minute in his inquiries relative to slavery in America, and could not understand how we, professing so much sympathy for the nations of Europe who were struggling for their freedom, should yet hold millions in absolute subjection in our own land."<sup>3</sup> The only defense that this American could produce in reply to the criticism was that the existence of slavery was more "a case of necessity than of option."<sup>4</sup> Another

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Eliot Ticknor, ed., The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor (London, 1876), I, 480.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., II, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Maney, Memories of the Water, or Stray Thoughts on a Long Stroll (Nashville, 1854), pp. 141-142.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

writer maintained that when American slavery was discussed in Germany, she felt obliged to "blush and hide... [her] ...head."<sup>1</sup>

Some American travelers believed that Europeans really had no understanding of the problem. Motley claimed that the Germans seemed to feel that slavery could simply be eradicated by edict. They had no fundamental conception of the federal principle of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Another writer felt that the Germans showed little comprehension of it by assuming that the mere fact of its existence proved a support of the institution on the part of all Americans.<sup>3</sup>

As the fifties drew to a close and the Civil War seemed imminent, the travelers felt that the criticism had become a real antagonism. In 1859, Henry Adams wrote from Germany, "America is much disliked now in Europe and no one will believe anything good of it."<sup>4</sup> Another writer described Austria as being "very touchy" toward Americans.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 191.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Ford, ed., The Letters of Henry Adams (Boston, 1930-38), I, 39.

<sup>5</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 64.



Yet ten years later, when the United States had successfully withstood its internal upheaval and cast off slavery, George Bancroft, the American Minister at Berlin, wrote a long reassuring letter to Elihu B. Washburne. He said the victory of the Union in the conflict had re-established the faith of European liberals in the basic vitality and endurance of the Republic. Even the conservatives, he felt, were finally convinced that the United States had entered the world to stay. Politically, Europe regarded America as once again sound.

The attempt eight years ago to dissolve the union encouraged once more those who regarded republicanism with skepticism. The suppression of the rebellion went beyond what most of the governments of Europe regarded as possible, and as a result, the confidence in the immense energy and durability of our institutions was firmly established, and by the abolition of slavery our republic became more and more endeared to the best men of Europe. Since I have been on this continent, I have watched the continual steady rise of this implicit trust in our ultimate success, and while in old times anything that appeared to go in amiss (sic) in America was looked upon as ominous of evil, it has now become the rule to take a bright view of seemingly unfortunate occurrences in our career and to take every unfavorable appearance with confidence in the ability of our people to surmount every difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

At least in regard to its fundamental political freedoms, American travelers no longer were sensitive to criticism after the conclusion of the Civil War.

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Life and Letters, II, 221-222.

But slavery was not the only characteristic of American life that became the focal point of European criticism. The persistent claim that American society was vulgar, barbarous, even savage, wounded the pride of American travelers in Germany. It had been endurable in the sanguine, nationalistic optimism of the early nineteenth century, when the nation was small and Americans felt certain a superior culture would eventually be developed. But after the United States had proved her strength and established herself as a significant nation in the world, such criticism was the source of much discomfort for Americans in Europe. In spite of the intensity of the slavery issue, it was, after all, a temporary object of attack. The criticism that America had a barbarous and vulgar civilization was less easily destroyed in that it rested, according to the travelers, upon a profound ignorance of actual conditions in America. "It is simply incredible," wrote a traveler of the eighties, "what profound ignorance exists about us."<sup>1</sup>

The nineteenth century travelers regarded this ignorance with quiet amusement, mild irritation, or outright scorn. The last sentiment became more pronounced in the post-Civil War travelers. It was little more than surprising to John Quincy Adams in 1797 that a German army

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<sup>1</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 11.

officer did not know the existence of the United States.<sup>1</sup> The American nation was actually less than a decade old and an isolated corner of the world by eighteenth century standards of transportation and communication. But Motley expressed exasperation in the fifties when he maintained that no one in Europe really wanted to know the truth about American conditions.<sup>2</sup> Another writer of the seventies said that the erroneous conceptions of the United States in Germany made even an apathetic citizen fairly "bristle with patriotism."<sup>3</sup>

Examples of this ignorance about America by Europeans are legion in the travel literature. In the main, the German misconceptions of the United States were geographic, racial, and social. In spite of the German education system, German knowledge was sadly deficient in regard to the size and location of the United States. Charles Sumner stated that he was asked if the American nation was in the neighborhood of Odessa.<sup>4</sup> Another traveler said that the

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<sup>1</sup> J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, I, 203.

<sup>2</sup> Motley, Correspondence, II, 189-190.

<sup>3</sup> Blanche Willis Teuffel, One Year Abroad (Boston, 1877), p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Pierce, ed., Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner (Boston, 1877-90), II, 124.

librarian in Strasburg, when told of the Philadelphia library which Benjamin Franklin helped found, replied, "Ah, yes; at Washington."<sup>1</sup> Another writer said the Germans believed the terms "north" and "south" referred to North America and South America, one being free and the other being slave.<sup>2</sup> And in 1867 William James wrote, "The pleasant spinster from Hamburg...drives me frantic by her endless talking about America, in the course of which she continually leaps without any warning from New York to Rio de Janeiro and then to Valparaiso. She has friends in each of these localities, and it is apparently a fixed conviction of hers that they take tea together every evening."<sup>3</sup>

Nor were the Germans any clearer about the racial and linguistic characteristics of the United States. The fact that both Negroes and Indians did actually exist in the western hemisphere seemed especially confusing. Although allowance must be made for exaggeration for narrative effect, many Americans recorded the surprise the Germans

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<sup>1</sup> John Jay Smith, A Summer's Jaunt Across the Water, Including Visits to England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, etc. (Philadelphia, 1846), I, 268.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Henry James, ed., The Letters of William James (Boston, 1920), I, 89.

manifested on discovering that Americans were white and could speak English.<sup>1</sup> One writer even maintained that his landlady was amazed to learn that Americans did not eat human flesh.<sup>2</sup> James E. Angell related a rather amusing anecdote. He was invited to speak in his "native" tongue at a dinner given in Germany. The guests looked so curious and expectant that he was nonplused as to what to do. Then he arose and delivered a brief speech in what was known to schoolboys then as "Hog Latin" (now "Pig Latin"), which completely bewildered, but delighted, his audience.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, Views A-Foot, p. 102; Clemens, A Tramp Abroad, I, 204-205; Mrs. C. F. Barlosius, Recollections of a Visit to England, France, and Germany 1862 and to Germany 1885 (Fredericksburg, Va., 1887), p. 53; et al. It would be unwise to overstress this point. In the light of the large number of Americans traveling in Germany, it would seem that people in the most frequented areas should have been familiar enough with the American traveler. The same writer cited above (Barlosius), who related the surprise of Germans at finding Americans white, later in her narrative described meeting a Negro with a traveling show, who said that he had made a great deal of money at first, but Negroes had become such a commonplace that he was no longer a curiosity. (Barlosius, Recollections, p. 104). The traveling shows might have accounted for some German misconceptions about Americans simply for the purpose of attracting patrons by the grotesque and unusual.

There is at least one example of a travel narrative by a Negro. (See Bibliographical Note). And writers did occasionally complain over the fawning manner of German business men---which would indicate that they were familiar enough with Americans. Charles Dudley Warner, Saunterings (Boston, 1892), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett Hale and Susan Hale, A Family Flight through France, Germany, Norway and Switzerland (Boston, 1888), p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> James Burrill Angell, Reminiscences (New York, 1912), pp. 97-98.

Americans listed all kinds of inaccurate notions that Germans had about America. Longfellow said that one of the professor's wives at Heidelberg believed American ladies "sat with their feet out the window."<sup>1</sup> Bayard Taylor met an emigrating bauer who was worried because he had heard one had to drink beer standing up in America.<sup>2</sup> Another traveler stated that Germans believed American children "were not required to obey their parents" but were free to come and go as they pleased any time of the day or night.<sup>3</sup> Lincoln Steffens wrote that at Leipzig in 1891 he was considered the "crazy American" because he took a bath every day.<sup>4</sup>

But it was not these small facts about social customs that annoyed American travelers in Europe as much as the accepted conclusion based upon them that Americans lacked any sort of refinement or cultural appreciation. "They are under the impression in Germany," wrote one traveler, "that there is no politeness or ceremony of any kind in

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Longfellow, ed., The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence (Boston, 1886), I, 219.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1931), p. 147.

America."<sup>1</sup> Another said, "It is not so much his [a German's] want of correct knowledge that is amusing, as the entire self-satisfaction with which he compares the civilization in Germany with the barbarism of America."<sup>2</sup> They maintained again and again that the German picture of American civilization was completely inaccurate. One traveler said that Germans believed Americans were completely materialistic, while Germans were predominantly idealistic.<sup>3</sup> Another complained that her German friends believed that because she was an American, she had a "passionate devotion" to machinery.<sup>4</sup> An American music student stated that one of her teachers in Berlin had a violent prejudice against Americans because he believed that they were utterly without musical talent.<sup>5</sup> Another was irritated because one of his German friends always talked as if America had no theatres and no opera.<sup>6</sup> Another said that the Americans who were well-known in Prussia were men of science.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> Teuffel, One Year, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Fay, Music-Study, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Frank Stockton, Personally Conducted (New York, 1890), p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 262.

All of this implied and stated criticism of American civilization probably would not have bothered the American traveler if he had not been conscious of an element of truth in it. It has already been pointed out earlier in the chapter that one of the primary motives of American travelers in Europe was the enrichment of their individual cultural development. They studied in the universities. They visited the art galleries. They attended the opera and the theatre. They toured the Cathedrals and the public buildings. And, if possible, they savored the leisurely, settled life in a European city. Such activity was a frank admission, by deed if not by word, that even they considered American culture weaker in the arts than its European neighbors. It was this basic fact that made the American traveler angry at the German exaggerations and ignorance. He was defensive under critical attack in the materialistic post-Civil War era. He might conclude at the end of his trip that America was the best place to live, but he was aware that America did not provide the cultural advantages of Europe. He was as certain of his devotion to his own nation as the American had been early in the century, but he was sharply aware that political superiority did not constitute the whole of life.



The Germany that the early nineteenth century American had foreseen as rising out of the political decay of Europe in fellowship with the United States had been realized instead by a nation that the American traveler of the late nineteenth century could not understand nor admire. In order to clarify this disappointment, it is necessary to discover the image of Germany in the American mind.

### The American Traveler's Image of Germany

The early interest of nineteenth century Americans in Germany was derived from an intellectual movement with political ramifications. As indicated in the "Introduction," New England literary scholars were stimulated by Madame de Staël's D'Allemagne and reports of intensive study and activity during the several preceding generations of German thought and literature. The intellectual creativity of the Germans became the source of many cultural forces when imported into the United States. It sparked the new literary movement of romanticism through the influence of writers like Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, and Freiligrath. The transcendentalism of Kant and Fichte and Schleiermacher and of the English transcendentalists captured American thought, and the influence of German universities upon American scholars transported a thorough and exhaustive scholarship into the United States.

Although the interest in Germany was intellectually centered, the political developments in Germany during the Napoleonic period were important in opening a channel of communication between the United States and Germany (although Germany was in no sense yet a nation) by the fact that both states had shared a similar experience. For nationalism and liberalism, the twin seeds of the

French Revolution, had captured Germany, too. After the humiliating defeat of Prussian forces at Jena in 1806 and the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 in which Prussia bowed to the victorious French Emperor, a new spirit arose in Prussia and Germany. Under the leadership of von Stein and Hardenburg and stimulated by the nationalism in German literature, Prussia began a drive toward a united German national state to throw off the control of Napoleon and to liberalize the governments of the small German states.<sup>1</sup> Serfdom was abolished, the army was reorganized to enforce the system of national conscription, and attempts were made to provide the ordinary individual with a stake in national existence.

The American felt a sense of kinship with this experience of a Protestant nation attempting to get out from under the yoke of foreign domination and to work toward unification of independent sovereign states. Had not the United States had her own Revolution and her own period of Confederation? Van Wyck Brooks maintained in discussing the reception of the English version of Madame de Staël's book in Boston that Bostonians were "... predisposed to like the book, since everyone knew that Napoleon did not like it. He had suppressed the book

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 335-350.

and driven Madame de Staël out of France....Everyone knew that a thing must be good, whether a university or a book, if the Bonapartes disliked it."<sup>1</sup> This early American interest in Germany manifested itself in William Ellery Channing who begged a friend in Germany to continue sketches of the German people, for whom Channing felt a genuine love and kinship.<sup>2</sup>

The travelers themselves frequently took pains to describe the nationalist movement in Prussia and Germany during the War of Liberation. Ticknor wrote in 1816: "...when the rest of Germany lay in abject subjection, the ministry of Prussia conceived and announced the determination of making up in moral strength what they had lost in physical."<sup>3</sup> Prussian leaders founded the University of Berlin "...from which a free spirit had gone forth that has wrought like a fever through all Germany."<sup>4</sup> Another traveler, in speaking of the reaction after the Congress of Vienna, wrote glowingly of the patriotic ardor displayed by German youth in the war and

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<sup>1</sup> Brooks, Flowering of New England, pp. 75-76.

<sup>2</sup> William Henry Channing, ed., Memoir of William Ellery Channing with Extracts from His Correspondence and Manuscripts (Boston, 1860), III, 307.

<sup>3</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

said that love of liberty was prevalent among them.<sup>1</sup> One traveler described the birth of the German spirit in glowing terms in 1840: "How they rose, like a giant from sleep, against French usurpation and with Leipsic paid Napoleon for Jena....The sceptered weakling, whose capitals had been a prey to the conqueror, became suddenly strong with the strength of wrath-swollen multitudes. This wrath is ever ready to be rekindled. Its next outburst will not be against foreign oppressors."<sup>2</sup>

This background of American interest in the curiosity about Germany is essential for any real understanding of the attitudes of American travelers in Germany as they took direction early in the century. An image of Germany had been created in the American mind that was not to be easily eradicated. Although the political aspects of this image are discussed at greater length in the chapter dealing with political life, the intellectualized focus of the image must be recognized in dealing with the general view of Germany held by American travelers until after 1870.

Throughout the nineteenth century, this focus upon the German intellect and culture, as well as the national spirit, was an important item in the comment of American

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Edwin Dwight, Travels in North of Germany in 1825-26. (n. p., n.p.d.), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> George Henry Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, First Series, (Boston, 1840), pp. 69-70.

travelers in Germany. It tied in, first, with the enthusiasm of Americans for the future of their own culture and, second, with their dissatisfaction with that culture later in the century. Ticknor wrote of the Germans in 1816 from Göttingen, "They are a people who, in forty years, have created to themselves a literature such as no other nation ever created in two centuries; and they are a people who, at this moment, have more mental activity than any other people existing."<sup>1</sup> Another traveler wrote, "We are accustomed to regard the Germans as a heavy-moulded race, as peculiarly 'physical' in their character...But were the German classics to be found at our public institutions, which I very much doubt, Cambridge library being excepted, and could we read the language sufficiently to understand them, we should soon discover that the term physical was much more applicable to ourselves, than to them."<sup>2</sup> A former American Minister at the Court of Prussia wrote in 1847, "It is the peculiar characteristic of German civilization, in every stage of its progress, that the intellectual has ever surpassed the social development; the culture of the mind has ever outstripped the social and political

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 76.

conditions of the nation."<sup>1</sup> One traveler exploded enthusiastically when confronted with Germany's cultural heritage and homely charm, "Oh, I am delighted with Germany, the land of poetry and sourkrout---the birthplace of Schiller and Goethe---the seat of learning---the country of superstition, romance and Westphalia hams."<sup>2</sup>

This same respect for the intellectualized image of Germany is apparent in the comment of the American travelers on German cities, and most of the cities had their American devotees. Said one American traveler of Berlin, "...berlin's greatness is intellectual; and in this relation, no city on the globe shines with a more splendid light. It is the northern Mecca of scholars..."<sup>3</sup> Joseph Green Cogswell agreed that it held "first place" for science and literature.<sup>4</sup> Another writer emphasized the extensive musical advantages of a residence in Berlin.<sup>5</sup> William Dean Howells wrote reverently of Weimar: "Goethe and Schiller

<sup>1</sup> Henry Wheaton, "The Progress and Prospects of Germany," A Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University (Boston, 1847), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Flourney Ward, Letters from Three Continents. By M., The Arkansas Correspondent of the Louisville Journal (New York, 1851), p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Hoppin, Notes, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cogswell, Life, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Gaze, A Leisurely Journey, pp. 95-96.

lived there...and literature was glorified as much there as war is elsewhere."<sup>1</sup> Writers extolled the beauties of Munich, calling it an "Earthly Paradise" for lovers of art.<sup>2</sup> This list of examples cited from the travel narratives could be pressed much further at the risk of wearying the reader. Henry Adams recounted the world-wide admiration for German thought that flourished in the nineteenth century in his remarkable Education. "The literary world then agreed," he wrote, "that truth survived in Germany alone, and Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, Renan, Emerson, with scores of popular followers, taught the German faith....German thought, method, honesty, and even taste, became the standards of scholarship."<sup>3</sup>

The other aspect of the German image in the American mind, the sense of kinship through a common experience and a similar nature, revealed itself in the similarity American travelers saw in German cities and the German people to what they knew at home. This was probably due in part to the belief that the German struggle against Napoleon was

<sup>1</sup> Mildred Howells, ed., Life in Letters of William Dean Howells (New York, 1928), II, 79.

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Fulton, Europe Viewed through American Spectacles (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 109; Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, Random Rambles (Boston, 1881), p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (Boston, 1918), pp. 61-62.



like the American struggle against Great Britain and in part to the fact that a large number of Germans had settled in America. One traveler of 1825 wrote, "The northern Germans resemble us much more than any other nation on the continent. Like us they are Protestants, and they show in their conversation that depth of feeling, which naturally arises from a religion addressed equally to the intellect and the heart..."<sup>1</sup> Another writer said, "I like Germany and the Germans, and this feeling grows upon me more and more. I do not feel a stranger in a strange land, but am in every respect as perfectly and as happily at home as I ever have been out of Virginia."<sup>2</sup> William James agreed that Germany resembled the United States when he wrote, "Germany is, I find, as a whole...very nearly related to our country, and the German nature and ours so akin in fundamental qualities, that to come here is not much of an experience.... to one of our race all that is peculiar in Germany is mental, and that Germany can be brought to us...."<sup>3</sup> Berlin reminded the travelers of an American city,<sup>4</sup> even to the point where Unter den Linden looked to one traveler like Commonwealth

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, 170.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Southey Joynes, Old Letters of a Student in Germany 1856-57 (Columbia, S.C., 1816), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 114.

Avenue in Boston.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing "romantic, picturesque, or even foreign" about living in Dresden,<sup>2</sup> and Stuttgart and Frankfurt, among other cities, seemed to have American characteristics.<sup>3</sup> Even Bonn, according to one traveler, was the German counterpart of New Haven.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, in placing these comments against others from the travel narratives, a certain inconsistency of opinion is glaringly apparent. They represent statements of a very general nature and were common, this writer believes, because they added substance to the "image" of Germany in the American mind. When the traveler became more specific in his narrative, discussing the people, the customs, the political institutions, even the culture, he found striking differences between his homeland and Germany. Such general statements do not express in any comprehensive way the American's attitude toward Germany gained through actual contact and experience with the people and the country in travel. Rather, such statements seem to represent the early

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<sup>1</sup> Ballou, Foot-Prints of Travel, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Ruggles, Germany Seen without Spectacles. Random Sketches of Various Subjects Penned from Different Standpoints in the Empire (Boston, 1883), p. 93; Carrie Butler Thwing; an Appreciation by Friends together with Extracts from her Journal of a Tour in Europe (Cleveland, 1899), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Silliman, A Visit to Europe in 1851 (New York, 1854), II, 307.

directional stimulus of interest in and enthusiasm for Germany, of the picture of Germany created in the American mind. Such a picture was by no means a static thing and, as will later appear, the nineteenth century witnessed the gradual breaking down of that picture and its reconstruction on an entirely different basis than that of the magnificence of German cultural development or a sense of kinship for the German people and the German nation. For, as the American traveler discovered, actual travel experience revealed a new side of Germany that the image did not encompass and the changes in the nature of the German state in the nineteenth century seemed destined to destroy the image.

It is difficult to assess the overall impression of Germany that American travelers received through the experience of travel. Feelings were frequently mixed and the different German states elicited different reactions. But on the whole, in spite of American antagonism toward some German institutions and in spite of some travelers' actual dislike of Germany and the Germans, until approximately 1870, the American traveler liked the country and the people. It is significant in the travel literature, however, that American feeling rarely got beyond merely "liking" Germany. It did not reach any intensity of passion, as the American sentiment for Rome or Paris or

even England frequently did. It was not colored by nostalgic and poignant association. It was more an opinion, in fact, than a sentiment---too prosaic, too reasoned, too matter-of-fact to ever border on the rhapsodic.

A good many comments on areas in Germany appear on the printed page to be rather flat statements of appreciation, empty of any spontaneous burst of emotion. This seems to be indicative of the rather limited affection with which the American travelers actually viewed Germany. Even Cogswell, who had loved the Germany of Goethe and Göttingen as a student in 1816, wrote in 1837: "...I am very free to say that my second residence in Germany has quite weaned me from that strong attachment to it which my first one gave me."<sup>1</sup> Charles Sumner went so far as to say that he was "more than satisfied" with the "prevailing intelligence and civilization" of Germany.<sup>2</sup> Another writer described Dusseldorf as a "model German town, solid, dull, devoted to art and music."<sup>3</sup> Another described Berlin as a "sombre, massive city, lacking the bright and brilliant aspect of Paris."<sup>4</sup> Another wrote, after seeing Berlin, "I saw it

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<sup>1</sup> Cogswell, Life, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Sumner, Memoir and Letters, II, 571.

<sup>3</sup> Henry W. Bellows, The Old World in Its New Fact: Impression of Europe in 1867-68 (New York, 1869), I, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 15.

without emotion: I left it without regret."<sup>1</sup> Munich was described as "clean, well-paved, and neatly laid out."<sup>2</sup>

Some writers went much farther and revealed an active dislike of Germany. Henry Adams wrote of Berlin in 1859, "I tell you...Boston's a little place, but damn me if it isn't preferable to this cursed hole."<sup>3</sup> And Henry James, never attracted by Germany, wrote:

To me this hasty and most partial glimpse of Germany has been most satisfactory; it has cleared from my mind the last mists of uncertainty and assured me that I can never hope to become an unworthiest adoptive grandchild of the fatherland. It is well to listen to the voice of the spirit, to cease hair-splitting and treat one's self to a good square antipathy---when it is so very sympathetic! I may "cultivate" mine away, but it has given me a week's wholesome nourishment.<sup>4</sup>

The rather weak sentiments <sup>some</sup> American travelers displayed toward Germany become even more pronounced when they are contrasted with the enthusiasm shown for the more romantic spots of Germany---like Vienna, Nuremburg, and the Rhine.

<sup>1</sup> Junius Henry Browne, Sights and Sensations in Europe. Sketches of Travel and Adventure in England, France, Spain, Germany, etc., With an Account of Places and Persons Prominent in the Franco-German War (Hartford, 1871), p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> James Samuel Stone, From Frankfort to Munich (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Adams, Letters, I, 97.

<sup>4</sup> H. James, Letters, I, 33.

Vienna was called "the Paris of Germany,"<sup>1</sup> a "truly... imperial city,"<sup>2</sup> "a beautiful city---in some respects the most beautiful I have ever seen."<sup>3</sup> Another writer wrote that Vienna was "truly magnificent, grand, and unique...the connecting link between the civilization of Europe and the barbaric splendors of the Oriental world."<sup>4</sup> Another traveler maintained that she was never in a city "where laughing was so universal" as Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Nuremburg appealed to the travelers for its great age and picturesque-ness.<sup>6</sup> And the Rhine likewise received acclaim from Americans---even though most of them felt that the Hudson equaled it in beauty. One typical description of the Rhine states:

Even the coldest and most unimaginative traveller, as his eye glances from the rapid current to the varied magnificence of its borders---the wide-spread, fertile

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<sup>1</sup> John M. Corson, Loiterings in Europe; or Sketches of Travel in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Ireland (New York, 1848), p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Meriwether, Tramp Trip, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Thurlow Weed, Letters from Europe and the West Indies 1845-1852 (Albany, 1866), p. 588.

<sup>4</sup> Octavia Walton Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel (Mobile, 1857), II, p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Marie J. Pitman [Margery Deane, pseud.], European Breezes (Boston, 1882), p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> H. James, Letters, I, 32.

plains,---the vine years, here gently sloping, there clinging to an almost precipitous rock---the ancient towns, with their massive walls and white watch-towers---and, chiefly, the ruined castles, at every turn crowning the picturesque mountains between which the glorious river is often compressed, connected, as they are, with the richest romance of history and legend---can hardly fail to sympathize with the heart-felt love, the almost veneration, with which the Germans regard what they poetically call Father or King Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

However, such general and detached statements as those quoted above are valueless without a more detailed survey of the American traveler's reaction to specific objects and institutions of German life. It is necessary, therefore, to examine in some detail the American reaction to the German people, social life, and customs, German culture, and German political life and institutions.

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<sup>1</sup> William Combs Dana, A Transatlantic Tour (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 227.

## CHAPTER III

### THE GERMAN PEOPLE, CUSTOMS, AND SOCIAL LIFE

The American traveler found the nature of the German people and the customs that affected their relationships with one another a curious bundle of contradictions. He found them, first of all, human, as the American himself was, with qualities to be both applauded and despised. The kindness shown by the German for the American and the charming simplicity and civility of manners completely disarmed the traveler. He was prepared to embrace German life with affection---until he perceived that a strain of brutality accompanied the politeness. The American confronted German brutality in the treatment accorded women in Germany and in the custom of dueling in the German universities. Refinement in the arts and a propensity to intellectual endeavor went hand in hand, the traveler discovered, with a national taste for coarse physical pleasure like ever-present "beer, tobacco, and sauerkraut" which so often repelled Americans. A calm German nature that at times comforted the restless American, at other times vexed him by its stoic acceptance of conditions that seemed unendurable to an American. A standardized and accepted code of manners that the American was inclined



to admire because it supplied the German with the security of knowing exactly what one should and shouldn't do in social relationships, became, in some instances, a cumbersome and incomprehensible business.

The American traveler did not try to reconcile these inconsistencies. Indeed, he probably would have been the first to admit that the German people, by virtue of their humanity, were no more inconsistent and contradictory in character and behavior than any other people. If he thought about it at all, the American traveler would probably have agreed with Harriet Beecher Stowe in simply recognizing that the inconsistencies were there. That traveler wrote: "These Germans seem an odd race, a mixture of clay and spirit---what with their beer drinking and smoking, and their slow, stolid ways, you would think them perfectly earthly; but an ethereal fire is all the while working in them, and bursting out in most unexpected little jets of poetry and sentiment, like blossoms on a cactus."<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the American retained a certain detached objectivity as he drifted from one German experience to another, noting customs and characteristics of the people. He was, by turns, wistful, indignant, perplexed, or

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<sup>1</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (Boston, 1854), II, 37C.

admiring. He could pick and choose as he would, saying, "I like German politeness" or "I don't like Germany brutality."

But the American lost this detachment when he regarded the social life of the German nation. The overwhelming impression that the travel narratives reveal is that the traveler was detached only in relationship to specific customs or particular characteristics of the Germans. Underlying his comment upon German social life is a complete bewilderment that the Germans, with a society founded upon inconsistencies in the German nature and customs and injustices and inequalities in social relationships, seemed, nevertheless, to possess an enjoyment of, and satisfaction with, life that the American felt his own society lacked. In no way was the inadequacy of the social fabric in America brought home more forcibly to Americans than by their contacts with German social life. It was as if the American asked himself, when he witnessed their contented conviviality and their ability at savoring the passing moment, "Why do these Germans, who shouldn't, seem to enjoy life more than Americans at home, who should?"

Such a devastating question thrust the traveler into a sea of doubt about his own society and provided the basic theme for much comment of the American travelers recorded in the third section of this chapter.

The traveler did not attempt to answer the question that nagged at him. In a good many cases, no doubt, he forgot it when he rejoined his family and friends at home in the United States. Nevertheless, it seems related to the growing school of social criticism in the late nineteenth century American life in the work of Henry James, Henry Adams, Mark Twain, Edward Bellamy, and Henry George. It seems similarly related to the whole chorus of social protest that arose in the twentieth century in the work of Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, and Edward Arlington Robinson.

Although no material provides a richer source for discovering the reaction of Americans to Germany than the discussions of the people, the customs, and the social life of the nation found in the travel narratives, they are hard to disentangle from one another. A custom also has implications in the social life of the people and is an expression of their nature just as much as it is a custom. Nevertheless, for purposes of clarity and organization, this analysis arbitrarily attempts to disentangle them at the risk of omission or repetition.

### The Nature of the German People

It is difficult to find, in the travel narratives of American travelers in Germany, a genuine, spontaneous,

enthusiastic response toward the nature of the German people. On the whole, with reservations and modifications, they liked them---much as they liked Germany as a whole. But it was, again, a sentiment of the head rather than the heart. The German people lacked the romantic charm that captivated the emotions and the imagination of the American traveler. As William James put it, "The German character is without mountains or valleys; its favorite food is roast veal; and in other lines it prefers whatever may be the analogue thereof---all which gives life here a certain flatness to the high-tuned American taste."<sup>1</sup>

Except for a certain heartiness that betokened physical stability, the American traveler did not find the appearance of the German people very appealing. They seemed to the traveler created much more for function than for ornament. Except for criticism of the visible charms of German women, reactions to the physical attributes of the German people were not very pronounced in the narratives. A traveler in 1834-35 remarked that general health and robustness of the population were noticeable, and he credited it to their "frugal and regular habits of life."<sup>2</sup> A traveler in 1887

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<sup>1</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Valentine Mott, Travels in Europe and the East in the Years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '38, '39, '40, and '41: Embracing Observations Made during a Tour through Great

felt this apparent physical heartiness was a good indication of the age-long stamina of the German people.<sup>1</sup> Yet another traveler of 1836 felt that the common people appeared more down-trodden than robust. He said they were rather "of under stature, their skin shriveled and seared."<sup>2</sup> The height of Prussian men attracted some attention, although one young American woman felt this quality could never redeem their arrogance and insolence on the streets.<sup>3</sup> William James thought the Saxons were a particularly "short and ill-favored race."<sup>4</sup>

Some of the travelers felt that the prevalence of beer-drinking in Germany did not enhance the physical attractiveness of the German people. One traveler remarked that the "bloated faces and bleared eyes of the masses" betrayed their indulgence.<sup>5</sup> Another disliked the effect of the

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Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombard, Italy, and the Near East (New York, 1842), p. 82.

<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Wilbur Fisk, Travels in Europe: viz. in England, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Switzerland, Lombard, Italy, and the Near East (New York, 1842), p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 119; Fay, Music Study, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 87.

<sup>5</sup> Ballou, Foot Prints of Travel, p. 311.

"distended paunch" and ruddiness upon the German personal appearance.<sup>1</sup> Yet William James believed that even this quality, the result of quantities of beer, produced a certain substantial appearance. He wrote: "The apothegm, 'a fat man consequently a good man' has much truth in it. The Germans come out strong on their abdomens--even when they are vast in capacity, one feels that they are of mighty powerful construction, and play a much weightier part in the economy of man than with us,---affording a massive immovable background to the consciousness..."<sup>2</sup>

In regard to German women, the American traveler was far more explicit and extensive in his comments. Universally, the American traveler discussed the appearance of German women, and, almost universally, he found them startlingly unattractive. He wrote: "...either our ideas of what constitutes beauty differ from those of Germans, or else their women are generally ill-formed, with irregular features and homely."<sup>3</sup> The Americans complained that German women were too coarse of skin and too broad of beam to measure up to the American standards of delicate,

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<sup>1</sup> Meriwether, Tramp Trip, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 100.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, Summer's Jaunt, I, 284.

feminine grace. "Walking parallelograms in petticoats," one writer called them. "They looked," he continued, "as if they had been made by the rule, like Dutch ships, and then cut off in lengths to suit. Like their vessels, too, they are solid and substantial, made rather to carry than to go."<sup>1</sup> Julian Hawthorne described them in equally unflattering terms: "Massive are their legs as the banyan-root; their hips are as the bows of a three-decker. Backs have they like derricks; rough hands like pile-drivers..."<sup>2</sup> Other writers termed them variously "plump roly-polies" with "irregular features and muddy complexions"<sup>3</sup> or "strong and gaunt, sun-dried and coarse."<sup>4</sup> One traveler claimed their faces were destitute of any expression, the distinctive feature of French women.<sup>5</sup> Another said he had seen more plain-looking females in Dresden than he believed it was possible to collect in one city.<sup>6</sup> And Henry Adams

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Wight, Dore, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, pp. 23-26.

<sup>3</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Sands Griffin, Impressions of Germany, by an American Lady (Dresden, 1866), p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> H. Adams, Letters, I, 39.

maintained that German women reminded him, unpleasantly, of their "diet and want of soap and water."<sup>1</sup>

The fräulein of the German states became even less appealing to the American traveler when he compared her with her lovelier German cousin, the Austrian, and particularly the Viennese, girl. One traveler wrote that the latter was very attractive. "They are Germans, but handsomer than western Germans with a remarkably clear complexion," he said.<sup>2</sup> Another noted that the Austrian woman was slighter, more delicate, and gayer,<sup>3</sup> and another felt she exerted a good deal more control in society. "They are strong-handed," he said, "and can take care of themselves and of their husbands also when necessary."<sup>4</sup> In any case, the structure of the Austrian woman suited American taste far better, and according to one American traveler of 1880,

<sup>1</sup> J. H. B. Latrobe, Hints for Six Months in Europe: Being the Programme of a Tour through Parts of France, Italy, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, the Tyrol, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, England, and Scotland in 1868 (Philadelphia, 1869), p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie A. White, ed., Extracts from the European Journal of Lewis H. Morgan (Publication of the Rochester Historical Society, Part II), XVI, 318-319.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Edward Bolton, Travels in Europe and America (New York, 1903), p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, pp. 89-90.



Prussian women envied the slenderness of the Austrian woman and resented her sense of style and fashion.<sup>1</sup>

Yet a few travelers mitigated their criticism of the physical charms of German women. No writer called them beautiful, but Bayard Taylor admired their robustness which liberated them from the numerous afflictions that assailed the nineteenth century American beauty. He said they were sometimes as "fresh as wild roses," while admitting they were too coarse and heavy to be considered beautiful.<sup>2</sup> Another found the blonde German peasant quite goodlooking,<sup>3</sup> and another felt city belles might well envy the rosy complexion of the German peasant girl.<sup>4</sup> One traveler admitted that she had found them more refined-looking than expected.<sup>5</sup> Even the heavy labor that was woman's lot in Germany did not horrify all the travelers. One writer of 1883 felt that field laborers in Germany were healthier and had less reason to be pitied than mill girls in dirty industrial centers in the United States.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pitman, European Breezes, pp. 109-110.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Maney, Memories over the Water, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Barlosius, Recollections, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Amory, Wedding Journey, II, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Helen Hunt Jackson, Glimpses of Three Coasts (Boston, 1883), p. 378.

Another argued that too much emphasis had been placed on the German woman carrying her burdens on her head--that it was a woman's privilege to choose the method of carrying her bundles.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the sight of members of her sex doing a man's work in the fields (dealt with more extensively later in the chapter) excited a rather romantic eloquence in one young American woman traveling in the middle of the century:

...but for my life I cannot find it in my heart to pity you. Full chested, vigorously limbed, strong backed, firm footed, ye defy storm and hardship, and rejoice in the sternest labor; ye are never troubled by fine stomachic sensibilities; ye know nothing of the toil of the brain, of the conflicts of the spirit, of the tragic sorrows of the heart, of the exquisite agonies of the nerves. You are robust, and plump, and bounteously blooded, bearing yourselves in your brown bloom, with the unconscious insolence of rustic health. You have simple habits, few wants, and believing hearts; so plant and reap, hoe and spade, carry burdens, yoke yourselves with donkeys, if you will, reverence the priest, serve your beer-drinking and meerschaum-smoking master. It is your mission, from which I should think twice ere I would call you to a condition in which every beautiful taste is insatiable longing, every exquisite refinement but a subtilized pain, every high-wrought passion the exhaustless source of suffering.<sup>2</sup>

Although the American's reaction to the German appearance was not favorable on the whole, the German

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel. *One Year Abroad*. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Jane Lippincott [Grace Greenwood, pseud.] *Days and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe* (Boston, 1854), pp. 416-417.

character received more commendation. Americans found the German temperament a comfortable one to be around, and if it lacked the excitement of peoples of more volatile and mercurial emotions, it compensated for this deficiency in a satisfying steadiness. One traveler said the German character was the reverse of the French---thinking more of "the matter than the manner of things," apt to be tiresome but sure to be substantial.<sup>1</sup> Another felt the Germans lacked the appeal of the Italians, but their contentment and passiveness were more comfortable and reassuring.<sup>2</sup> Even the poorer classes impressed the travelers with their happy natures and their contentment, and one writer described the German peasant as combining "the prudence of New England" with the "generous hospitality of Virginia."<sup>3</sup> Yet sometimes, as in the case of one American girl, this evenness of disposition became monotonous and irritating. "Germans cannot understand blueness," she complained. "They are never blue themselves, and they expect you always to preserve your equanimity...Moods are utterly incomprehensible to them. They feel just the same every day in the year."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. W. Wright, Doré, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Lippincott, Haps and Mishaps, p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Orvill Horwitz, Brushwood Picked Up on the Continent; or Last Summer's Trip to the Old World (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 85.

To some Americans, this quality of steadfastness in the German character congealed too often into a rather austere sobriety. The German was eternally serious. One traveler remarked that almost no enthusiasm was displayed at the horse races in Germany: "...everything was sober, matter of fact, as if the people had come out to witness a disagreeable spectacle, or one that they could take no interest in."<sup>1</sup> Another writer claimed that, in spite of the numerous German feasts and celebrations, "...the people drink, and sing, and dance, the year in and the year out, without so much noise and hurrah as is to be seen on one Fourth of July."<sup>2</sup> Other American travelers noticed that Germans took even their pleasure too gravely and did not laugh enough.<sup>3</sup> As one writer put it, "...the German would as soon think of putting aside his gravity as of putting off his coat in public."<sup>4</sup> Another commented that "Though they may fly to pleasure, as a fancied medicine for the ills of life, they seldom give way to that spontaneous

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<sup>1</sup> Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Pitman, European Breezes, p. 47; Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson, Bits of Travel (Boston, 1895), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> George Copway, Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, and Germany by and Indian Chief (New York, 1856), p. 239.

gaieté du coeur, which requires no support from adventitious excitement."<sup>1</sup> This quality in the Germans was more evident to the American traveler when he was confronted with the "contented gayety"<sup>2</sup> and the "lightness of life"<sup>3</sup> of the Austrians. Such restrained spirit was wearing on Americans.

Furthermore, Americans writhed under the stolid patience of the German when his calm disposition accepted conditions that the American felt were unendurable. To the nervous energy of the American, the quiet acceptance that soothed his restless spirit became, frequently, a source of irritation rather than a solace. One writer believed that "a German in the Fatherland is constitutionally opposed to doing anything in a hurry."<sup>4</sup> Another pointed out that an obstacle to travel like the bridge of boats across the Rhine would not have been tolerated for a year in the United States, but the Germans moved slowly.<sup>5</sup> Motley called them "the most phlegmatic specimens of mankind that exist."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. N. Wright, Desultory Reminiscences, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 392-393.

<sup>4</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, pp. 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> James Freeman Clarke, Eleven Weeks in Europe; and What May Be Seen in That Time (Boston, 1852), p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 22.

Sometimes the American fell into the leisurely pace of German life and lived according to the "slow German rates."<sup>1</sup> But more frequently, the travelers expressed their irritation with the patience of the people. One writer of 1850 said that it was a "daily marvel" to him and the most astonishing feature of German life.<sup>2</sup> Another wrote: "...everything is done quietly, no one seems in a hurry, no one ever seems impatient, and yet I confess it, my American blood shoots up in wonder sometimes how people can be so slow."<sup>3</sup> Another said that although life was easier at this pace, "it became infuriating to the American, born and bred to hurry."<sup>4</sup> Another agreed when she wrote, "The patience is something beyond the comprehension of the American mind."<sup>5</sup>

In yet another way, the American disapproved of the German quality of stolidity. They felt it led to a too deeply-rooted conservatism. It made a population too docile, too respectful of authority, too easy to govern.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Dudley Warner, Saunterings (Boston, 1892), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> George Henry Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, Second Series (New York, 1846), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Griffin, Impressions of Germany, pp. 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> Fitman, European Breezes, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 48.

As early as 1825, this weakness was recognized by one traveler, and he felt it was incompatible with a democratic government which demanded an expression of the feelings and ideas of the population.<sup>1</sup> This slowness to move made the Germans, the American traveler felt, congenitally "conservative, prejudiced, bound by custom, slaves to the past, respecters of form."<sup>2</sup> Another writer noticed their cautious and conservative nature. "Whatever is done is done for generations," he wrote.<sup>3</sup> One traveler felt that authoritarian control of the government had increased this instinctive reluctance to change. "He is a born free thinker," wrote this traveler, "but his institutions and the watchful eye of the omniscient police forever keep the lid shut down upon his genuine sentiments; he is slow to anger and unrivaled in his reverence for authority."<sup>4</sup> A much earlier writer (1847) agreed when he said, "German enthusiasm, though deep seated, is patient and enduring, and breaks out in violent acts only at long intervals and on urgent provocation."<sup>5</sup> Some

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, Seen in Germany (New York, 1909), p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 51.

writers felt that the rather inconsistent wild and rowdy life of German students at the universities was a means of releasing young animal rebelliousness so that the student would settle down in after life to become a "calm, cautious, apathetic citizen."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, and in spite of the extensive comment by the travelers on the calm temperament of the Germans, they were frequently embarrassed by the utter lack of self-restraint that a German displayed in expressions of sentiment. "Where and how did we get the idea that the Germans are a stolid phlegmatic race?" Mark Twain demanded. "In truth, they are widely removed from that. They are warm-hearted, emotional, impulsive, enthusiastic, their tears come at the mildest touch, and it is not hard to move them to laughter. They are the very children of impulse. We are cold and self-contained, compared to the Germans. They hug and kiss and cry and dance and sing; and where we use one loving, petting expression, they pour out a score."<sup>2</sup> Yet the emotionalism he referred to was demonstrated principally in intimate social relationships rather than in the larger contact of the German in

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 50-56; Taylor, Views A-Foot, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, 87.



relation to his social environment. Other writers agreed that in personal relationships with family and friends, the Germans exhibited a warm emotionalism. One writer said that although they were not easily agitated, they were people of intense feeling.<sup>1</sup> Another said they displayed almost "patriarchal hospitality" in the way they discussed private matters.<sup>2</sup> Motley called them "the most affectionate and...the most enthusiastic people on earth" in these circumstances,<sup>3</sup> and Longfellow exclaimed, "The Germans have so much poetry in their natures and in their lives."<sup>4</sup> One writer expressed her reaction to this German characteristic with less enthusiasm: "For us, born under other habits, we cannot understand this public demonstration of feelings which the heart everywhere holds so sacred....But here, all events of life are made matters of public sympathy."<sup>5</sup>

Most American travelers were impressed with German politeness. One traveler remarked that they were the most polite people in western Europe.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1822,

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Longfellow, Life, I, 253.

<sup>5</sup> Griffin, Impressions of Germany, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Joel Cook, A Holiday Tour through Europe (Philadelphia, 1889), p. 203.

Washington Irving recorded his pleasure at their great kindness to strangers. Throughout the century, this subject elicited much appreciative comment from the American travelers in Germany, with special attention to the German custom of bowing to strangers.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Mark Twain said this custom frequently astonished Americans. "The bow startles a stranger out of his self-possession the first time it occurs," he wrote, "and he is likely to fall over a chair or something, in his embarrassment, but it pleases him nevertheless."<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, Americans detected a fundamental humanity in this politeness which pleased them immensely. They felt it grew out of the genuine friendliness and innate kindness in the Germans. As one traveler expressed it:

There is a deep-seated humanity in the courtesy of the Germans. They always seem to be feeling a gentle pressure from the cord that interlaces them with their species. They do not wait, as Schiller says, till you "freely invite" to "friendly [sic] stretch you a hand," but the hand is instinctively stretched out and the kind deed ready to follow it.

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<sup>1</sup> Irving, Life, II, 95-96; Motley, Letters, I, 43; Taylor, Views A-Foot, p. 120; Ward, Letters from Europe, p. 36; Brace, Home Life, p. 120; Robert Hoesa, Glimpses of Europe; or Notes Drawn at Sight (Cincinnati, 1859), p. 279; Mrs. James Anthony Eames, The Budget Closed (Boston, 1860), p. 201; W. James, Letters, I, 101; Alfred E. Lee, European Days and Ways (Philadelphia, 1890), p. 76; et al.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, p. 166.

This suavity is not limited to any rank or condition. It extends all the way down from the prince to the poorest peasant.<sup>1</sup>

One traveler felt that it was much more human and kind than the superficial graciousness of the French.<sup>2</sup> Another hoped that by this American contact with German politeness "... in the course of time, those savage traits of character derived from long experience of savage life and want of culture in civilized society will disappear, and the Americans will become as polished a race as the Germans."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler agreed that even among the plain people, the degree of refinement and sentiment that expressed itself in German politeness was charming.<sup>4</sup>

Yet for all the friendliness and politeness mentioned in the narratives, it would not be accurate to intimate that the American found all Germans congenial and pleasant. There are a number of decided statements to the contrary effect. The students in the universities found mingling with the Germans difficult and unattractive. Bancroft said the people of Göttingen were "cold and unsocial." He claimed that they were "too fond of writing books and

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<sup>1</sup> Catherine M. Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home (New York, 1855), pp. 177-178.

<sup>2</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Pitman, European Breezes, p. 95.

too incapable of conversing, having more than enough of courtesy, and almost nothing of actual hospitality."<sup>1</sup> William James declared that Berlin was a "bleak and unfriendly place." He claimed that people shifted so "between friendliness and a drill sergeant's formal politeness" one never knew where he stood with them.<sup>2</sup> Another American student said that the Germans at the universities kept mainly to themselves, drinking beer, smoking pipes, and fighting duels---activities which did not attract the American.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, the code of manners existing for German society could become both too formal and complicated as well as too rough and rowdy for the casual, restrained American student.

The quality that fell most frequently under the critical eye of the American traveler, and the one to which he applied the most verbal condemnation, was what he labeled a sort of German conceit. It amounted to refusal to countenance another's opinion and a strenuous enthusiasm for the Fatherland to the exclusion of the possible virtue of all other nationalities. Of course, the comments became much

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 85.

<sup>2</sup> W. James, Letters, I, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> George W. Magee, ed., An American Student Abroad; from the Letters of Magee 1834-1903 (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 62.

thicker in the travel narratives during and after the unification of Germany under Prussia. But even as early as 1820, George Bancroft wrote a letter to a friend describing a German with whom he had been on a walking tour: "He is," wrote Bancroft, "as all young Germans, full of the glories of his country, will talk to you of the feudal times and days of chivalry, can make you confess, if talking you dumb is making you confess, that the Deutschen are above all nations on earth, that the Deutschen heroes, and men, and ladies, and armies are the best in the universe, and is ready to challenge any man who denies that Deutsche literature excels that of all peoples and times."<sup>1</sup>

Other writers repeated this criticism later on. In 1859, Bayard Taylor also discussed this characteristic of the German. They were, he granted, remarkably courteous, but they lacked the element of courtesy which enabled them to listen respectfully to another person's ideas. "Being a people of abstract ideas," he wrote, "and much given to that species of theorizing which breeds intellectual egotism, they lack a proper consideration for the ideas and opinions of others. Hence, a mixed conversation very

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 73.

often assumes the character of an argumentative combat. I have frequently heard facts denied, because they conflicted with some pet theory. As an American and a Republican, I was constantly liable to be assailed by those who advocated the monarchical system---not in the way of courteous inquiry, but direct attack."<sup>1</sup> Poultney Bigelow reported that as a schoolboy at Bonn, he liked his English schoolmates but regarded Prussian boys as of "another species in the human family."<sup>2</sup>

After the German success in the Franco-Prussian War and the victory of Prussia over Germany, Americans commonly expressed their dislike of the German feeling of superiority in Prussia. One traveler, although he said he forgave them because of the tremendous German triumphs in art and literature, felt that they were less agreeable than formerly and inclined "to swagger and be insolent."<sup>3</sup> Motley called the first result of a great Prussian victory "a bumptiousness

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 461.

<sup>2</sup> Poultney Bigelow, Prussian Memories 1864-1914 (New York, 1918), pp. 2-4. This volume should be regarded with skepticism. Although Bigelow spent a good many years prior to 1900 in Germany, this book was written and published after the outbreak of World War I. It is, therefore, liable to a bias under sentiments engendered by the war. Bigelow may have remembered more in this autobiographical work than actually took place half a century earlier.

<sup>3</sup> J. d. Browne, Scenes and Sensations, p. 317.

without parallel" among the Prussians.<sup>1</sup> Other writers of the eighties, too, commented upon the aggressive assurance of the Prussians and the Germans.<sup>2</sup>

This, then, is the picture of the German character in the nineteenth century as American travelers drew it in their narratives. The German was neither all good nor all bad, the Americans seemed to conclude. He was good-natured, kind, and friendly, but he could also appear to be lethargic, formal and self-assured. Moreover, the American revealed many more of his conceptions of the nature of the German people in his discussions of his contact with the customs and the social life of Germany.

#### German Customs

German customs presented to the American traveler a curious mixture that both appalled and delighted him. The traveler might devote pages in his narrative to his contempt for the treatment of German women only to burst into rapturous pleasure over the simple celebrations and happy nature of Germany family life. He might agree with one

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<sup>1</sup> Motley, Correspondence, II, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Gaze, Leisurely Journey, p. 91; Jesse Milton Emerson, European Glimpses and Glances (New York, 1889), pp. 112-113.

traveler that German felicity seemed to embrace "beer, pipes, and music"<sup>1</sup>---the first two of which seemed too coarsely earthy for American admiration, but in the next breath he would applaud the joyous cultivation of gardens in Germany and the German's genuine love of nature.<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the ledger that American travelers wrote up on German national customs, there were both a debit and a credit side.

On the debit side, no custom received more American condemnation than the position of women in German society. It is a curious fact that Americans, who carved a civilization out of a savage and primitive wilderness and whose women sometimes submitted to the grossest physical hardships, should place the fair sex on a much higher rung on the ladder of human eminence than the Germans. Yet, such indeed was the case, if one may judge by the reaction of American travelers to the heavy labor allotted to women in Germany. As one writer wrote in indignation, "Females could never have been intended for such employments, and thus to enslave them is a disgrace to any civilized nation."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. H. Wright, Desultory Reminiscences, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hiestand, Travels in Germany, p. 128.



Most Americans firmly believed that Germany's failure to produce beautiful and charming women could be credited to the inferior position granted to women in German society. Even in the upper strata of society, most Americans disapproved the background status of women. One writer said that women took very little part in table conversation, and that a woman's opinion on any subject was neither sought nor listened to attentively.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler attested to the vulgarity and rudeness with which women were treated in the street by men and felt this indicated a fundamental lack of respect for women in German society.<sup>2</sup> Another wrote, "In the United States, the commonest boor will step aside to let a female pass. Here the woman steps aside to let the man pass."<sup>3</sup> One women writer "thanked the good God... [her] ...destiny was cast in a land where woman was cherished as the 'better portion of creation,' loved and cared for even in old age as well as youth."<sup>4</sup> Another female traveler of the eighties chafed at this treatment of her sex in Germany but felt that, in spite of woman's menial position in society, the German girl was a novice

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, Extracts from Journal, pp. 335-336.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel, I, 182.

at taking care of herself in the world compared to an American girl.<sup>1</sup> She complained that not only did women accept the position accorded them, but they perpetrated this class system by refusing to "lower themselves" to do some activities that a resourceful American woman took for granted.<sup>2</sup>

As for the German peasant woman, American travelers were unstinting in their criticism of a society that degraded women to the level of beasts of burden. It offended the American sense of gallantry, and page after page in the travel narratives was devoted to descriptions of the German peasant woman unloading wagons of wood,<sup>3</sup> carrying bricks and buckets of mortar,<sup>4</sup> harnessed with a dog to a cart drawing garden produce,<sup>5</sup> and working in the fields.<sup>6</sup> No travelers of either sex applauded this system.

<sup>1</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 142-159.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Horace Greeley, Glances at Europe in a Series of Letters from Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc., During the Summer of 1851 Including Notices of the Great Exhibition, or World's Fair (New York, n.p.d.), p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Ballou, Foot Prints of Travel, pp. 310-311.

<sup>5</sup> John Insley Blair, Foreign Letters (Blairstown, N. J., 1888), p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Topliff, Letters from Abroad in the Years 1823-1829 (Boston, 1906), p. 115.

It reminded some travelers of the institution of slavery in the south.<sup>1</sup> Mark Twain noted with distaste that even age was no exemption from heavy labor, "---the older the woman the stronger she is apparently."<sup>2</sup> One American traveler wrote with vehemence: "I would not like to be a German peasant-woman. I would much prefer to be a German horse, for horses are well treated and well fed....Women, however, receive none of these kind attentions and considerations at the hands of the male portion of the community....What the camel is to the Arab, woman is to the German. She is made to bear the heavy loads and be the working slave of her master."<sup>3</sup>

Another custom which seemed indicative of the brutality of life in Germany was dueling at the universities. The traditional duel, fought by heavily padded contestants and seldom fatal in results, received frequent rebukes from the American traveler. It was a custom utterly beyond his comprehension. He did not care for the German students of the universities, and he did not understand the sort of life the German student led. "The German students," wrote

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert B. Adams, The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks (Boston, 1893), II, 86; Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, 126.

<sup>3</sup> Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 119.

Motley in mild despair, "are certainly an original and peculiar race of beings, and can be compared to nothing."<sup>1</sup> To George Bancroft, they were anything but genteel. "I believed never to have seen any of my fellow beings so rough, uncivilized, and without cultivation," he wrote. "They are young, and therefore wild and noisy---live chiefly among themselves, without mixing in society, and are therefore careless in this department, awkward and slovenly."<sup>2</sup>

The duels were fought between members of rival societies in the universities. In the nationalism of the early century, they had had faint political overtones, when it was popular to be a young man tinged with liberalism and patriotism---mild Jacobinism. But after the excitement of the Jena Convention of the Burschenschaft and the assassination of Kotzebue by a student, the governments of Germany clamped down on them. They were, thereafter, organized purely on the basis of the various German states and principalities and devoted their time to dueling, drinking, carousing, and wearing colored caps to indicate membership.

It has already been noted that American travelers traced some of the German conservatism to the license

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<sup>1</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 59.

allowed German students at the universities as a means of letting off youthful rebellious steam. One writer believed that the governments of Germany permitted the continuance of the duels, although they were technically illegal, as a means of directing the energetic young men into fighting each other, rather than letting them become interested in liberalism which might lead to fighting with the governments.<sup>1</sup> As another writer put it, "The despotic governments of the continent have made the discovery that a man's brain must let off, sooner or later, a certain quantity of the gas of insubordination; and by encouraging the opening of the bluster-valves during college life, they find that the stuff for patriotism works pretty well off while the beard is growing, leaving the graduating scholars with a surfeit of vapping, ready to shave and become orderly subjects."<sup>2</sup> But one traveler saw another reason for the existence of the clubs and the duels. He said that the "daily and hourly presence of the military" contributed to the dueling spirit and fostered an enthusiasm for sword skill.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel F. Willis, Rural Letters and Other Records of Thoughts at Leisure (Detroit, 1859), p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Channing, A Physician's Vacation; or a Summer in Europe (Boston, 1856), p. 399.

What puzzled Americans particularly was the curious line of demarcation between the duel for purposes of honor and the duel to destroy another life. Student duels were primarily designed to do nothing more than inflict facial wounds on one's opponent, a sort of badge of honor, without doing permanent injury. This seemed quite silly to practical Americans. They could see no value in such a sport. Motley assured his mother that there was no chance of his returning home disfigured. If an American was challenged, he had the right of choosing his weapons, and since an American chose pistols or rifles, and the Germans had an aversion to gun powder, an American rarely was challenged.<sup>1</sup> Another writer was impressed by the strange code which prohibited permanent damage but allowed such savagery.<sup>2</sup> And Nasby assured his readers that the duel was not "a remarkably sanguinary affair."<sup>3</sup> Yet the travelers felt the custom was an ugly and brutal one. One traveler said that he had gained a new respect for champions of the ring in the United States. Bismarck showed the scars of his student duels and had been made

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<sup>1</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 29.

<sup>2</sup> C. M. Kirkland, Holidays Abroad; or Europe from the West (New York, 1849), pp. 227-228.

<sup>3</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, p. 627.

a prince by the Emperor. By the same token, the United States could make one of its boxing heroes a member of the Cabinet.<sup>1</sup>

To many American travelers imbued with a rising temperance movement of the nineteenth century, the German consumption of alcoholic beverages was commonly puzzling and disconcerting. Americans were visibly astonished, in their narratives, at the German capacity for beer, and a good many travelers commented, sometimes with distress, on the insatiable German appetite for wine and beer.<sup>2</sup> George Bancroft confided to his mother that sometimes, even on Sundays, the ladies put rum in their tea.<sup>3</sup> Another writer concluded that the only thing that stopped the German in his drinking was physical limitation.<sup>4</sup> And of his first trip to Germany in 1844, Bayard Taylor wrote, "We had all been infected by the temperance revival, which set on foot by the Baltimore Washingtonians had swept over the United States. We might have tasted wine as small children, but

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<sup>1</sup> Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Charlotte B. Bronson, The Letters of Charlotte Brinckerhoff Bronson written during Her Wedding Journey in Europe in 1838 with Her Husband, Frederick Bronson, and His Niece Caroline Murray, to Her Mother, Mrs. James P. Brinckerhoff (Cambridge, Privately printed, 1928), II, 297; Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> W. W. Wright, Doré, p. 249.

its flavor had been wholly forgotten, and we looked upon the beverage as a milder sort of poison. When, therefore, we saw every man with his bottle of Rhenish, we were inexpressibly shocked; still more so, when the servant asked us (in English) what wine we should take."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Americans were bewildered by the fact that drunkenness was uncommon in Germany. Although one traveler in 1814 maintained that society had degenerated in the wars and drunkenness prevailed,<sup>2</sup> and another called it "very frequent" in 1825,<sup>3</sup> most travelers were surprised at the slight extent of it in the nineteenth century. "If in America we had the pure wine and sound beer of Germany," concluded one writer, "we should have as little drunkenness here as there."<sup>4</sup> Another writer felt that liquor only increased German conviviality.<sup>5</sup> One traveler remarked that temperance societies seemed totally unnecessary,<sup>6</sup> and another said that the promotion of

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, pp. 31-32.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Seebohn, ed., Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet (Philadelphia, 1860), I, 297.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Bellows, Old World, I, 126.

<sup>6</sup> Magee, American Student, p. 43.



wine-drinking, in place of stronger beverages, seemed to increase the temperance of a nation.<sup>1</sup>

The prevalent custom of smoking was even more distasteful to American travelers than drinking, perhaps because it interfered more with the traveler's comfort. The German seemed to have a terror of an open window, and many a traveler recorded his discomfort in the company of a German pipe. As one traveler remarked, "The Germans do not smoke, they are smoked."<sup>2</sup> Yet another felt it supplied the German with an assured source of contentment: "The meerschaum is his resort in trouble, and its power in driving away care, and in recalling his usual happy disposition, is wonderful."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler believed the German pipe supplied its owner with a form of excitement that in the United States took shape as a newspaper or "highly-spiced" politics.<sup>4</sup>

Nor were Americans any more favorably impressed by the German dinner, which seemed to them to be an inordinately heavy, long affair. They poked frequent fun at it and at the German's pleasure in this daily ceremony.<sup>5</sup> One catches

<sup>1</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Horwitz, Brushwood, pp. 278-279.

<sup>4</sup> Willis, Rural Letters, pp. 379-380.

<sup>5</sup> Horwitz, Brushwood, pp. 379-380.

a note of amused tolerance in the travel narratives, but it is tolerance, nevertheless, of the German emphasis upon beer, pipes and dinner.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that this Germany of earthly, sensual pleasures did not fulfill the American concept of Germany derived from the early intellectual impulse. Americans had not created an image of this Germany. One traveler agreed that the report of the German people and German life by the American traveler did not always duplicate the concept of German national life that circulated at home. He felt that the repute of their philosophy and the German immigrant himself did not take into account the brutal and human side of German life that the traveler's experience indicated.<sup>1</sup> The image of Germany in the American mind was likely to be modified in the light of the American experience in Germany. Yet all these customs---plus the uncomfortable beds, the primitive living of the peasants,<sup>2</sup> and the custom of putting dogs

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<sup>1</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> One of the things some travelers noted with considerable distaste was the custom of manure piles in front of homes. Mark Twain was particularly conscious of this in the Black Forest and developed an ability to judge a man's eminence in the world by the size of the pile. "we became very familiar with the fertilizer in the Forest," he wrote. "We fell unconsciously into the habit of judging a man's station in life by this outward and eloquent sign. Sometimes we said, 'here is a poor devil, this is manifest.' When we saw a stately accumulation, we said, 'here is a

to work---represented to a greater or lesser degree the debit side of the ledger as far as American travelers and German customs were concerned.

There was much to be said on the credit side as well. No custom delighted American travelers more than the German love of nature and the habit of incorporating that enjoyment into the regular pattern of everyday living. Americans in the United States had a natural continent at their disposal, but nature had become a thing to be conquered and subdued and, if necessary, destroyed. It was a novel experience for the American traveler to see the German people cherishing their natural environment. In witnessing the German family happily enjoying its garden, the promenade, the public park, or the beer garden, the American paused in his narrative, usually, to regard his own habits of life---as will appear more evident in the last section of this chapter.

American travelers referred frequently to this German regard for nature. One traveler in 1834 remarked, "I have been much struck at the pains the Germans take to cultivate flowers---the windows are often fitted with pots containing

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banker!" When we encountered a country seat surrounded by an Alpine pomp of manure, we said, "Doubtless a Duke lives here." Mark Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, 212-213.

every variety and have a beautiful effect passing thro' the streets. They seem lovers of nature and simple pleasure."<sup>1</sup> Another traveler noticed the decoration of railway stations with flower gardens and felt it was a "charming feature."<sup>2</sup> Another was surprised that the Germans, even the German children, seemed quite satisfied to see flowers growing. Americans, he said, had to touch, pick, and turn everything they saw and in the end destroy the beauty of the object.<sup>3</sup> The reader sees the element of distrust of American values in the following comment by a traveler who admired the parks: "How often we regret we do not have parks with us! But there [in America] they would be useless. In the hurry, the rush of our existence, we have no time to stop to admire and be amused on the way upwards and onwards to the captivating 'Paradise of Money'."<sup>4</sup> Another wrote, "When will our countrymen and countrywomen learn true wisdom in relation to life out of doors?"<sup>5</sup> Still another traveler felt that the constant presence of flowers and gardens had a good influence on the German character.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Amory, Wedding Journey, II, 79.

<sup>2</sup> Kirkland, Holidays Abroad, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Channing, A Physician's Vacation, pp. 129-130.

<sup>4</sup> Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel, II, 265.

<sup>5</sup> Eames, A Budget Closed, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> John Fletcher Hurst, Life and Literature in the Fatherland (New York, 1875), p. 72.

And one American traveler expressed the common sentiments of his fellow countrymen in Germany:

How desirable such parks would be in our larger cities, affording to business men, toiling clerks, hard-working laborers, professional men who are bound to their local cares by steel bands, and by the stronger American intensity of soul, an opportunity daily to behold the calm, beautiful face of nature, to be shaded by the green leaves, to be wet with the down-shaken dew, to see the grass springing and to hear the birds sing. All people must yield to the Germans in their healthy, ardent, cultured love of nature.<sup>1</sup>

Another custom that pleased the American traveler was the charming German facility for making a loving celebration out of small family dates and anniversaries. The German Christmas was, of course, famous, and Americans delighted in the joyous festivity of the holiday in Germany.<sup>2</sup> No family was too poor to have its little Christmas tree, the traveler noticed, and its "scanty store of candy, nuts, and fruit, and the simple toys that the needy people will pinch themselves otherwise to obtain."<sup>3</sup> And this custom, also, to some travelers pointed up an emptiness of American existence. Americans might scoff at the German's celebration of holidays and family celebrations, but one writer thought they helped make life sweeter: "Our life, on the other hand, is too barren; we press continually forward,

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<sup>1</sup> Hoppin, Notes of a Student, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Gaze, Leisurely Journey, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 226; Warner, Saunterings, p. 152.

on a hard hot, stony road, neglecting every tree that invites us to rest awhile by the wayside."<sup>1</sup>

The German art of making life a pleasure rather than an effort was reflected also in the German enthusiasm for music and dancing. The travelers said that it was as much a part of the life of ordinary people as the flowers and the parks. "Everything in Germany begins and ends with a dance," wrote one, "and the church celebrations are not an exception."<sup>2</sup> Another stated that Prussian officers danced superbly well for it was considered a part of their military training.<sup>3</sup> Another noted the passionate devotion of Germans to music. "It finds its way everywhere," he declared. "There can be no joyous celebration without it."<sup>4</sup>

These customs which the Americans admired in German life touch lightly on the surface of a whole area of admiration for the German people and German society. There were many customs that the American admired, but most of them revolved around the social life of the German people and must be examined in that connection.

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Wright, Desultory Reminiscences, p. 74.

### German Social Life

No experience in Germany probed more deeply into American self-consciousness than American experience with German social life. This is reflected throughout the narratives, in the American traveler's frank admiration for the German's easy congeniality with fellow Germans, his envy of the German's skill at social intercourse, and his open suspicion that neither the conditions nor the actuality of this characteristic of German life could be duplicated in the United States. As one traveler noted, the Germans were essentially gregarious.<sup>1</sup> They lived with each other and enjoyed it.

The fact that most puzzled Americans about this social life was that it rested upon a clearly defined class structure that was repugnant to a republican from the United States. It did not rest on social equality. This was made perfectly obvious to the most careless traveler by the existence of so many titles in Germany, and the American disapproved of the system. One traveler said that he could not persuade the Germans that titles were not necessary to national happiness and successful social intercourse and concluded, "This love of titles is universal

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<sup>1</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 19.

among the Germans."<sup>1</sup> Another agreed that it was "difficult for the German mind to comprehend that we can be in good standing at home, unless we have some title prefixed to our names..."<sup>2</sup> Another granted that there was "something grand about a long line of rulers from one family," but, like most Americans, she felt there was "something much grander in the rise of worth and character into power."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler noticed that the same love of titles existed in Austria.<sup>4</sup>

Although Americans felt that the German royalty and nobility were particularly plain and simple in character, they disliked the fact that the Germans seemed to submit willingly to the authority and discipline of this sharply-defined class system. Julian Hawthorne wrote: "But the habit of following authority and precedent in all concerns of life grows with them. They will never feel quite safe about blowing their noses, until they have seen the written law concerning that ceremony, signed and sealed by the King, and countersigned by Bismarck."<sup>5</sup> Another traveler pointed

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Furniss, The Old World, pp. 175-179.

<sup>5</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 51.



out the pertinacity of German officials for fulfilling "Every jot and tittle" of regulations,<sup>1</sup> and another believed that of all the Germans, the Prussians had the greatest weakness in this respect for authority. He expressed the American viewpoint when he wrote in 1825: "There is something in this feeling incomprehensible to an American, accustomed, as he is, to see talent and worth the passport to success, or to fame; something which reminds him of oriental servitude, and which makes him feel that if the Prussians are worthy of freedom, the day of their deliverance is in the distant futurity."<sup>2</sup>

But the American traveler was further confused by the contented mingling of all classes. The class structure was clearly defined, but there seemed to be greater freedom of intercourse between one group and another than between groups in the vague, ill-defined class system of America. One traveler commented on the extensive mingling of the upper classes with the common people,<sup>3</sup> and another admired it to the extent that he felt it was superior to an unnatural and vague republicanism. He wrote:

Here, no icy, impenetrable barrier separates, as in England, the aristocracy from the commonality; but

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<sup>1</sup> Emerson, European Glimpses, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 117-118.

<sup>3</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 226.

all classes meet together unrestrained except by the pervading sense of propriety, which secure the noble, on the one hand, from impertinent intrusion, and the artisan, on the other, from supercilious discourtesy.

This feature of German society is exceedingly attractive. Distinction in rank is everywhere highly valued and accurately defined; but it is not asserted in such a way as to give pain to those of humbler birth....Is not this system, which freely gives to all their due, a better and truer republicanism, than that which, denying all distinctions of rank, and boasting an equality that never exists in nature, yet places the more and less favored classes in mutual repulsion and antagonism? Genuine courtesy of manners, diffused through a nation, holding together its different classes by the common bond of human sympathy and friendliness, exerts a far more potent influence in smoothing the rugged inequalities of life, than any naked assertion of democratic principles, tending to no kindly results in the intercourse of society. The Germans possess not the political freedom which we boast; but they far surpass us in those minor courtesies, which make up so large a part of social enjoyment.<sup>1</sup>

Another traveler was equally surprised at the friendly mingling of groups in Germany. At home, she said, her pride would have been shocked to sit next to a nursery maid or a peasant, but in Germany, there was no such feeling.<sup>2</sup> Another stated that at a dance, ladies and farm hands danced together and servant girls and gentlemen. He recorded that a Baron said to him, "Look here, write home and tell your folks of the aristocrats of Germany; you democrats would not do that."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dana, Transatlantic Tour, pp. 242-243.

<sup>2</sup> Amory, Wedding Journey, II, 78.

<sup>3</sup> Magee, American Student, p. 146.

Furthermore, the American traveler would plead for a reform in this situation in vain, for he noticed that the underprivileged in rank did not seem to find the system disagreeable. They accepted their position with equanimity. One traveler said they possessed a "perfect blending of self-respect with deference, of freedom with courtesy," and he saw no instance of "cringing, servility, or insolence."<sup>1</sup> Another agreed that the common people of Germany showed a "civil and respectful" attitude toward their superiors without any appearance of servility.<sup>2</sup>

The American was particularly struck with the importance of the family in German social relationships. One writer, after observing German family life, felt American family life was much too stiff and formal. "There is not in all my memories, pictures so warm and glowing, as some of those families...where the look and language of affection were not blurred by that everlasting formalism and coldness and selfishness which hangs over our households."<sup>3</sup> Horace Greeley felt the relationship rested on a courtesy and a genuine love for one another.<sup>4</sup> Another writer said he was

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<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick, Letters, I, 221.

<sup>2</sup> Mitchell, Notes from over the Sea, II, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Greeley, Glances at Europe, p. 266.

"charmed with their simple, unpretentious manner of living..."<sup>1</sup> And, of course, the family played an important and wonderful role, to the American travelers, in the numerous feasts and holidays of the German family.<sup>2</sup>

Opinion was divided somewhat in regard to the position of children in the family. Some writers commented upon the fondness which the Germans showed for the children of the nation.<sup>3</sup> One writer maintained that the Germans gave children a much more important status in the family circle than did American homes.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Hawthorne believed the children were kept noticeably quiet and inert and said that they were subjected too much to discipline.<sup>5</sup> Another writer declared, "Children are trained to obey. Insubordination in the family or the school is treated much the same as insubordination in the army."<sup>6</sup>

But there was no division of opinion in regard to the family taking its pleasure together. This completely charmed the Americans. The sight of a German father at

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<sup>1</sup> Hale, Family Flight, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Lee, European Days and Ways, pp. 86-87.

<sup>4</sup> Hurst, Life and Literature, p. 59; J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Lee, European Days and Ways, p. 85.

a beer garden or in a park, reading his paper, his wife knitting beside him, and his children playing at his feet seemed to the American traveler to be a delightful and beneficial custom. David Ross Locke believed this showed the unselfish character of the German in that he wanted his family to share his recreation with him.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler wrote, "After spending an evening in the garden they will all get together, and go home singing, and it sounds beautiful in the stillness of the night."<sup>2</sup> Other travelers also spoke of this happy family relationship that enabled Germans to play together.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, the whole subject of recreation aroused the interest and observation of the American traveler. It was in this aspect of his life that the German seemed to enjoy himself more than the American felt his countryman did. It was here that the American felt the greatest sense of loss with his own civilization. One writer said, "One cannot help marveling how they afford so much time for merriment..."<sup>4</sup> Another wrote, "In nothing does Europe

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<sup>1</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, p. 635.

<sup>2</sup> Barlosius, Recollections, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, Bits of Travel, p. 101; Fitman, European Breezes, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 366.

show her superiority to America so much as in the gayety of her people after the toil of the day is passed....All the flock preserve that heart, and delight in the friskiness of their early youth, while age, weariness, poverty, vainly seek to oppress them."<sup>1</sup> Another was surprised at the joy of the Germans in that their pleasures seemed so inexpensive, simple, and innocent.<sup>2</sup> And Bayard Taylor thought Americans might profitably imitate the German customs, for American recreation, he felt, when it did arrive, took on a quality of excess.<sup>3</sup> As one traveler put it, "They have found out here what is disbelieved in America,---that the world will continue to turn over once in about twenty-four hours...without their aid."<sup>4</sup>

After witnessing the German at his pleasure, the American traveler frequently reflected that the nervous energy and hurry that created America's superior political and material progress did not always provide a contentment. Motley found the "utter inanity" that formed the atmosphere of the average German life refreshing after the "noisy

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<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Haven, The Pilgrim's Wallet; or Scraps of Travel Gathered in England, France, and Germany (New York, 1869), p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, Second Series, p. 496.

<sup>4</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 112.

spluttering politics which constitute our vital elements."<sup>1</sup> Another traveler noticed that everyone in Germany seemed happy and contented in a leisurely life.<sup>2</sup> Wrote one American woman in Germany in the late sixties: "Of course it is a well-worn theme, but no one can live in this German land without longing to borrow some of its capacity for taking its ease and infuse it into the veins of nervous, hurrying, restless America."<sup>3</sup>

But, although some writers felt that America might copy this admirable feature of German life, they indicated in many statements that they were quite certain it was not as simple as that. The Germans, even the German peasant, seemed to possess a happiness and contentment that both charmed and puzzled the American. Germans lacked the material comforts of the poorest citizen in nineteenth century United States; they had no such opportunity for adding to their riches and their privileges as existed in America; they were oppressed politically and prohibited from any real degree of participation in formulating the policies affecting their own destiny. And yet, one writer claimed in bewilderment, "...the hard-pressed German peasant,

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<sup>1</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Barlosius, Recollections, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 57.

in his pent-up village, has a look of contentment and cheerfulness that our people have not."<sup>1</sup> Another said, "The Germans enjoy life under all circumstances, and are a much happier people than we, who have far greater means of being so."<sup>2</sup> Still another wrote, "I cannot understand how the Continentalists get so much out of so little. Contentment is more a thing of temperament, than circumstance, and our people have not the secret. We make a great deal of noise, and are very extravagant and demonstrative in our pleasures, but after all, we are the most melancholy nation under the sun."<sup>3</sup> Another said he did not see how a German could ever be content in the United States after living in Europe.<sup>4</sup> Another claimed that the German really understood the philosophy of life much better than Americans.<sup>5</sup>

Some travelers concluded that the weakness in the structure of American life lay in its materialism. They felt that too much American life was more pretension that glittered but was not gold.<sup>6</sup> As one traveler wrote at length:

There is less senseless luxury, less vulgar ostentation, than we know, and simple, frugal domestic life is a

<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick, Letters, I, 164.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, Views A-Foot, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> J. n. Browne, Sights and Sensations, p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> Hemstreet, Economical Tourist, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Morwitz, Brushwood, p. 279.

<sup>6</sup> Lee, European Days and Ways, p. 83.



national characteristic of Germany. Our tendency is to the contrary. Man does not live by bread alone, and material life ought not to subordinate higher living. With all our practical tendencies, we ought to be able to combine the German theories of a simple, less laborious domestic life with our greater comfort, and yet afford opportunity for higher culture, freedom from all absorbing lower cares, strength for higher thoughts.<sup>1</sup>

Another traveler believed that if pleasant social relationships and customs could be cultivated in American life, they would be useful in "counteracting that tendency to a sordid materialism, which is one of our great national dangers."<sup>2</sup>

It is particularly significant that the comments indicating an unfavorable contrast of American social life with German social life stem primarily from the second half of the nineteenth century. The majority of the later travel narratives revealed reflections of this sort. Throughout the century the American traveler was critical of a great many German customs. But he frequently (and perhaps inconsistently) concluded that in spite of the many defects in German social life and in spite of the coarseness and inequalities of German customs, the German often seemed happier and more contented than the American. In citing this idea, the American lost his usual detachment

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<sup>1</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Stowe, Sunny Memories, II, 361.

and objectivity and revealed a certain dissatisfaction of his own culture. He still granted the superior advantages of his own country in regard to political rights, material comforts, and opportunity, but he was besieged with doubts when he witnessed a characteristic of German social life that he felt his own nation lacked.

Yet such comments seem more relevant in the context of American thought than in the context of German history. German existence was not quite so idyllic as many American travelers supposed. At least, Germans were prepared in large numbers to pull up the roots of their German life and transport them to a new world. They seemed quite willing to trade a loss of contentment for the obvious advantages of life in the United States. But after all the weighing and the balancing of the advantages and disadvantages of life in America and life in Germany, the American wondered if perhaps he had not lost something of the beauty of existence in his tremendous political and economic gains.

## CHAPTER IV

### CULTURE: EDUCATION, THE ARTS AND RELIGION

The Germany that the pilgrim from America longed to pay homage to was the Germany of the mind. As indicated in an earlier chapter, many travelers went to Germany seeking the personal enrichment that the national atmosphere of Goethe, German scholarship, and German idealism was supposed to engender. The customs and character of the people interested him, and perhaps dispelled some of the romantic and intellectualized glamor forming a hazy aura around the American's image of Germany. But it was not primarily this side of German life that attracted him. Rather, it was the idea of a German glorification of the mind that drew the scholars to the universities and families like the J. Ross Brownes and the Edward Everett Hales to a year's residence in Germany.<sup>1</sup> It was the Germany that Thomas Carlyle wrote of in "The Death of Goethe"

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<sup>1</sup> One authority called this the "prestige of the mind," he wrote: "By the prestige of the mind I mean that the value attached to thought as thought, to ideas as ideas, the estimate of their scope and potency, as elements of experience is extraordinarily high; and that the part which they in consequence have played in modern German civilization is extraordinarily high." C. H. Herford, "The Intellectual and Literary History," Germany in the Nineteenth Century (Manchester, 1912), p. 69.

when he equated the "higher literature of Germany" with the "higher literature of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

The roots for Germany's nineteenth century eminence in intellectual and cultural achievement were part of the magnificent development of German literature, philosophy, and music in the eighteenth century. Europe, and in consequence America, became conscious of German literature when the work of Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller moved across national boundaries into the province of western civilization and when the Romantic School of Richter, Tieck, and von Hardenburg infected English poets with the new ideas of the nature and function of poetry, beauty, and the individual. The world became conscious of German thought when Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason and Critique of Practical Reason shook philosophic circles and when German transcendentalism captured the imagination of several generations in the nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The music of Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven established Germany's reputation forever in that branch of the arts.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Carlyle, "The Death of Goethe," Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (Centenary Edition, London), II, 383.

<sup>2</sup> The historical background here is based on J. G. Robertson, "Literature in Germany," Cambridge Modern History (New York, 1907), X, 383-412; Herford, "The Intellectual and Literary History," Germany in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 23-77.

Gradually, the interest in German scholarship, philosophy, and literature penetrated the American consciousness. There were two routes of dissemination of Germany's burst of intellectual and artistic activity, one direct, the other indirect. First of all, the early scholars in Germany brought back with them the principles and ideals of German scholarship. Ticknor and Everett, for a time, joined the Harvard faculty. In 1829, Cogswell and Bancroft set up the Round Hill School at Northampton which aimed at imitating some aspects of the German gymnasium.<sup>1</sup> Added to this American importation of German ideas in learning and scholarship were the energies of two German political refugees from the conservative reaction of the early 1820's. Karl Kollen and Karl Beck arrived in America in 1824, after being driving out of Germany for their participation in the Burschenschaften.<sup>2</sup> Beck became an instructor in Latin, first at Round Hill School and then

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<sup>1</sup> Germany was known in eighteenth-century America, of course, and German immigrants had established German language newspapers. These were not, however, motivated by the cultural impulse associated with Germany in the late eighteenth century. See Albert Bernhardt Faust, "Non-English Writings: German," Cambridge History of American Literature (New York, 1921), IV, 572-590.

<sup>2</sup> American literary historical background based on Samuel Lee Wolff, "Scholars," Cambridge History of American Literature, IV, 444-491.

at Harvard, and Follen became the first instructor in the German language at Harvard.<sup>1</sup> By the thirties and forties the stream of immigrants fleeing from political oppression in Germany increased, and they carried a familiarity with German culture to western United States when they settled in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri.<sup>2</sup> The indirect route of the spread of German influence was through England.

Transcendentalism came from Germany through Coleridge and Carlyle and, modified by indigenous American characteristics and temperaments, swept through American thought like a prairie fire.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising then that William Ellery Channing wrote enthusiastically of the Germans: "The grandest principle in our man's nature, the sense of the infinite, seems to be more developed in them, and their writings express a deeper consciousness, a keener perception of the unity of the universe."<sup>4</sup>

This intellectual eminence of Germany was duly recognized and admired by the American traveler. Student after student bowed in deference to German profundity, to

<sup>1</sup> Wolff, "Scholars," Cambridge History of American Literature, IV, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (New York, 1927), II, 382.

<sup>4</sup> Channing, Lemoir, III, 307.

German thoroughness of scholarship, and to German facility for metaphysics. Ticknor marveled at the fifteen hour day of grueling study at Göttingen.<sup>1</sup> Calvert wrote that knowledge was nowhere valued as highly as in Germany. "Nowhere," he said, "are there so many men with empty pockets and full heads."<sup>2</sup> Another student stated that "...in every branch of learning, speculation, and intellectual culture, Germany is leading the march of the mind."<sup>3</sup> William James described a class of scholars common in Germany, but rare, he felt, in America, "of men to whom learning has become as natural as breathing."<sup>4</sup>

As might be expected, the American traveler had a great deal to say about this aspect of German life. No part of the subject provoked more comment than German education, which the traveler saw as a concrete example of the "prestige of the mind" that constituted an important element of the American image of Germany. But the traveler also gave recognition to the development of the arts and expressed a concern with the state of religion in Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert, First Years, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 110.

## Education

Americans have traditionally placed great faith in the power of universal education to provide a solid basis for democracy by creating an enlightened and intelligent electorate. This faith, related in pre-Civil War days to the belief in progress and the perfectibility of the individual, expressed itself concretely in the reform and expansion that characterized educational development in the United States in the nineteenth century. The first half of the century witnessed a tremendous growth in colleges, particularly in the west. The University of Virginia and the University of Michigan, as well as other state universities, were founded in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Experimental schools were established like Bronson Alcott's Temple School of the thirties and the Round Hill School of Bancroft and Cogswell. In the three decades before the Civil War, colleges like Western Reserve, Oberlin, Antioch, and Albion sprang up in the west, Horace Mann became the first Superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Massachusetts, and the first teacher-training schools opened their doors.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Elwood P. Cubberly, Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History (New York, 1934), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 269.



Americans hailed, naturally, the development of educational institutions in Germany and believed this development would ultimately liberate Germany, following the pattern of the United States, from the despotism of unlimited monarchy. When Germany failed to achieve this destiny, but maintained throughout the century a high level of educational development, American faith in education was severely tested. Thus, the German educational system was one factor that contributed heavily to American disappointment in the nineteenth century unification of Germany. Americans learned the bitter lesson that a government of force and power could strengthen its control through the agency of public education just as efficiently as could a democratic government.

The early nineteenth century reform in the German educational system was part of the determined reformation of the states of Germany in the years 1807-1814. The advocates of reform hoped to arouse some sort of respectable opposition to Napoleon. The movement was led by Prussia, but it affected all the German states, for it primarily strengthened and invigorated the principles of state education already widely accepted in Germany.<sup>1</sup> School

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<sup>1</sup> M. E. Sadler, "The history of Education," Germany in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 108-109.

attendance had been made compulsory in several of the German states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and schools and universities had been declared state institutions in 1794.<sup>1</sup> The impact of scientific thought had created a considerable spirit of unmolested investigation to a large extent in the German universities.<sup>2</sup> The statesmen of Prussia who assisted at the rebirth of the German spirit hoped to continue the construction of a state system of education on this foundation. Training schools for teachers were established to raise teaching to a professional status, the gymnasias were founded to prepare capable students for the universities, and the University of Berlin was opened in 1810 as a state institution.<sup>3</sup>

The American was naturally disposed to look with interest upon this movement. The state's acceptance of the responsibility for the education of its citizens was in line with the philosophy behind the Land Ordinance of 1785 which reserved some public land for the support of public education.<sup>4</sup> It also concurred with Thomas Jefferson's

<sup>1</sup> Sadler, Germany in the Nineteenth Century, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 108

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 109-110.

<sup>4</sup> The Land Ordinance of 1785 reads, "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within said township..." Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., Sources and Documents Illustrating

notions on the necessity of public education of the "natural aristocracy" which advocated the founding of elementary and secondary schools at public expense.<sup>1</sup> In the light of this fact, it might be anticipated that educators composed a substantial segment of the Americans who traveled to Germany in the nineteenth century. Aside from the New England scholars and the more obvious names like Horace Mann and Calvin Ellis Stowe, there were travelers like Henry Philip Tappan and James Burrill Angell, presidents of the University of Michigan, and Andrew Dickson White, president of Cornell University. As one American traveler expressed the American interest in education, "...the cry among us is still for schools, schools established on a firm basis."<sup>2</sup> This sentiment sent Americans abroad to study German education.

The conviction that the German educational system, particularly in Prussia, would eventually overthrow autocracy was expressed by many American travelers. One felt that though it was not likely to come soon, the future liberty of the people was assured if the excellent school

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the American Revolution 1764-1788 and the Formation of the Federal Constitution (Second Edition, Oxford, 1929), p. 206.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson, Letter to John Adams, October 28, 1813, Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker, eds., American Issues: the Social Record, I, 195.

<sup>2</sup> Griffin, Impressions of Germany, p. 244.

system lasted for a century.<sup>1</sup> Another remarked that Prussia did indeed have a military despotism. "But," he wrote, "another and more powerful army is arising in Prussia; and its spreading tents are the school houses of the land. Prussia has established perhaps the most perfect system of popular education in the world."<sup>2</sup> Another writer of 1839 was convinced that people so educated would never be content with a share in the economic life of the state that consisted of potatoes and black bread.<sup>3</sup> One traveler expressed surprise at the educational progress of Austria. "Perhaps the visitor from the North," he claimed, "who has expected to find a land of despotism and darkness, is surprised to discover that the common people are the most carefully educated of any country in Europe, except Prussia....The system comprehends primary and real school, gymnasia, and normal establishments for teachers, and is very similar to that of Prussia..."<sup>4</sup> Even as late as 1851, one traveler felt that the educated people of Germany would eventually liberalize their government by a struggle greater than any

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Orville Dewey, The Old World and the New: or a Journal of Reflections and Observations Made on a Tour of Europe (New York, 1836), I, 176.

<sup>3</sup> Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, I, 171.

<sup>4</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 229.

that preceded it.<sup>1</sup> Another believed that Germany had succeeded in conquering the French in 1871 because their superior education enabled them to "act more efficiently and intelligently."<sup>2</sup>

Nor did the American traveler flinch at conceding that the German school system and the German university were superior to his own nation's. He frankly stated that the balance in this case swung in favor of Germany. "No government," maintained Bancroft, "knows so well how to create Universities and high schools as the Prussian."<sup>3</sup> Horace Mann ranked Prussia, Saxony, and the southwestern German states in the first three places for the superiority of their educational systems.<sup>4</sup> Another traveler called the Prussian system the "most perfect in the world."<sup>5</sup> Another traveler felt that the United States was "very much behind" Germany in regard to the perfection with which instruction is imparted.<sup>6</sup> One writer bemoaned the fact that American

<sup>1</sup> Silliman, A Visit to Europe, II, 339.

<sup>2</sup> Henry M. Field, From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn (New York, 1888), p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 90.

<sup>4</sup> Mann, Report, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Carson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 437.

schools failed to produce the intellectual enthusiasm that he found in German students,<sup>1</sup> and another felt, after talking with German students, that America was "playing with education."<sup>2</sup> Austria, too, came in for her share of the American traveler's admiration for her excellent school system.<sup>3</sup>

The universities received special tributes. Tappan believed America could create universities at once if the people had the energy and the will. But he claimed in 1852, "we have not got in our country one University."<sup>4</sup> An American student in a German university wrote wistfully, "I wish we had Universities like these at home; a man can study here anything that he wants to in the whole range of science."<sup>5</sup> Andrew Dickson White said that he saw his ideal of a university not only realized, but extended and glorified in Germany "... with renowned professors, with ample lecture-halls, with everything possible in the way of illustrative materials, with laboratories, museums, and a concourse of

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 176-179.

<sup>2</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> E. Benedict, A Run through Europe, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Magee, American Student, p. 149.

youths from all parts of the world."<sup>1</sup> William James maintained the opportunities for studying were "superb" in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Americans felt that the teaching in German schools and universities was of a higher calibre than teaching in American schools, and the idea of teacher training schools appealed to Americans. Wrote one American educator, "...the science and art of teaching ought to be a regular branch of study in some of our academies and high schools, that those who are looking forward to this profession may have an opportunity of studying its principles."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler agreed that teachers in Germany were particularly fitted for their profession because they were especially trained for it.<sup>4</sup> As one writer saw it, "Teaching is, in Germany not a make-shift, but a profession. It is studied as a science, under the supervision of the government, represented by learned and capable men....The teacher is almost invariably a person of high social station, and deservedly so. The position he holds is one which cannot be reached except by scholarly and personal merit."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Dickson White, Autobiography (New York, 1905), I, 291.

<sup>2</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 121.

<sup>3</sup> Calvin Ellis Stowe, Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe; Edgar Wallace Knight, ed., Reports on European Education (New York, 1930), p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Hurst, Life and Literature, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Lee, European Days and Ways, p. 89.

American opinion on the German student was somewhat divided. Many travelers described him, particularly in the German universities, as sober, industrious, and intellectual. One writer claimed that the German student was the most studious of any group he had ever seen.<sup>1</sup> Another described the students as "very attentive" during lectures;<sup>2</sup> still another claimed they had "intellectual faces" and frequently wore glasses, indicating their scholarly activity.<sup>3</sup> Yet another said that in spite of the idea in the American feminine mind that German students were romantic creatures, he felt when he saw them that they were quiet and scholarly appearing.<sup>4</sup> A fellow student among them claimed they were "...an earnest, sober looking set of young men, older and graver, and vastly more learned than one would meet in a University in America."<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, these descriptions do not tally very well with the concept of the beer-drinking, duel fighting, coarse-living youths Americans found so distasteful in other connections. There were plenty of comments

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Silliman, A Visit to Europe, II, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Sessick, On the Wing, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> J. N. Browne, Sights and Sensations, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 33.



throughout the narratives to support this picture as well. As one traveler put it, "It is foolishly supposed that these young men come here to study, but I am happy to correct such an error; they are too sensible to lose the heyday time of life over musty books."<sup>1</sup> Other writers believed that the German student was a very rough and wild individual.<sup>2</sup> Yet perhaps Longfellow described the situation accurately and cleared up this apparent inconsistency when he said that both the unrestrained, lusty German youth and the hard-working intellectual were typical of the German students. "...Some are scholars," he wrote, "and others high, wild fellows."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to his comment upon the regular school system, the American traveler expressed great interest in work being done in Germany in special schools of various sorts. This interest was part of the philanthropic movement in the reform period in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when Americans became concerned about the care and training of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, the prisoner, and the slave. Calvin Ellis Stowe

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<sup>1</sup> W. W. Wright, Doré, pp. 268-269.

<sup>2</sup> Griffin, Impressions of Germany, pp. 12-13; Hurst, Life and Literature, p. 113; J. R. Browne, American Family, pp. 154-157; Pitman, European breezes, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Longfellow, ed., The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow with Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence (Boston, 1886), I, pp. 166-167.

devoted some time to comment upon the remarkable work done in reform schools in Germany,<sup>1</sup> and other writers described the work of schools for the deaf and the blind and homes for delinquent children.<sup>2</sup> Another writer was impressed by the time and care spent in training young girls in "domestic education" which the Germans did not seem to find "incompatible with high refinement and cultivation."<sup>3</sup>

But what probably drew the most significant remarks in this branch of education was the emphasis upon practicality and functionalism in many of the German special schools that particularly suited the inherently pragmatic outlook of the American traveler. Writers described the Vienna Polytechnic School and the Agricultural College at Hohenheim.<sup>4</sup> Another traveler felt that the training in agriculture given to young men at Darmstadt would eventually have an uplifting effect upon the people.<sup>5</sup> Even in the regular elementary schools, one writer maintained that

<sup>1</sup> Stowe, Report, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Mann, Report, pp. 10, 19; Willis, Rural Letters, p. 258; Nathaniel P. Willis, A Summer Cruise in the Mediterranean (Detroit, 1853), p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 70; Willis, Summer Cruise, p. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 307.

great attention was paid to "those studies most likely to be of use to the pupil in future life, as for example, the modern languages, mathematics, civil engineering, geography, drawing, book-keeping, natural philosophy, geology, etc." He also felt that due regard was paid to the student's health.<sup>1</sup>

Although Americans generally felt German education was superior to American, they did not accept the German educational system without reservations. They admired it intensely and candidly pointed out its specific superiority to the American system, as indicated in the foregoing comments. But they were equally free and frank in their criticisms. A good many things seemed wrong to them in German education, which, for a few travelers, added up to a realization that education itself was not enough for the liberation of men from political oppression. Knowledge alone, they realized, did not necessarily impart wisdom, and knowledge could be used as effectively by the despot as by the democracy.

One factor in German education that Americans could not accept was state control. State support they applauded, but state control they could not tolerate. Even in 1847,

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<sup>1</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 163.

one writer recognized the development of art, letters and sciences in Germany under the education system, but he could not forget the fact that the schools and universities were "regarded as an instrument of government" and were "moulded to produce uniformity of religious and political opinions according to the ruling standard."<sup>1</sup> Tappan also recognized this basic incompatibility with the American ideal of education.<sup>2</sup> One writer concluded that the excellent educational facilities of Germany were essentially wasted since political freedom and activity were denied to the people.<sup>3</sup> He felt, in addition, that the "treatment of politics in German universities was...more mechanical and formal than vital...."<sup>4</sup>

Although earlier writers had cautiously admired the national spirit of patriotism which German schools attempted to arouse in German youth,<sup>5</sup> later writers were concerned over the fact that Germans were not encouraged, nor in some cases even allowed, to think. Some writers maintained that Germans, for all their profound thoroughness and scholarship,

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<sup>1</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 64-65.

<sup>3</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, pp. 40-41

<sup>4</sup> Calvert, First Years, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Stowe, Report, p. 255; Taylor, Views A-Foot, pp. 135-140.

lacked an inherent quickness of perception that might have made them more sensitive to the political situation.<sup>1</sup>

Another claimed that this emphasis upon thoroughness had not led to any "active intelligence" in them that would fit them for a democratic government.<sup>2</sup>

The whole concept of specialization in the German universities drew the criticism of the travelers, particularly in the latter part of the nineteenth century. One claimed that a German university was a "rather depressing place...to one who is conscious of knowing nothing in particular, and having only a general smattering of a lot of things."<sup>3</sup> Henry Adams believed that the "mental attitude of the University [Eerlin] was not of the American world."<sup>4</sup> And, although Americans had admired the teaching in German schools, professors in German universities received criticism as well as praise. Andrew Dickson White said that the lectures of Leopold von Ranke could not be followed because the lecturer became so absorbed in his subject that he simply "mumbled through a rhapsody."<sup>5</sup> Another traveler maintained

<sup>1</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 121; Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 139-205.

<sup>2</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> Phillips Brooks, Letters of Travel (New York, 1894), p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> H. Adams, Education, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> White, Autobiography, I, 39.

that American professors could take no worse models for imitation than professors in German universities.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the whole concept of specialization and thoroughness as practiced in the German universities was at odds with the inherent American pragmatic outlook. The quality that Americans praised in the technical and vocational schools of Germany they found wanting in the universities. The vast knowledge the German scholar acquired was valueless, according to the American, if it had no practical value in the affairs of life. He could admire the German's scholarly eminence and erudition and, indeed, he did; but the emphasis upon distilled intellectualism in German education was not palatable to one nineteenth century American. This traveler and student in a German university wrote at length on this subject, and his discussion seems pertinent here in that it indicates the waning interest of American thought in German emphasis upon the pure "prestige of the mind" and the rise of pragmatism. He wrote:

There can be little doubt that the German university system is a far broader theoretical plan of education than any our own land as yet possesses, and may accomplish a far more perfected educational result; but generally viewed it is the still hive of vast erudition, rather than the school of practical and beneficent learning. A faithful student comes out of the university hall with his doctorate in his hand, his

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<sup>1</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 51.

head almost gray, and his eyes blurred with toil; he is more profoundly learned than many of our college professors and presidents; but he looks about him weary and vacant, and what shall he do? He cannot teach the ignorant and young, he who has been for years walking in rapt trance with the sovereign minds of the past; he cannot preach or speak, for the fire and ambition of outer action has died within him; he has become a scholar, and nothing but a scholar, and therefore he must go on, and prepare himself for some scholar's position, also struggled for by a hundred others, or starve....

The German university abhors superficialness and is the hiding-place of profound science;...but does it not sometimes fail in practicalness both of a direct and indirect nature, even becoming in that respect singularly inferior to the American university system? Does it not fail in the communication of its deep intellectual life with the living, true and generous uses of learning? Is it not too much like a reservoir, instead of a fountain?....

...His [the German's] thought is far circling and circuitous, and while aiming always at exhaustion of the subject and profundity, loses in the moment of speaking or conversation the electric power over other minds. Never was this more plainly illustrated than at the uneventful Union Diet held lately at Frankfort on the Rhine, where learned orators consumed months over practical problems of legislation, which a Massachusetts or Connecticut member of the House of Representatives would have clearly solved in as many days....

Germany must and will have a profound influence on America, forming a resistless intellectual gravitation, for Germany is the land of the free and fearless use of Reason....But let America not yield her own divine birth-right to think, reason, and philosophize to Germany, or any other land. Let not America be ashamed of herself, of her own independent mentality, of her own ability to arrive at the truth, and thus, possessing the healthier elements of practicality, and of a faith born of humility, while learning from Germany, she may teach her teacher, whom much learning has sometimes made mad, or at least produced a far too absolute and confident idea of philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, pp. 13-29.

Disillusionment with German "prestige of the mind" did not come all at once nor did it ever destroy completely American admiration for the German university and the German system of education. In fact, the late nineteenth century saw the full blossoming of the University system in America, with normal schools and vocational and special schools an accepted part of the American education system. The German system of graduate study leading to a Ph. D. degree was inaugurated first at John Hopkins in 1876,<sup>1</sup> and America had yet to import from Germany the kindergarten and the Herbartian methods of teaching.<sup>2</sup>

The conflict between the "practical" education, embraced by the strong pragmatic strain in American thought, and the "thorough" education, dictated by a traditional admiration for the thought and culture of Europe, has raged, under various terminology and over various issues, to this day. The remarkable fact for the purpose of this thesis is that the travel narratives of American experience in Germany reflect both elements in American thought: the magnetism of European intellectual eminence and the magnetism of American practicality. The American admired the German's prodigious mental labor; he also liked the functional

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<sup>1</sup> Cubberly, Public Education, p. 652.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 449-461.



aspect of German special schools. The American favored the exhaustive nature of German learning; he frowned upon its isolation from the affairs of men.

One other aspect of American criticism of the Prussian educational system in the late nineteenth century must be mentioned before turning to the cultivation of the arts in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Some American travelers noticed with disgust the discipline of the German school room. One writer called it the "old fashion of cuffing and knocking."<sup>2</sup> Henry Adams described his conception of it after spending some time in a Berlin secondary school studying the German language. He wrote, "The head-master was excellent in his Prussian way, and the other instructors were not worse than in other schools; it was their system that struck the systemless American with horror. The arbitrary training given to the memory was stupefying....The German government did not encourage reasoning."<sup>3</sup> Foultney Bigelow wrote of his

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<sup>1</sup>One frequent criticism of German schools in American travel narratives was the lack of ventilation in the school room. The school children were reported to be pale and unhealthy from the German horror of admission of fresh air into a room during the winter. Willis, Rural Letters, p. 261; H. Adams, Education, p. 79; Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> H. Adams, Education, p. 78.

experience in the Prussian school system: "...I learned to appreciate the wholly impersonal brutality of the conscientious Prussian drill-master, and in later years, I accepted the existing order of things as being probably well adapted to the particular people over whom this method is mainly applied."<sup>1</sup>

These comments represent the views of American travelers toward the German educational system, as one aspect of German culture. They were equally explicit, though not nearly so detailed, in their reactions to the cultivation of the arts in Germany.

### Literature and the Arts

While the American modified his enthusiasm for German education in the course of the century, he never ceased to agree that the system, leaving something to be desired in its effect upon political life, cultivated a genuine enthusiasm for the arts in Germany. German artistic development put the Americans to shame, the traveler seemed to feel. Emerson had called for a truly national literature, expressing the native culture and individualism of the United States.<sup>2</sup> He inundated the nation with a wave of

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<sup>1</sup> Bigelow, Prussian Memories, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar," Phi Beta Kappa Address delivered at Harvard, 1837.

cultural nationalism which came to grips with the belief that the artist in the United States must copy European models. Nonetheless, this could not efface the notion of the American traveler in Germany that people had a greater and more refined appreciation of the arts than the United States and that the century long cultural heritage of Europe gave substance and body to nineteenth century German artistic achievement. American arts and letters seemed gauche and unformed by comparison.

The American traveler often expressed this notion in his travel narrative. "I am disposed to think art has reached a higher grade of cultivation in Germany now, than in any other country,"<sup>1</sup> concluded one American. Another traveler agreed that the Germans possessed a much more intense enthusiasm for art. In addition, she felt, they united that enthusiasm with perseverance and energy so that they actually became learned in the arts.<sup>2</sup> "Germans are in advance of the whole world," wrote another, "not only in the universality of education, but also in the severity of culture..."<sup>3</sup> James Fenimore Cooper discussed the subject at some length in his narrative concerning a trip to Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Eames, A Budget Closed, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 113.

ne found the American people lacking in any sincere understanding of artistic cultivation and inclined to "idolize" European art and artists:

We talk a great deal of our national intelligence in America, and certainly with truth, when we compare ourselves with these people in many important particulars; but blocks are not colder, or can have less real reverence for letters, arts, or indeed cultivation of any kind, than the great bulk of the American people. There are a few among us who pretend to work themselves up into enthusiasm as respects the first, more especially if they can get a foreign name to idolize; but it is apparent, at a glance, that it is not enthusiasm of the pure water. For this, Germany is the land of sensations, whether music, poetry, arms, or the more materials arts be their object.<sup>1</sup>

Literature, particularly, seemed to the traveler to be more universally and more actively cherished in Germany than in America. One traveler recorded her amazement when her German landlady, apparently a low-born and uncultivated woman, launched into an animated discussion of the writings of Ernest Renan.<sup>2</sup> Another remarked that not only did ordinary Germans seem to be familiar with European literature, but they also knew and expressed great interest in the work of Irving and of Cooper from America.<sup>3</sup> Another writer reported that many Germans were "wonders of information" and a

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<sup>1</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, A Residence in France; with an Excursion up the Rhine and a Second Visit to Switzerland (London, 1837), p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, Bits of Travel, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 64.

"delight to listen to" when they talked of German literature and art and the classics.<sup>1</sup> Another felt that the patronage of the governments of Germany encouraged literature: "It is pleasant to see with what attention every government in Germany fosters literature; and this is extended not only to the accommodation of the favored few, but all classes are made to share in the benefits of instruction."<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, American travelers looked with envy on Germany's magnificent libraries and recognized how far the United States had to go to accumulate any comparable reservoirs of thought and literature. Wrote one traveler in 1826, "No one can lament more than myself the poverty of our libraries. I should look upon the individual who would establish such a library in the United States, as that of Göttingen, as the greatest benefactor to my country, who has lived since the days of Washington."<sup>3</sup> What especially disturbed him was the fact that the United States was richer than Prussia but spent little money on such improvements.<sup>4</sup> This same point bothered John Lothrop Motley. He was

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<sup>1</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, pp. 453-454.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 183-184.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

impressed by the money spent by the German governments on picture galleries, statue galleries, and libraries. He could not see any reason why America should not put some of her surplus money to work for similar purposes.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler felt it was remarkable that such libraries should exist, but it was even more remarkable that anyone might draw books from them.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, a few travelers claimed that Germans did not read much, in spite of their education and the facilities at hand. This was, in effect, a flat contradiction of the earlier statements. One traveler maintained that "not one in a hundred ever thinks of reading."<sup>3</sup> Another noticed that few people could afford to buy books, and "nobody purchased a book merely to pass away the time on the railways."<sup>4</sup> That kind of reading, he said, was rare because people could not afford books and because the Germans were a sociable people anyway.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps what the traveler was really trying to say here was that the Germans took their reading as seriously as other pleasures and did not

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<sup>1</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Frowne, American Family, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

read frivolously and purely for amusement. They fostered and encouraged literature, but they did not take their reading lightly.

This conclusion can be supported by American reaction to German newspapers and the German press. The American traveler usually found the German press a sad and uninspiring affair, quite unrelated to the vigorous and animated newspapers on which he had been nurtured. One writer stated that families seldom subscribed to newspapers but people read them in coffee-houses or club-rooms.<sup>1</sup> Another remarked that while there existed "very respectable scientific and literary periodicals for the learned...nothing like a newspaper exists in the whole country."<sup>2</sup> Travelers complained over the meagre size and uninteresting offerings of the press<sup>3</sup> and over the government censorship which they felt stifled the interest in news stories.<sup>4</sup> Tappan concluded that Germany was "the land of books, but not of newspapers, contrasting thus strongly with our own country."<sup>5</sup> Another traveler decided that the German people simply did not care for newspapers as Americans understood them.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 279-281.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 14.

Here again, the American revealed his impatience with the culture of Germany that over-refined and isolated thought from the lives of individuals. He granted the superiority of German libraries and the German's extensive knowledge of literature. But the here and the now, the business of the day, the literature of the passing moment, were quite neglected in German culture. Such a sentiment expressed an idea comparable to the traveler's irritation with the isolation and intellectualized abstraction of the German university. "Germany knows how to live the life of the mind," the traveler seemed to reflect, "but the American people will never tolerate a life of the mind that is apart from and unexpressed in the life of the body in this world."

In other branches of the arts, in music, for example, the Americans whole heartedly delighted in the superiority of Germany. In no phase of cultural expression did America's contribution seem more paltry to the traveler after an experience in Germany than in music. The German's passionate love for music was commented upon with admiration over and over again in the travel narratives. And this aspect of German culture did actually seem as much a part of the German's daily life as breathing. One writer said the German passion for music was not even superceded by the Italian. "It is not merely an accomplishment, but a study;"



he claimed, "indeed, a part of their existence."<sup>1</sup> Motley agreed that they were the most musical people on earth and believed that almost every student could play at least one instrument and sing a thousand songs.<sup>2</sup> Another maintained that it was a part of ordinary family life, even in families where there was no other accomplishment.<sup>3</sup> Others likewise commented upon the fact that the German's devotion to music and fondness for education in it was a natural characteristic of the people.<sup>4</sup> As one writer put it, "Every city, town, and village in Germany, in fact is a musical centre; every German family is a musical centre, and every German in himself is a living combination of musical mechanism."<sup>5</sup>

What particularly impressed the American traveler was the arduous training that the musician in Germany submitted to. Americans themselves went to Germany to study music and one such student commented, "In comparison with the drill I am now receiving my Boston teaching was mere play."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 143-144.

<sup>2</sup> Lotley, Correspondence, I, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, I, 232.

<sup>4</sup> MacGavock, A Tennessean Abroad, p. 376; Willis, Rural Letters, p. 265. Tappan, A Step, II, 27; Lee, European Days and Ways, p. 22; Clare Benedict, ed., The Benedicts Abroad (London, 1930), p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 24.

Another student felt that it was difficult for the American to enter the race for eminence in music so late in contrast to the early rigorous training in Germany. Furthermore, she claimed the German had before him continually the chance to study by observing truly great masterpieces and performers, which the American totally lacked.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, American travelers expressed their appreciation of this training in the excellence of musical performances.<sup>2</sup> One writer maintained that the status granted to the musician in Germany was considerably higher than that given in the United States. He said that the composer in Germany held "the mingled estimation of the scholar and the poet."<sup>3</sup> Another hoped that the day would come when America would possess the advantages of a rich musical culture.<sup>4</sup> Although some Americans did not like all German music, as indicated in Mark Twain's famous comment upon Wagner,<sup>5</sup> they usually recognized the genuine enthusiasm and the intense satisfaction that the German found in music.

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<sup>1</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 8-25.

<sup>2</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, pp. 632-634.

<sup>3</sup> Willis, Rural Letters, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Gaze, Leisurely Journey, pp. 107-115.

<sup>5</sup> "The banging and slamming and booming and crashing were something beyond belief. The racking and pitiless pain of it remains stored up in my memory along side of the memory of the time I had my teeth fixed." Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, 73.

Appreciation of the cultural advantages of Germany in regard to the other arts was also apparent in the travel narratives, although no writer dealt with them as extensively as with literature and music. The American traveler felt that the student of art, like the student of music, had superior opportunities for study in Germany.<sup>1</sup> He stated that the existence of galleries and museums was "gratifying to cultivated minds" and believed that America might well emulate this aspect of German cultural life.<sup>2</sup> And he enjoyed and approved the popularity and patronage of the German theatre.<sup>3</sup>

Few American travelers, however, were willing to sacrifice the superior material comforts of life in the United States for the cultural development they found and envied in Germany. This was a familiar cultural dilemma of the American in Europe, the choice between art and material comfort to put it in its baldest terms. German culture, they felt, was an extension of the German character and German customs, in which poetry and music lived side by side, and in apparent harmony with, coarseness and

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hawkins Marshall Byers, Twenty-five Years in Europe (Chicago, 1900), p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> E. Benedict, A Run through Europe, pp. 373-380.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Eliot Norton, ed., Letters of James Russell Lowell, I, 237.

brutality of daily life. One writer commented, "The incongruities strike us everywhere: a high appreciation of the fine arts, and an utter insensibility to beauty and comfort in the daily life and family arrangements."<sup>1</sup>

The American traveler looked upon the chasm between the life of the mind and the life of the body as an unfortunate compartmentalization of culture. This was the basic theme of the travel narrative when the traveler tried to correlate his favorable and unfavorable experiences in Germany. The German nature was both refined and rough; the German university professor was isolated from the life of his own day, partly through the German facility for abstraction, and partly through the strict control of the government. Likewise, the noblest expressions of man in literature and art possessed vitality only in the realm of the mind. The American noted, furthermore, that the government established upon the principle of force, or Bismarck's blood and iron, took little cognizance of the rich cultural tradition of Germany in dignifying and glorifying the daily life and personal integrity of the individual. One writer in Germany in the eighties was particularly concerned about this point and finally concluded that Germany did not have "a true culture" that the United States could imitate in the lights of its ideals.

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 168.

She could not accept a government based upon force and said:

Our high idea of true culture will never admit this as truth. True culture means nearer, ever nearer to truth, a cultivation of the highest expression of the noblest feelings of the heart. The heart must be cultured in truth, and in the expression of this, and this alone,---outward forms are but to express true feelings, and, as such, they are of value and beauty. This is the culture that America is to seek, and for which she has an open field. Barbarism, heathendom, corruption, ages of force and cruelty and false systems, do not lie behind our history, are not fetters upon our society. Outward expressions are still uncouth, untrained, from the necessity to civilize a wild, new country, and the need for severe labor, admitting of no society or polish. We need something now to round the corners, make the rough places smooth and the crooked straight; something to soften the brusque, uneven awkwardness, to tone the loud, ostentatious self-consciousness, forms we do need to tutor the intercourse of people with each other, some outer ceremonies may refine our national manners,---all this comes alone with time, settled society, material comfort, an older civilization. Then will the graces of culture be united to what exists in the nation,---truth of heart, and the result will be a society such as the Old World can never realize. This is the great problem for our nation to work out,---to develop a higher culture and at the same time maintain the integrity of the heart.<sup>1</sup>

No matter how much American travelers admired the superior cultural achievements of Germany, they were not ready to borrow that culture wholesale without a great deal of selection. Their appreciation of German culture might indicate a certain dissatisfaction with the status of artistic endeavor in the United States. But the ideal

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<sup>1</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 137-138.

American culture had to rest upon a fundamental recognition of individual responsibility and the possibility of individual virtue that the Germany of the late nineteenth century did not possess.

### Religion

The opinion of the American traveler in Germany toward that nation's religious impulse and expression was primarily critical. The American objected to the state of religion in Germany on three grounds: state control, the Catholic influence, and the influence of speculative philosophy. The chief historical fact of religious organization in Germany has been the split along the Main River between Protestant North Germany, including Prussia, and Catholic South Germany, including Austria. During the Confederation of the Rhine under Napoleon some movement toward religious hegemony had been made. The ecclesiastical states had been secularized and divided up among the new German states, with Prussia getting the lion's share.<sup>1</sup> And in 1817, the tercentenary of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, King Frederick William III of Prussia had attempted a consolidation of the Lutheran and the German Reformed (Calvinistic) Churches.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Rose, "The Political History," Germany in the Nineteenth Century, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Valentin, The German People, p. 396.

Nevertheless, the cleavage between Protestant and Catholic Germany was not to be mended so easily, and the principle of the State Church was an established fact in the Germanies. Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, the scientific spirit besieged Christianity by applying historical criticism and investigation to the life of Christ, or what was known as "higher criticism." The eminence of speculative philosophy as the inheritance of Kant and Hegel took much German thought out of the realm of the church and accepted theology. These facts the American traveler confronted on his travels through Germany and they were inimical to the independent, earnest, Protestant American.

If the American traveler was convinced of any one principle of government, it was that church and state should be separated for the ultimate fulfillment and realization of both institutions. He had expected to dislike the control of Catholicism on the Austrian states and the states of Southern Germany, but he felt that the subordination of the Lutheran Church to the state of Prussia was equally disastrous. One writer of 1857 said she believed Prussia "leads the rest of Germany in religious intolerance and oppression."<sup>1</sup> Another objected to the law requiring Confirmation in the Lutheran Church in Prussia, because he felt it throttled

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, pp. 78-82.

any genuine religious sentiment. It forced the German "to look upon the profession of his faith much as he does upon his drill and his tax-paying, as a task commanded by government, which he had better go through with quietly, and so save himself from fine."<sup>1</sup> Another writer agreed that the required support of a state church deadened religious expression.<sup>2</sup> But, claimed one traveler, the American takes his religious liberty so for granted that religious oppression was certain to be something of a shock to him. "The political freedom of the United States is so great," he wrote, "and so distinctly seen and felt by every individual, that we rarely think of the great superiority of our religious liberty to that of every other country."<sup>3</sup>

To the system of state control, the American traced a good deal of the falling off of active religious faith among the German people, particularly in Protestant Germany. One traveler noted that in spite of the law requiring confirmation, few Germans went to church.<sup>4</sup> Bancroft claimed that Christianity or at least an avowal of its principles (except for Jews) was almost a necessity to being elected

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Heistand, Travels in Germany, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Magee, American Student, p. 82.



in America, but that even avowed atheism did not seem to harm the politician's chances in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Another wrote in 1867 that a "painful decay" in the faith and spirituality of the people had occurred in Central Europe, although Catholicism still held a mighty grip on some regions.<sup>2</sup>

The American was certainly not disposed to favor Catholicism even if it were still forceful, for he regarded it as the bulwark of political oppression and religious sterility. He resented especially the power of the clergy in Catholic Germany. One traveler in Austria in 1943 declared that the only limitation upon imperial power was the power of the clergy. "Their rulers, nominally the most absolute," he wrote, "and in some respects really so, are in others subject to the most humiliating dependence and surveillance. In all matters affecting religion---and that extends to everything---they are not free and dare not act."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler described the clergy as disgusting in appearance. "I did not see one genuine, manly, intelligent face," he claimed.<sup>4</sup> Bancroft called them a "band of conspirators,"<sup>5</sup> and another traveler maintained they were

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Bellows, The Old World, I, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, Notes from Over the Sea, II, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 391.

<sup>5</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 203.

using medieval methods to maintain their hold on the people.<sup>1</sup> Tappan stated that he was carried to aesthetic ecstasies over the Cathedral of Cologne and repelled by the priests conducting mass in it.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the American traveler's antipathy for the Roman Catholic clergy, he disliked what he called superstition and the worship of relics, statues, and symbols. One traveler worried about the heavy emigration to America of people who worshipped "odds and ends."<sup>3</sup> Another granted that the cathedrals were glorious in their splendor, but she felt that did not atone for their "rottenness." She wrote, "From these majestic arches, that triumphant chant, there is but a step down to the worship of dead men's bones and all uncleanness."<sup>4</sup> One writer believed this use of relics frequently descended to the cheap and tawdry. She disliked the use of "cotton lace, cheap gilding, wreaths of bouquets of tawdry artificial flowers."<sup>5</sup>

In yet another way, Catholicism disturbed the religious comfort of the American travelers. He could appreciate the

<sup>1</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> John Overton Choules, Young Americans Abroad; or Travels in England, France, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland (Boston, 1852), p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> H. F. Stowe, Sunny Memories, II, 332.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. B. Fuchthout, Aftermath: from City and Country, Berg and Thal (New York, 1882), p. 59.

Cathedrals and the beauty of the ceremony, but he could not forget, nor forgive, Catholic persecution of Protestants. The American was inclined to omit the fact that his own forbears in New England had been guilty of persecution also. So carried away was one traveler by his own nation's righteousness that he proclaimed, "We have no more such theological cruelty and hatred. No gibbet, and no burning stakes, and also no new Cathedrals."<sup>1</sup> Another traveler observed that during a Catholic service, he was troubled by a few discrepancies of doctrine, but he concluded that if one reflected at all in a Catholic Church, one would get little comfort out of the service.<sup>2</sup>

It would be inaccurate, however, to give the impression that all of the American travelers were the victims of such anti-Catholic sentiment. Not a few were impressed by the seriousness and devotion with which the German Catholic expressed his faith. The simplicity of the peasant who came to Church in his humble garb and knelt by the noble in his sumptuous array struck a chord of sympathy in the American's heart. One writer noticed that no distinctions were recognized in a Cathedral but each was regarded "as

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<sup>1</sup> E. Benedict, A Run Through Europe, pp. 386-387.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Sweeney, Under Ten Flags (Cincinnati, 1888), p. 486.

a weak and erring mortal coming to confess his sins and crave the special spiritual consolation needed."<sup>1</sup> Another was deeply impressed by the devotional manner of peasant women who came into the church to pray for an hour and then went away.<sup>2</sup> Some writers felt the poetic beauty of the Catholic service and were brought to a greater understanding and appreciation of it.<sup>3</sup> One writer claimed, "...we have not only been made differently in the first place, but grown up under influences so dissimilar that to judge one another is impossible, and may possibly be a greater sin than even idolatrous worship."<sup>4</sup> An American Protestant minister granted that the faith of the Catholics might be as true, and deep, and lasting as his own.<sup>5</sup>

The principle of liberty of conscience was implicit in the American's whole attitude toward German religious life and he was pleased when he saw that religious groups could live together in harmony. A missionary bewailed the persecution of Protestants in Bavaria in 1820 and even

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<sup>1</sup> Emerson, European Glimpses and Glances, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> E. K. Washington, Echoes of Europe; or Word Pictures of Travel (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 139.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, Frankfort to Munich, p. 43.

spoke to the Crown Prince on their behalf.<sup>1</sup> But others remarked that a mixed group of students appeared to live quite amicably at Heidelberg.<sup>2</sup> Another noticed that Catholics and Protestants in Augsburg got along "without fighting."<sup>3</sup> This sort of unity, the American traveler believed, was superior to the enforced unity of Prussia and parts of north Germany in the manufactured union of Reformed and Lutheran churches. One writer called that a failure. "There is no more real unity than there was in the old days of bitter controversy," he wrote.<sup>4</sup>

In addition, the persecution of the Jews that re-awoke in fury in Germany in the seventies and eighties did not settle well with Americans. They had looked with favor upon the progress of liberating the Jew from age-old persecutions that took place in the earlier nineteenth century. One traveler in Berlin in 1826 noted that the Jews seemed better treated there and mingled more with the Christian society than in most other countries of

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<sup>1</sup> Grellet, Memoirs, II, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels, p. 450; Silliman, A Visit to Europe, II, 286.

<sup>3</sup> George Palmer Putnam, A Pocket Memorandum Book during a Ten week's Trip to Italy and Germany in 1847 (New York, 1848), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Erace, Home Life, p. 320.

Europe.<sup>1</sup> Another rejoiced in 1858 when Frankfurt bestowed upon them some of the privileges of citizenship.<sup>2</sup> But a traveler of the eighties shrewdly remarked that the new persecutions were the result of German resentment and jealousy of the economic position of many Jews. "The poor Jew," she wrote, "...is not so openly disliked as the rich and prosperous one, and especially if he has cultivation and refinement of manner."<sup>3</sup> Although one American defended the Germans by claiming that they were not fundamentally anti-Semitic, he and other Americans were inclined to find the persecution "strange and unsavory."<sup>4</sup>

For all his implied faith in liberty of conscience, the American of Puritan and Evangelical background was shocked at what he referred to as "the desecration of the Sabbath." Sunday was regarded as a holiday in continental Europe, and when the American saw even his Protestant brethren in north Germany frolicking on that day, he traced it to the Catholic influence of south Germany. One American

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Fitman, European Breezes, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Poultney Bigelow, Borderland of the Czar and the Kaiser; Notes from Both Sides of the Russian Frontier (New York, 1895), pp. 124-130; Stone, Frankfort to Munich, p. 14.

clergyman traveling in Germany was horrified in 1835 when a German minister of the Reformed Church invited him to the theatre on Sunday. The American wrote in disgust, "I told him I might as well cut my own throat, as go, and report the same in America....Christians do not go to the theatre in any country."<sup>1</sup> Another writer reported that "The good Lutheran pastor will preach you a sermon Sunday morning that will make you cry, and ask you to a game of cards with him before the organ is done playing."<sup>2</sup> Another maintained that even if a minister danced in the sight of his whole congregation, "they would have listened to him on the next Sabbath with no less dutiful reverence."<sup>3</sup>

While the American of the nineteenth century in general disapproved of these laxities granted to the clergy, he was just as shocked and found it just as unpleasant that the German peasant treated the Sabbath as a day of pleasure and rejoicing. He danced, went to the beer-gardens, picnicked, went to concerts and the theatre. Americans were familiar with the custom in France and Italy, Catholic countries, but they had not expected to find the custom repeated in Protestant Germany. "If you recollect that

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<sup>1</sup> Heistand, Travels in Germany, pp. 60-61.

<sup>2</sup> Pitman, European Breezes, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, First Series, p. 403.

we are now in Protestant Germany, you will be astonished at the laxity of the Sabbath," wrote one traveler.<sup>1</sup> Tappan called the German observance of Sunday "Romish."<sup>2</sup> Another writer feared that the German emigrant would take his "Sabbath-day habits" with him to America.<sup>3</sup> Although one writer felt that the German Sunday was not as buoyant, valuable, and social as a Parisian Sunday, still it was "consecrated to leisure and family enjoyment more than to religious exercises."<sup>4</sup>

Never was the earnest American heart more openly and more candidly revealed than in his genuine denunciation of the continental Sunday. Even though he granted that a German Sunday was pleasanter than an American Sunday, he yet lined "to see a real Sunday once a week."<sup>5</sup> Another agreed when he wrote, "There may be hypocrisy, and formality, and a needless seriousness of manner on that day with us; still it will be long before any rational well-wisher to humanity would desire to see our New England Sabbath

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<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, I, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, Notes from Over the Sea, II, 74-75.

<sup>4</sup> H. B. Stowe, Sunny Memories, II, 375.

<sup>5</sup> Magee, American Student, p. 152.



exchanged for the German holiday."<sup>1</sup> Another said, "It was with a pleasurable satisfaction, and a great longing, too, that one turns on Sunday toward home when in Germany."<sup>2</sup>

The implication of the travel narratives is chiefly that Americans preferred the custom of their own country, although they did not feel that the German was basically less pious or less sincere if he professed religion and still followed the custom of his country. One writer maintained that it was just a different definition of the word "rest."<sup>3</sup> Another claimed that Germans did not "disregard the day," but they had "no such conception of it as even irreligious people have in America."<sup>4</sup> Another felt that different customs did not mean that the Germans were less pious and devout.<sup>5</sup> To one writer, the German custom of treating Sunday even had merit in contrast to the American observance. She wrote: "...when I remember the dozing congregations I have seen," she wrote, "the domestics stretched half the heavy day in bed, the young people sitting by the half-closed blind, stealing longing looks

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Pitman, European Breezes, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Twain, A Tramp Abroad, I, 236.

<sup>4</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, pp. 208-209.

out of the window, while the bible was lying idle on their laps; and the merry shouts of the children on the going down of the sun, as if an enemy has disappeared, it does not seem to me that we can say to the poor, ignorant, toil-worn peasant of Europe, 'I am holier than thou.'"<sup>1</sup>

If the American disliked the influence of both Catholicism and the state upon religion, he was also suspicious of the influence of critical scholarship and philosophy. The impact of science upon thought led to a more critical examination of the Scripture and the life of Christ than many Americans were willing to tolerate. Bancroft assured President Kirkland of Harvard in 1819 that he would have nothing to do with German theology and its "infidel systems."<sup>2</sup> Another traveler of 1825 deplored the inroads Neologism had made upon the German universities.<sup>3</sup> Another traveler admired Frederick William's attempts to put down Neology, which he called a sort of "undisguised Deism."<sup>4</sup> Another student in a German university felt that the spiritual freedom and spiritual license allowed by the new theological thought would not have been so attractive

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<sup>1</sup> Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, I, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, Letters, I, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, pp. 465-470.

to the Germans if the state had not forced religion on him.<sup>1</sup> A rather summary statement of an American in 1832 declared German religion to be "eaten up with [theological] controversy, and...hampered everywhere by its connection with the state."<sup>2</sup>

The American traveler hailed, therefore, an Evangelical movement that had some effect on Germany in the mid-century. One writer called this the "Inner Mission" which was a modified form of Christian socialism or of Finney Perfectionism from the United States. He described it in the following manner: "To go around and influence individually the lower classes; to introduce religious education in the schools; to bring together more the churches, and to re-establish family worship in the houses; to form ragged schools and asylums, and places of reform for prostitutes; to establish temperance (not abstinence societies) in some communities; and to found sailor's homes in seaboard towns."<sup>3</sup> He looked upon it with great hope and favor.<sup>4</sup> Another traveler later in the century felt he saw a resurgence of religious faith in Germany which

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<sup>1</sup> Hoppin, Notes of a Student, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Brooks, Letters of Travel, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

pleased him. He noted that churches in Berlin were filled where they had formerly been empty, "...and the more evangelical the minister, the greater is sure to be the crowd."<sup>1</sup> He reported that the people with whom he talked in Germany were enthusiastic over the work of the movement.<sup>2</sup>

The picture that the American traveler draws of himself in his experience in Germany is one of an earnest, high-minded (though not always broad-minded) individual. He disliked Catholicism and he disliked state control of religion. He felt liberty of conscience to be an essential portion of the good society. But what strikes the reader even more forcibly is the fact that liberty of conscience the nineteenth century American never interpreted to mean liberty from conscience. He took for granted the necessity of religious expression and moral regeneration as a foundation for a successful and enduring democratic society. A note of cynicism or skepticism or disillusionment never crept into the American traveler's discussions upon religion. Although the more skeptical writers of the late nineteenth century did not indulge in discussions of religious topics to any great extent, the increasing vogue of skepticism of the late nineteenth century failed to appear in the travel narratives.

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<sup>1</sup> Gaze, Leisurely Journey, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

## CHAPTER V

### POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

In 1837 an American traveler in Germany cast his eyes over the political structure of the German states, found it unfavorable, and wrote with confidence: "It is not possible that the millions should go on suffering without an effort, and, sooner or later, a successful effort for relief, and if, before the struggle terminates, Christianity should have nearly wrought her perfect work, and vice and despotism fall together, civil liberty may be universally established."<sup>1</sup> In 1884 an American from a later generation similarly examined the political nature of the German Empire and reflected, "...Germany was not England or the United States, and were it proven that one had uttered a word reflecting sharply upon King William or Bismarck, he would be liable to be sent to prison for three years. Not a good place for liberty-of-speech loving Americans."<sup>2</sup> In these two comments are reflected the changing hopes of American travelers for political Germany, as they were concretely

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<sup>1</sup> Cogswell, Life, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard A. Morrison, Rambles in Europe, in Ireland, Scotland, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and France, with Historical Facts Relating to Scotch American Families Gathered in Scotland and the North of Ireland (Boston, 1887) p. 302.

expressed in connection with civil liberties. Between them lay thirty-seven years of tumultuous German history, in which the vision of a liberal German was obliterated and the dream of a united Germany realized.

The drive toward unification was the great force of nineteenth century Germany. It had achieved expression in German literature of the late eighteenth century, but it had not received political statement until the Confederation of the Rhine tolled the knell of the moribund Holy Roman Empire. Then, in the patriotic enthusiasm generated by Fichte's Addresses to the German Nation of 1807-1808, German nationalism supplied real force in the War of Liberation against Napoleon. Unification in Germany had, therefore, two directions: one, the hope of the smaller German states of blocking the territorial encroachments of Austria and Prussia, and two, the hope of driving out the French tyrant Napoleon and freeing Central Europe from foreign domination.<sup>1</sup>

Although German nationalism aimed at the unification of Germany was one powerful nineteenth century force, another force, correlated with it, had also been born of eighteenth century ideas and the French Revolution. This force was liberalism, the desire of men to participate in a constitutional

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<sup>1</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, I, 23-36.

and representative government, with civil liberties assured and guaranteed. This, too, had won the favor of German intellectual leaders of the late eighteenth century, even though Prussia and Austria had allied against French Revolution forces in the Declaration of Pillnitz. Kant and Fichte and Herder, like the young Wordsworth and Coleridge of England, "welcomed the movement as the final great fulfillment of all the most sacred hopes of the age."<sup>1</sup> Liberalism had little effect upon the Germanies of the eighteenth century, but it won converts among the intellectuals and bourgeoisie who had the most to gain from a constitutional government.

These two forces were synchronized in the reforms inaugurated in Prussia, and in other parts of Germany, preceding the War of Liberation. Through the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the educational system had undergone reorganization. Karl von Stein and Prince Hardenburg renovated the Prussian state by abolishing serfdom, establishing municipal self-government, and liberalizing land tenure. Gerhard von Scharnhorst had undertaken the rehabilitation of the army on the basis of national conscription in place of armies supporting the arbitrary will of princes.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, German intellectuals and liberal leaders

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, I, 35.

hoped to liberalize the existing German states in keeping with the humanitarian and individual liberalism that had captured eighteenth century thought. On the other, they wished to use this revitalized Germany in driving out Napoleon and establishing some sort of German Federation.

Yet to the champions of legitimacy at the Congress of Vienna and to the Great Powers assembled to reconstruct the map of Europe, the prospect of either a united or a liberal Germany was undesirable. The ruling houses of the several German states opposed a Federation that sacrificed the principle of sovereignty, and Prince Metternich of Austria especially looked upon the principles of nationalism and liberalism as a threat to the Austrian Empire which contained such a motley collection of peoples. Neither France nor Russia was anxious to see a single unified power entrenched in Central Europe. The Germanies, therefore, emerged from the Congress of Vienna not unified at all but merely as "an association of states under sovereign lords."<sup>1</sup> Nor did the cause of liberalism fare any better. The delegates to the Diet of the German Confederation after 1815 were in no sense representative of the German people but acted only as envoys of the rulers of the separate states. Even the

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, p. 361.



promise of constitutions in the various states was thoroughly smashed in the reaction of 1819 resulting in the Carlsbad Decrees.

Thus were set in motion in the early years of the nineteenth century forces that were to dominate German history for many years: nationalism, liberalism, Prussian leadership, militarism, and defeatism. After the failure to create a united Germany at the Congress of Vienna, liberalism and nationalism became inextricably tied together. The German liberal could limit the power of the individual rulers of the German states only by creating a super-state, resting upon the authority of the people rather than the authority of dynastic princes. The German nationalist could achieve national unity only by limiting the authority of the individual rulers in their relations with the rest of Germany. In spite of the disappointing results of the Congress of Vienna, many liberals took comfort in the fact that a desire for national unity and for a more representative government had been planted in the German mind.

The American traveler in Germany in the nineteenth century was conscious of the struggle of these forces. He was critical of the results of the Congress of Vienna, and he referred frequently of the prophesied revolutionary change that would eventually take place in Germany and

particularly in Prussia. Ticknor remarked in 1836 that the destiny of Prussia was paramount in the development of Germany and in the course of events throughout all Europe.<sup>1</sup> Bayard Taylor discussed the spirit of the German liberals and felt that eventually it would have the desired effect upon Germany. "The free spirit which characterizes these men, who come from among the people," he wrote, "shows plainly the tendency of the times; and it is only the great strength with which tyranny here has environed itself, combined with the proverbial apathy of the Germans, which has prevented a change ere this."<sup>2</sup> Another writer maintained that the spirit of Germany during the War of Liberation was ever ready to be rekindled and prophesied that its next outburst would not be against foreign oppressors.<sup>3</sup>

Nor did the failures of revolutionary uprisings of 1830 and 1848 completely destroy the American's belief in the ultimate realization of a united, liberal Germany. The traveler still had confidence in the educational system which he felt would prepare the way inevitably for the desired changes. One traveler claimed in 1854: "...if Revolution in Europe and the cause of Democracy and

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 502.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, Views A-Foot, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, First Series, pp. 69-70.

Democratic Republics have any connection with the progress of education and general enlightenment, as is commonly supposed, then Prussia, of all the countries in Europe, ought to be the field where the Revolutionary party might act with the greatest efficiency, and reap the most certain successes."<sup>1</sup> Another writer in 1855 recognized the tremendous persuasive power of the United States upon the oppressed peoples of Europe. He wrote:

...from what I have heard and seen, I am convinced that the grand struggle between democracy and aristocracy is now commencing in good earnest. The United States of America have grown to a power and importance that is causing the old monarchies of Europe, who have heretofore ignored her existence even, to tremble for the future, not because they fear the exertion on her part of any physical force, but the more powerful influence of her principles, which they know to be as universal as the pulsation of the human heart.

The tree of liberty is planted in America, but its roots extend to every soil, and their fibres receive nourishment from every heart.<sup>2</sup>

Even as late as 1859, one traveler believed that a "silent, bloodless change for the better" was coming.<sup>3</sup>

Yet by the 1880's one writer summarized these drives of nineteenth century German history rather bitterly by

<sup>1</sup> D. D. Barnard, "Political Aspects and Prospects in Europe," A Lecture Delivered before the Young Men's Association in the City of Albany, January 31, 1854 (Albany, 1854), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Wright, Dore, pp. 358-359.

<sup>3</sup> Washington, Echoes of Europe, p. 145.

claiming that liberalism and nationalism had never been anything more than "mild dreams" and that the German people had never had the energy or the will to turn those dreams into reality.<sup>1</sup> In tracing the development of this change of sentiment of the American traveler in Germany, one must examine the opinion of the traveler on specific aspects of German political and economic life.

The Basis of American Optimism: German Liberalism and Nationalis

That the American traveler was an early champion of nationalism is evident both in his comments upon Germany in the nineteenth century and in his own historical environment in the United States. He granted the necessity of a united Germany without argument and he mentioned aspects of German life which he felt developed a national spirit. In 1815, Ticknor pointed hopefully to the propagandistic work of the secret clubs and the "League of Patriotism" during the War of Liberation as evidence of the growth of national spirit.<sup>2</sup> Cooper recognized the beneficial effect of the Prussian incorporation of independent territories upon the eventual unification of Germany.<sup>3</sup> Another traveler felt that German

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Cooper, Residence, p. 375.

music did more to instill patriotic sentiments in the German people than American music did for Americans.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler favored the use of statues and paintings in public gardens and buildings to illustrate German history and to build up nationalistic sentiment. "This mode of spreading the patriotic history of the nation before the people," he wrote, "cannot fail to have a powerful and excellent effect."<sup>2</sup> And after the failure of the Revolution of 1848, Bayard Taylor wrote, "The people at last understand that they must be a PEOPLE, divided by no provincial jealousies, animated by no narrow aims, before Germany can be the one powerful consolidated Empire, which is their political dream."<sup>3</sup>

A contemporary historian has traced the historical evolution of the concept of nationalism in modern civilization. According to his analysis the concept of nationalism in the eighteenth century was correlated with the concept of universal brotherhood and was part of the whole body of humanitarian thought that characterized the age of enlightenment.<sup>4</sup> The nationalist of that day wish to see the national state represent the people rather than the sovereign and to

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<sup>1</sup> Willis, Rural Letters, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict, A Run through Europe, pp. 395-396.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, Second Series, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Carlton J. H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism (New York, 1931), pp. 15-37.

act as an agent in securing the natural rights and liberties belonging to mankind. When the French Revolution had seen the failure of this nationalism to crystallize in national states on humanitarian principles, the concept of nationalism dispersed in three different directions. Jacobin nationalism, traditional nationalism, and liberal nationalism.<sup>1</sup> It was the latter expression of nationalism that dominated two thirds of the nineteenth century and that the American traveler primarily represented. It was a middle-class nationalism that stressed constitutionalism, civil liberties, economic individualism and representative government.<sup>2</sup>

The American traveler did not favor a united Germany for the intrinsic merit of the principle of nationalism alone or for its supposed connection with liberalism. He found substantial reasons for it in the character of modern political and economic life. For one thing, the customs duties imposed upon goods crossing so many different borders in Germany struck the American as unnatural and inefficient. He had had experience with freedom of commerce within the boundaries of his own nation and he felt that limitations upon it in the form of internal barriers restricted progress in the development and expansion of trade. "The course

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<sup>1</sup> Hayes, The Historical Evolution, pp. 43-163.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

pursued by the different monarchs whose territories border this stream [the Rhine] ,” wrote one traveler, “seems almost incomprehensible to one living in a country where few commercial restrictions exist.”<sup>1</sup> Another traveler summed up the effects of division of commerce and trade in Germany: “Resources are divided; public enterprises are obstructed; intercommunications are interrupted; so that a fertile and populous country, which, united under one government, would be rich and powerful, is comparatively feeble.”<sup>2</sup>

For this reason, the American traveler recognized without hesitation the benefits of the Zollverein, or customs union, established by some of the north German states under the leadership of Prussia in the thirties. The separation of Prussia from her Rhenish provinces gained in the peace settlement of 1815 made some sort of trade agreements with Hesse Darmstadt and intervening states a necessity. Under her leadership, one German state after another joined the Zollverein in the next two decades, while Austria offered neither opposition nor interference.<sup>3</sup> The American traveler recognized the significance of this

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 452.

<sup>3</sup> J. Holland Rose, “The Political History,” Germany in the Nineteenth Century, p. 10.

movement and felt that it indicated the progressiveness of Prussia in contrast with Austria.<sup>1</sup> One traveler maintained, "The formation of this separate commercial federation within the great political confederation of Germany, may be considered as the most important public event which has occurred in that country since the Congress of Vienna, and at the same time the greatest step towards that national unity to which every patriotic German aspires as the consummation of national grandeur."<sup>2</sup>

Another reason that the American traveler saw for the desirability of unification was Germany's susceptibility to attack by the great powers flanking her. One traveler claimed that if the Germanies were united, they would represent a real barrier to the ambitions of both France and Russia. Furthermore, he argued, this would be conducive to general European peace since these powers could not attack each other by land.<sup>3</sup> It apparently did not occur to this writer of 1826 that Germany herself could become powerful enough to force France and Russia into an alliance. Henry Adams said later that Germany at this time was far too weak to try to compete with France or England or America.

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<sup>1</sup> Channing, A Physician's Vacation, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 233.



Disunity kept her from developing power either industrially or militarily.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, some American travelers succumbed to the tempting vision of "international prestige" and felt that Germany's humiliating position in the affairs of Europe could be bettered by a unified and powerful state. They seemed to give support in some cases to a nationalism that rested upon national pride and power, and they did not criticize this longing on the part of German nationalists. One traveler believed that Germany naturally was designed for power and influence in Europe and that she merited "rank among the nations."<sup>2</sup> He said that only through unification could the Germans make themselves "respected and feared throughout Europe."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler agreed that if Germany were united, she could and should be the strongest power in Europe.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of this advocacy of the national state and in spite of the American traveler's recognition of the centripetal force of the Zollverein, most travelers were not so naïve as to be unaware of the even stronger

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<sup>1</sup> H. Adams, Education, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Washington, Echoes of Europe, pp. 143-144.

centrifugal force of the German historical tradition and the German Confederation. Particularism was more pronounced than nationalism in the Germanies and the American recognized that fact. To put it another way, nationalism, when pushed to its extreme under the German Confederation, demanded loyalty not to a nebulous, imaginary German state, but to an Austria, or a Prussia, or a Bavaria, or a Hanover, or a Saxony. One traveler pointed to the divisive character of the heterogeneous population and to religious disunity.<sup>1</sup> Another wrote, "but for the Prussian to forget he is a Prussian, for the Austrian to sink his memory of a proud history, for the Saxon, the Bavarian, and the Hanoverian to bury their time-embittered jealousies; for one and all, Monarchist and Republican, the Jesuit of Vienna and the Rationalist of Berlin, the passionate Southerner and the cool North German, to unite and form a new compact Federal State, seems as yet like a dream only of the lovers of Freedom."<sup>2</sup> Ticknor believed that Germany was split in yet another way. He felt there was a lack of communication between the man of letters and the rest of the population. The intellectual was the true nationalist, owing allegiance to a longed-for united Germany. But the rest of the

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 152-155.

<sup>2</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 251.

population were nationalists only in respect to the individual German states, and the intellectual could not seem to bridge the gap between himself and the ordinary German man.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the travelers noted the internal differences that existed within the Confederation and despaired of ever eradicating such intense feelings. They felt that the centuries of particularism and war between the German states were too great an obstacle to unification.<sup>2</sup> "There can be nothing more intense than the hatred which the Prussian bears to the Austrian," wrote one traveler, "which is manifested every time they meet in the street, and that of the Bohemian and Bavarian is scarcely less to the haughty house of Hapsburg."<sup>3</sup> Similar dislikes between the Saxons and Prussians and among other states of the Confederation was recorded by the travelers.<sup>4</sup>

The institution set up to gradually erase internal dissension, the Frankfort Diet of the Confederation created by the Congress of Vienna, did not seem to warrant either the confidence or approbation of the nationalists. The

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 101.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 346-347.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 346-347; William P. Trent and George S. Hellmann, eds., The Journals of Washington Irving (Boston, 1919), I, pp. 148-149.

American had no faith in this body as a unifying force. One traveler remarked that the German liberals and nationalists criticized the Diet freely---and with justification.<sup>1</sup>

Another noted that the smaller German states complained of the overwhelming power of Prussia and Austria in the actions of the Diet.<sup>2</sup> Another said that the Diet had little more efficacy in controlling German affairs than had the Emperor of the old Holy Roman Empire. Frankfort was "still but the capitol of a vacuum."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of these discouragements, the American traveler in Germany usually looked forward in the first half of the century toward the unification of a great liberal nation. It was evident, however, that his hopes were based primarily upon two notions: the spirit of nationalism aroused in the War of Liberation that miscarried in the Congress of Vienna, and a future upheaval in Germany which would realize all that had been lost in the German Confederation of 1815. The actual conditions that the American found in Germany until well after the Revolution of 1848 did not really promise much in the way of the realization of the dream of German unification. Nevertheless, the American's faith was not to

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Calvert, First Years, p. 81.

be shaken, a faith in the progress of mankind, in his eventual perfectibility, in the visions of glory of the future.

The same characteristic is revealed in the American's attitude toward liberalism in Germany until about 1860. The American did not try to reconcile the actual facts with his dreams of Germany. He did not try to solve the problem of how liberalism would achieve real expression in a national group where the traditions and the circumstances were so opposed to it. Even though he felt that the Diet of the Confederation had been a failure in establishing a foothold for liberalism, he believed that it was only a matter of time before the Germans again threw off their bonds---this time with success.

The only actual guarantee of liberalism in the German Confederation had been a weak and short-lived one. This was the famous "Article XIII" of the Federal Act which provided that in each of the states forming part of the Confederation, a constitution with assemblies of Estates should be established.<sup>1</sup> The philosophy behind this article was in keeping with the limited constitutionalism which aimed at re-establishing constitutional government in France in the Restoration. The article had affirmed that the

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<sup>1</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, p. 51.

Confederation Diet was to encourage and foster the development of constitutional governments throughout Germany. Yet even this mild guarantee of liberalism was abrogated after the uprising of the Burschenschaft and the assassination of Kotzebue.<sup>1</sup>

The American traveler was aware of this fierce reaction. He remembered the promises of the Congress of Vienna and felt that Germany had been the victim of fraud. "The allies professed much and promised fair," commented one traveler, "but their practice is quite another thing."<sup>2</sup> Even when constitutions were established in the smaller southwestern German states,<sup>3</sup> the American knew that the monarchial spirit in the old states and the conservatism of the Confederation Diet did not permit any actual liberalism to prosper. Wrote one American traveler, "The fundamental laws of the Confederation guarantee to every State, of which it is composed, a representative constitution, but this guaranty has been

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> One historian wrote, "None of these constitutions was democratic. All of them emphasized the prerogatives of the crown; they accorded overwhelming influence to feudal and ecclesiastical forces. In spite of the old idea of estates and the new idea of liberalism these constitutions functioned primarily by official sanction. But all this did not alter the fact that they did exist." Valentin, The German People, p. 382.

rendered illusory by the manner in which it has been interpreted. Constitutional governments have been established in all the minor States, but their action has been checked and controlled, and even annulled, by the supreme authority of the federal Diet..."<sup>1</sup> It was this treachery on the part of the German rulers that led some travelers to believe that an uprising to square the issue was certainly forthcoming. One traveler said the German kings and princes would not fulfill their "solemn obligations" contracted before the Battle of Waterloo until compelled to do so by the force of the people.<sup>2</sup>

In specific German states, the discrepancy between the American notion of liberty and free government and the German notion was very apparent to some travelers. The American frequently criticized Prussia. One traveler wrote, "Prussia has not yet given the people the privilege of any voice in the government. The King is very nearly as much of an autocrat as the Czar of Russia. The serfs were emancipated, and feel that the soil is their own, but it is still so loaded with taxes and their freedom of motion is so curtailed, and the freedom of speech so forbidden...that their condition

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<sup>1</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 33.

is very little improved."<sup>1</sup> Another, commenting upon the uprising of Nassau following the French July Revolution of 1830, claimed that affairs in that region had reached a "dreadful state."<sup>2</sup> Another noted that Nassau also was affected by the 1830 revival of liberal opinion, "though the government is already what it is the fashion to term representative, on this side of the Atlantic."<sup>3</sup> Other travelers felt that the constitutionalism and liberalism of the more progressive German cities and states like Frankfort, Baden and Saxony were more apparent than real.<sup>4</sup>

One aspect of German political life that the American traveler felt was completely out of keeping with any possibility of liberal government was the restriction placed upon the press and public speech. Ticknor noticed that a latitudinarianism in thinking existed in Germany "with the single exception of actual measures of government."<sup>5</sup> Other travelers equally disliked the censorship of the press<sup>6</sup> and the "guard placed almost on the door of every man's lips."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Amory, Wedding Journey, II, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Cooper, Residence, II, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 36, 343; Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 452.

<sup>5</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 99.

<sup>6</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 229.

<sup>7</sup> Furniss, The Old World, p. 182.



The American traveler was convinced that a free press and free speech were essential to a free government.<sup>1</sup>

With all his criticism of the autocratic and despotic governments of Germany, the American traveler revealed a curious, and almost simple, faith in the German monarchs. On one page, he might criticize them for their failure to live up to the promises of 1815. Several pages later, he was touched and moved by the loyalty of the people to their rulers. Abstractly, the American hated monarchical government, but concretely, he did not necessarily associate that hatred with any specific ruler of Germany. Cogswell commended the Grand Duke of Weimar for being a "great friend to his subjects."<sup>2</sup> Another traveler spoke of the "visible emotion" shown by the people of Saxony for their ruler.<sup>3</sup> Prussian royalty, too, the American traveler observed, received the adulation of the people.<sup>4</sup> Wrote one writer, "It is agreeable to observe how popular the Royal Family is, and apparently deservedly. Despotism the Government may be, it studies the good of the people."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> Cogswell, Life, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Griffin, Old Facts, pp. 37-45.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Wright, Desultory Reminiscences, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Amory, Wedding Journey, II, 239.

Some travelers even went so far as to believe that the German rulers themselves would ultimately lead the German people into constitutional and democratic government. This might be attributed to the American's eventual disgust with the apathy and conservatism of the German people or the American might have translated love and respect for a monarchy into a sort of liberalism. In any case, even before the Revolution of 1848 had ended in dismal failure, the American traveler sometimes regarded the German rulers with more hope than he felt for the German people. One traveler claimed that for all of Austria's discouragement of liberal concessions abroad, she was quietly reforming at home under the guidance of Prince Metternich.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler found reason to apologize for Frederick William III of Prussia and his failure to inaugurate constitutionalism. He felt the King might have hesitated to adopt this form of government "not because he loves power and disregards the truth, but because he fears the consequences until the people are educated."<sup>2</sup> Frederick William IV, who ascended the throne of Prussia in 1840, was the source of much optimism on the part of Americans for the future of liberalism. Ticknor believed that he would bring change

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<sup>1</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 472.

and progress with him to the throne.<sup>1</sup> Another American claimed that he seemed to be "the most liberal of men."<sup>2</sup> Even Charles Sumner believed that Frederick William IV would be prudent enough to grant his people a constitution when he came into power.<sup>3</sup> Another traveler looked with favor upon Franz Joseph of Austria.<sup>4</sup>

And, over all indications to the contrary, the American traveler took comfort in the fact that liberalism was growing in Germany because of the experience the Germans were getting in parliamentary government, limited as it was. The Germans were learning about constitutions and liberties, which would come to account in the looked-for revolution. "Partial and unsuccessful insurrections may be the necessary discipline for the great revolution," wrote one American.<sup>5</sup> Another claimed: "The habit of discussing public affairs in the national and provincial diets, and the introduction of public and oral proceedings in the courts of justice, must soon form a class of public men such as exist in every free

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<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, Letters, I, 503.

<sup>2</sup> Bronson, Letters to her Mother, I, 147.

<sup>3</sup> Sumner, Memoirs, II, 137-138.

<sup>4</sup> Barnard, "Political Aspects," pp. 42-45.

<sup>5</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 36.

country, and such as can only be formed by a public life at once active and practical."<sup>1</sup>

The overwhelming impression that the American traveler in Germany revealed in his travel narratives in the first half of the century was this optimism about the future. The facts of his experience did not really support his views. He realized that the German tradition was not the American tradition, and there were many forces in German political life that he regarded with downright suspicion. Nonetheless, he did not need the support of facts. He could recognize the apathy of the German people, the historical tradition of particularism, the inherent respect for monarchy, the lack of civil liberties, the shallowness of German experience in actual political life, and he could still believe that ultimately Germany would become a democratic constitutional government after the model of the United States. He could do this, because his belief was based upon faith---faith in the goodness of man, in the eventual triumph of right, in progress, in education, in the possibility of perfecting human institutions.

With such a faith, it was not surprising that the American traveler hailed the news of the Revolution of 1848 with enthusiasm. His own nation regarded it favorably.

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<sup>1</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 52.

According to an authority on American opinion of German unification as expressed in the American press, the Americans greeted the revolutionary movements that swept all over Europe in 1848 with "spontaneous joy and sympathy."<sup>1</sup> The American based his sentiments upon his devotion to democratic principles, as well as the special interest in Germany fostered by the large German-American element of the population.<sup>2</sup> The American traveler in Germany, imbued with the same devotion, felt equally elated. He felt that perhaps this was the dawn of the new day that he had expected and hoped for since 1815.

In his optimism over the tremendous upheaval occurring all over Europe, the American forgot, momentarily, that he had had strong misgivings concerning the nature of German political and economic life. Encouraged by the existence of nationalism and liberalism in Germany he had been, but also he had been skeptical of the beneficial effect upon the ultimate realization of democracy of several aspects of German political life. Before turning to American reaction to the Revolution of 1848 and the final unification of Germany, it is necessary to determine what were the misgivings of the American traveler.

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<sup>1</sup> John Gerow Gazely, American Opinion of German Unification 1848-1871. Columbia University Studies (New York, 1926), CXXI, 267, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-33.

Basis for American Skepticism:

German Militarism, Paternalism, and Economic Inequality

There was much about life in Central Europe that the American traveler could neither understand nor appreciate. A thousand years of unsettled boundaries, confused loyalties, and comparatively static economic conditions created a decided contrast to the United States, unsettled, new, expanding, and dynamic. The American knew only a minimum historical tradition before 1789. He was mobile, and he took for granted much that the European strove for. The industrial revolution had already begun in the United States with the advent of the railroads in the forties and fifties while Germany's industrial revolution did not arrive in force until after the middle of the century. It was difficult, therefore, for the American to orient himself to the new conditions of European life. Men were men and freedom was freedom anywhere in the western world, the American might feel. Nevertheless, the German concept of independence and opportunity and the German habit of thought were quite different from the American.

One traveler tried to describe this difference to his countrymen during the tension that existed between Austria and Prussia before the latter's humiliation at Olmütz.

Both states were thoroughly geared for war which threatened to break out momentarily. The American wrote:

In our quiet, comfortable condition at home, where we vote at town-meetings, and choose a President, and come to look upon "liberty" much as we do our breakfasts--- as a very pleasant thing, but quite as a matter of course--- it is somewhat difficult to appreciate the intense feeling which exists in Prussia at the present time, as connected with German unity and this war with Austria. But if any one will imagine a despotic Power, pouring its masses of troops over our own land, not alone about to destroy our position among nations as an independent and self-protecting people, but with the Union to blot out the last hope of liberty in our part of the world, he will have some idea of the feeling of the Prussians, as they look at this mighty combination against them.<sup>1</sup>

The prospect of war was ever-present to the German, and his experience with militarism was as natural as breathing. The American, at least in the more settled parts of his continent, had no such fear of his neighbor. Even as early as 1836, one traveler commented that France and Prussia seemed eternally to be on the brink of a military struggle.<sup>2</sup> Another also despaired over this situation and, although he had no alternative to suggest, felt that the military expenditure was a tragic necessity. "Instead of this vast outlay to maintain force against force," he lamented, "how much more humane and philosophic it would be to lighten the burdens of the subject, to introduce 'Works of

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, pp. 107-108

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 160-161.

amelioration' to alleviate the labors of females, and refine the people."<sup>1</sup>

It was this continual emphasis upon militarism that struck the American as particularly foreboding. Traveler after traveler commented upon the importance of the army in Germany. One writer maintained that the army took precedence over everything else in Germany, not only in the eyes of the government but in the eyes of the governed.<sup>2</sup> Cooper said that drilling troops had become a hobby or a pastime with the Germans comparable to a Manhattan merchant's talk of dollars.<sup>3</sup> Another traveler merely concluded that the omnipresence of soldiers in Germany made him very thankful he was an American.<sup>4</sup>

The American traveler had many reasons for opposing militarism. For one thing, he felt that the practice of absorbing the young men into the armed forces contributed to the necessity of putting women to heavy labor in the fields.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Elias Hasket Derby, Two Months Abroad (Boston, 1844), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Cooper, Residence, II, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell, Notes from over the Sea, II, 35-36.

<sup>5</sup> Anne T. J. Bullard, Sights and Scenes in Europe; a Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, in 1850 (St. Louis, Mo., 1852), pp. 56-57.



He felt that militarism ruined the heart and spirit of a society.<sup>1</sup> He felt that it crushed the source of freedom.<sup>2</sup> As one American traveler wrote with passion, "Whenever I meet these mechanized men, these soul-informed machines, these man-shaped irresponsibilities, I feel saddened, humiliated, insulted. Plainer than words they say to me,--- speak not, think not, act not. In their presence I am utterly quenched....They are coarse, brutalizing Force, in contrast and conflict with the subtle, humanizing, liberating power of the intellect and the heart of man."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, one traveler felt that militarism did not even fulfill its avowed purpose---the prevention of invasion. He maintained that education and employment would be stronger weapons than an army against an enemy.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the travelers conceded that Prussia took the lead in militarism. They felt that it was especially powerful there in its support of the government and the King.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the traveler was impressed with the skill

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<sup>1</sup> Channing, A Physician's Vacation, p. 358; Joynes, Old Letters, p. 717; Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, pp. 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Greeley, Glances at Europe, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> Barnard, "Political Aspects," pp. 22-23; Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad, I, 56.

and the training which the Prussian soldier showed,<sup>1</sup> but more often he agreed with Motley, who maintained that Prussia was an "artificial patchwork, without natural coherence, mosaiced out of bought, stolen and plundered provinces and only kept together by compress."<sup>2</sup> He called it a "camp...its whole population drilled to the bayonet."<sup>3</sup>

Not all the travelers were this sweeping in their condemnation. Although most of them opposed militarism, more than a few were impressed by the appearance of the troops. They indicated a real susceptibility to the glamorous aspects of the army. One traveler called the Prussian soldiers "excellent specimens of manhood."<sup>4</sup> A few remarked that they seemed of a higher calibre of men than the usual common soldier.<sup>5</sup> Wrote one traveler enthusiastically: "A handsomer, more intelligent, more spirited set of soldiers we have never met....Tall, well-made, soldier-like in bearing, they have the manners of educated gentlemen, and look as fit for peace as for war."<sup>6</sup>

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1 Brace, Home Life, pp. 257-258.

2 Motley, Correspondence, I, 90.

3 Ibid.

4 Maney, Memories over the Water, p. 114.

5 Silliman, A Visit to Europe, II, 309: Guild, Over the Ocean, p. 326.

6 Bellows, The Old World, I, 73.

Another claimed: "I can never forget it. All about me were groups of Prussian soldiers, singing together in parts from the notes, their beautiful national, and military airs."<sup>1</sup>

Some travelers even found substantial excuse for the existence of an army in Germany. One writer believed that political conditions made militarism essential for European states.<sup>2</sup> As one writer put it, "Germany, owing to her situation, is forced to draw the sword when others draw it."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler felt that an army was probably a good place to draw off the surplus population to relieve economic pressure on the few possibilities for employment.<sup>4</sup> However, a good many travelers regarded an army raised by conscription as a protection of the rights of the people. It prevented the army from being entirely at the service of the monarch, they argued.<sup>5</sup> Wrote one traveler on German universal military service, "It is but a body of armed citizens....Indeed, they are the most independent and intelligent troops in Europe, and they sympathize in everything with the great mass of the people."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Dodge, Diary Sketches and Reviews during an European Tour in the Year 1847 (New York, 1850), p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Wright, Dore, p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> Washington, Echoes of Europe, pp. 144-145.

<sup>5</sup> C. E. Stowe, Report, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, pp. 261-262.

Although militarism drew forth more disapproval from the American traveler in Germany than any other single aspect of German political life, some of the travelers feared the influence of paternalism upon individualism in Germany. The tendency toward statism, the traveler believed, was incompatible with the development of a healthy democracy. In Prussia and Austria, paternalism and the bureaucracy of the state had become the most thoroughly accepted and developed, the American noticed.<sup>1</sup> As one American traveler wrote, the king of Prussia seemed to be "a good father keeping a grave and affectionate watch over the pleasures of his children."<sup>2</sup> Another traveler, bewildered by the complicated system of officials and regulations in Vienna, concluded, "No sensible American would attempt to interfere with any one of these regulations, or with the governments, or undertake to reform any one of them."<sup>3</sup>

The German devotion to the pomp and ceremony of officialdom has already been noted in the chapter on the German character. It was this characteristic of Prussian and Austrian bureaucracy that proved to be the most exasperating to the American traveler. Everywhere in Germany he was

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<sup>1</sup> Corson, Loiterings in Europe, p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> H. B. Stowe, Sunny Memories, II, 358.

<sup>3</sup> Washington, Echoes of Europe, p. 296.

besieged by officials of the governments and all of them seemed to bear elaborate titles or uniforms to indicate their association with the government and the military. One traveler remarked that every third person in Germany wore a badge of office.<sup>1</sup> Even the railroads, commented another, were run with military precision.<sup>2</sup> He related seeing a great deal of ceremony extended to one passenger on a train in Germany---complete with a special car, platform, and a carpet for the celebrated personage's descent. The curious American fully expected to see a Prince at least, wrote the traveler, "but on inquiring [we] were informed (in a whisper) that it was the President of the Road! This is a government appointment in this country."<sup>3</sup>

The American was willing to grant in many instances that Prussian government was good government---at least for its efficient and honest administration. But his instinctive individualism rebelled at the regulations and red tape of government and at its interference in the ordinary activities of life---particularly in "trades, marriages, and family affairs."<sup>4</sup> The German had become used to it and quite

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Hosea, Glimpses of Europe, p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 110.

accepted it, but to the American it was intolerable.<sup>1</sup> As one traveler wrote, "Prussia is a well-managed estate, not a well-governed country."<sup>2</sup> Motley called it a "homeopathic tyranny": "Prussia is a mild despotism, to be sure. 'Tis the homeopathic tyranny---small doses, constantly administered, and strict diet and regimen. But what annoys you most is this constant dosing, this succession of infinitesimal government pills which the patient subject bolts every instant. Everything, in fact, is regulated by the government."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to militarism and paternalism in Germany, the American traveler objected to the economic inequalities that confronted him in Europe. He was familiar enough with the Horatio Alger type of success story in American life, that seemed open to almost any enterprising and ambitious young man, to be shocked at the future of toil, poverty, and economic oppression that seemed to be the destiny of a majority of Germans. The American could own land easily, establish his own business, work at a trade, rise to financial eminence and material comfort without too much difficulty. The poverty and lack of economic opportunity in Europe appalled him. Even many of the nobles, claimed

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<sup>1</sup> Bellows, Old World, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, First Series, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 90-91.

one writer, had an income in Germany less than many American tailors and shoemakers.<sup>1</sup> Traveler after traveler commented upon the poverty and misery of the people in German villages.<sup>2</sup> "To be condemned to live as the average European family lives would make life a pretty heavy burden to the average American family," concluded one traveler.<sup>3</sup>

The poverty of the German lower class was brought home even more sharply to the American by the beggars he met on the road (except in those areas where begging had been made illegal.) The travelers credited the throngs of beggars to all sorts of things: to overpopulation,<sup>4</sup> to the indolence of the people,<sup>5</sup> to the number of tourists in Germany,<sup>6</sup> and to the natural generosity of the German heart.<sup>7</sup> But whatever the reasons that the American traveler, accurately or inaccurately, gave for the custom of begging, he compared it unfavorably with superior conditions at home. It was an

<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Dewey, The Old World, p. 175; Amory, Wedding Journey, II, 176; Niestand, Travels in Germany, p. 106; Willis, Rural Letters, p. 275; Brace, Home Life, p. 278; et al.

<sup>3</sup> Twain, A Tramp Abroad, II, 272.

<sup>4</sup> Sparks, Life, II, 87.

<sup>5</sup> Weed, Letters from Europe, p. 600; Sweat, Highways of Travel, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Joynes, Old Letters, p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Griffin, Impressions of Germany, p. 20.

expression of poverty that the American found distasteful. One traveler claimed that students at Heidelberg were sometimes forced to live in this fashion because they had no other means of earning an income.<sup>1</sup> Such conditions were startling to the American "who has no immediate apprehension of such a misfortune."<sup>2</sup>

The poverty of much of Germany was even less understandable to the American when he saw the rich abundance of the land in other areas. One writer said that the traveler was almost always impressed with the "immense variety of rich productions with which the bounty of heaven has endowed that beautiful and highly favored land."<sup>3</sup> The German skill and efficiency in agriculture was likewise noted.<sup>4</sup> Yet even this did not seem to alleviate the economic distress of much of the population. Even though the peasants owned their own land, they clustered, by custom and tradition, in miserable villages and perhaps had to walk miles to till their soil.<sup>5</sup> The American traveler in Germany

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<sup>1</sup> Fisk, Travels in Europe, p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Wheaton, "Progress and Prospects," p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Joel Edson Rockwell, Scenes and Impressions Abroad (New York, 1860), p. 254; Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> Willis, Rural Letters, p. 288; Maney, Memories over the water, pp. 127-128; Griffin, Impressions of Germany, p. 74; Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 138.



did not try to solve these contradictions in German economic life. He did not even know an answer. He could only register his displeasure at such conditions and congratulate himself that they did not exist in America. He would leave it to a Henry George later in the century to point out that America too had become the victim of both progress and poverty.

Had the American had the advantages of historical hindsight, he might have realized that since the physical and economic and historic conditions of his own land were not duplicated in Germany, he could not really count on duplicating his government or his society by a Revolution in that country. He might have realized that the tradition and habit of militarism, paternalism, and economic inequality did not augur well for the sort of democracy he envisioned in Germany, in spite of the fact that liberalism and nationalism were abroad in the land. Other forces were at work in European society, in the mounting industrialization, in the modernization of communication, transportation and warfare, that were to alter fundamentally the existing scheme of things. New ideas were brewing in the heads of men that were to sweep away many of the old concepts and ideals. But the American traveler in Germany did not, indeed could not, know this. Karl Marx was still almost unknown by the Revolution of 1848; Charles Darwin had not yet published

the fruit of his studies and researches; and Friederick Nietzsche was still a child when the Revolution broke over Europe. The American could only cling to the faith of his age and throw his support wholeheartedly to the liberals in the German uprisings of 1848.

### The Revolution of 1848

The Revolution of 1848 in Germany opened in the early spring of that year when the catalytic news of the February revolt in Paris reached the capitals of the German states and set in motion the forces of liberalism and nationalism that had been brewing for several decades. Reform movements in the individual states had already begun, and even Frederick William IV of Prussia had acquiesced in liberal demands by convoking the United Diet of Prussia with a view to reforming the organization of the state and to raise money for the state by new taxes. A few days previous to the outbreak in Paris, a delegate to the Diet of Baden had demanded German unity and a political confederation patterned after the United States. He called for delegates from the German states to seek reforms in the Confederation Diet at Frankfurt.<sup>1</sup> But, with the news from France, liberalism burst into full bloom and the people were far ahead of this

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, p. 419.

limited action. For the first time in German history, the German people elected representatives to a national assembly at Frankfort by universal manhood suffrage.<sup>1</sup> This body was to attempt to write a constitution for a united Germany, based upon the hereditary dynasties of the individual states but incorporating liberal principles and concessions.

The same spirit and enthusiasm infiltrated the individual governments, particularly in southwestern Germany where liberalism had become the strongest. Censorship of the press was ended. Revolts occurred in Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Hesse Darmstadt, Nassau, Weimar, and many of the other small German states and free cities. The Metternich government fell in Vienna, while students marched in the streets, and the new government capitulated to the demands of the liberals for a constitutional government. Even in Berlin, the early days of the revolution saw Frederick William withdrawing the troops from the fighting that had broken out, driving behind the slain revolutionaries through the streets of the capital, and granting in one sweeping gesture all the demands for reform.<sup>2</sup>

For all its brave beginnings, the movements---both liberal and national---ended in failure. The Frankfort

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 421-22.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, I, 355-392.

Parliament was unable to resolve the question of which of the two great German powers, Austria or Prussia, should be given the headship of the proposed united Germany. In the end, the nationalism which the revolutionists so ardently espoused, defeated its own purpose. Pushed to its logical extreme in Germany, it inevitably became particularism. The small German states would not follow the dictates of the Imperial Administration and resented the choice of the Hohenzollerns as the head of the new nation. King Frederick William IV of Prussia, encouraged by the gathering strength of the counter-revolution and fearful of Austria, refused to accept the crown of the new empire, when it was presented to him a year after the beginning of the Revolution. Austria, in the full tide of reaction and embittered by the neglectful treatment of the Frankfort Parliament, was determined to re-establish the old Confederation Diet in which it had control. The nationalists were neither strong enough nor clever enough to transcend the power of the hereditary independence of the German states and to face the opposition of Austrian and Prussian armies.

The course of the revolution in regard to liberalism was even more pathetic. The Austrian army put down the rebellion among the Czechs and in Vienna and, with the help of Russia, in Hungary. The proud constitution that the

Austrian assembly had proposed was forgotten in the reaction that brought Archduke Franz Joseph to the throne. The army in Prussia similarly backed the monarchy and Frederick William gradually dispensed with the constitutional government inaugurated by the liberals in favor of his own travesty of a liberal constitution of 1850. These two great powers of Germany succeeded in quelling the uprisings in the small German states by the force of arms.

The last scene of the drama was enacted when Frederick William sought to establish a united Germany by his own methods and under Prussian leadership. He proceeded in this direction against the wishes of Austria and in the face of the opposition of the south German state of Bavaria. Yet Prussia was not in a position to enforce her stand. Her troops had not acquitted themselves very notably in supporting the German nationalist movement in Schleswig-Holstein, and the vacillating Frederick William lacked the confidence to pit them against a threatening Austria. He, therefore, bowed in defeat, almost without a struggle, to Austrian supremacy and the re-establishment of the old Confederation at Olmütz in 1850.<sup>1</sup>

The American traveler in Germany did not see the whole panorama of the German revolution in this summary fashion.

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<sup>1</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, I, pp. 502-540.

He saw only portions and chunks of it, and his comments related what he saw. Nevertheless, the implications of his statements are clear. He was naturally in support of the revolutionaries. In this, he followed the sentiments of his own nation at home, which greeted the Revolution with acclaim and became gradually discouraged and disheartened with its progress. One student of public opinion of that period in America has claimed that "the belief became prevalent that the German people were to blame, that they were unfit for liberal institutions. During the years 1849 and 1850 Americans were critical of the German character, and their feelings grew contemptuous."<sup>1</sup>

Nonetheless, at the outset the American traveler was optimistic. He regarded the Frankfort Parliament with hope and admiration, pointing out the distinguished character of its representatives.<sup>2</sup> Another described the early meetings of the body in glowing terms: "Here, elate with hope, and promising themselves great things, with fond expectations of the realizing of long-cherished wishes, good, and wise, and well-intentioned men met together to talk of plans for their country's weal."<sup>3</sup> Later, when the practical

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<sup>1</sup> Gazely, American Opinion of German Unification, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Kirkland, Holidays Abroad, pp. 229-230.

<sup>3</sup> Copway, Running Sketches, p. 236.

American had wearied of the theoretical debates in the Parliament, he concluded, "...few, if any, possessed that plain, practical ability which, when something is to be done, is of more avail than great stores of learning."<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the American most resented and to which the traveler attributed much of the failure of the Revolution, was the use of troops, particularly Prussian, against the insurgents. Even in Berlin, when the King was working back to the old state of things in 1849, one traveler wrote in disgust that it was necessary for him to have about ten or fifteen thousand soldiers in the city "to keep the loyalty of the monarch's loving subjects in a healthy state of activity."<sup>2</sup> The use of force struck the American as even more despicable in other areas of Germany. William Cullen Bryant, traveling through the Rhinelands and Bavaria during 1849, particularly complained of this.<sup>3</sup> And when Prussian troops were used to trample down the last stand of the revolutionists in Baden, he was especially angered at the power of the ruling houses. The Prussians were used, he believed, "to take the part of the Grand Duke of Baden

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<sup>1</sup> Copway, Running Sketches, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Letters from Three Continents, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> William Cullen Bryant, Letters of a Traveller or Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America (New York, 1850), p. 428.

against his people."<sup>1</sup> Another traveler also complained about this fact.<sup>2</sup> The presence of Prussian troops in the "free" cities of Hamburg and Frankfort, pushed the American traveler into vigorous defense of the citizens of those areas.<sup>3</sup> The support of the Americans for the Hungarian's struggle against Austria, under the leadership of Kossuth, is well known, and the American traveler revealed his sympathy for the Magyars.<sup>4</sup> Wrote one traveler, when he witnessed an Austrian army parade: "Though we young Americans, never having seen so many men under arms, were impressed by the brilliant display, yet our sympathy with the Hungarians whom the Austrian government had been enabled only by Russian help to defeat, led us to look on with an inward protest."<sup>5</sup>

The American traveler saw other reasons for the failure of the revolution in the early years after its defeat. To one traveler, it was the intervention of foreign powers that kept Germany from achieving her true destiny in these years. He believed that no government of Europe really supported the cause of freedom, and he stated, "The dawning confederacy

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<sup>1</sup> Bryant, Letters of a Traveller or Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Clarke, Eleven Weeks, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 36; Bullard, Sights and Scenes, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Bryant, Letters of a Traveller, 430.

<sup>5</sup> Angell, Reminiscences, p. 42.



of Germany melted into the air before the spells of diplomacy. Had there been a power to back the cause of freedom, as Russia backed the cause of despotism, we should now be looking upon regenerated nations, instead of listening to the laments and appeals of exiled patriotism upon our own shores...."<sup>1</sup>

Another traveler laid much of the blame at the feet of Frederick William IV of Prussia for his inconsistent role in the action and for his eventual capitulation to the army to use force against the revolutionists. "On his subjects," wrote this traveler, "being a soft-natured, weak-hearted sovereign, who can refuse them nothing, he lavishes promises. But, although he loves them well enough to promise everything, he is so much attached to his royal prerogatives as to grant them nothing; and in reply to their just murmurs, he orders out his two hundred and sixty thousand muskets, with men attached, to quell the rebels."<sup>2</sup>

To some extent the American traveler, like his fellow countrymen at home, lost his patience with the German people when the second attempt to establish a united, liberal German nation miscarried as badly as the earlier one of 1814-1815. One traveler concluded that the German was quite willing to dream of liberty rather than procure it because there was

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<sup>1</sup> Tappan, A Step, II, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Letters from Three Continents, pp. 50-51.

"lacking some essential element of unity, either in themselves as a people, or in the physical construction of the country."<sup>1</sup>

Another seemed to indicate a similar belief when he pointed out that the Germans seemed to "submit passively to arbitrary power" although he felt their souls were still free.<sup>2</sup>

Another traveler described a peasant he met who indicated to the American some reasons for the failure of the revolution. The German peasant was, by nature and by habit, conservative. Wrote the American, "He was inevitably wedded to old fashions, and things of the past, had served against the Republicans in 1849, and not a glimmering idea of the present national movement had ever entered his mind."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler concluded that the people were still loyal to their rulers and their armies and were not ready for a republic or a democracy.<sup>4</sup>

However, it took a good deal more than the failure of the German Revolution of 1848 to shake fundamentally the faith in progress toward democracy that characterized the American traveler of the first half of the century. He had

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, Peasant Life, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Greeley, Glances at Europe, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Bayard Taylor, By Ways of Europe (New York, 1869), pp. 330-331.

<sup>4</sup> Barnard, "Political Aspects," p. 25.

a momentary disappointment in the German people, perhaps, but his belief that everything would ultimately come out the way he foresaw was as sturdy as ever. This idea was expressed by many of the American travelers in the years following soon after the revolution. Some travelers took comfort in the fact that this was but a "partial revolution" to prepare the way for a complete one, or a step in the direction of democratic and liberal government. One remarked that the Frankfort Assembly made a "leap" in German development by releasing the people from an instinctive and traditional respect for royalty and authority.<sup>1</sup> Others agreed that the next revolution would free the German from his bondage to the promises and oaths of princes and kings.<sup>2</sup> No statement better illustrates the faith of the American than the following passage from a letter written by Samuel Gridley Howe to Charles Sumner. It bears strong evidence of a faith in man's nature and destiny that is almost Emersonian in its transcendental tones:

As for political matters...my impressions, from all I see, are strongly in favor of the notion that, malgre' the reaction, there has been an immense gain to the cause of liberty in Germany.

I have been surprised to find how easily some of the ardent republicans have become discouraged, and how they have lost faith in the people....It is because their faith did not go deep enough; it was founded not

<sup>1</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, pp. 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Cox, Buckeye Abroad, p. 337; Weed, Letters from Europe, p. 615.

upon the core of humanity, which is always sound, but upon the supposition of the people having attained a degree of intelligence and virtue which they proved in the hour of trial not to have attained. I tell them that to doubt is to be damned; that to doubt the capacities of humanity is to blaspheme God, and be without religion in the world.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the American was convinced, liberalism and nationalism were not dead in Germany. One traveler recorded talking to a German who assured him that he "would be a republican if he dared."<sup>2</sup> Another American who attended a Pan-Germanic festival at Gotha in 1861 was impressed by the force of nationalism among the Germans. He wrote that "in spite of differences of character, customs, dialects, ideas, institutions, and creeds, there is an earnest desire to kindle a spirit of patriotism which shall rise above all narrower distinctions, and lay the foundation of one great and homogeneous Empire."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, most American travelers recovered from their early disappointment in the results of the German Revolution of 1848. The era that the American anticipated had not yet come to pass, but he was not disillusioned in his dream. The Revolution of 1848 was but the first experience in the

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<sup>1</sup> L. E. Richards, ed., Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe (Boston, 1906-09), II, 325-326.

<sup>2</sup> Maney, Memories over the Water, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, At Home and Abroad, Second Series, p. 227.

movement of thought from the early youthful optimism of the American traveler concerning the fate of democracy and the destiny of man to an awakening pessimism. There were to be many others---Napoleon III of France, the American's own Civil War, the economic maladjustments of the industrial revolution, and the ultimate unification of Germany.

### The Unification of Germany

In spite of the dismal outlook for German nationalism in 1850, within two decades Germany was well on the road to not only her dream of unity but also to her dream of becoming a feared and recognized power of Europe. This was primarily the work of Otto von Bismarck, soldier, diplomat and statesman, who came into real prominence in German politics in 1862 when he became Minister-President of Prussia. William I had succeeded his brother on the throne, first as regent in 1857 and in his own right in 1861. With the humiliation of Olmütz still rankling in the Prussian bosom, William I proceeded, under the guidance of Albert von Roon and Helmuth von Moltke, to build up and modernize the Prussian army. He ran into difficulties when the Landtag refused to grant money for these measures. Bismarck, called in to direct the government, shrewdly and forcefully circumvented this

obstacle and continued the army reforms without the support of the Landtag.<sup>1</sup>

German political life, while undergoing great economic changes with the advance of the industrial revolution, had not substantially altered in the decade since the end of the Revolution. Austria had been involved in European affairs, first, in her nervousness over Russian action in the Crimean War, and second, in a war with France over her Italian provinces.<sup>2</sup> However, the dream of unity had by no means died among the Germans. In the early sixties, a Pan-Germanic movement, described by Bayard Taylor previously, swept over Germany. Franz Joseph himself called for a Congress to reform the Confederation, but the King of Prussia refused to participate in a venture sponsored by Austria.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, there was little on the surface events of Germany to indicate that unification was at hand. Certainly the American traveler in Germany did not suspect that a German nation was closer to reality than it had been for years. Throughout these years and up through the Austro-German War of 1866, he indicated his belief that the time for unification of Germany had not yet come. One traveler

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<sup>1</sup> Rose, "The Political History," Germany in the Nineteenth Century, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Germany 1815-1890, II, 11-36.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 91-94.

looking at the Cologne Cathedral speculated on whether this building, which had been in the process of construction for six hundred years, would be finished before the completion of the German state which had been in the process of construction for a thousand.<sup>1</sup> Another traveler indicated her discouragement with the German people in 1866: "The Vaterland is a fine poetical term, but I fear me, only a term. University students tone their lyres to that key, and there are men who still worship liberty...but the mass of Germans are content to dwell in passiveness forever..."<sup>2</sup> Another traveler concluded that "most Germans would like unity if they could be the unit."<sup>3</sup> He wrote, "So long as beer is cheap, and songs of the Fatherland are set to lilting strains, will these excellent people 'Ho, Ho, my brothers,' and 'Hi, Hi, my brothers,' and wait for fate...to drive them into anything more than the brotherhood of brown mugs of beer and Wagner's mysterious music of the future."<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, the lack of industrial and material progress in Germany led some of the travelers to feel that Germans lacked the drive and initiative, which Americans

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<sup>1</sup> Haven, The Pilgrim's Wallet, p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Griffin, Old Facts, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

so admired, to establish a really unified state. One traveler believed the Germans did not use enough labor-saving machinery or modern methods to step up production and to keep costs down.<sup>1</sup> Another felt that "Business is a matter of a lifetime" in Germany and that it was not necessary that it should be "better one month than another---one year than the next score of years."<sup>2</sup> Another complained that the villages and the peasants were too "unprogressive" and that no change took place for centuries.<sup>3</sup> The American traveler in the sixties was beginning to show signs of the great material progress his own nation had made. The dream of the future was not nearly as satisfactory when industry and invention promised a world of comfort tomorrow.

Yet in the course of two brief wars, the Danish War of 1863-64 and the Austrian War of 1866, Bismarck and Prussia had created a North German Confederation that possessed substantial unity and authority. By the first of these wars, Bismarck forced Austria into a situation that would eventually become untenable, the joint control with Prussia of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.<sup>4</sup> By the second, after

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Preston Peabody, Reminiscences of European Travel (New York, 1864), pp. 310-311.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Washington, Echoes of Europe, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 460-465.



skillful diplomacy to assure the alliance of Italy and the neutrality of France, he demonstrated the superiority of the new Prussian army by decisively defeating Austria in little more than a month.<sup>1</sup> Also, he finally and definitely settled the question of control of the destiny of a united Germany by the creation of the North German Confederation in place of the Confederation of 1815. This gave the King of Prussia complete control of all Germany north of the Main River, although a two-house legislature with little power and less liberalism had also been created.<sup>2</sup>

The American traveler could hardly refrain from commenting upon this series of events which seemed about to realize the vision of Germany that had enchanted him for half a century. North Germany was indeed united under a Protestant power. The new Confederation recognized the principle of nationalism and by the creation of a Bundesrat and a Reichstag even the principle of liberalism. Was it not a time for jubilation? wrote George Bancroft, "This day has been one of the greatest interest in the history of Germany, being marked by the organization of the first Imperial Diet assembled under the new Constitution of North Germany."<sup>3</sup> He was convinced that

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 465-470.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 174.

South Germany would eventually be included and that peace would ensue.<sup>1</sup> William James declared that he was "all in favor of Prussia" and regarded the victory as a "great practical stride towards civilization."<sup>2</sup> Another said that her reason convinced her that "wealth, order and religion" would follow in the train of Prussia's conquest."<sup>3</sup> Motley believed that Prussian success was not due to the "needle guns" or even to Bismarck, but to the principle of democracy.<sup>4</sup> Although Prussia was not a democracy, he indicated that he thought she might now become one. "Prussian military despotism, by the Grace of God," he wrote, "is perhaps opening the way more rapidly for liberty in Europe than all that the Kossuths, Garibaldis, and Mazzinis could effect in half a century. If Germany becomes one, as may be the case in less time than any one now deems, she will probably become ultimately free, whether called Empire or Republic."<sup>5</sup>

Not all the Americans in Germany were quite so enthusiastic or optimistic. Some could not quite forget that

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 175.

<sup>2</sup> W. James, Letters, I, 95.

<sup>3</sup> Griffin, Old Facts, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Motley, Correspondence, II, 241.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

unity had been achieved by "blood and iron" and not by the mutual will of the German people. Wrote one, "Prussia carries matters with a pretty high hand, and has not been very careful to propitiate the regions she has annexed."<sup>1</sup> Another believed that in spite of Prussia's free schools and vital Protestantism, the smaller states regarded her as nothing but a military despotism "whose subjects must be either soldiers or slaves."<sup>2</sup> Poultney Bigelow maintained that the American boys in school at Bonn at the time had been on the side of Austria during the war. They were, he said, wholly "anti-Prussian."<sup>3</sup>

In a few more years, Bismarck, as Chancellor of the North German Confederation and allied with the south German states, pressed France into declaring war on Germany. During the chaotic months that followed, France once again became a republic, Paris experienced revolution and siege, and the Germans frightened all Europe by their crushing defeat of the French. Most significant in connection with German history, the ambition of the nationalists was at long last fulfilled. The King of Prussia became the Emperor of a united Germany which included the south German states of

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<sup>1</sup> Bellows, Old World, II, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Bigelow, Prussian Memories, p. 18.

Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Hesse. The organization of the North German Confederation was enlarged to suit the conditions of the new Germany.<sup>1</sup>

The American traveler in Germany was frequently swept along in the proud nationalism that followed her conquering armies. Some Americans were impressed by German victories and found themselves on the side of Germany because of them.<sup>2</sup> Wrote one traveler in admiration, "All Germany was now living more, thinking more, doing more in one day than usually in two. The mighty energy that pervaded her victorious army passed into all the people it left behind..."<sup>3</sup> Others, wasting no love upon Louis Napoleon, were pro-German because they were anti-French. "I am entirely on the German side," wrote one after criticizing Napoleon.<sup>4</sup> Another blamed the war on France and claimed that that nation had been "insolent and arrogant beyond herself."<sup>5</sup> George Bancroft also felt

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<sup>1</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 471-479.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Browne, Sights and Sensations, p. 209;  
B. W. King, Our Diary in Europe (London, 1871), p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Hurst, Life and Literature, pp. 272-277.

<sup>4</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Brooks, Letters of Travel, p. 143.

that the French were responsible for the war and believed that "King William went into the war most reluctantly."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the American traveler often viewed the struggle as virtually defensive upon Germany's part. The Prussians were not seeking revenge, he claimed, but only their just due from the tyrant Napoleon. "The Prussians don't seem to have any feelings of revenge," wrote one traveler, "but regard the French as a set of lunatics whom they are going to bring to reason."<sup>2</sup> Another stated how favorably impressed he was with the quiet and temperate way in which the Germans celebrated their victories.<sup>3</sup>

The rosy optimism that colored the new united Germany was too much for many Americans to withstand. It did, indeed, have the character of realizing a dream. "One empire was dying---great new Germany was about at its birth," wrote one traveler.<sup>4</sup> Others were equally thrilled by this stirring event.<sup>5</sup> The resemblance and basic fellowship between Germany and the United States was once more noted

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 235-237.

<sup>2</sup> Fay, Music Study, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Hurst, Life and Literature, pp. 289-291.

<sup>4</sup> Byers, Twenty Years, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 249-250; Morgan, Extracts from the European Journal, p. 269.

by the American traveler.<sup>1</sup> George Bancroft, looking at the matter from a diplomatic angle as American Minister to Prussia, discussed the essential unity of Germany and the United States in some detail:

Our foreign political interests almost always run parallel with those of Germany and are often in direct conflict with those of France. Bismarck and the King were true to our Union during our Civil War, when France took sides against us. Germany respected the independence of Mexico; the French supported the Austrian adventures. The United States were the first power to speak for the security of private property at sea in time of war; Germany is the only power which as yet fully adopts the American idea. Germany desires to follow the East Asiatic policy of the United States: France, whose commerce with China is but one per cent of the whole, intrigues for power through the monstrous demands of its Jesuit Missionaries. Germany, like America is adverse to ultramontane usurpation;....Germany adopts from us the federative system....Germany leaves Spain to choose her own government and regulate her own affairs....The relations of Germany and formerly of Prussia to England are much the same as our own; and they have been so for a hundred years. And Bismarck loves to give the United States prominence in the eyes of Europe as a balance to Great Britain. If we need the solid trusty good will of any government in Europe, we can have it best with Germany; because German institutions and ours most nearly resemble each other; and because so many millions of Germans have become our countrymen. This war will leave Germany the most powerful state in Europe, and the most free; its friendship is, therefore, most important to us; and has its foundations in history and in nature.<sup>2</sup>

Even the rulers of Prussia and the new Germany came in for American acclaim during these years. Kaiser William I

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<sup>1</sup> Hurst, Life and Literature, p. 293; Bellows, Old World, I, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 247-28.

was admired by American travelers for his success, although they reserved a few doubts about his militarism.<sup>1</sup> And Bismarck won the admiration of some Americans by his ability.<sup>2</sup> One traveler compared him to John Quincy Adams in his attainments. He wrote, "With unsurpassed courage and competency, he possesses distinguished prudence and self-control. He does not undertake the impossible nor invent a policy. He merely shapes and articulates a public sentiment which for a hundred years has waited for its crystallizing moment."<sup>3</sup>

But what had happened to liberalism? The new Germany possessed a parliamentary government, and some Americans might see it as a "free" government, as an assurance that the new day had dawned. But other Americans were beginning to be skeptical of a Bundesrat that represented the old princes of the German states, of a Reichstag in which Prussia had the controlling voice, and a Chancellor who was not responsible to the parliament at all but only to the Emperor. Even Bancroft, who looked upon the new Germany favorably, was willing to concede that the Germans were as thoroughly

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<sup>1</sup> Griffin, Old Facts, p. 278; Bellows, Old World, I, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Motley, Correspondence, I, 224-225.

<sup>3</sup> Bellows, Old World, I, 342-343.

monarchical as the Americans were republican.<sup>1</sup> Another writer maintained that Germany "knew no such thing as freedom."<sup>2</sup> Ticknor felt that William I was an agreeable person but that was quite a different thing from being a great or a wise statesman.<sup>3</sup> Another traveler was critical of the Prussian Diet which he felt was neither representative nor liberal. Of all Germany, he felt that Prussia was the "nearest in promise" to liberalism, but that the victory would never be won. He concluded that it was no concern of Americans except insofar as they were "well-wishers of their fellow men."<sup>4</sup>

The militaristic atmosphere of united Germany also disturbed Americans. One maintained that the people went to war reluctantly and only by force.<sup>5</sup> Another said that he was discouraged to discover that to the German a national state meant only a means of putting her among the first rank powers of Europe and meant nothing concerning the liberty of the individual. He concluded that most of the

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<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, Letters, II, 202.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Browne, American Family, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Ticknor, Letters, II, 333.

<sup>4</sup> Morgan, Extracts from the European Journal, pp. 333-334.

<sup>5</sup> Griffin, Old Facts, p. 6.



Germans he met had "no faith in anything except brute force."<sup>1</sup> Henry Adams said that the Germany he loved was eighteenth century Germany which the new Germany was ashamed of and was destroying as fast as possible. Military Germany, he said, was his abhorrence.<sup>2</sup>

At the very time when the new Germany was in the process of birth, the American traveler was experiencing the beginning of a shift in attitudes. The old image of Germany was dying and a new one, composed of the brutality, the militarism, the despotism, the paternalism, the materialism and the arrogance, that the American traveler had noticed throughout the century, was created. The American traveler in Germany during these years of transition had conflicting sentiments. He was both enthusiastic and skeptical. Germany had been united---by blood and iron; Germany had a Parliament---but no liberty; Germany had free schools and famous universities---but no independence of thought; Germany had Protestantism---but no religion; Germany had artistic achievement---but no real culture. The facts of modern Germany, and the modern world, were going to have a profound effect upon the American's old ideals that had been the basis for a half a century of optimistic regard for the future of man.

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<sup>1</sup> Merle Curti, ed., The Learned Blacksmith or Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt (New York, 1937), pp. 61-62.

<sup>2</sup> H. Adams, Education, 33.

Yet even in 1871 when the modern age broke with a terrifying impact upon the western world, the American traveler's belief in the future was not quite dead. He could look with hope upon the Crown Prince of Prussia as perhaps bringing more liberalism to Germany than his father did.<sup>1</sup> He still might say, although he did not say it quite so often, "How long the masses will bear this [tyranny] is the question. It seems impossible, or the next thing to it, to change the institutions of a country....Still the example of our country, its rapidly augmenting wealth, its amazing prosperity and progress are doing more to teach mankind than any other instrumentality. It will be impossible to maintain the present order of things for another century in the face of our example and great success."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Browne, Sights and Sensations, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan, Extracts from the European Journal, p. 325.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE AMERICAN TRAVELER AND THE NEW GERMANY

The American Minister to Berlin in the late eighteen seventies and early eighties fretted about his unpleasant duties in getting Americans out of trouble for their vigorous denunciation of the new German Empire. He cited the case of the American who thought that patriotism required him "to roundly denounce Germany, the German people and the imperial government" in a crowded railway coach.<sup>1</sup> This candid expression of the American's feelings toward the new Germany undoubtedly was in bad taste, and it may have multiplied the difficulties of the office of the American Minister to Berlin. Nevertheless, it was convincing proof of the American attitude toward the new Germany. It illustrated the change in opinion of most American travelers in Germany in the nineteenth century.

Although the unification of Germany pleased American travelers superficially because it simplified the business of travel through that area,<sup>2</sup> it constituted a major disappointment in the American's hopes for the future. The

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<sup>1</sup> White, Autobiography, I, 532.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Browne, Sights and Sensations, p. 278.

American did not usually hesitate to express his growing bitterness and resentment at the way the German Empire had actually turned out. These comments increased in the deluge of travel narratives of Americans in Europe toward the end of the century. The bonds of sympathy between the American and the German people were beginning to fray. The traveler criticized the German for being aggressive and irritating in manner after his victory over the French.<sup>1</sup> He was disappointed in the people for once again failing to achieve what they had striven for in the course of the century, and he now laid much of the responsibility for that failure upon a defect in the nature of the people. "The general feeling among her people seems to be a sort of dull disappointment with the results of the last war," wrote one American. "It has not brought the country either the wealth or the freedom that they hoped."<sup>2</sup> Yet he felt it was primarily their own fault and he could not sympathize wholeheartedly with the pride of the Germans in their splendid army which represented such a drain on their resources.<sup>3</sup> Henry James maintained that the traveler could see the success of the Fatherland reflected in all true German faces, but it was not a very

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Brooks, Letters of Travel, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

comfortable success for the non-German.<sup>1</sup> "People have come to feel strongly within the last four years that they must take the German tone into account," he wrote in 1873, "and they will find nothing here to lighten the task. If you have not been used to it, if you don't particularly relish it, you doubtless deserve some sympathy...."<sup>2</sup>

For the Germany that the American traveler visited after 1871 was indeed a new Germany, and he was very conscious of that fact. It showed more "progress" in many ways than it had during the entire century, and nowhere had the American more evidence of this than in the development of Berlin. In thirty years, said one traveler in 1887, it had been "transformed from a muddy, unsanitary city of half a million, to a dazzling capital of a million and a quarter. New streets, new pavements, new hotels, new hospitals, new buildings of every kind, new monuments, new animated faces in place of the old Prussian faces of iron and stone, greeted one everywhere. It had been transformed from the repulsive capital of a minor kingdom into the attractive capital of the most powerful empire of Europe."<sup>3</sup> Another traveler, also recording his second visit after a twenty year absence,

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<sup>1</sup> H. James, Foreign Parts, pp. 282-283.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Transatlantic Sketches, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 102.

believed that Berlin even exceeded Chicago in its development.<sup>1</sup> The German and imperial ambition seemed to be, felt another, to make it the finest city in the world.<sup>2</sup> It compared favorably with Boston in the eyes of one traveler<sup>3</sup> and with Paris in the eyes of another.<sup>4</sup>

The fact was that Germany had achieved nationhood through nationalism, but in the process she had developed and expressed a new kind of nationalism. Even though the American traveler lacked the historical perspective to recognize this for what it was, he usually expressed his displeasure at the antagonism of the new nationalism to the standard ideals of the early nineteenth century. The new nationalism concentrated upon militarism and a paternalism that bordered upon statism. Furthermore, the liberalism and the economic equality of opportunity that the American had assumed would accompany the formation of a united German state had not materialized. These things the American traveler revealed in his travel narrative after 1871. He knew that the new German state was out of line with his traditional conception of it. He knew what aspects of German

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<sup>1</sup> Gaze, A Leisurely Journey, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Hale, Family Flight, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Bolton, Travels in Europe, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Barlosius, Recollections, p. 82.

national life he did not like. What the American traveler did not know was that the new German state represented a new phase of development of modern civilization that would in turn affect his own nation and which would temper the early heady optimism in America over the progress of mankind with a growing realism and pessimism.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the concept of nationalism that dominated the major portion of the nineteenth century and that the American traveler embraced was "liberal nationalism." This middle-class philosophy combined the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham with the humanitarian principles of universal democracy and international enlightenment of eighteenth century nationalism.<sup>1</sup> The American traveler's espousal of this philosophy was embroidered with a sense of his national mission to persuade monarchies of Europe to cast off the bonds of the past and follow the example of the United States into the future.<sup>2</sup>

Yet during the last quarter of the century, with the unification of Germany by blood and iron, with the formulation of the Alliance System, with the rise of imperialism in the eighties and nineties and the frequent war scares of these

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<sup>1</sup> Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background (New York, 1944), p. 323.

years, and with the total impact of the industrial revolution upon society, the concept of nationalism received a new phrasing. Ultimately, it became "integral nationalism." For the use of the national state as a means to a better order of humanity, which the humanitarian and liberal nationalists had required, it substituted the national state as an end in itself. It required ever increasing national power and prestige based upon military force. Personal liberty and individualism were completely subordinated to the "national interest."<sup>1</sup> As stated by one exponent of "integral nationalism," it demanded "exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity, and the steady increase of national power---for a nation declines when it loses power."<sup>2</sup>

The American traveler in Germany after 1871 did not, of course, know all this. His ideas about nationalism were still steeped in beliefs of the earlier nineteenth century liberal nationalism, and the new concept had not yet achieved doctrinaire articulation. But the American did recognize certain aspects of German national life in the new Empire that he knew were far out of line with his ideas of both the national state and the concept of a unified Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Charles Maurras, ibid., p. 165.



For one thing, he noticed, German national pride and power dictated that the new Empire make her presence felt in the western world. One traveler remarked upon this in the debates on colonialism in the eighties.<sup>1</sup> Patriotism had become chauvinism and jingoism. A traveler thus recorded a German celebration the day of the victory of Sedan: "There was a queer Fourth-of-Julyish procession in the afternoon, and the boys sang Wacht am Rhein about the streets all evening."<sup>2</sup> Another traveler felt that patriotism had replaced religion in German life, and the Germans were developing hatred for every sort of foreigner, including both the Jews and Americans.<sup>3</sup>

The most frightening aspect of the new nationalism to the American was the bad feeling it engendered between the Germans and the French. Some travelers believed that the Germans were justified in their antagonism toward the French,<sup>4</sup> but others sided with the defeated nation after 1871.<sup>5</sup> As one traveler said, it was Bismarck and Kaiser

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<sup>1</sup> Gaze, A Leisurely Journey, pp. 107-108.

<sup>2</sup> Brooks, Letters of Travel, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 183-185.

<sup>4</sup> Morrison, Rambles in Europe, pp. 309-310; Barlosius, Recollections, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, Glimpses of Three Coasts, pp. 362-365.

who fostered the hatred in preparation for the war and that there was really no bad blood between the two peoples.<sup>1</sup> Wrote another traveler, "The German youth are being filled with hatred against the French; and the many injuries of the past must yet be avenged, by an even greater humiliation.... The modern German is likely to become a thorn in the flesh of humanity at large,---not because he is victorious, but because he is forever blowing the blast of his victories on the trumpet of fame."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the antagonism between Germany and France, the American traveler was aware that parts of the German Empire were ill reconciled to their absorption by a Prussian Germany. One traveler commented that even after consolidation, the Fatherland was "very much divided into little sections."<sup>3</sup> Henry James felt a certain sympathy for the sovereigns whose territories Bismarck and Prussia had swallowed "as smoothly as a gentleman following a tonic regime disposes of his homeopathic pellet."<sup>4</sup> Another traveler noticed that even though Frankfort was more prosperous than ever since her incorporation into the Empire, a good many of the older

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<sup>1</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, pp. 594-595.

<sup>2</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> H. James, Transatlantic Sketches, p. 368.

inhabitants still bemoaned the loss of her ancient sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> Another believed that Bavaria experienced a decay under the domination of her powerful northern neighbor.<sup>2</sup>

Even more disturbing to the American was the German annexation after the France-German War of the territory of Alsace-Lorraine which had become thoroughly French. The traveler in the late nineteenth century found the discontent of the people of Strasbourg out of keeping with the whole concept of self-determination which had been a part of nationalism. The American recognized the fact that the people were very dissatisfied with German rule and "did not take kindly to their rulers."<sup>3</sup> Wrote one traveler, "Strasbourg is a conquered city. It has been torn from France and transferred to Germany, without the consent of its own people....The people feel that they have been conquered, and the iron has entered into their souls. One can see it in a silent, sullen look, which is not natural to Frenchmen."<sup>4</sup> Another writer believed that it was full of German spies ready to take note of the disaffection of the people towards Germany.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Scripps, Five Months Abroad, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> William Stevenson, Sights and Scenes in Europe (Flint, Michigan, 1882), p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Field, From the Lakes of Killarney, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Leriwether, Tramp Trip, p. 129.

Furthermore, some Americans believed that the German rulers were not as popular as they had been formerly, with either Germans or Americans. They noted that the people were not always enthusiastic in their reception of the Emperor in spite of the pressure of the government.<sup>1</sup> One traveler, who on the whole approved of Bismarck and his policy, was quick to admit that the German Chancellor did possess a ruthlessness that was distasteful to an American.<sup>2</sup> One American felt that the German military genius Moltke kindled more enthusiasm than either Bismarck or the Kaiser,<sup>3</sup> while another called Bismarck "the hero of the masses."<sup>4</sup> Still another American stated his frank dislike of the German rulers. He said that in Germany royalty and nobility meant simply brute force and suffering.<sup>5</sup>

It would be inaccurate to assume, however, that the feeling of antagonism toward the new Germany was universal among the American travelers. A few were impressed by Prussian success in achieving what it had set out to do<sup>6</sup>---

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<sup>1</sup> H. James, Transatlantic Sketches, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> White, Autobiography, I, p. 588.

<sup>3</sup> Teuffel, One Year Abroad, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Gaze, A Leisurely Journey, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, p. 595.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, A Holiday Tour, p. 189.

a convincing proof of goodness to the pragmatic American--- and some were even absorbed by the new nationalism. The American nation was not to be untouched by integral nationalism and at the end of the century the United States would find herself aping the European powers in imperialism, colonialism, and even in limited militarism. At least one writer in his own explanation of the new nationalism showed himself to be partly persuaded by it. Wrote the American in his attempt to explain the German nation to his fellow men:

A people, a nation, has an inner life, an organic existence that preserves its identity through all changes of territory, of government, of passing generations. It is an idea, a great generalizing principle, a predominant thought, an organizing sentiment, a vital force, a mode of evolution, call it what you will, that constitutes the soul, the essence of a nation. This principle, this dominant idea, gathers men around it, animates them with a common national life, educates them, gradually forms their speech, directs their efforts in a certain course, co-ordinates their energies, produces through them peculiar laws, shapes literature and art, builds political and civil institutions, determines forms of religion, molds social life, creates manners. Loyalty to this central sentiment, this reigning idea, constitutes the soul of patriotism; disloyalty begets rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

Also, some travelers were impressed by the devotion of many Germans to their rulers and the American admired as well as criticized them. One traveler believed that the German devotion to the monarchy was greater than

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, pp. 109-110.

England's devotion to Queen Victoria.<sup>1</sup> Another noted the homage which Bismarck received even after retirement.<sup>2</sup> But it was when the American agreed that Bismarck had shown "foresight and anticipation" as well as great political sagacity in uniting Germany under an empire,<sup>3</sup> or when the American believed that the German Chancellor deserved a high place in history<sup>4</sup>---then the American revealed that while disillusionment with the new Germany was pronounced among the American travelers in the late nineteenth century, it was not complete nor universal.

But there were other aspects of the new Germany and the new nationalism that were far less dim in American consciousness. The new nationalism emphasized the use of armed force to increase and maintain the power and position of the state. It placed the existence of the state over the existence of the individual citizen and if liberalism suffered by this, it simply had to suffer. Finally, it did not close the gap between the very rich and the very poor. The American traveler may have lacked the knowledge to understand what was really happening to the concept of nationalism,

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<sup>1</sup> Gaze, A Leisurely Journey, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Eyers, Twenty Years, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Field, From the Lakes of Killarney, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Hale, Family Flight, p. 247.

but he did understand and disapprove of these facts of the new Germany.

### Militarism and Paternalism

Throughout the century the American traveler in Germany had been suspicious of the great power granted to the military arm of the government in central Europe. Yet he found excuses for it in geographical necessity and in the maintenance of tyranny. He also felt it would be necessary for the people to use force in throwing off the control of the royalty and nobility and in establishing a liberal, unified state. But the use of an army for purposes of territorial aggression and for protecting the new nationalism after unification---this had not been part of the American's vision of the future. He had not foreseen the Alliance System or the international tension that would ensue with the unification of Germany. Liberal nationalism was designed for peace and eventually for universal brotherhood of man. But, in fact, once unification had been achieved, the army was regarded as a bulwark of the state in the new nationalism. As one historian has written, "In other words, liberal nationalists themselves unwittingly fashioned a martial monster which helped to transform liberal into integral nationalism. For once 'oppressed' nationalities had won their independence by force of arms and accorded the

enthusiastic praise to their generals and soldiers, they came more and more to feel that only force of arms could maintain their independence and insure their rightful place and prestige in the world."<sup>1</sup>

After 1871 the travel narratives of Americans in Germany were crowded with innumerable comments on the militarism of the new Germany. Americans spoke of the "military spirit" of the government<sup>2</sup> and called Germany a "vast military camp."<sup>3</sup> "Soldiers have deposed students, and the bayonet has stormed out the book," wrote one traveler.<sup>4</sup> An American was reminded at every turn that Germany was a "military nation" with an eternal atmosphere like that of the United States in 1861 and 1862.<sup>5</sup> One American believed it was part of the Prussian nature to be warlike and lances and battle-axes had merely been replaced by rifles and the methods of Moltke.<sup>6</sup> William James spoke longingly of the "idyllic pre-Sadowan German days" before militarism in its modern meaning existed.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hayes, Historical Evolution, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Thwing, An Appreciation, pp. 91-92.

<sup>3</sup> Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Hoppin, Notes of a Student, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Emerson, European Glimpses, pp. 55-56.

<sup>6</sup> Poultney Bigelow, Paddles and Politics down the Danube (New York, 1892), pp. 38-39.

<sup>7</sup> W. James, Letters, II, p. 160.



Another traveler at the close of the century concluded that the "spirit of the German government is the military spirit."<sup>1</sup>

These comments were not different in spirit or in content from the American's earlier displeasure at the universality of the military spirit in Germany. The significance of them lay in the fact that even after unification of Germany, the longed-for vision of Europe was not achieved. The existence of a constitution, the universality of education, the removal of the sovereignty of the independent princes of Germany, the example of the United States---none of these had succeeded in erasing a fundamental condition of German political and social life. The American traveler revealed his instinctive dislike of such a condition. Germany now appeared aggressive and warlike and one traveler exploded after describing the constant presence of troops, "How I hate war! More and more are its pomp and circumstance distasteful!"<sup>2</sup> Another said that the sight of soldiers "took away all appetite for Cathedrals."<sup>3</sup>

To some extent, the American traveler fell back on his traditional reasons for opposing militarism. He objected

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<sup>1</sup> Baker, Seen in Germany, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Thwing, An Appreciation, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Sweeney, Under Ten Flags, p. 460.

to the expense upon the state of maintaining armies, to their unproductiveness, to the drain of manpower that forced women to work in the fields. One traveler felt that this was the inevitable price of splendid battalions.<sup>1</sup> "The waste and expense of supporting such large numbers of soldiers is enormous," wrote another American.<sup>2</sup> Another believed that as long as the German took pride in his army the American had no right to grumble about it, even though he could not understand why European nations felt the necessity of increasing their national debt in this fashion.<sup>3</sup>

The American traveler still saw the use of the army as a support to royalty. He indicated that the new Germany was still incomplete and again voiced his hope that the future would see the final change which would eradicate both the army and royalty. One traveler maintained that Germany was still ruled by force and royalty in spite of unification and the forms of constitutionalism. "Germany will get rid of the whole of it one of these days," he wrote, "and the millions of men employed to support that one unmitigated curse of the world, royalty, will be added to the productive power of the country instead of living upon it."<sup>4</sup> Another

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<sup>1</sup> Stone, Frankfort to Munich, pp. 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Ballou, Foot-Prints of Travel, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, p. 642.

American spoke of the people being used by royalty to "rivet their own chains."<sup>1</sup>

These were traditional American objections to militarism. Yet, in the scientific war machine of Moltke, that had proved to be so effective on the battlefield, the American found another basis for opposition. Where was the place of the individual in this immense organization of might? The new soldier did not fight because his heart was full of patriotism or even because he found joy in the exaltation of brute force. In the Germany army, said the American, the soldier was nothing but a part of a machine, a good soldier because he was drilled and trained and organized. He was even intelligent insofar as the art of war demanded intelligence. One American called the German soldier a "thinking machine."<sup>2</sup> Another wrote, "As for the soldiers, they are in all respects a forced product....They are machines, working marvellously while the driver's hand is over them; then coming to a rusty standstill forever."<sup>3</sup> The observant Henry James caught the implications of the soldier in the new Germany even more clearly. The army of the German Empire did not represent the people of a "nation in arms" that a liberal

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<sup>1</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Bolton, Travels in Europe, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 53.

nationalist could have countenanced. It was rather an armed nation with more skill and efficiency than spirit and patriotism. He wrote:

Compared with the shabby little unripe conscripts of France and Italy, they are indeed a solid, brilliant phalanx. They are generally of excellent stature, and they have faces in which the look of education has not spoiled the look of good-natured simplicity. They are all equipped with brand-new uniforms....and they all look like perfect soldiers and excellent fellows. It doesn't do, of course, for an officer to seem too much like a good fellow, and the young captains and adjutants...seldom err in this direction. But they are business-like warriors to a man,...they seem to suggest that war is somehow a better economy than peace.<sup>1</sup>

Some Americans still felt that the position of the German Empire in Europe required the maintenance of an army. The warlike spirit of France in the late eighties during the ascendancy of General Boulanger led one American to believe that Germany dared not "relax her watchfulness."<sup>2</sup> The possession of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany convinced other Americans that a huge army was necessary to quiet the vengeance of France.<sup>3</sup> One traveler found a rather chilly comfort in the fact that in spite of Germany's war preparations, he believed that modern times were a little more peaceful than ancient times.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. James, Transatlantic Sketches, pp. 363-364.

<sup>2</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, pp. 132-183.

<sup>3</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 125; Buckout, Aftermath, pp. 79-80.

<sup>4</sup> Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 133.

On the other hand, a few American travelers became infected with the new nationalism and thrilled to military demonstrations of power like some of the earlier travelers. Some found an exultant joy in witnessing the spectacle of troop maneuvers and in the aggression that indicated a robust national life. One American, after watching such a display in Strasbourg, capitulated completely to the lusty nationalism it called forth. The bands, the music, the skill of the troops, the spirit they engendered, he said, "was of a character to almost lift a man off his feet. I have seldom heard anything more inspiring."<sup>1</sup> Other Americans were impressed by the care and training devoted to the army.<sup>2</sup> To one American, the German soldier was a marvel for his intelligence, his accomplishments, and his gentlemanly behavior.<sup>3</sup>

The other characteristic of life in the new Germany that the American disliked and had not contemplated in his vision of a united Germany was the paternalism which he also had noted earlier in the century. German government was efficient government, but to the convinced nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Stevenson, Sights and Scenes, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Morrison, Rambles in Europe, p. 308; Bigelow, Borderland, pp. 131-192.

<sup>3</sup> Blair, Foreign Letters, p. 32.

century exponent of individualism, the towering centralized power of the imperial government was a statism that he regarded as neither liberal nor beneficial. The American saw this power in the size and importance of the army. He also saw it in the size and importance of officialdom. "Government is majestic;" wrote one American. "All authority, military and civil, is vigorous, dignified, and somewhat overbearing."<sup>1</sup> The traveler objected to the endless red tape of regulations in political and social life.<sup>2</sup> Even though he granted its efficiency, he resented the encumbrance of rules.<sup>3</sup> As one American wrote, "From the moment of landing on German soil, the American begins to feel a certain spirit of repression which seems to pervade the land."<sup>4</sup>

Here again, the majority of American travelers in the new German Empire were in opposition to the overwhelming power of the national state. This was not the national state as they had conceived it. They agreed with the traveler who was disappointed in a German government that poked "its clammy, rigid fingers into each man's private concerns, till he loses all spirit to be interested in them

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<sup>1</sup> Hemstreet, Economical Tourist, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Locke, Nasby in Exile, p. 641.

<sup>3</sup> Hale, Family Flight, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Baker, Seen in Germany, p. 4.

himself."<sup>1</sup> They found that they could no longer be "fervent German eulogists" in the new German Empire, in spite of its unification and its constitution.<sup>2</sup> This opinion accounted for the bitterness of the American toward the new Germany.

But American opinion was not static, and a new minority attitude was arising. It appeared, faintly and infrequently, among the American travelers in Germany after 1871. It found no reason to be disappointed that the new Germany did not realize the old ideal of a national state because it had found a new ideal. This ideal found justification in the use of force and in an aggressive powerful state by applying the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fit to the nations. It embraced the new nationalism, with its corollaries of racism and militarism, as an expression of the struggle for survival on an international level. It even apologized for the paternalism and petty tyranny of the government over the lives of its citizens in this regard also.

A good example of the new concept of the state was expressed in the travel narrative of one American who regarded the new Germany with almost undiluted enthusiasm. Orlando Williams Wight was a translator from Detroit who had edited

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<sup>1</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the work of Madame de Staël and Montaigne. He had made two previous trips to Europe before he left in 1837 for the purpose, as stated in his narrative, of studying Aryan peoples and their establishment of civil government. He said that one looked "in vain elsewhere for progress and liberty."<sup>1</sup> His ideas of progress---education, better standards of living, representative government, and freedom of conscience---were not unusual in the American traveler in Europe. What was unusual in his thought was his adoption of the philosophy of the new nationalism<sup>2</sup> and his belief that the new Germany represented true progress and liberty.

Wight looked upon the success of the unification of Germany as an unmitigated blessing, and he regarded the German leaders with outright admiration. He wrote, "In a single generation, all these minor states have been merged into the new German Empire, by the enlightened policy of the Prussian King, by the genius of von Moltke and Bismarck, by the fortunes of war. The work begun by Stein has culminated in consolidated Germany, in the mightiest empire of modern Europe. And fair German lands on the left bank of the Rhine, seized and long held by the French, have been re-annexed to the Fatherland. The old German kingdom, not

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, "Preface," Peoples and Countries, p. v.

<sup>2</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, pp. 109-110.



the old Empire, has been restored, and Germany has again become a conscious, as for centuries she was an unconscious, or semi-conscious, nation."<sup>1</sup>

Wight argued that Germany's government was constitutional, not absolute.<sup>2</sup> He did not seem disturbed by the fact that the Reichstag, where universal suffrage operated, had no real power beyond that of approving legislation, that the Chancellor was not responsible to the Reichstag, and that it had no means of removing him. He ignored the Kulturkampf and Bismarck's persecution of the socialists when he wrote, "The tap-root of the German national life is an all-pervading sentiment of personal liberty. This sentiment, modified in its manifestations....constitutes today the soul of the new German Empire."<sup>3</sup> He justified an army by Germany's precarious geographical position.<sup>4</sup> On Comtean grounds of the application of the principles of science to the organization of society, he could even justify paternalism. "Every observant traveler in Germany is struck with the all-pervading officialism, the omnipresent hand of the government. It regulates everything. An enlightened people, a people better educated than any other people in the world, recognizes the benefits, and not

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-121.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-121.

only acquiesces, but feels gratitude for a paternalism founded on exact scientific knowledge and having honestly in view the general good."<sup>1</sup>

but to the standard nineteenth century American traveler, the new Germany could not be explained and justified so easily. In addition to the militarism and paternalism which he did not like, he felt that true liberty was not a part of the German Empire. The conventional American in Germany after 1871 was more likely to agree with the traveler who spoke of the "dangers" of the German Empire. This writer listed three weaknesses of the new Germany that an American could not favor: the existence of a strong Catholic element in the population, the absence of true liberalism in the government and a large standing army.<sup>2</sup> The traveler criticized the conservatism of the peasant,<sup>3</sup> and he felt that the German cared little for knowledge of the affairs of his government.<sup>4</sup> He probably would have agreed with William Dean Howells who said he liked Holland so much better than Germany "from the sense we have of being in a

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<sup>1</sup> Wight, Peoples and Countries, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Day, A Lawyer Abroad: What to See and How to See (New York, 1874), pp. 332-345.

<sup>3</sup> Hale, Family Flight, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 16.

free land again."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he believed that unification had not bettered the economic position of the average German as much as he had hoped that it would.

### Economic Life in the German Empire

In the American travel narrative of the late nineteenth century, economic matters played an increasingly important part in the discussion. Economic troubles born of the industrial revolution and a diminishing frontier had begun to plague the United States so that the American was more conscious of economic questions. Labor troubles, industrial expansion, the spread of socialist thought focused the attention of the American upon the national economy. In 1879 Henry George had proposed the single land tax as a solution to the ever-widening gap between the haves and the have-nots. Edward Bellamy wrote a novel concerning a socialist Utopia. James Baird Weaver helped organize the Populist party and was its candidate for president in 1892. And the American Economic Association was founded in 1885.

During these years of social and economic unrest in the United States, Germany experienced a tremendous burst of economic activity following unification and the conclusion

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<sup>1</sup> Howells, Letters, II, 81.

of the Franco-German War.<sup>1</sup> Although Germany also had her economic disturbances during these years, the American traveler was more conscious of German economic expansion. He recognized and approved of this development in the construction of railroads and industries and in the growth of cities.<sup>2</sup> It followed his notion of material progress. One traveler was particularly impressed with the construction of the railroad through the Black Forest, which he regarded as a great victory of engineering.<sup>3</sup>

Yet a good share of the German population still seemed in a rather destitute condition to the American traveler. He remarked upon the poverty and begging of students,<sup>4</sup> upon the high taxation,<sup>5</sup> and upon the number of emigrants leaving Germany in the seventies and eighties for America.<sup>6</sup> The sight of peasants digging potatoes in the Bremen sands prompted one traveler to foresee a similar future for America if a poor American peasantry ever developed.<sup>7</sup> "Amidst all

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<sup>1</sup> Gonner, "The Economic History," Germany in the Nineteenth Century, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Heffner, The Youthful Wanderer, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Thwing, An Appreciation, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> Parry, Life Among the Germans, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> Byers, Twenty Years, p. 63.

the splendor and wealth," wrote another American, "there is, perhaps, more destitution, want, and suffering than in all the cities of America. Still, we frequently hear some of our countrymen praising and preferring the governments of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the American complained that, in spite of industrial progress agricultural methods seemed far behind those used in America. The agricultural utensils were antiquated and a hundred years behind American implements, according to one traveler.<sup>2</sup> Another believed that the availability of cheap labor, mostly women, did not encourage the use of labor-saving machinery. "After looking at them [working] many days," wrote one American, "as I journeyed through the land, I came to the conclusion that three active men, accustomed to haying and harvesting, in any of our Northern and Western States, would, with the use of a good mower and reaper and a good horse rake, gather more hay and grain per day or week than one hundred of the class of laborers I saw at work."<sup>3</sup>

While the American felt that Germany was behind the United States in some aspects of material progress, he

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<sup>1</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Morrison, Rambles in Europe, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Preston, Letters, p. 15.

revealed a growing nervousness during these years with the state of the natural resources of his own land. Earlier in the century, Bayard Taylor had stated that America had such extensive supplies of forest lands that she would never have to resort to the conservation methods used by the Germans. Yet, by 1879, the American traveler was impressed with the attention paid to forest culture in Germany and felt that Americans might profit from observing and imitating it instead of "criminally wasting their supplies of wood."<sup>1</sup> The whole matter of German economy pointed up American wastefulness to the traveler.<sup>2</sup> The frontier with its vast potential in natural resources was fast disappearing after 1870 and the American became increasingly conscious of a ceiling upon the possibility of exploitation of western lands and forests.

Another economic question during these years revolved upon the problem of free trade. The end of the century saw European nations deserting the traditional nineteenth century liberal idea of free trade in favor of the protective tariffs upon agricultural and industrial goods from outside the Empire.<sup>3</sup> The tariff had long been a subject of debate

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<sup>1</sup> Bolton, Travels in Europe, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Blair, Foreign Letters, p. 31; Ruggles, Germany without Spectacles, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Valentin, The German People, pp. 490-493.

in America with the powerful northeast industrialists demanding protection and the agricultural interests of the south and west favoring a free trade policy. Both points of view were represented in the American travel narratives of the late nineteenth century with standard arguments supplied. Wrote one American advocate of free trade in 1885, "Somehow the high tariffs do not succeed in making wages high in Germany or Austria."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, one traveler used the standard argument of the American protectionists that American industry could not compete with cheap foreign labor. He said, "If labor could be got as cheap in America as in the over-populated districts of Europe, then we might compete with them. It was not the manufacturer who received the greatest advantage of a tariff, it was the working man and woman."<sup>2</sup>

These comments indicated the American's growing interest in the economic life of the nation, but by all odds the most important question of an economic nature that the American in the late nineteenth century faced was the position of the industrial laborer in society. Nineteenth century economic liberalism that became, under the impact of Spencerian economics, a vigorous adoption of laissez-faire

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<sup>1</sup> Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Blair, Foreign Letters, p. 33.

and natural determinism in American economic life, provided a green light for the unlimited exploitation of labor in American industry. Such a viewpoint found its defendents in Andrew Carnegie's Wealth and in William Graham Sumner's "The Concentration of Wealth: Its Economic Justification." On the other hand, trade unions were beginning to organize and found support in a sociologist like Lester Ward or in a defender of the Social Gospel like Washington Gladden.

The American traveler in Germany was aware of this rising clash of interests in modern economic life, and he examined German economic life with a view to finding support of his ideas. To one American traveler interested in the problem of the laborer, the miserable condition of many laborers and mechanics in Germany justified the existence of trade unions and the use of the strike. "The reader will doubtless conclude from these instances, as I did from personal observation, that the German mechanic and laborer received miserably insufficient wages; that they live huddled in close, crowded quarters; that they work too many hours and have too little to eat---that, in short, their life is one of hopeless, unceasing drudgery," summed up one American traveler.<sup>1</sup> Another believed that witnessing European conditions of labor would persuade more Americans

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<sup>1</sup> Meriwether, A Tramp Trip, p. 157.



to approve of trade unions. He wrote, "It is the abuse of power by trade's unions and the manner of enforcing their decrees, that can alone be objected to; but that they should in America be awarded the right to combine for the regulation of prices, is justified by the condition of the working man in some portions of Europe."<sup>1</sup>

Some travelers also found support for the economic individualism that had been a standard principle of nineteenth century liberalism. One American disapproved of charities and was gratified that the German, even in hard times, shaped his expenses to his income---so that poverty did not appear so large.<sup>2</sup> "I submit," he wrote, "that this is a condition of things infinitely superior to our American system, where a large percentage of the population has to be constantly supported by the remainder. In this branch of social science I am strongly inclined to believe our Teutonic cousins are far in advance of us, and that sooner or later we shall have to adopt their theories. Our American system is a mere cultivation of pauperism."<sup>3</sup>

One American traveler in Germany during the early eighties concisely illustrated the shifting American interest

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<sup>1</sup> Fulton, Europe Viewed, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> Scripps, Five Months Abroad, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

to the economic life of the citizen's of the new Germany. He found living conditions pitiful among the working classes of Germany, with low wages and high costs for the necessities of life.<sup>1</sup> He took comfort in the fact that this had not yet come to pass in the United States: "It is no exaggeration to say that the mechanics and laboring classes in the United States, who have their bountifully laden tables, with an abundance of meat two or three times a day through the year, live like kings compared to not only the working classes in Germany, but to most of the higher classes."<sup>2</sup> For this reason, he objected to the European immigrants in the United States who he felt were responsible for most of the labor troubles. In spite of their greater prosperity in America, he maintained, they were "the first to become discontented and dissatisfied with their prosperity, and were foremost in creating mischief by organizing 'strikes,' 'labor unions,' etc. for the purpose of increasing their wages to still higher amounts."<sup>3</sup>

Although the comments of the American traveler in Germany during the first two decades of the German Empire were, on the whole, too random and too diffused in nature

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<sup>1</sup> Ruggles, Germany Without Spectacles, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

to reveal any very general organized ideas, nonetheless they pointed up a new direction that the interest of the traveler was taking. In the early nineteenth century, the idea of superiority of German culture acted as a magnet upon the interests of the American traveler. By mid-century, his attention was focused upon the social life---education, customs, the people. Later in the absorbing materialism of an industrial civilization, he revealed a growing interest in the economic life of European nations. His interests followed the tendency of his times, and for the most part he was swept along in the currents of thought that flooded his age.

## CHAPTER VII

### SOME REPRESENTATIVE TRAVELERS

No single American traveler in the nineteenth century encompassed all the ideas of Germany and America included in the preceding discussion. Nor did any single traveler live long enough or have enough perspective to illustrate the development of these attitudes, except on a very small scale, during the course of the century. However, several examples of travel narratives might be cited to illustrate more concretely the development of American attitudes toward Germany and toward the United States.

A good sample of the early traveler's interest in Germany is to be found in Henry Edwin Dwight's Travels in North Germany 1825-26. Dwight is representative of the early American traveler in Germany for two reasons. For one thing, like Ticknor and Everett and other New England scholars, his primary purpose in making a trip was to study at Göttingen. As the eighth distinguished son of the illustrious president of Yale University, Timothy Dwight, he brought with him to Germany the conventional New England background of a scholarly and cultivated American family. For another thing, his interest in Germany was largely intellectual and part of the whole early focus of American interest in Germany. When he returned from Germany, before

his early death, he concentrated his energies upon education, teaching school for a short time and then lecturing on Germany in New York and New England.

Like most of the early travel narratives, Dwight's Travels attempted to supply the literary American with information about the unknown area in Central Europe. But the information he chose to impart was largely of a cultural nature and his ardent enthusiasm for German letters and intellectual activity is markedly apparent in his book. Great portions of his narrative were devoted to discussions of German universities, from detailed accounts of the student clubs to equally detailed accounts of the university libraries. He devoted a chapter to German literature and a discussion of Schiller and Goethe. He devoted another chapter to German philosophy and the work of Immanuel Kant. He commented, "More progress has been made here in literature, during the last seventy-five years, than in any country, whatever, in the same space of time....Germany has become, literally, 'la patrie de la pensee' in a manner which excites the astonishment of all who behold it."<sup>1</sup>

Typical of this enthusiasm for German intellectual activity which permeated Dwight's book was his admiration for the indefatigable intellectual energy of German scholars.

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 77.

he said they resided chiefly in small university towns with almost no distractions to tempt them away from the "society of folios," and they consistently passed fifteen or sixteen hours a day in studying and lecturing. They were much less social in their habits than the French or the Italian literati, he believed.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, in Dwight's estimation, this was not an unqualified virtue. For Henry Dwight showed the signs of his background and heritage as much in his ardent republicanism as in his interest in German thought and letters. Impressed as he was with the energy of the German professor, Dwight believed he was too much a creature of seclusion and mental labor and too little an active political and social being. He claimed that the German scholars' life of seclusion "removed him so far from the hearts of others, that they never knew what strings they should touch to agitate their audience."<sup>2</sup> Although he was willing to grant that Germany was superior to the United States intellectually, he felt she was far behind the American nation politically. He thrilled to the accounts of the awakening of the German spirit during the War of Liberation, and he criticized the powers of legitimacy for adopting rigorous measures of repression

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

of this nationalistic and liberal spirit.<sup>1</sup> He felt the Prussians to be especially intense "idolators of royalty."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in Dwight were embodied some of the notable features of the early American traveler's interest in Germany. He experienced the magnetic pull of German culture and his praise of German literary achievement colored his entire narrative. Yet he clung vigorously to the championship of American political life and felt that in this area the United States would teach and lead the European nations. He wrote:

We have much in which we may glory; and when looking at the future prospects of our great nation, my heart often beats with pride, and I hope with gratitude, for our civil and religious liberty, as well as our almost universal spirit of enterprise and religious philanthropy. But I trust that this admiration will not so dazzle my eyes, as to prevent me from seeing elsewhere the good which we do not possess, and from profiting by this view. Though we are able to teach the governments on the continent many political truths, we have yet much to learn from them in return; and particularly on the subject of education, before we shall attain that literary pre-eminence which is the blessing and glory of Germany.<sup>3</sup>

Although Dwight's book indicated the increasing interest of the American in Germany, the writer retained a certain detachment from the scene he witnessed. His purpose was to inform his fellow countrymen of the progress in German

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight, Travels, pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 253-254.

thought and letters. In that capacity he wrote as a detached observer, interested in the development of liberalism in Germany but not deeply involved in it. The broadening base of American interest in German political development becomes apparent in the work of George Henry Calvert, who traveled as more than a mere observer. He was virtually a self-ordained missionary of American democracy looking for followers in Germany.

Calvert, too, derived his early knowledge of Germany from his experience as an American student at Göttingen in 1825. He went to Germany with a brand-new degree from Harvard, which was typical, but he was a native of Baltimore. In later life, besides publishing three volumes of his travels, Calvert was at various times editor of the Baltimore American, poet, essayist, Democratic mayor of Newport, Rhode Island, and author of a work indicating his interest in social theories, Introduction to Social Science. His three travel narratives, First Years in Europe and Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, First and Second Series, alternated between descriptions of life in Germany and Europe and extended discussions of his own ideas of democracy and the future of western civilization.

A confirmed believer in democracy, Calvert exhibited much of the faith of the early nineteenth century in gradual realization of American aspirations and hopes for the entire



world. As early as 1824 he stated his faith in the "crowd of drudging hard workers" who "have often shown politically a brave steadfastness and a manly appreciation of freedom that have told momentously upon the history and advancement of Europe."<sup>1</sup> His criticism of Prussian militarism and autocracy was unstinting and he looked forward to an eventual free and united Germany.<sup>2</sup> In 1850 he wrote: "I am happy to bear witness that this political ignorance and innocence is here growing weaker and weaker. A manly consciousness is awakened in the laborious masses. Thence the multiplication of soldiers, who are constables of tyrants. On these musket-shouldering drones, the people now scowl with feelings anything but childlike."<sup>3</sup> Even the Peace Congress of 1850 at Frankfort, which Calvert attended as a delegate, he felt to be actually more of a "freedom congress." He said that most of the delegates' "tongues warmed at the talk of a universal armed uprising of the Peoples against the tyrants that degrade and despoil them."<sup>4</sup> Americans were no longer merely reporting on conditions of culture and politics in Germany. They were ready to roll up their sleeves and help the cause of liberty along.

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<sup>1</sup> Calvert, First Years, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, First Series, pp. 68-69.

<sup>3</sup> Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts, Second Series, pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

This is precisely what Charles Loring Brace did. No American traveler in Germany at mid-century incorporated more fully the characteristics of the American attitude at this time than this writer of Home Life in Germany. Born in 1826 of an old, distinguished Connecticut family, he illustrated much of the American philosophy of the forties that caused the American to enthusiastically support the Revolution of 1848. He had graduated from Yale and for a time studied for the ministry. But doubts assailed him, and following the dictates of transcendental individualism, he turned his interests from studying theology to active participation in philanthropy and in lightening the burden of his fellow men. His walking tour in Germany led him to Hungary in 1850 where he was imprisoned for a time for his support of Kossuth. He had immense faith in the greatness and nobility of the individual, unshackled from the impositions and false restrictions of society and government. On his return to America, he founded the Children's Aid Society in New York and continued his philanthropic work among the immigrants and industrial workers of that city.

Brace's primary purpose in his narrative was to describe the social life and conditions of Germany to Americans. He stated in the "Preface" to his narrative: "There are very many things we want to know about foreign countries, which we never do know from books. What people eat and what they

drink, how they amuse themselves, what their habits are at home, what furniture they have, how their houses look, and above all, what the usual talk and tone is, among the great middle classes of a country---these things are interesting and are very hard to learn, except from travellers themselves."<sup>1</sup> Brace followed out his stated purpose by including chapters on "A Holstein Farm," "Life in Berlin," "Christmas," "A Dinner Party," "Sunday in Germany," and "Winter Amusements." In this connection he drew attractive and intimate pictures of German home and family life.

This writer's faith in the future and the ability of men to determine their own destiny was implicit throughout his narrative. He was "full of confident hope that a better Future was dawning on humanity, when Love should govern the relations of rulers to subjects, and state to state, as well as those of man to man."<sup>2</sup> He spoke of men as brothers "under the same grand destiny"<sup>3</sup> and he concluded his narrative with the ringing predication: "May it no longer be 'The Future is with America!' but 'The Future is with Humanity!'"<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 423.

In spite of this faith, Brace devoted a great deal of space in his narrative to criticism of German political life. Like most of the travelers, he disliked the ever-present uniform that reminded him unpleasantly of Germany's militarism and autocracy. He resented the regulation upon the movement and activities of men and the censorship of the press.<sup>1</sup> He wrote: "But as I go abroad among the people; as I see soldiers stationed at every corner and in every public place; as I find that a man cannot stir from his city and hardly from his house without feeling this strong grasp of the central power; as I hear the desires of noble men expressed for something freer and better for their nation; and as I observe how confused and unsatisfied, and unhappy the condition of these German monarchies is now, I feel how poor the exchange of this, with all its splendor and taste would be for our free, unchecked society."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, Brace revealed a sensitivity to the standard German criticism of the United States that America was uncultured. He believed that the stories circulating about American life were grossly exaggerated even though he granted that because the American nation was young, parts of

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

the country were "wild and uncultivated and even ungoverned."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he recognized that American society was not without its defects. The materialism of the United States disturbed him. He felt that in social intercourse America still had much to learn from the European.<sup>2</sup> As he stated in the "Preface" to his book, "It has seemed to me that in this universal greed for money, in this clangor and whirl of American life, in the wasteful habits everywhere growing up, and in the little heed given to quiet home enjoyment, or the pleasures of Art and Beauty, a voice from these calm, genial old German homes might be of good to us;---telling of a more simple, economical habit, of sunny and friendly hospitalities, of quiet cultured tastes, and of a Home-Life, whose affection and cheerfulness make the outside world as nothing in comparison."<sup>3</sup>

This criticism of American life echoed more loudly in many of the travelers in Germany after the middle of the century. A good example of the waning optimism and waxing skepticism of American society is to be found in the work of Charles Dudley Warner. Besides being a novelist of some prominence in late nineteenth century American letters,

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<sup>1</sup> Brace, Home Life, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. v.

Warner belongs to that group of writers like Bayard Taylor and N. P. Willis who almost made a profession out of writing about their travels. In addition to his two narratives on Europe, Saunterings and A Roundabout Journey, Warner published narratives dealing with his travels on the Nile, in the Near East, in Western United States, and in Italy. These works are considerably more esteemed today than his novels, although he collaborated with Mark Twain on The Gilded Age.

By 1872 when Saunterings was first published, the travel narrative had become so prevalent in American literature that Warner felt compelled to apologize for adding another to the market. He did not state any serious or edifying motives for making the trip or for writing the book. He said, "I should not like to ask an indulgent and idle public to saunter about with me under a misapprehension. It would be more agreeable to invite it to go nowhere than somewhere; for almost everyone has been somewhere, and has written about it. The only compromise I can suggest is, that we shall go somewhere, and not learn anything about it."<sup>1</sup> He did not place as much faith in the value of travel or the travel narrative as had most of the earlier writers.

Warner's skepticism was equally apparent in his satirical comments on the glories of the American republic. He regarded

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<sup>1</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. vii.

the future of the nation with more doubt than expectant hope. He maintained that Americans ought not to celebrate Columbus' discovery of America too jubilantly. The discovery had led to no happy condition for Africans, Indians or Spaniards, and it had resulted in such evils as the Tweed Ring. He said that Columbus was also responsible for "our whole tremendous experiment in democracy, open to all comers, the best three in five to win. We cannot yet tell how it is coming out, what with the foreigners and the communists and the women. On our great state we are playing a piece of mingled tragedy and comedy, with what dénouement we cannot yet say."<sup>1</sup>

Although Warner's work has a pleasant random quality, his interest in the culture of Europe pervaded his narrative. His travels took him chiefly to Bavaria and he devoted considerable time to comments upon the art galleries of Munich and upon German music. He noted that music constituted part of the daily life of Munich in the regimental bands, the beer-garden orchestras, the church music, and the orchestra of the conservatory. "We are quite satisfied in this Provincial capital; and, if there is better music anywhere, we don't know it," he wrote.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

But Warner's reaction to the change taking place in Germany in 1868 was less enthusiastic. He sympathized with the Bavarians in their hatred for Prussia and recognized that Austria was by contrast the more liberal of the two powers.<sup>1</sup> He looked with some suspicion upon the Roman Catholic clergy of Bavaria, but even that did not seem as frightening to him as the aspect of Prussia's Bismarck and needle guns.<sup>2</sup>

Julian Hawthorne's Saxon Studies reflected this attitude toward the new Germany in a more pronounced fashion. His work was published in 1875 after a residence in Dresden. Although the work falls into the classification which uses travel as a means to wider observation on men and manners, Hawthorne leveled the sights of his critical irony upon Saxony particularly, and Germany generally, for almost five hundred pages. He maintained that he hoped to counteract the tendency "to make Germans, of all people in the world, and Saxons with them, objects of sentimental hero-worship."<sup>3</sup> He relentlessly criticized the brutality of German life, the treatment of women, the Empire of Bismarck, the militarism of the government, and the spineless submission to authority in the German nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Warner, Saunterings, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. iv.



But Hawthorne's skepticism was far-reaching. He had no pretensions, he said, to have any ideas about improving the situation, and he found the concept of himself as a "reformer" very diverting. "Providence would never have been at pains to create man the only laughing animal, had it not first made him the most laughable of all," he wrote.<sup>1</sup> He voiced no hope of a future in which the ideal of democratic and cultivated society would be achieved. He was disappointed in Germany and Saxony and said that the sharpest disappointment of all was the fact that he had so few regrets in leaving.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout his work Hawthorne pictured the inconsistencies of German life that had bewildered the American frequently. It was both ugly and beautiful, cultured and vulgar. The German, wrote Hawthorne "is continually doing things false in harmony, and incomprehensible, as all discord is. Who but he can sit through a symphony of Beethoven's, applauding its majestic movements with the hand which has just carried to his lips a mug of beer, and anon returns thither with a slice of sausage? He frowns down the laughter of a child, the whispering of lovers as disturbing the performance; but the clatter of knife and fork, the champing of jaws---

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<sup>1</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. v.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 452.

offends him not."<sup>1</sup> He concluded that Schiller, Goethe and Heine were "either not German, or else they are the only true Germans ever born."<sup>2</sup>

Yet he felt some of the charm of German courtesy and German enjoyment of life. He wrote a charming description of a German ball which was strange and new in his experience. It was a very happy, if exhausting, occasion.<sup>3</sup> And he said that the Saxons showed the standard German cultivation of courtesy---unless they were about to emigrate to America and had adopted the ways of that nation.<sup>4</sup> But these virtues did not compensate for the autocratic government and the brutality of a Bismarck. Hawthorne found little basis for optimism about the future of America and even less about the future of Germany. In a detailed fashion, he recorded a common American reaction to the new Germany. Thus, the American traveler in Germany during the course of the century reflected the movement of thought from the optimism and enthusiasm of the early nineteenth century to a growing realism and skepticism in the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Hawthorne, Saxon Studies, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 281-289.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

### Summary

Although the foregoing study has attempted to determine the overall pattern of the attitudes of the American traveler in Germany, the writer indicated earlier that the nature of the subject and the materials used does not make possible hard and fast conclusions. Contrasting opinions persisted throughout the century and no traveler fell into the classification of the standard traveler in all respects. Therefore, the necessary reservations and qualifications must precede any final interpretation. Nevertheless, in the light of the ideas examined and presented, it would appear that certain conclusions might legitimately be drawn without falsifying the evidence.

The new Germany that the American traveler visited in the latter part of the nineteenth century was, indeed, a different Germany than his predecessor had observed earlier in the century. It was different, too, from the "new Germany" that the American had expected. But, on the other hand, the American of the late nineteenth century was different from his forbears. His own views were changing. If he had suffered disappointment when his ideals of democracy and liberalism were not realized in the German Empire of 1871, if he had lost some of his robust faith in the future, he had flirted with new ideas, he had experienced new conditions

of human existence that were going to cast even his ideals into question. By 1890, many Americans had lost their belief that the millennium was in the foreseeable future and that the United States would set the example for a world order based upon the humanitarian ideals.

Politically, the American's experience in Germany in the course of the century had indicated to him that liberalism could have form without substance and that nationalism in modern civilization would not necessarily be a stepping stone to democracy and international brotherhood. Socially, he recognized that, contrasted with some aspects of German civilization, American social life seemed to lack warmth and beauty of human relationships and simple pleasures that it was designed to achieve. Culturally, he granted the superiority of German cultivation of the arts but he suspected European culture of lacking the totality which was necessary to true and liberal culture. Politically and economically, he was aware of the immense advantages of life in the United States, but he saw a steady multiplication of problems that did not promise to have any easy solutions. The German experience of the American traveler reflected the movement of American thought from the transcendental optimism of the early nineteenth century to the naturalistic pessimism of the early twentieth century.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The task of unearthing adequate bibliographical materials constituted a major problem in the preparation of this project. After a brief investigation of lists of travel narratives available and a survey of card catalogues in several libraries, the researcher realized that the materials were well nigh inexhaustible, but the difficulties of locating titles and checking books for content were equally extensive.

The problem was complicated by two facts. First of all, no comprehensive bibliographical work has been done on the nineteenth century American travel narrative, and it has been made apparent to this researcher that almost any library east of the Mississippi could dredge up its own local example by a local traveler. Secondly, most of the narratives are not devoted to a discussion of one particular country but recount a general tour of Europe. They are, therefore, limited in their uses, and the researcher interested in a specific area has to sift through a tremendous number of narratives before finding pay dirt. Out of approximately three hundred books examined in connection with this thesis, only about half proved to be narratives by Americans that included comment upon Germany.

Yet the work of compiling a complete annotated bibliography would seem to have real merit, for even a brief survey gives some indication of the depth and breadth of the European trip and the European travel narrative in American life. The following bibliography makes no pretense at being any such exhaustive survey. The writer of this thesis is humbly certain that the investigatory work of the American in Europe has just begun and that the subject provides a rich and to a large extent unexplored potential for the researcher. The following bibliography does aim to add substantially to the lists of travel narratives already in existence and to bring to light the hitherto virtually unmentioned travel narratives on Germany.

For purposes of organization, this bibliographical essay has been divided into three sections, the first dealing with bibliographical aids, the second with primary materials, and the third with secondary works which have been helpful in this study. The primary sources fall naturally into three subdivisions: travel narratives on Germany, travel narratives on Europe generally and Germany incidentally, and memoirs and collected letters of Americans who traveled in Germany in the nineteenth century.

### Bibliographical Aids

Although bibliographical materials are inadequate on the American traveler in Europe, a number of standard and special works proved of great value in indicating travel narratives that might be useful in this study. The best single list of titles was found in the remarkable bibliographical Volume Three of Robert E. Spiller et al., eds., Literary History of the United States (New York, 1948), pp. 356-366. This section, "American Writers and Books Abroad," neatly broke down the list of narratives according to the country visited, making it a particularly useful bibliography. The travel bibliography of the other standard reference work, William P. Trent et al., eds., The Cambridge History of American Literature (New York, 1921), IV, 681-728, was more difficult to use in that the listings are less complete and no attempt has been made to separate travels of the west, Alaska, and the South Seas from travel narratives of Europe.

A number of other works of a more specialized nature must be mentioned for their help in supplying bibliographical leads. Robert E. Spiller's The American in England during the First Half-Century of Independence (New York, 1926) was one of the earliest studies made on the subject of the American in Europe. Although this work was much too broad

in scope and too reportorial in purpose to provide a real contribution to American intellectual history, it did bring to light a great many titles of early travel narratives.

R. D. Mowat's Americans in England (New York, 1935) was less scholarly in intent and therefore of slight value in terms of bibliography. It is an attractively written series of essays on some of the major literary figures in England during the nineteenth century. Robert C. L. Scott, American Travelers in France, 1830-1860: a Study of Some American Ideas against a European Background (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1940) provided a good bibliography of travel narratives of Americans in Europe, many of which proved of value in this thesis. Like Anna Mary Babey's Americans in Russia 1776-1917: a Study of American Travelers in Russia from the American Revolution to the Russian Revolution (New York, 1936), Scott's study tended to be a mere catalogue of American comments in Europe without any real attempt to synthesize them with American thought. However, both studies provided helpful bibliographical aids. Babey's work relied far more upon diplomatic comments than upon the standard travel narrative. Otto Wittmann, Jr., "The Italian Experience: American Artists in Italy 1830-1875," American Quarterly, IV (1952), 3-15, was too brief for adequate bibliographical citation, but it did furnish a list of artists in Italy and Europe. Robert C. Le Claire,



Three American Travelers in England (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1945) was too limited in scope to provide much bibliographical help.

### Primary Sources

#### Travel Narratives: Germany

The most valuable sources for the purposes of this thesis have been the travel narratives that dealt with Germany almost exclusively. The American who went to Germany in the nineteenth century and wrote a study of his observations naturally supplied the most extensive discussions revealing American attitudes toward Germany and toward his own nation.

The earliest American travel narrative on Germany was Henry Edwin Dwight's Travels in North Germany in 1825-26 (n.p., n.p.d.). This book, written by a member of the distinguished New England Dwight family, was a series of letters which revealed the author's intense republicanism and New England background. Although repetitious and inclined to sermonize, it supplied a rich source of comment upon German government, education, and religion. Henry Niemand's Travels in Germany, Prussia, and Switzerland, etc. (New York, 1837) was another early narrative that proved illuminating in regard to American ideas of Germany, particularly in connection with German religious life and

customs. Henry Wheaton's "The Progress and Prospects of Germany," A Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University (Boston, 1847) was of a somewhat different nature than the standard travel narrative in that it represented the views of a former American Minister to the Court of Prussia. Nevertheless, it presented Wheaton's summary of his three years in Germany and indicated an American viewpoint of the German government before the Revolution of 1848.

Equally valuable were later studies of German social life and customs by American travelers. Charles Loring Brace's Home Life in Germany (New York, 1856) gave an excellent picture of American attitudes toward Germany at mid-century, recounting a walking tour through the still un-united nation in 1850-51. John Fletcher Hurst's Life and Literature in the Fatherland (New York, 1875) was based upon the author's two trips to Germany, including a five year residence in 1857-62 and a trip in 1867. It contained a long section on German literary production and activity in the universities while Hurst was a student in Germany. A more critical estimate of Germany was found in Henry Ruggles, Germany Seen Without Spectacles (Boston, 1883), which related the events of a two-year sojourn in the German Empire.

The most informative sources for this thesis were not necessarily the most readable travel narratives. An informal style and a vivid imagination added immensely to the narrator's facility for describing his travels with attractiveness. Samuel Langhorne Clemens [Mark Twain, pseud.], A Tramp Abroad (New York, 1921) provided an oasis of delight in a desert of rather flat and arid reading. Twain's shrewdly observing eye for incongruities and his tongue-in-cheek style highlighted his narrative with humor. Even on a "pedestrian" tour, he managed to find some means of conveyance almost every step of the way, and he interspersed his narrative with tales and legends and an account of a trip down the Neckar on a raft. "The Awful German Language" printed in the Appendix of his narrative, in which Twain analyzed logically the inconsistencies of the German tongue, might well bear reprinting in a more available form.

Another brightly written narrative was J. Ross Browne's An American Family in Germany (New York, 1866). This western writer and his family assumed the name of "Butterworth" in the narrative and lived in Frankfort for almost a year, traveling about Germany. The author wrote with a frontier breeziness which infused freshness into rather hackneyed material. Julian Hawthorne's Saxon Studies (Boston, 1876) was also remarkable for its readability, although it belonged to the rising critical type of narrative of Americans in

Germany, as opposed to the earnest romantic cast of the earlier works.

A number of series of student letters provided a fruitful source of material. George Henry Calvert, First Years in Europe (Boston, 1866) related the life of a student at Göttingen drawn from his own early letters of 1825. George W. Magee, Jr., ed., An American Student Abroad; from Letters of Magee 1834-1903 (Philadelphia, 1932) represented the collected letters of the editor's grandfather who studied in Germany in the fifties. James Mason Hoppin's Notes of a Theological Student (New York, 1854) and Edward Southey Joynes' Old Letters of a Student in Germany (Columbia, S.C., 1916) were also useful in this group of narratives.

A number of narratives written by women proved to be extremely valuable in presenting ideas and attitudes of Americans in Germany. Two excellent sources were Anna C. Johnson, Peasant Life in Germany (New York, 1858) and Emma Louise Parry, Life Among the Germans (Flint, Michigan, 1887). These contained extensive comment upon domestic and social life in Germany with a great deal of frank opinion. A particularly charming narrative appeared in Mrs. Fay Pierce, ed., Music Study in Germany, from the Home Correspondence of Amy Fay (New York, 1900). The writer was, apparently, an attractive American girl in Germany in 1870, and her letters home were warm, vivacious, and enthusiastic. Another

interesting and rich source was Mrs. Mary Sands Griffin, Impressions of Germany, By an American Lady (Dresden, 1866) and Old Facts and Modern Incidents, Supplementary to Impressions of Germany (Dresden, 1868). The second volume was written after the Prussian invasion of Saxony in the war with Austria in 1866. It added a good deal of valuable comment upon the political situation in Germany from a temporary American resident's point of view. Mrs. Marie J. Pitman [Margery Dean, pseud.], European Breezes (Boston, 1882) actually concerned the writer's year's residence in Germany traveling with an Austrian woman. Blanche Willis Teuffel (also published under Blanche Howard Willis), One Year Abroad (Boston, 1877) concerned the author's residence in Germany but had little value for the purposes of this thesis and was too gushy to supply very stimulating reading.

Several later narratives should be mentioned in indicating the attitudes of Americans at the end of the century. Poultney Bigelow's Prussian Memories 1864-1914 (New York, 1915) had a frankly anti-German bias. Although it revealed some interesting information concerning Bigelow's boyhood and schooling in Germany and his friendship with Kaiser Wilhelm II in his youth, it bore the imprint of the beginning of World War I. This was apparent when this volume of Bigelow's was contrasted with an earlier publication,

The German Emperor and His Eastern Neighbors (New York, 1892).

As a personalized account of the Kaiser based upon Bigelow's memories of him as a boy, it represented a more favorable picture of Germany than the former volume.

Although falling slightly outside of the period under discussion, Reverend James Samuel Stone's From Frankfort to Munich (Philadelphia, 1893) recounted an informative trip in Germany in 1892 and contained a good deal of historical comment. The book was reprinted from a series of letters first published in the American Church Sunday School Magazine. Ray Stannard Baker's Seen in Germany (New York, 1909) was based upon a trip in 1900 and showed a much more decided antagonism toward the German state than any of the earlier works.

#### European Travel Narratives: Germany Incidentally

As a form of literary expression, the nineteenth century American travel narrative offers an immense variety both in structure and content. It can range anywhere from a series of speculative essays in which the writer uses his travels as a springboard to his own flights of imagination or quiet reflection to a monotonous daily log of a tourist's movements and activities reminiscent of a schoolboy's composition entitled "My Summer Vacation." Selected at random, the narrative might very well prove to be informative, provocative,

amusing, entertaining, or simply and unequivocally dull. In spite of the immense variety in the narratives, a few examples stand out with the sharp delineation of recognizable types. The following list is far too long to allow for easy classification or for extended comment upon the singular features of every book. Therefore, the most significant features and varieties of the travel narrative have been selected for special comment and illustration.

A number of the narratives bear local imprints and indicate the extent and importance of the travel narrative in American life in the nineteenth century. Some of these were published privately, but the fact that they circulated even locally, in addition to the larger publications of the better known narratives, proves the interest of a large segment of the American public in European travels---a sort of "culture consciousness." Some examples of these local imprints were Mrs. C. F. Barlosius, Recollections of a Visit to England, France and Germany 1862 and to Germany 1885 (Fredericksburg, Virginia, 1837); John Insley Blair, Foreign Letters (Blairstown, New Jersey, 1838); Anne T. J. Bullard, Sights and Scenes in Europe; a Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in 1850 (St. Louis, Missouri, 1852); Robert Clark, Chicago to Naples. Our Twelve Months Tour through the British Isles, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, etc. (Chicago, 1835); George H. Meffner,

The Youthful Wanderer; or an Account of a Tour through England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and the Rhine, Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt (Orefield, Pennsylvania, 1876); Robert Hoose, Glimpses of Europe or Notes Drawn at Sight (Cincinnati, 1859); Henry Maney, Memories over the Water or Stray Thoughts on a Long Stroll (Nashville, Tennessee, 1854); Madame Octavia Walton Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel (Mobile, Alabama, 1857); Mrs. D. Miller, Letters to the Young from the Old World (Mount Morris, Illinois, 1896); David Preston, Letters Written by Mr. Preston during his Two Visits in Europe 1881 and 1886 (Detroit, 1888); William Stevenson, Sights and Scenes in Europe (Flint, Michigan, 1882); Carrie F. Butler Thwing; An Appreciation by Friends together with Extracts From Journal of a Tour in Europe (Cleveland, 1899); and Thurlow Weed, Letters from Europe and the West Indies (Albany, New York, 1866).

Some of the narratives first appeared in serial form in newspapers. Joel Cook's A Holiday Tour through Europe (Philadelphia, 1839) was first published as letters in the Philadelphia Public Ledger. Sarah Jane Lippincott's [Grace Greenwood, pseud.] Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe (Boston, 1854) appeared originally as a journal in the New York Mirror. Lee Meriwether's A Tramp Trip; How to See Europe on Fifty Cents a Day (New York, 1887) was a revised version of letters published in the New York World,



Philadelphia Press, and the St. Louis Republican. James E. Scripps' Five Months Abroad (Detroit, 1882) was the book publication of his letters to the Detroit Evening News. Francis Charles Sessions' On the Wing through Europe (New York, 1889) was first published in the Daily Ohio State Journal at Columbus and Matthew Fourney Ward's Letters from Three Continents by M., the Arkansas Correspondent of the Louisville Journal (New York, 1851) ran first in the Louisville Journal.

Equally indicative of the popularity of European travel in nineteenth century America, in addition to local imprints and newspaper publication of narratives, was the predecessor of the modern holiday. Magazine of Travels was published in Detroit in 1851-52 and ran for eleven issues. It included narratives of the west as well as George Duffield's "Travels in Two Hemispheres or Gleanings of a European Tour," which was later published in book form under this title (Detroit, 1858). The publication of this magazine in Detroit in the middle of the nineteenth century also supplies evidence of the interest in travel and in Europe in the less settled areas of the United States.

There are several somewhat specialized classifications of narratives that merit attention. Most of the early narratives concentrated upon description and information, but in the latter part of the century traveling had become

common enough to warrant the writer giving information about the expenses and conveniences of traveling itself. Such a book is William Hemstreet's The Economical European Tourist: a Journalist's Three Months Abroad for \$430, including Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Prussia (New York, 1873). Other writers treated their travels as subjective experiences and material for personal, speculative essays. C. A. Bartol's Pictures of Europe, Framed in Ideas (Boston, 1850) was actually more of a transcendentalist's philosophy of travel than a personal narrative of his journey. In some cases, the author made the work unique. A travel narrative by an Ojibway Indian was George Copway's Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, and Germany, by an Indian Chief (New York, 1851). Another purported to be written by a runaway slave, although the grammatical errors and the comments in it seemed a little contrived: David F. Dorr, A Colored Man Round the World (n.p., 1858). The narrative of two young girls in Europe, Mary Louis Gamewell Ninde, The Two Alone in Europe (Chicago, 1886), was a nineteenth century version of Emily Kimbrough's and Cornelia Otis Skinner's Our Hearts Were Young and Gay.

Other specialized travel narratives were those written by American educators who went to Europe to study school

systems and teaching methods: Calvin Ellis Stowe's Report on Elementary Public Instruction in Europe, in Edgar Wallace Knight, ed., Reports on European Education (New York, 1930) and Horace Mann, Report of an Educational Tour in Germany and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1846).

Also falling outside the province of the regular travel narrative but containing material concerning the American traveler's experience in Germany were Lerle Curti, ed., The Learned Blacksmith, the Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt (New York, 1937), Clare Benedict, ed., The Benedicts Abroad (London, 1930), and Leslie A. White, ed., Extracts from the European Journal of Lewis H. Morgan (Publications of the Rochester Historical Society, Part II), Vol. XVI.

Particularly significant from the point of view of the development of American literature were the literary figures who wrote and published specific travel narratives in addition to their better known work. A good many nineteenth century writers fall into this group: William Cullen Bryant, Letters of a Traveller or Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America (New York, 1850); Horace Greeley, Glances at Europe in a Series of Letters from Great Britain, France, Switzerland, etc., during the Summer of 1851, including Notices of the Great Exhibition or World's Fair (New York, 1851); Julia Ward Howe, From the Oak to the Olive (Boston, 1895); Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson, Glimpses of Three Coasts (Boston, 1883

and Bits of Travel (Boston, 1895); David Ross Locke [Petroleum V. Nasby, pseud.] , Nasby in Exile or Six Months of Travel in England, Ireland, Scotland, France (Toledo, 1852); Donald G. Mitchell [Ik Marvel, pseud.] , Fresh Gleanings; or a New Sheaf from the Old Fields of Continental Europe (New York, 1847); Herman Melville, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent 1849-1850 (Cambridge, 1948); and Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands (Boston, 1854).

Washington Irving's Tales of a Traveller (New York, 1849) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Outre-Mer and Driftwood, The Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Riverside Edition, Boston, 1885), Vol. VII, were more imaginatively written than the usual travel narrative. Henry James' Transatlantic Sketches (Boston, 1876), later published under the title Foreign Parts (Leipzig, 1883), was that writer's contribution to this genre of literature. More helpful in revealing his analysis of the American in Europe were his novels dealing with the subject: The American and Daisy Miller in Arthur Zeiger, ed., Selected Novels of Henry James (Caxton Library Edition, New York, 1946) and The Ambassadors (New York, 1903). James Fenimore Cooper likewise provided both autobiographical and fictionalized material: A Residence in France; with an Excursion up the Rhine and a Second Visit to Switzerland

(London, 1837) and The Meidenmauer or the benedictines, a Legend of the Rhine (New York, 1832). The latter work contained a valuable introduction concerning Cooper's travels in Bavaria and the novel illustrated his antagonism toward Catholicism.

The work of the traveler who almost made a profession of traveling and publishing the fruits of his journey is also well known in nineteenth century literature. Four such writer's works have been included in this bibliography for their discussions of Germany: Poultney Bigelow, Paddles and Politics down the Danube (New York, 1892) and Borderland of the Czar and the Kaiser; Notes from Both Sides of the Russian Frontier (New York, 1895); Bayard Taylor, Views A-Foot (New York, 1855), At Home and Abroad, Second Series (New York, 1862), and By Ways of Europe (New York, 1869); Charles Dudley Warner, Saunterings (Boston, 1892) and A Roundabout Journey (Boston, 1884); and Nathaniel Parker Willis, Summer Cruise in the Mediterranean (Detroit, 1853), Loiterings of Travel (London, 1840), and Rural Letters and Other Records of Thoughts at Leisure (Detroit, 1853).

Other narratives of a more conventional nature used in the writing of this thesis are given below in list form:

Martha Babcock Amory, The Wedding Journey of Charles and Martha Babcock Amory. Letters of Mrs. Amory to Her Mother, Mrs. Gardner Greene, 1833-34 (Boston, 1922).

Maturin Murray Ballou, Foot-Prints of Travel or Journeyings in Many Lands (Boston, 1896).

D. D. Barnard, "Political Aspects and Prospects in Europe," A Lecture Delivered before the Youngman's Association in the City of Baltimore, January 31, 1854 (Albany, 1854).

Henry W. Bellows, The Old World in Its New Face: Impressions of Europe in 1867-68 (New York, 1869).

Erastus C. Benedict, A Run through Europe (New York, 1860).

Charles Edward Bolton, Travels in Europe and America (New York, 1903).

Robert J. Breckenridge, Memoranda of Foreign Travel: Containing Notices of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Philadelphia, 1839).

Phillips Brooks, Letters of Travel (New York, 1894).

Charlotte B. Bronson, The Letters of Charlotte Brinckerhoff Bronson Written during Her Wedding Journey in Europe in 1838 with her Husband, Frederick Bronson, and his Niece Caroline Murray, to Her Mother Mrs. James L. Brinckerhoff (Cambridge, 1928).

Junius Henri Browne, Sights and Sensations in Europe; Sketches of Travel and Adventure in England, France, Spain, Germany, etc., with an Account of Places and Persons Prominent in the Franco-German War (Hartford, 1871).

Edward Gould Buffum, Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland or Experiences of an American Journalist in Europe (New York, 1869).

Mrs. B. Buckhout, Aftermath: from City and Country, Berg and Thal (New York, 1882).

George Henry Calvert, Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, First Series (New York, 1846).

\_\_\_\_\_, Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, Second Series (New York, 1863).

Walter Channing, A Physician's Vacation; or a Summer in Europe (Boston, 1856).

John Overton Choute, Vacation in Europe of Young Americans Abroad; Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland (Boston, 1852).

James Freeman Clarke, Eleven Weeks in Europe; and what May be Seen in That Time (Boston, 1852).

W. Harlan Cord, A Knight Templar Abroad or Reminiscences beyond the Sea (St. Louis, 1885).

John M. Corson, M.D., Loiterings in Europe; or Sketches of Travel in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Ireland (New York, 1848).

S. S. Cox, A Buckeye Abroad; or Wanderings in Europe and in the Orient (New York, 1852).

Henry Clay Crockett, The American in Europe; Being Guesses and Calculations on Men and Manners Made during a Tour through the Most Important Portions of Europe (London, 1880).

William Combs Dana, A Transatlantic Tour; Comprising Travels in Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Philadelphia, 1845).

Felix Octavius Carr Darley, Sketches Abroad with Pen and Pencil (Boston, 1878).

Henry Day, A Lawyer Abroad: What to See and How to See (New York, 1874).

J. W. De Forest, European Acquaintance; Being Sketches of People in Europe (New York, 1858).

Elias Hasket Derby, Two Months Abroad, or a Trip to England, France, Baden, Prussia, and Belgium (Boston, 1844).

Orville Dewey, The Old World and the New: or a Journal of Reflections and Observations Made on a Tour of Europe (New York, 1836).

Robert Dodge, Diary, Sketches, and Reviews, during an European Tour, in the Year 1847 (New York, 1850).

Mrs. James Anthony Eames, The Budget Closed (Boston, 1860).

John E. Edwards, Random Sketches and Notes of European Travel in 1856 (New York, 1857).

Jesse Milton Emerson, European Glimpses and Glances (New York, 1839).

Henry M. Field, From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn (New York, 1833).

Wilbur Fisk, Travels in Europe, viz., in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands (New York, 1838).

C. C. Fulton, Europe Viewed through American Spectacles (Philadelphia, 1874).

William Furniss, The Old World; or Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands (New York, 1850).

William Leonard Gaze, A Leisurely Journey (Boston, 1836).

Margaret Gardiner, Leaves from a Young Girl's Diary; the Journal of Margaret Gardiner 1840-41 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1927).

Edward Everett Hale, Ninety Days Worth of Europe (Boston, 1861) and A Family Flight through France, Germany, Norway, and Switzerland (Boston, 1831).

Gilbert Haven, The Pilgrim's Wallet; or Scraps of Travel Gathered in England, France, and Germany (New York, 1869).

Curtis Guild, Over the Ocean or Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands (Boston, 1875).

Orville Horwitz, Brushwood Picked Up on the Continent; or Last Summer's Trip to the Old World (Philadelphia, 1855).

James Jackson Jarves, Art Thoughts; the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe (New York, 1869).

B. W. King, Our Diary in Europe (London, 1871).

C. M. Kirkland, Holidays Abroad; or Europe from the West (New York, 1849).



J. A. B. Latrobe, Hints for Six Months in Europe; Being the Programme of a Tour through Parts of France, Italy, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, the Tyrol, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, England and Scotland in 1868 (Philadelphia, 1869).

Alfred E. Lee, European Days and Ways (Philadelphia, 1890).

Randall W. MacGavock, A Tennessean Abroad; or Letters from Europe, Africa, and Asia (New York, 1854).

Henry Blake McLellan, Journal of a Residence in Scotland and a Tour through England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Boston, 1834).

John Mitchell, Notes from Over the Sea: Consisting of Observations Made In Europe in the Years 1843 and 1844 (New York, 1845).

Leonard A. Morrison, Rambles in Europe in Ireland, Scotland, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and France, with Historical Facts Relating to Scotch-American Families Gathered in Scotland and the North of Ireland (Boston, 1887).

Valentine Lott, Travels in Europe and the East in the Years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '38, '39, '40 and '41, Embracing Observations Made during a Tour through Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombardy, Tuscany, Italy and the Near East (New York, 1842).

Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, Random Rambles (Boston, 1881).

Nicolas Murray [Kirwan, pseud], Men and Things as I Saw Them in Europe (New York, 1853).

Asenath Nicholson, Loose Papers, or Facts Gathered during Eight-years residence in Ireland, Scotland, England, France and Germany (New York, 1853).

Andrew Preston Peabody, Reminiscences of European Travel (New York, 1869).

Samuel Irsenaeus Prime, The Alhambra and the Kremlin; the South and the North of Europe (New York, 1873).

George Palmer Putnam, A Pocket Memorandum Book during a Ten Weeks' Trip to Italy and Germany in 1847 (New York, 1848).

F. de Bourg Richards, Random Sketches or What I Saw in Europe (Philadelphia, 1857).

Samuel Green Ricketts, Notes of Travel in Europe, Egypt, and the Holy Land including a Visit to the City of Constantinople in 1841 and 1842 (Philadelphia, 1844).

Joel Edson Rockwell, Scenes and Impressions Abroad (New York, 1860).

Catherine M. Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home (New York, 1855).

Mrs. Mary E. Wilson, Here and There and Everywhere (Chicago, 1898).

Benjamin Silliman, A Visit to Europe in 1851 (New York, 1854).

John Jay Smith, A Summer's Jaunt across the Water including Visits to England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, etc. (Philadelphia, 1846).

Frank Stockton, Personally Conducted (New York, 1890).

Earl Shinn [Edward Strahan, pseud], The New Hyperion. From Paris to Marly by Way of the Rhine (Philadelphia, 1875).

Margaret J. Sweat, Highways of Travel or a Summer in Europe (Boston, 1859).

Z. Sweeney, Under Ten Flags (Cincinnati, 1858).

Henry Philip Tappan, A Step from the New World to the Old, and Back Again: with Thoughts on the Good and Evil of Both (New York, 1852).

Samuel Topliff, Letters from Abroad in the Years 1828-29 (Boston, 1906).

Horace Binney Wallace, Art, Scenery, and Philosophy in Europe (Philadelphia, 1855).

E. K. Washington, Echoes of Europe; or World Pictures of Travel (Philadelphia, 1860).

Orlando Williams Wight, Peoples and Countries Visited in a Winding Journey around the World (Boston, 1888).

Hezekiah Hartley Wright, Desultory Reminiscences of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and France (Boston, 1838).

W. W. Wright, Doré, by a Stroller in Europe (New York, 1856).

### Memoirs and Collected Letters

To fill in the gaps in studying the American traveler in Germany, it has been necessary to use collected letters and memoirs of eminent Americans who studied or traveled in Germany in the nineteenth century, but who did not leave any specific travel narratives among their printed works. These have been particularly valuable in the case of the New England scholars who spent time in the German universities.

Useful in this group were some of the well known and brilliantly written autobiographies. Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (Boston, 1918) contained a chapter on Berlin and the German universities. Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York, 1901) also had some information on German universities in the early nineties. James Burrill Angell, Reminiscences (New York, 1912) recounted the educator's trip to Europe in 1851. Andrew Dickson White, Autobiography (New York, 1905) and

Samuel Hawkins Marshall Byers, Twenty Years in Europe (Chicago, 1900) helped fill out the picture with discussions of Europe and Germany by men who for a time occupied the positions of diplomats.

The New England scholars' best comment upon Germany and Europe was found in their collected letters or papers and may properly be listed since they are familiar works: W. C. Ford, ed., Letters of Henry Adams, 1853-1913 (Boston, 1930-38); M. A. De Wolfe Howe, ed., Life and Letters of George Bancroft (New York, 1908); Anna Eliot Ticknor, ed., Life of Joseph Green Cogswell as Sketched in His Letters (Cambridge, 1874); Edward Everett, The Mount Vernon Papers (New York, 1860); Henry James, ed., The Letters of William James (Boston, 1920); Samuel Longfellow, editor, The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Boston, 1886); Charles Eliot Norton, ed., Letters of James Russell Lowell (New York, 1894); George William Curtis, ed., The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley (New York, 1900); Herbert E. Adams, ed., The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks (Boston, 1893); Anna Eliot Ticknor, ed., Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor (London, 1876)

Other letters that proved of value in connection with this study are Charles Francis Adams, ed., Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, 1795-1848 (Philadelphia, 1874-7); Harold Dean Cater, compiler, Henry Adams and His Friends; a Collection of Unpublished Letters (Boston, 1947); William Henry Channing,

ed., Lemoirs of William Ellery Channing with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts (Boston, 1860); J. F. Cooper, ed., Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven, 1922); Benjamin Seebohn, ed., Memoirs and Gospel Labours of Stephen Grellet (Philadelphia, 1860); Edward Everett Hale, Jr., ed., The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale (Boston, 1917); L. E. Richards, ed., Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe (Boston, 1906-09); Mildred Howells, ed., Life in Letters of William Dean Howells (Garden City, N. Y., 1928); William P. Trent and George S. Hellman, eds., The Journals of Washington Irving (Boston, 1919); Percy Lubbock, ed., The Letters of Henry James (New York, 1920); M. A. De Wolfe Howe, ed., New Letters of James Russell Lowell (New York, 1932); Edward Lind Lorse, ed., Samuel F. E. Morse; His Letters and Journals (Boston, 1914); E. L. Pierce, ed., Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner (Boston, 1877-93).

#### Secondary Materials

Since bibliographical materials are inadequate on the American traveler in Europe, it is not remarkable that no scholar has attempted the Herculean task of assimilating and synthesizing the travel narratives in a comprehensive and definitive work on the American in Europe. Nevertheless, in a limited way a number of efforts have been made in that direction. The most useful guide for a brief general

treatment of the subject was the chapter "The Pilgrim's Return" devoted to the American traveler in Europe in Robert E. Spiller et al., eds., Literary History of the United States (New York, 1948), II, 827-843. The chapter surveyed concisely the movement of the American back to Europe in the nineteenth century and related that movement to the history of American thought and letters, both in its fictional expression and in the standard travel narrative. Such a survey necessarily omitted all but the major nineteenth century writers, but it did supply some helpful comment upon Mark Twain, Henry James, James Jackson Jarves, Nathaniel P. Willis, and Bayard Taylor. Frederick S. Bellenbaugh's "Travellers and Explorers," Cambridge History of American Literature, III, 131-170, was almost worthless in connection with this study in that it concentrated entirely upon western travel and explorations in Africa, the Arctic, and the Far East. Some helpful suggestions were obtained in the discussions of individual authors and in Albert Bernhard Faust, "Non-English Writings: German," Cambridge History of American Literature, IV, 572-590, and in Samuel Lee Wolff, "Scholars," Cambridge History of American Literature, IV, 444-491. Another intellectual history, Vernon Louis Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought (New York, 1927-30), Volume II, set forth some stimulating and provocative ideas concerning the movement of American thought in the

nineteenth century, although it supplied almost nothing bearing directly upon this thesis.

In addition to these standard reference works, two other books should be mentioned for their usefulness in illuminating the problem of the American in Europe. Philip Rahv, ed., Discovery of Europe: the Story of American Experience in the Old World (Boston, 1947) had limited value in that the work is an anthology of comments by travelers in Europe from Benjamin Franklin to Walter Hines Page. But the editor's "Introduction" proved to be a thoughtful statement of the phenomenon of the traveler in American culture. Ferner Nuhn's The Wind Blew from the East: a Study in the Orientation of American Culture (New York, 1942) presented actually a series of speculative essays on the subject with no attempt at scholarly documentation. His thesis that Europe provided a "pull" on American culture antithetical to the idea of the frontier threw illumination on a great many otherwise unintelligible travel narratives.

A debt of gratitude must be paid to the literary scholars who have done much of the groundwork in investigating Americans in Germany by their studies of literary figures who studied in German universities. The chapter "George Ticknor's Wanderjahre" in Van Wyck Brooks' The Flowering of New England (Modern Library Edition, New York,

1936) was valuable for an introduction to the early New England interest in Germany. Orie W. Long, Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture (Cambridge, 1938) presented a lucid survey of the influence of the German experience on the work of six prominent American students in Germany: George Ticknor, Edward Everett, Joseph Green Cogswell, George Bancroft, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Lothrop Motley. The difficulty in these works seemed to be an inclination to over emphasize the purely literary and intellectual side of interest in Germany, with inadequate representation of interest in German society, politics, and people.

John Gerow Gazley, American Opinion of German Unification 1848-1871 (New York, Columbia University Studies, 1926), CXXI, 267, furnished a helpful guide in connection with German political life from the Revolution of 1848 to the close of the Franco-German War. Gazley's work was based on American newspapers primarily, but the writer did use a few accounts of travelers in Germany. Esther Singleton, ed., Germany as Described by Great Writers (New York, 1907) was an anthology that revealed some interesting comments on Germany by American, as well as English and French, writers, but was too general and descriptive in nature for real assistance in this paper.



For historical background of Germany in the nineteenth century, this thesis followed the material set forth in the chapters dealing with Germany in A. W. Ward et al., eds., The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X and Vol. XI, and Sir Adolphus Ward, Germany 1815-1890 (Cambridge, England, 1916), 3 vols. J. H. Rose, C. H. Hereford, E. C. K. Gonner and M. E. Sadler, Germany in the Nineteenth Century (Manchester, 1912) was a series of five lectures on the political, intellectual and economic history of Germany in the nineteenth century and the history of German education. A. S. Peake, E. Bosanquet and F. Bonaria, Germany in the Nineteenth Century (Manchester, 1915) was the second volume of the series covering the theological and philosophical history. Both these works were useful in furnishing a background in German history. Another readable and valuable account was Veit Valentin, The German People: Their History and Civilization from the Holy Roman Empire to the Third Reich (New York, 1946). Particularly valuable in connection with the development of nationalism were Carlton J. A. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism (New York, 1931) and Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background (New York, 1944).

Helpful treatments concerning the historical development of American thought were also found in William W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York, 1939),

Elwood P. Cubberly, Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History (Boston, 1934), Herbert Schneider, A History of American Philosophy (New York, 1946), Ralph Henry Gabriel, The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History Since 1815 (New York, 1940), Frederick Mayer, A History of American Thought (Dubuque, Iowa, 1951), and Howard Mumford Jones, Ideas in America (Cambridge, 1944).

APPENDIX

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
John Quincy Adams	1817	Massachusetts	Statesman
Stephen Grellet	1807, 1818, 1820, 1831	New York, Pennsylvania	Quaker minister
George Ticknor	1815-19, 1835, 1836	Massachusetts	Scholar
Edward Everett	1815-19	Massachusetts	Scholar, politician
Joseph Green Cogswell	1818-19, 1837, 1840, 1848, 1850	Massachusetts	Scholar, teacher
Washington Irving	1818, 1822, 1823	New York	Writer
George Bancroft	1818-22, 1867-74	Massachusetts	Historian, scholar, diplomat
George Henry Calvert	1825, 1840, 1850	Baltimore, Maryland	Editor, poet, essay- ist, politician
Henry E. Dwight	1825-26	Connecticut	Scholar, teacher
Henry W. Longfellow	1826-29, 1840-41	Massachusetts	Poet
Jared Sparks	1828-29, 1838	Massachusetts	Biographer
Samuel Topliff	1828-29	Massachusetts	Proprietor of the Merchants' News Room, Boston
John Lothrop Motley	1831-34, 1841, 1855	Massachusetts	Historian

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Samuel Gridley Howe	1831	Massachusetts	Abolitionist, reformer
James Fenimore Cooper	1833	New York	Writer
Henry Blake McLellan	1833 (?)	New York	Divinity student, minister
Martha Babcock Amory	1834	Boston	
Valentin Mott	1834-41	New York	Physician, surgeon
William Cullen Bryant	1834-49	New York	Poet
William Fisk	1835-36	Connecticut	Methodist minister, College President
Henry Diestand	1835	Ohio, Virginia	United Brethren minister
Calvin Ellis Stowe	1836	Ohio	Educator
Hezekiah Hartley Wright	1836 (?)		
Robert J. Breckinridge	1836	Kentucky	Presbyterian clergyman
Orville Dewey	1836	Massachusetts	Unitarian minister
Nathaniel P. Willis	1836-45	New England, New York	Poet, journalist, writer
Charles Sumner	1837, '38, '39 1858-59	Massachusetts	Congressman

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Charlotte E. Bronson	1838	New England	
Catherine Sedgwick	1839, '40	Massachusetts	writer
Margaret Gardiner	1840-41	New York	
Donald Z. Mitchell	1841	Connecticut	author, J.S. consul
Samuel Green Ricketts	1841, 1842	Pennsylvania	
William Combs Dana	1843		
Elia Haske <sup>r</sup> Derby	1843	Massachusetts	Railroad director
John Mitchell	1843-44	Connecticut	Clergyman, writer
William Furniss	1843 (?)	Massachusetts	Author
Thurlow Weed	1843-45, 1851-52	New York	Journalist
Horace Mann	1844	Massachusetts	Educator
Bayard Taylor	1844-1865	Pennsylvania, New York	Writer
Henry Wheaton	1845-47	Rhode Island	Lawyer, diplomat
John Jay Smith	1845	Philadelphia	Minister, librarian
Robert Dodge	1847	New York	Lawyer
Mrs. James Anthony Eames	1847, 1850	New England	Writer
J. H. B. Latrobe	1847, 1857, 1868	Baltimore	Lawyer, inventor
George Palmer Putnam	1847	New York	Publisher

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
John M. Corson	1848	Iowa	Physician, politician
Catherine M. Kirkland	1848	Michigan, New York	Writer
Herman Melville	1849	New York	Writer
James Freeman Clark	1849-50	New Hampshire	Clergyman
Henry Clay Crockett	1849	Western Pennsylvania	
Horace Binney Wallace	1849, 1852	Pennsylvania	Artist
Mathew Flourney Ward	1849	Arkansas	Journalist
Charles Loring Brace	1850	Connecticut	Philanthropist
Anne T. J. Bullard	1850	St. Louis, Missouri	Wife of Presbyterian minister
Elihu Burritt	1850	Connecticut	Blacksmith
George Copway	1850	Michigan, Minnesota	Indian, Methodist minister
D. D. Barnard	1850	New York	Politician, diplomat
Aesenath Nicholson	1850		
S. S. Cox	1850	Ohio	Congressman, editor
George Duffield	1850	Detroit	Writer, editor, Presbyterian minister
John Overton Choule	1851	New York	Baptist minister, teacher

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Benjamin Silliman	1851	Connecticut	Yale professor of science and medicine
Henry Philip Tappan	1851-52	Michigan	President, University of Michigan
Horace Greeley	1851	New York	Editor, journalist
David F. Dorr	1851 (?)	Missouri	Runaway slave
Randall W. MacGavock	1851	Tennessee	Lawyer
Nicolas Murray	1851	New England	Presbyterian minister
Sarah Jane Lippincott	1852	New York, Pennsylvania	Writer
James Burrill Angell	1852, 1886-91	Michigan	President, University of Michigan
Walter Channing	1852	Rhode Island	Physician
J. W. De Forest	1852	Connecticut	Novelist
Harriett Beecher Stowe	1853	New England, Ohio	Writer, abolitionist
Orlando William Wight	1853-56, 1887	Detroit	Translator, sociologist
Octavia Walton Le Vert	1853-54	Georgia	Writer
Orville Horwitz	1854	Baltimore	
James Mason Hoppin	1854	New England	Theological student, minister, educator

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
C. A. Bartol	1854	Massachusetts	Unitarian minister
Margaret Sweat	1855	Maine	Wife of Congress- man, writer
Andrew Dickson White	1855-56, 1868	Michigan, New York	Educator, diplomat
James Francis Lagee	1855	Pennsylvania	Chemist, business man
Samuel F. B. Morse	1855-56, 1867	New England	Scientist, inventor
James Russell Lowell	1855	Massachusetts	
W. W. Wright	1855		
John E. Edwards	1856	Virginia, North Carolina	Methodist clergy- man
Anna C. Johnson	1857		
F. de Bourg Richards	1857	Philadelphia	Artist
Fletcher Hurst	1857-64	New York	Scholar, teacher
E. K. Washington	1858-59	Lower Mississippi Valley	
Henry Adams	1858-59	Massachusetts	Scholar, historian
Robert Hoose	1858	Cincinnati	Merchant
Edward Gould Buffum	1858-1868	Pacific Coast, New York	Journalist, editor
Joel Edson Rockwell	1858	Vermont	Clergyman



Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Erastus C. Benedict	1859	New York	Lawyer
Edward Everett Hale	1859, 1880	Massachusetts	Unitarian clergy- man, writer
Mrs. C. F. Barlosius	1862, 1885	Virginia	
Edward Southey Joynes	1863-69	Virginia	Scholar, teacher
Poultney Bigelow	1864-72	New York, New England	Journalist
Gilbert Haven	1864	Massachusetts	Methodist bishop
J. Ross Browne	1865	California	Government employee
Phillips E Brooks	1865, 1872, 1882	Massachusetts	Episcopal bishop
Mary Sands Griffin	1865-67		
F. O. C. Darley	1865	Philadelphia	Artist
James Jackson Jarves	1865	Massachusetts	Writer, art collector
Samuel I. Prime	1866	New York	Presbyterian clergyman
Andrew Preston Peabody	1866-67	New York	Unitarian clergy- man
Julia Ward Howe	1867	New York	Writer, abolitionist
William James	1867-68, 1882	New York, New England	Philosopher
Henry W. Bellows	1867-68	New England	Unitarian clergy- man
Charles Dudley Warner	1868, 1881-82	New York, Massachusetts	Writer

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Junius Henri Browne	1869-70	Cincinnati, New York	Journalist
Amy Fay	1869-75	Massachusetts	Musician, teacher
Helen Hunt Jackson	1869, 1885	California	Writer
Curtis Guild	1870	Boston	Editor
Lewis Morgan	1870-71	New York	Sociologist, lawyer, author
E. W. King	1871	Massachusetts	Episcopal clergyman
Henry James	1872	New York, New England	Writer
Earl Shinn	1872		
C. C. Fulton	1873	Maryland	Editor, journalist
Julian Hawthorne	1873	New England	Writer
William Hemstreet	1874		Journalist
George Heffner	1874	Pennsylvania	Student
Henry Day	1874	New York	Lawyer
Henry Field	1875	New England	Presbyterian clergyman
Blanche Howard Teuffel	1876-77		Writer
Charles Edward Bolton	1878, 1890	Massachusetts, Ohio	Educator, business man, inventor

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Henry Ruggles	1880-82	New York	U. S. consul
Samuel Langhorne Clemens	1880	Missouri	Writer
Louise Chandler Moulton	1880	New England	Authoress, poet
Francis Charles Sessions	1880	Ohio	Historian
William Stevenson	1881	Flint, Michigan	
David Ross Locke	1881	Ohio	Humorist, writer
David Preston	1881, 1886	Detroit, Michigan	Methodist minister
Mrs. B. Buckhout	1881	Saginaw, Michigan	Wife of lumberman
Marie J. Pitman	1882	Rhode Island	
Emma Louise Parry	1883-84		Student, teacher
John Insley Blair	1883	New Jersey	Congressman
Robert Clark	1884	Chicago	
William L. Gaze	1884-85	Hartford, Connecticut	Minister
Leonard A. Morrison	1884	New Hampshire	Amateur geneologist
Carrie Butler Thwing	1885	Ohio, Minnesota	Wife of minister
W. Harlan Cord	1885	Chicago	
Lee Leriwether	1885	Missouri	Journalist
Z. Sweeney	1886	Indiana	Minister, Church of Christ

Traveler	Year of Travels in Germany	Home in the United States	Occupation
Alfred E. Lee	1887		United States consul
Mary Louise Gamewell	1887	Chicago	
Jesse M. Emerson	1888-89		
Joel Cook	1888-89	Philadelphia	Journalist
Maturin Murray Ballou	1888	Boston	Journalist, editor
Mary E. Wilson Sherwood	1890	New England, New York	author
Frank Stockton	1890	Philadelphia	Writer
Lincoln Steffens	1890-91	California	Journalist
Mrs. D. Miller	1891	Illinois	Children's writer
Samuel Stone	1892	Philadelphia	Episcopal minister
Samuel Haskins Marshall Byers	1892	Iowa	Soldier, diplomat
William Dean Howells	1897	New York	Writer
Ray Stannard Baker	1900	Michigan	Writer, politician