INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600



Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/6040

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES ABOUT GERMANS IN AMERICAN TRAVEL WRITINGS, 1815-1914

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Dirk Voss
Norman, Oklahoma
2000

UMI Number: 9988505



UMI Microform 9988505

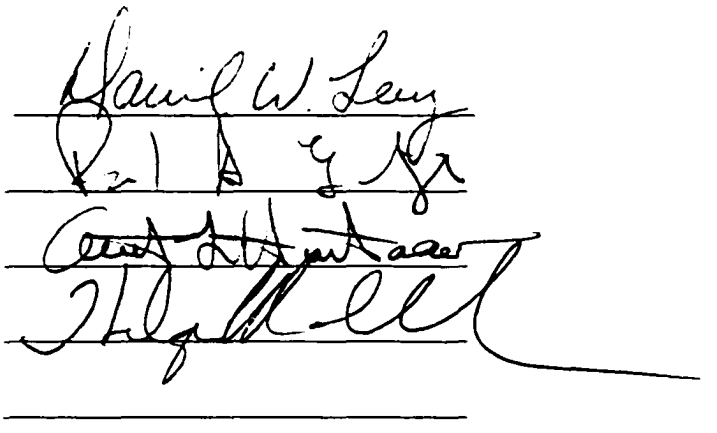
Copyright 2001 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES ABOUT GERMANS IN AMERICAN TRAVEL WRITINGS, 1815-1914

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY



© Copyright by Dirk Voss 2000
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgments

Seven years ago I had the great fortune to pick the right professors for my project in comparative history. Dr. David Levy proved to be a generous, witty mentor and advisor. Dr.Paul Gilje's colonial and historical methods courses were responsible that I decided to enroll in a doctoral program at the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Helga Madland pointed me toward women's studies and Dr. Al Hurtado's good nature was an ideal supplement to this group of distinguished scholars. I owe much to Dr. Gordon Drummond who opened my eyes for the complexities of my own history, his wife Janice's hospitality made visits to their home unforgettable highlights in my student life.

American and German archivists, the unsung heroes of our profession, went often out of their way to guide my research in their depositories. Travel grants from the department and the graduate college allowed to pursue my research in the United States and Germany. Many friends helped me to write in a language that is not my own. Brad Raley, Kelly Lankford, Matt Despain, all of them promising young scholars, read my first drafts and gave me invaluable suggestions. Dr. Judith Lewis proof-read the fifth chapter, Laura Allman and Suzi Goerlach helped me to prepare conference papers. My girl friend Karen Stark read several chapters and patiently forgave me that I spent more time with the dissertation project than with her.

Michaela Bühnemann and Astrid Kirchner were perfect study partners in La Baguette café where we wrote large parts of our dissertation and theses. Dr. Griswold,

the chair of our department gave me plenty of opportunity to teach American and European history allowing my to make my students unwitting accomplices in my project about international images. Many of my friends created a pleasant study and learning experience for me in Oklahoma. Particularly, Dr. Rockey Robbins, his wife Sharla, their children Necia, Lindsey, and Jesse created for me a scholar-in-residence fellowship that allowed me to dedicate my last year completely to the dissertation. My loving mother encouraged my projects and supported me cookies and good words. Although I arrived in Oklahoma as a sceptic, after seven years of doctoral studies I can proudly say: "Ich bin ein Normanite."

Table of Contents

Introduction.....1

Prologue.....11

Chapter1: "*Langsam* Country".....19

Chapter 2: The Rise of Tourism and Nativism.....52

Chapter 3: "The Yankees of Europe".....93

Chapter 4: Fellow Anglo-Saxons or Economic Rivals?.....128

Chapter 5: Time Travel to the Past.....155

Conclusion: The Rise and Decline of Bucolic Bumblers.....183

Bibliography.....191

Abstract

In the early nineteenth century, Americans believed Germans were sluggish, phlegmatic, kind, and devoted to beer-drinking. By the end of the nineteenth century Americans perceived Germans as efficient, hard-working, militaristic, and still devoted to beer-drinking. This considerable shift in attitudes raises the central questions of why and how Americans developed and changed their image of foreign nations. This dissertation uses the perception of Germans in American travel books, diaries, and letters of the nineteenth century as a concept to show how economic, political, and social developments changed the way Americans pictured Germans. The key to the creation and changing of stereotypes is the economic development of the two nations. In the early nineteenth century, a market revolution transformed large parts of the United States from a mostly agrarian, pre-modern society to a fast-moving, time-oriented, industrialized nation. Compared to the more modern society of America, pre-modern Germany reassured Americans of their superiority and even evoked sympathy for a nonthreatening and harmless German culture. When Germany emerged as an industrial giant and defeated France in

1870, most American travelers explained their observation of German military efficiency and cleanliness in terms of national character or racial traits, but ignored underlying economic causes for the sweeping changes in German society. Behind German military victories and perceived German national character lay the combination of a gigantic industrial machine and a modernizing state. Compulsory schools, military drill, and factory work discipline turned German pre-industrial slackers into efficient workers. The increased wealth that went hand in hand with industrial production allowed Germans to apply higher standards of cleanliness and hygiene.

Introduction

In the early nineteenth century, Americans believed Germans were sluggish, phlegmatic, kind, and devoted to beer-drinking. By the end of the nineteenth century Americans perceived Germans as efficient, hard-working, militaristic, and devoted to beer-drinking. This considerable shift in attitudes raises the central questions of why and how Americans developed and changed their image of foreign nations. This study uses the American perception of Germans as a model to show how economic, political, and social developments changed the way Americans pictured Germans. The key to the creation and changing of stereotypes is the economic development of the two nations. In the early nineteenth century, a market revolution transformed large parts of the United States from a mostly agrarian, pre-modern society to a fast-moving, time-oriented, industrialized nation. Compared to the more modern society of America, pre-modern Germany reassured Americans of their superiority and even evoked sympathy for nonthreatening and harmless German culture.

At the end of the nineteenth century, when both America and Germany underwent the vast cultural shock of industrialization and closed the gap between the two nations' industrial development, Americans were impressed by many modern features of Germany but hardly felt sympathy with the newly powerful country. Ironically, the closer Germany moved to the level of the American economy, the more did Americans reject the emerging industrial monster. Imperial and economic competition worsened the hostility and the entry into war in 1917 paved the way for a picture of a country that

had run afoul in its search for modernity.

The idea that economic development determines and changes the image a people holds of others is important for research in history for several reasons. This study provides a general model for exploring the creation and change of national stereotypes. Although this specific case study focuses on the American image of Germans, the proposition that economics determine images can also be applied to the modern American view of Mexicans or the German perception of Turkish immigrants. Ideological causes such as republicanism or nationalism and political events such as the Samoa dispute or the tariff wars also play important roles, but only secondary ones, in the formation of the image of other nations. National images are social constructs rather than truthful pictures of the described people. National stereotypes change over time but more slowly than the society whose members they describe. In other words, national stereotypes refer to the past of a nation rather than its current transformation. Stereotypes are pervasive and even for educated people sometimes hard to overcome.

In the early nineteenth century, the contrast between the economic backwardness of Germany and the emerging market economy in the United States caused many Americans to believe that Germans were bucolic bumblers. In the early twentieth century, Americans began slowly to change their image, now seeing Germans as hard-working and efficient because Germany was by then an industrialized country. Americans clung as long as they could to their increasingly fictional image of Germans because of their own anxiety over their increasingly urbanized capitalist society. American travelers ignored German industrialization for a long time and preferred to visit the scenic, rural parts of central Europe. Ironically, the closer Germany finally advanced

to the level of the American economy in the early twentieth century, the more Americans rejected the reality of an emerging industrial rival. The slow disenchantment eased the way for many Americans joining the Entente in the First World War.

Why are Germans the subject of this dissertation? I could have used any nation's image to substantiate my main argument. I chose the American perceptions of Germans because of my academic background in German and American history and the overwhelming quantity of available primary sources. The idea for this project came from two courses I took at the University of Göttingen in 1988. Dr. Hartmut Boockmann's seminar about medieval Italian travel reports portraying backward, violent, dirty, and beer-swilling Germans opened my eyes to the fascinating changes and consistencies of national images. Also in 1988, Fulbright professor Dr. Kenneth Kusmer asked me to help him to do research about the image of African-Americans in German travel books. After an American history seminar under Dr. Kusmer I decided to combine the methods and experiences of both seminars to write a *Magisterarbeit* under Dr. Hermann Wellenreuther about the image of Germans in early American travel writings.[1]

For research on stereotypes and prejudices, travel accounts are highly suitable sources. Travelers are in continuous contact with the members of another society, but because they filter their perceptions through the set of cultural stereotypes that they carry with them, diaries and letters of travelers in foreign countries can actually tell us as much

---

[1] Dirk Voss, "Das stereotype Bild der Deutschen in amerikanischen Reiseberichten, 1800-1839," (M.A. thesis, University of Göttingen, 1991); for a short summary of my early findings see Hermann Wellenreuther, "'German Make Cows and Women Work:' American Perceptions of Germans as Reported in American Travel Books, 1800-1840," Transatlantic Images and America and Perceptions: Germany and America Since1776, ed. David E. Barclay and Elizabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Washington, D.C., Cambridge, England: German Historical Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 41-64.

about the society these travelers came from as about the visited country. Therefore research in American stereotyping enables us to look at the development of nationalism, the transport and market revolution, and the value system of an emerging bourgeois society.

Scholarly interest in national stereotypes has produced an abundance of secondary literature. Psychologists, historians, political scientists, and students of literature have used and developed the topics, models, and research tools for imagology. However, very few scholars have been interested in the change of stereotypes over extended time periods. Psychologists and literary scholars focus on the persistence of images, while political scientists and historians are captivated by the interrelationship of the image of Germany and the American entry into the war.

Although psychologists do not explain how and why these stereotypes have changed through history, psychological research produced two provocative models for explaining why humans develop prejudices and stereotypes. The formation of stereotypes involves two related processes. The first is *categorization*. People sort each other on the basis of gender, race, nationality. By grouping people, we form impressions quickly and use past experiences to make decisions. Stereotypes thus provide us with rich, vivid expectations about individuals we do not know.[2] The second process that

---

[2] Sharon S. Brehm and Saul M. Kassin, Social Psychology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993), 146-162; see also G.W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954); for categorization see S. E. Taylor, "A Categorization Approach to Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior," in Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior, ed. D. Hamilton, (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1981); D.A. Wilder, "Social Categorization: Implications for Creation and Reduction of Intergroup Biases," in Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, ed. L. Berkowitz, (New York: Academic Press, 1986), 291-355; S.M. Anderson and R. L. Klatzky, "Traits and Social Stereotypes: Levels of Categorization in Person Perception," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 53 (1987): 235-246; C.F. Bond and D.R. Brockett, "A Social Context-

promotes stereotyping follows from the first and is known as *outgroup homogeneity bias*. Groups that we identify with are called ingroups; those we do not identify with *outgroups*. We tend to assume that there is greater similarity among the members of outgroups than among the members of our own *ingroups*. Thus, while the natives of New York City proclaim their ethnic diversity, elsewhere there is talk of the typical New Yorker.[3]

Psychological research, however, has drawbacks because it tends to emphasize the persistent character of stereotypes in society. A survey among a hundred American college students in 1933, for example, revealed that seventy-eight believed Germans to be "scientifically oriented," sixty-five perceived Germans as "hard-working," and forty-four thought of them as "stubborn." A repetition of this survey in 1950 and an intense study of 1400 American students in 1982 corroborated the American image of Germans as "hard-working" and "efficient."[4] These surveys can easily lead to the conclusion that stubbornness and hard work are inherent elements of the German national character.

A similar perspective prevails among scholars of American travel literature. They stress the theme of stereotypes in literature but rarely place their findings in a larger

---

personality Index Theory of Memory for Acquaintances," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 52 (1987): 1110-1121.

[3] P.W. Linville and E.E. Jones, "Polarized Appraisals of Out-group Members," Journals of Personality and Social Psychology 57 (1980): 689-703; C.M. Judd, C.S. Ryan, B. Park, "Accuracy in the Judgment of In-group and Out-group Variability," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 61 (1991): 366-379.

[4] D. Katz and K.W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," and G.M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Persistence and Change among College Students," both in Kurt H. Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Klaus Jonas, Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen: Urteile und Vorurteile (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 490.

historical context. William Stowe's Going Abroad, for example, describes elegantly the interrelationship between transatlantic tourism and the rise of the travel book, but he is mainly interested in how famous travel writers developed their perspectives.[5] Two refreshing new studies focus on how Americans used foreign travel to define their own identity. Mary Suzanne Schriber's feminist study of women's travel, Writing Home, shows that travel abroad not only liberated women from the restrictions of middle-class America but also made them chauvinist collaborators in male exploitation of the outside world. Terry Caesar's Forgiving the Boundaries emphasizes the relationship between the white, male perspective and ethnic minorities in the United States.[6] Despite the importance of stereotyping in many other travel book studies,[7] scholars of English and

---

[5] William Stowe, Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[6] May Suzanne Schriber, Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920 (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997); Terry Caesar, Forgiving the Boundaries: Home as Abroad in American Travel Writing (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995), see also his "'Counting Cats in Zanzibar:' American Travel Abroad in American Travel Writing to 1914," Prospects 13 (1989): 95-134.

[7] Percy G. Adams, Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Russell Baker, The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Charles L. Batten, Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Alfred Bendixen, Americans in Europe before 1865: A Study of the Travel Books (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina,1979), Van Wyck Brooks, The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760-1915 (New York: Dutton, 1958); Foster Rhea Dulles, Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964); Shirley Foster, American Women Travelers to Europe in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1994); Anne Lucille Greer, "Early Development of Travel Books and Literature in America, 1825-1850" (Ph. D. diss., University of Southern California, 1955); Klaus Lanzinger, Jason's Voyage: The Search for the Old World in American Literature: A Study of Melville, Hawthorne, Henry James, and Thomas Wolfe (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); Allison Lockwood,

American literature are not very interested in the change of stereotypes but in the persistency and spreading of these images through the centuries. Writing for most students of Anglo-American travel literature Waldemar Zacharasiewicz maintained that "literary and rhetorical factors" helped to account for the stability of national stereotypes through the centuries."[8]

Historians, of course, have looked at the changing image of Germany through the last one hundred years. But "Germany" is not the same as "Germans." The term Germany has a wider meaning because it includes the German government, social and political institutions, the Germans, and the geographic location of the nation. Most historical works about American-German relations have focused on diplomatic, political, and economic contacts. The causes for America's entry into the First World War have particularly attracted historians. These scholars have emphasized the political differences between the two societies or traced changes in the images of each other to political events.

Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981); Orie William Long, Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935); Christopher Mulvey, Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo American Travel Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Thomas H. Pauly, "The Travel Sketch-book and the American Author: A Study of the European Travelogues of Irving, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Howells, and James". (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1995); Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Janis P. Stout, The Journey Narrative in American Literature: Patterns and Departures (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983).

[8] Images of Central Europe in Travelogues and Fiction by North American Writers, ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1995), xii.

Alfred Vagts' pioneering study about the changing American image of the German Empire from a friendly nation to an aggressive rival was one of the first that stressed the long-term effects of imperial competition on the deteriorating friendship between the two countries. According to Vagts the simultaneous appearance of the United States and Germany on the world stage at the turn of the century caused the rise of a hostile image in the American public.[9] Recent studies of German-American relations still follow Vagts' model and embellish it with further details.[10]

Other historians looked at Germany's changing image from a supporter of the United States to an enemy in the First World War. Most of these studies stress the role of Anglophile elites in the United States and the role of the state-sponsored anti-German

---

[9] Alfred Vagts, Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik (New York: Macmillan, 1935).

[10] Manfred Jonas, United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984); Hanz Gatzke, Germany and the United States, a "Special Relationship?" (Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1980). Reiner Pommerin, Der Kaiser und Amerika (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1986); Ragnhild Fiebig von Hase, Lateinamerika als Konfliktherd der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1890-1903 (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht,1986); id., "The United States and Germany in the World Arena, 1900-1917," in Hans-Jürgen Schröder, ed., Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the era of World War I, 1900-1924 (Providence, NJ: Berg Publishers, 1993); Raimund Lammersdorf, Anfänge einer Weltmacht: Theodore Roosevelt und die transatlantischen Beziehungen der USA, 1901-1909 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994); Reinhard R. Doerries, Imperial Challenge: Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1989); id. "Kaiserreich und Republik. Deutsch-Amerikanische Beziehungen vor 1917, " in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., America and the Germans: An Assessment of Three-Hundred-Year History (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 353-66; Holger H. Herwig, Politics of Frustration: The United States and German Naval Planning, 1889-1941 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976); most of the studies of American-German diplomacy were published in the 1920s and 1930s, for older works see Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany, 1906-1914," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965) and Jonas, United States and Germany, 310-17.

propaganda during the war.[11] Others point to the American disappointment over German failures to create a liberal state. Konrad Jarausch, for example, stresses the importance of the failed revolution of 1848 and the rise of militarism for the negative image of Germany. Similar in essence but less convincing is Ruth Musselman's dissertation "Attitudes of American Travelers in Germany, 1815-1890: A Study in the Development of Some American Ideas." Musselman' work implies that Germany's failed liberal revolution set the country on the road to Hitler.[12]

Detlef Junker's Manichaean Trap is the most recent and most elaborate attempt to explain the changing American image of Germany. Junker claims that the Unites States judged the German Empire by the extent to which Germany did or did not follow America's progress toward liberty. Americans' "opinions, their prejudices, their clichés and stereotypes, the images expressing enmity or hate," wrote Junker, "generally followed the overall political developments, i.e. the changing political fortunes and

---

[11] Clara Eve Schieber, The Transformation of American Sentiment toward Germany, 1870-1914 (New York: and Boston: 1923); Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany, 1906-1914 (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965); Jörg Nagler, "From Culture to Kultur: Changing American Perception of Imperial Germany, 1870-1914," in , David E.Barclay and Elizabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America Since 1776 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, Enemy Images in American History (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1997); id., Zwei Wege in die Moderne: Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1900-1918 (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1998).

[12]Konrad H. Jarausch, , "Das amerikanische Deutschlandbild in drei Jahrhunderten," in Willi Paul Adams and Klaus Weigelt, eds., Das Deutschland-und Amerikabild. Beiträge zum gegenseitigen Verständnis beider Völker (Melle: E. Knoth, 1986), 10-20; id., "Huns, Krauts or Good Germans? The German Image in America, 1800-1980," in James F. Harris, ed., German-American Interrelations: Heritage and Challenge (Tübingen: Attempto, 1985); Ruth Ann Musselman, "Attitudes of American Travelers in Germany, 1815-1890: A Study in the Development of Some American Ideas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1952).

America's political judgments concerning the German Empire. Depending on the political situation, Americans would pick certain stereotypes."[13]

Junker's thesis reads like my anti-thesis. My sources prove that American travelers derived their images of Germans from the economic development of Germany rather than from political events. Once the pre-industrial Germany had established the stereotype of phlegmatic Germans, Americans struggled to reconcile their old but dear image of Germans with the effects of the modern industrialized country they saw. Instead of picking their stereotypes depending on political convenience and events, Americans clung tenaciously to their old views, even as German industrialization slowly eroded the older stereotypes

[13] Detlef Junker, The Manichaean Trap: American Perceptions of the German Empire, 1871-1945 (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1995), 12-13.

Prologue:

Colonial, Revolutionary, and Early Republican Travelers, 1650-1815

During colonial times, prominent Americans often traveled to Europe. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson visited England, France, and the German states for scientific and diplomatic reasons. The sons of wealthy planters, such as William Byrd of Westover, attended schools in England. In the first half of the eighteenth century, colonial travelers to their motherland England did not regard themselves as foreigners or outsiders.[1] But the German states aroused little interest among English-speaking settlers in North America. Even the Hanoverian succession of 1714, which placed the British crown in the ruling family of the German principality of Hanover, mattered little to English colonists. A few American sermons were preached lauding the Protestant Hanoverians and condemning the Catholic Stuarts. Several towns in New England, often without a single German inhabitant, took German names: Hanover, Lunenberg, and Berlin. But these things were merely superficial demonstrations of loyalty to the new king rather than a genuine curiosity about Germany. Even German immigrants in Pennsylvania, who lived in compact communities, displayed only a modicum of interest about their former homeland. In addition to the few German newspapers, only Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette reported news about Central Europe and about the Austrian War of Succession (1742-1748) to Americans. Except for war news, knowledge

[1] Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experiences in the Old World, ed. Philip Rahv (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), xi.

about German matters did not reach very deeply into North America's mostly English-speaking communities.

Several reasons contributed to this neglect of German culture. First, the more than two hundred relatively tiny German principalities were economically and politically insignificant for the American population. Second, the German immigrants to America were primarily uneducated peasants who preferred to settle in the cheap American hinterland and stayed to themselves. The language and religious barriers--most of the immigrants were Lutherans and Pietists--further isolated the Germans from their English-speaking Anglican, Quaker, and Presbyterian neighbors. The large pietistic minority among the German emigrants proved to be particularly counterproductive to the diffusion of German culture. That is to say, Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, and Dunkards insisted on simplicity of life, frowned on higher education, rejected modern society, and avoided contact with those outside their faith and language. This naturally aroused suspicion among the surrounding population and made the Germans seem strange and secretive. English settlers in America also detested German backwoods farmers for their primitive looks and life style. Benjamin Franklin called their women thick and ugly. The Germans in colonial Pennsylvania were commonly called "the dumb Dutch": plodding, unimaginative, unchanging, and thickheaded.[2] Franklin's trip to the electorate of Hanover to meet German scientists and accept membership in the Royal Society of Science at the University of Göttingen did not change his unfavorable image of German-American farmers.

---

[2] Robert Kelley, The Shaping of the American Past (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1982), 1: 74.

Attitudes of the English-speaking settlers toward Germans and all other Europeans deteriorated during the second half of the eighteenth century. The French and Indian Wars increased the already-present anti-French sentiments among the colonists. Especially during the War of Independence against the British "motherland," Americans looked upon all European states, including Great Britain, as strongholds of decadence and political oppression. British policies to quell the rebellion further alienated the colonists from Europeans. The British hired seventeen thousand poor peasant sons from Hesse and other north German states to fight the colonists as mercenaries. After Hessian atrocities in New Jersey, the term Hessian became synonymous with barbarism. However, the American rebels did not turn against the local immigrant German population since they proved their loyalty (or, at minimum, their neutrality) to the American cause. German Americans displayed the same animosity toward the Hessians as did the English-speaking rebels.[3]

The few American visitors to Germany in the late eighteenth century were distinctively different from those who came in the early nineteenth. Patrician diplomats such as Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris were almost the only Americans who traveled through some of the German states sometimes as diplomats or scientists, sometimes as refugees from the French Revolution as in the case of Gouverneur Morris. The difficulties and dangers of intercontinental travel allowed only a few American clergymen, diplomats, and artists to explore central Europe between 1776

[3] Frederica Charlotte Loise von Riedesel, Die Berufsreise nach America: Briefe auf dieser Reise und während ihres sechsjährigen Aufenthalts in America zur Zeit des dortigen Krieges in den Jahren 1776 bis 1785 nach Deutschland geschrieben (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1800), 298.

and 1815. For the Americans who did travel to Europe, the objective was modern France, industrializing Great Britain, or sometimes the ancient ruins of Italy, but rarely the small, insignificant states of Germany. None of them reported much about their travels or published reports about their experiences.

The Enlightenment influenced the few observations of eighteenth-century travelers who tended to compile data rather than write about personal experiences and impressions. Consequently, eighteenth-century travel accounts tended to be detailed descriptions of flora and fauna, prisons and factories, or architecture and machines. Travel journals from this time often looked like short encyclopedias about a particular region. Human beings and their behavior appeared in these writings largely as decoration rather than as the focus of description.[4] On his way from Italy to the seaports of Holland, the artist John Trumbull passed through the Rhine Valley. His letter to Thomas Jefferson described in detail the region's wine, agriculture, soil, paintings, architecture, and manufacturing industry.[5] Two years later, Jefferson, while ambassador to France, could see with his own eyes the places portrayed in Trumbull's letter, but again his description listed windmills, quarries, and fortifications. It did not include a single word about

---

[4] American travelers in eighteenth-century Germany never seemed to notice the incessant tobacco smoking in Germany's everyday life, a habit that most Americans of the nineteenth century found most appalling in Europe. Russian travelers of the eighteenth century such as the officer Andrej Bolotov in 1758, were impressed how much the Germans smoked. See also Georg von Rauch, "Eindrücke russischer Reisender von Deutschland im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in Friedhelm Kaiser und Bernhard Stasiewski, Reiseberichte von Deutschen über Russland und von Russen über Deutschland (Köln, Wien: Böhlau, 1980).

[5] Letter from John Trumbull to Thomas Jefferson, from Antwerp, Oct. 9, 1786, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954), 10: 440.

national culture.[6] The terrors of the French Revolution forced Jefferson's successor, Gouverneur Morris, to flee across the Rhine into the neighboring territory. Morris' reports were understandably more concerned with diplomatic difficulties than with descriptions of a country he did not want to see in the first place. In 1800, the Philadelphia Portfolio published the first and for a long time the only American travel account of Germany. The newspaper printed John Quincy Adams' Letters from Silesia as a short series of articles. All early travelers, from Franklin to Adams, diplayed a great interest in economic, social and political institutions, but they seemed reluctant to express any generalizations about the inhabitants of the countries they visited.

Because of the general American lack of interest in Germany, the British publisher J. Budd pirated John Quincy Adams' articles about Silesia and printed them as a book for a British audience.[7] Thus the first well-publicized American description of Germany catered to the interests of a British audience but met with indifference among Americans. British publishers had printed a wide variety of travel descriptions of foreign countries since the early eighteenth century. Only one American publisher, however, reprinted a travel book that was immensely popular in Europe. John Moore's A View of Society and Manners in Switzerland, Germany, and Italy appeared in 1783.[8] It took

---

[6] Thomas Jefferson, "Notes of a Tour Through Holland and the Rhine Valley," (March 1788) in The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 13: 13-26.

[7] John Quincy Adams, Letters from Silesia: Written During a Tour Through that Country in the Years 1800, 1801 (London: Printed for J. Budd, 1804).

[8] John Moore, A View of Society and Manners in Switzerland, Germany, and Italy: With Anecdotes Relating to Some Eminent Characters. By John Moore, MD. During His Travels Through Those Countries With His Grace the Present Duke of Hamilton (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1783).

almost one hundred years, and sometimes more than that, for scholars to rediscover and publish the diaries and letters of American travelers to Central Europe written between 1776 and 1815.

This indifference toward Germany was part of a larger American attitude toward all of Europe. After the Peace of Paris, both the Federalists and the Jeffersonians pursued policies that tried to shut off North America from the corrupting cultural and political influences of Europe. These two major political parties, however, disagreed on how to define economic relationships with European nations. The Federalists envisioned a hierarchical society after the British model and advocated high protective tariffs against British products to promote a native industry. When the Jeffersonians came to power in 1801, they vigorously worked to promote their own vision of an agrarian republic, independent of the vices of Europe. Jefferson, who had seen the British factory system and its devastating effects on laborers and craftsmen, tried to implement a pastoral society of yeomen farmers. He and his followers argued that America should generate agricultural products and exchange them for the products of European technology. This idea crumbled when the large and resource-rich United States was unable to defeat a smaller and war-exhausted Britain in the War of 1812. The lesson from the disappointing adventure was clear to even the most dedicated Jeffersonian: a large agricultural nation of independent farmers could not stand up against a smaller but industrializing country. For many revolutionary leaders and patriots, cultural independence from Europe seemed as important as political or economic independence. Intellectuals and political leaders agreed that contacts between America and Europe should be limited or avoided. Noah Webster, whose dictionary represented a cultural declaration of independence,

disapproved of travels to Europe. "Before the Revolution they might be useful," he wrote in the American Magazine but "now they should be discountenanced, if not prohibited."[9] Thomas Jefferson, who served as a diplomat in Europe and remained a life-long connoisseur of old world wines, wrote to a friend in 1785: "It appears to me that an American, coming to Europe for his education, loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits, and in his happiness."[10] The writer Royall Tyler indicated in his popular play "The Contrast," (1787) that traveling into foreign countries represented treason to American convictions.[11]

Continued military and economic friction between the United States and Europe did not help either. The dislike of Europe among revolutionary leaders had not changed by 1817 when the young Harvard student George Bancroft visited former President John Adams for advice about his proposed studies in Europe. Adams "did not omit expressing his opinion dogmatically that it was best for Americans to be educated in their own country."[12] This was a view shared by many Americans. Since patriotism generally goes hand in hand with a rejection of other nations, a dislike of Europe prevailed in the early Republic.

---

[9] Noah Webster, "Importance of Female Education--and of Educating Young Men in Their Native Country, Addressed to Every American," The American Magazine, Containig a Miscellaneous Collection of Original and other Valuable Essays in Prose and Verse, and Calculated both for Instruction and Amusement 2 (May 1788), 371.

[10] Letter from Paris to John Banister, October 15, 1785, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 8: 637.

[11] Foster Rhea Dulles, Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 2.

[12] George Bancroft, Life and Letters of George Bancroft, ed. Mark De Wolfe Howe (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1908), 1; 32.

Although Germans did not play a major role in trans-Atlantic conflicts, the term "German" possessed a decidedly negative connotation. During the nation's first two decades, Americans still thought of Germans as primitive, backwoods farmers in contrast to Jefferson and Crevecoeur's ideals of wholesome, independent, and English-speaking farmers. Yale scholar Henry Dwight recalled that Americans were accustomed to regard the Germans as a "heavy-moulded race, as peculiarly physical in their character," because of "the ignorant peasantry," who had emigrated from their country and had "remained equally ignorant in ours."[13] The country, and especially the culture of the country where these backwoods farmers originated, was almost unknown in the United States. As late as 1826, Dwight, the first American author of a book about Germany, could write: "Germany has been, until the past few years, a terra incognita to most Americans."[14]

---

[13] Henry E. Dwight, Travels in the North of Germany in the Year 1825 and 1826. (New York: G.&C.&H. Carvill, 1829), 76.

[14] Dwight, Travels, iii.

Chapter 1

LangsamCountry: Boston Brahmins Discover a Region Untouched by the Market Revolution

The first impulse for the great change in American attitudes toward Germany came from Great Britain. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, scholarly magazines such as the Edinburgh Review, began to challenge the image of the plodding and unimaginative Germans. German advances in philosophy surprised British scholars. The new German idea of transcendentalism, especially Kant's philosophical doctrine, emphasized the unknowable character of the ultimate reality. Kant and his disciples, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling, asserted the primacy of the spiritual and ideal as against the material and the empirical rationalism of the Enlightenment.

Young scholars in New England enthusiastically embraced these views from the Old World as an answer to the logical, but lifeless, *ratio* of the Enlightenment and the strict dogmas of religious orthodoxy. Discontented scholars at Harvard and Yale began to rebel against intellectual isolation and the general anti-European attitude. New England's shift from agrarian communities to an urbanized, capitalist society also helped to broaden the educated elite's horizon. At Harvard and Yale the New England elite came increasingly from rising merchant families who had intermarried with families known for

their long lines of clergymen and Harvard graduates.[1] The members of this amalgamated class of wealth and learning were called *Brahmins* in witty reference to the highest caste in Hindu society traditionally assigned for priesthood. Among America's upper-echelon, this New England elite displayed the greatest interest in intellectual activities. Equipped with financial means and an investigative spirit, Boston and its surrounding universities emerged as the foremost intellectual center in the United States.

Thus German ideas fell on a fertile soil at Harvard and Yale. New England scholars soon discovered in French and British writings that transcendentalism was only the tip of the iceberg.[2] Based on an excellent, competitive, academic system, German scholars had achieved great advances in many fields of modern science and the humanities. The sheer size of German university libraries impressed American students. Yale student Henry Dwight claimed that the thirty-one largest libraries of the United States contained fewer books than the library at the University of Göttingen alone. "Not only larger," wrote Dwight, "but probably ten times more valuable to the student, than all the public libraries of our country."[3] But reading British articles about German philosophy could not substitute for actually studying at the source of all this knowledge.

---

[1] Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865 ([New York]: E.P. Dutton, 1936), ch. 1-4.

[2] Charles Villiers, Coup d'oeil sur les universites et le mode d'instruction de l'Allemagne prostestante (Kassel: Impr. Royale, 1808) and Anne Louise Germaine de Stael, De l'Allemagne (Paris: E. Flamarion, [1813]). American edition: (New York: Eastburn, Kirk, and Co., 1814); see Orie William Long, Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 10.

[3] Henry E. Dwight, Travels in the North of Germany in the year 1825 and 1826. (New York: G.&C.&H. Carvill, 1829), 76.

The first Americans who went to Germany represented a minute segment of American society. Approximately fifty-four travelers in the early nineteenth century left diaries, letters, and memoirs dealing with their visits to Germany.[4] These first pioneer travelers were a very select group, both in regional and social origin. Thirty-six of them came from New England states, twenty-two from Boston alone. Twelve came from New York state, one from New Jersey, and one each came from the West and the South. Hugh Legare, the only southerner, was a close friend of Harvard scholar George Ticknor. The men from Boston were the core of American travelers to Germany and they motivated and inspired other travelers and a wider audience of American students and readers.

In social terms, these travelers to Germany were also exclusive. The average American traveler was highly educated and came from a wealthy or at least a middle class background. Traveling to Europe in the early nineteenth century required substantial funds. Until the transportation revolution in the form of steamships and railroads, overseas transportation and land travel was slow and expensive.[5] In occupational terms, the largest group of these early travelers to Germany included sixteen students, educators, and academics, closely followed by eleven clergymen, and seven professional writers. However, some of the clergymen and some of the writers were also students at German universities, or they occasionally visited lectures or interviewed distinguished professors. Seven businessmen and one jurist also viewed their German travels as an instructive endeavor rather than a tourist journey or even a business trip.

---

[4] For an analysis of the travelers' origins, see apppendix.

[5] See George Rogers Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860 (New York and Toronto: Rinehart, 1951)

The visit to Germany was first of all an educational experience in the tradition of the British Grand Tour. This academic purpose also determined the travel destinations: universities, art galleries, and museums. The educational intention, however, did not hinder the American travelers from enjoying the romantic ruins in the Rhine valley and the small medieval-looking towns.

New England scholars knew Germans only from their academic literature. These first literary contacts might have reversed the former image of the dull peasant and led Americans to believe they were going to what the Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle called, a "learned, deep-thinking Germany."[6] However, the first real contact involved culture shock for American scholars. Germany was still overwhelmingly rural. Even Berlin was only a garrison town with a royal court. Germany in the early nineteenth century was essentially a country of peasants and residents of small towns in the west and latifundia in the east. The boorish behavior of all social classes in Germany, even of the admired intellectuals, disappointed the newly arrived Bostonian students. The professors at Göttingen, for example, corresponded "poorly with the childish ideas" George Bancroft had formed in America of "the superior culture and venerable character of the wise in Europe."[7]

These first American travelers entered a country that had experienced profound changes during and after the Napoleonic Wars, but Germany was still in transition from feudalism to a modern society. At the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), the great powers

---

[6] Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdrokh. (New York: Burt, [1836]), 47.

[7] George Bancroft, Life and Letters of George Bancroft, ed. Mark De Wolfe Howe (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1908), 1: 86.

established the German Confederation. Under the leadership of Prince Clemens von Metternich, the foreign minister of the Austrian empire, European powers began the restoration of authoritarian anti-revolutionary states. The new German states did not reestablish the old feudalistic hierarchy. Most organized a civic order that endorsed, at least in principle, legal equality, access to public offices and protection of property rights. These achievements of the French Revolution could not be taken back, and they planted the seeds for the future bourgeois society in central Europe.[8]

But great differences between the United States and the German states remained. In 1815, the confederation's thirty-five principalities and free cities defended their economic, financial, and political autonomy. Trade was on a modest scale and involved mostly the import of British manufactured goods in exchange for German wool and wheat. A "crazy-quilt pattern of custom barriers" hampered commerce and industry.[9] Despite the economic stagnation, Germany's universities were at the time the best in Europe,. By contrast, the United States had already achieved a large unified, internal market. After the War of 1812, Congress rechartered a national bank, enacted a protective tariff, and debated whether or not to build a national system of roads and canals at federal expense. Compared to Boston's economic leaders, only a few German capitalists in the Rhine valley drew their wealth from commerce and banking. Americans were surprised to find that the Rhine in the 1820s was not teeming with steamboats like

---

[8] Thomas Nipperdey, Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 362.

[9] Dietrich Orlow, A History of Modern Germany, 1871 to Present (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, second edition, 1991), 5.

the Hudson back home.[10] In contrast to Germany many regions in the United States had already developed a market-oriented society that encouraged the introduction of new technologies. Steamboats made commercial farming feasible in the countryside. In 1807 Robert Fulton launched the *Clermont* on an upriver trip from New York City to Albany. By 1830, steamboats dominated American river transportation.[11] The Rhine River, Central Europe's main trade route, did not see its first steamship company established until 1826.

When American travelers encountered a predominantly agricultural Germany, their old stereotypes of Germans were naturally re-affirmed. They once again described Germans as slow, plodding, backwoods farmers. "The men have usually shoulders so broad, as to convey the idea of great physical vigour," declared Henry Dwight in a letter home, "but their puny legs soon convince you, that this is not an indication of strength but of a want of symmetry." The necks of the Germans were "often too short for beauty," he continued, "and their feet are so large that the shoemakers must receive but little profit."[12] A young American lady on an educational tour spoke for many of her countrymen when she summarized her image of the Germans: "Never in my life did I see an uglier race of people."[13]

---

[10] Dwight, Travels, 9.

[11] Taylor, Transportation, 58.

[12] Dwight, Travels, 120.

[13] Clara Crowninshield, The Diary of Clara Crowninshield: An European Tour with Longfellow, 1835-1836, ed. Andrew Hilen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956), 250.

Perhaps because most American travelers were male, they discussed the appearance of women more extensively than that of men. But they all concluded that German women were unattractive. The old stereotypes of ugly German women that had prevailed from colonial times continued in American minds. Most American travelers first visited Paris before entering Germany, and they often compared the women of these two nations. "The females," Henry Dwight wrote, "are not as well formed as their neighbours west of the Rhine, being usually too large for grace and elegance. The large feet of the German ladies are the principal cause of their want of grace."[14] The Massachusetts preacher and temperance crusader Robert Baird observed that German women "are a robust, hard-working race, of much physical strength, and above the ordinary of size of women."[15] Surprising to the Americans was the notion that Germans were "much less graceful in their motions" than their western neighbors, since "the Germans dance more than the French."[16] Dwight saw the reason for this lack of grace in a "native awkwardice [sic], which is almost universal in the country."[17] The women reminded Aaron Burr of "those German women spoken of by Tacitus and Caesar"

---

[14] Dwight, Travels, 120.

[15] Robert Baird, Visit to Northern Europe or Sketches Descriptive, Historical, Political, and Moral of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1841), 2: 180.

[16] Dwight, Travels, 120.

[17] Ibid.

because "their laugh might have been heard a mile."[18] Burr sadly concluded his diary notes: "Have seen only one beautiful woman."[19]

Dwight perceived German complexions as "very fair; yet owing to the transparency of the skin, or to the excess of blood, their cheeks are much too red for beauty."[20] Boston merchant Wilbur Fisk described Germans as "of under stature, their skins shriveled and seared."[21] Many Americans endowed Germans with the attributes of a rural population. Terms like "athletic"[22] and "robust"[23] expressed images of physical

---

[18] Aaron Burr, Private Journal of Aaron Burr, During His Residence of Four Years in Europe, With Selections from His Correspondence ed. Matthew S. Davis. (New York: Harper Brothers, 1838; reprint Upper Saddle River, NJ: 1970), 382-833.

[19] Burr, Private Journal, 833. Echoing the American experience in Germany, European travelers in the United States praised the "unaffected ease and elegance of the American ladies," Charles Waterton, Wanderings in South America, the United States, and the Antilles, (London: Fellowes, [1828]), 177. The American woman impressed the German traveler G.F. Streckfuß with her "regular body, beautiful neck and breast, fine face; with eyes promising tenderness and goodness, with elegant walk," and other attributes that continued over a half paragraph; G. F. Streckfuß, Der Auswanderer nach Amerika oder Treue Schilderung der Schicksale, welche mich auf meiner Wanderung nach Amerika, während meines dortigen Aufenthaltes und auf meiner Rückreise trafen: Nebst Bemerkungen über die Landschaften, welche ich kennen lernte, die Sitten ihrer Bewohner und die Lage der dort eingewanderten Deutschen (Zeitz: Immanuel Webel, 1836), 81.

[20] Dwight, Travels, 120.

[21] Wilbur Fisk, Travel in Europe, viz. in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), 5.

[22] Baird, Visit, 179.

[23] Valentine Mott, Travels in Europe and the East in the Years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '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: Harper and Brothers, 1842), 82.

strength. At the same time, these descriptions implied coarseness, rudeness, and lack of delicacy. Urbane Americans from wealthy classes could not identify with these country folks. They felt more at home in Paris, which resembled their native Boston. Americans perceived German clothing to be unattractive too. Student George Ticknor realized that the nearer he came to the French border the more the German population displayed fashionable clothing. However, even in Straßburg (Strasbourg in French), he observed that "German traits still prevail."[24] "In every promenade," noted Dwight in Frankfurt, "you discover in the dress and walk of the ladies, that you left Paris far behind you."[25]

American travelers failed to notice the tremendous differences in language and culture among the German-speaking population of Central Europe. The burghers of Straßburg appeared to these travelers quite as German as the citizens of Berlin or Vienna. If the local residents spoke a German dialect, the visitors from the New World characterized them as Germans. But American notions of a language-based national identity stood in contrast to the regionalism of most Germans. Asked for their identity, most burghers of Straßburg would have answered "Alsatian." Frankfurters saw themselves first of all as *Frankfurter* but not as *Deutscher*. Thus American visitors already expressed a loyalty to the nation-state that most Germans did not develop until the unification of the German Empire in 1871.[26]

---

[24] George Ticknor, Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor ed. George S. Hillard. (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1876), 1: 126.

[25] Dwight, Travels, 35.

[26] For more information about the intricate relationship between the nation and the state see: John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 65-82, 253-262; Hans Kohn, Nationalism: Its Meaning and History (Princeton,

Germany's economic backwardness in the early nineteenth century also influenced American perceptions of the Germans' slow-paced of life. One of the basic experiences of every traveler was a ride in a stage coach. The writer Washington Irving complained how "intolerable are those tedious Germans with their post horses and post offices. . . . Really I grow heartily weary of this *langsam* [slow] country."[27] Writer Catherine Sedgwick complained that "there is no fast driving--that would be perfectly un-German." James Fenimore Cooper was convinced that the French armies had so easily overrun the German states because "the people are sluggish and far from enterprising."[28] George Bancroft remarked that contact with Germans afforded "a fine opportunity for cultivating the Christian virtues of patience and resignation."[29] Aaron Burr, who had waited nineteen hours for a German stage coach, was surprised not to hear "a single tone or expression of ill-humour or impatience" among the waiting Germans. To the contrary, he saw only "constant good-humour."[30] Other Americans exploded with anger about this relaxed lifestyle. John Lothrop Motley called the Germans "the most phlegmatic

---

New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1965), 19-20, 58-61; Louis Snyder, Varieties of Nationalism: A Comparative Study (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden Press, 1976), 92-93, 201-210.

[27] Washington Irving, Letters, 1802-1823 ed. Ralph M. Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfeld, and Jenifer S. Banks. (Boston: Twayne, 1972), 765.

[28] Letter from Dresden (July 15, 1830), in James Fenimore Cooper, Letters and Journals ed. James Franklin Beard. (Cambridge,Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 1: 420,

[29] Bancroft, Life and Letters, 35.

[30] Aaron Burr, Private Journal, 378.

specimen of mankind that exist."[31] Americans from New England had quite different notions about the proper speed of transportation.

The observations of German travelers in North America corroborated the wide difference in the pace of life. At the end of the eighteenth century, the physician Johann David Schöpf was amazed at the speed of American coaches.[32] At his arrival in the 1830s, an immigrant named Moritz Beyer was bothered by the "fast driving coaches" because they created so much dust in the streets.[33] A different working mentality divided the two cultures. The time-oriented capitalist society in New England which had already experienced a transport and market revolution contrasted with the older task-oriented economy in which time was of secondary importance.[34]

The public consumption of alcohol in German society annoyed New England travelers even more than the slow pace of life. "Beer is the universal drink," stated Henry Dwight.[35] A Harvard student was appalled by the sight of his drunken professors stumbling home after a social evening at the house of the university president.[36]

---

[31] John Lothrop Motley, The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley (New York: Harper Brothers, 1889), 1: 22.

[32] Johann David Schöpf, Reise durch einige der mittleren und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost Florida und den Bahama-Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784 (Erlangen: Johann Jakob Palm, 1788), 1: 52.

[33] Moritz Beyer and L. Koch, Amerikanische Reisen (Leipzig: Immanuel Müller, 1839), 1: 202.

[34] See Charles Sellers, The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3-33.

[35] Dwight, Travels, 256.

[36] Bancroft, Life and Letters, 1: 52.

American travelers in Germany, most of them from the urban elite, adhered to the ideas of temperance. By 1815, Federalist societies and Congregational clergymen had formed "moral societies" in New England to discourage strong drink. Addressing the churchgoing middle class, clergymen declared alcohol an addictive drug. Entrepreneurs and the middle class found the new movement attractive since drunken laborers caused workplace inefficiency, property damage and personal injury. As a result, many businessmen made abstinence a condition of employment.[37] While abstinence or temperance succeeded with the middle class of New England, the consumption of alcohol by the lower classes reached an all-time high in the 1820s. Between 1800 and 1830, annual per capita consumption of alcohol in the United States was higher than in England, Ireland, and in the German states.[38]

Two circumstances made drinking in Germany different and even more unacceptable to the visiting Americans. First, while heavy drinking was widespread in America, public drunkenness was not common. Heavy drinking tended to be confined to the home. In America, wrote Cooper, "we are told gentlemen don't get drunk anywhere else."[39] In Germany, however, public drunkenness was common, and it appalled the visitors.[40] Others were surprised that ladies could order beer at a public dance.[41] Second,

---

[37] Ian Tyrrell, Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Ante-bellum America, 1800-1860 (Westpoint, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979)

[38] W. J. Rorabaugh, The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 8-10.

[39] Cooper, Letters, 1: 424.

[40] Bancroft, Life and Letters, 1: 52; Baird, 1: 36; Charlotte B. Bronson, The Letters of Charlotte Brinckehoff Bronson: Written During her Wedding Journey in Europe in 1838 with her husband Frederic Bronson and his Niece Caroline Murray, to her Mother Mrs.

Americans were used to seeing whiskey and cider as the usual drink; beer could not be effectively processed and stored until the mid-nineteenth century because of the long and hot summers in North America. In Germany, however, the relatively mild summers and long winters allowed the production and storage of beer. Germans considered this beverage as "necessary as bread."[42] The sheer quantities consumed overwhelmed American onlookers. The natives drank "an amount which no stomach but a German's could contain, and which no one could believe who has not travelled in Germany."[43]

James L. Brinckerhoff (Cambridge, Mass.: Privately printed, 1928), 2: 297; Dwight, Travels, 27; Stephen Grellet, Memoirs and Gospel of Stephen Grellett ed. Benjamin Seebohn (Philadelphia: H. Longstreth, 1860), 1: 297; Henry Hiestand, Travels in Germany, Prussia and Switzerland (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1837), 116.

[41] Nathaniel Willis, "Pencillings by the Way," in The Complete Works (New York: J. S. Redfield, 1846), 116.

[42] Dwight, Travels, 256.

[43] Ibid. Interestingly, Germans travelers to the United States, were equally appalled by the quantities of liquor that Americans downed. "In no other country," wrote the emigrant Streckfuß, "is the vice of drunkenness more spread than in America"; its effects were "more corrupting than even in Poland and Russia." Streckfuß, Auswanderung, 102. "Whatever you might think about the American temperance associations," another German traveler wrote, "you will find a very large intemperance in drinking liquors," Beyer/Koch, Reisen, 132-33. Other Germans agreed, Herzog Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg, Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824 (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1835), 134, 230, 233; Prinz Maximilian zu Neuwied, Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834 (Koblenz: J. Hoelscher, 1839-41). [Anonymous], Briefe von Deutschen aus Nord-Amerika mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Gießener Auswanderer-Gesellschaft vom Jahre 1834 (Altenburg: Expedition des Eremiten, 1836), 128. German travelers to eastern cities in the 1820s and 1830s could already observe the effects of the temperance movement. A German traveler reported that two young German friends in Baltimore had occasionaly visited bars but never got intoxicated or riotous. Nevertheless, going to such places tainted their image, and in consequence they could not find employment. They moved to Charleston where nobody knew them and eventually became successful craftsmen; [Anonymous], Reise von Hamburg nach Philadelphia (Hannover: Ritherschen Buchhandlung, 1800), 40.

Social drinking in Germany in the early nineteenth century was still accepted as a legitimate part of corporate behavior. Craftsmen ritually drank at the guild hall on certain holidays. But the reforms of the 1810s began to weaken traditional social behavior in Germany too. Equality before the law, protection of property and the property tax emphasized individualism and fostered economic competition. Personal anxieties produced a need for stronger drinks, perhaps to compensate for the insecurities of a competitive society and the dullness of repetitive factory work. When in 1834, the foundation of the North German Custom Union opened up trade on a large scale and started industrialization, Germany experienced both an increase of liquor consumption and a temperance movement like America twenty years before. In 1837 Germany could claim seventeen temperance clubs with only 500 members. Only one year later the number had grown to seventy-six associations and 2,800 members, and in 1839 there were 129 associations and 5,000 members.[44] But the big increase in both temperance and intemperance came with the beginning of industrialization in the mid-1840s. From 1842 to 1845 the number of societies exploded from 450 to 730.[45] Almost twenty years later than the United States, the German states experienced the similar phenomena of massive alcohol abuse and temperance. The emergence of a German temperance movement in the 1840s indicates that Germany's social and economic development lagged about twenty years behind the United States.

---

[44] [Anonymous], Bruder Jonathan, oder Neuigkeiten aus Amerika, worin genau beschrieben wird, wie die Sachen jezt dort stehen und was sich in den lezten Jahren daselbstzugetragen hat (Hannover: P.C. Göhmann, n.d.), 12-13.

[45] [Anonymous], "Temperance in Europe: Germany," Niles Weekly Register, 59 (September 6, 1845): 2.

For the American travelers in Germany, the consumption of tobacco seemed to be less shocking than alcohol but not less annoying. Despite a ban on public smoking in most German towns and cities, "the streets reek with tobacco smoke."[46] George Ticknor called Germany, "this land of gutturals and tobacco."[47] His student and later the famous politician, Charles Sumner, declared that "everybody in Germany smokes."[48] He was convinced that he was "the only man above ten years old" who did not.[49] It seemed to Sumner that "everybody was puffing like a volcano."[50] Other visitors agreed that "everyone smokes" and that Germans were "all inveterate smokers." They were "never seen without a pipe in their mouth."[51] Washington Irving claimed that Germans had clay or wood pipes in their mouths "perpetually." They were so accustomed to it that they had no need of holding it, but these pipes hang from their mouths "as naturally as the proboscis of an elephant."[52] Clara Crowninshield found it "laughable to see the

---

[46] Willis, "Pencillings," 115.

[47] Ticknor, Life, 1: 87.

[48] Charles Sumner, Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner ed. Edward L. Pierce. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893), 1: 134.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Motley, Correspondence, 26; John Coggeshall, Thirty-Six Voyages to Various Parts of the World, Made between the Years 1799 and 1841 (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1858), 104.

[52] Irving, Letters, 1: 19.

tenderness with which a German handles his pipe as if it was a child."[53] The writer William Cullen Bryant recognized by the beer and tobacco smoke in the inns that he had now crossed the border from Italy to Germany.[54] Henry Dwight captured the remarkable importance of pipe smoking in the everyday life of all German classes. "The students," he observed, "smoke most of the time, when not eating, or sleeping, or in their lecture room."[55] "The peasantry smoke while at work in the fields, as well as at home," he wrote, and other classes of Germans smoked "not a small part of their lives. Though the young peasants do not puff while in the waltz, they resume their pipes as soon as it is ended."[56] George Henry Calvert later remembered his student time in Germany, and the German peculiarities of smoking: "The Germans do not smoke, they are smoked."[57] William Sprague, a well-known preacher, once visited the famous theologian Hengstenberg at the University of Berlin. "While I was with him," Sprague reported, "he

---

[53] Clara Crowninshield, The Diary of Clara Crowninshield: An European Tour with Longfellow, 1835-1836, ed. Andrew Hilen. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956), 228.

[54] William Cullen Bryant, Letters of a Traveller or Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America (New York: D. Appleton, 1850), 49.

[55] Dwight, Travels, 325. Longfellow reported that the students of Heidelberg even smoked during the lecture. Henry W. Longfellow, The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston: Belknap Press, 1886), 1: 226.

[56] Dwight, Travels, 325.

[57] George Henry Calvert, "Scenes and Thoughts," in First Years in Europe (Boston: 1866), 103.

smoked incessantly and occasionally let forth a puff almost directly in my face. No other apology, however, was needed for it than the fact that he was German."[58]

Germans and Americans reacted very differently toward smoke. While Germans felt at ease with it, most Americans loathed the tobacco smoke. The cramped quarters while riding in a coach triggered strong resentments in Americans against German smoking. Nathaniel Willis reported about his coach trip, that there was a little exchange of compliments in German "of which I understood nothing except that they were apologies for the incessant smoking of three disgusting pipes."[59] Willis thrust his head half-out of the coach "to avoid choking with the smoke."[60] But many Germans did not allow open windows. William Sprague felt "persecuted" by the smoke in his coach. Stephen Olin tried to avoid being locked inside and climbed up to an uncomfortable open seat in front, but even there was "a constant smoker by my side."[61]

Americans suffered from the same inconvenience on other forms of public transportation like river boats. Tobacco smoke on an overcrowded Rhine boat caused a headache in one American traveler; others were annoyed by the smoking passengers.[62]

---

[58] William Buell Sprague, Visits to European Celebrities (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1855), 136-37.

[59] Willis, "Pencillings," 108.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Sprague, Visits, 108; Stephen Olin, The Life and Letters of Stephen Olin, Late President of the Wesleyan University (New York: Harper, 1860), 339.

[62] Calvin E. Stowe, "Report of Elementary Public Instruction in Europe," in Edgar Wallace Knight, ed., Reports on European Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930), 2: 327; Isaac Carow, In American Backlogs: The Story of Gertrude Tyler and Her

Germans did not spare even dining rooms from their smoke. Clara Crowninshield described in her diary how a "cloud of grey tobacco made a sort of twilight over the heads."[63] When they were seated, the pipes were "already in operation at the other end of the table."[64] Henry Longfellow, Crowninshield's fellow traveler, imagined what their friends would think, "could they have peeped in."[65] The "fresh smell of meat and the dead smell of tobacco" sometimes drove her "crazy."[66] Nathaniel Willis described how the smoke pervaded everything: "your hotel, your café, your coach, your friend, are all redolent of the same disgusting odor."[67] Washington Irving spent hours in the parks of Prague in the early morning "before the Germans come to poison the air with themselves and their tobacco pipes. As to pure air," Irving continued, "it's too insipid for a German. Indeed he knows as little [of] what pure air is as a drunkard does of pure water."[68] In 1843, an anonymous former student in Germany wondered about reports that the "filthy

---

Family, Compiled by Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1928), 224.

[63] Crowninshield, Diary, 232.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Crowninshield, Diary, 232.

[67] Willis, "Pencillings," 115.

[68] Letter to Amelia Foster, Prague, June 13, 1823, in Irving, Letters, 1: 765.

habit of smoking" had increased greatly within the last twenty years. "We were not aware that it could be greater."[69]

To the elites of New England the use of tobacco in any form, carried the stigma of a "bad habit": offensive, primarily as a hazard to health, good manners, and thrift.[70] Educated upper class Americans considered the "perpetual beer-drinking and pipe-smoking" as "essential[ly] coarse and low."[71] Consequently, tobacco consumption declined in the United States during the early nineteenth century. German emigrants observed that "Americans rarely smoke and if they do, they smoke only cigars."[72] While the frontier population enjoyed occasional pipe smoking, urban, middle-class Americans from the east coast perceived the use of pipes as something strange. Germans visiting a New York museum saw with amazement an ordinary German pipe exhibited "like a sacred relic in a nice glass box."[73]

---

[69] [Anonymous], "Howitt's Student Life of Germany," North American Review, 56 (April, 1843): 313.

[70] John C. Burnham, Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 88.

[71] [Anonymous], "Student Life," North American Review, 56 (April, 1843): 313.

[72] [Anonymous], Briefe von Deutschen, 129. Cigars were so rare in Germany in the early nineteenth century that George Ticknor, a strict non-smoker, paid his tuition in Cuban cigars for his tutor of Italian at the University of Göttingen. The tutor, Herr Balhorn, considered the cigars as full compensation for his readings and explanations of Dante while leisurely smoking the Havanas. These private lectures lasted "as long as the cigars lasted." Ticknor, Life, I, 85-86. During the nineteenth century, the new habit of cigar smoking slowly moved into American society via England. Cigar smoking became, however, a significant part of conspicuous consumption among the American upper class during the mid-nineteenth century. Burnham, Bad Habits, 88-89.

[73] [Anonymous], Briefe von Deutschen, 121.

American travelers took dangers to the soul even more seriously than they took the physical harm of alcohol and tobacco consumption. The religious reform movement of Unitarianism had overrun Massachusetts, the starting point for most travelers to Germany. Unitarians rejected predestination and the innate human depravity of Calvinist orthodoxy. Like most reformers they based their beliefs on the Bible. The new findings of German theologians both disturbed and excited these Unitarians. Harvard's President John Kirkland, a Unitarian, warned his first students bound for Germany against "infidelity, immorality, and corruption."[74] Many Americans found at some German universities "an extreme freedom" that was hard to bear.[75] What Kirkland called "infidelity" meant "German rationalism" or simply "German theology" to others.[76]

This "German theology" had adopted principles which philologists had applied to Homer and other classical works. When liberal theologians turned these critical methods to the Bible, their conclusions shocked an American audience: the older Holy Scriptures were not heaven-sent but had descended from one generation to another through oral tradition.[77] Philologically-trained theologians cast doubt on the authenticity of many writings of the New Testament. This was heresy for New England travelers, most of whom had grown up in a culture where the Bible was central to life. George Bancroft, a

---

[74] Letter from Kirkland to Bancroft (May 26, 1819), quoted in Lilian Handlin, "Harvard and Göttingen, 1815-1820," in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 95 (1983): 78.

[75] Ticknor, Life, 1: 99.

[76] F. Cunningham, "German Rationalism," Christian Examiner 10 (1831), 356.

[77] [Anonymous], book review of A Tour in Germany, in Museum of Foreign Literature, 5 (1824), 331.

Unitarian minister's son, assured Kirkland that he avoided lectures about "German theology." He stated: "I have nothing to do with it ... Of their infidel systems I hear not a word; ... I say this explicitly, because before I left home I heard frequently expressed fears, lest I should join the German School."[78] George Ticknor, another Unitarian, claimed that he had "no objections to a serious and thorough examination of the grounds of Christianity," but he resented Professor Eichhorn's skepticism toward "all that I have been taught to consider solemn and important."[79] Unitarians welcomed the rational critique of German theologians if it helped to discredit the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, but when this examination raised questions about the historical validity of the Bible, the New England students retreated from the subject.

A writer for the Unitarian Christian Examiner was puzzled to see "infidelity making such rapid progress, and almost triumphant, in some of the most enlightened countries of the world."[80] He noted that in Germany "we find those who reject Christianity as a supranatural revelation occupying the most important pulpits, the most important professorships in theological schools, and in fact constituting the predominant party in the [Protestant] church."[81] Stephen Grellet, a Quaker from Pennsylvania,

---

[78] Bancroft, Life and Letters, 1: 55.

[79] George Ticknor, The Travel Journals in the Years 1815-1819 and 1835-1838, 1: 133-134, quoted in David B. Tyack, George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 61.

[80] [Anonymous], "State of Religion in Germany," Christian Examiner, 19 (September 1835), 41.

[81] Ibid.

denounced the liberal professors at Leipzig as the "great champions of infidelity."[82] Stephen Olin, president of Wesleyan University admitted that "instances of personal piety" were "not uncommon" in Germany, but a "sound Christian morality, such as reigns in many of our American colleges" was "quite unknown."[83] Bancroft reported about his professors that "Eichhorn does not know that there is a church in the city. Blumenbach does not know who preaches there." The others were unaware that "there is such a thing as Christianity."[84] The North American Review, a major vehicle for Unitarian and politically conservative opinions, called the Protestant ministers in Germany an "unbelieving clergy."[85] It was only a small step for American visitors to identify Germans as infidels. Henry Dwight lamented the great indifference which most persons felt respecting the dogmas of the Lutheran Church. They seemed to have "excluded religion from among the topics of conversation in society."[86] Henry Hiestand, a preacher, learned very soon that "the people here" were "very backward to confess Christ openly."[87]

New Englanders had an ambiguous relationship with North German Prostestantism. They were attracted to its rationalism, but modern theological research

---

[82] Grellet, Memoirs, 225.

[83] Olin, Life and Letters, 324.

[84] Letter to Andrews Norton, (Göttingen, March 21, 1819), quoted in Lilian Handlin, George Bancroft: The Intellectual as Democrat (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 62.

[85] North American Review, 29 (1829), 412.

[86] Dwight, Travels, 132.

[87] Hiestand, Travels, 57.

intimidated the American visitors. German Catholicism on the other hand was an easy target for travelers to criticize. The Protestant Americans took great delight in describing a hopeless, backward, and superstituous papal despotism. Clara Crowninshield visited the church of Saint Ursula in Cologne where, according to pious legend, 11,000 virgins were once slaughtered. The church's walls were lined with the bones of the supposed victims. The skulls, wrote Crowninshield, were set in cases and were ornamented in "ridiculous manner with silk and precious stones."[88] Most of the time, the Americans kept their thoughts to themselves when confronted with the Catholic custom of relic devotion. But Catherine Sedgwick noted in her letters that American travelers sometimes crossed the line between respectful watching and scoffing. In Aachen, during the display of relics, she observed that thousands of pilgrims sank down on their knees whenever the priest held up "one thing." There were, however, some exceptions to this respectful devotion. "Travellers, like us, were staring, and talking, and making discord with the deep responses."[89]

Henry Dwight related the relic cult in the Catholic Church to the Church's absolute power. Although he praised the French conquerors for dispelling "much of the superstition of the countries they subdued, enough of it still remains even here [in South Germany] to excite the surprise of one acquanted with the investigating spirit of northern Germany."[90]

---

[88] Crowninshield, Diary, 190.

[89] Catherine Sedgwick, Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841), 30.

[90] Dwight, Travels, 20.

Other Americans reported that Germans branded their dogs with a so-called St. Bernard's key; "they think if such dogs go mad, their bite will not be noxious."[91] Samuel Topliff, a Boston merchant, told about a village near Mainz where the bodies of the newly deceased were exposed for two days and their hands fastened with a cord leading to a bell. Should the deceased "not be dead, he could ring the bell and thus obtain assistance--what nonsense. If such superstition is prevalent in the 19th century, no wonder those in the 15th century believed Doctor Faustus had dealings with the D---l."[92] Ironically, the precautions the villagers took to prevent apparently dead persons from being buried alive seem more rational and less superstitious than the New Englander's avoidance of the name "Devil." Whatever beliefs in supranatural powers the travelers from America had, they all could agree with Bancroft "that the Germans united the most foolish credulity with the most audacious scepticism."[93]

Given the Puritan background of the travelers and their strict devotion to the Sabbath,[94] they were greatly upset by German practices. It was the "laxity of the Sabbath" that caused a collective uproar among the American travelers, and the sour observation that "Sunday here is devoted to amusement."[95] George Ticknor noticed that

---

[91] Irving, Journal, 4.

[92] Samuel Topliff, Topliff's Travels: Letters from Abroad in the Years 1828 and 1829. Edited with a Memoir and Notes by Ethel Stanwood Bolton ([Boston]: Boston Athenaeum, 1906), 110-11.

[93] Bancroft, Life and Letters, 1: 95.

[94] Winton U. Solberg, Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

[95] Sedgwick, Letters, 35; Crowninshield, Diary, 128.

on Sundays the population of Göttingen did "everything but remember and worship God."[96] Visiting American clergymen were embarrassed when German colleagues invited them to the theater on a Sunday. William Sprague was amazed that "those who professed to be evangelical Christians would attend the theater on the Sabbath."

Even those Protestants who celebrated the Lord's day offended Sprague. Ministers spent Sundays in social gatherings, "good-humoured, not to say boisterous demonstrations." Sprague confessed that he was "for once more than reconciled to my ignorance of the language."[97] Sprague was sure that his host, the neo-orthodox theologian August Neander, "did not intend to do violence to my feelings," but Sprague thought that he "should not have been placed in such a situation so painful to me."[98] Henry Hiestand brusquely refused an invitation to a theater on Sunday: "I might as well cut my throat, as go."[99] When his German colleague asked him if clergymen in America did not go to the theater, Hiestand snapped, "Christians do not go to the theatre in any country."[100] From the perspective of Americans, the Germans showed blasphemous disregard for the Lord's day. Gambling on Sunday shocked Catherine Segdwick; it was "an odd scene for us of Puritan blood and breeding to witness."[101] "Shops open on

---

[96] Journal entry for Göttingen, October 5, 1816, George Ticknor, The Travel Journals in the Years 1815-1816 and 1835-1838 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1974),

[97] Sprague, Visits, 131-136.

[98] ibid.

[99] Hiestand, Travels, 61.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Sedgwick, Letters, 35.

Sunday" disconcerted the Americans, who perceived this "buying and selling" as "profanity of the day on which God has ordained his earth to be a temple of sacred rest from labor, and sordid care, and competition."[102] The silent Sunday and church going back home had reassured Americans partly because it aimed to promote social cohesion and spiritual values in a society that was experiencing rampant individual profit-seeking and materialism.

The cult of domesticity was another attempt to reconcile the socially destructive forces of capitalism with the needs of the middle class. The market revolution in New England caused the disintegration of the old patriarchal household economy. Men in cities and towns went off to work, leaving wives and children at home. Even in the countryside, commercialized farmers made a clear distinction between male work that was oriented toward markets and female work that was meant to maintain the household. By putting women on a pedestal and glorifying the function of women as mothers and home-makers, society compensated for the restrictions of the newly-defined gender role in a growingly market-oriented society. This gender role included certain advantages for women. As the "weaker sex" they were exempted from heavy labor. Many women openly embraced their role as family educators and child rearers.[103]

---

[102] Olin, Life and Letters, 316; Sedgwick, Letters, 35; Dwight, Travels, 230.

[103] See Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly, 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174; Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric fo Women's History," Journal of American History 75 (June 1988): 9-39; Jeanne Boydston, Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic (New York and Oxford, 1990); Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

Most Germans in the countryside, however, knew little about the supposedly appropriate role of women. Americans were continually upset at seeing German women doing hard labor. Washington Irving exclaimed that the "German makes cows and women work." Women seemed in this country to be among the "beasts of burden." It appeared to him that "a healthy peasant woman can carry as much as a donkey." They were "of course broken down" when old.[104] Samuel Topliff agreed that German women were "emphatically the pack horses of the country." He was amazed that they supported burdens on their backs "that would make some of the four footed race stagger."[105] Clara Crowninshield concluded that the many goiters of German women resulted from overstraining their muscles while adolescents. She continually saw young women on her walks over the hills, "sometimes with a load of manure on their heads, sometimes of stones, and sometimes a bundle of brushwood which is more picturesque, but never without a burden of some sort." The "injurious effect," according to Crowninshield, manifested itself on the throat.[106]

Women appeared to do most of the work in the fields, gathering potatoes, pulling hemp, raking hay, and some even ploughed. Clara Crowninshield thought that the bent-over working position made women "look like wild creatures."[107] Jared Sparks, the New England historian even compared the female workers on the large estates with slaves in

---

[104] Irving, Journals, 1: 172.

[105] Topliff, Travels, 115.

[106] Crowninshield, Diary, 251.

[107] Ibid, 265.

the South. "Except in the color of the laborers," he wrote, "it resembles exactly what you see among the slaveholders in Carolina and Georgia."[108] The sight of "fifteen or twenty women at work in the fields, with a man at their head as an overseer who did nothing," emphasized this similarity to southern practice.[109] The lack of distinction between male and female labor did not fit into the American concept of gender specific work. Anna Eliot Ticknor saw in Dresden "a woman drawing an empty coal cart, . . . and a man sitting in the cart, entirely at his ease, with arms folded in great dignity."[110] This picture symbolized to Anna Ticknor "the climax of the degradation of our sex here."[111]

The backward state of German society was certainly irritating to many Americans who were used to fast transportation, public sobriety, peaceful Sabbaths, and domestic roles for women. Yet a few qualities of Germany's hierarchical society won praise from American visitors. The "simple manners" of Germans surprised and pleased American travelers. After the American Revolution, the citizens of the new republic frowned upon aristocratic behavior. The travelers expected a cold and formal welcome in Europe. The clergyman Henry Hiestand met a group of military officers in Potsdam. "They were

---

[108] Sparks, Life, 2: 86.

[109] ibid.

[110] Anna Eliot Ticknor, The Travel Journals of George and Anna Ticknor in the Years 1815-1819 and 1835. Microfilm edition of manuscript. (Ann Arbor, 1974); quoted in A Guide to the Microfilm Edition on the European Journals of George and Anna Ticknor (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1974), 68.

[111] Ibid.

perfectly familiar," he wrote in his diary, "having nothing of that aristocratic stiffness which an American supposes inseparable from European titled nobles."[112]

Nathaniel Willis remembered that from his first day in Germany he had entered "a country of simple manners and kindly feelings."[113] Some years later, during his second visit to Germany, the academic George Ticknor enjoyed "German notions of simplicity" during his visit to a professor's family in Heidelberg.[114] Catherine Sedgwick was puzzled when she saw the coarse owner of an inn put his hand on the shoulder of a high ranking aristocrat while he spoke to him in familiar manner.[115] Another traveler, Martha Babcock Amory, was equally surprised at the friendly mingling of social groups in Germany. At home, she wrote, she would be shocked to sit next to a nursery maid or a peasant, but in Germany, there was "no such feeling."[116]

The American Revolution had helped to undercut the notion that there were pre-ordained places for each member of society. According to emerging middle-class liberalism, every citizen was responsible for his advance or decline in social status. Americans, according to a German visitor, "had no idea about the strict difference

---

[112] Hiestand, Travels, 110.

[113] Willis, "Pencillings," 108.

[114] Ticknor, Life, 2: 100.

[115] Sedgewick, Letters, 39.

[116] Martha Babcock Amory, The Wedding Journey of Charles and Martha Babcock Amory: Letters of Mrs. Amory to Her Mother, Mrs. Gardner Greene, 1833-1834 (Boston: priv. print., 1922), 78, quoted in Ruth Ann Musselman, Attitudes of American Travelers to Germany, 1815-1890: A Study in the Development of Some American Ideas Unpublished dissertation (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1952), 122.

between master and servant, mistress and maiden."[117] Citizens of the United States enjoyed a higher social mobility, but for this social freedom Americans had to pay a price. Society quickly divided into the working and the propertied classes. Those of the upper classes separated themselves from the lower classes in space, education, and manners. They began to live in different quarters of the town and mingle more exclusively within their class. In less modernized Germany, the post-Napoleonic states had established legal equality but social position was still determined by family background and not by individual achievement. Therefore, a free intermingling of all classes did not appear dangerous to the ruling elite. Sedgwick noticed that the domestics in Germany had "nothing of that unhappy uncertainty as to the exact position, so uncomfortable in our people."[118]

The mostly negative stereotypes did not cause Americans to detest Germans. Quite the opposite. James Fenimore Cooper, who had boasted the superiority of American civilization over every other in the world, said "Germans are a kind, but beyond question, a people who are not yet at the top of civilization."[119] In other words they were not like Americans. But the assumed inferiority of Germans made them more likable than the snobbish English and French. Americans in England very quickly became aware that they were considered to be inferior in almost every aspect of life. "In the four quarters of the globe," asked the Edinburgh Review in 1820, "who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? ... What does the world yet owe to

---

[117] Beyer/Koch, Reisen, 1: 200.

[118] Sedgwick, Letters, 39.

[119] Cooper, Letters and Journals, 2: 309.

American physicians? What new substances have their chemists discovered? ... Who drinks out of American glasses? Or wears American coats or gowns? Or sleeps in American blankets?" Finally, the British magazine touched the issue of liberty, the most sensitive spot in the American self-image: "Under which of the old tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a Slave, whom his fellow-creatures may buy and and sell and torture?"[120]

These verdicts haunted the visitors from the New World. Americans, sick of this constant humiliation, took refuge in underdeveloped countries where a comparison between the Old and the New World always ended in favor of America. For the same reason, Italy was perhaps the most beloved country among American travelers. Italy was infinitely inferior compared to American standards, and it harbored the ruins of former grandeur, thus perfectly embodying the decay of the Old World. Here, Americans could almost feel their glorious future and the *translatio imperii*, the idea that civilization and empire moved westward.

Without exception, all New Englanders in Germany agreed that America was the best place to live. "May my heart always feel grateful to God for giving me my birth in the land of freedom," wrote Dwight.[121] 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 splendid German universities and libraries.

---

[120] Sydney Smyth, review of Statistical Annals of the United States of America, in Edinburgh Review, 33 (January 1820): 79-80.

[121] Dwight, Travels, 96.

"America," wrote Cooper, "is beyond doubt the most civilized nation in the world."[122] Self-conscious about their inferiority, German travelers in America disliked such a chauvinistic display of nationalism. Johann Gudehus reported that Americans possessed a "national pride like no other nation on earth. Even the self-respecting and sympathetic French aristocrat saw American national pride as an "irritable patriotism."[123] They look down with great contempt on all other nations."[124] This nationalist attitude of Americans revealed why American travelers (and travelers in general) labeled other nations with mostly negative attributes. These white, Protestant Americans reassured themselves of their national identity in foreign countries. Travel through Europe helped them to define home. National stereotypes enabled Americans to equip their nation with certain virtues

---

[122] James Fenimore Cooper, Notions of the Americans Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor (Philadelphia: Carey Lea Company, 1828), 67.

[123] Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ed. J.P. Mayer and Max Lerner (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 218-219, 543.

[124] Jonas Heinrich Gudehus, Meine Auswanderung nach Amerika im Jahre 1822 und meine Rückkehr in die Heimath im Jahre 1825. Nebst Bermerkungen über den

and images: moderation in alcohol and tobacco, piety, and efficiency pleasantly contrasted with the assumed inferior characteristics of other nations. More than anything else, travel observations created a national identity. After all, a nation is what Benedict Anderson had called an "imagined community."[125]

---

kirchlichen, ökonomischen und moralischen Zustand der dortigen Deutschen und Winke für Auswanderungslustige (Hildesheim: Gertenberg, 1829), 33-34.

[125] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983).

Chapter 2

The Rise of Tourism and Nativism, 1840-1860

In the 1840s and 1850s, after regular steamship lines had connected Europe and North America, thousands of American middle and upper-class tourists from mostly northern parts of the United States followed the footsteps of the scholarly Bostonian elites. They easily adopted the already established stereotypes about Germans. The immigration of tens of thousands of Europeans, mostly Irish and German, caused a nativist resentment among old-stock Americans and tainted their view of the Catholic parts of the German states. The mostly Protestant tourists with nativist views tended to divide Germans into two categories: Popish Catholics and good Protestants. They rejected the supposedly ignorant lifestyle of Catholic Germans and the tyrannical oppression in Catholic German states, while embracing the family life, social customs, and schools in Lutheran Germany, particularly Prussia. Dividing German states between good northern Protestants and despicable southern Catholics must have occasionally reminded Americans of their own sectional differences. Traveling abroad offered neither northerners nor southerners an opportunity to forget their debate over slavery.

Travel to Europe became more accessible with the establishment of the Cunard steamship line between Liverpool and Boston in 1840. In the following two decades, intense competition between the British Cunard, the North German Lloyd, the American Colson and other newly founded steamship companies led to the introduction of the iron-screw to propel the increasingly larger iron ships and reduced the transatlantic crossing

from six weeks to a week and a half.[1] Elias Derby, a railroad director from Massachusetts, joked that steam power enabled him to go to Europe "almost without having been missed" at home. "But now," he claimed, "one has barely time to eat a few pleasant dinners, to form a few pleasant acquaintanceships, to learn a few sea phrases, take a few walks on deck,... before the steamer enters her port."[2]

The growth of tourism also increased the number of travel books. Catering to thousands of tourists, the travel book became a new genre, and the printing presses constantly expanded their travel book production. Before 1850, 323 books of foreign travel were published, at least 1,439 were published in the second half of the nineteenth century.[3] Countless articles in magazines and newspapers attempted to satisfy a growing demand. The market was so glutted in the 1840s that it became increasingly difficult to find a publisher. The young student Bayard Taylor, who had hoped to finance his travels through Europe by travel writings, complained that Europe was becoming so familiar to the reading public that merely descriptive letters, "although not yet a drug in the literary market, were no longer in the same demand as formerly."[4] One traveler claimed that the portrayals of Heidelberg, its castle and university were "too familiar in the pages of

---

[1] Frank C.Bowen, A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930), 34; Francis E. Hyde, Cunard and the North Atlantic, 1840-1973: A History of Shipping and Financial Management (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1975), 29.

[2] Elias Derby, Two Months Abroad, or a Trip to England, France, Baden, Prussia, and Belgium By a Railroad Director of Massachusetts (Boston: Redding and Co., 1844), 1.

[3] Mary E. Schriber, Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920 (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 48.

[4] Bayard Taylor, Views-A-Foot (New York: G.P. Putnam and son, rev. ed., 1855), 20.

guidebooks and in travelers' descriptions" for him to sketch these places anymore.[5] By the 1850s, Horace Greeley, the famous publisher who had financed Taylor's travels in 1844, became annoyed by young men anxious to pay their way by writing for journals. He told them not to ask him anymore to further their schemes, and declared that they might "far better stay at home," apply themselves to some useful branch of productive industry, "help pay our National Debt, and accumulate a little independence whereon, by and by, to travel as a gentleman, and not with but a sheet of paper between you and starvation."[6] Whether Americans followed his advice or not, by April 1861, at the moment when the American Civil War was beginning, the North American Review reported that "everyone either has been abroad, or means to go if he can."[7] In the mid-nineteenth century it was estimated that possibly as many as 30,000 Americans went abroad every year.[8]

Of course, not every American could go. Most of the travelers were still from the middle and upper classes. New Englanders still constituted the majority of the travelers, but increasingly westerners and southern propertied Americans began to take the Grand Tour of Europe. When Anne Bullard left her native port of New York, her fellow passengers and social peers on board the steamship to Europe "promised to be extremely

---

[5] Cyrus Augustus Bartol, Pictures of Europe, Framed in Ideas (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1855), 71.

[6] Horace Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life (New York: Tribune Associations, 1873), 246.

[7] [Anonymous], "Travel in Europe," North American Review (April, 1861), 530.

[8] Foster Rhea Dulles, Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 1.

pleasant companions."[9] Her enumeration of these companions reads like a Who's Who of New England genteel society. Her list included six clergymen, three lawyers, one physician, one surgeon, five ladies, and four children. Among these passengers were illustrious names such as George Falson, Esq., United States Charge d'Affairs at the Court of the Netherlands, with wife, children, and servants; Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, Dr. McFarlane, Superintendent of the New Hampshire Insane Asylum, and James Edwards. Five of her fellow passengers were delegates to the Peace Congress at Frankfurt. Elias Derby's ship provided its passengers with all kinds of comforts including a surgeon, "a very accomplished and gentlemanly man," an ice house, and a cow for fresh milk.[10]

Steamships and railroads made traveling less expensive and much faster. George Ticknor, one of the very first travelers to Germany in 1815, compared in 1856 his experience of travel in Europe forty years before. Travel in the early nineteenth century had been strenuous, difficult, and time-consuming, but in the 1850s modern hotels, service, and the modern railroads made touring much more efficient and comfortable.[11] Americans took full advantage of the growing German railroad system. Railroads were faster than the horse-drawn coaches but they ironically limited what Americans saw of Germany. While most Americans in the early nineteenth century had gone to places like Göttingen and the Hartz Mountains, the railroad travelers now preferred the Rhine valley

---

[9] Ibid., 31.

[10] Derby, Two Months, 1.

[11] Ticknor, Life, II, 334-35, George Ticknor to W.S. Dexter, Milan, Oct. 26, 1856.

to the more remote areas of central Germany in their rush from Belgium or France to the Swiss Alps.

The Rhine, particularly the mountainous part between Bonn and Mainz, became the focus of the new tourists of the 1840s and 1850s. Here was the opportunity to compare Europe's tamed nature with the American wilderness. Elias Derby spoke for all when he declared that nature had invested the northern part of the Hudson river with more grandeur than the Rhine. But the same travelers admitted that the dilapidated ruins and especially the "association with history" made each former castle "a scene of fierce warfare, or of impassioned love."[12]

Lower class travelers could easily destroy this romantic beauty with their vulgarity and coarseness. George Ticknor predicted that pretty soon "Cockneys," uneducated, lower-class Englishmen, would go in four days from London to Rome, only "to be able to say they have been there, having little comprehension of what they see, and none at all of what they hear."[13] A few young Americans like Bayard Taylor had lower-

---

[12] Derby, Two Months, 32, 33; Samuel Irenaeus Prime, Travels in Europe and the East: A Year in England, Scotland, Ireland (New York: Harper, 1855), 304; Octavia Walton Le Vert, Souvenirs of Travel (Mobile and New York: S. H. Goetzel, 1857), 2: 279; see also similar statements in Harriet Trowbridge Allen, Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64 (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor, 1879), 319; Erastus C. Benedict, A Run through Europe (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1860), 436; Anne T. Bullard, Sights and Scenes in Europe: A Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in 1850 (St. Louis, MO: 1852), 51; Henry Winter Davis to Samuel F. DuPont, Vienna, Aug. 6, 1854, "A Marylander's Impressions of Europe During the Summer of 1854," ed. Gerald S. Henig, Maryland Historical Magazine 72 (1977), 232; Field, "Diary, 1836-37," May 9 1836; Kirwan, [Nicholas Murray], Men and Things as I Saw Them in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), 226; Ik Marvel, [Donald G. Mitchell], Fresh Gleanings; or a New Sheaf from the Old Fields of Continental Europe (New York: Harper 1847), 275; Taylor, Views A-foot, 97; Howard Townsend, "Tour," [n.p., n.d], 1848

[13] George Ticknor to W.S. Dexter, Milan, Oct. 26, 1856, Ticknor, Life, II, 334-35.

class backgrounds but most travelers still came from the traditional elites of the United States.

The second generation of American travelers, whether lower or upper-class, did not have much contact with the educational and political elites of Germany anymore. Their sheer numbers made them less attractive to European celebrities. While New England patricians in the 1820s were armed to the teeth with letters of introduction to Europe's savants and rulers, the new generation had almost no connection to the upper classes in Europe. No one suffered more from this lack of connection than Henry Adams, the son and grandson of two American presidents. Adams, unable to follow the German lectures at the University of Berlin, had to go the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Werdersches Gymnasium, the German equivalent of an American high school, and he deeply resented the fact that he had to spend his time among children of small tradesmen and the petty bourgeoisie. None of his neighbors or fellow students were noble or connected with "good society," but quite the opposite, the pupils were "of a class suspected of sympathy and concern in the troubles of 1848."[14] "I tell you what, young man," he wrote his brother from Berlin in 1859, "Boston's a little place, but damn me if it isn't preferable to this cursed hole." He claimed that he had never heard more "promiscuous swearing" than in Berlin.[15] Adams resented the fact that he was not invited to the court balls and other fashionable occasions. "Society! Good God," he wrote to his brother again, "a man might as well try to get into the society of the twelve Apostles as

[14] Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, ed. Ernest Samuels. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 78-79.

any society worth having here." He considered only the balls at the court as adequate while the private ones were "utterly incompetent."[16]

Unfortunately for him, the German aristocracy hated "everything that smells of America."[17] American travelers paid the price for their nation's diplomatic support of the republican revolution in 1848 that had alienated the aristocratic elites. Upper-class Americans felt trapped between the ruling elites, who scorned the supposedly republican Americans, and the lower-class Germans, whom the Americans despised. Status-oriented Americans were constantly made aware of their precarious position. The Boston Brahmin George Higginson reminded his son Henry Lee Higginson in Vienna, that he had heard from other Americans that Henry's casual clothing was "rather peculiar and shabby." The father requested him to "consider more favorably what the personal appearance of one of your class should be. Dress reputably always."[18]

By the 1840s national stereotypes were well in place and would remain so for at least the next two decades. The difference in social class helped to maintain the image of typical Germans as a boorish but hospitable and kindly people. Henry Adams claimed that German food, "a diet of sauerkraut, sausage, and beer" and lack of fresh air made his

---

[15] Henry Adams to C.F. Adams, Berlin, April 6, 1859, Adams, in Henry Adams, Letters, ed. J.C. Levenson, et al. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982-1988), 1: 31.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] George Higginson to Henry Lee Higginson, Boston, [n.d.] 1859, Henry Lee Higginson, Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson, ed. Bliss Perry (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921; Reprint: Freeport, N.Y. Books for Libraries, 1972), 128.

schoolmates' faces "white and their flesh flabby."[19] Another New Englander thought that the harsh German dialect distorted the mouth of a German woman.[20] Bayard Taylor claimed that the "general character of a nation is plainly stamped on the countenances of its people." Just by glancing at the passing faces in the streets, one could quickly distinguish the Englishman or the Frenchman from the German. With the exception of young boys who knew nothing about "the laws by which their country is chained down," and the students, who talked at least of liberty and rights, the older Germans had settled down "into the calm, cautious, apathetic citizen."[21] Only in Hamburg did the travelers find the comportment of the merchant class "very fine." Indeed, the Hamburg bourgeoisie looked "more American or English than German."[22]

Americans of the 1840s and 1850s still perceived German women as ugly and lacking in refinement. "One looks almost in vain, for a handsome female countenance," regretted even Bayard Taylor, a writer who usually praised the Germans. Although he found German women "fresh as wild roses," he thought they were too coarse and heavy to be considered beautiful.[23] (Taylor, who married a German woman ten years later, no doubt changed his opinion.) Henry Adams claimed to have seen more plain-looking

---

[19] Adams, Education, 79.

[20] Derby, Two Months, 28.

[21] Taylor, Views-A-Foot, 159, Frankfurt, March, 1845.

[22] "Journal of George William Curtis," (n.d.1848), no page number, George William Curtis Papers, 1842-92, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[23] Taylor, Views A-foot, 160; Bayard Taylor, At Home and Abroad, second series (New York: Putnam, 1862), 323.

females than he believed possible to collect in one city. He cunningly used the unattractiveness of his landlord's daughter to his own advantage. He jokingly told his mother to "get papa to double my margin of expenses" to finance his travels to the Near East or she would end up with "a German daughter-in-law with bad teeth, who eats with the knife. Choose for yourself."[24] Even the women of metropolitan Vienna, supposedly the most attractive females of Germany did "not look so attractive as our American ladies."[25]

In the two decades before the Civil War, American travelers continued to observe women performing obvious male work "all over Europe,"[26] but particularly in Germany. Women carried "weights, from their childhood, upon their heads," wrote New York politician Thurlow Weed, "which of course cannot fail to flatten the brain."[27] "It was rather strange to us Americans," wrote another American in Germany, "to find our trunks carried to the railroad station by blooming girls."[28] Americans observed women plowing and reaping in the fields, drawing small carts, assisted often by dogs, "but never by

---

[24] Henry Adams to Abigail Adams, Dresden, Dec. 22, 1859, Adams, Letters, 1: 74.

[25] Simpson to his wife Ellen, Vienna, October 2, 1857, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; very similar about the women of Linz, Austria, see Prime, Travels in Europe, 374.

[26] For examples of women working as field hands and construction workers throughout Europe see Prime, Travels in Europe, 282-83; S[amuel] S. Cox,, A Buckeye Abroad; or Wanderings in Europe and in the Orient (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852), 297; Bullard, Sights, 49; Kirwan [Nicholas Murray], Men and Things, 166-67.

[27] Thurlow Weed, Letters from Europe and the West Indies (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1866), 478.

[28] Simpson, "Travels in Europe, 1857," [no page number].

men."[29] Many travelers saw this kind of work as a "degradation of woman"[30] since women engaged in the "most menial and oppressive service" that usually belonged "solely to the rougher sex."[31] When he saw men directing gangs of women in the field, one traveler from Ohio compared it to "gangs of negroes in some of our Southern plantations."[32] Amazing to male and female travelers alike was the fact that these female workers seemed to enjoy this kind of work, judging by their cheerful songs. Bayard Taylor thought that their good spirits were due to "true, warm hearts" of the Germans both male and female and their faithfulness to each other. While many Americans called female field work a "degradation of women," most travelers had no problems with women working in British factories. Anne Bullard who visited the Irwell Silk Mill in Manchester in 1850 assured her readers, it was a "beautiful sight to see so many young, neat, and busy girls together, and to hear them sing so sweetly while their hands were employed."[33]

Most traveling middle-class American women joined their male counterparts in their condemnation of female labor outside the house. These American women embraced the belief in separate spheres and domesticity for women. Again and again they pointed

---

[29] For examples of these observations see Le Vert, Souvenirs, vol. 2, 271; Bullard, Sights, 49, 60; Benedict, Run Through Europe, 312; Kirwan, Men and Things, 211; Taylor, Views A-foot, 152.

[30] Cox, Buckeye, 297; Kirwan [Nicholas Murray], Men and Things, 167; Prime, Travels in Europe, 316.

[31] Prime, Travels in Europe, 316.

[32] Kirwan, Men and Things, 85.

[33] Bullard, Sights, 238-39.

out how much better American women lived at home. Sarah Jane Lippincott admitted to feeling no pity with the female workers. These "full-chested, vigorously limbed, strong backed, firm footed," "robust, and plump" German women "with the unconscious insolence of rustic health" rejoiced in the sternest labor. German women were "never troubled by stomaching sensibilities," they knew "nothing of the toil of the brain," the "tragic sorrow of the heart," or the "exquisite agonies of the nerves." "You have simple habits, few wants, and believing hearts," Lippincott addressed her German fellow women, "so plant and reap, hoe and spade, carry burdens, yoke yourself with the donkeys, if you will, reverence the priest, serve your beer-drinking and meerschaum-smoking master." Lippincott compared the lives of these unconscious but happy German women with her own refined but tormented life-style where "every beautiful task is insatiable longing, every exquisite refinement but a subtle pain, every high-wrought passion the exhaustless source of suffering."[34] Very few of the female travelers understood the reasons why women worked in the fields and did many other tasks that men usually did in the United States: the standing armies and the draft kept the men from their work. "Nearly half the vigorous, able-bodied men are now in the army," claimed one woman who say more clearly. As a consequence, the women replaced the men in the fields "to do the hard labor that should be done by those who are wasting their time and strength in burnishing their weapons of war."[35]

Seeing the position of women in Europe, many conservative women and men did not understand how feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan

---

[34] Lippincott, Haps and Mishaps, 416-17.

[35] Bullard, Sights, 56; the same opinion in LeVert, Souvenirs, vol. 1, 141.

B. Anthony could raise in America "the most complaint of woman's disabilities and degradation."[36] These social conservatives used their European observations to attack the feminist claim that women might do the same work that a man did. "Thanks to God and the tenderness of the human heart," wrote Cyrus Bartol, "that woman in our day is commonly excused from doing many things that ought to be done by a man." These male activities meant to serve as a soldiers, to patrol the streets as policemen, or to "mingle in the angry conflicts of the bar and the caucus."[37]

Food and beer also remained on the list of American reports. American opinions about German food ranged from "bad at best," since "a diet of sauerkraut, sausage, and beer can never be good" or "palatable."[38] Henry Adams wrote home that he would give "fifty thalers for a real piece of roast mutton and cape sauce, and a talk and waltz with a pretty girl."[39] It was not only the food in itself that puzzled Americans but the sheer amount of it Germans devoured in a single meal. Elias Derby found a German dinner a "matter of grave consideration." After a preface of soup, he encountered successive chapters of fish, beef, cutlets, turkey, game, spinach, lettuce, puddings, pastry, and goats-milk cheese, with an appendix of Rhenish wines, apricots, pears, plums, confectionary, and coffee.[40] Charles Loring Brace, who usually praised the Germans, conceded that in

---

[36] Bartol, Pictures of Europe, 312.

[37] Bartol, Pictures of Europe, 313.

[38] Adams, Education, 79; Taylor, Views A-foot, 114.

[39] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Berlin, April 6, 1859 in Adams, Letters, vol.1, 32.

[40] Derby, Two Months, 33-34.

their eating habits they were "hardly consistent with their simple and ideal tendencies elsewhere."[41] After partaking of an ordinary day of a middle-class family in Hamburg, sharing their many meals that always consisted of several courses, even the sympathetic Brace felt exhausted. "Such an overflowing hospitality of good things, all is very pleasant," he wrote, "but how the Germans ever succeed in bearing up under it, is a matter of some surprise to the stranger." In fact, the rations seemed "generally most daring transgressors of all the rule of dietetics," and yet he admitted that the Germans were as healthy as other people.[42] Henry Adams wrote his mother that his German landlady was "horrified that I don't eat anything. She is accustomed to German appetites and seems to think that a man must starve if he doesn't swill sauerkraut and pickled potatoes.[43] Bayard Taylor claimed that the Germans kept a regular list of three hundred and sixty-five soups, since he had every day of the year a different one. In addition to the soup, he usually ate potato salad, barley pudding, boiled artichokes, and rye bread, in loaves "a yard long." "Nevertheless," Taylor asserted, "we thrive on such a diet."[44] Octavia Le Vert even loved German coffee "-and such coffee!" she exclaimed, "the very

[41] Charles Loring Brace, Home Life in Germany (New York: C. Scribner, 1856), 32.

[42] Brace, Home-Life, 35.

[43] Henry Adams to Abigail Brooks Adams, Dresden, Nov. 8, 1859, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 63.

[44] Taylor, Views A-foot, 114.

best in the world is made throughout Germany."[45] Henry Adams on the other side claimed to have "eaten German dishes till I'm nearly run to pieces."[46]

Just as the American temperance movement was at its peak and succeeded in passing prohibition laws in thirteen states in the 1850s, many of the American travelers toned down their former harsh condemnation of wine and beer drinking. State prohibition of alcohol proved to be a failure because it could not be enforced. Those who liked to drink, continued to do so, and those who abhorred liquor had already been converted by the temperance crusade. In addition, New England's middle-class travelers realized that beer and wine did not cause the same damage as did liquor at home. Henry Adams loathed being around a rum-drinking fellow American student in Dresden. Fortunately, there was not much opportunity for this student to get drunk in bars since "in Europe that sort of thing is not done."[47] "Drinking is very much less frequent than at home, at least hard drinking," Henry Lee Higginson reassured his father back in Boston.[48] Although Samuel Prime had traveled all over Europe and spent some months in cities where the sale and consumption of beer and wine was legal, he had seen "far less intemperance in these countries than in our own."[49]

---

[45] Le Vert, Souvenirs, vol. 2, 275.

[46] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Berlin, April 6, 1859, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 31.

[47] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Dresden, Feb. 10-13, 1860, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 89.

[48] Henry Lee Higginson to George Higginson, Dresden, [n.d], 1853, in Higginson, Life and Letters, 68

[49] Prime, Travels in Europe, 301.

Quite a few of the travelers did like "the German fashion" of sitting in the open air, surrounded by pleasant public parks, drinking beer or coffee and "listening at the same time to excellent music."[50] "I wish we had something of this kind in America," sighed an American student, "only taking a little beer or coffee -- nothing stronger, and keeping such excellent order as they do in all these gardens." Blight understood that "such a thing in America would be 'ganz anders' [completely different]."[51] Charles Loring Brace noticed that wine was very cheap in Hamburg and "yet the number of cases of intoxication is surprisingly small, and I never see men unduly excited by liquor at table."[52] The appearance of Hamburg at night made a favorable impression on Brace who blamed "the strong wines and whiskeys" for the "hideous rioting and drunkenness" in Glasgow and Edinburgh. "These facts," Brace concluded, showed "that there are countries where drinking is common and yet where much truer ideas of temperance prevail, then either in rigid Scotland or in our own country."[53]

A German beer garden or pub--or *bierstuben,* as Americans called them - was nothing like an American bar. The student Andrew D. White went in Breslau into an old arched cellar and in the midst of "a great company of merry Silesians," he "took mugs of good German beer!"[54] Luther's beer cup of carved ivory "and of no mean size"

---

[50] Blight, "Diary, 1855," Berlin, June 16, 1855; see also Allen, Travels in Europe, 259.

[51] Blight, "Diary, 1855," Berlin, June 16, 1855.

[52] Brace, Home-Life, 34.

[53] Brace, Home-Life, 34.

[54] Breslau, June, 16, 1855, White, Diaries, 77.

fascinated Harriet Allen, a faithful Protestant who went to Wittenberg to see Martin Luther's home.[55] In a Berlin museum, one traveler discovered another specimen of Luther's beer mugs but "of so large capacity as to justify the belief that the great reformer was as fond of beer as modern Germans are."[56] Prohibition was losing ground in the late 1850s and several states repealed the laws or restricted their harshness. By 1861, only three states out of formerly thirteen were still dry.

In all German states, as in the United States twenty years earlier, urban, middle-class citizens formed temperance associations in the expanding cities to promote moderation or even abstinence in drinking. At the same time, many Americans already felt disillusioned by the movement's effects. George Ticknor reported to his old friend John, the King of Saxony, that American state legislation to restrain the use of all intoxicating drinks and to prohibit the sale of liquor was ineffectual. Ticknor prophesied the abandonment of the anti-liquor laws by the end of 1855 in all states where it had been attempted.[57]

While many Americans moderated their attacks on beer drinking they still despised smoking in public. Henry Lee Higginson, for example, embraced beer "as it is wholesome and good in moderation," but he also sarcastically remarked that it would be a great convenience to smoke, "as I am every day annoyed by it." He developed a "real

---

[55] Allen, Travels Through Europe, 281.

[56] Benedict, Run Through Europe, 378.

[57] George Ticknor to John, King of Saxony, Boston, Nov. 20, 1855, in Ticknor, Life, vol. 2, 296.

hate for tobacco in every form."[58] Even Americans who were already smokers such as Henry Adams objected to the "fumes of coarse tobacco" particularly in presence of ladies.[59] J. Johnston Pettigrew, son of a southern slaveholding family, found the behavior of a German man walking arm in arm with a young woman while smoking a cigar "quite in her face" "contrary to our ideas, and the true ones of politeness."[60] "Smoking is everywhere," wrote one American woman, "I cannot imagine how the ladies can tolerate so much of it."[61] In face of the ubiquitous habit, Methodist clergyman Matthew Simpson wondered why Berlin municipal authorities had banned smoking in cemeteries.[62] Smoking in coaches and train compartments were perhaps the worst agony for the Americans since they could not escape the smoke. Although smoking was forbidden in the railroad cars "in more than three or four different languages," reported Charles Brace, there were "three or four different 'nationalities' smoking ... in every compartment of every car!" Even the conductor, an intimidating "military-looking man" demanding Brace's passports and tickets, kept a cigar smoking in one hand behind while he received

---

[58] Henry Lee Higginson to George Higginson, Dresden, [n.d.], 1853, in Higginson, Life and Letters, 66.

[59] Adams, Education, 79; Adams described in his letters home how he enjoyed smoking in German wine cellars, Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Berlin, Feb. 9, 1859, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 25.

[60] J. Johnston Pettigrew to James Johnston, Berlin, April [n.d.], 1850, in Pettigrew Family Papers, University of North Carolina.

[61] Adelaide Helena Kirchhoff, "Diary of Adelaide Helena," Vienna, May 9, 1852, in Kirchhoff Family Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[62] Simpson, "Travels in Europe, 1857," 15, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

the tickets with the other.[63] Many American travelers reported almost identical experiences on their train rides.[64]

Although Germans were not up to American standards of beauty, temperance, and the proper treatment of women, most travelers praised German honesty, kindness, and politeness. Facing growing materialistic individualism at home American reformers seemed to find in German customs and behavior antidote to the increasing atomization of American communities and society. Charles Brace admired the "social, kindly character of the people," Bayard Taylor stressed their "simple, friendly manners," and an unknown writer claimed that goodness, patience, honesty, and industry were perhaps some of the "most salient points in the character of the great Teutonic Nation."[65] The physician and reformer William Ellery Channing thought that Germans were "more genial, kindly, unconscious, single-hearted, and confiding, than we are."[66] Even Henry Adams, who claimed that Germans were "semi-barbarous," admitted in a letter to his brother that his landlords were "kind and very German," although he thought that German politeness was

---

[63] Brace, Home-Life, 52.

[64] Benedict, Run Through Europe, 311; Clarke, Eleven Weeks, 138; White, Diaries, 106; Simpson, "Travels in Europe, 1857," 15, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[65] Brace, Home-Life, 68; Taylor, Views A-foot, 119; "Rural and Domestic Life," Southern Literary Magazine 10 (1844): 565; Willard Fiske to Charles Dudley Warner, Copenhagen, Jan. 12, 1851, in Willard Fiske, Willard Fiske, Life and Correspondence: A Biographical Study, ed. Horatio S. White (New York: Oxford Universit Press, 1925), 353.

[66] William Ellery Channing to George Combe, [n.p.], March 1, 1842, in Channing, Memoirs, vol. 3, 306.

a "cumbrous affair consisting chiefly in elephantine compliments and profuse lies."[67] The somewhat aged but still respectable North American Review repeated the old cliches: "The Frenchman has taste, the Englishman head, and the German heart."[68] The American periodicals usually portrayed Germans as "staid, strong, deep and thorough, calm, modest, just and frugal, industrious, patriotic, warm-hearted, virtuous and religious," main characteristics that made up "the good honest Germans."[69]

The Southern Literary Magazine claimed, that the "German honesty stands unsurpassed in Europe." The magazine illustrated its statement by referring to the treatment of foreign travelers in Germany, "whose ignorance of the language" placed these strangers "at the mercy of all whom they deal with." The magazine cited an anecdote of an English clergyman who wanted to test German honesty. He gave a gold coin of considerable value to a illiterate, little beggar boy to have it changed. The beggar returned with the changed money. The clergyman used this change to pay his fare on a stagecoach by simply holding out the handful of coins to the coachman who took what he considered just. The returned change proved to be exactly right. "To those who are acquainted with European morals," the magazine concluded, "this incident will have its significance."[70] The most welcome characteristics of the Germans were their politeness and kindness. Charles Brace, was "increasingly pleased with the social, kindly character

---

[67] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Dresden, Nov. 23, 1859, in Adams, Letters, II, 68.

[68] [Anonymous], "Travel in Europe," North American Review (April, 1861), 548.

[69] [Anonymous], "Rural and Domestic Life," Southern Literary Magazine 10 (1844): 564.

[70] "Rural and Domestic Life," Southern Literary Magazine 10 (1844): 564.

of the people." According to Brace, Germans would literally go out of their way to help a stranger. When a traveler asked a man the way in a city, "half the time he will go around one or two squares to show you it."[71] The American middle class idolized politeness and kindness in Germany while their own nation seemed to move toward an increasingly vulgar, materialistic, individual society where lower-class deference toward the middle and upper classes seemed to evaporate.

Some middle-class reformers such as Charles Loring Brace not only praised German domestic customs but sought to encourage his fellow Americans to adopt the German habit of celebrating Christmas as a quiet family event. Heavy social drinking and lower-class misrule in the streets characterized American Christmas days in the early nineteenth century. The German domestic family celebration, where children became the focus of attention, appealed to American reformers. Although some New Yorkers adopted German Christmas already in the 1820s, American reformers successfully introduced the German custom of the Christmas tree and the gifts for obedient children under a Christmas tree during the 1840s and 1850s. Ironically, the mostly lower-class German immigrants had not much to do with the importation of this "German" custom since modern Christmas was the invention of a reform-minded German middle class. German peasants and urban workers adopted Santa Claus and the Christmas tree from their social superiors in America and Germany.[72]

---

[71] Brace, Home-Life, 68.

[72] For an excellent study of the American adoption of modern Christmas, see Stephen Nissenbaum, The Battle for Christmas: A Cultural History of America's Most Cherished Holiday (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), chapter 2 - chapter 6; for German middle-class reform of Christmas see Kurt Mantel, Die Geschichte des Weihnachtsbaumes (Hanover: M. u. H. Schaper, 1975); Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, Das Weihnachtsfest:

Germany remained for all Americans the land of music. "There is one thing that makes me very, very sorry to leave Europe," wrote Henry Lee Higginson in 1853: "the loss of music."[73] Four years later he concluded that Paris, Brussels, and several cities in Italy had all great musical schools and a good reputation, but Germany seemed to him "best of all lands for music, Vienna to combine most of all German cities."[74] After returning home and making a fortune, Higginson founded and sponsored the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The diaries of Americans in Germany were filled with superlatives when reporting about visits to the operas. Andrew White skipped classes at the University of Berlin to see and listen to symphonies of Weber and Mendelssohn. This music was "the most beautiful I have ever heard." White wrote in his dairy, and in his recollections forty years later he still remembered that the concerts in Berlin were the "best instrumental music then given in Europe." Mozart's *Don Juan* in the Royal Opera of Berlin was for him "one of the most fascinating operas I have ever seen." He added that a great crowd of Americans were in attendance. A week late he wrote about Beethoven's *Fidelio* "one of the most exquisitely beautiful operas ever composed...

Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Weihnachtszeit (Lucerne and Frankfurt: J. Bucher, 1978).

[73] Higginson, Life and Letters, 66, Dresden [n.d.], 1853.

[74] Higginson, Life and Letters, 105, Dresden [n.d.], 1857.

[m]ore splendid music has never been played."[75] A choir in Frankfurt mesmerized Bayard Taylor with "such perfect harmony and unity."[76]

Even the ever-misanthropic Henry Adams recalled later how he spent an afternoon at a music hall in Berlin among German men "drinking beer, smoking German tobacco, and looking at fat German women knitting while he listened to what he first thought to be "dull music." He was startled to notice that his mind followed the movement of a *Sinfonie*. Among the fumes of coarse tobacco and poor beer, surrounded by the commonest of German *Hausfrauen*, "a new sense burst out like a flower" in his life. This sensation was as astonishing as if he "suddenly read a new language." Henry Adams wrote to his brother Charles Francis Adams about two pieces of music "so tremendously classic that it is as good as high-treason to say that first one exhausted me so much that could hardly enjoy the second."[77]

American parents sending their sons to study at German universities were still worried about the malevolent influence of rational explanations of the world of religion and therefore continued to warn them of "German infidelity."[78] "About this matter of

---

[75] Andrew White, Diaries, 101 and 105, entries of Berlin, Nov. 16, 1855; Jan. 1, Jan. 8, Jan. 15, and Jan. 19, 1856; White, Autobiography, 39-40; see also Higginson, Life and Letters, 46.

[76] Taylor, Views A-foot, 128.

[77] Adams, Education, 80; Adams, Letters, I, 110, Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Vienna, April 5, 1860; see also Harriet Allen's remarks about the music in the beer gardens of Vienna, Travels in Europe, 259.

[78] Letter from Josiah Whitney Sr. to John William Dwight Whitney (October 18, 1850), Yale Library, Whitney Collection, quoted in Carl Diehl, Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 181.

infidelity," Henry Lee Higginson reassured his concerned father, "you know how hateful this indifference [toward Christianity] is to me, more hateful even than atheism."[79] According to the Protestant magazine *The Mercesbury Review* "rationalism or ignorance, transcendentalism or infidelity, fumes from long pipes and lager beer" were the main ideas that came to public mind when Americans mentioned Germans and their descendants.[80]

While some Americans loathed German rationalism, others found quite the opposite true. Henry Adams believed "every man in Germany, high or low," was more or less superstitious. Germans gravely asserted that the White Lady haunted half of the royal palaces in Germany and her appearance announced the death of the king or the birth of an heir to the throne.[81] The Arkansas journalist Matthew F. Ward summarized the impressions of most Americans when he wrote, "Oh, I am delighted with Germany, the land of poetry and sauerkraut, the birthplace of Schiller and Goethe, the seat of learning, the country of superstition, romance and Westphalia hams.[82]

In the 1840s this more or less harmless picture changed when Americans experienced the first outbursts of nativism and the rise of the Know-Nothing Party in the 1850s. Under the impact of a flood of more than 2.8 million immigrants, mostly Irish Catholics but also more than a million Germans, a considerable resentment among native

---

[79] Henry Lee Higginson to George Higginson, Dresden, [n.d.], 1853, in Higginson, Life and Letters, 68.

[80] Russell, "Anglo-German," Mercersbury Review, 11 (1859): 536

[81] Henry Adams to Abigail Adams, Dresden, Nov. 8, 1859, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 63.

[82] Matthew F. Ward, Letters from Three Continents, 36.

born Americans began to spread. Middle and lower class Americans worried about new religious and cultural forces or simply about their jobs and wages. On the American piers outgoing American tourists and incoming immigrants met each other. Leaving New York Anne Bullard, who was ecstatic about the gentility of her fellow travelers bound to Europe, described with disgust an arriving ship from the Old World, "crowded from stem to stern with emigrants; she looked like a white rose covered with bugs ... while we were taking a last look, perchance, of our native country."[83] Nativist activists claimed that particularly the Catholics among the new immigrants would never become loyal Americans since their highest loyalty was to the pope in Rome. These so-called Know-Nothings pledged themselves never to vote for Catholic candidates, advocated a longer period of naturalization, and founded their own national party in 1854.[84]

These anti-Catholic feelings naturally tainted the travelers' descriptions of Catholic towns and their inhabitants. In Upper Austria, Bayard Taylor noticed shrines on the road sides, wherever a fatal accident had occurred. According to Taylor, the local Catholics, "in their ignorance and simplicity," considered them holy, "but to us they were impious and almost blasphemous."[85] In the cathedral of Aachen, Anne Bullard mocked the display of the swaddling clothes in which Christ was wrapped, and pointed to the fact

---

[83] Anne Bullard, Sights and Scenes in Europe: A Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in 1850 (St. Louis, MO: 1852)

[84] Tyler Anbinder, Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Ira M. Leonard, and Robert D. Parmet, American Nativism, 1830-1860 (Huntington: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1971)

[85] Taylor, Views-A-Foot, 254; almost the exact same words are in Prime, Travel in Europe, 378.

that the relic of Charlemagne's arm-bone was actually a leg bone.[86] Another traveler felt "humbugged enough," gave the priest 3/4 of dollar "with which he was much dissatisfied," and left the guided tour "without seeing one half the wonderful things they wished to show us."[87]

Americans singled out Cologne for ventilating their anti-Catholic feelings. The city with its "extremely narrow and filthy streets,"[88] frivolous carnival,[89] and "curious old places, filled with bones"[90] became the prime example of a community under the scepter of the Catholic church. According to one American, Cologne had declined because religious and political persecutions "drove away its most industrious, enterprising, and thrifty inhabitants by the thousands."[91]

Many Americans felt more oppressed in Catholic Austria than in any other country in Europe. They equated Catholicism with authoritarian rule and the lack of republican virtues. Bayard Taylor claimed to notice a change in his fellow travelers the

---

[86] Bullard, Sights, 49.

[87] Manuscript diary (May 3 - Oct. 7, 1836) of an unknown author, Aachen, Aug. 19, 1836, Diary vol. I, Peabody Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

[88] Harriet Trowbridge Allen, Travels in Europe and the East During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64 (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor, 1879); others used almost the same words: Randal W. McGavock, Pen and Sword: The Life and Journals of Randal W. McGavock edited by Hershel Gower and Jack Allen. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959), 258.

[89] Isabel R. Mordecai's manuscript journals, 1858-1859, Cologne, July 27, 1858, in the Jacob Mordecai Papers, Duke University.

[90] Le Vert, Octavia Walton, Souvenirs of Travel (Mobile and New York: S. H. Goetzel, 1857), Vol I, 128.

[91] Erastus C. Benedict., A Run through Europe (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1860), 438.

moment they crossed the border from Saxony into Bohemia. They appeared more anxious and careful in their conversations. When ever Austrians talked about the state of the country, they looked around to see if anybody was near, quickly changing to some other subject until the pedestrian passed. Austrians warned Taylor of the "jealous strictness of the government."[92] "Everyone like negro slaves was obliged to show his passport," wrote the indignant Marylander Henry Winter Davis, when he crossed the Austrian border.[93]

In the Imperial Armory in Vienna Bayard Taylor experienced the authoritarian Austrian mentality. An "old crusty guide" rapped with his stick on the shield of an old knight who stood near, to keep silence, and then addressed the visitors: "When I speak every one must be silent. No one shall touch anything, or go to look at anything else, before I have done speaking." His disgust for Austrian despotism increased at the Viennese police station when he applied for a renewal of his passport. One of the clerks came up scowling at the traveler, and asked him "in a rough tone, 'What you want here?'" After the officers discovered that he was an American citizen, one of the inspectors apologized to him: "...excuse our neglect, from the facility with which you speak German, we supposed you were natives of Austria!"

Taylor could not help feeling glad to leave Austria. He noticed a change as soon as he crossed the border into Bavaria. The roads seemed to him "neater and handsomer," and the country people greeted him in passing, with a cheerfulness that made him feel

---

[92] Taylor, Views-a-Foot, 211.

[93] Henry Winter Davis to Samuel F. DuPont, Interlaken [Switzerland], August 22, 1854, in Gerald S. Henig, "A Marylander's impressions of Europe during the summer of 1854," Maryland Historical Magazine 72 (1977): 233.

half at home.[94] Another traveler had heard so much about "Austrian rudeness and brutality that the extreme deference" of the custom officers at the border to Bavaria was quite a surprise to her.[95]

Catholic authoritarianism went hand in hand with militarism. Most of the Americans thought that among all Germans the Austrian soldiers were "positively fine-looking men" in their "showy uniforms" but could also "fight like devils."[96] Even the cynical Henry Adams admitted that the "dapper little lieutenants" and common soldiers were "brave certainly, no one has asserted that the Austrian army wants courage; but there's immense deficit of brain." In Adams' eyes, however, none of the Austrians looked "so military and so dangerous as any common little French private of the line."[97] Others ranked Austrian soldiers higher than the French warriors.[98] The London *Times* even jeered that Prussia had "a large army but notoriously one in no condition for fighting ...No one counts on her as a friend," the British paper continued, "no on dreads her as an enemy."[99] Although most Americans did not rate the Prussian soldiers as high as the Austrians or even the French, some conceded that no European soldiers drilled

---

[94] Taylor, Views-a-Foot, 211,244, 246-47.

[95] Allen, Travels in Europe, 250.

[96] Allen, Travels in Europe, 253; Henry Lee Higginson to father, Vienna, [undated], 1859 in Higginson, Life and Letters, 128.

[97] Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Vienna, April 5, 1860, in Henry Adams, Letters. 6 vols. Edited by J.C. Levenson, et al. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982-1988), vol. I, 112.

[98] Allen, Travels in Europe, 253.

[99] Quoted in R. J. Sontag, Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-94, 33.

more perfectly than the Prussians.[100] The Prussian navy, however, was a complete disappointment. Henry Lee Higginson visited the port of Stettin where the Prussian navy anchored. Such "miserable-looking affairs as their vessels," he had never seen, "so different from our trim, pretty-looking ones." He had heard that the Prussians had only two ships, and he saw only one "good-sized, nice steamship," but he did not believe "the Prussians ever built such a thing."[101] In fact, until 1864 the Danish navy was bigger than the Prussian naval forces.[102]

The travelers from America might have despised Catholicism in southern Germany and respected Austrian soldiers, but they certainly admired the Prussian educational system. Their academic freedom, state-subsidized research, and competition for students made German universities and especially Prussian ones, the best places to study in the world. Young Americans flocked in growing numbers to German universities. One writer complained that American pastors left their pulpits, professors their chairs, and graduates rushed from their college classes, to study in Germany, "as though in Germany alone were the keys of knowledge." "The Germans," the same author reasoned, "deserve to be considered as the teachers of the world."[103] Compulsory and universal education showed tremendous results particularly among the lower classes. By

---

[100] George William Curtis, Journal, Coblentz, Sept. 30, 1848, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

[101] Henry Lee Higginson to father George Higginson, Ruegen, July 27, 1853, in Higginson, Life and Letters, 70.

[102] Michael Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 197.

[103] Noah Porter, "American Student in Germany," New Englander 15 (1857): 575, 578.

the 1850s most of the North German peasants could read and write but, as one critic pointed out, "they never have been taught to think."[104] Henry Adams saw intellectual independence as the key difference between America and Germany; Americans were all "for standing on our own feet and not being like other people" but in Germany "originality is a crime."[105]

It is therefore no surprise that few of the American travelers detected any signs of revolutionary unrest in the mid-1840s.[106] Bayard Taylor, for example, witnessed a public scandal in Frankfurt in 1844, when the celebrated poet Ferdinand Freiligrath publicly rejected the king of Prussia's substantial pension because the king did not adhere to his earlier promise to grant his people a written constitution. Freiligrath quickly fled to Paris to escape persecution shortly after the publication of his thoughts. These events gave Taylor "some foreboding of things to come."[107] Taylor also visited the lectures of the famous historian Georg Gervinus, former professor at the University of Göttingen, who had to leave "on the account of his liberal ideas." The scholar was one of the *Goettinger Sieben* who had protested the King of Hannover's abolition of the constitution. Despite nation-wide protests against this royal infringement on academic freedom, the

---

[104] Charles Loring Brace, Home Life in Germany (New York: 1856)

[105] Henry Adams to Abigail B. Adams, Dresden, Feb. 7, 1860, in Adams, Letters, vol. I, 86.

[106] This is a remarkable contrast to the widespread anticipation of the revolution among contemporary Europeans; see E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson,1962), 304; James J. Sheehan, German History, 1770-1866 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 49.

[107] Taylor, Views A-foot, 133.

government of Hannover expelled Gervinus and the other six professors from the university in 1837. Seven years later, Taylor reported that German students in Heidelberg still adored Gervinus for his heroic protest and celebrated him in a torchlight procession.[108] In 1844, Taylor had not much hope that political repression in German states would end in the near future or that a revolution would soon break out. It seemed to him that the great strength of well-entrenched monarchies "combined with the proverbial apathy of the Germans" prevented any substantial political change.[109]

Thus the Revolution of 1848 caught the Americans by surprise. American eyewitnesses of the uprisings of 1848 seemed neither to recognize their significance nor understand the goals of the revolutionary and conservative forces. While the German states were in tumult, the only comment G. W. Curtis jotted down in his journal while he was at Frankfurt in June 1848 was that the President of the new German representative assembly Heinrich von Gagern resembled "much a mellowed Calhoun."[110] Most perceived the revolutionary upheavals as a nuisance to their travels. Prussian soldiers, "conspicuous with their leather helmets with brass spike on its top," stopped James Clarke's train while passing through the state of Baden "which had just been subdued by the aid of the Prussian soldiery."[111] James Angell, a student at the University of Berlin, who wanted to move to Munich, was surprised when police officers informed him that

---

[108] Taylor, Views A-foot, 140.

[109] Taylor, Views A-foot, 133.

[110] G.W. Curtis, "Journal, 1848," Frankfurt, June 1848, Curtis Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[111] Clarke, Eleven Weeks, 138.

they could not give him permission to leave. On the contrary, he had to report twice a week in person at the police office. When he asked for the reason, the officers told him that "revolutionists with the spirit of 1848" had been uncovered and that "Germans bearing American passports" were coming to Berlin "to engage in lawless enterprises."[112] In 1850 Elihu Burritt reported a similar story about an American whom the Berlin authorities arrested, tried, and ordered to leave the country "for his sin of his nationality."[113]

The Americans did not comprehend the various causes for these upheavals. The first spark was social unrest among farmers and artisans. The fall of the government in Paris inspired peasant uprisings in western Germany. They demanded the abolition of the money payments to their former feudal landlords. Rioting farmers burned tax files and sometimes the residences of their former masters. Almost at the same time, artisans rioted in the towns and cities attacking bread stores and attempting to destroy machinery in factories which endangered their jobs. These craftsmen demanded the preservation of their standard of living and protection from the effects of a free-market, liberal economy.[114]

Social upheaval quickly widened into a revolutionary movement that demanded political reforms and national unification. The seemingly general dissatisfaction with the old regime discouraged the rulers from offering much resistance. The conservative

---

[112] Angell, Reminiscences, 100.

[113] Burritt, Learned Blacksmith, 61-62.

[114] Jonathan Sperber, The European Revolutions, 1848-1851 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 105–146, 212-219; Peter N. Stearns, 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1974), 140-166.

governments in all German states resigned and the monarchs appointed more liberal ministers. These liberals were mostly civil servants, academics, and lawyers who did not have much in common with the rioting artisans and peasants. Liberals hoped to enact measures they considered the cornerstones of a modern society: a written constitution, civil liberties, an elected parliament with considerable power to control the state and budget, and economic freedom. They did not demand the abolition of monarchy, nor did they promote general democracy. The new liberal governments instituted property qualifications as preconditions for the right to vote. Although these governments did abolish many of the peasants' payments to their landlords and granted tax relief to farmers, many of the artisans and more radical revolutionaries were disappointed.[115]

In the early fall of 1848 dissatisfied artisans and other urban groups began to demonstrate and riot in the streets again. The liberals in government had been deaf to their call for relief measures, guild privileges to protect their their future prosperity, and universal suffrage. Even before the revolution, the working-class and the mostly Protestant, middle-class interests had collided over the issue of drinking alcohol. The mostly Protestant, Prussian bourgeoisie had wanted to combat excess working-class consumption of strong spirits by forming abstinence societies, while the freethinkers had helped the beer halls to provide the workers with cheap beer.[116] The new liberal

---

[115] James J. Sheehan, German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones (New York: Berg, 1990); James F. Harris, A Study in the Theory and Practice of German Liberalism: Eduard Lasker, 1829-1884 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984).

[116] Sperber, Rhineland Radicals, 121.

governments called in the military to quell these revolts. The German princes, still the commanders-in-chief of the armies, the aristocracy, which compromised most of the officer corps, and many conservatives took advantage of this antagonism between radicals and moderate liberals. In the following months conservative forces not only suppressed the radicals, but later pushed liberals out of the German governments.[117]

Although political conservatism secured its victory in the 1850s, economic liberalism triumphed in most German countries. In the 1850s most of the German governments created new ministries to promote industrialization in their territories. New legislation paved the way for the establishment of corporations, banks, and technical colleges. The German states improved the construction of railroads, canals, and better inland roads.[118]

Americans, seemed completely oblivious to the beginnings of German industrialization or dismissed them as backward compared to technological advancements in the United States. Henry Winter Davis went to "Crystal Palace for German industry" in Munich. "It was pretty good," he wrote. "but not comparable in any respect to that of New York, whether in works of art or of industry."[119] Davis was struck

---

[117] Theodore Hamerow, Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871, 2d ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966); Wolfram Siemann, Die deutsche Revolution von 1848/49 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985).

[118] For more information about the strange combination of political conservatism and economic liberalism in the German states after 1848, see David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 118-238.

[119] Henry Winter Davis to Samuel F. DuPont, Interlaken [Switzerland], Aug. 22, 1854, in Henig, ed., "A Marylander's Impressions," Maryland Historical Magazine 72 (1977), 234.

by the fact that "the most remarkable work of art exhibited were the creations of an American artist, Crawford's colossal statues in bronze of Henry and Jefferson."[120] It seemed to Davis "to be no branch at all developed in Germany except agriculture and toy making."[121] Only Henry Adams, the grandson of John Quincy Adams, noticed, or at least so he claimed in retrospect, that Germany had dramatically changed by 1859: The Germans, he wrote, were destroying what he liked best:

> the simple character; the good-natured sentiment; the musical and metaphysical abstraction; the blundering incapacity of the Germans for practical affairs. At that time everyone looked on Germany as incapable of competing with France, England or America in any sort of organized energy. Germany had no confidence in herself, and no reason to feel it.[122]

Although the United States had formally recognized the German Confederation and many Americans greeted the new liberal governments, they heartily disliked the radical demonstrators and their demands. The Protestant *Mercersbury Review* renounced "wild radicalism" in Europe and the public lecturer D. Barnard warned Americans of Europeans "who call themselves republicans" since they created "frightful disorders" and "unmitigated anarchy" which in the end would only strengthened the absolutism.[123] John, king of Saxony, appealed to these American fears of anarchy and social disorder

---

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams ed. Ernest Samuels. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973), 83.

[123] Barnard, Political Aspects, 46.

when he wrote to his old friend George Ticknor in Boston that "the sense for legitimate order, even for property, ... [was] shaken to its foundations in the lower classes; the principles of socialism and communism diffusing themselves everywhere."[124] Ticknor's answer proved how effective this appeal was on Americans. "You will not be surprised to hear," Ticknor wrote to the king, "that wise men in the United States saw, from the first, that no good was to come--except as God brings good out of evil--from the violent changes that began [in Italy and France] last winter."[125] According to Andrew D. White's recollections, American professors and students in the 1850s had been "eminently conservative" whereas European students were "generally inclined to radicalism."[126]

After the defeat of German liberals, American travelers of the 1850s could still see the radical afterglow of the revolution of 1848. Political commitments still divided the population in larger cities. In 1850, John Johnston Pettigrew observed the king of Prussia riding in a coach through Berlin and Johnston noticed that the guards presented their arms and "all good reactionists take off their hats, while all good republicans stick theirs on double tight." This ceremony was repeated every time a royal party passed

---

[124] John, king of Saxony, to George Ticknor, Pillnitz, May 14, 1848, in Ticknor, Life, vol. 2, 233.

[125] George Ticknor to John, King of Saxony, Boston, July 30, 1848, in Ticknor, Life, 236.

[126] Andrew White, Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White (New York: Century, 1906), 2: 66-67.

through the streets and "as the royal family is legion, the poor guards and reactionists are kept busily employed."[127]

Although later historians have described the revolution of 1848 as the last attempt of German liberals and working classes to overthrow the monarchical system, contemporary observers did not share this notion. Ten years after the revolution, Henry Adams reported how "uneasy" Germany was. "Everyone says," he insisted, "there will be an insurrection and revolution in Austria as bad as that in France in 1789." Twelve years after the revolution of 1848 Henry Adams wrote to his mother that "there's got to be a revolution." "All the signs point one way. If there isn't a blow-up next summer there will be one later."[128] These expectations made "everyone anxious and restless." Ironically, many Germans asked him about emigrating to America, since the United Stated seemed to be now "the only quiet country in the world." The shots fired at Fort Sumter a year later would reveal how precarious the political situation actually was in North America.

The issue of American slavery, the underlying cause of tensions between the North and the South, played a marginal role in American travel accounts of Germany. Most Americans, whether they were abolitionist or pro-slavery, confronted the issue during their stay in Great Britain and France. In these two countries Americans

---

[127] J. Johnston Pettigrew to James C. Johnston, Berlin, April [n.d.], 1850, Pettigrew Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina.

[128] Henry Adams to Abigail Brooks Adams, Dresden , Nov. 8, 1859, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1 64; and again in a letter to her from Dresden, Jan. 31, 1860, in Adams, Letters, vol. 1, 83.

encountered harsh criticism of "our peculiar institution."[129] Many northern abolitionists reacted with shame because human slavery was a violation of "the principles and professions of freedom that lie at the basis of our government."[130] When Bayard Taylor tried to convince a Bavarian peasant family in 1844 not to emigrate to the independent republic of Texas, he described the harsh climate and the wild Indians; he wanted to add "that it was a slave land but I thought on our own country's curse, and was silent."[131]

Most Americans, however, angrily countercharged British accusations by pointing to the social evil of pauperism and the suppression of India and Ireland.[132] Many would have agreed with Reverend John Mitchell, who claimed that the British made American slavery their favorite topic because it worked as a "convenient diversion from sins and blemishes nearer home."[133] African-American abolitionists like Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown used their European trips to internationalize the antislavery cause. Brown, for example, expressed his gratitude for "being today in a land of freedom," i.e. Great Britain, and noted that his daughters could go to a school in France. Brown demonstrated American hypocrisy, pointing to the fugitive slave Ellen Craft who now lived in Great Britain as a friend of Lord Byron's wife. "Had she escaped Austrian

---

[129] White, Diary, 11, January 19, 1854.

[130] Bartol, Pictures of Europe, 284.

[131] Taylor, Views A-foot, 123.

[132] Allison Lockwood, Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 16.

[133] John Mitchell, Notes From Over Sea; Consisting of Observations Made in Europe in the Years 1843 and 1844, 2 vols. (New York: Gates and Stedman, 1845), 1: 204, quoted in Lockwood, Passionate Pilgrims, 16.

tyranny, and landed on the shores of America," Brown explained, "her reception would have been scarcely less enthusiastic than that which greeted the arrival of Jenny Lind."[134]

It is not surprising that white Americans perceived Italians and Germans as more hospitable and friendly since these people knew much less about the debate over slavery than the French or the British. The few southern travelers especially preferred Italy as their travel destination of choice. Southern gentlemen such as Randal W. McGavock wanted to see the "ancient world."[135] The many references of McGavock and other southerners to Greek and Roman history and their use of Latin phrases and quotations indicate considerable interest in the ancient history of Europe.[136] In the Mediterranean the heirs of plantations owners and advocates of modern slavery found a past where republics and unfree labor coexisted in seemingly perfect harmony.[137]

Germans in the 1830s and 1840s seemed to be ignorant about the issue of slavery and rarely harassed Americans with embarrassing questions about America's "peculiar institution." Many southerners still felt uncomfortable in the German states. William Brune of Natchez traveling through the western parts of Prussia complained in a letter to a friend that no German banker was willing to give a loan to southern railroad companies

---

[134] Brown, Sketches, 302.

[135] Journal, De.c. 25, 1851, in Hershel, ed., Pen and Sword: The Life of Randal W. McGavock, 49

[136] Gower, "Tennessee Writers Abroad," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 26 (1967): 400.

[137] See also William D. Smyth, "A Southern Odyssey, South Carolinians abroad in the 1850s," Southern Studies (1984) 23: 397-411.

because they "thought a slave holding state not safe enough."[138] John Johnston Pettigrew of North Carolina wondered how Germans could form "a respectable opinion" about the South since the only newspaper "that penetrates the interior of Germany," is the *New York Tribune*. "A thorough socialist, radical, red-republican, abolitionist sheet," Pettigrew asserted and continued that "he who would judge America by the content of this paper, would form a poor opinion indeed of the Model Republic."[139]

Even Northerners complained about the lack of information on the debate about slavery. From Berlin, Andrew White regretted that he received so late American newspapers detailing the civil strife in Kansas in 1855; he had given some serious thought about going to Kansas himself.[140] When Henry Lee Higginson heard about Chief Justice Roger Taney's decision in the infamous Dred Scott case he wished "the North would take higher and firmer ground."[141] Henry Adams expressed his frustration about the lack of news about John Brown's raid since the "German papers of course tell an American almost nothing."[142] Henry Winter Davis from Maryland claimed that the

---

[138] William Brune to John A. Quitman, Soest, July, 12, 1839, in Claiborne Papers, University of North Carolina.

[139] John Johnston Pettigrew to James C. Johnston (Edenton, North Carolina), Berlin, April 2, 1850, in Hayes Collection, University of North Carolina.

[140] White, Diaries, 105, Berlin, January 3, 1855.

[141] Higginson, Life and Letters, 110, Henry Lee Higginson to his father, Rome, May [n.d], 1857.

[142] Adams, Letter, 1: 44, Henry Adams to his mother, Dresden, Nov. 8, 1859.

German newspapers were "ignorant of America and its doings and American papers did not visit my eyes more than once or twice during my German tour."[143]

The tremendous popularity of Harriet Beecher Stowe's antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* throughout Germany in the 1850s stunned both northerners and southerners. For a time the northerner James Angell could scarcely walk the streets of Brunswick without being accosted by Germans "to whom he had been pointed out as an American, for aid in interpreting the negro dialect."[144] By 1855 Frederick Douglass was ready to declare that England, France, and Germany "are with us, and every American traveler learns to regret the existence of slavery in his country."[145]

Most northerners and southerners ignored the issue of slavery while in Europe and preferred instead to point to the shortcomings of their European host countries. Instead of deepening the rift between the North and the South, travel in Europe made most white Americans more aware of their common values and national solidarity. The Tennessean Randal McGavock wished that more of his southern friends would travel to Europe because they would quickly stop their talk about secession.[146] Although the Boston banker Derby had reservations about slavery he declared during a breakfast with four other Americans in Oxford, England that the North should not hesitate to support the

---

[143] Henig, ed. "A Marylander's Impressions," Maryland Historical Magazine (1977), 235

[144] Angell, Reminiscences, 97.

[145] Frederick Douglas, "The Anti-Slavery Movement: Extracts From a Lecture Before Various Anti Slavery Bodies, in the Winter of 1855," in the appendix of My Bondage and My Freedom, reprinted in Frederick Douglass, Autobiographies (New York: Penguin Books, 1994).

[146] Randal McGavock, Pen and Sword, 50.

South in any quarrel with Europe.[147] Samuel F. Morse refuted any European fears of violence in North America and claimed that Europeans did not understand the American mentality. "We speak daggers, but use none," he wrote to the United States minister in Paris in 1856 and continued that "we fight with ballots not with bullets; we have an abundance of inkshed and little bloodshed, and that all that is explosive is blown off through newspaper safety-valves."[148]

[147] Derby, Two Months, 42.

[148] Morse, Journals and Diaries, 2: 371, letter to John Y. Mason, United States minister to France, [n.p., n.d.], 1856.

Chapter 3

"The Yankees of Europe:" The American and German Wars of Unification, 1861-1877

The wars of the 1860s and 1870s in Europe and North America were the turning point in the history of American perceptions of Germans. These wars not only accelerated the speed of industrialization and the belief in professionalism, but also inculcated in both nations a new sense of assertive nationalism. The American Civil War debunked the myth of German-American disloyalty to their new country and proved that German Americans were loyal citizens and soldiers of the United States. It was the Franco-Prussian War, however, that provided the great watershed in the American perception of Germans. Before the war of 1870-71 Americans saw Germans as friendly, bucolic bumblers, but after the war they believed Germans to be friendly, militaristic, and hard-working. For the first time, Americans used terms like "efficient" and "practical" when describing Germans.

The Civil War left a two-fold legacy for the Americans' world view. First, the debate over slavery and the Irish and German American loyalty in the Civil War reduced political nativism and the resentment toward Irish and German elements in society. Second, the southern attempt at secession made many northerners suspicious of rebellions and revolutions against established governments, thus making it very difficult to raise support for the new French Republican government fighting the Germans in 1871.

During the early 1860s, the American Civil War absorbed most of the public attention and put limits on American travel to Europe. The Civil War diverted public interest away from European affairs as citizens of the Union and the Confederacy became absorbed in the domestic conflict.[1] Americans might have missed the short notice in their newspapers about Prussia's victory over Denmark in 1864. Prussia's defeat of Austria mildly surprised the few interested American observers in 1866. These events seemed insignificant compared to the colossal struggle they faced at home. But, with the German victory over the French in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, Americans received a stunning surprise. The startling dynamism of German Unification forced many Americans to adjust their image of Germans.

The increasingly bitter dispute over slavery in the late 1850s made nativism--with its fears of a Catholic take-over of the United States--look ludicrous. Therefore, the most virulent anti-Catholic hostility against Irish and German Catholics ceased and the nativist American Party collapsed in 1860. Protestants, however, retained a distaste for Catholics particularly if they were from eastern or southern Europe. The election of 1860 revealed how crucial German Americans could be for the Republican party. Francis Lieber and Carl Schurz, both liberal refugees from autocratic regimes in Germany, proved to be invaluable, and in 1860 Republicans appointed Schurz to win over former Democratic voters among the German Americans. Although only half of the German Americans supported Lincoln, this alone meant that the Republicans had made great inroads into an otherwise solidly Democratic ethnic community and might have been responsible for the

[1] For German interest in the American Civil War, see John Hawgood, "The Civil War and Central Europe," in Harold Hyman, ed., Heard Round the World: The Impact Abroad of the Civil War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969): 145-176.

Republicans carrying Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana.[2] German Americans honored Lincoln's stand against nativism.[3] Their support in the Republican National Convention in Chicago destroyed former Know Nothing Edward Bates' ambitions to become the party's leader and helped to put Abraham Lincoln on the presidential ticket instead.

Francis Lieber, a well-known and prestigious specialist in international law, attacked the southern contention that the Confederate states were only doing what George Washington and Thomas Jefferson had done in 1776. In many well-circulated speeches and pamphlets, Lieber denounced this argument as a fallacy since southerners avoided any comparison of the reasons for rebellion in 1776 and in 1861. The colonies, according to Lieber, had fought for liberty, but the South resorted to violence to maintain slavery. Lieber's international prestige, intellectual reputation, and his publication campaign contributed to the difficulties the South had in finding sympathizers in the North and abroad.[4]

Common German Americans usually proved to be loyal citizens of the Union and joined the army. Half a million foreigners served in the Union's army, often in their own

---

[2] Fredrick C. Luebke, ed., Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1971; William E. Gienapp, "Who voted for Lincoln?" in John C. Thomas, ed., Abraham Lincoln and the American Political Tradition, (Amherst: ?, 1986), 50-97.

[3] James McPherson, Battle Cry for Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York and Chicago: Oxford University Press, 1988), 217.

[4] Francis Lieber, The Arguments of Secessionists, Loyal Publication Society Pamphlet No. 35 (New York: Loyal Publication Society, 1863); Francis Lieber, No Party Now, but All for Our Country, Loyal Publication Society Pamphlet No. 16 (New York: Loyal Publication Society, 1863); see also Frank Freidel's biography Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947).

regiments. Former Know Nothings greeted the Irish and the Germans as comrades.[5] Most immigrant groups enlisted in the Union army in proportion to their share of the United States population with two significant exceptions. Irish and German Catholics were the most under-represented group in the army and the most violent draft resisters in Irish communities in eastern Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and in German Catholic areas in Wisconsin. The heroism, however, of the Irish Brigade and German Protestants created an excellent image of their loyalty and dedication.[6] In Missouri in 1861, for example, Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson, a proslavery Democrat, organized a pro-southern state militia and tried to seize the United States arsenal and its 60,000 muskets in St. Louis . Francis P. Blair, a pro-northern Congressman, and Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commander of the arsenal, responded by organizing four German American Union regiments in St. Louis. The regiments surrounded Jackson's 700 man militia and captured them without firing a shot. Ethnic tensions rose, however, when Captain Lyon marched the prisoners through the city, and a mob rallied in the streets shouting "Damn the Dutch" and "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" and throwing brickbats and rocks at the German-American troops. When an officer was shot, the troops began firing back, killing 26 civilians and wounding many more, while only two soldiers died. That night rioters killed several lone German Americans and the violence continued the next day.[7]

---

[5] John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1970, 12-13.

[6] McPherson, Battle Cry, 493, 606; Robert Sterling, "Civil War Draft Resistance in the Middle West," Ph.D. dissertation, Northern Illinois University, 1974, chapters 3 -4.

[7] McPherson, Battle Cry, 290.

Although the incident poisoned ethnic relations in St. Louis, it also proved to Unionists that German Americans were dedicated to the cause of the Union.

While Germans proved their value as supporters of both causes, Anglo Americans had little contact with Germans in Europe since it was difficult to go abroad during the conflict. The newly established draft and a sense of duty and obligation kept many Americans home. Even wealthy northerners who could have bought a substitute for the army and left the country, felt guilty about doing so. According to Andrew White, his physician "strongly recommended to take a rapid run to Europe" in the summer of 1863.[8] White cited numerous medical excuses to leave the country claiming to be "much broken down by overwork, and threatened, as I supposed, with heart disease, which turned out to be the beginning of a troublesome dyspepsia."[9] "Though very reluctant to leave home," White "was at last persuaded" to go to New York to take his passage. When he arrived in the harbor, bad news was still coming from the front. "I could not bring myself at the steamship office to sign the necessary papers," and he returned home and became a speaker for the Republican electoral campaign.[10]

Although an increasingly efficient northern naval blockade made overseas travel increasingly difficult for southerners, many left for the Old World. Most felt uneasy. Charles B. Simrall of Covington, Kentucky, wrote that he was delighted with Heidelberg but was disgusted when he found himself "in a room full of American students, most of

---

[8] White, Autobiography, 92 -93.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

them southern, having a good time as they called it."[11] He left on the first train the next morning, since he "wanted to get away from every one that spoke English."[12]

The few northern travelers noticed that Germans were not only "excited about the war" but that a "majority of the Germans are for the federal government."[13] Thanks to the Civil War, news from America traveled faster and was more informative than previously. In the small town of Gotha, Bayard Taylor received with delight the news of the victory at Gettysburg, but felt humiliated that Germans could also read about the New York Anti-Draft Riots. "Talk of freedom for the rabble of New York and its cowardly-respectable leaders!" he exclaimed. "Autocracy is too good for them."[14]

The end of the Civil War saw a rapid revival of tourism in Europe. However, there was a conspicuous lack of discussion of Reconstruction in the reports of the travelers. It seemed that both northerners and southerners were trying to forget about race relations in the South and compensating with chauvinistic nationalism. After America's bitter war of secession, violence continued in the South with terrorism against African Americans and their white supporters during Reconstruction. Many Americans

---

[11] Charles B. Simrall to Bell [unknown], Tübingen, July 26, [1864], in Simrall Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Fahnenstock, Heidelberg, Nov. 30, 1862, Fahnenstock Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[14] Bayard Taylor to Richard Stoddard, Gotha, Aug. 3, 1863, Bayard Taylor, Selected Letters of Bayard Taylor, ed. Paul C. Wermuth (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1997), fahnenestfahnenfa220.

embraced nationalism and ignored racial tensions.[15] American travelers rarely admitted flaws in America's democracy and alluded to racial hatred in very vague terms. Samuel F. Morse, for example, wrote from Berlin in 1868 that the European tour pleased him and that he appreciated European education and hospitality and yet he made very clear that he was "thoroughly American" despite "the display of so many defects which tend to disgrace us in the eyes of the world."[16]

In the 1870s and 1880s, pride in Anglo-Saxon heritage became increasingly popular among educated Americans, particularly in New England. This pride reassured the educated classes who were bewildered by the chaotic rise of the Gilded Age *nouveau riche*, southern racial violence, and rampant immigration. In contrast to nativism, Anglo-Saxonism held that the Anglo-Saxons had the capacity to assimilate all other European immigrants in their ranks. The Civil War seemed to prove that even Irish and German Catholics could become part of the American society. Thus Anglo-Saxonism became a kind of patrician nationalism, and it helped to introduce English literature and English social standards to the American upper-classes.[17] These ideas were particularly popular among the New England Brahmins. Samuel G. Goodrich, editor of school textbooks and children's books assured Americans that "in government, religion, manners, customs,

---

[15] Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation in of Tradition in American Culture New York: Knopf, 1991), 277.

[16] Samuel F. Morse to John Thompson, [Paris], April 14, 1868, in Morse, Journals and Letters, II, 464.

[17] Higham, Strangers, 32.

feelings, opinions, language, and descent, we are wholly or partially English."[18] Germans shared these traits since the Germanic tribes of the Angles and Saxons had originally settled at the North German coastline. Joseph P. Thompson, a New England clergyman, described the "American race" as "a sprout of the Anglo-Saxon stock, which, all fresh and vigorous, asserts its Darwinian right to exist."[19]

Although nativism as a political movement was dead, some relics of anti-Catholic feelings remained firmly entrenched in American society. Most of these resentments were reserved for Italians and Eastern Europeans, while Irish and Germans were usually insulated from derogatory anti-catholic remarks because of their longer presence in American society and their Civil War record. George Frederick Williams, a Bostonian student at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, never commented on Catholicism in Germany but he observed that Prague was "strongly Roman Catholic," and he was "disgusted with religion as it manifested itself in Prague."[20] John Bigelow, a New York author and diplomat, found German expressions of Catholic beliefs and tradition even worth emulating in the United States. He thought that the famous Passion Play at Oberammergau would be "edifying to any school of Protestants."[21] Bigelow even saw a

---

[18] Samuel G. Goodrich, A Picturial History of England (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler, 1871), 11.

[19] Joseph Parrish Thompson, Church and State in the United States (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1873), 165, quoted in Higham, Strangers, 32.

[20] George Fredrick Williams, "Diary and Memorandum," volume 2, about his stay in Prague in 1870 but written in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1872, George Fredrick Williams Papers, Duke University, Raleigh, North Carolina; Sophia Hawthorne, Notes in England and Italy, 468, quoted in Schriber, Writing Home, 109.

[21] John Bigelow to F.C. Eames, Berlin, Nov. 9, 1871, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library.

kind of subtle subverting of Catholicism in the play since the mostly German Catholic audience heard "the words of God, directly from the fountain, as it were and unadulterated with priestly commentary and church craft interpretation."[22]

When tourism in the post-war years boomed again, the old antebellum stereotypes about Europeans remained intact. The scenery of the Rhine river delighted Americans but, once again, the natural beauty of the Rhine could not match the Hudson.[23] Frances Willard spoke for many Americans when she described the travelers ascending the St. Bernhard pass in 1869. They were a typical congregation of European stereotypes such as "the quick-footed pedestrian from England, leisurely gray-mustached French gentlemen on horseback, fat German ladies in chairs borne by two stout-armed peasants, delicate-featured Americans, the women riding, the men lightly walking at their side."[24] At the top of the pass, she and her fellow travelers voted the "Hospitable Father" of the famous hospice as "the most delightful man" they had ever seen because it seemed that their host blended "all that is French in manner, united to all that is English in sturdiness

---

[22] Ibid.

[23] Titus M. Coan, "Diary, 1867," Castel, Aug. 14, 1867, Titus Coan Papers, 1839-1921, New York Historical Society, New York City; William Royall Tyler to parents, Dresden, July 24, 1869, Tyler Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Aglionby to mother, Heidelberg, July 2, 1870, Frances Walker Yates Aglionby, Papers, 1821-1933, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Edward Gould Buffum, Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland or Experiences of an American Journalist in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), 76.

[24] Frances Elizabeth Willard, Glimpses of Fifty Years: the Autobiography of an American Woman. Introduction by Hannah Whitall Smith (Chicago: Women's Temperance Publication Association, 1889), 266.

of character, all that is winning in Italian tones, united to a German's ideality, a Yankee's keenness of perception, a Scotchman's heartiness, and an Irishman's wit."[25]

The images of Germans seemed frozen during the Civil War. Music was still "the German genius" and German military bands enchanted American tourists "as only a German military band can do."[26] German smokers still annoyed American travelers and beer and alcohol still seemed to be every German's pre-occupation.[27] "Wine, of course," wrote Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of the murdered president, "is universally used and yet I have never seen a person the least intoxicated."[28] Charles Putnam claimed that the Germans in the beer gardens "did not drink large quantities of beer."[29] Trying to explain this phenomenon to his mother, Putnam compared the beer gardens to the summer parties back home in Massachusetts "if you only will imagine beer and sandwiches instead of ice cream and cake."[30] Titus Coan admired these "happy German folk" who gathered in the

---

[25] Ibid.

[26] Henry A. Robbins, Journal, Braunschweig, Sunday, [n.d. 1870], Croffut Papers, Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[27] James Merrill Williams, "Diary and Memorandum," Berlin, Jan. 1, 1870, Williams Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[28] Mary Todd Lincoln to Eliza Slataper, Frankfurt, Dec. 13, 1868, Mary Todd Lincoln, Her Life and Letters, ed. Justin G. Turner (New York: Knopf, 1972), 495.

[29] Charles P. Putnam to mother, Cassel, June 3, 1869, Charles P. Putnam Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[30] Ibid.

castle of Heidelberg before sunset "to drink coffee and beer and listen to the band that played in the grove."[31]

Temperance and modesty in drinking was certainly laudable but there seemed to be no limits on drinking in German student fraternities. The physician Henry A. Robbins swore that he never would forget the scene at the retirement party of Joseph Hyrtl, a famous Viennese professor of medicine. "Beer flowed abundantly," wrote an amazed Robbins, "and every few minutes one [student] would cry out '*Salamander*!' Then all would empty their steins with one gulp."[32] John Bigelow ordered his son, John Bigelow, Jr., to leave the fraternity and to discontinue his participation "in the beer-swiveling knypes" because his son had been arrested and fined for "turbulence at night" in the streets of Freiberg, Prussia.[33] Bigelow Sr. scolded him for making "such a beast of yourself with beer."[34] Charles Simrall, a student at Tübingen, promised to spend his evenings at home instead of going out with his fellow students and "spending the evening in a room full of tobacco smoke, and returning at midnight, feeling none the better for the

---

[31] Titus Coan, "Diary, 1867," Heidelberg, August 19, 1867, Coan Family Papers, New York Historical Society, New York.

[32] Henry A. Robbins, "Journal," Wien, March 18, 1874, Croffut Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[33] John Bigelow, Sr. to John Bigelow, Jr., Berlin, Jan. 28, 1872, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library, New York.

[34] Ibid.

ten glasses of beer, I would have been compelled to drink, for such is the custom in Germany."[35]

In wine-growing regions, wine replaced beer and was "just as common as water with us."[36] It was almost impossible to get cold water for drinking in Germany. When two Americans asked Mary Todd Lincoln in Frankfurt if she was homesick, she told them that she "pined for a glass of American ice water--the latter here is impossible and really dangerous to drink."[37] Munich was remarkable for two things, wrote William R. Tyler, "first for the number of dogs and secondly for the fact that you get ice water to drink at the cafés without paying extra."[38]

Americans still missed "beautiful faces" in Germany and women were still objects of pity.[39] American women and men expressed a condescending sympathy with the women laboring in the fields. These German women turned hay and pitched manure "sometimes with bare feet and legs." Montgomery Meigs claimed that Americans "have

---

[35] Charles B. Simrall to Bell, Tübingen, Oct. 26, 1864, Simrall Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[36] J. M. Garnett to uncle, Bonn, Oct. 10, 1869, Garnett Papers, Duke University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[37] Mary Todd Lincoln to Eliza Slataper, Frankfurt, Dec. 13, 1868, Lincoln, Life and Letters, 495.

[38] William Royall Tyler to mother, Munich, Aug. 4, 1869, Tyler Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[39] Elizabeth Blanchard to Julia Amis, Baden-Baden, Aug. 31, 1871, Elizabeth A. Blanchard Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Charles Patrick Daly, "Diary," Papers, New York Public Library; Blanche Willis Howard, One Year Abroad (Boston: J.R. Osgood), 15; Levina Buoncuore Urbino, An American Woman in Europe: The Journal of two Years and a Half Sojourn in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869), 19.

not been accustomed to seeing white women work in this way."[40] When German women migrated "to our country," believed Meigs, that "they are at once ... out of such degradation."[41] But Oliver H. Kelley, who organized the Patrons of Husbandry or Grange a year later, described a completely different picture when he toured Minnesota in 1866. "In the German neighborhoods [near St. Cloud] males and females, old and young are busy digging potatoes and doing other outdoor work, and in a few instances I saw girls holding the plow."[42] To Kelley these girls and women appeared "to be out of place" because he had "been taught to believe the field was no place for a colored female to labor and that all females were alike in this respect."[43] Kelley thought that female field labor would prevent the "finer feelings necessary to make kind and affectionate mothers" but since "money being the object and happiness secondary, my philosophizing will hardly be heeded."[44] It was no surprise that American women therefore were happier and more attractive than their European counterparts. According to Titus Coan, American women were "more beautiful than any other" European females.[45]

---

[40] Montgomery Meigs, Berlin, July 14, 1867, Montgomery Meigs Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Thomas A. Woods, "Varying Versions of the Real: Toward a Socially Responsible Public History," Minnesota History 51 (Spring 1989), 189. I greatly appreciated Robert Lommel, archivist at the Stearns Historical Museum in St. Cloud, for pointing out this article.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Coan, "Diary, 1867," New York Historical Society.

On the whole, Americans continued to like the Germans, their mentality, and their country. Hubert Bancroft reported from Dresden that his wife and niece were "delighted with Germany."[46] American travelers particularly welcomed the striking contrast between American frigidity and German kindness and friendliness. John Bigelow from New York spoke for many Americans when he wrote from Berlin that the German people were "hospitable and kind and sensible, much more than the French."[47] Bigelow added that he received New Year's compliments from people who had only remote relation with his house in Berlin, such as the postman, the porter, the gas man, the grocer, the baker, and "just this moment the street watch man" presented himself to wish him a happy new year and to receive a five *groschen* tip.[48] "It is pleasant to live in a community," Bigelow wrote about Berlin where strangers were the objects of tenderness.[49] While in Cologne Titus Coan from New York praised the courtesy of all German and French shopkeepers "as compared with the frigid and insulting air of American clerks, who are generally ashamed of their business, but think to carry it off with a stiff upper lip and a tone of voice which is in itself an affront."[50] Upper-class Americans looked down on their own

---

[46] Hubert Bancroft, "Journal While in Europe, 1866-67," Dresden, June 5, [1867], quoted in "Diary of Emma C. Derby," California Historical Society Quarterly 31 (1952): 220.

[47] John Bigelow to Fanny Campbell Eames, Berlin, Jan. 3, 1871, Bigelow Papers, New York Historical Society; see also Charles Pickering to his mother, [n.p] June 3, 1869, Charles Pickering Putnam Papers, 1785-1915, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Benjamin Fahnenstock to his son, Heidelberg, Oct. 17, 1861, Fahnenstock Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Coan, "Diary, 1867," Cologne, Aug. 11, 1867, New York Historical Society.

countrymen for their lack of deference to their social superiors. "No, my decent Yankee flowers of politeness," wrote a sarcastic Coan about his compatriots, "you cannot all be Presidents of the republic, but a small suspicion of German courtesy would not injure the sale of your goods."[51] Harper's Hand-Book for travelers preferred the cordial Germans above the superficial and morally corrupted French since "beneath the pleasant surface" of France a "strong and polluted current is perpetually running, and there is no part in the world where the more substantial virtues are more rare."[52]

But Germans still lagged behind American living standards, comforts, and modes of transportation. Henry Robbins' train trip during the winter "was anything but pleasant."[53] His chief difficulty was keeping his feet warm because "there were no feet warmers in the second class carriages" of the train.[54] Steamships were also uncomfortable. William Seward rented the only two rooms available on a Danube steamboat going to Vienna because the "economy of the boat was purely German," i.e. it lacked all of the comforts.[55] All other passengers, whether first or second class, slept as they found places, on the sofas and tables. The *New York Times* pointed out that foreign

---

[51] Ibid.

[52] W. Pembroke Fetridge, Harper's Hand-Book for Travellers in Europe and the East (New York: Harper and Bros., 1866), 96, quoted in William Stowe, Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 51.

[53] Robbins, Journal, Braunschweig, Nov. 11, 1872, Croffut Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[54] Ibid.

[55] William H. Seward, William H. Seward's Travels Around the World, ed. Olive Risley Seward (New York: D. Appleton, 1873), 708.

tourists praised the luxury of American steamboats. "Yet this testimony seems to evoke no spirit of emulation among their countrymen," the newspaper continued. "Americans who have voyaged on German waters," the *Times* concluded, "need not to be told how their stuffy little boats compare" with American steamships.[56]

The new buildings in Germany did not impress American travelers either. James M. Williams visited the *Abgeordnetenhaus*, or the lower house of parliament of the North German Bund. He had expected "to see more elegance, not to speak of magnificence." But Williams found the building "quite in keeping with the other buildings of Berlin--quite ordinary." He was again disappointed when he visited the main assembly hall of the *Reichstag*, the upper house of the North German Confederation. "The room itself," Williams noted in his diary, "was hardly equal to one's expectation." "The Germans," Williams concluded, "seem to have little idea as to comfort in seats." The seats had tall, straight backs and were so arranged that some of the members had to pass by others to get to their chairs "somewhat as people do at church."[57]

Although rent was cheap in Frankfurt, it was difficult for John Ross Browne to find a comfortable house for his family. There were few houses for single families in the city because "the Germans are essentially gregarious; they live in crowds." Americans, according to Browne, interpreted the word home as "something of domestic privacy and comfort--a retreat within the circle of one's family rather than the walls of a building." This was only "imperfectly understood in Continental Europe." Germans liked to live in

---

[56] New York Times, Oct. 11, 1871, 4.

[57] James Merrill Williams, "Diary," vol. 2, Berlin, March 1, 1870, James Merrill Papers, 1869-1888, Southern Historical CollectionUniversity of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

apartment buildings of three or four separate suites. "It seems rather strange," Browne continued, "that people can live in this way on terms of harmony. Yet, they contrive to do it in Germany," because they were "accustomed to it all their lives, they learn forbearance and cultivate good-humor as an essential virtue." The bewildered Browne wrote about "the noise, confusion, babbling, and jostling of crowds, the tramp of feet overhead, underneath, and on the stairways," concluding that all this "seem to please them."[58]

Americans, enchanted with the image of pre-industrial Germany, completely overlooked the ever increasing speed of German industrialization during the 1860s. Particularly Prussia was quickly becoming an industrial giant among the European powers by rapidly liberalizing its economy. Due to this liberalization the coal industry expanded under private enterprise. Between 1850 and 1857 nearly a hundred new mines were opened in the Ruhr, and output rose from 1.6 million tons to 3.6 million tons. The output per miner rose from 700 tons in 1855 to 986 tons in 1864. By 1870, German states were producing 30 million tons of coal a year and 8.5 million tons of lignite. Their output of coal and pig-iron now surpassed that of Belgium, rivaled that of France, but still trailed a long way behind that of Great Britain. German steel and iron producers adopted English Bessemer and Siemens Martin furnaces on the coal fields of the Ruhr and Upper Silesia. Both of these regions were part of the Prussian kingdom, and that meant that about two-thirds of Germany's ironworks lay in Prussia, giving the northern kingdom a

[58] John Ross Browne, An American Family in Germany (New York: Harper Brothers, 1877), 18.

decisive industrial and military advantage in future conflicts with other continental countries.[59]

A few American visitors to the industrial exhibition in Paris in 1867 saw how industrialization was changing Germany. Abram S. Hewitt, America's foremost ironmaster, was sent to the Exhibition by the American government as a commissioner to report on the progress of the European iron and steel industry. Hewitt was impressed by the "marvelous" progress in cast-steel products of the Krupp company since he had last seen it sixteen years before at the London Exhibition in 1851.[60] The Prussian products "were worthy of the highest admiration," but the most striking object in Krupp's exhibition was the cast-steel rifled, breech-loading, fifty-ton guns.[61] "[T]his monster of war" proved that Prussian companies were catching up to English manufacturers and outpacing the French steel producers, since "it was quite evident that the manufacture of steel and wrought-iron guns in France is still in its infancy."[62]

Hewitt also described the Krupp factory, a place that few of the American travelers had ever taken the trouble to see. The scale of this establishment alone impressed him: 450 acres of which one-fourth were under a roof, 8,000 workers at the

---

[59] W. O. Henderson, The Rise of German Industrial Power, 1834-1914 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 130-140.

[60] Abram S. Hewitt, "The Production of Iron and Steel in Its Economic and Social Relations: Report as United States Commissioner to the Paris Exhibition, 1867," in Selected Writings of Abram S. Hewitt, edited by Allan Nevins. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 27.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 28-29.

blast furnaces, 2,000 coal miners, 195 steam engines, 49 steam hammers weighing up to 50 tons, and fifteen miles of railroad track with six locomotives. The production of steel consumed one thousand tons of coal per week alone. It did not surprise Hewitt that the grand prize of the Paris Exposition was bestowed on Friedrich Krupp for his life work. Krupp's factory, wrote Hewitt, was "by far the most extensive ever produced by the energy of man, ...[It] began almost by the side of his father's humble forge and rising through the various stages of poverty," Krupp finally succeeded in creating one of the most modern industrial centers of the world.[63] Successful American businessmen could find in Krupp a man who resembled their own careers or at least the careers of American icons like Andrew Carnegie. "Such an establishment, such results, and such a man, have special interest for the United States," declared Hewitt because in America "the natural resources of the country, the rapid progress of population, and the genius of our free institutions, all invite a generous emulation."[64] But Abram Hewitt was one of the rare exceptions who clearly saw that Germany was industrializing at a tremendous rate and who pointed to the coal and iron industry as Germany's economic strength.

The traumatic Civil War and the turmoil of Reconstruction at home, left Americans almost no room for news about the dramatic changes in central Europe in the 1860s. The Austrian-Prussian war against Denmark over the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein and the defeat of the Danish created hardly a headline in American newspapers. When Prussia arbitrarily started a war against its former ally Austria in 1866, many Americans recollecting their memories of the gallant Austrian soldiers, expected a

---

[63] Hewitt, Selected Writings, 27-28

[64] Ibid.

dashing Austrian victory. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Königsgrätz after only seven weeks of military campaigning came as a surprise to many observers.

The Prussian victory over Austria and the organization of the North German Confederation alarmed French patriots and Emperor Napoleon III. Prussia's threat of uniting the remaining German states under its rule and a belief in its superiority lured Napoleon III and a nationalist Chamber of Deputies into declaring war against the Prussian *parvenue* of European military might. In the collective memory of Europeans and North Americans, the French had been the superior soldiers for the last 200 hundred years while German military history with the exception of Frederick the Great's campaigns, seemed to indicate a German incompetence in military matters. National stereotypes led many to underrate the Germans and overestimate the strength of the French.

The Prussian general staff under Helmut von Moltke, however, had learned valuable lessons from its shortcomings against Austria in 1866 and adopted the breech-loading Krupp steel cannon which outdistanced the French artillery in 1870.[65] The fact that Prussia had the industrial capacity to equip and supply more troops, while the excellent French troops often suffered from insufficient supply, was decisive for victory.[66]

In contrast to the Revolution of 1848, the Franco-Prussian War did not come as a surprise to many Americans. Already in 1867, George Ticknor wondered in a letter to

---

[65] Brian Bond, War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 18-20.

[66] Ibid., 20.

his friend, the king of Saxony "how a war [between Prussia and France] is to be avoided next summer."[67] Ticknor believed that only statesmanship had "postponed [war] for so long."[68] The "ill-will" between the two nations had grown particularly after Austria's defeat and had "no other effective mode of expressing itself" than in war.[69] "It is an old grudge," Ticknor claimed, "which has been festering in the hearts of Prussians and Frenchmen ever since the time of Napoleon the First."[70] Ticknor stated that he had "witnessed it in both countries, when I was in Europe fifty years ago, and it has never subsided."[71] "In my country," Ticknor contended, alluding to the Civil War and the defiant reactions of many southerners toward northern attempts at Reconstruction, "it is much the same. We are suffering from causes which go far back in our history."[72]

Indeed the Civil War still divided the nation even over issues that were not directly related to slavery, states' rights, and Reconstruction. The debate over who should win the Franco-Prussian War estranged North and South again. "The men of Yankee Proclivities are for the Prussians," wrote former Confederate President Jefferson Davis to his brother from a steamship sailing for Europe, "and those of the South for the

---

[67] George Ticknor to John, King of Saxony, Boston, Sept. 6, 1867, Ticknor, Life, 2: 479.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.; Henry Bellows experienced the same growing hostility while in Bingen at the Rhine on July 8, 1867, Henry W. Bellows, The Old World in Its New Face: Impressions of Europe in 1867-68, 2 vols., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869), 1: 73.

[72] Ibid.

French."[73] Southerners compared Prussia's attempt to unite the German state under its control with the Federal government's efforts to impose their rule over the southern states. This time, however, many southerners hoped the "southern states" like Austria and France would successfully resist such intrusion. "I desire her [Prussia's] humiliation," wrote Dudley Mann, a former Confederate official to Jefferson Davis, "for her arrogance is only surpassed by that of the Federal Union."[74] "I need hardly to tell you," Jefferson Davis wrote in the same vein to his brother, "that I wish the arrogant, robbing Yankees of Europe to be soundly thrashed and the little states they have appropriated released from consolidation."[75]

Early in the Franco-Prussian War, most northerners tended to support the Prussians. John Bigelow from New York happened to be in Berlin the day the French declaration of war was received. Bigelow reported how enthusiastic crowds in *Unter den Linden*, Berlin's main street, cheered, sang, and mocked the French Emperor and his government. "There is no end to the enthusiasm here," wrote Bigelow, because the Prussians had "an unlimited confidence in the 'managing man,'" and they believed that

---

[73] Jefferson Davis to brother Joseph, on a steamship on the Atlantic, Aug, 20, [1870], quoted in Robert Elroy, Jefferson Davis: The Unreal and the Real, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), 2: 621; see also Hudson Strode, Jefferson Davis: Tragic Hero: The Last Twenty-Five Years, 1864-1889, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1964), 367.

[74] Dudley Mann to Jefferson Davis, Paris, March 2, 1870, in Jefferson Davis, Letters, Papers, 263.

[75] Jefferson Davis to brother Joseph, on a steamship on the Atlantic, Aug, 20, [1870], quoted in Elroy, Jefferson Davis, 2: 621; Strode, Jefferson Davis: Tragic Hero, 367.

"the world will never be quiet until Nap[oleon III] is well whipped."[76] One American student in Leipzig wrote after the declaration of war that "the public opinion seems to side with Prussia. May God defend their right."[77] Northerners felt more sympathy for the Prussians for two reasons. First, most Americans objected to Napoleon III's imperialist foreign policy such as his military intervention in Mexico during America's Civil War and his support for the Papal State in Italy. Secondly, many northerners could identify Bismarck's war aims of unifying a nation with their own goal of restoring the Union a decade earlier.

American intellectuals and politicians showered Prussia with praise. Bayard Taylor boasted in a letter to Willard Fiske that his *Jubellied* [song of praise] cheering the Germans against the French, "has been published in all the German papers."[78] George Ticknor hurried to write his royal friend, king of Saxony, that "we sympathize with your Majesty and your people."[79] He congratulated him "on the great recent successes of your country in the war which has been so unjustifiably brought upon you."[80] Secretary of

---

[76] John Bigelow to W. H. Huntington, Berlin, July 19, 1870, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library.

[77] James Mercer Garnett, Leipzig, July 20, 1870, Garnett Family Papers, 1773-1888, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville.

[78] Bayard Taylor to Willard Fiske, Cedarcroft, Kenneth Square, Pennsylvania, Nov. 14, 1870, in White, Willard Fiske, 297.

[79] George Ticknor to John, King of Saxony, Boston, Sept. 29, 1870, Ticknor, Life, 2: 490.

[80] Ibid.

State Hamilton Fish called Prussia "the victim of an unprovoked and unjustified war," and congratulated Francis Lieber that Prussia "has wholly vindicated herself."[81]

But not all Americans welcomed the Prussian soldiers in France. Some tried to make a distinction between the autocratic rule of Napoleon III and the French people. John Bigelow complained in a letter to one Francophile woman back home that some Americans believed "Caesarism is Corsican and not French. That is a mistake. Bonapartism is merely an expression of a national spirit which is just as apparent and just as fanatical if not as dangerous under Gambetta as it ever was under either of the Napoleons."[82]

The surprising German victory over the reputedly superior French in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 changed the image of Germans in America in the most dramatic way because the unexpected victory replaced the idea of "sluggishness" with "efficiency." John Bigelow admired the German artillery that "fired with the precision of the rifle."[83] Henry Robbins, who witnessed the siege of Paris in 1871, wrote in his journal, "the more one sees of the tactics displayed in the Franco-Prussian and Commune War, the more one admires the dash and engineering skill of the Teutons."[84]

---

[81] Fish to Lieber, Sept. 12, 1870, in Freidel, Lieber, 409.

[82] John Bigelow to Fanny Campbell Eames, Berlin, January 3, 1871, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library.

[83] John Bigelow to Mrs. Botta, Berlin, January 11, 1871, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library.

[84] Henry Alfred. Robbins, Journal, Paris, June 25, 1871, in William Augustus Croffut Papers, 1835-1915, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Although Americans admitted that the German troops were formidable they still were not up to American standards of the Civil War. President Grant sent Phil Sheridan, a general who had implemented total war strategies in the Civil War, to observe the Franco-Prussian War. Sheridan insisted that he be transferred to the Prussian general staff less because of admiration for the Prussians than dislike of Napoleon III. General Sheridan's first experience of German military efficiency hardly seemed impressive when a hay wagon picked him up from the railroad station to bring him to the German headquarters in France. But this episode did not prevent him from feeling right at home among the Prussian generals and particularly with chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who spoke fluent English. After observing a futile and costly Prussian cavalry attack during his second day at headquarters, Sheridan, according to a German eye witness, told Bismarck that "your infantry is the best in the world; but it was wrong for your generals to advance the cavalry as they did."[85] Bismarck completely agreed with the American's assessment. Sheridan might have diplomatically praised the Prussian infantry, but in his letters to President Grant he asserted that while the Prussians were "very good brave soldiers," nevertheless "under the same circumstances our troops would have done as well."[86] In even more outspoken letter to George Armstrong Custer, Sheridan exclaimed:

[85] Moritz Busch, Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History (St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1971, c. 1898), 71-72, 74, quoted in Paul A. Hutton, Phil Sheridan and His Army (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 202.

[86] Sheridan to Grant, Sept. 13, 1870, Sheridan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., quoted in Roy Morris, Sheridan: The Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan (New York: Crown, 1992), 330.

"Custer, you with the 3rd Division could have captured King William six times over."[87] As well as the Prussians had fought, Sheridan doubted that "they would never know what real fighting was until they should meet in a popular war, American or British troops."[88]

Some Americans who had the opportunity to observe the war from the lower ranks agreed with Sheridan. Mary Phinney, a former nurse in the Union Army who volunteered for the Prussian ambulance service, commented on the "German fighting," that "they are good fighters but not that they are the best soldiers in the world."[89] "I have had the chance to see both wars," Phinney continued, "and I am sure I don't boast in saying that the Americans were the better of the two."[90] Sheridan was pleased to report to Grant that "there is nothing to be learned here professionally" and left for a sightseeing tour of southern and eastern Europe.[91] There was much, however, he assured the American president, "which the Europeans could learn from us."[92]

---

[87] The Custer Story: The Life and Intimate Letters of General George A. Custer and His Wife Elizabeth, ed. Marguerite Merington (New York: Devin-Adair, 1950), 239.

[88] Frank A. Burr and Richard J. Hirton, "Little Phil" and His Troopers. The Life of General Philip H. Sheridan: Its Romance and Reality: How an Humble Lad Reached the Head of an Army (Providence, R.I.: J.A. and R. A. Reid, 1888), 335.

[89] Letter to unknown, Tharant, Saxony, June, 15, 1871, Mary Phinney von Olnhausen, Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars: Edited from the Diary and Correspondence of Mary Phinney, Baroness von Olnhausen by James Phinney Munroe. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1903), 285.

[90] Ibid., 285-86.

[91] Sheridan to Grant, Sept. 13, 1870, Sheridan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., quoted in Hutton, Sheridan, 206.

[92] Ibid.

One story captured the supremacy of the Yankee over the Prussian soldier. At Gravelotte, on August 18, 1870, Sheridan's quick understanding of tactics amazed the Prussian leadership. The Prussian king and his general staff had ascended a hill near the village of Gravelotte to gain a better view of the battle. Sheridan saw at once from the flanking moves of the French infantry that the French artillery would soon open fire on the German position. He called on Bismarck to withdraw the King from the dangerous zone, but King William refused. Within minutes two hundred French cannons opened fire and the King and his entourage promptly evacuated the exposed ground. "Sheridan," admitted the impressed Bismarck, " had seen it from the beginning, I wished I had so quick an eye."[93]

Beside personal plunders and misjudgements among the Prussian officer corps Mary Phinney detected a lack of organization and efficiency in the medical service in the German services. "In our most disorganized days in our worst field hospitals," she wrote about the difference of medical care in the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, "I saw nothing like it. The beds were abominable, the patients dirty, and ... in every way uncomfortable."[94] Visiting several hospitals she became increasingly upset. "We never treated amputations so badly," wrote Phinney while observing German doctors and nurses handling the patients' wounds "without any care" while eating in the operation rooms. Thus "every amputation within my knowledge has died, excepting one," she

---

[93] Sheridan, Personal Memoirs, 2: 370-77.

[94] Mary Phinney to unknown, military hospital in Chateau Thierry, Nov. 20, 1870, Phinney, Adventures, 224.

lamented, "and if he doesn't he's a fool, for there is no reason why he should live."[95] What the German ambulance service needed was discipline and organization. Phinney complained about the lack of daily inspections of patients and about the jealousy of different competing organizations like the regular army ambulances and the *Johanniter* order who both tried to request her services.[96] The difference between German institutional chaos and the the streamlined United States Sanitary Commission that emerged out of the Civil War was striking.[97]

Many Americans had a change of heart when Napoleon's regime broke down and a new French republican government took over and continued the war. American public opinion split over the question of whether they would like to see the new French republic or the German princes win. The *New York Times* sympathized with the new French republican government; particularly when the siege of Paris began. The sufferings of the civilian population and the relentless bombardment of the suburbs disturbed American observers.[98] With the proclamation of the Republic, many Americans also unrealistically thought that the French would now turn the tide of the war. The newspapers reported

---

[95] Journal, Chateau Thierry, Nov. 20, 1870, Lagny, Dec. 2 and Dec. 8, 1870, Phinney, Adventures, 224, 232, 233.

[96] For lack of inspections see Phinney, Journal, Lagny, Dec. 4, 1870, for frictions among different institutions see Phinney, Journal, Vendôme, Feb. 16, [1871], in Phinney, Adventures, 233, 251.

[97] See chapter 7 "The Sanitary Elite: The Organized Response to Suffering," in George M. Fredrickson, The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, c. 1965), 98-112.

[98] New York Times, Jan. 14, 1871, 1.

"unsuccessful German assaults."[99] "With such men and such artillery," wrote one *New York Times* correspondent, "the Prussians ought to be driven away in a week's time."[100] A week later Paris surrendered. A year after the war, Prussian troops still occupied some parts of France and Americans disliked the view of these soldiers. "Another invader was the first thing I saw," wrote Titus Coan, upon reaching the railroad station in Chalons at the Marne river.[101] A German word painted on the station, the ubiquitous Prussian soldiers "in their ugly uniforms" standing on the platform, and the German management of the station and the town were "signs of conquest."[102] To Coan, who had "sided from the first with the French cause, this was rather a bitter sight."[103]

World-wide public opinion now recognized that it was the Prussian army that brought about the defeat of Napoleon III and laid the foundation of the German Empire. The astonishing victory added militarism to the vocabulary of Americans when describing Germany and the Germans. In the course of single year the Germans shed their century-old image as a militarily inept people, replacing the French as the most military-oriented nation in Europe. It was also clear to every American that the Prussian army now dominated the German states. John Bigelow perceived the status and strength

---

[99] New York Times, Jan. 1, 1871, 1.

[100] New York Times, Jan. 21, 1871, 4.

[101] Coan, "Diary, 1872," Chalons, June 20, 1872, Titus Coan Papers, New York Historical Society.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

of the Prussian army as "infinitely stronger now than it was in 1870."[104] "The Prussian military system," he claimed, "worked wondrous results" and "pervades all Germany."[105] According to Bigelow, Prussian officers were now in command in Baden and Württemberg and 300 Württemberg officers served in Prussia. "In the war of 1870," wrote Bigelow, "the Bavarian troops were good for nothing." Their "poorly officers" were "tolerated and posted for political purposes."[106] But the author was optimistic that the Bavarian army under Prussian supervision, education, and training would "soon be as good as the Prussian."[107]

The impressive victory and the establishment of the old liberal dream of German unification enhanced the army's status in German society and justified an enhanced position for it under the new constitution of 1871, causing many, particularly middle-class Germans, to embrace militarism. Henry Robbins observed that the most noticeable feature in Germany was the army; "nearly every man is in uniform"--"excepting when they go to bed." Robbins' landlord's little son, a military cadet from Berlin, greeted him every morning with a military salute.[108] He also found that craving after military titles was "in evidence as much as it is with us, even more so," joking that every Civil War

---

[104] John Bigelow to W. H. Hungtington, Berlin, April 16, 1872, Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Robbins, Journal, Braunschweig, May 5, Jan. 15, April 6, 1873, Croffut Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

veteran must by now "at least a colonel or a general."[109] Titus Coan, although he had no sympathies for the Prussian soldiers, met a German veteran, "a very pleasant mild man" in Switzerland who showed Coan "very modestly" his decorations and the Iron Cross for valor in the Franco-Prussian War.

Americans found the central-European states, the home of the supposedly phlegmatic and slow-moving Germans, suddenly transformed into a powerful and aggressive nation. In 1873, Americans wrote in their travel journal that "today, Germany is the foremost nation of the Old World."[110] William Seward realized the tremendous change that had occurred when he wrote that "in the history of civilization there has been nothing more wonderful than the wonderful development of the German Empire." Two hundred years ago, wrote Seward, Prussia was "the feeblest of perhaps forty inconsiderable states, a state without numbers, military force, arts, or science" but now it had established itself as a great power.[111]

Seward and other Americans were optimistic about the new Prussian-dominated German Empire. "Like Switzerland, she [Prussia] has engrafted on her own political system, the American principle of government by confederation of states."[112] For Seward this development "proved nothing less, though perhaps in a distant future, the abolition of

---

[109] Ibid.

[110] John Gregory, Scrapbook C-2, Vienna, June 30, 1873, John Gregory Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois; Henry Day used almost the same phrase in his book, A Lawyer Abroad: What to See and How to See (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1874), 332.

[111] Seward, Around the World, 767.

[112] Seward, Around the World, 767-68.

military despotism for maintaining the balance of power.[113] Henry Day, a lawyer from New York City, was struck by the similarities between the American and German constitutions and the federal character of the country. Appointed delegates of the *Bundesrat* represented the different German states, the people elected the *Reichstag* by universal suffrage, and the *Deutsche Kaiser* had the "supreme direction of the military and political affairs." The new German constitution with its clause establishing an "eternal union" had the advantage of offering no room for state's rights and "no right of secession."[114]

Many Americans believed that Germany after unification "will be content hereafter to promote the welfare of mankind, through the arts of peace, rather than to seek greater dominions by war and violence." Henry Day assumed that the German victory and the the strengthening of the German Empire would keep down belligerent France, a country "so ambitious, so capricious, so unscrupulous" which had "kept Europe in a state of uneasiness for a generation past." Europe's "totally different leadership" in the form of the German Empire would seek "peace, not aggression or aggrandizement." In contrast to France's aggressive foreign policy this new "brave, strong, and self-possessed" Germany would promote "the allaying of suspicions, the reduction of armies, the lightening of taxes, the increase of labor, the cheapening of bread; advancements of education and in the all the arts of life." Germany's "great peace policy will be felt in all Europe" and the European nations "would breathe more freely."[115]

---

[113] Ibid.

[114] Day, Lawyer Abroad, 333-34, 338-39.

[115] Day, Lawyer Abroad, 338-39.

The American Civil War also enforced a conservative, anti-revolutionary tendency among American elites, which made them less enthusiastic about the new French republic and less critical of the German autocratic government of the *Kaiser* and other potentates. The *Nation*, for example, openly defended Russian atrocities against Polish rebels and declared that the Czarist autocratic "institutions are as legitimate an expression of the national thought and feelings as our institutions are of ours and just as suitable to her stage of culture."[116] In 1870, when the French overthrew Napoleon III's regime, most Americans remained reserved if not openly sympathetic to the Germans. While earlier French revolutions had been greeted with addresses and parades, now Americans remained conspicuously silent.[117] Wartime Unionism had taught Americans to be suspicious of the right of the people to choose their own government.[118] The Civil War also imbued in American society a respect for military virtue and rank. Many American visitors could relate to the new German admiration for officer titles and the glorification of the military.

But there was also considerable uneasiness about this modernization of Germany. It was not so much a fear of an autocratic government or the acquisition of an industrial rival, as it was the sense of having lost an image of an idyllic and harmless place of face-to-face community and happiness. Industrialization and Social Darwinism created a need to create a refuge from the harsh cut-throat capitalism and the ugliness of the modern

---

[116] Nation 1, July 27, 1865, 105.

[117] Eugene N Curtis, "American Opinions of the French Nineteenth-Century Revolutions," American Historical Review 24 (January 1924), 269, in Fredrickson, Inner Civil War, 187.

[118] Fredrickson, Inner Civil War, 187.

industrial world.[119] It was no accident that the word "quaint," when attached to German villages, quickly became a draw for tourists or that such old and picturesque towns as Nuremberg, suddenly appeared on the American itinerary. At the same time American painting followed the same trend. For example the popular painter Hans Heinrich Bebie, who emigrated from Zürich to Baltimore, specialized in festive street scenes in the 1870s.[120] While many Americans of the early nineteenth century had preferred the modern cities with wide streets and recent architecture, travelers from the 1860s on sought places like the "sleepy and quaint little village of Bad Godesberg," and Nuremberg with its "narrow crooked streets" and "with towered wall all around and wide moat round the walls."[121]

The Franco-Prussian War was clearly a watershed for the American perception of Germans. The surprising victory over the French added completely new and contradicting element to the old image of Germans as bucolic bumblers. The two opposing set of traits would form the core of the future American image of Germans as efficient, hard-working, and militaristic on the one side, and as quaint, jovial, and beer-drinking peasants on the other. Although Americans became aware of the rise of German

---

[119] See the works of Charles Sanders Peirce, James Mark Baldwin, Edward Alworth Ross, Granville S. Hall, Josiah Royce.

[120] Kammen, Mystic Chords, 169.

[121] Adams, "Diary," Coblentz, June 22, 1875, Duke University, North Carolina; see also Wlliam Royall Tyler to mother, August 4, 1869, Tyler Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Charles P. Putnam, [Nuremberg], Oct. 6, 1869, Putnam Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Mary Todd Lincoln to James Smith, Marienbad, Bohemia, June 22, 1870, Mary Todd Lincoln, Life and Letters, 569; Mary Phinney's letter about Nuremberg, [Nuremberg], April 17, [1871], Phinney, Adventures, 278-79; Buffum, Sights and Sensations, 45.

militarism most American travelers ignored the signs of fast growing industrialization that had actually enabled the Prussian army to defeat the French. After the unification of the German states, the growth and modernization of Germany's industrial centers accelerated and surpassed the pre-war industrial boom. The expanded and defined boundaries of the newly founded German Empire enabled new industries to grow and compete in a larger market. In the course of thirty years, sleepy villages of 4,000 people in the Ruhr valley, like Essen and Bochum, had grown into cities of more than 200,000 inhabitants. Most Americans avoided the industrialized Ruhr Valley and the coal fields of Lorraine. They preferred to visit the rural, pre-industrial parts of Germany instead because here they could find the familiar and romantic places of the Fatherland. There, they could still experience "white women" laboring in the fields, "sometimes with bare feet and legs"[122]

[122] Montgomery C. Meigs to daughter, Berlin, July 14, 1867, in Montgomery C. Meigs Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Chapter 4

Fellow Anglo-Saxons or Economic and Imperial Rivals: The American Escape from Modernity and Fears of Competition, 1877-1898

As Germany ascended to the status of an industrial giant, American travelers intensified their image of Germans as a quaint and medieval people. Most Americans praised and admired the new German Empire for its cleanliness and militarism, but what they really wanted was an escape from their own turmoil of industrialization and its often unpleasant results such as labor violence in the factories and mines and Populist unrest among western and southern farmers.

For Americans of the Gilded Age industrialization meant a chance for progress. but it also raised fears of undermining the traditional social and ethnic homogeneity of their society. Labor violence, mass immigration, and the uncertainties of a capitalist society at home, made many Americans wish for a simpler past and society. A vacation in Europe offered refuge in a supposedly better past of cosy, medieval small towns and bucolic medieval quaintness. Many Americans still clung to a rural, idyllic, and homely image of Germans onto which they cheerfully grafted modern values such as military strength and orderliness.

Neither Americans nor Germans saw industrialization as the cause for their nations' increased wealth, standard of living, and power. Rather, they attributed national success to the natural superiority of the Anglo-Saxon races, i.e. the English, the Germans, and the Americans. This shared Anglo-Saxonism allowed Anglo-Americans to integrate

German-Americans into the society and respect Germans almost as equals. Yet the perception of Germans as quaint, fellow Anglo-Saxons ironically did not lead to an era of good feeling but barely covered up genuine conflicts of national interests in the 1880s and 1890s.

American travelers neglected the growing influence of large German corporations and the resulting competition with American interests. Germany's burgeoning industries demanded new markets and began to compete for spheres of influence throughout the world. The two countries soon found themselves in competition on the international stage. The bitter conflicts of the 1880s and 1890s over tariffs and the Samoan colonies did not change the basic perception but began slowly to undermine diplomatic relations between the two countries and prevent a friendlier image of the Germans.

By 1877, Americans had forgotten about the early optimism and expectations of a liberal and democratic future for the German Empire, but they quickly learned to admire the new Germany. "What a paradise this land is!" wrote Mark Twain in a letter from Germany to his friend William Dean Howells. "What clean clothes, what good faces, what tranquil contentment, what prosperity, what genuine freedom, what suberb government!"[1] Andrew White, president of Cornell University, praised the high quality of civilization in the new empire. "No country is at heart more deeply reverent to the Highest," White told his students, "none more earnest in the search for truth; none more sensitive to the idea of duty; none more pervaded by a deep morality; none more open to

[1] Clemens to Howells, Frankfurt on the Main, May 4, [1878], Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910, ed. Frederick Anderson, William M. Gibson, and Henry Nash Smith, 2 vols, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960), 1: 227.

sacred enthusiasm for eternal rights and justice."[2] John M. Gregory, professor of science and retired president of the University of Illinois, contrasted Italy and Germany while traveling from Verona to Munich: "Italy is the broken fragment of a mighty past; Germany the substantial foundation of a mightier future."[3]

Not even the thorough militarization of German society raised the travelers' eyebrows; instead, it fascinated them. Soldiers seemed to "constitute the chief part of the inhabitants of Germany."[4] "Every second man you meet," wrote one southern young woman, "wears a uniform of some kind from the king down to the boot black."[5] It was quite "delightful to watch them salute each other on the street" and the soldiers looked "lovely and graceful."[6] From Hanover, a third American lady reported that "handsomely uniformed officers promenaded with ladies elegantly dressed" and compared this scene "with those of fairy land."[7] One young American woman wrote to her mother from

---

[2] Andrew D. White, "The New Germany," [n.d.], Andrew D. White Microfilm Collection, Cornell University, New York, quoted in Glenn C. Altschuler, Andrew D. White: Educator, Historian, Diplomat (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 119.

[3] John M. Gregory, "Letter from Germany," Weekly Hawkeye, Burlington, Iowa, Sept. 8, 1887, in John M. Gregory Papers, Scrapbook 1c, University Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

[4] June Spencer to mother Cornelia Spencer, Dresden, June 26, 1884, Cornelia Spencer Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[5] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, July 14, 1894, Emma J. Fasold Papers, 1871-1920, Duke University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[6] Ibid.

[7] C.F. Barlosius, , Mrs. C. F., Recollections of a Visit to England, France, and Germany in 1862 and to Germany in 1885 (Fredericksburg, VA: Free Lance Publishing Company, 1887), 73.

Dresden that English and American young ladies were obsessed with the wish "to be in the company of a German officer!"[8] She quickly assured her mother that she herself was of course, "above such frivolities."[9]

Americans who witnessed German military parades and maneuvers described them in such enthusiastic terms as "brilliant and magnificent,"[10] "superb,... splendid,"[11] and "rapid and effective."[12] The glorification of the Civil War acquainted Americans with military virtues, uniforms, and the appreciation of military ranks, and they immediately recognized these values in German society. To foreign spectators German parades and maneuvers showed individuals working in perfect harmony as a larger body of men, symbolizing the sacrifice of individualistic tendencies for a larger national cause. The enthusiastic admiration of soldiers' seemingly unselfish cooperation for a larger goal contrasted sharply with the perceived self-indulgent, greedy mania for riches in industrialized countries. "It was a beautiful sight," claimed an American woman to see

---

[8] June Spencer to mother Cornelia Spencer, Dresden, June 26, 1884, Cornelia Spencer Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, Sept. 24, 1894, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[11] Poultney Bigelow, "M.S. Account of the German Imperial Maneuvers of September 1889 in Hannover," entry for Sept. 13, Poultney Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library, New York City.

[12] Poultney Bigelow, "Maneuvers, Glücksburg, 1890," Sept. 9, 1890, Poultney Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library, New York City; see also Algernon Sydney Logan, Logan, Vistas from the Stream (Philadelphia: National, 1934), 1: 334, May 5, 1888.

German cavalry's "art of swimming their horses across rivers ... with the utmost precision and rapidity."[13]

Americans began to attribute to Germans qualities that would have astonished Europeans and Americans of the early nineteenth century. Then cleanliness had not been necessarily a trademark of Germany, and Americans, had labeled Catholic Germans as dirty (particularly the Catholic town of Cologne). This opinion changed dramatically in the decades after unification. An American traveling on a German Lloyd steamship "catches something of the spirit of Germany" since German ships were not only "the most comfortable and satisfactory boats on which I ever crossed the Atlantic" but they were also "scrupulously clean."[14] Late nineteenth-century German cities impressed American visitors as "clean and orderly."[15] Hamburg's squares were so nicely cared for that the streets were "almost clean enough to eat off."[16] Berlin was "the cleanest city I ever saw," wrote one American woman and "New York ought to hang her head in shame at the comparison."[17] Every two blocks Berlin had "a public water closet which is kept as clean as can be," wrote another traveler, adding that the streets were "scrubbed just

---

[13] Barlosius, Recollections, 101.

[14] John Henry Barrows, A World-Pilgrimage (Chicago: McClurg, 1897), 12.

[15] Sarah A. Shurtleff, "Travel Journal, 1898," Nichols-Shurtleff Papers, 1780-1953, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Boston; Mark Twain, A Tramp Abroad (New YorK Penguin Books, 1987, c. 1880), 13.

[16] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Emma J. Fasold Papers, 1871-1920, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[17] Mrs. Barr to Ella, Berlin, Sept.[n.d.], 1882, Broadnase Papers, ?.

like floors and every nook and corner of the whole city is swept. Of course you can't find a street that is not paved."[18]

This cleanliness extended to clothing too. Mark Twain noticed that in Frankfurt everybody wore clean clothes and "that this strange thing was the case in Hamburg too." Even in the narrowest, poorest, and oldest quarters of Frankfurt "neat and clean clothes were the rule," and little children were "nearly nice enough to take into a body's lap."[19] Again, it was the military that set the standards. Mark Twain, for example, could not detect "a smirch or a grain of dust" upon the uniforms of the German soldiers.[20] The street car conductors and drivers wore "pretty uniforms, which seemed to be just out of the bandbox, and their manners are fine as their clothes."[21]

Americans noticed other habits that brought Germans closer to their own middle-class values of thrift, taste, and cleanliness. Germans were perceived as "orderly and quiet."[22] Sometimes this virtue could be carried almost to a fault as one American reported about the complicated process of issuing and verifying a streetcar ticket. "There is lots of that form of caution, call it red-tapism," he wrote to his mother and pointed to the effect that it now and then could "fret the impatient traveler .. but on the whole it is a

---

[18] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, July 14, 1894, Emma J. Fasold Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[19] Mark Twain, Tramp Abroad, 13.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, July 14, 1894, Emma J. Fasold Papers, 1871-1920, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

great safeguard, as one feels safe in person and property."[23] "The Germans," wrote another visitor were "too economical to have gas in every room."[24] The street lights were purposely dim, "because the shop owners are too economical to save enough gas to make their show windows really show."[25] The neat city parks even tempted some Americans to believe that Germans had "good taste."[26] The military and the militarization of society had almost eliminated the label of being phlegmatic. Poultney Bigelow reported that "the troops marched by with the usual German vigour."[27]

Americans recognized cleanliness, orderliness, and military virtues as American qualities connecting Germans with themselves. Northern Europeans and white Americans of the late nineteenth century found a simple explanation for these similarities in the theory of biological evolution. Racial ideas of an Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic race supposedly connected the three nations of the English, Germans, and Americans. "The Teutonic race is notoriously prolific," wrote John M. Gregory about the relationship between the three peoples. According to Gregory, "their overflow as Saxons," had converted "Celtic Britain into Anglo-Saxon England which in turn had settled North

---

[23] M.J. Maury to mother, Oppenau, Sept. 18, [1886], Richard Maury Papers, Duke University , Durham, North Carolina.

[24] Mrs. Barr to daughter, [s.l.], Nov. 12, 1883, Broadnase Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, July 14, 1894, Emma J. Fasold Papers, 1871-1920, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[27] Poultney Bigelow, "Maneuvers," Glücksburg, Sept. 3, 1890, Poultney Bigelow Papers, New York Public Library, New York City.

America."[28] Although most upper-class American travelers identified with "the English race,"[29] the Germans, because of their German connection, were no longer so low in the social hierarchy or esteem of the Americans.

Music seemed to fortify this common bond between the three nations. One American reported that no music roused the passengers on their transatlantic trip more than *America* "for it is the national tune of Great Britain and Germany as well as of the United States." "While the Germans were singing to these notes the praise of Germany," she recalled an earlier celebration of the Kaiser's birthday in Göttingen, when "the English girls poured out their patriotism in 'God save our gracious Queen,' and a pair of American girls shouted songfully, 'My country, t'is of thee.'" "Is not this a prophecy of the time," she concluded, "when the Christian Teutonic races shall be still further unified?"[30]

Americans on the Grand Tour contrasted Germany favorably with southern and eastern Europe. "The small, little, gay, half-clad, half-fed Italian, with his tumble-down house, if he has a house at all, proud in his dirt and patient, if not happy in his poverty," wrote John M. Gregory an ardent Teutonist and later president of the University of Illinois, "seems world-wide from the large, stout, serious, comfortably, though coarsely

---

[28] John M. Gregory, "Letter from Germany," Weekly Hawkeye, Burlington, Ia., Sept. 8, 1887, Scrapbook 1c, John M. Gregory Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

[29] See for example the enthusiasm for everything British in Richard Grant White, England Without and Within, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1881), or Mary Cadwalder Jones who wrote about the "mighty strength of our common race," European Travel for Women: Notes and Suggestions, (New York: Macmillan, 1900).

[30] Mark Twain, Tramp Abroad, 13.

clad German, in his great, roomy cottage ... neatly whitewashed, and solid looking as its occupant." In true Darwinistic language Gregory noted that "everywhere that I have been in Europe, the Germans are crowding in, and by their cheaper work and living are starving out the native workers." According to him, it was "German energy and economy against the world, and the German beats."[31] It was no coincidence that Americans of the 1880s and 1890s discovered similarities between Germans and Americans just as southern and eastern European immigration eclipsed that from Germany. Most of the new arrivals were Catholic, sometimes Jewish but rarely Protestant, their darker skin and black hair set them also apart from the older mostly northwestern European immigrants. Germans even with their proclivity for beer and smoking, appeared far less dangerous to the ethnic and republican structure of the United States than the new foreigners. Most Americans still preferred that immigrants assimilate, and most old-stock Americans doubted the compatibility of the recently arrived aliens.[32]

The pressures of the Civil War, the fears of mass immigration from eastern and southern Europe, and Germany's victory against France paved the way for a better integration of the formerly rejected German into American society. A new self-esteem spread through the German-American community. A Pennsylvania German Historical Society was founded in 1891 to "perpetuate the memory and foster the principles and

---

[31] John M. Gregory, "Letter from Germany," Weekly Hawkeye, Burlington, Ia., Sept. 8, 1887, Scrapbook 1c, John M. Gregory Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

[32] David Montgomery, "Nationalism, American Patriotism, and Class Consciousness among Immigrant Workers in the United States in the Epoch of World War I," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working-Class Immigrants, (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 335.

virtues of the German ancestors."[33] A Milwaukee German-language newspaper demanded the establishment of a national German-American holiday.[34]

Temperance advocates, however, remained hostile to German notions of amusement such as beer gardens and concerts. The Chicago *Tribune* urged an enforcement of Sunday closing laws to prevent "the German conquest" of the city.[35] But the emergence of vaudeville shows, professional baseball leagues, popular dramas, and musical comedies undermined the traditional ideas of the Lord's day. German habits of using Sunday as a day of relaxation fit into the emerging urban world. "The German notion," wrote one observer in 1883, "that it is a good thing to have a good time had found a lodgement in the American mind."[36]

Most American travelers explained their observation of German military efficiency and cleanliness in terms of national character or racial traits, but ignored underlying causes for the sweeping changes in German society. But behind Prussian military victories and perceived German national character lay the combination of a gigantic industrial machine and a modernizing state. Compulsory schools, military drill, and factory work discipline turned German pre-industrial slackers into efficient workers.

---

[33] Constitution of the Pennsylvania German Historical Society, Lebanon, 1891, quoted in Kammen, Mystic Chords, 219.

[34] Ibid., 232. Kammen remains, however, sceptical about German American integration and claims that "German Americans achieved only marginally greater success" than the Irish. Kammen, Mystic Chords, 240.

[35] Kinsley, The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years in the West, (Chicago: 1946), 2: 182, quoted in Higham, Strangers, 25.

[36] E.V. Smalley, "The German Element in the United States," Lippincott's Magazine 31 (1883): 356-57.

The increased wealth that went hand in hand with industrial production allowed Germans to apply higher standards of cleanliness and hygiene.

After the unification, the growth and modernization of Germany's industrial centers accelerated. The expanded and defined boundaries of the recently founded German Empire enabled new industries to grow and compete in a larger market. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the German Empire became the leading industrial country on the continent and began to challenge Britain's leadership in industrial production. The gross national product per capita was growing 21.6 per cent in each decade as compared with Britain's 12.5 per cent.[37] Germany's share of the world output of manufactured products rose from 13% in 1870 to 16% in 1900, while that of Britain fell from 32% to 18%.[38] In the course of thirty years, sleepy villages and small towns of 4,000 people in the Ruhr valley, like Essen and Bochum, had grown into cities of more than 200,000 inhabitants.

Germany's industrial growth barely impressed Americans since their own economy grew at one of the fastest rates in world history and clearly dwarfed European manufacturing in sheer numbers and often in quality of goods. American steel production, for example, rose from 732,000 tons in 1878 to 10,188,000 tons in 1900.[39] While Germany gradually caught up with Great Britain's economy, the United States leapt ahead of Britain and became the largest industrial power by the 1880s. At the same time, creative entrepreneurs such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, John D. Rockefeller, and

---

[37] Henderson, German Industrial Power, 173.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

Andrew Carnegie created gigantic industrial corporations by consolidating the production and distribution of goods. Although the average income of all Americans increased by 35 percent, huge social and economic gaps appeared in American society.

Although industrialization promised a better future, many middle-class Americans longed for the relics of a pre-industrial past in Europe and feared the unwanted consequences of modern labor strife and corporate monopolies at home. The appearance of organized labor organizations such as the Knights of Labor (in 1869) and the American Federation of Labor(1882), the violence in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the Homestead (1892), and the Pullman (1894), and other strikes disturbed many middle-class Americans who believed that the United States was the best poor man's country in the world. It was easier to blame the violence on immigrants and foreign agitators. After a day of mass strikes and the deaths of two strikers at the McCormick reaper factory in Chicago in 1886, an unknown person threw a bomb into a company of policemen in Haymarket Square killing seven officers. Unable to find the perpetrator, Chicago's courts nevertheless sentenced five German immigrants and one American to death. "The enemy forces are not American," one editorial echoed the current tone of the nationalist hysteria and pointed to "the rag-tag, bob-tail cutthroats of Beelzebub from the Rhine, the Danube, the Vistula, and the Elbe."[40] Ironically, Germany, the country of clean streets, order, and harmless beer garden entertainment had also produced bomb-throwing anarchists.

---

[40] Quote from Harry Barnard, "Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld (Indianapolis: 1938), 133.

The very existence of socialist Germans was so contradictory to the concept of Germans as militaristic and orderly Anglo-Saxons that an explanation had to be found. "The more intelligent people [in Germany]," wrote John Gregory in article for American newspapers from Germany a year after the Haymarket Riot, "consider these [socialist] leaders as either dreamers or demagogues, and their followers as either dupes or knaves. This discouragement at home has driven them to seek a new field among the Germans in America."[41] In other words, German-American labor organizers and socialists were not typical Germans but belonged to, what another newspaper called "the very scum and offal of Europe."[42]

But not all Americans put the blame for unrest on the shoulders of the unions or the radicals. Intellectuals often attacked the "conspicuous consumption" of the newly rich upper classes and decried the violence of the workers at the same time. Edward Bellamy, Henry George, and Thorstein Veblen wondered about the country's direction. Travel to Europe and particularly to Germany offered distraction and escape from the domestic anxieties of an industrializing society to a simpler and more romantic past.[43]

Americans on the European continent did not want to see or hear about industrialization in Germany. They were determined to visit the romantic, historic parts of the Old World. Most Americans avoided the industrialized Ruhr Valley and the coal fields of Lorraine. Professional writers like Mark Twain, who traveled not only for fun

---

[41] John M. Gregory, "Letter from Germany," Weekly Hawkeye, Burlington, Ia., Sept. 8, 1887, Scrapbook 1c, John M. Gregory Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois.

[42] Public Opinion, 1 (1886), 82-86, quoted in Higham, Strangers, 55.

[43] See Lockwood, Passionate Pilgrims, 17.

but also to draw some profit from their visits, focused on the pre-industrial, quaint, and celebrated romantic aspects of the *Vaterland.*[44] The typical American tour included the medieval-looking towns of Nuremberg, Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, Heidelberg and a steam ship passage up or down the Rhine between Cologne and Bingen.[45] The American itinerary was a time machine and moved from modern London to the less modern Paris to the medieval castles of the German Rhineland, and ended in the ancient times in Rome or Greece.[46] Other German sites that were not part of the usual itinerary had to fit into the larger picture of a medieval Germany. William Leigh, for example, described very selectively the city of Bremen, which was beside Hamburg the most important and modern port for overseas trade. "This medieval city" gave him the feeling that he "had been transported back to the times of Ivanhoe, or Shakespeare."[47]

Germans and other Europeans collaborated in this delusion as much as possible. Local entrepreneurs hoped to profit from the nostalgic travelers, and Germans themselves enjoyed the little escapes from the unpleasant results of their own rapid industrialization. Thus famous places like the Heidelberg Castle were kept in a state of romantic ruins while the seemingly wrecked fortifications housed splendid restaurants and even a post office. Tourists "could send lines home to friends," wrote one satisfied American

---

[44] See Mark Twain, A Tramp Abroad (New York: Penguin Books, 1987)

[45] See for a typical travel plan Sophia E. Lee's letter to Susan Currier, Berlin, April 5, [1897], Currier Family Papers, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.

[46] Stowe, Going Abroad, 42.

[47] William Leigh, "My Life," type-written autobiography, William Leigh Papers, Archival Collection, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

customer, "right from the interesting spot, so kindly established in the ruins."[48] Professional tour guides "who spoke different languages" showed and explained to foreign visitors the most important objects of the castle.[49] If a human guide was not at hand, *Baedeker*, the famous guide book, would feed the tourists' curiosity with an abundance of historical information.[50]

Commercialization of travel was so pervasive that one American woman claimed that "all Germany appears to subsist upon English and American travelers."[51] The thorough commercialization of tourism caused nostalgic travelers like Henry James to glamorize the happier American travelers of the 1820s, a time long before he was born. There was "something romantic, almost heroic in it," he wrote, "as compared with the perpetual ferrying of the present hour, the hour at which photography and other conveniences have annihilated surprise."[52]

Ironically, the quest for new and authentic historical sensations and the new railroads opened up regions that had recently been considered economic backwaters of Germany. During the 1880s, small towns such as Rothenburg-ob-der-Tauber, forgotten

---

[48] M.J. Maury to father, Speyer, Sept. 18, [1886], Richard Maury Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[49] Barlosius, Recollections, 125.

[50] M.J. Maury to father, Speyer, Sept. 18, [1886], Richard Maury Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[51] Phoebe Pember to sister, Munich, July 6, 1896, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[52] Henry James, The Aspern Papers: The Europeans (Norfolk: New Directions, 1950), 209.

for centuries, became suddenly tourist attractions because of their supposedly authentic ancient character. William Leigh maintained that Rothenburg with its restored city walls and towers, "was a perfect example of medievalism preserved in almost perfect condition; it was a paradise for artists; a wonderful revelation to an American."[53] In fact, not a single building in Rothenburg was really from the middle ages, most houses had been built in the Renaissance period.

These carefully preserved, renovated, or staged romantic places of Germany not only fulfilled American and English tourists' needs but also satisfied the demands of a disoriented German population deeply troubled by the rapidity of modern industrialization and the insecurities of capitalism. Although many Germans embraced higher standards of living and felt pride in the new unity and power of the German Empire, they also experienced disenchantment with the coldness of politics and the materialism of capitalism. A desire for the past was, therefore, even stronger among Germans than among English and American citizens since Germany underwent industrialization in only one generation. Modern architecture and intellectual life reflected this desire for a simpler past of small towns, closely-knit families, and personal face-to-face relationships. *Neuschwanstein*, the epiphany of a *kitsch* dream castle of the Bavarian King Ludwig II, quickly became popular among German, as well as foreign tourists. Municipal governments, corporations, and national organizations preferred classicist buildings to house their modern administrations.

---

[53] Leigh, "Life," 150, William Leigh Papers, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Many German writers of the late nineteenth century saw nothing but the decline of cultural and idealistic values and described Germany as a modern-day Babylon.[54] This hostility toward industrialization and modernization spread far into German academic life. Werner Sombart, for example, Germany's most distinguished and popular sociologist, contrasted in his most famous and widely read book the "living nature" with "dead technology" and dismissed modern Berlin and its culture as no more than a suburb of New York, that "desert, that great cultural cemetery."[55]

American attitudes and inclinations dovetailed nicely with the German urge for a romanticized past. American travelers of the early nineteenth century preferred the modern, wide and open boulevards of Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth century to the narrow and gloomy medieval streets. But late nineteenth-century travelers discovered the charm of the older sections of towns. The 1885 descriptions of Bremen by Mrs. C. F. Barlosius, a woman from Philadelphia, were typical examples of a transitional phase between admiration for the modern world and the passion for the historical, preferably medieval, romantic past. Barlosius noticed the modern part of Bremen finding it "very handsome," but she immediately focused her descriptions almost entirely on medieval buildings such as the "remarkable" *Rathaus* or city hall, "a Gothic building erected in 1405" and other reminders of the pre-industrial age.[56] Barlosius repeated this pattern

---

[54] See Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology. (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1965), 15, 18, 56, 90.

[55] Werner Sombart, Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft im neunzehnten Jahrhundert und im Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: G. Bondi, 1921), 162; see also for a good discussion of Sombart's anti-modernism Friedrich Lenger, Werner Sombart, 1863-1941: Eine Biographie (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1994)

[56] Barlosius, Recollections, 69-70.

when she visited Hanover. She perceived the modern railroad station as beautiful and the depot covered with glass as "very grand," but the old town hall was "the most remarkable building in the city."[57]

The term *quaint* became Americans' favorite way to describe their enjoyment of a pleasingly old-fashioned world. "I really became so thoroughly in love with the old city," wrote an excited young American woman about Hamburg's older parts, "that I really hated to leave it. It is so quaint and has a genuine old look and besides it is such a pretty city."[58] Men also relished towns with restored timber buildings. "I have fairly fallen in love with the quiet town," wrote Willard Fiske from Braunschweig, a town "almost as picturesque as Nuremberg."[59] Americans usually labeled smaller towns such as Erfurt and Mühlhausen as quaint if they lacked the trappings and refinements of a metropolis.[60] Germany's ancient architecture of "old gables and high peaked roofs, red-tiled, and scooped into queer curves" captivated Americans more used to rectangular street systems and houses.[61] Americans particularly liked the "very picturesque" timber houses they

---

[57] Barlosius, Recollections, 75. Americans grew particularly harsh in their aesthetic judgment of London, the most modern city in Europe. London's "northern area," wrote Grant Allen in 1900, "you might entirely neglect. It contains nothing of interest, ... is entirely modern, stucco-built, and repellent." Grant Allen, Allen, Grant, The European Tour (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1900), 71-72.

[58] Netta Cordelia Anderson to aunt, Berlin, July 14, 1894, Emma J. Fasold Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[59] Willard Fiske to Bayard Taylor, Braunschweig, [Aug. 1878], White, Willard Fiske, 306.

[60] Barlosius, Recollections, 77, 80.

[61] Jackson, Glimpses, 386; see also, Pitman, European Breezes, 28.

found "on the Rhine and all through Germany" since these house were no longer being built in Germany.[62]

This taste for strange but pleasantly old-fashioned sights also applied to the German people. In the 1880s and 1890s Americans found, with the help of their *Baedekers*, quaint Germans in the Bavarian mountains and the valleys of the Black Forest. A Massachusetts woman was pleased when an old Black Forest woman, in a traditional peasant costume, took off "her queer hat" and showed the black balls "as big as my fists" that were attached to it.[63]

Americans soon began to interpret German politeness and friendliness in terms of these pre-industrial values. "There is no doubt about it," wrote a Mrs. Barr from Berlin, "the Germans are a queer lot."[64] "They are certainly not so high in the scale of civilization as our people - at least here in Berlin," Barr claimed. For evidence she pointed to the "queer thing" that the Berliners wrote on their local letters; they wrote only "hier" [here] instead of "Berlin."[65] Americans usually loved these peculiarities because they reminded them of a simpler past. While crossing the Atlantic on German ships, for

---

[62] "American Woman's Diary, 1878," Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[63] Susan Currier to James, Hornberg [Black Forest], July 18, 1897, currier Family Papers, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

[64] Mrs. Barr to daughter, Berlin, Dec. 3, 1882, Broadnax Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[65] Ibid.

example, Americans discovered that German "officers are polite and free from irritability" and the Captain "always remains a gentleman."[66]

Many Americans contrasted these supposedly pure German traits with those of more modern nations. In 1885, when Philadelphia writer Algernon Logan arrived in Southampton, he "was sorry to leave the *Elbe* [his steamship] and the good, honest, quiet Germans in charge of her" because of his "discomfort when brought into contact with the vigor of that side of the English character which first greets a foreigner upon his arrival in the land of the trade."[67] Logan felt depressed at "seeing the thirst for gain which consumes all the world, aggravated here into a raging and consuming frenzy. The 'Almighty Dollar' grows pale before the twin gods--the omnipresent sixpence, and the omnipotent Guinea."[68] "It is amusing to note the difference between English and German women," wrote another tourist, "the former so cold, reserved and stiff, the latter so cordial, kind and hearty."[69]

Similarly, the Americans discovered a striking difference between American manners and what one American woman called "German civility."[70] It appeared peculiar that this kindness with strangers permeated both the lower and upper ranks of

---

[66] Barrows, Pilgrimage, 13.

[67] Logan, Diary entry for Southampton, July 10, 1885, Vistas, 1: 226.

[68] Logan, Diary entry for Southampton, July 24, 1885, Vistas, 1: 231.

[69] June Spencer to Cornelia Spencer, Schandau, July 1, 1884, Cornelia Spencer Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[70] Phoebe Pember to sister, Munich, July 6, 1896, Phoebe Pember Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

society; even German celebrities were friendly to strangers. Andrew White, Cornell University President and later ambassador to Germany, who personally could not stand Richard Wagner's music, was not surprised to find Cosima Wagner, the wife of the famous composer, and their son Siegfried "both being cordial and simple."[71]

Despite Abbie Brown's complete ignorance of the German language and her difficulty communicating with waiters, she "found the people patient and polite."[72] A Pennsylvania woman encountered the same friendliness whether she met the working class or the royal family in the streets of Berlin. When she waved a white handkerchief at a just married "couple of the lower ranks of life," she was "rewarded by a smile and bow from the happy couple."[73] On a visiting tour through one of the palaces near Berlin, a stranger suddenly bowed politely in the hall before vanishing in one of the rooms. The chimney sweep told her later the stranger was the Prince of Meiningen, the Crown prince's son-in-law who lived in the public portion of the palace. On the way back to Berlin, the Crown Prince himself drove by in his carriage "raised his cap, bowed and smiled."[74] This literally face-to-face interaction of the German elites with the ordinary public seemed to prove that Germans still retained simpler, pre-industrial notions of human relations.

---

[71] [Berlin], March 12, 1900, White, Diary, 361.

[72] Abbie Brown, "In the Land of Storks and Beer," St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat Oct. 8, 1899, 11, Abbie Brown Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Boston.

[73] Barlosius, Recollections, 90-91.

[74] Ibid.

Behind the comforting pre-modern facade of medieval castles, red-tiled timber houses, and German friendliness, Germany's expanding industrial production and exports were in direct competition with American economic interests. Both nations experienced a colossal growth of population, urbanization, and industrialized production. America had the advantage of controlling more domestic natural resources to supply its expanding industries and its agriculture could support a larger and faster growing population than Germany's. Once the Americans enacted a policy of high tariffs to protect its domestic markets from foreign competition, the German Empire quickly shifted from free trade policies to protectionism. By 1874, the agriculture lobby, mostly the powerful *Junker* class of the aristocratic big landowners, successfully gained the first German tariff to protect the country's grain producers from American and other overseas competition. This reversed the trade balance causing American producers to claim that German policies were retaliation for American tariffs.

In 1880, the trade war escalated with the banning of American pork, other than ham and bacon, supposedly to stem the spread of trichinosis. Although France, England, Italy, Austria-Hungary and several other European countries also banned the import of American pork, Germany insisted the loudest on the ban and created the greatest hostility in America. The quarrel continued for ten years until the McKinley Tariff Act promised to retaliate with very high duties against any countries discriminating against American goods. This forced the Germans to drop the ban and accept the Meat Inspection Act of 1890. In return, the American government reduced the duty on German sugar, Germany's main export to America. But in 1894 the trade war flared up again with the Wilson-Gorman Tariff that reimposed a duty on German sugar which had conquered a

share of 15% of the American market in 1889. In retaliation, Germany banned American beef because of supposed outbreaks of "Texas fever."[75]

The trade war did not change the image of Germans but it had an indirect effect on the travelers going to Germany. American travelers endured the complicated and sometimes humiliating questions and searches of German custom officers. For the first time, Americans experienced rude Germans at work. In 1880, one American woman thought the "thorough searching" of her suitcases a farce "which would have been amusing but that it was tedious." However, at this time she knew of only of one American who paid a duty of six cents on a pair of boots. Pitman thought the question of "a pompous official" whether she, an American lady, had "any spirits or tobacco" with her so silly that she responded by asking: "Do I look as if I carried about whiskey and cigars with me?" The custom officer did not receive this reply well and "took a mean revenge" by going through her belongings "to the bottom of my trunk." This unpleasant event taught her to "answer meekly" similar inquiries with "*Nein, mein Herr [No, Sir].*"[76]

By the 1890s, German custom officers had gained a firmly established image to be "far from tender with foreigners especially Anglo-Saxon foreigners."[77] Abbie Brown

---

[75] See Manfred Jonas, United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 35-41, Jonas stressed the argument that the German tariff was mere retaliation for American tariffs because "Texas Fever" was "a diseases unknown to the United States." Robert R. Dykstra's study of the western cattle industry, however, cites several outbreaks that caused major debates in western states. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1983), 16, 22-3, 28-9, 53, 152-4, 300, 333-338, 349.

[76] Pitman, European Breezes, 41-42.

[77] Abbie Brown, "In the Land of Storks and Beer," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Oct. 8, 1899, p. 11, in Abbie F. Brown Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Boston.

anticipated arrogance, "though our consciences, like our bags, were free from whiskey or tobacco."[78] The painter Kenyon Cox detested German art and architecture and he did not like "German nature much better."[79] The Germans "not only rob you," he wrote home, "which is the nature of hotel keepers and which one expects, but they aren't polite about it. They strike me as disagreeable brutes."[80] A New York woman was glad to "have now shaken the dust of Germany off our feet and do not regret it." "The people," she wrote in her diary, "are rough and rude and their language detestable." Her arms were black and blue from knocks received from the pedestrians' bundles who take the middle of the sidewalk, and "everyone must go either to the wall or in the street or gutter." She insisted that the "only rudeness we have met in all our travels has been from Germans calling themselves gentlemen" since these men had the discourtesy to smoke in the presence of women.[81]

In a time of mounting diplomatic and economic friction, the image of Germans as friendly, cordial militarists eroded somewhat in the late nineteenth century. The trade war showed that despite all talk of a common Anglo-Saxon heritage and quaint towns, Germany's national interest clashed with America's. Although the tariff wars did not

---

[78] Ibid.

[79] Kenyon Cox to family, Sept. 20, 1889, Kenyon Cox Papers, Avery Archive and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, quoted in H. Wayne Morgan, Kenyon Cox, 1856-1919: A Life in American Art, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994), 123-24.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Laura Jean Libbey, "Journal, vol. 3," Bern, [n.d.], [1892], 381-82, Laura Jean Libbey Journals, 1892-1903, New York Public Library.

radically change the American image of Germans, the atmosphere of growing economic competition made it more difficult for citizens of both countries to maintain positive images of each other. The search for overseas markets, however, deepened the political German-American antagonism and put further strains on the formerly friendly diplomatic relationships.

When America and Germany built modern navies and began to search for spheres of influence overseas, diplomatic relationships quickly deteriorated. In 1867 the United States acquired the Midway Islands as a strategic fueling station for her navy and merchant marine. German merchants also sought harbors in the Pacific for future trade. British, German, and American interests clashed over the unstable Samoan Islands in the 1880s. In 1888 after ten years of tedious negotiating, the German government under the new impatient emperor William II, declared war on the King of Samoa, landed 700 German marines, and replaced the king with a rival. The American State Department protested weakly but the American consul supported Samoan rebels who ambushed and killed fifty German soldiers.

When American, German, and British war ships left for Samoa to protect the property of their citizens, nationalist attitudes won the upper hand in the American press. In January 1889 the New York *World* proclaimed "German Tyranny in Samoa" and the *New York Times* announced that "Germany Grows Insolent." For the New York *Herald* it looked "like war."[82] As the weakest of the three naval powers, Germany quickly promised to return to a tripartite control of the islands and ordered the cessation of all military actions. At a conference in Berlin in 1889, the American delegation convinced

[82] Quoted in Jonas, United States, 47.

the German government to give up its control over Samoa and reinstate the tripartite control. Although Germany yielded to America in Samoa, the whole affair created an atmosphere of distrust between the two countries.

Samoa held little strategic or material value but a more self-assertive nationalism, combined with economic anxieties fueled the dispute. It was no coincidence that during the Samoa dispute, Captain Alfred T. Mahan began writing his international best-seller The Influence of Sea Power upon History. Mahan argued that every great power had a strong navy and the United States' well-being depended on overseas trade. America needed a powerful navy and that required colonial bases. "Whether they will or no," wrote Mahan, "Americans must now begin to look outward. The growing production of the country demands it."[83] German, British, Japanese, and French imperialists wholeheartedly agreed and the book became quickly the standard reading for navy staffs in all industrialized countries. The naval construction race and the strive for an overseas empire would poison the climate between the industrial countries in the following decade.

The disagreements over tariffs and Pacific colonies showed how quickly nationalism could hurt international relations. These political tensions, however, did not immediately affect American stereotypes of Germans. Americans, although offended by rude German custom officials and suspicious of German imperial ambitions, retained an image of friendly (though militaristic) Germans who lived in quaint, clean towns. Nevertheless, the tariff wars and the Samoan dispute began a shift in American attitudes

[83] Alfred Thayer Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1805 (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1980), 3

toward Germans. Over the next two decades, Americans disagreed over German qualities. Many Progressive reformers saw Germany's clean and orderly cities as the model for their own municipal reforms. Others pointed to the widespread un-American habits of German drinking, governmental paternalism, and aggressive militarism.

Chapter 5

Time Travel to the Past and the Future: Progressivism and Tourism

In the decade before the First World War, the increasing contradiction of American images of bucolic slackers living in a highly efficient, industrialized, urban country became almost absurd. On the one hand Americans eagerly searched for rural towns with jovial, friendly inhabitants, but on the other, they could not deny that Germany had evolved into a modern, industrialized, bureaucratic society. Progressive travelers eager to solve the industrial problems of social disorder, political corruption, and economic monopolies at home, had to admit that German municipal governments were often ahead of their own American administrations. But this modern Germany was increasingly incompatible with the beloved old image of pastoral slowness and *Gemütlichkeit*.

Nevertheless, a strong belief in exceptionalism and the physical distance to Europe trapped many Americans in the old concept of an America exemplifying progress and the future. Compared to the European reform movements, however, American progressives had missed the boat and were latecomers to reforms. From settlement houses to zoning ordinances, labor legislation to old-age insurance, city-owned utilities and transit systems to city management, astonished Americans saw being practiced in Germany a wide array of schemes for solving the problems of an industrialized country.[1]

[1] Daniel T. Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 62, 31.

Progressive travelers constantly reminded their friends and relatives back home that much could be adopted from Germany. It seemed to the graduate student Irving Langmuir, for example, that America "might take a very useful lesson from Germany in the national distribution of postage rates among the different classes of mail." Langmuir praised the cheap postal money orders and the "practical system" of collecting the money from the recipient of packages. "In many other ways," Langmuir wrote, "the mail service here seems much better than at home."[2] "If we could forget all we thought we knew about municipal government it would be no misfortune," the *New York Times* quoted Abraham Hewitt, iron-manufacturer and former mayor of New York City, "since we could learn all that was worth knowing from Berlin, and it would be worth a great deal more than what we had forgotten."[3]

This progress in municipal and social reforms was quite a revelation to a society deeply imbued with the belief that Europe represented the past and European nations would do well to follow the American model. United States society, in the eyes of one progressive, was still debating "municipal problems which Europe solved a generation ago."[4] Jane Addams supported Theodore Roosevelt's nomination at the Progressive Party convention pointing to a worldwide reform movement in which the United States

---

[2] Langmuir to unknown, Göttingen, May 27, 1905, Langmuir Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[3] New York Times, January 31, 1903, 6. I have to thank Dr. David Levy for pointing out to me this article.

[4] Brand Whitlock, "The City and Civilization," Scribner's Magazine 52 (1912): 625.

was "lagging behind other great nations."[5] "Europe does not learn at our feet the facile lessons of democracy," wrote Walter Weyl in his book The New Democracy, "foreign observers describe our institutions with a galling lack of enthusiasm."[6]

European reformers, particularly from the left, began to turn their backs on the examples of American municipal reform and welfare legislation. The socialist Ramsay MacDonald and Samuel Barnett of Toynbee Hall thought American cities a mess of trash and mud, "filthy from tip to toe."[7] The "infantile" character of American politics flabbergasted the famous Fabian socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb in 1898. While American reformers usually stopped for a talk at the Webbs' home or office, the couple never troubled to visit the United States again. Wilhelm Liebknecht, the leading German Social Democrat of the late nineteenth century, had commended the democratic progress in the United States in 1886, but German socialists of the twentieth century found little to praise in the growth of monopolies or in American corporations' political powers.[8]

Even American tourists, not always of a progressive mind and quite chauvinistic in their world view, considered German cities as exemplary and orderly, "clean and well

---

[5] Paul U. Kellogg, "The Industrial Platform of the New Party," Survey 28 (1912): 670, quoted in Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings, 74.

[6] Walter Weyl, The New Democracy: An Essay on Certain Political and Economic Tendencies in the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 2, 20.

[7] Ramsay MacDonald, draft of an unpublished book on America (PRO 30/69/116), pp. 5-6, Ramsay MacDonald Papers, Public Record Office, London, quoted in Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings, 42.

[8] David P. Crook, John L. Snell, "The World of German Democracy, 1789-1914," Historian 31 (1969): 521-538; R. Laurence Moore, European Socialists and the American Promised Land (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

governed."[9] The capital of the German Empire in particular earned plenty of praise as "one of the greatest cities in the world" or as the "greatest city of Europe, except London."[10] Even the superficial, nationalistic American tourists identified Berlin, "the Chicago of Europe" as a "busy, enterprising city" like an American metropolis.[11] The prestigious *Unter den Linden* was "quite like Fifth Avenue, New York."[12] While walking along the new Luitpold Street, James Hatfield from Chicago was reminded of his stroll across White City, the much admired model community at the Chicago Columbian World Fair of 1893. "Every building represented an original plan," wrote Hatfield, "and was, at the same time, in harmony with the general spirit of the affair."[13] Although a few of Berlin's conspicuous public buildings were old, the city gave many Americans the "unique impression of having thrown away the past completely, and of being in every part modern."[14]

The growing metropolitan areas in Germany seemed to refute the old dogma that Europe represented the past and America the present and the future. Even the untrained

---

[9] N. W. Cunningham, One Hundred and One Days Away (Bluffton, Ohio: Werner, 1908), 75.

[10]Cunningham, One Hundred and One Days, 75; William Webb Wheeler, The Other Side of the Earth (St. Joseph, Mo: Combe Printing Co., 1913), 203; see also Charles E. Loew, Reminiscences of the Nordland, or Glimpses of Scandinavia, Russia, Germany, and the Netherlands (New York: D.T. Bass, 1910), 259.

[11] Wheeler, The Other Side, 203.

[12] Ibid..

[13] James Taft Hatfield, From Broom to Heather: A Summer in a German Castle (Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye, 1903), 111.

[14]Ibid, 109.

eye of a tourist could see municipal government at work planning "wonderful parks in every direction," outlawing buildings with over five stories thus creating "miles of handsome houses with beautiful landscape gardens."[15] Other big German cities such as "bright, pleasant" Hanover and Hamburg, looking like a "delightful seaside summer resort,"[16] competed with Berlin for American praise. These descriptions, however, also contained a certain sense of loss. The "uniform lowness that prevails in Berlin" appeared pale in comparison with Venice's decaying but grandiose "buildings of respectable and fitting height."[17]

Berlin proved to be far ahead of American cities in some areas of social change that most progressives did not even dare to talk about in public: Berlin hosted a larger homosexual subculture than any American metropolis, including New York City.[18] As a student of music in Berlin from 1903 to 1907, Charles Tomlinson Griffes embraced the German homosexual emancipation movement led by Magnus Hirschfeld and began to consider his own homosexuality as natural and homophobic prejudices as unjust. Of course, homosexuality was illegal in Berlin as it was in New York City, but the simple

---

[15] Wheeler, The Other Side, 203; Cunningham, One Hundred and One, 75.

[16] Loew, Nordland, 2; Wheeler, The Other Side, 207.

[17] George B. Pegram to Irene, Venice, March 29, 1908, Craven-Pegram Family Papers, Duke University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[18] Two exhibition catalogs illustrate the large subculture in Berlin before the war: Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850 - 1950: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur (Berlin: Froelich und Kaufmann, 1984), and 750 Warme Berliner (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1987).

fact that a protest movement established itself in the Prussian capital indicated Berlin's highly urbanized character and its erosion of small town values.[19]

In the two decades before the First World War, Germany saw a tremendous growth of urban centers and a dramatic increase in life expectancy and quality. By 1910 nearly 75% of all Germans lived in towns. More than 20% resided in big cities with populations over 100,000. Many of these city dwellers lived in suburban areas. Infant mortality had declined from 25% in 1870 to 15% in 1912. Compulsory immunization programs, fever-reducing pharmaceuticals, and the growing professionalization of pediatrics resulted in the sharp drop. The demographic character of Germany was more youthful than in any earlier or later period. Urban transportation such as the streetcar and the bicycle made movement less exhausting and time-consuming than in former times. Real wages rose and urban dwellers spent more money on leisure and consumer goods.[20]

The so-called second industrial revolution caused this phenomenal urbanization and the marked improvement in living standards. Although Germany was a late-comer to industrialization, its excellent schools and state protection fostered new branches of industries such as chemicals, electricity, precision instruments and optics. German companies such as Bayer, BASF, Hoechst, Siemens, Bosch, and Zeiss achieved world leadership in their fields and began to replace Krupp and Thyssen as the symbols of the German economy. World trade doubled in the years 1900 to 1910 and Germany increased its share and German exports tripled in the same time period.

---

[19]George Chauncey, Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940 (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 12, 107

[20] David Blackbourn, The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 350-55.

American descriptions of the German industrial workers of the early twentieth century did not resemble in the least the picture of the phlegmatic slackers of fifty years before. The Quaker William Charles Allen described German Friends as "hard workers" in a Minden glass factory.[21] Even the countryside seemed to have changed. Traveling by train from Moscow to Berlin, William Wheeler crossed the border from the Russian Empire to the German Empire in the province of Posen. "We did not need to be told when we passed the frontier into Germany," claimed Wheeler, "as the marked improvement in the manner of crop cultivation, the better looking crops and improved homes of the farmers each told the fact that we were now in thrifty Germany." The towns in Posen "showed plainly the German care, thrift, and prosperity."[22] Due to the superficiality of fast train travel, Wheeler failed to notice that not German but Polish farmers lived on both sides of Posen's Russian-German border. This ethnographical mistake, however, only proved that the image of Germans as economically competent began to take hold of the American imagination.

While the rapid travel, prevented Wheeler from gaining a greater insight into the true ethnic composition of the province of Posen, speed became an indicator for Americans of how far a nation had advanced on the ladder of civilization. Wheeler was delighted that the train had picked up speed as soon as it crossed the border because "the road bed was better" in Germany.[23] Irving Langmuir observed that the Germans were

---

[21] William C. Allen, "Journal (1908)," vol. 1, May 27, 1908, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA.

[22] Ibid., 201.

[23] Wheeler, The Other Side, 201.

"nearly all slow walkers," but he also noticed that the Germans had built a locomotive that reached 80 miles per hour in its first trial runs. Germans might be slow, but their technology was not. Soon Germans expected to construct a system of fast trains "to beat even America and England."[24]

The sight of trains "flying at a mad speed," caused some Americans to question the old images of Germans as phlegmatic and sluggish.[25] Speed as an indicator of the progress of civilization also elevated Germans to the level of appreciated partners of the Anglo-Saxon world. "I love Germany and the Germans," exclaimed Agness Foster because "they move quicker than any of our foreign cousins, notwithstanding the slowness ascribed to them in story."[26]

The developing American love affair with the automobile contributed to the favorable evaluation of Germany. Many wealthy American tourists rented or shipped their favorite new toy to Europe and began "motoring" the Old World. The new motor tour guides and automobile travel literature began to penetrate the American book market.[27] American motorists quickly developed certain preferences for countries with

---

[24] Irving Langmuir to mother, Göttingen, Feb. 4, 1905, Langmuir to mother, [Göttingen], Nov. 9, 1903, Langmuir Papers. Langmuir observed the same slowness in his fellow students at Göttingen.. "The Germans" he wrote his mother, "never seem to think about getting it [their degree] in any definite time." Langmuir to mother, Göttingen, Dec. 1, 1904, Irving Langmuir Papers.

[25] Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 207.

[26] Agness Greene Foster, By the Way (Chicago: Events Pub. Co.,1903), 135.

[27] See Lee Merriwether, Seeing Europe by Automobile (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1911); Thomas Dowle Murphy, On Old-World Highways: A Book of Motor Rambles in France and Germany and the Record of a Pilgrimage from Land's End to John O'Groats in Britain (Boston: L.C. Page, 1914); Henry J. Hecht, The Motor Routes of Germany (London: Adam and Charles Black, [1914]).

paved roads and car-friendly services. Henry Hecht's guidebook Motor Routes of the Old World, for example, described the Germans as "extremely friendly towards motorists, the roads are generally good and well marked with sign posts, and the officials courteous and obliging."[28]

Middle-class Americans appreciated technology as a trademark of progress and civilization. The fact that German fast trains could compete with American and English locomotives impressed tourists. But Germany's supremacy in air travel inspired the most awe among the technologically oriented Americans. The novelty of the "strange sound" and the surreal sight of Zeppelin airships hovering over cities and castles exhilarated Americans seeing the latest achievement of human civilization. Visits to airship hangars around Berlin became as popular as the visits to royal castles.[29]

Modern factories produced cars, trains, and airships, but they also deeply changed Germany's urban and rural landscape. American travelers could not close their eyes to the destructive side effects of massive industrialization. Henry Adams noticed that "the green rusticity of Düsseldorf had taken on the sooty grime of Birmingham." The formerly ill-smelling, backward Catholic Cologne had developed into a modern railroad hub that finally could afford to complete its medieval cathedral after five hundred years of economic stagnation. Adams, however, complained that by finishing Germany's

---

[28]Hecht, Motor Routes, v.

[29] Mary J. McMullen to mother, Baden-Baden, Aug. 10, [1910], Manuscript Collection, Duke University, Durham, N.C.; Wheeler, The Other Side, 205.

longest lasting construction project, Cologne's cathedral lost its originality and "bore an absent-minded air of a cathedral of Chicago."[30]

Although the Rhine valley between Cologne and Bingen still looked like the Rhine in 1858, the year of Adams' first visit, the Rhine was in fact "more modern than the Hudson, since it produced more coal."[31] Disappointed tourists, however, saw the intrusion of "ambitious and industrious commerce" in form of "innumerable factories on its banks" spreading between romantic ruins and medieval towns.[32] Americans could observe the growth of industry even more clearly in Germany's central region. "The extent that manufacturing has attained in Germany," wrote N. W. Cunningham, "can be somewhat realized by a trip from Munich to Dresden. Although the country was still "beautiful, gently undulating," the American travelers could not ignore "the tall smokestacks up on both sides, all the way. Rolling along you see church spires and smokestacks thick as dog fennel down the lane."[33]

Around 1900 Germany's industrial output equaled Britain's and surpassed the record of other European countries. German goods competed with American merchandise in a worldwide market. In a letter to a leading industrialist, Henry Adams expressed his astonishment over the new relationship between the two countries. "When

---

[30] Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, ed. Ernest Samuels. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 414.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Cunningham, One Hundred and One, 79; Mary J. McMullen to mother, Wiesbaden, Aug. 23, [1912], McMullen Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

[33] Cunningham, One Hundred and One, 79.

we were young," he wrote to Henry Lee Higginson, "we never conceived of the Germans as possible rivals in practical matters."[34] But upon Adams' return to Germany in 1901, he saw at once that "here was a Germany new to mankind." He was horrified to see that Hamburg now mirrored St. Louis in the United States. Ironically, the closer the German Empire drew to the United States in terms of technological advancement and production, the less Americans liked it. Industrialization destroyed the charm and cosiness of the former rural, small towns.

Germany's growing international economic competitiveness convinced many Americans that Germans were not only thrifty and hard-working but also hard-headed. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were loaded with frictions about the McKinley tariff, German prohibitions against American live cattle, German discrimination against American insurance companies and American produce.[35] The policies of the twentieth-century industrial German rival had nothing in common with the charm of the formerly backward, slow but friendly, rural and small towns of the mid-nineteenth century.

Colonial quarrels and overseas ambitions tainted the German image between 1898 and 1906. Economic success brought political and military power and a mood of assertiveness to Germany's foreign policy. Kaiser William II's *Weltpolitik* proclaimed that Germans and Germany deserved "a place in the sun." That meant the German

---

[34] Henry Adams to Henry Lee Higginson, Paris, Nov. 4, 1901, in Henry Lee Higginson, Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson, ed. Bliss Perry (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921; Reprint: Freeport, N.Y. Books for Libraries, 1972), 417.

[35] Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany, 1906-1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965), 6.

Empire tried to acquire colonies and to intervene in world affairs. The attempt of a German squadron to land troops at Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War in 1898 caused considerable consternation in American diplomatic circles. President McKinley justified the conquest of the Philippines as an American colony partly because he feared that the unstable islands might fall into the hands of the Germans. German gunboat policies in Haiti and Venezuela in 1905 violated the Monroe Doctrine and the America's hegemony over Latin America.

The colliding imperialist ambitions of both nations brought forth an outpouring of anti-German feelings in American newspapers and magazines. For the first time, the American press began using the infamous term "Huns" for aggressive and ruthless Germans.[36] The Venezuela crisis subsided when President Theodore Roosevelt wielded the "big stick" threatening to despatch an American squadron to prevent any seizure of Venezuelan territory. The German government quickly withdrew the German warships.[37] In the end, diplomatic frictions had a minimal impact on the image of Germans in American travel writings.

Despite the political differences and potential conflicts over colonies, most Americans remained impressed with the German military. American women admired the

---

[36] American journalists had picked up the term from the Kaiser's speech in 1900 encouraging the departing German troops to show no mercy with the Chinese Boxer rebels and to act like the Huns invading ancient Europe.

[37] Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany," 6; see also Alfred Vagts, Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1935; Ilse Kunz Lack, Die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1890-1914 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935): Jeannette Keim, Forty Years of German-American Political Relations (Philadelphia: W. J. Dornan, 1919); Clara Eve Schreiber, The Transformation of American Sentiments toward Germany, 1870-1914 (Boston: Cornhill Publishing Company, 1923).

"most gorgeous" and "pretty soldiers" at parades.[38] Military reformers praised the army's organization and conduct. American reports of the German army and navy tapped deeply into the American domestic debates over the advantages of a standing army, conscription, and the usefulness of a large overseas fleet. When Major General Henry Corbin, a guest at the imperial summer maneuvers in 1902, praised the German army as "matchless," he sparked a lively newspaper and magazine debate. According to *Harper's Weekly* most American military authorities "patriotically insist that our own army rather than the German, now deserves the adjective."[39] The *New York Tribune* sarcastically wrote that according to Corbin at least American mules were superior to German mules.[40] *Harper's Weekly* claimed to know that "the Germans do not equal our men in physique and we do not admit that they surpass ours in courage." However, the magazine admitted that this "proud claim" should not prevent Americans from acknowledging the fact that "we may learn a great deal from the Germans." The American guests at the imperial maneuvers "must surely bring home in their haversacks many practical military ideas."[41]

Not all Americans admired the German military. The small, but outspoken, community of Quaker pacifists criticized both American and German militarism and compulsory service. The *Washington Star* disapproved American generals being "guests

---

[38] Annie M. Learned, "Diary," Berlin, June 3, 1909, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Mary R. Learned, "Diary," Berlin, May 29, 1909, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[39] Harper's Weekly, Sept. 27, 1902.

[40] "The Emperor's Sagacity," New York Tribune, Sept. 1, 1902.

[41] Ibid.

of a war lord" and found the "spectacle repugnant to Quaker blood."[42] Other Quakers pointed out that German Quakers had been exempted from military service until 1871, "but since then almost absolutely no mercy has been shown towards them."[43] Most American soldiers saw the issue of conscription quite differently. General Major Corbin was "struck with the enthusiasm pervading the entire force. The impression in America that compulsory service in Germany is unpopular is not founded on fact. The young men look forward to the service as one of the crowning events of their lives."[44]

Soldiers, pacifists, and progressives, however, were a small minority among the deluge of ten thousands of conventional American tourists. The average middle-class American traveler was less interested in change than in escape from the industrial revolution at home. The typical American looked forward to traveling back in time and hoped to encounter a stable, static, and therefore reassuring European past. Americans preferred the castle ruins of the Rhine valley to the modern, fast-moving Berlin, medieval cathedrals over Krupp and Siemens factories. Henry Adams did not care the least for European reforms and industrialization. He would "have kept the Pope in the Vatican and the Queen in Windsor."[45] The American tourist was the great conservative who

---

[42] "The Terrible Spectacle at Berlin," Washington Star, Aug. 30, 1902.

[43] William Allen, "Journal," vol. 1, May 30, 1908, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

[44] "Kaiser Greatest Man Corbin Ever Saw," New York Journal, Sept. 21, 1902.

[45] Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, 466

hated novelty and adored romanticized and shabby ruins and the echoes of former glory. Above all, the grand tour was a lesson in time, not in change or the future.[46]

Germany's landscape was dotted with antiquities like a museum. Charles Loew, a typical American tourist, hardly noticed the large, modern overseas harbor of Bremen but enthusiastically visited the medieval *Stadthaus*. The second floor was still furnished "in the old German style and one has no difficulty in imaging one's self back in the historical ages of the past."[47] The image of Europe as changeless loomed so powerfully in the minds of the Americans that even progressives could not escape its lure. "Everything is complete, finished, squared off,--no rough edges, no dirt, and no tearing down," wrote Lincoln Steffens from Hamburg.[48]

This changeless, old Germany was exactly what most Americans desired. Despite the fact that Nuremberg was a railroad center, home of the Faber pencil factory, and the world leader of the toy industry, the city had established itself as the magnet of American travelers. "If you can see one place in Germany," wrote Agness Foster, "let it be Nuremberg." This city had "preserved to a larger extent than any other in Germany the appearance of the Middle Ages."[49] A stroll through Nuremberg transported the writer Lilian Bell back to more rustic times. In a little sausage restaurant she and her

---

[46] Oliver Mulvey, Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 111, 130; Rodgers, Atlantic Crossings, 40-41.

[47] Loew, Nordland, 288.

[48] Lincoln Steffens, The Letters of Lincoln Steffens, ed. Ellen Winter and Granville Hicks (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), 1: 7.

[49] Foster, By the Way, 136.

companions squeezed themselves into a narrow bench behind one of the tables "whose rudeness was picturesque." A buxom maid with red cheeks was their waitress, and there was not a vestige of a cloth or napkins, and the fork and plates were "rude enough to bear out the surroundings." In short, "the clumsiness and apparent age of everything almost transported us, in imagination to the stone age, but the sensation was delightful."[50]

Due to a less convenient railroad access, the town of Rothenburg ranked in popularity as a close second after Nuremberg. But the Americans who made the little detour swore that the town was "one of the most interesting places to see in Germany, an old walled town."[51] Commercialization, drove an increasing number of unsatisfied Americans travelers off the beaten track of mass tourism. Thanks to the motor car and the bicycle, obscure towns such as "quaint Schlitz" and Staufenberg became destinations for travelers weary of modern civilization.

The desire to escape the hotels and main roads guided some travelers to the earlier, but now forgotten, destinations of the first generation of American travelers. Göttingen, for example, the main destination for most early Bostonian scholars because of its university, had sunk in obscurity with the arrival of the railroads in the Rhine valley in the 1840s. But in the twentieth century "the picturesque town" experienced a comeback because of its "quaint gables and old-fashioned balconies" overhanging the

[50] Lilian Lida Bell, Abroad with the Jimmies (Boston: L.C. Page, 1902), 98-99.

[51] Mary McMullen to mother, Wiesbaden, Aug. 16, 1912, McMullen Family Papers, Special Collections, Duke Univesity, Durham, North Carolina.

roomy pavements.[52] The university itself, however, played only a secondary role in attracting foreign visitors.

Ironically, the search for authenticity in Göttingen's past lead some Americans to quite unhistorical conclusions. Henry Forman's book In the Footprints of Heine intended to retrace the famous German poet's historic travel from Göttingen to the Hartz Mountains. As soon as Forman arrived in Göttingen he fell in love with the "peaceful venerable city" because of its "air of quiet wisdom" where "little traffic disturbed the spacious quietude."[53] This quite typical twentieth-century American attitude was the absolute opposite of what Heine felt when he wrote in 1820 "Göttingen looks its best when you have turned your back upon it."

Newly constructed railroads and paved roads across the Black Forest allowed Americans to project more pseudo-historical notions on a supposedly untouched landscape and its inhabitants. The Black Forest became one of the most popular stopovers for travelers going down the Rhine valley to the Swiss Alps. The combination of railroads, rental cars and bicycles, and good roads gave Americans easy access to the supposedly untouched interior of the Black Forest.[54] These forested mountains, wrote one traveler, "in spite of the thousand-headed troup of tourists, in spite of railways, has

---

[52] Langmuir's first letter from Göttingen, June 25, 1903, Langmuir Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Henry James Forman, In the Footprints of Heine (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), 2-3; see also "Diary of Mary R. Learned, 1909," Marburg, July 7, 1909, Learned Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[53] Forman, In the Footprints of Heine, 2-3.

[54] For the easy railroad access to the Black Forest from Heidelberg, see the letter of Willie Allen to brother, Triberg, Aug. 17, 1907, George Allen Papers, 1832-1932, Southern History Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

retained something of her virginity of her jungle-darkness and solitude."[55] The Black Forest was "essentially Teutonic," which meant for Americans to be "poetic and lovely, romantic and wild."[56]

While travelers of the early nineteenth century craved American standards of luxury, many twentieth-century American tourists preferred the simple rusticity of the German countryside. The writer James Taft Hatfield yearned for the ultimate experience in time travel and moved his family to Hessen's countryside for From Broom to Heather: A Summer in a German Castle. Here in the rented castle of Staufenberg, the family settled down for "daily life in the quaintest of all imagenable surroundings."[57] The Hatfields were not the only Americans who rented castles in Germany. Frederick C. Dietz, a student from Illinois, wrote his father that many castles in the Rhine valley have been "inhabited by--so the story goes--Americans."[58]

Americans who neither had the money nor the time to spend renting a medieval building, could always choose older lodgings over modern ones. The desire for simplicity tempted Lilian Bell to forego a modern hotel "with its modern equipment and electrical lights" in the Austrian Alps. Instead she chose the old but charming Hotel Rhimer. "Physically," she wrote, " I am sure that I was never more uncomfortable than I was at the Hotel Rhimer." The bed squeaked and the mattress seemed to be filled with

---

[55] Ida Alexa Ross Wylie, Rambles in the Black Forest (Boston: D. Estes, 1911), 27.

[56] Ibid, 6.

[57] Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 13.

[58] Frederick C. Dietz to father, Frederick C. Dietz Papers, University Archive, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

corn-shucks. Yet, if she had again the choice between "the Elysée Palace in Paris, or the Hotel Rhimer," it would take Bell only "two seconds to start for the corn-shucks."[59] Some Americans welcomed "Americanization of European hotels," which meant to them the rise of comfort through technology. Others feared that "for every steam-heater, modern lift, and American comfort you gain, you lose a quaintness and picturesqueness, the like of which make Europe so worthwhile."[60]

Many twentieth-century Americans abhorred the intrusion of any modern equipment into their vacation. Hatfield resented the construction of "more modern and comfortable buildings" in Staufenberg because it destroyed "the archaic charm of the place." Americans would have preferred to see Germany and the Germans frozen in the nineteenth century and even the smallest improvement was resented. "The idyllic values fell a little," wrote Hatfield, when a young Staufenberger went down the street on a bicycle. He assured his readers that there was nothing objectionable to cycling "but it is another one of the modern improvements which does not seem to fit into the quiet, remote old-German landscape."[61]

What Americans were looking for was "that simple way of enjoying life which the Germans have learned and which we Americans have not."[62] In order to discover this

---

[59] Bell, Jimmies, 145-46.

[60] Ibid., 121.

[61] Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 139-140.

[62] James Phinney Munroe, Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars: Edited from the Diary and Correspondence of Mary Phinney, Baroness von Olnhausen by James Phinney Munroe. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1903), 14.

German-speaking *Shangri La* of simple but happy lives, some Americans were determined to enter the most remote areas, "completely hidden from the tourist, being out of the way and little known to Americans." Lilian Bell decided to see a Tyrolese peasant dance in the remote village of Achensee where peasants had been "allowed to remain simple, primitive, natural." Very quickly Bell discovered to her great dismay that the pianist playing at the dance turned out to be an American student living in the village with his Australian, Parisian, and American roommates.[63]

Most Americans, however, agreed that there was one place in the Bavarian Alps that had preserved the simplicity of former times. Oberammergau and its Passion Play became the most described topic in early twentieth-century American travel writings. Americans seemed to have finally found an authentic German small town, "a mere cluster of modest houses between a little church and a theater... confined in an obscure vale and shut off from the great world by snow-capped mountains."[64] The Oberammergau population consisted of "Tyrolese peasants, wood-carvers, and potters" in gray and green *Lederhosen* revealing bare knees that added "a sympathetic something."[65] The inhabitants were "splendid types of wholesome and hearty men, with honesty in the direct glance of the clear eyes, and good-nature stamped on every feature.[66] The natives of Oberammergau walked with "a slower step" than the visitors and their eyes were "meek

---

[63] Bell, Jimmies, 137-38.

[64] Burton Holmes, Travelogues (New York: McClure, 1910), 7: 224.

[65] Bell, Jimmies, 123-24; Holmes, Travelogues, 7: 153.

[66] Holmes, Travelogues, 7: 153.

instead of roving, their smiles tender instead of saucy."[67] The Oberammergau peasants exhibited all the qualities that Germans should possess.

Oberammergau's seemingly selfless dedication in staging every ten years the martyrdom of Jesus, delighted Americans tired of worldly business and industry. The mostly Protestant visitors forgave the players that they were Catholics because "naturalness and simplicity" were the most noticeable features of the community and the play. The twentieth-century quest for a simple past overruled any latent anti-Catholicism. Jacob Shawan, superintendent of public schools in Ohio, believed that the Passion Play provided a common ground for Protestants and Catholics and "one could easily imagine himself in a Protestant meeting."[68]

Visitors to the Passion Play usually stayed overnight with local peasant families where they could witness the simplicity of the farmers' everyday life. One fascinated American woman watched the members of the Bavarian host family crossing their hands upon their breast in silent prayer when the church bell rang for Angelus. "It was most beautiful to see how simply they performed this little art of devotion."[69] Another American marveled that he could leave his money and his valuables around and his room door unlocked. But when he heard that the street door was never locked either, he began to lock the bedroom door, much to the consternation of the family. He explained to them that there were plenty of Italian, French, and English robbers, even if there were no

---

[67] Bell, Jimmies, 115-16

[68] Jacob A. Shawan, Recent Glimpses in Europe: Notes of a Summer Visit to England, France, Switzerland, Germany and Belgium, Including Passion Play at Oberammergau (Columbus, Ohio: S.F. Harriman, 1902), 166.

[69] Bell, Jimmies, 120.

Tyrolese. "And there are no American robbers?" the host family asked, to which the American guest replied with equal guilelessness that "Americans in Europe had no time to rob other people, they were so busy in being robbed."[70]

The image of Oberammergau as a natural community free of crime and intrusion by the outside world was, of course, a farce. The combination of theater playing, religion, beautiful scenery, modern technology, and international business made Oberammergau an exceptional village in Bavaria. While most railroads still operated with steam engines, Oberammergau's commuter system used a brand new electrical locomotive to handle the tens of thousands of foreign visitors. Beside the Passion Play, the international sale of wood-carved crucifixes as souvenirs contributed to the income of the community. The brother of Burton Holmes's host lived in Liverpool where he worked as an "agent for the wood-carvings of the villagers." Oddly enough for a supposedly remote mountain village a surprising number of villagers spoke English fluently.[71]

In spite of industrialization's steady erosion of the rural image of Germans, Americans clung tenaciously to the older stereotypes. Although German customs officials harassed Americans at the border, Germans usually appeared to Americans polite and cordial. In the tourists' minds, Germans were certainly friendlier than the visiting Americans. One New York woman reported that a gentleman and two ladies in a carriage in Munich "most cordially" bowed to them. Since the Americans did not know them, the Americans "only stared at them in return." The driver of the Americans told

---

[70] Ibid., 119.

[71] Holmes, Travelogues, 12728.

them later that the friendly Germans had been the royal family of Bavaria.[72] James Taft Hatfield explained the causes of this German friendliness in pseudo-historical terms. According to his theory, Germans had lived for generations in an impoverished country after the Thirty Years War and had little means to enjoy the luxuries of life. "An inborn enjoyment of nature, an easy conviviality, a priceless endowment of pride in honest workmanship," wrote Hatfield, "did much to soften the vigor of the struggle of mere existence."[73] Americans preferred the poorer countryside of the German Empire because here they were not reminded of the competitive character of German society (or of their own) in urban centers and overseas markets.

Older stereotypes about Germans' love of beer and wine as well as consistent smoking persisted in twentieth-century travel descriptions, but most American criticism had lost much of its earlier acid tone. Sure enough, German men still annoyed American ladies by smoking cigars and pipes in their presence, but Americans watched with fascination German women smoking cigarettes.[74] Many visitors already expected to see beer-swilling and smoking Germans and often observed these peculiar German habits with a sense of humor. In face of Munich's twenty four breweries and the thousands of patrons in the beer gardens, the American beer brewing centers of Milwaukee and St. Louis looked like "being strictly prohibition in comparison." Even the notorious

---

[72] Laura Jean Libbey, "Journal," Munich, [n.d.], [1903], Laura Jean Libbey Journals, 1892-1903, New York Public Library.

[73] Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 60.

[74] Bell, Jimmies, 185-86; Mary R. Learned, "Diary, 1909," Munich, May 15, 1909, Learned Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.; George B. Pegram to Irene, Berlin, Dec. 14, 1907, Craven-Pegram Family Papers, Special Collection, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

drunkenness at American county fairs resembled more "a prayer meeting in a storm compared to the attendance at the beer gardens in Munich."[75]

Many American still complained about not getting ice water in even the best hotels in Germany. But even here most travelers were more amused than upset about the German abhorrence of cold drinking water. One American student observed his professor's drinking huge quantities of beer and wine in a restaurant but "the idea of Americans putting so much ice water into their stomachs" seemed to his professor "as unholy as what he does to a W.C.T.U. member."[76] Different from the earlier nineteenth-century criticism of the lack of ice water, the issue of drinking water opened up a welcomed opportunity to criticize the quality of American drinking water compared to German water. "One thing is certain," wrote one progressively-minded traveler, "drinking it warm is attended with less harm than the miserable ice water we get at American hotels."[77]

Americans still did not like German traditional food, but here again modern industrial processed food such as chocolate began to make an impression on the visitors from overseas. One American couple found themselves "heartily sick of the heavy German food." The "most horrible odour of German cookery–cauliflower and boiled cabbage and vinegar" floating out of the open door of an apartment offended the nostrils of an American woman. The highest compliment that can be found for German cuisine

---

[75] Cunningham, One Hundred One, 72; see also Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 64.

[76] George Braxton Pegram to Irene, Venice, March 29, 1908, Craven-Pegram Family Papers, Special Collection , Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[77] Johnson Sherrick, Letters of Travel (n.p.: n.p. 1903), 82.

was Irving Langmuir's statement that "thoroughly German" cooking was "very plain" but not bad.[78]

The experience of German desserts and sweets changed the image of German food considerably. Young American women seemed to be the most adventurous in testing "delicious German cakes and pastry" and bought "*Stollwerckschokolade* nearly every day." The importation of raw chocolate and the industrial manufacture of bars became the profitable speciality of quickly growing companies like *Stollwerck*. One young woman was so engrossed in this non-traditional German food that she feared that if she stayed in Germany all summer, she "would acquire a German figure from the good food."[79]

American women as well as men continued to regard German women as rather unattractive. "German men are fine looking and German gardens most beautiful," wrote one American woman, "but German women, as a rule, are not attractive in face or figure." In one of the rare instances when an American encountered a "beautiful and a most cultured and charming" German woman, the American claimed that this exceptional German woman had "far more in common with the English and American ideals than the German *Frau*."[80] The Austrian woman, however, "was slighter, more delicate, and

---

[78] Bell, Jimmies, 51; Irving Langmuir to mother, Göttingen, June 25, 1903, Irving Langmuir Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[79] Mary McMullen to mother, Wiesbaden, Aug. 23, [1912], McMullen Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, North Carolina; Mary R. Learned, "Diary, 1909," Learned Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Mary McMullen to mother, Wiesbaden, Aug. 16, 1912, McMullen Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, North Carolina.

[80] Katherine Hubbel to aunt, Godesberg, [n.d. 1913], Alger Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Ma.

gayer."[81] The preference of most American tourists for the German countryside deeply influenced their rather negative image of German women. Here they could still experience "white women" laboring in the fields, "sometimes with bare feet and legs"[82] and observe a leisurely pace of life.[83] According to one observer, the proportion of women to men in the hay and grain fields was about three to one. Due to this heavy labor, "the hands of the German women of all classes" looked just like the men's.[84]

The American preference for the backward countryside tainted of course this picture. The actual social difference between peasant wives, urban workers, middle- and upper-class women was substantial. Although they did not appear on any labor statistics, the majority of women laborers worked in agriculture but they made up a declining share of the labor force. The female proportion of the non-agricultural workforce rose from 13 to 18 percent in the period 1882 - 1907.[85] A growing number of urban, lower middle-class women became stenographers and typists. By the 1890s, women dominated the expanding welfare professions such as nursing and social work. In 1899 women were

---

[81] George B. Pegram, to aunt Kate, Dresden, [n.d. 1907], Craven-Pegram Family Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[82] Montgomery C. Meigs to daughter, Berlin, July 14, 1867, in Montgomery C. Meigs Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; for almost the same phrase see Hatfield, From Broom to Heather, 106.

[83] For example, see the letters from Frederic Dietz to his father, Echenwaiher Hof, Muehlacker, July 29, 1908, Frederic Dietz Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

[84] George B. Pegram to aunt Kate, Dresden [n.d 1907], Craven-Pegram Family Papers, Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[85] Blackbourn, The Long Nineteenth Century, 359; see also the essays in Richard J. Evans, The German Working Class, 1888-1933 (London: Croom, Helm, 1982)

finally admitted to the medical schools and often specialized in gynecology and pediatrics. Middle-class Americans overlooked these developments, perhaps because they reminded them too much of their own disturbing change of gender roles at home. In 1870 only about 10,000 American women were employed as secretaries but in 1900 there were almost a quarter million.[86]

While most American tourists asserted their ideas of a pre-industrial Germany, they ignored the birth of a new industrial nation. Instead, they embraced an increasingly fictional pre-industrial Germany as "a great country for holidays" because "the ordinary working day is marked by entire absence of the rush and throng of our lives."[87] Rapid and successful industrialization did not mean that the agricultural sector disappeared. Almost thirty-five percent of the economically active German population was registered in the census of 1907 as working in agriculture, forestry, or fishing. But this number also meant that almost twice as many Germans worked in industries. By 1900 Germany was not any longer the pastoral, pre-industrial land that Americans wished to see. Tourists' expectations and German reality were increasingly at odds.

The economic and military competition slowly eroded the image of Germans as bucolic slackers and happy drunkards. Progressive experts acknowledged the superiority of German municipal and national welfare systems. But the popular image of Germany as a land frozen in pre-industrial times prevented a successful American adoption of German models for solving the problems of an industrialized society. The First World

---

[86] Glenna Matthews, The Rise of Public Women: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 149.

[87] Katherine Price Hubbel to family, [Freiburg in Breisgau], Jan. 5, 1913, Alger Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Ma.

War was about to reveal in most dramatic ways that the German Empire was more industrialized and therefore more powerful than many Americans wanted to believe.

Conclusion

The Rise, Decline, and Survival of the American Image of Germans as Bucolic Bumblers

The development of American images of Germans is a history of ironies and of economic change. Due to industrialization, nineteenth-century perceptions of phlegmatic and slow Germans yielded reluctantly to the notion of Germans as methodical and efficient. Although early American visitors came to Germany to study at the world's leading universities, they quickly discovered that the rest of Germany was still in an economic state thirty years behind the United States. The experience of slow transportation, the pre-industrial work ethic, the lack of urban culture, and the preponderance of agriculture caused many early visitors to believe that Germans were sluggish, slow, but kindly and polite small-town people.

Once travelers established the stereotype of bucolic Germans, Americans tenaciously held on to these pastoral images even in the face of Germany's rapid industrialization. Increasingly disturbed by the turmoil of industrialization and mass immigration at home in America, middle-class Americans hoped to escape for a vacation to a quaint, reassuring, stable, and static Old World. Modern steamships and the rapidly growing railroad system created the mass tourism of the 1840s and 1850s. But steam-powered transportation also allowed American tourists to concentrate their visits in picturesque and pastoral areas such as the Rhine Valley between Mayence and Cologne and to skip the growing industrial centers in the Ruhr Valley.

American images of Germans changed with the dramatic Prussian victory against the French in 1870, a victory that surprised Americans who had insisted that Germans could not muster the efficiency and organization of their French neighbors. But instead of looking at economic power and industrialization, Americans, like most Europeans, tried to explain the German victory by referring to the soldier-like qualities of the German nation. Far from rejecting militarism and the lack of liberalism, Americans optimistically embraced the German Empire as a new fellow Anglo-Saxon nation worthy to be welcomed into the family of their English and American cousins. While Germans gained military qualities, they slowly lost some of their kindness and friendliness.

In the two decades before the First World War, two contradicting images existed in the minds of the Americans. On the one side, a minority of reform-minded progressives praised German social insurance plans and municipal governments as models for solving the urban political corruption and poverty at home. To these observers Germans became the epitoms of orderliness, cleanliness, and thrift. The majority of the tourists, however, preferred the seemingly backward pastoral landscapes of picturesque villages, quaint costumes, and simple but honest German peasants. Conventional tourists usually ignored the fact that their favorite places, such as Oberammergau, Rothenburg, and the Black Forest, commercially exploited the tourists' expectations. The American image of Germans as harmless, bucolic bumblers might even have prevented Americans from recognizing Germany's potential aggressiveness and military power in the pre-war years.

When war broke out some American travelers in Europe expressed sympathy with the perceived German underdog.[1] Even sympathizers of the Entente powers still clung to the image of a backward Germany. Harvard President Charles Eliot maintained in 1915 that the Empire's ruling class was "too stupid to see that their game of domination in Europe is already lost" because "the Germans did not invent a single one of the new machines and processes which they are now using for purposes of destruction."[2]

The outbreak of the First World War had two effects on the American public. It restored the American belief that the United States was morally and institutionally superior to the European countries. The mass slaughter in Europe undermined the progressive claim that there was anything to learn from the Old World. But it also stripped Germans of their pastoral qualities and helped to accelerate the acceptance of the image of Germans as efficient and hard-working. In 1915 President Charles Eliot of Harvard University still believed that Germany's "efficiency even in war is not greater than that of her adversaries."[3] By 1918, after four years of wearing down the combined offensives of the western allies and defeating the Russian Empire, American soldiers and

---

[1] Elinor McClements Walsh to Thomas Walsh, July 5, Aug. 2, Sept. 3, 1914, and passim, Walsh-Grudger Collection, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois Library, Urbana-Champaign, cited in J. Leonard Bates, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana: Law and Public Affairs, from TR to FDR (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 115.

[2] Charles Eliot to Henry Lee Higginson, [Cambridge, MA], January 5, 1915, in Henry Lee Higginson, Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson, ed. Bliss Perry (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921; Reprint: Freeport, N.Y. Books for Libraries, 1972), 473-74.

[3] Ibid.

politicians spoke with grudging respect of "German efficiency."[4] In the 1920s American tourists to the battlefields of the Great War stopped at "the carefully constructed" German concrete fortifications admiring "the painstaking efficiency of the Germans."[5] An American officer reported how they used a "Prussian sergeant...particularly effective as slave driver" on their construction sites.[6] When American troops began to move into German territories after the armistice, another American soldier noticed not only that the trains ran faster and more punctually, but also the queues at the luggage check-in at the railroad stations "melted away more rapidly than was the Parisian custom ... due to a slow but methodically moving German male, still in his field gray."[7] The First World War finally helped to establish the new stereotype of Germans as businesslike and industrious. Americans had to rationalize the obvious fact that the Germans, although inferior in numbers, not only checked any Allied advances but came threateningly close to winning the war. Again, Americans did not look at industrial production but sought to find an explanation in national character. Germans had to be efficient to wage this kind of war. By doing so Americans could also claim to have won a glorious victory against a formidable, efficient, and worthy enemy.

---

[4] James Vernon McClintic's speech to Congress in A Trip to Berlin, Germany - Visit to the Kaiser--Other Observations in Europe: Speech of Hon. James V. McClintic of Oklahoma in the House of Representatives (Thursday, Dec. 18. 1919) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 11.

[5] William Brown Morrison, An Oklahoman Abroad: A Summer Travelog (Durant, OK: Democrat Printing Company, 1928), 62.

[6] George Briton McClellan, "First World War Diary," Oct. 26, 1918, George Briton McClellan Papers, 1823-1918, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[7] Harry Alverson Franck, Vagabonding Through Changing Germany ([New York]: The Century, 1925), 8.

Coming dangerously close to conspiracy theories, some historians have tried to explain America's decision to enter the war in terms of Anglophile political elites. In fact, national economic self interest played the largest role in compromising the neutrality of the United States. While Germany's trade trickled down to almost nothing, British and French government demand caused one of the greatest economic booms in American history. When the western European governments ran out of money in 1915, the United States government approved American bank loans to the Entente. Germany's reckless submarine warfare certainly eased the way for a large number of Americans to turn against the German Empire and to favor the cause of the Entente.

When war was declared against Germany in April 1917, government-sponsored and popular anti-German campaigns demonized Germans as war mongers and new barbarians (Huns) aiming at destroying western civilization. The invasion of Belgium, the ghastly experience of trench warfare, disastrous artillery bombardments, and the terrible poison gassing also intensified American hatred of the German enemy. American doughboys easily adopted such derogatory names for Germans as the British term "Huns" or the French "Boches." After American troops conquered Chateau Thierry, Lieutenant Herb Foreman observed that German troops had left it "as they always do, with the 'Made in Germany' mark on it." Almost all the houses were destroyed, the furniture was broken, and precious pictures were cut from their frames. The rules of war, Herb Foreman admitted, "formulated by and for civilized nations" did not allow the enemy to pillage

private property in occupied territories. "But the Boche," he concluded, "regards no law but his own. It is said that there is honor amongst thieves but not among the Boche."[8]

This demonizing of Germans, however, remained only episodic. The end of the war saw a quick return to the schizophrenic pre-war attitudes of seeing Germans as hopelessly backward country folks and modern, efficient workers. After the First World War, the modern image of Germans as technologically-oriented people won clearly over the bucolic images. According to a 1933 poll among one hundred American students, 65% of them described Germans as hard working and efficient.[9]

The establishment of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's seizure of power, the Second World War, and even the horrible atrocities of the Holocaust did not change these American attitudes. Psychologists repeated the 1933 survey among Princeton students in 1950, and with almost no change Germans emerged again as hard-working and efficient laborers.[10] A larger survey among 1,400 American students in 1982 only corroborated these findings.[11] While the Second World War certainly added a Nazi flavor to the American image of Germans, the survey results seem to prove that economic attributes form the core of stereotypes about other people. In the American mind Germans

---

[8] Herb Foreman, France, to his father, August 1918, Grant Foreman Collection, Box 65, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

[9] D. Katz and K.W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," in Kurt H. Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Klaus Jonas, Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen: Urteile und Vorurteile (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 490.

[10] G M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Persistance and Change among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 46 (1951): 245-254.

[11] Kurt H. Stapf, et al, Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen, 490.

remained hard-working and efficient because their country rested on a highly industrialized economy.

But the pastoral image of Germans was not dead. Discussing the future of Germany at the Yalta Conference, Franklin Delano Roosevelt insisted that he harbored no hatred against the German people. Quite the opposite, he remembered with delight his bicycle tour in rural South Germany before the First World War. Thus he endorsed the "Morgenthau Plan" to deindustrialize Germany permanently and engineers began to destroy heavy German industry for the next two years. These policies proved, however, expensive for the American taxpayer because Germany's population needed to be supported by American food and money. The Cold War and the danger of Communist-inspired social unrest quickly convinced American policymakers to rebuild Germany's economy with the Marshall Plan.

During Germany's "economic miracle" of the 1950s and 1960s, Germans and Americans collaborated to revive the pastoral stereotypes of Germans. Infected by a collective amnesia about the Third Reich, Germans made and watched hundreds of so-called *Heimatfilmen*, which were sentimental and trivial romance movies about mountain villagers, *Lederhosen* and ompah music. Although Americans in Germany, most of them G.I.s stationed in Bavaria, did not watch these movies, they too embraced this escape from modernity through their visits to the Munich *Oktoberfest*. Americans completely ignored the fact that big beer corporations had taken over this institution that had been once a state fair for agricultural produce and technology. By moving the *Oktoberfest* to the somewhat warmer September, importing Bavarian ompah music and mountain costumes, the corporations created a major attraction for foreign visitors and a Mardi

Gras-like party for Munich's metropolitan population. Returning with fond memories of innocent beer consumption, these veterans would instigate a nation-wide, grass-root movement to establish *Octoberfests* all over the United States. This celebration of the simple "German" enjoyment of life through beer and hearty, country-style food, may have helped to satisfy America's temporary need to escape the anxieties of the modern world. Germans in the mean time embraced MacDonald's and other fast-food chains and stayed away from the Munich tourist trap called Oktoberfest.

Bibliography

Table of Contents

I. Primary Sources

1. Manuscripts (organized by depositories)

2. Printed Sources (organized by chapter)

Prologue: Early American Travelers to Germany, 1680-1815

Chapter 1: Langsam Country, 1815-1840

Chapter 2: Nativism and the Rise of Tourism 1840-1860

Chapter 3: Wars of Unification, 1861-1877

Chapter 4: Fellow Anglo-Saxons or Economic Rivals, 1877-1899

Chapter 5: Progressivism and Tourism, 1900-1914

Conclusion: The Great War and American Attitudes, 1914-1918

II. Secondary Literature

1. Manuscripts

Columbia University Library, Manuscript Collection, New York City

Bourne, Randolph Silliman (1886-1918), Papers, ca. 1910-48, memos of a European tour.

Irving, Hon Treat (1812-1906), Correspondence, 1807-1906, author, letters to and from Irving as well as extracts from letters written during European travels of 1836-37.

Renwick family, Papers, 1794-1916, six letters by Washington Irving on contemporary events and Irving's travels abroad.

Duke University Library (Durham, NC), Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library

Bandinel family, papers, 1763-1940, diary (1794) of Rev. Thomas Le Mesurier's trip through Germany, Denmark, and Sweden.

Bergh, Charles Edwin, d. 1876, Letters, 1833-1843, resident of New York, letters from Bergh to his parents during his travels to Europe (1841-1843).

Craven-Pegram Family Papers, 1785-1966, letters of George Pegram to family from Europe in 1908.

Williams, George Frederick, 1852-1932, Papers, 1852-1932, lawyer and politician of Boston, papers relating to student life at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg during the 1870s.

Essex Institute, (Salem, Mass.)

Currier family, Papers, 1736-1913, papers of John James Currier's wife Susan (Page) Currier (1838-1910), containing diary and letters to her husband while traveling in Europe.

Derby family, Papers, 1716-1921, Martha (Coffin) Derby's description of a European trip.

Graves family, Papers, 1891-ca. 1930, residents of Buenos Aires originally from Newburyport, Mass. Edmund Pike Graves' (1856-1913) daughter Ellen European travels, correspondence.

Newhall family, correspondence, 1851-1901, letters of Eliza G. Newhall, describing her European travels (1868-1870) written to her mother, Elizabeth Endicott (Gray).

Williams, Mary Elizabeth, 1852-1902, Papers, 1830-1893, artist

and art teacher, the papers (1838-1898) of sisters, Mary Elizabeth and Abigail Osgood Williams, consist of their correspondence during their European travels.

Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art Library (Tulsa, Oklahoma)

Leigh, William Robinson, (1866-1955), Papers, 1886, 1926-27, artist, letters written by Leigh to his mother while on a trip to Germany and Europe in 1886.

Haverford College Library, Quaker Collection (Haverford, PA)

Journal and Diary Collection; journal of William Savary (1750-1804) telling of his ministry in America and Europe; journal, 1904-1937, of William Charles Allen (1857-1938) concerning travels in ministry to Europe; William Charles Allen's diary of WW I years, discussing the effects of propaganda on the American people.

Harvard University Archives (Cambridge, MA)

Cross, Samuel Hazzard (1891-1946), Papers, 1912-46, notes on study in Germany (1912-14).

Harvard University, Houghton Library (Cambridge, MA)

Addison, Julia de Wolf, Papers (1887-92), author and artist, 58 letters to her mother Ann de Wolf (Lovett) Gibb, forming a journal of a tour of Europe (345 pages).

Barlow, Joel (1754-1812), Papers, 1779-1814, consul, journals from England and Europe.

Bradford, Gamaliel (1863-1932), Papers, 1764-1933, biographer, critic, poet, and dramatist of Wellesley, Mass., European voyage and travel journal of Gamaliel Bradford.

Beal, Boylston Adams (1865-1944), Papers, 1873-1942, lawyer of Boston, Mass, correspondence, chiefly from Beal=s service as special assistant at the U.S. Embassy in London during WW I and the 1920s, with a few papers relating to this earlier work (1914) at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin.

Clarke, James Freeman (1810-1888), Papers, 1715-1937, Unitarian minister, correspondence, diaries, journals, includes material relating to Clarke=s European trips.

Curtis, George William (1824-1892), Papers, 1842-92, author, journalist, and reformer, journals while in Germany, 1848-49.

Dwight family, Papers, 1793-1920, chiefly correspondence from Great Britain and Europe.

Holmes, Edward Jackson (1873-1950), Papers 1711-1946, lawyer of Boston, Mass., and nephew of Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809 - 1894), papers relating to the Holmes family and particularly to Oliver Wendell Holmes= trip to Europe with his daughter Amelia Jackson (Holmes) Sargent, in 1886, her diary and account of the trip (63 p.).

Lowell family, Papers, 1640-1894, 36 letters from John Lowell (1856-1922) to his mother Lucy Buckminister (Emerson) Lowell, written from Europe in the 1870s.

Taylor, Bayard (1825-1878), Papers, 1826-1912, poet and journalist, correspondence written during Taylor=s travels in the U.S. and Europe; travel diaries (1869, 1876), and the diary of his wife Marie (Hansen) Taylor in German.

Tudor Family, Papers, ca. 1749-1860, correspondence, business and legal papers of a Boston, Mass., family. European and Am. travel journals (1817-23) of Henry James Tudor (1791-1864).

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)

Balch Collection, Papers, 1699-1923, a travel journal of H. B. Wilson (1815-16) "Journal of Occurrences While in Europe, July 10, 1815-July 10, 1816," kept during a European tour.

Binney, Horace (1780-1875), Papers, Lawyer, journal of a trip (1836-37) to Europe.

Brown, Charles Brockden (1771-1810), Papers, 1715-1827, journals of Elijah Brown (1811, 1816, 1820, and 1827) written during travels in Europe and the United States.

Buck, Charles N. (1775-1851), Reminiscences, 1791-1841, Philadelphia merchant, consul general of Hamburg to the United States, records of commercial life in Philadelphia, the trade in cotton, linen, tobacco, sugar, rice, and other commodities between the U.S. and Germany.

Clymer family, Papers, 1748-1899, journals of a trip to Europe,1840.

Fahnestock family, Papers, 1726-1879, Copies of letters (1860-61) written by Benjamin A. Fahnestock and his wife Anna Maria (Wolff) Fahnestock while on a trip through Europe, describing places and containing comments on the Civil War as seen from Europe.

Kellner, Louise, Diaries, 1889-1903 (8 vols.), diaries kept by Louise Kellner while a companion to Lydia T. Morris and her brother, John T. Morris on their world travels: "Around the World," 1889-1890, "A Trip to France and the Midnight Sun," 1903.

Learned, Marion Dexter (1857-1917), Papers, 1524-1915, philologist, historian, editor, and head of the German department of the University of Pennsylvania, diary of members of the Learned family showing conditions in Europe in 1914.

McCall family, Papers, 1739-1889, letters of George A. McCall

(1802-1868) to his sister telling of his European travels.

Poinsett, Joel Roberts (1779-1851), Papers, 1785-1851, diplomat and statesman, correspondence relating to his European travels.

Powel family, Papers, 1700-1925, diary of Samuel Powel in Europe 1841.

Thompson family, Papers, 1607-1903, correspondence and other papers of Jonah Thompson and his descendants, Philadelphia Quakers; journals written abroad (1812), journal of a trip to Europe in 1827.

Library of Congress, Manuscript Collection (Washington, D.C.)

Corbin, Henry Clark (1842-1909), Papers, 1864-1938, army officer, correspondence, reports, scrapbooks, about Corbin's visits to England and Germany.

Croffut, William Augustus (1835-1915), Papers, 1774-1933, includes journals of Dr. Henry A. Robbins containing accounts of his travels in Europe during the 1870s.

Jackson, Charles Thomas (1805-1880), Papers, 1829-1915, letters to his brother relating to his student days in Europe.

Langmuir, Irving (1881-1957), Papers, 1871-1957, letters to

family about his student life in Göttingen, 1903-1905.

McClellan, George Brinton (1865-1940), Papers of George Brinton McClellan, 1823-98, army officer and governor of New Jersey, travels in Europe in 1902.

Meigs, Montgomery Cunningham (1816-1892), Papers, 1799-1968, army officer, diaries and notebooks on Meigs's trip to Europe in 1875 to observe German army maneuvers.

Simpson, Matthew B. (1811-1884), Papers, 1829-1929, Methodist clergyman, educator, editor, material relating to his travels in Europe, particularly to Worms and Berlin in 1857.

Library of Congress, Music Division (Washington Division, D.C.)

Oldberg family, Papers, 1874-1969, Arne Oldberg (1874-1962), composer, correspondence relates to Arne's studies in Vienna, Austria (1893-95) and Munich (1898-99).

Massachusetts Historical Society Library (Boston)

Lowell family, Papers, 1842-1924, correspondence of James Russell Lowell (1819-1891) relating to his travels in Europe.

Putnam, Charles Pickering (1844-1914), Papers, 1785-1915, physician, of Boston, Mass., Putnam=s correspondence with his family during his study of medicine in Europe (1869-70).

Tyler, William Royall (1852-1897), Papers, 1813-96, educator of Quincy, Mass., chiefly letters from Tyler to his parents during a trip to Europe (1869-70) with William Everett (1839-1910), U.S. Representative from Massachusetts.

New York Academy of Medicine (New York City)

Townsend, Howard, (1823-1867), "Notes of a Tour in Europe," 1847-48, 2 vols. manuscript journals.

New York Public Library (New York City)

Bayard, James Asheton (1767-1815), Correspondence, 1800-14, U.S. representative and senator from Delaware, letters of Caesar Augustus Rodney dealing with his travels in Europe, 1814.

Bigelow family papers, ca. 1843-1950, letters of Grace Bigelow (1852-1932) describing social life in Germany, 1873-74, and diary (1873-74) reflecting on European travel and social life.

Bigelow, John (1817-1911), Papers, diplomat, letters from John Bigelow during his travels in Europe, 1858-60, and life in Germany, 1870-

73.

Bigelow, Poultney, Papers, 1864-1938, author, as a child Poultney was the playmate of Prince William of Hohenzollern (later William II.) in the 1870s, later visits of his friend and the army maneuvers in the 1890s and 1900s.

Colles, James (1788-1883), Papers, 1801-70, letters from his trip to Europe with his family, 1841-44.

Daly, Charles Patrick (1816-1899), Papers, 1829-1897, judge of NYC, travel diaries and notebooks (1851-81) relating to Europe.

Davis, Alexander Jackson (1803-1892), Papers, 1821-1937, architect, correspondence of his son Joseph Beale Davis and his miscellaneous notes, some of a trip through Europe.

Davis, Gherardi, (1858-1941), Papers, 1828-1940, lawyer, student of physics at the Sorbonne, diaries of trips to Germany in 1904.

Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886), Papers, 1812-86, engraver and painter, journal (1840) of a tour in Europe (available on microfilm).

Dwight family, Papers, 1789-1966, Theodore Dwight (1764-1846), lawyer, editor, and author, diary (1820-21) of a tour through Europe.

Griffin, Anthony Jerome (1866-1935), Papers, 1883-1935, lawyer and representative, correspondence, diaries, relating to his travels in Germany.

Howard, Francis Gliman (1869-1937), Papers, 1894-1936, landscape architect, correspondence, narratives and sketch drawings of Howard's travels in Europe (1905).

Johnson, Laura (Winthrop) (1825-1889), Papers, 1862-89, author, correspondence of travel in Europe (1869-71).

Libbey, Laura Jean (1862-1924), Journals, 1892-1903, author, journals of tours through Europe including Germany (1903).

Roe, Alfred Seelye (1844-1917), Travel Journal, 1890-94, historian, "My Trip Abroad with Notes and Comments on What I Saw and Heard," narrative of Roe's trip to Europe, Sept.-Nov. 1890.

New York Historical Society (New York City)

Coan, Titus Munson (1836-1921), Papers, 1839-1921, physician, author, and editor of NYC, correspondence and diaries relating to his travels in Europe, 1867.

Delafield, Emily (Prime) (1840-1909), Letters, 1890's, resident of NYC, about 50 letters to her sister, Julia Delafield relating to her travels in Europe

Robinson family, Papers, 1869-1945, includes diaries (1869-71) kept by Anna E. Foster while on tour in Europe and letters from France during WW I.

Radcliffe College, Schlesinger Library (Cambridge, MA)

Alger family, Papers, 1809-1969, includes Katherine Price Hubbell, Correspondence, 1912-13, letters from her travels in Germany to family.

Brown, Abbie Farwell (-1927), Papers, 1859-1927, author and illustrator, diaries of two trips abroad (1899, 1906), and articles under her pseudonym Jean Neal, published in the *Saint Louis Globe Democrat*, 1898-1899: Oct 8, 1899 AIn the land of storks and beer ... Bachelor girls in Kaiser William=s country.@ and Oct. 22, 1899, ABachelor girls in the Alps.@

Cabot, Ella (Lyman) (1866-1934), author and educator, letters of Mrs. Cabot to her father, Arthur Theodore Lyman, written while traveling in Europe during the Civil War.

Chamberlain, Lucy (Parker) b. 1829, Papers, 1856-1907, chiefly correspondence, some in French, Italian, and German, of Mrs. Chamberlain,

includes references to Franco-Prussian War and Mrs. Chamberlain=s travels in Europe (1869-73).

Eliot, Emily Marshall (Otis) (1832-1906), diaries (6 vols., 1854-64) of Eliot, and diaries (17 vols., 1868-1922) of her daughter Emily Marshall (Eliot) Morsion (1857-1925) about travels in Europe.

Howe, Julia (Ward) (1819-1910), Papers, 1869-1910, author and reformer, correspondence from Europe, description and travel.

Irwin, Inez (Hayes) (1873-), Papers, 1872-1918, author and reformer, diaries, autobiography, literary notebooks concerning travels in Europe, including a trip in 1916.

Nichols-Shurtleff family, Papers, 1780, 1811-1942, letters of Marion Clarke Nichols include descriptions of her travels in Europe in the 1890s.

Stoughton, Louise, 1851-1886, Papers, 1877-79, includes 63 letters and 3 stories written by Miss Stoughton describing travels in Europe.

University of Illinois, University Archives (Urbana-Champaign)

Bartow, Edward (1870-1958), Papers, 1870-1959, professor of chemistry, studied in Göttingen, autobiography.

Dietz, Frederick C. (1888-), Papers, 1908-1985, professor of history, autobiographical account entitled AAus Meinem Leben or Things That I Remember,@ concerning graduate work in Europe and letters pertaining to a trip to Mühlacker, Biebrich, and the Rhine River; letters written from Berlin (Oct. 1915 to Jan 1916) while engaged in research at the University of Berlin.

Hottes, Charles Frederick (1870-1966), Papers, 1891-1965, concerning Hottes' graduate study at the University of Bonn.

Iben, Icko (1900-1971), Papers, 1920-71, librarian and university professor, correspondence, diaries material gathered from Iben's postwar travels in Europe and his stay in Germany.

Mendel, Frederick A. (1895-1917), Postcards, 1899-1913, student at the University of Illinois, scrapbook of postcards from Mendel's

father, Edward Mendel, of Chicago, and his mother and aunt, from their travels in Germany.

University of North Carolina Library, Southern Historical Collection (Chapel Hill)

Simons, James, (-1879), Papers, 1842-1917, family letters containing social and political news to his son, James, Jr. (1839-1919) while he was a student in Leipzig.

Pember, Phoebe Yates (1823-1913), Letters, 1861-1920, personal letters (chiefly 1895-1900) of Mrs. Pember on travels (1895-99) in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.

Williams, James Merrill (1842-1892), Papers, 1869-1889, diary of European travels and student life in Germany, 1869-1871.

University of Virginia Library, Alderman Library (Charlottesville)

Balch Family, Papers of the Balch and Swift Families, 1760-1943, diary of Joseph Shippen, a Philadelphia lawyer and judge, about European travel: ADiary of Joseph Shippen, Jr., Esquire: Europe, June 17, 1760 to March 11th, 1761.@

Cooper, James Fenimore (1789-1851), Papers, 1794-1926, correspondence with literary agents, publishers, friends relating to travels in

Europe. Many of the letter have been published in The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper, ed. James F. Beard, (1960).

Hench, Atcheson Lauglin (1891-1974), Papers, 1811-1974, travels in Europe (1887).

Rives Family, Papers, 1777-1945, correspondence of travel in Germany (1851).

Style, Thomas (-1713), Journal, AA Voyage through the Low Countrys Germany Italy and France 1669-1671.@ Subjects covered include Style's philosophy of travel, dangers of traveling, and government, employment, people, customs, religion, superstitions, accommodations, and prices, of each area visited.

White Family, Papers, 1794-1921, Powhatan Robertson (1798-1820), travel diary (Oct. 12-Nov. 25, 1818) and letter (1818-1819) relating to a trip to Europe.

Prologue: Early American Travelers to Germany, 1680-1815

[Anonymous], The American Wanderer Through Various Parts of Europe. In a Series of Letters to a Lady, Interspersed with a Variety of Interesting Anecdotes. By a Virginian (London: J. Robson , 1783)

[Anonymous], The World Displayed: Or a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels (Philadelphia: Dobelbower, Key and Simpson, 1796)

Adams, John, The Flowers of Modern Travels; Being Elegant, Entertaining and Instructive Extracts, Selected from the Works of the Most Celebrated Travellers; Such as Lord Littleton, Sir W. Hamilton, Baron de Tott, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Moore, Dr. Troil, Addioson, Brydone, Cox, Wraxall, Savary, Topham, Sherlock, Douglas, Swinburne, Lady M.W. Montague etc. Intended Chiefly for young People of Both Sexes. By the Reverend John Adams, A.M. (Boston: Printed for John West, 1797)

Adams, John Quincy, Letters from Silesia: Written During a Tour Through that Country in the Years 1800, 1801. (London: Printed for J. Budd, 1804).

- , Writings of John Quincy Adams, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford. (New York: MacMillan, 1913)

- , Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, ed., Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1874-77)

Adams, Thomas Boylston, "Berlin and the Prussian Court in 1798," ed. Victor H. Paltsits, *New York Public Library Bulletin* 19 (1915): 803-843.

Bayard, James Asheton, Papers of James A. Bayard, ed. Elizabeth Donnan, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913*, vol.. 11 (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1913)

Buckminster, Joseph Stevens, Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, ed. Elza Buckminster Lee (Boston: W. Crosby and H. P. Nichols, 1849)

Burr, Aaron, Private Journal of Aaron Burr, During His Residence of Four Years in Europe, With Selections from His Correspondence, ed. Matthew S. Davis. (New York: Harper Brothers, 1838; reprint Upper Saddle River, NJ: 1970)

Davidson, Robert, Geography Epitomized, or a Tour Round the World. Being a Short but Comprehensive Description of the Terraqueous Globe: Attempted in Verse (for the Sake of Memory) and Principally Designed for the Use in Schools. By an American. (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank, 1796)

Hanway, Jonas, Travels of Jonas Hanway, Esp., Through Russia into Persia, and Afterward [sic] Through Russia, Germany, and Holland (Philadelphia: Joseph and James Crukshank, 1799)

Jefferson, Thomas, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 8-10, ed. Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1954)

- , Thomas Jefferson=s European Travel Diaries, ed. James McGrath Morris et al. (Ithaca: I. Stephanus Sons, 1987)

Penn, William, "An Account of my Journey into Holland and Germany," in The Papers of William Penn, vol: 1, ed. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981)

Sands, David, Journal of the Life and Gospel: Labours of David Sands (London: C. Gilpin, 1848)

Savary, William, A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labours of William Savary, ed. Jonathan Evans (London: C. Gilpin, 1844)

- : "The Journal of William Savary," *Friends Library* 1 (1837): 327-459

Silliman, Benjamin, A Journal of Travel in England, Holland, and Scotland, 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: S. Converse, 1820)

Trumbull, John, Autobiography, Reminiscences, and Letters of John Trumbull (New York and London: Wiley and Putnam,; New Haven, Bi. Hamben, 1841)

- : The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, ed. Theodore Siner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953)

Washington, George, Papers of George Washington (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983-)

Chapter 1: Langsam Country, 1815-1840

Amory, Martha Babcock, The Wedding Journey of Charles and Martha Babcock Amory: Letters of Mrs. Amory to Her Mother, Mrs. Gardner Greene, 1833-1834 (Boston: private print, 1922)

[Anonymous], book review of A Tour in Germany, in *Museum of Foreign Literature* (1824): 331

[Anonymous], "State of Religion in Germany," *Christian Examiner* 19 (September 1835): 41

Baird, Robert, Visit to Northern Europe or Sketches Descriptive, Historical, Political, and Moral of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lubeck (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1841)

Bancroft, George, Life and letters of George Bancroft, ed. De

Wolfe Howe, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1908)

Breckenridge, Robert J., Memoranda of Foreign Travel: Containing Notices of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Philadelphia: J. Whetham, 1839)

Bryant, William Cullen, Letters of a Traveller or Notes of Things Seen in Europe and America (New York: D. Appleton, 1850)

Charlotte B. Bronson, The Letters of Charlotte Brinckehoff Bronson: Written her Wedding Journey in Europe in 1838 with her Husband Frederic Bronson and his Niece Caroline Murray, to her Mother Mrs. James L. Brinckerhoff, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Privately printed, 1928)

Burgess, George, Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend George Burgess, D.D., First Bishop of Maine, ed. Alexander Burgess. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, Haffelfinger, 1869)

Calvert, George Henry, First Years in Europe (Boston: W.V. Spencer, 1866)

- , Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, First Series (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846)

Carow, Isaac, In American Backlogs: The Story of Gertrude

Tyler and Her Family, eds. Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt (New York: private print, 1928)

Coggeshall, John, Thirty-Six Voyages to Various Parts of the World, Made between the Years 1799 and 1841 (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1858)

Cogswell, Joseph Green, The Life of Joseph Green Cogswell as Sketched in His Letters, ed. Anna Elliot Ticknor (Cambridge: Privately printed at the Riverside Press, 1874)

Colles, James, James Colles: Life and Letters, ed. Emily Johnston De Forest (New York: Priv. Print, 1926)

Cooper, James Fenimore, Notions of the Americans Picked up by a Traveling Bachelor. (Philadelphia: Carey Lea Company, 1828)

Cooper, James Fenimore, Letters and Journals, ed. James Franklin Beard. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960)

Crowninshield, Clara, The Diary of Clara Crowninshield: An European Tour with Longfellow, 1835-1836, ed. Andrew Hilen. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956)

Dewey, Orville, The Old World and the New, 2 vols. (New

York: Harper and Brothers, 1836)

Dwight, Henry E., Travels in the North of Germany in the Year 1825 and 1826 (New York: G.&C.&H. Carvill, 1829)

Earle, Pliny, Memoirs of Pliny Earle, M.D. with Extracts from his Diary and Letters, ed. Franklin B. Sanborn. (Boston: Damrell E. Upham, 1898)

Everett, Anne Gorham, Memoirs of Anne Gorham Everett, With Extracts from her Correspondence and Journal, ed. Philippa C. Bush. (Boston: Privately printed, 1857)

Everett, Edward, The Mount Vernon Papers (New York: Appleton and Company, 1860)

Fisk, Wilbur, Travel in Europe, viz. in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835)

Grellet, Stephen, Memoirs and Gospel of Stephen Grellett, ed., Benjamin Seebohn (Philadelphia: H. Longstreth, 1860) two volumes

Haight, Sarah Rogers, Letters from the Old World. By a Lady of New York. 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1839)

Hall, Fanny, Rambles in Europe: Or a Tour Through France, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Ireland in 1836, 2 vols. (New York: E. French, 1838)

Hansen-Taylor, Marie, and Horace E. Scudder, The Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884)

Hewins, Amasa, Hewin's Journal: A Boston Portrait Painter Visits Italy, ed. Francis J. Allen. (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1931)

Hiestand, Henry, Travels in Germany, Prussia and Switzerland (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1837)

Howe, Samuel Gridley, Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1906-09)

Irving, Washington, Journals and Notebooks, ed. Nathalie Wright et al, Complete Works of Washington Irving, vols. 1-5. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press; Boston Twayne, 1969 -)

- : Letters, 1802-1823, ed. Ralph M. Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfeld, and Jenifer S. Banks (Boston: Twayne, 1972)

Jewett, Isaac Appleton, Passages in Foreign Travel, 2 vols.

(Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1838)

Johnston, John, John Johnston of New York, Merchant, ed. Emily Johnston (New York: Privately printed, 1909)

Longfellow, Fanny Appleton, Mrs. Longfellow: Selected Letters and Journals, ed. Edward Wagenknecht. (New York: Longmans, Green, 1956)

Longfellow, Henry W., The Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston: Belknap Press, 1886)

McLellan, Henry Blake, Journal of a Residence in Scotland, and a Tour through England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Boston: Allan and Ticknor, 1834)

Motley, John Lothrop, The Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley (New York: Harper Brothers, 1889)

Mott, Valentine, Travels in Europe and the East in the Years 1834, '35, '36, '37, '39, '40, and '41, Embracing Observations Made During a Tour Through Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgaum, Holland, Prussia, Saxony, Bohemia, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Lombardy, Tuscany, Italy, and the Near East. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842)

Olin, Stephen, The Life and Letters of Stephen Olin, Late President of the Wesleyan University (New York: Harper, 1860)

Russell, Jonathan, "Journal of Jonathan Russell," *Massachusetts Historical Proceedings* 51 (1917-1918): 369-498

Sedgwick, Catherine, Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841)

Sparks, Jared, The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks, ed. Herbert Baxter Adams (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1893)

Sprague, William Buell, Visits to European Celebrities (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1855)

Stowe, Calvin E., "Report of Elementary Public Instruction in Europe," in Edgar Wallace Knight, ed., Reports on European Education, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930)

Sumner, Charles, Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, ed. Edward L. Pierce (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893)

Ticknor, George, Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, ed. George S. Hillard (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1876)

Ticknor, George, The Travel Journals in the Years 1815-1816 and 1835-1838 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1974)

Topliff, Samuel, Topliff's Travels: Letters from Abroad in the Years 1828 and 1829, ed. Ethel Stanwood Bolton ([Boston]: Boston Athenaeum, 1906)

Warren, John Collins, 1778-1856, The Life of John Collins Warren, ed. Edward Warren, 2 vols. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860)

Wheaton, Henry, The Progress and Prospects of Germany: A Discourse Before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, at Providence, R.I, September 1, 1847 (Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1847)

Willis, Nathaniel, "Pencillings by the Way," in The Complete Works (New York: 1846)

_ , Summer Cruise in the Mediterranean (Detroit: Kerr, Doughty, and Lapham, 1853)

- , Loiterings of Travel (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840)

- , Rural Letters and Other Records of Thoughts at Leisure (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1851)

Chapter 2: Nativism and the Rise of Tourism, 1840-1860

Adams, Henry, The Education of Henry Adams, ed. Ernest Samuels. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973)

- , Henry Adams and His Friends: A Collection of His Unpublished Letters, ed. Harold Dean Cater (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947)

- , Letters, ed. J.C. Levenson, et al, 6 vols. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982-1988)

Allen, Harriet Trowbridge, Travels in Europe and the East: During the Years 1858-59 and 1863-64 (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor, 1879)

Angell, James Burrill, The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longman=s, Green, 1912)

[Anonymous], "Howitt's Student Life of Germany," North American Review, 56 (April, 1843): 313

[Anonymous], "Temperance in Europe: Germany," Niles Weekly Register, 59 (September 6, 1845): 2

[Anonymous], "Tobacco Trade on the Continent," Niles Weekly Register, 71 (October 24, 1846): 127

[Russell, G.B.], AAnglo-German Life in America,@ *Mercersburg Review* 11 (1859): 536-556

[Anonymous], "Travel in Europe," North American Review (April, 1861): 530-543

Barnard, D[aniel] D [Dewey], "Political Aspects and Prospects in Europe," A Lecture Delivered before the Youngman's Association in the City of Baltimore, January 31, 1854 (Albany: Weed, Parsons and company, 1854)

Bartol, Cyrus Augustus., Pictures of Europe, Framed in Ideas (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1855)

Benedict, Erastus C., A Run through Europe (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1860)

Brace, Charles Loring, Home Life in Germany (New York: C. Scribner, 1856)

Brown, William Wells, The American Fugitive in Europe: Sketches of Places and People Abroad. With a Memoir of the Author (New York: 1969; reprint of the original Three Years in Europe London, 1852; Boston: John P. Jewett, 1855)

Bullard, Anne T. J., Sights and Scenes in Europe: A Series of Letters from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in 1850 (St. Louis, MO: Chambers and Knapp, 1852)

Burritt, Elihu, Elihu Burritt: A Memorial Volume Containing a Sketch of his Life and Labors, with Selections from his Writings and Lectures and extracts from his Private Journal in Europe and America, ed. Charles Northend. (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937)

- : The Learned Blacksmith: The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt, ed. Merle Curti. (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937)

Calvert, Henry George, Scenes and Thoughts in Europe, Second Series (Boston: Little, 1863)

Channing, Walter, Professional Reminiscences of Foreign Travel

(Boston: n.p.., 1852)

- , A Physician's Vacation; or a Summer in Europe (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856)

Channing, William Ellery, Memoirs of William Ellery Channing with Extracts from His Correspondents and Manuscripts, ed. William Henry Channing, 3 vols. (Boston: W.M. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1848)

Choule, John Overton, Vacation in Europe or Young Americans Abroad; Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852)

Clarke, James Freeman, Eleven Weeks in Europe, and What May be Seen in that Time (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852)

Clemens, Samuel Langhorne, Mark Twain's Notebook, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York and London: Harper, 1935)

- , Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals, ed. Frederick Anderson, Michael B. Franck, and Kenneth M. Sanderson, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975-1979)

Copway, George, Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland (New York: J.C. Riker,

1851)

Corson, John M, Loiterings in Europe; or Sketches of Travel in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Ireland (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1848)

Cox, S[amuel]. S., A Buckeye Abroad; or Wanderings in Europe and in the Orient (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852)

Crockett, Henry Clay, The American in Europe; Being Guesses and Calculations on Men and Manners Made During a Tour Through the Most Important Portions of Europe (London, New York: E.T. Brain, 1850)

Dallas, Francis Gregory, The Papers of Francis Gregory Dallas, ed. Gardner W. Allen, *Naval History Society Publications* 8 (New York: Printed for the Naval History Society by the DeVince Press, 1917)

Dana, William Combs, A Transatlantic Tour; Comprising Travels in Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (Philadelphia: Perkins and Purves, 1845)

De Forest, J. W., European Acquaintance; Being Sketches of People in Europe (New York: Harper, 1858)

Derby, Elias Hasket, Two Months Abroad, or a Trip to England,

France, Baden, Prussia, and Belgium By a Railroad Director of Massachusetts (Boston: Redding and Co., 1844)

Diman, Jeremiah Lewis, Memoirs of the Rev. J. Lewis Diman, ed. Caroline Harvard (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1887)

Dodge, Robert, Diary, Sketches and Reviews, During an European Tour (New York: Printed for his Friends, 1850)

Dorr, David F., A Colored Man Round the World (n.p.: privately printed, 1858; reprint, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999)

Duffield, George, Travels in Two Hemispheres or Gleanings of a European Tour (Detroit: Doughty, Straw and Company, 1858)

Dunglison, Robley, Recollections of Europe in 1854: An Introductory Lecture to the Class of Institutes of Medicine etc. in the Jefferson Medical College Delivered Oct. 9, 1854. (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collings Printer, 1854)

Eames, Jane, A Budget of Letters; or, Things Which I Saw Abroad (Boston: Ticknor, 1847)

- , The Budget Closed (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860)

Edwards, John E., Random Sketches and Notes of European Travel in 1856 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857)

Fields, James Thomas, Biographical Notes and Personal Sketches (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1881)

Fiske, Willard, Willard Fiske, Life and Correspondence: A Biographical Study, ed. Horatio S. White (New York: Oxford University Press, 1925)

Forbush, May Josephine Faxon, Our Own Day, ed. Elsie P. Mitchel (Boston: Branden Press, 1976)

Fuller, Margaret, At Home and Abroad; or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Co., 1856; reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971)

- , The Letters of Margaret Fuller, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 4 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983-87)

- , The Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, ed. Ralph Emerson, William Henry Channing, and James Freeman Clarke, 2 vols. (Boston: Phillips Sampson, 1852)

- , "These Sad but Glorious Days": Dispatches from Europe,

1846-1850, eds. Larry J. Reynolds and Susan Belasco Smith. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991)

Furniss, William, The Old World; or Scenes and Cities in Foreign Lands (New York, D. Appleton, 1850)

Gansevoort, Catherine, "Kate Gansevoort's Grand Tour," ed. Alice P. Kenney. *New York History* 47 (1966): 343-356

Gardiner, Margaret, Leaves from a Young Girl's Diary: The Journal of Margaret Gardiner, 1840-41 (New Haven, Conn.: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor, 1925)

Garfield, James Abram, The Diary of James A. Garfield, ed. Harry J. Brown and Frederick D. Williams, 4 vols. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967-1981)

Greeley, Horace, Glances at Europe in a Series of Letters from Great Britain, France, Switzerland, etc. During the Year of 1851, including Notices of the Great Exhibition or World's Fair (New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1851)

– , Recollections of a Busy Life (New York: Tribune Associations, 1873)

Greenwood, Grace [Sarah Jane Lippincott], Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853)

Griffin, Mary Sands, Impressions of Germany, By an American Lady (Dresden: Printed for private circulation by B. G. Teubner, 1866)

Hale, Edward Everett, Ninety Days Worth of Europe (Boston: Walker, Wise, 1861)

Happoldt, Christopher, The Christopher Happoldt Journal: His European Tour with Rev. Jon Bachman, ed. Claude H. Neuffer. (Charleston, S.C.: Charleston Museum, 1960)

Higginson, Henry Lee, Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson, ed. Bliss Perry (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1921; reprint: Freeport, N.Y. Books for Libraries, 1972)

Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, Fifty Years in Camp and Field, Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, ed. W.A. Croffut (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909; Reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1971)

Hoppin, James Mason, Notes of a Theological Student (New York: Appleton and Company, 1854)

Horwitz, Orville, Brushwood Picked Up on the Continental or Last Summer's Trip to the Old World (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1855)

Hosea, Robert, Glimpses of Europe or Notes Drawn at Sight (Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory, 1859)

Hurst, John Fletcher, Life and Literature in the Fatherland (New York, Cincinnati: Nelson and Phillips, 1875)

Johnson, Anna C., Peasant Life in Germany (New York: C. Scribner, 1858)

Joynes, Edward Southey, Old Letters of a Student in Germany (Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina, 1916)

Kame Hameha IV, King of the Hawaian Islands, The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholilo: The Voyages Made to the United States, England, and France in 1849-1850, ed. Jacob Adler. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaian Historical Society, 1967)

Kirkland, Caroline M., Holidays Abroad; Europe from the West (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849)

Kirwan, [Murray, Nicolas], Men and Things as I Saw Them in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853)

Le Vert, Octavia Walton, Souvenirs of Travel, 2 vols. (Mobile and New York: S. H. Goetzel, 1857)

Lieber, Francis, The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber, ed. Thomas S. Perry. (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882)

Lincoln, Mary Todd, Her Life and Letters, ed. Justin G. Turner (New York: Knopf, 1972)

[Lippincott, Sara Jane Clarke], Haps and Mishaps of a Tour of Europe by Grace Greenwood (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1854)

Lowe, Charles, Memoirs of Charles Lowe., ed. Martha Perry Lowe (Boston: Cupples, Upham, 1884)

Magee, George W., An American Student Abroad: From the Letters of Magee, 1834-1903, ed. George W. Magee, Jr. (Philadelphia: The Magee Press, 1932)

Maney, Henry, Memories over the Water or Stray Thoughts on a Long Stroll (Nashville, TN: Toon, Nelson and Company, 1854)

Mann, Horace, Life of Horace Mann, ed. Mary Tyler Peabody Mann. (Boston: Walker, Fuller, and Co., 1865; reprint in facsimile: Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1937)

- , Report of an Educational Tour in Germany and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, 1846)

McGavock, Randall William, A Tennessean Abroad; or Letters from Europe, Africa, and Asia (New York: Redfield, 1854)

- , Pen and Sword: The Life and Journals of Randal W. McGavock, ed. Hershel Gower and Jack Allen. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959)

Marvel, Ik, [Donald G. Mitchell], Fresh Gleanings; or a New Sheaf from the Old Fields of Continental Europe (New York: Scribner, 1847)

Melville, Herman, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, ed. Eleanor Melville Metcalf (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948)

- , Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, ed. Howard C. Horsford *Princeton Studies in English* 35 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton

University Press, 1955)

Mitchell, John, Notes from Over the Sea: Consisting of Observations Made in Europe in the Years 1843 and 1844 (New York: Gates and Stedman, 1845)

Mitchell, Maria, Maria Mitchell, Life Letters, and Journals, ed. Phebe Mitchell Kendall. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896)

Morford, Henry, Morford's Short-Trip Guide to Europe (New York: Lee, Shepard, and Dillingham, 1874)

Morse, Samuel F. B., Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals, ed. Edward Lind Morse (Boston: Houghton, 1914)

Nasby, Petroleum V., [David Ross Locke], Nasby in Exile or Six Months of Travel in England, Ireland, Scotland, France (Toledo and Boston: Locke, 1882)

Nicholson, Asenath Hatch, Loose Papers, or Facts Gathered during Eight-years Residence in Ireland, Scotland, England, France, and Germany (New York: Sold at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1853)

Parkman, Francis, The Journals of Francis Parkman, ed. Mason Wade, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1947; reprint: New York: Kraus, 1969)

Parry, Emma Louise, Life Among the Germans (Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1887)

Peabody, Andrew Preston, Reminiscences of European Travel (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869)

Prime, Samuel Irenaeus, Travels in Europe and the East: A Year in England, Scotland, Ireland (New York: Harper, 1855)

Putnam, George Palmer, A Pocket Memorandum Book, during a Ten Weeks' Trip to Italy and Germany in 1847 (New York: n. p., 1848)

Richards, F. de Bourg, Random Sketches of What I Saw in Europe (Philadelphia: G. Collins, 1857)

Ricketts, Samuel Green, Notes of Travel in Europe, Egypt, and the Holy Land including a Visit to the City of Constantinople in 1841 and 1842 (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1844)

Rockwell, Joel Edson, Scenes and Impressions Abroad (New York: Carter, 1860)

Safford, Daniel, Memoirs of Daniel Safford, ed. Anne Eliza B. Safford. (Boston: American Tract Society, 1861)

Scott, Jacob Richardson, To These This Temple: The Life, Diary, and Friends of Jacob Richardson Scott, ed. Elizabeth Hayward and Roscoe Ellis Scott. (Chester, PA.: American Baptist Historical Society, 1955)

Sigourney, Lydia H., Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands (Boston: James Munroe, 1842)

Silliman, Benjamin, A Visit to Europe in 1851 (New York: Putnam, 1854)

Smith, John Jay, A Summer's Jaunt across the Water including Visits to England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, etc. (Philadelphia: J.W. Moore, 1846)

Sweat, Margaret J., Highways of Travel; Or, A Summer in Europe (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1859)

Tappan, Henry Philip, A Step from the New World to the Old and Back Again: with Thoughts on the Good and Evil of Both (New York: Appleton, 1852)

Taylor, Bayard, Views A-foot. Rev., ed. (New York: G.P. Putnam and son, 1855)

- , At Home and Abroad, Second Series (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1862)

- , By-Ways of Europe (New York: G.P. Putnam and Son, 1869)

Thayer, Rev. Dr., "Excerpts from a Diary Written by Dr. Thayer," *Newport Historical Society Bulletin* 79 (1931): 7-15; 80 (1931): 14-23

Tuckerman, Henry T., "William Beckford and the Literature of Travel," *Southern Literary Messenger* 16 (1850): 7-14

Ward, Matthew Flourney, Letters from Three Continents by L., the Arkansas Correspondent of the Louisville Journal (New York: D. Appleton, 1851)

Wallace, Horace Binney, Art, Scenery, and Philosophy in Europe (Philadelphia: H. Hookeer, 1855)

Washington, E. K., Echoes of Europe; or World Pictures of Travel (Philadelphia: J. Challen and Son, 1860)

Weed, Thurlow, Letters from Europe and the West Indies (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1866)

White, Andrew Dickson, Autobiography (New York: Century, 1905)

- , The Diaries of Andrew D. White, ed. Robert M. Ogden. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959)

[Witmer, Theodore], Wild Oats Sown Abroad; or, On and Off Soundings, Being Leaves from a Private Journal By a Gentleman of Leisure (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1853)

Wright, W. W., Doré, by a Stroller in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856)

Chapter 3: Wars of Unification, 1861-1877

[Anonymous], "Going Abroad," *Putnam's Magazine*, n.s. 1 (1868): 530-38

Barlosius, Mrs. C. F., Recollections of a Visit to England, France, and Germany in 1862 and to Germany in 1885 (Fredericksburg, VA: Free Lance Publishing Company, 1887)

Bartlett, William Francis, Memoirs of William F. Bartlett, ed. Francis Winthrop Palfrey (Boston: Houghton, Osgood, 1878)

Bellows, Henry W., The Old World in Its New Face: Impressions of Europe in 1867-68, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869)

Browne, John Ross, An American Family in Germany (New York: Harper Brothers, 1866)

Browne, Junius Henri, 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 Franco-German War (Hartford, Conn.: American Pub. Comp., 1871)

Buffum, Edward Gould, Sights and Sensations in France, Germany, and Switzerland or Experiences of an American Journalist in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869)

Cortazzo, Emma Cullum Huidekoper, Emma Cullum Cortazzo (Meadville, Pa.: E. H. Shortle, 1919)

Curtis, George William, The Potiphar Papers (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869)

Darley, Felix Octavius Carr, Sketches Abroad with Pen and Pencil (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1878)

Day, Henry, A Lawyer Abroad: What to See and How to See (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1874)

Derby, Emma C., "Diary of Emma C. Derby: Bancroft's Niece Keeps a Record of European Tour," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 31 (1952): 219-228. 355-374; 32 (1953): 65-80

Field, Henry M., From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn (New York: C. Scribner=s Sons, 1877)

Forbes, Elizabeth A., A Woman's First Impressions of Europe. Being Wayside Sketches Made During a Short Tour in the Year 1863 (New York: Derby and Miller, 1865)

Forrest, Douglas French, Odyssey in Gray, ed. William N. Still, Jr. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1979)

Fulton, Charles Carroll, Europe Viewed through American Spectacles (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1874)

Griffin, Mary Sands, Old Facts and Modern Incidents: Supplementary to Impressions of Germany (Dresden: Printed by C. Heinrich, 1868)

Guild, Curtis, Over the Ocean or Sights and Scenes in Foreign

Lands (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872)

Haraszthy, Agoston, Grape Culture, Wines and Wine-Making (New York: Harper, 1862)

- , Father of California Wine, Agoston Haraszthy: Including Grape Culture, Wines, and Wine-Making, ed. Theodore Schoenman (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Capra Press, 1979)

Haven, Gilbert, The Pilgrim's Wallet; or Scraps of Travel Gathered in England, France, and Germany (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869)

Hawthorne, Julian, Saxon Studies (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1876)

Heffner, George H., The Youthful Wanderer: Or an Account of a Tour Through England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and the Rhine, Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt (Orefield, PA: Heffner, 1876)

Hemstreet, William, The Economical European Tourist: A Journalist Three Months Abroad for $430, Including Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Prussia (New York: S.W. Green, 1875)

Hewitt, Abram S., Selected Writings of Abram S. Hewitt, ed.

Allan Nevins (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937)

Howard, Blanche Willis, One Year Abroad (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1877)

Howe, Julia Ward, From the Oak to the Olive: A Plain Record of a Pleasant Journey (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1868)

Jackson, Helen Hunt, Bits of Travel (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1874)

Jarves, James Jackson, Art Thoughts; the Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe (New York: Riverside Press, Hurd and Houghton, 1869)

King, B. W., Our Diary in Europe (London: Printed for Private Distribution at he Chiswick Press, 1871)

Latrobe, J. H. B., Hints for Six Months in Europe: Being the Program of a Tor through Parts of France, Italy, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, the Tyrol, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, England and Scotland in 1868 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1869)

Porte [Mathews, G. H]., Diary of a Summer in Europe, 1865 by Porte (pseudonym) (New York: Marsh's Printer, 1866)

McCabe, William Gordon, Memories and Memorials of William

Gordon McCabe, ed. Armistead C. Gordon (Richmond, Virg.: Old Dominion, 1925)

Newman, Mrs. A. E., European Leaflets for Young Ladies (New York: John F. Baldwin, 1862)

Olnhausen, Mary Phinney von, Adventures of an Army of an Army Nurse in Two Wars: Editd from the Diary and Correspondence of Mary Phinney, Baroness von Olnhausen, ed. James Phinney Munroe (Boston: Little, Brown, 1903)

Prime, Samuel Irenaeus, The Alhambra and the Kremlin; the South and the North of Europe (New York: A.D.F. Randolph, 1873)

Roosevelt, Theodore, Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth, ed. Mrs Douglas Robinson (New York and London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1928)

Sheridan, Philip Henry, Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan, General, United States Army (New York: C.L. Webster and Company, 1888)

Sherman, William Tecumseh, "General Sherman's Tour of Europe," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 57 (Nov. 1898-April, 1899): 729-740

- , "Sherman on Franco-Prussian Battlefields," *Century*

Illustrated Magazine 58 (May-Oct, 1899): 278-287

Seward, William H., William H. Seward's Travels Around the World, ed. Olive Risley Seward (New York: D. Appleton,1873)

Strahan, Edward, [Shinn, Earl]. The New Hyperion: From Paris to Marly by Way of the Rhine (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1875)

Thomas, Martha Carey, The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas, ed. Marjorie H. Dobkin. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979)

Thompson, John R., "From the Diary of John R. Thompson," *Confederate Veteran* 37 (1929): 98-100

[Tomes, Robert], "The Americans on Their Travels," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 31 (1865): 57

Urbino, Levina Buoncuore, An American Woman in Europe: The Journal of two Years and a Half Sojourn in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869)

Willard, Frances Elizabeth, Glimpses of Fifty Years: the

Autobiography of an American Woman. Introduction by Hannah Whitall Smith (Chicago: Women's Temperance Publication Association, 1889)

- , My Happy Half-Century: The Autobiography of an American Woman, ed. Frances E. Cook. (London: Ward, Lock, and Bowden, 1894)

- , Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855-96, ed. Carolyn De Swarte Gifford (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995)

Chapter 4: Fellow Anglo-Saxons or Economic Rivals, 1877-1899

Anderson, Larz, Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat, ed. Isabel Anderson. (New York and London: Fleming H. Revell, 1940)

[Anonymous], The Waterworks of Europe: Volume II, The European Continent: Paris, France; Florence, Italy; Moscow, Russia; Vienna, Austria; Munich and Frankfort-on-the Main, Germany; Geneva and Zurich, Switzerland: a Report ([Philadelphia: The Museum], 1899)

Avery, Samuel Putnam, The Diaries, 1871-1882, of Samuel P. Avery, Art Dealer, ed. Madeleine F. Beaufort, Herbert C. Kleinfield, and Jeanne K. Welcher (New York: Arno, 1979)

Ballou, Maturin Murray, Foot-Prints of Travel or Journeyings in

Many Lands (Boston: Ginn, 1888)

Barrows, John Henry, A World-Pilgrimage (Chicago: McClurg, 1897)

Benedict, Clara Woolson, ed., The Benedicts Abroad (London: Ellis, 1930)

Bigelow, Poultney, Borderland of the Czar and the Kaiser: Notes from Both Sides of the Russian Frontier (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894)

- , The German Emperor and His Eastern Neighbors (London, New York: Cassell, C.L. Webster, 1892)

- , Paddles and Politics down the Danube (New York: C.L. Webster, 1892)

- , Prussian Memories, 1864-1914 (New York: New York, London: G.P. Putnam=s Sons, 1915)

- , Seventy Summers (London: E. Arnold, 1925)

Bisland, Elizabeth [Wetland], A Flying Trip Around the World (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891)

Blair, John Insley, Foreign Letters (Blairstown, N.J.: The Press Steam Book and Job Print, 1888)

Bly, Nellie, Nellie Bly=s Book: Around the World in 72 Days (New York: Pictorial Weeklies, 1890)

Brooks, Phillips, Letters of Travel (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1893)

Buckhout, Mrs. B., Aftermath: From City and Country, Berg and Thal (New York: W.B. Smith, 1882)

Butler, Julia Colt, "The Diary of Julia Colt Butler," ed. Melissa A. Wensel, *Rutgers University Journal* 46 (1984): 47-57

Byers, Samuel Hawkins Marshall, Twenty Years in Europe: A Consul-General=s Memories of Noted People, with letters from General W. T. Sherman (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally, 1900)

Cattel, James McKean, An Education in Psychology: James McKean Cattel's Journal and Letters from Germany and England, ed. Michael M. Sokal. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981)

Champney, Lizzie W., Three Vassar Girls Abroad (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1883)

Clark, Robert, Chicago to Naples: Our Twelve Months Tour Through the British Isles, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, etc. (Chicago: Shepard and Johnston, 1885)

Cook, Joel, A Holiday Tour through Europe (Philadelphia: D. McKay, 1889)

Cord, W. Harlan, A Knight Templar Abroad or Reminiscences beyond the Sea (St. Louis: J. Burns Pub. Co., 1885)

Coston, Martha J., A Signal Success: The Work and Travels of Mrs. Martha J. Coston: An Autobiography (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1886)

Cox, Kenyon, An Artist of the American Renaissance: The Letters of Kenyon Cox, 1883-1919, ed. H. Wayne Morgan (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1995)

Cushman, Mary Ames, She Wrote it All Down (New York and London: C. Scribner's Sons, 1936)

Dana, Richard Henry, Hospitable England in the Seventies: The Diary of a Young American (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1921)

Dudley, Lucy Bronson, Letters to Ruth (New York, Boston: F.H. Gilson, 1896)

Emerson, Jesse Milton, European Glimpses and Glances (New York: Cassell, 1889)

Fay, Amy, Music Study in Germany, form the Home Correspondence of Amy Fay, ed. Fay Pierce (New York: MacMillan, 1905)

Francke, Kuno, Glimpses of Modern German Culture (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1898)

Gage, William Leonard, A Leisurely Journey (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1886)

Hale, Edward Everett, A Family Flight through France, Germany, Norway, and Switzerland (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1881)

- , The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale, ed. Edward Everett Hale, Jr. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1917)

Howells, William Dean, Life in Letters of William Dean Howells, ed. Mildred Howells (New York: W. Heinemann, Doubleday, Doran, 1928)

Jackson, Helen Maria Fiske Hunt, Glimpses of Three Coasts (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1886)

James, Henry, "Americans Abroad," *Nation* 692 (Oct. 3, 1878): 208-9

- , The Art of Travel: Scenes and Journeys in America, England, France, and Italy, from the Travel Writings of Henry James, ed. Morton Dauwen Zabel. (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries, 1970)

- , Autobiography, ed. Frederick W. Dupee (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983)

- , Letters, ed. Leon Edel, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974-84)

- , Transatlantic Sketches (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1893)

James, William, The Letters of William James, ed. Henry James (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920)

Keeler, Mary Ferguson, "A Much Travelled Young Lady," ed. Ruth Keeler, *Westchester Historian* 26 (1950): 3-28

Landis, Charles Kline, "European Journal of Charles K. Landis," *Vineland Historical Magazine* 5 (1920) - 12 (1927) passim

- , "Foreign Journal of Charles K. Landis," *Vineland Historical Magazine* 27 (1942)-38 (1953) passim

Lee, Alfred B., European Days and Ways (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1890)

Leland, Lilian, Traveling Alone: A Woman's Journey around the World (New York: The American News Company, 1890)

Little, Anna P., The World as We Saw It (Boston: Cupples and Company, 1887)

Logan, Algernon Sydney, Vistas from the Stream, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: National, 1934)

Lowell, James Russell, Letters of James Russell Lowell, ed. Charles Eliot Norton. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894)

- , New Letters of James Russell Lowell, ed. M. A. De Wolfe Howe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932)

Mahaffy, J.P and Roger, J. T., Sketches from a Tour Through Holland and Germany (London: Macmillan, 1889)

Meriwether, Lee, A Tramp Trip: How to See Europe on Fifty

Cents a Day (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1887)

Miller, D.L., Letters to the Young from the Old World (Mount Morris, IL: Brethren=s Pub. Co., 1894)

Morgan, Leslie H., Extracts from the European Journal of Lewis H. Morgan, ed. Leslie White (Publications of the Rochester Historical Society, Part II), vol. XVI.

Morrison, Leonard A., 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: Cupples, Upham, 1887)

Moulton, Louise Chandler, Random Rambles (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881)

Ninde, Mary Louis Gamewell, We Two Alone in Europe (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1885)

Optic, Oliver, Down the Rhine; Or, Young America in Germany (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1897)

Peabody, Marian Lawrence, To Be Young was Very Heaven (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967)

Phelps, William Lyon, Autobiography with Letters (New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939)

Pitman, Marie J. [Margerie Dean], European Breezes (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1882)

Rees, L. L., We Four. Where We Went and What We Saw in Europe (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1880)

Ruggles, Henry, Germany Seen Without Spectacles (Boston, New York: Lee and Shepard, 1883)

Scripps, James E., Five Months Abroad (Detroit: F. B. Dickerson, 1882)

Sears, John, Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Sessions, Francis Charles, On the Wing through Europe (New York: T.L. De Vinne, 1880)

Shepard, Paul, Man in the Landscape (New York: Knopf, 1967)

Sherwood, Mrs. John, "American Girls in Europe," *North American Review* 150 (1890): 681-702

Sloane, Florence Adele, Maverick in Mauve: The Diary of a Romantic Age, ed. Louis Achincloss (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983)

Straton, M. and others, Two Lady Tramps Abroad, a Compilation of Letters Descriptive of Nearly a Year's Travel in India, Asia Minor, Egypt, the Holy Land, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, France, England, Ireland, and Scotland (Flushing, N.Y: Evening Journal Press, 1881)

Steffens, Lincoln, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1931)

- , The Letters of Lincoln Steffens, ed. Ellen Winter and Granville Hicks, 2 vols. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938)

Stevenson, William, Sights and Scenes in Europe: or, Pencillings by the Way, in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Belgium. During a Short Tour in the Summer and Autumn of 1881 (Flint, MI: M.S. Elmore and Co., Sperry and Bushnell, 1882)

Stockton, Frank, Personnally Conducted (New York: C. Scribner=s Sons, 1890)

Stone, James, From Frankfort to Munich (Philadelphia: Porter, 1893)

Thwing, Carrie F. Butler, An Appreciation by Friends together with Extracts from a Journal of a Tour in Europe (Cleveland: Helman-Taylor, 1899)

Tileston, Eleanor Boies, Eleanor Boies Tileston (Norwood, Mass.: Norwood Press, 1915)

Trowbridge, Robertson, Forty-Eight Years: Anecdotes and Other Oddments Collected from Original Sources, 1884-1932 (New York: Privately Printed, 1937)

Twain, Mark, A Tramp Abroad (Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1880)

- , Selected Mark Twain-Howells Letters, 1872-1910, ed. Frederick Anderson, William M. Gibson, and Henry Nash Smith (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1967)

- , Mark Twain-Howells Letters: The Correspondence of Samuel L. Clemens and William D. Howells, 1872-1910, ed. Frederick Anderson, William M. Gibson, and Henry Nash Smith, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960)

Warner, Charles Dudley, A Roundabout Journey (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884)

- , Saunterings (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886)

Wight, Orlando Williams, Peoples and Countries Visited in a Winding Journey Around the World (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888)

Sherwood, Mary E. Wilson, Here and There and Everywhere: Reminiscences (Chicago: H.S. Stone, 1898)

Winchester, C. W., The Gospel of Foreign Travel (Rochester: Press of Democrat and Chronicle, 1891)

Wright, Louisa Stephens, Golden Adventure (Pasadena, CA: San Pasqual Books, 1941)

Chapter 5: Progressivism and Tourism, 1900-1914

Allen, Grant, The European Tour (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1900)

Baker, Ray Stannard, Seen in Germany (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1902)

Bell, Lilian Lida, Abroad with the Jimmies (Boston: L.C. Page, 1902)

Bolton, Charles Edward, Travels in Europe and America (New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1903)

Coe, Clarence Hamilton, A Southerner in Europe: Being Chiefly Some Old World Lessons for New World Needs as Set Forth in Fourteen Letters of Foreign Travel, (Raleigh, N.C.: Mutual Pub. Co., 1908)

Collier, Price, Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View (New York: C. Scribner=s Sons, 1913)

Cunningham, N.W., One Hundred and One Day Away (Bluffton, Ohio: Werner, 1908Foreman, Grant, A The Waterways of Europe,@ *Muskogee Phoenix*, Muskogee, (Oklahoma), Feb. 11, 1908.

Forman, Henry James, In the Footprints of Heine (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910)

Hatfield, James Taft, From Broom to Heather: A Summer in a German Castle (Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye, 1903)

Jones, Mary Cadwalader, European Travel for Women: Notes and Suggestions (New York: Macmillan, 1900)

Krehbeil, C.E., "The Passion Play at Oberammergau," *Mennonite Life* 35 (1980): 4-9

Lane, M.A. L., Northen Europe: Norway, Russia, The

Netherlands, France, Germany, and Switzerland (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1903)

Loew, Charles E., Reminiscences of the Nordland, or Glimpses of Scandinavia, Russia, Germany, and the Netherlands, (New York: D.T. Bass, 1910)

Merriwether, Lee, Seeing Europe by Automobile (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1911)

Middleton, George William, Diary of a Trip to Rome (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1908)

Murphy, Thomas Dowle, On Old-World Highways: A Book of Motor Rambles in France and Germany and the Record of a Pilgrimage from Land=s End to John O=Groats in Britain (Boston: L.C. Page, 1914)

Sherrick, Johnson, Letters of Travel: Journey in the Bermudas, England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France, 1894; in Mexico, 1896, in Canada, 1898; in Egypt, Holy Land, Turkey, Greece, Italy and France, 1900; in Morocco, Spain, Algiers, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Holland, Belgium and London, 1903 (n.p., 1903)

Scofield, Annie W., My First Trip Abroad (Stamford, CN.: R.H. Cunningham, 1906)

Stoddard, John L., John L. Stoddard's Lectures (Boston: Balch Bros., 1905)

Wharton, Edith, The Custom of the Country (New York: Scribner's, 1913)

- , A Backward Glance: The Autobiography of Edith Wharton (New York: Scribner=s, 1934; reprint New York: Scribner's, 1964)

- , Edith Wharton Abroad: Selected Travel Writings, 1888-1920, ed. Sarah Bird Wright. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995)

- , The Letters of Edith Wharton, ed. R.W.B. Lewis and Nancy Lewis (New York: Scribner's, 1988)

Wheeler, William Webb, The Other Side of the Earth (St. Joseph, MO: Combe Printing Co., 1913)

Whyte, John, John Whyte: His Life and Thought, ed. William R. Gaede and Daniel Coogan. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn College Press, 1954)

Wylie, Ida Alexa Ross, Rambles in the Black Forest (Boston: D. Estes, 1911)

Conclusion: The Rise and Decline of the Bucolic Bumbler

Allen, Henry Tureman, My Rhineland Journal (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923)

Blanton, Smiley, Diary of My Analysis with Sigmund Freud (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1971)

Bonsal, Stephen, Unfinished Business (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1944; London: M. Joseph, 1944)

Boyston, Helen Dore, "Sister": The War Diary of a Nurse (New York: I. Washburn, 1927)

- , Travels with Zenobia, by Rose Wilder Lane and Helen Dore Boylston, ed. William Holtz (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1983)

Bullitt, Ernesta Drinker, An Uncensored Diary from the Central Empires (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1917; London: S. Paul, 1918)

Dawes, Charles Gates, A Journal of Reparations (New York: Macmillan, 1939)

Dodd, William Edward, Ambassador Dodd's Diary, ed. William

E. Dodd, Jr. and Martha Dodd. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1941)

Dos Passos, John Roderigo, The Fourteenth Chronicle: Letters and Diaries of John Dos Passos, ed. Townsend Ludington (Boston: Gambit, 1973)

Gerard, James Watson, Face to Face With Kaiserism (New York: George H. Doran, 1918)

Hale, Betty May, My Trip to Europe (San Francisco: W. Kibbee and Son, 1938)

Halsey, Margaret, With Malice Toward Some (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1938)

Hood, Reid, "The Diary and Letters of a North Louisiana Doughboy," ed. Charles C. Chadboum, III., *North Louisiana Historical Association Journal* 6 (1975): 140-153

Houghton, Adelaide Louise Wellington, The London Years: The Diary of Adelaide Wellington Houghton (New York: Privately Printed at the Spine Press, 1963)

Keller, Helen, Helen Keller's Journal (London: M. Joseph, 1938; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1938)

Lindbergh, Anne Morrow, Bring Me a Unicorn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1972)

- , The Flower and the Nettle (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976)

Lindbergh, Charles Augustus, The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javanovich, 1970)

Patton, George Smith, The Patton Papers, ed. Martin Blumenson, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974)

Romanoff, Alexis Lawrence, Diaries Through War and Peace: One Life in Two Worlds (Ithaca, N.Y.: Ithaca Heritage Books, 1977)

Shirer, William Lawrence, Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent (New York: Knopf, 1941)

Straub, Elmer Frank, A Sergeant's Diary in the World War: The Diary of an Enlisted Member of the 150th Field Artillery Division *Indiana Historical Collections* 10 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1923)

Tudury, Henry Jetton, "The Diary of Henry Jetton Tudury:

Mississippi's Most Decorated Doughboy of World War I," ed. Charles Sullivan. *Journal of Mississippi History* 47 (1985): 308-318

Van Dyke, John Charles, Munich, Frankfort, Cassel; Critical Notes on the Old Pinacothek, the Staedel Institute, the Cassel Royal Gallery (New York: C. Scribner=s Sons, 1914)

Wilson, Hugh Robert, A Carreer Diplomat, the Third Chapter: The Third Reich, ed. Hugh R. Wilson, Jr. (New York: Vantage Press, 1961)

Wister, Owen, That I May Tell You: Journals and Letters of the Owen Wister Family, ed. Fanny K. Wister (Wayne, Pennsyl.: Haverford House, 1979)

Secondary Literature

Adams, Percy G., Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983)

Adler, Judith, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989): 7-29

Altschuler, Glenn C., Andrew D. White: Educator, Historian, Diplomat (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)

Anbinder, Tyler, Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Anderson, Benedict, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983)

Andrews, William L., To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760-1865 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986)

Angermann, Erich and Frings, M.L., Oceans Apart? Comparing Germany and the United States (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981)

Arms, Gorge, "Howells' Last Travel Book," *Old Northwest* 8 (1982): 131-155

Aron, Cindy S., Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Bainbridge, John, Another Way of Living: A Gallery of Americans Who Choose to Live in Europe (New York: 1969)

Baker, Russell, The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964)

Barbour, Brian M.(ed.), Benjamin Franklin: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1979)

Barclay, David E., and Glaser-Schmidt, Elizabeth, eds., Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America Since 1776 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Barish, Evelyn, Emerson in Italy (New York: Holt, 1989)

Barthold, Theodore Richard, AAssignment to Berlin: The Embassy of James W. Gerard, 1913-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1981)

Bates, James Leonard, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana: Law and Public Affairs from TR to FDR (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999)

Batten, Charles L., Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 225-31

Baym, Nina, "Melodramas of Beset Manhood," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 123-39

Beatty, Richmond Croom, Bayard Taylor: Laureate of the Gilded

Age (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936)

Bendixen, Alfred, Americans in Europe before 1865: A Study of the Travel Books (Chapel Hill: 1979)

Blackbourn, David, The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Blackmur, Richard P., Henry Adams, ed. Veronica A. Makowsky. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980)

Bode, Wiilhelm, Kurze Geschichte der Trinksitten und Mässigkeitsbestrebungen in Deutschland (Munich: J. F. Lehmann, 1896)

Bond, Brian, War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)

Boorstin, Daniel, The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1961)

Bordin, Ruth, Frances Willard: A Biography (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986)

Bourdieu, Pierre, Distinction: A Social Critic of the Judgement of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984)

Bowen, Frank C., A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930)

Bowman, Shearer, Masters and Lords: Mid-19th-Century U.S. Planters and Prussian Junkers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Boyd, Julian P., "John Sergeant's Mission to Europe for the Second Bank of the United States, 1816-1817," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* 58 (1933): 213-231

Boydston, Jeanne, Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Brackbill, Martin H., "Benjamin Herr: Traveler, 1760-1846," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 3 (1980): 19-23

Brenner, Peter J., Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1989)

- , Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise-und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991)

Bridgman, Richard, Traveling in Mark Twain (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1987)

Brodhead, Richard H., Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993)

Brooks, Van Wyck, The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760-1915 (New York: Dutton, 1958)

Brown, Gillian, Domestic Individualism: Imaging Self in Nineteenth-Century America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

Burnham, John C., Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in Ameican History (New York and London: New York University Press, 1993)

Burr, Frank A. and Hirton, Richard J., ALittle Phil@ and His Troopers. The Life of General Philip H. Sheridan: Its Romance and Reality: How an Humble Lad Reached the Head of an Army (Providence, R.I.: J.A. and R. A. Reid, 1888)

Busch, Moritz, Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History (St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press, 1971, c. 1898)

Butler, Charles, The American Gentleman (Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson, 1836)

Butler, Jon, Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990)

Buzzard, James, The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Caesar, Terry, "'Counting Cats in Zanzibar:' American Travel Abroad in American Travel Writing to 1914," *Prospects* 13 (1989): 95-134

- , Forgiving the Boundaries: Home as Abroad in American Travel Writing (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995)

Carl, Donald Walter, "An American Reporter and the Franco-Prussian War," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (1972): 480-488

Carlyle, Thomas, Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdrokh. (New York, Burt, [1836])

Carson, Gerald, The Polite American: A Wide-Angle View of Our More or Less Good Manners over 300 Years (New York: William Morrow, 1966)

Carter, Everett, "Europe in the Nineteenth-century American Mind: The Literary Perspectives," History of European Ideas 4 (1983): 257-274

Cerulo, Karen, A. Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a

Nation (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995)

Chalfant, Edward, Both Sides of the Ocean: A Biography of Henry Adams: His First Life, 1838-1862 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1982)

Chevigny, Bell Gale, The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writing (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1976)

Cohen, Eric, "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experience," *Sociology* 13 (1979): 179-201

- , "Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism," *Annlas of Tourism Research* 6 (1979): 18-35

- , "Toward a Sociology of International Tourism," *Social Research* 39 (1972): 164-82

- , "Who Is a Tourist?" *Sociological Reviews* 22 (1974): 527-55

Cole, Garold, "Travel Literature: Recent Articles of Bibiliographic Interest," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 38 (1981): 109-116

Cole, Richard, Cargill, John Singleton=s Grand Tour, 1815-1817 (New York: Peter Lang, 1988)

Coles, Robert, Black Writers Abroad: A Study of Black American Writers in Europe and Africa (New York: Garland Pub., 1999)

Conway, Moncure, Emerson at Home and Abroad (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882)

Cott, Nancy F., The Bonds of Womanhood: >Woman's Sphere= in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977)

Culler, Jonathan, "Semiotics of Tourism," *American Journal of Semiotics* 1 (1981): 127-40 1 (1981): 127-40

Curti, Merle, The Roots of American Loyalty (New York: Columbia Press University, 1946)

Dallek Robert K, Democrat and Diplomat: The Life of William E. Dodd (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968)

Davidson, David, "Looking for the Good Germans," *American Heritage* 33 (1982): 90-95

Degler, Carl, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980)

- , Out of Our Past (New York: Harper and Row, 1984)

Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., Books by American Travellers and Explorers from 1846 to 1900 (New York: G.P. Putnam=s Sons, 1920)

Depkat, Volker, Amerikabilder in politischen Diskurs deutscher

Zeitschriften, 1789-1830 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998)

Diehl, Carl, "Innocents Abroad: American Students in German Universities, 1810-1870," *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976): 321-342

Diehl, Carl, Americans and German Scholarship, 1770-1870 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978)

Diemer, James S., AThe European Novels of James Fenimore Cooper: A Study in the Evolution of Cooper's Social Criticism@ (Ph. D. diss., Northwest University, 1950)

Diner, Dan, America in the Eyes of the Germans: An Essay on Anti-Americanism (Princeton, N.J.: Marcus Wiener, 1996)

Doerries, Reinhard R., Imperial Challenge: Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1989)

Doob, Leonard W., Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundation (New Haven: Yale University Press,1964)

Douglas, Ann, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1988)

Dulles, Foster Rhea, Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of

European Travel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964)

- , "A Historical View of Americans Abroad," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 368 (1966): 11-20

Dumbauld, Edward, Thomas Jefferson, American Tourist: An Account of His Journeys in the United States of America, England, France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Germany (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946)

Earnest, Ernest Penne, Expatriates and Patriots: American Artists, Scholars, and Writers in Europe (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univesity Press, 1968)

Edwards, Julia, Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988)

Elias, Norbert, The Germans: Power Struggles and the Development of Habitus in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Ellis, John Tracy, John Lancaster Spalding (1840-1916), First Bishop of Peoria, American Educator (Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1961)

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, "Eine Theorie des Tourismus," in Einzelheiten (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1962)

Farrison, William Edward, William Wells Brown: Author and Reformer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969)

Faust, Albert Bernhardt, "Non-English Writings: German," in Cambridge History of American Literature IV (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1922)

Faust, Drew Gilpin, "A Slaveowner in a free Society: James Henry Hammond on the Grand Tour, 1836-1837," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 81 (1980): 189-206

Fiebig von Hase, Ragnhild, Lateinamerika als Konfliktherd der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1890-1903 (Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht,1986)

Fiedler, Leslie, "An American Abroad," *Partisan Review* 33 (1966): 77-91

[Fiske, S.W.], Mr Dunn Browne's Experiment in Foreign Parts (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1857)

Foster, Shirley, American Women Travelers to Europe in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele University Press, 1994)

Fredrickson George M., The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, c. 1965)

Freidel, Frank, Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947)

Fremdling, Rainer, Eisenbahnen und deutsches Wirtschaftswachstum, 1840-1879, (Dortmund: Gesellschaft für Westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1975)

Frowe, John, "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia," *October* 57 (Summer 1991): 125-48

Fussel, Paul, Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980)

Ganzel, Dewey, Mark Twain Abroad: The Cruise of the "Quaker City" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968)

Genini, Ronald, "California's Circumcyclist Extraordinaire," *Californians* 5 (1987): 22-27

Gilbert, G. M. "Stereotype Persistance and Change among College Students," in Kurt H. Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Klaus Jonas, Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen: Urteile und Vorurteile (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986).

Gower, Hershel, "Tennessee Writers Abroad, 1851: Henry Maney and Randal W. McGavock," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 26 (1967): 396-403

Graebner, William, ed., True Stories From the American Past: Volume 2: Since 1865 (New York et al: McGraw-Hill, 1997)

Grabert, Nelson H. H., "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," in Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism, ed. Valence L. Smith. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989)

Greer, Ann Lucille, "Early Development of Travel Books and Literature in America, 1825-1850" (Ph. D. diss., University of South California, 1955)

Hafen, Ann W., "Baptiste Charbonneau, 1805-1885," *Brand Book* 5 (December 1949): 1-17

Hamelian, Leo, ed., Ladies on the Loose: Women Travelers of the 18th and 19th Centuries (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981)

Handlin, Lilian, "Harvard and Göttingen, 1815-1820," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 95 (1983): 78.

Handlin, Lilian, George Bancroft: The Intellectual as Democrat (New York: Harper and Row, 1984)

Harris, James F., A Study in the Theory and Practice of German Liberalism: Eduard Lasker, 1829-1884 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984)

Haviland, Virginia, "The Terraqueous Globe," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 38 (1981): 229-241

Hawkins, Hugh, "Transatlantic Discipleship: Two American Biologists and their German Mentor," *Isis* 71 (1980): 197-210

Hemminghaus, Edgar Hugo, Mark Twain in Germany (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939)

Henderson, William O., The Rise of German Industrial Power, 1834-1914 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1975)

Henig, Gerald S., "A Marylander's Impressions of Europe During the Summer of 1854," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72 (1977): 226-237

Herwig, Holger H., Politics of Frustration: The United States and German Naval Planning, 1889-1941 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976)

Heuvel, Gerry van der, Crowns of Thorns and Glory: Mary Todd Lincoln and Varina Howell Davis: The Two First Ladies of the Civil War (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988)

Hitchcock, H. Wiley, Music in the United States (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000)

Honour, Hugh, The European Vision of America: A Special Exhibition to Honor the Bicentennial of the United States (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1975)

Hutton, Paul Andrew, Phil Sheridan and His Army (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1985)

Hyde, Francis E., Cunard and the North Atlantic, 1840-1973: A History of Shipping and Financial Management (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1975)

Jakle, John A., The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985)

Jantz, Harald, "German Thought and Literature in New England: A Preliminary Survey," *Journal of English Germanic Philology*, 41 (January, 1942): 15.

Jarausch, Konrad, "Perceptions," *Wilson Quarterly* 5 (1981): 56-65

Jarausch, Konrad, and Jones, Larry Eugene, eds., In Search of a Liberal Germany: Studies in the History of German Liberalism from 1789 to the Present, (New York: Berg, 1990)

Jordan, Donaldson and Pratt, Edwin, Europe and the American Civil War (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931)

Joseph, Richard, ed., Around the World with the Experts: An Anthology of the Society of American Travel Writers (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970)

Joslin, Katherine, ed., Wretched Exotic: Essays on Edith Wharton in Europe (New York: Peter Lang, 1993)

Kazal, Russell A., ABecoming AOld Stock@: The Waning of German-American Identity in Philadelphia, 1900-1930,@ (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1998; reproduced by UMI Dissertation Services, Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000)

Katz, D. and Braly, K.W., "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," in Kurt H. Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Klaus Jonas, Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen: Urteile und Vorurteile (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986).

Kelly, Robert, The Shaping of the American Past (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1982)

Kenney, Alice, ed., "Kate Gansevoort's Grand Tour," *New York History* 47 (1966): 343-361

Kerber, Linda, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 9-39

Killmer, Richard L., They Can't Go Home Again: The Story of America's Political Refugees (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1971)

Kimball, Marie Goebel, Jefferson: The Scene of Europe, 1784-1789 (New York: Coward-McCann, 1950)

Koenig, Duane, "The European World of Alvan Stewart, 1831," *Social Studies* 60 (1969): 23-33

Kolodny, Annette, The Land Before Her (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984)

Krause, Martin F., The Passage: Return of Indiana Painters from Germany, 1880-1905 (Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis Museum of Art, distributed by Indiana University Press, 1990)

LaFeber, Walter, The American Age: United State Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad since 1750 (New York: Norton, 1989)

Lammersdorf, Raimund, Anfänge einer Weltmacht: Theodore Roosevelt und die transatlantischen Beziehungen der USA, 1901-1909 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994)

Lanzinger, Klaus, Jason=s Voyage: The Search for the Old World in American Literature: A Study of Melville, Hawthorne, Henry James, and Thomas Wolfe (New York: Peter Lang, 1989)

Lears, Jackson, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture (New York: Pantheon, 1981)

Leed, Eric J., The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism (New York: Basic Books, 1991)

Leonard, Ira M. and Parmet, Robert D., American Nativism, 1830-1860 (Huntington: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1971)

Lerner, Gerda, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal*, 10 (Spring 1969): 5-15

Levi, Carlo, Christ Stopped at Eboli (New York: Penguin Books, 1948)

Levine, Lawrence W., Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988)

Lewis, R.W.B., Edith Wharton: A Biography (New York: Harper and Row, 1975)

Lockwood, Allison, Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981)

Long, Orie William, Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935)

MacCannell, Dean, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Schocken Books, 1989)

McKinstry, E. Richard, comp., Personal Accounts of Events, Travels, and Everyday Life in America: An Annotated Bibiliography (Winterthur, DL: Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, 1997)

MacShane, Frank, ed., The American in Europe: A Collection of Impressions Written by Americans from the Seventeenth Century to the Present (New York: Dutton, 1965)

McClellan, Charles E., "German Universities and American Scholars," *History of Education Quarterly* 20 (1980): 229-232

McKeithan, Daniel Morley, ed., Traveling with the Innocents Abroads: Mark Twain Original Reports from Report and the Holy Land (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959)

McPherson, James, Battle Cry for Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York and Chicago: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Marraro, Howard R., Philip Mazzei, Virginia's Agent in Europe: The Story of His Mission as Related in His Own Dispatches and Other Documents (New York: New Public Library, 1934)

Martin, Mary Ellen, "Salem on the Grand Tour," *Essex Institute*

Historical Collections 116 (1980): 1-20

Matthews, Glenna, The Rise of Public Women: Woman=s Power and Woman=s Place in the United States, 1630-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992)

May, Henry F., "Europe and the American Mind," *History of European Ideas* 5 (1984): 137-148

Marguerite Merington, ed., The Custer Story: The Life and Intimate Letters of General George A. Custer and His Wife Elizabeth (New York: Devin-Adair, 1950)

Metwalli, A. M., "Americans Abroad: The Popular Art of Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century," *Exploration* 4 (1976); also in *America: Exploration and Travel* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1979)

Michelman, Dorotheah, "Gold, Cotton, and Newsprint," *Lincoln Herald* 68 (1966): 190-198

Mills, Sara, Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism (New York: Routledge, 1991)

Morgan, H. Wayne, Kenyon Cox, 1856-1919: A Life in American Art (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1994)

Morris, John, ed., Exploring Stereotyped Images in Victorian and Twentieth-Century Literature and Society (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1993)

Morris, Roy, Sheridan: The Life and Wars of General Phil Sheridan (New York: Crown, 1992)

Morris, Walter J., "John Quincy Adams' German Librar, with a Catalog of his German Books," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 118 (September 1974): 321-333

Mulvey, Christopher, Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

- , Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo American Travel Literature (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Musselman, Ruth Ann, AAttitudes of American Travelers in Germany, 1815-1890: A Study in the Development of Some American Ideas@ (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1952)

Neuber, Wolfgang, Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der frühen Neuzeit (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991)

Nipperdey, Thomas, Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Nolan, Mary, Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Nugent, Walter, Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914, (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992)

Orlow, Dietrich, A History of Modern Germany, 1871 to Present (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, second edition, 1991)

Palmer, Beverly Wilson, "The American Identity and Europe: View of Emerson and Sumner," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 30 (1982): 74-86

Pankake, Marcia Jean, "Americans Abroad: A Bibiliographic Study of American Travel Literature, 1625-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1975)

Parrington, Vernon Louis, Main Currents in American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927)

Pauly, Thomas H., AThe Travel Sketch-book and the American Author: A Study of the European Travelogues of Irving, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Howells, and James@. (Ph.D. diss., University of California,

Berkeley, 1995)

Pemberton, Ralph, "American Students and German Medicine," *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 51 (?): 98-104

Pemble, John, The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Pessen, Edward, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1978)

Peterson, Walter F. and Arntz, Janet, eds., "An Innocent Abroad," *Annales of Iowa* 37 (1964): 388-397

Pisanti, Tommaso, "Ticknor in Europe," *Nuova Antologia* (Italy) 519 (1973): 46-52

Pochmann, Henry A., "Early German-American Journalistic Exchanges, 1818-1832," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 11 (1947-48): 161-179

Pommerin, Reiner, Der Kaiser und Amerika (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1986)

Popkin, Richard H., "Moses Mendelssohn and Francisco de

Miranda," *Jewish Social Studies* 40 (1978): 41-48

Porter, Dennis, Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991)

Porterfield, Allen W., "When Boston Took Up German," *German Quarterly* 22 (March 1949): 84-94

Potter, David M., AThe Historian=s Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa,@ in Potter, David M., The South and the Sectional Conflict (Baton Rouge, LA.: 1968): 34-83

Pratt, Mary Louise, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (New York: Routledge, 1992)

Price, Alan, The End of Innocence: Edith Wharton and the First World War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996)

Quick, Michael, An American Painter Abroad: Frank Duveneck=s European Years. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1987)

Rahv, Philipp (ed.), Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experiences in the Old World. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947)

Rapier, Regina, Felix Senac: Saga of Felix Senac, being the Legend and Biography of a Confederate Agent in Europe (Atlanta: n.p., 1972)

Remenyi, Joseph, "American Writers in Europe," *Georgia Review* 2 (1948): 461-465

Rempfer, Christian, "Reise nach Europa," *Heritage Review* 10 (1975): 17-36

Reynolds, Larry J., European Revolutions and the American Renaissance (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988)

Rorabaugh, W. J., The Alcolic Republic: An American Tradition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979)

Ross, Ishbel, The Expatriates (New York: Crowell, 1970)

Rubin-Dorsky, Jeffrey, Adrift in the Old World: The Psychological Pilgrimage of Washington Irving (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988)

Ryan, Mary P., Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge, GB: Cambridge

University Press, 1981)

- , Women in Public: between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990)

Salamone, A. William, "The Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy. An Essay in American Cultural History. Prolegomena to a Historiographical Problem," *The American Historical Review* 73 (1968): 1359-91

Schieber, Clara Eve, The Transformation of American Sentiment toward Germany, 1870-1914 (New York and Boston: Cornhill Pub.,1923)

Silverman, Kenneth, A Cultural History of the American Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976)

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century (New York: Urizen Book, 1979)

Schriber, Mary Suzanne, "Edith Wharton and Travel Writing as Self-Discovery," *American Literature* 59 (1987): 257-267

- , "Julia Ward Howe and the Travel Book," *New England Quarterly* 62 (1989): 264-79

- , Telling Travel: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century

American Women Abroad (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995)

- , "Women's Place in Travel Texts," in Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies, ed. Jack Salzman, vol. 20 (New YorK: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 161 - 79.

- , Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830-1920 (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1997)

Schrijvers, P.M.B., AThe Crash of Ruin: The American Combat Soldiers= Perception of the Old World at War, 1942-1945,@ 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1995)

Schröder, Hans-Jürgen, ed., Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the era of World War I, 1900-1924 (Providence, NJ: Berg Publishers, 1993)

Scott, Arthur Lincoln, "Mark Twain Looks at Europe," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 52 (1953): 399-413

Sharff, Virginia, Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1992)

Sheehan, James J., German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978)

- , AWhat is German History? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography,@ *Journal of Modern History* 53 (1981), 4-22

- , German History, 1770-1866 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

Sklar, Kathryn Kish, Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973)

Small, Melvin, "The American Image of Germany, 1906-1914," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1965)

Smith, Carl, "James' International Fiction: Sources and Evolution," *Centennial Review* 23 (1979): 397-422

Smith, Harold Frederick, ed., American Travelers Abroad: A Bibliography of Accounts Published Before 1900 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1999)

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America (New York: Knopf, 1985)

Smyth, William D., "A Southern Odyssey: South Carolinians Abroad in the 1850s," *Southern Studies* 23 (1984): 397-411

Solberg, Winton U., Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977)

Sontag, Raymond James, Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-94 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969)

Spiller, Robert E., The Americans in England During the First Half Century of Independence (New York: Henry Holt, 1926)

Spiller, Robert E. and Thorp, Willard et al, The Literary History of the United States (New York: MacMillan, 1963)

Steinbrink, Jeffrey, "Why the Innocents Went Abroad," *American Literary Realism* 16 (1983): 278-86

Stepto. Robert B., From Behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979)

Stern, Madeleine, The Life of Margaret Fuller (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1942)

Stewart, Leslie, "The Roving Eye," *Westways* 71 (1979): 32-36

Staél, Anne Louise Germaine de, De l'Allemagne (Paris: E. Flamarion, [1813]), American edition: (New York: Eastburn, Kirk, and Co.,

1814)

Stone, Albert E., "The Twichell Papers and Mark Twain's A Tramp Abroad," *Yale University Library Gazette* 29 (April 1955): 151-164

Stout, Janis P., The Journey Narrative in American Literature: Patterns and Departures (Westport, CN.: Greenwood, 1983)

Stowe, William, Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Strout, Cushing, The American Image of the Old World (New York: Harper and Row, 1963)

Taylor, Joshua C., "Malvina Hoffman," *American Art and Antiques* 2 (1979): 96-103

Tebbel, John, A History of Book Publishing in the United States. 4 vols. (New York: Bowker, 1972)

Tenney, Thomas A., "Mark Twain's Early Travels and the Travel Tradition in Literature," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971)

Theroux, Paul, Sunrise with Seamonsters (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985)

Thompson, Joseph Parrish, Church and State in the United States With an Appendix on the German Population. (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1873)

- . Dr. Manning and Germany: Speech of Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of Berlin, in the City Hall, Glasgow, October 7th, 1874 (n.p., 1874)

Tompkins, Jane, Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985)

Thwing, Charles Franklin, The American and the German University: One Hundred Years of History (New York: Macmillan, 1929)

Trommler, Frank and McVeigh, Joseph, eds., America and the Germans: An Assessment of Three-Hundred-Year History (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990)

Tyack, David B., George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967)

Tyrrell, Ian, Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Ante-bellum America, 1800-1860 (Westpoint, CN.: Greenwood Press, 1979)

Vagts, Alfred, Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik (New York: Macmillan, 1935)

- , AMark Twain at the Courts of the Emperors," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 9 (1964): 149-151

Vance, William L., America's Rome, 2 vols. (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1989)

Veblen, Thorstein, The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (New York: Viking Press, 1945)

Wagenaar, Dick, "The Knight and the Prisoner: Europe and America in the Fiction of Sinclair Lewis," *American Literature* 50 (May, 1978): 230-249

Wankmüller, Arnim, "German-American Links in 19th-century Pharmacy," *Pharmacy in History* 27 (1985): 162-165

Wayman, Dorothy G., Edward Sylvester Morse: A Biography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942)

Weisert, John Jacob, "John Ross Brown, Proto-Innocent in Germany," *American German Review* 25 (March 1959): 13-15

Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, AIndustrial Growth and Early German Imperialism,@ in Roger Owens, and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., Studies in the Theory of Imperialism (London: 1972): 72-92.

Welter, Barbara, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly, 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174

White, Hayden, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in the Nineteenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973)

Whorton, James C., Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reform (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982)

Wiebe, Robert H., The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion (New York: Vintage Books, 1984)

Wilson, Nona, Grand Tour: A Journey in the Tracks of the Age Aristocracy (New York: Dutton, 1937)

Winfrey, Dorman H., "Four Texans Tour Europe in 1910: A Look into the Journal of Auma Jon McFadin," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 58 (1982): 119-129

Wolter, Jürgen, ADie Helden der Nation: Yankee, Pionier und Indianer als rationale Stereotypen im amerikanischen Drama vor dem Bürgerkrieg,@ *Amerikastudien* 24 (1979): 246-263.

Woodhouse, Anne Felicity, "Nicholas Biddle in Europe, 1804-1807," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1979): 3-33

Woolard, Annette, "Nineteenth-Century Delawareans and the Grand Tour," *Delaware History* 22 (1987): 125-157

Wrobel, David, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old World to the New Deal (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993)

Zacharsiewicz, Waldemar, ed., Images of Central Europe in Travelogues and Fiction by North American Writers. (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1995)

Zboray, Ronald J., A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Zelinsky, Wilbur, Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundation of American Nationalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988)