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New perspectives on German-American educational history. Topics, trends, fields of research

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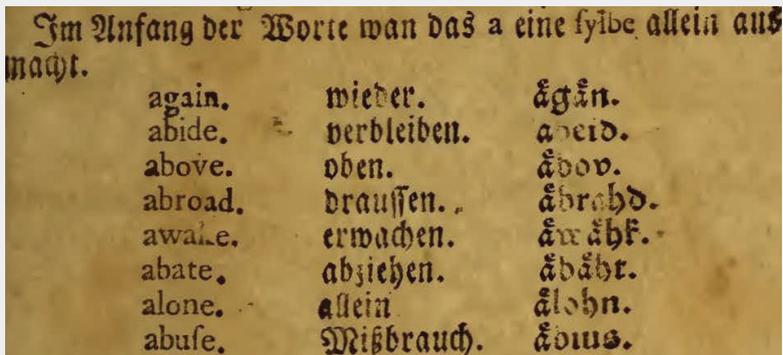
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Informationszentrum (IZ) Bildung
E-Mail: pedocs@dipf.de
Internet: www.pedocs.de

Studien zur Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bildungsgeschichte / Studies in German-American Educational History



Jürgen Overhoff
Anne Overbeck
(eds.)

New Perspectives on German-American Educational History

Topics, Trends, Fields of Research

Overhoff / Overbeck
New Perspectives on German-American
Educational History

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Acknowledgments

The history of the present book dates back to 2004 to 2007, when one of its editors, Jürgen Overhoff, was engaged in the DFG-funded project *Benjamin Franklins Philadelphia Academy und das Dessauer Philanthropin: Zwei Modelle überkonfessioneller Schulen in Amerika und Deutschland (1749-1793) im Vergleich* [Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Academy and the Dessau Philanthropine: A Comparison of Two Models of Non-Denominational Schooling in America and Germany (1749-1793)] carried out under the supervision of Prof. Hanno Schmitt (Potsdam) and Prof. Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): Over the course of this project, German-American educational history became clearly evident as an important subject of modern educational studies, deeply and distinctly rooted in the enlightenment period. Overhoff's introduction to the present volume could not have been written without referring to the most important results of the project and the role Benjamin Franklin played in that particular phase of the history of education.

The bulk of the articles assembled here, however, were initially drafted as papers delivered in the summer semester 2015 at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität (WWU) in Münster, Germany. The original talks – which have now been revised for publication – were then designed as contributions to the lecture series “German-American Educational History: Topics, Trends, Fields of Research” organized by the Arbeitsstelle für Deutsch-Amerikanische Bildungsgeschichte/Center for German-American Educational History, in collaboration with faculty from the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of the University of Pennsylvania. The Center for German-American Educational History was established in January 2014 at the Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft of the WWU. Thus, for the first time, an academic institution is dedicated entirely to exploring the conditions and processes of transatlantic educational history – from its beginnings in the eighteenth century up to the present.

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The editors

Jürgen Overhoff

New Perspectives on German-American Educational History: An Introduction

When a professional preoccupation with the history of education became a well-respected pursuit and a prolific sub-discipline of pedagogical and educational studies – arguably around the 1960s and early 1970s¹ – it was clear from the outset that this new field of research would only flourish and yield satisfactory results if regarded and treated as a truly international enterprise. In Europe as well as in America (and also later in Australia, Asia and Africa), the newly formed academic institutions, libraries or periodicals dedicated to the history of pedagogy and education were thus based on the widely shared assumption that historians of education would necessarily have to contribute to a transnational dialogue. Accordingly, one of the leading journals in the field, the trilingual *Paedagogica Historica* – first issued in 1961 – was subtitled an “international journal of the history of education”, and published papers in English, French and German.

The transnational perspective on the history of education bore rich fruit indeed. Today, in the age of globalization, we are used to a constant outpouring of comparative studies on the development of different educational systems and their mutual influences. A recent collection of essays on the history of education yields ample proof of this impressive state of the art. The peculiarities of the diverse educational traditions of the USA, China, Switzerland, Portugal and Mexico are almost self-evidently compared with each other² and it even seems entirely natural to scrutinize the “intertwined and parallel stories of educational history”³ of such different and distant countries as “Brazil and Turkey in the early twentieth century”⁴. Historians from a wide variety of countries around the globe have created and shaped the standards of an internationalized study of the history of education, together and in close cooperation.

However, looking back over half a century of intense international research on the history of education, it is notable that analyses of the remarkable influences of the

1 Cf. Manfred Heinemann, ed., *Die historische Pädagogik in Europa und in den USA*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett: 1985).

2 Cf. Thomas Popkewitz, ed., *Rethinking the History of Education. Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 51–199.

3 *Ibid.*, 109.

4 Mirian Jorge Warde, “Brazil and Turkey in the Early Twentieth Century: Intertwined and Parallel Stories of Educational History,” in *Rethinking the History of Education*, ed. Popkewitz, 109–131.

educational systems of Germany and the United States of America on one another play a particularly prominent role. They seem to have attracted a privileged and disproportionately large interest. Leading scholars from both sides of the Atlantic have regularly and repeatedly attempted to arrive at a richer and deeper understanding of the entangled and intertwined paths of German and American educational history. In order to illustrate this fascinating point, it is quite sufficient to list and name only the milestones of research on that special subject matter.

The primary results of the initial two decades of solid and painstaking research on German-American educational history were first incorporated and discussed in Dietrich Goldschmidt's pioneering and rather lengthy 1983 essay "Transatlantic Influences: History of Mutual Interactions between American and German Education"⁵. Goldschmidt, who was at the time professor of educational sociology at Berlin, described the mutual influences of the educational systems of Germany and the USA quite trenchantly as a singular and century-old "historical process"⁶, dating back to pre-revolutionary times. In spite of the gradual emancipation of the United States from Europe, American pedagogical thought and practice could not do without the reception and appropriate integration of ongoing impulses from the Old World, and these impulses "came not least of all", but "especially" from "Germany"⁷. Most notably, the quality and exemplary structure of German universities in the nineteenth century left an indelible mark on the development of American science and scholarship. On the other hand, a century later, in the post-1945 period, the United States played a major role in reorganizing the German educational system. All in all, as Goldschmidt concluded, the reciprocal influences of the United States and Germany on each other in educational matters were extensive, considerable and substantial, "both general, and specific"⁸, throughout the centuries.

Then, in 1995, the German Historical Institute at Washington, D. C., and Cambridge University Press joined forces in publishing a collection of articles capturing and depicting the latest state of research on German-American educational history, which had reached a new height and dimension by the mid-1990s. Jürgen Heideking, Professor of History at the University of Cologne, and Jürgen Herbst, Professor of educational policy studies at the University of Wisconsin – back then the foremost academics writing on the history of education, focusing on both the United States and Germany – acted together with Henry Geitz, Director of

5 Dietrich Goldschmidt, "Transatlantic Influences: History of Mutual Interactions between American and German Education," in *Between Elite and Mass Education. Education in the Federal Republic of Germany*, ed. Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung (New York, NY: State University of New York Press), 1–65.

6 *Ibid.*, 1.

7 *Ibid.*, 2.

8 *Ibid.*

the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, as the coeditors of this important venture.⁹ In his introduction to the new volume, Herbst confirmed that “throughout the last three decades”, that is, since the 1960s and 1970s, the “history of education” had “undergone a renaissance” or “revival” at a new methodological level and a grand international scale.¹⁰ Intriguingly, during that time, a great number of educational historians had placed a “special interest in the German influence on American education”¹¹ and shown an equally great regard for the mutual accommodations between Germany and the USA in educational matters. Glancing back at history, one could clearly observe that “the most significant interaction between Germany and the United States occurred in education, science and scholarship”¹².

Again it was stipulated, that this special German-American relationship had obviously begun in colonial times. One of the most distinguished contributors to the volume, the historian A. Gregg Roeber, could give convincing proof that “a comprehensive system of German education”¹³ – ranging from parish elementary schooling to university courses at the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia – was to be found in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. And Pennsylvania, as one should not forget, was the Mid-Atlantic colony later dubbed the “keystone state” of the USA. Konrad Jarausch, Professor of European Civilization at the University of North Carolina, then pointed out in one of the lengthier essays of the volume that thousands of American students had left the USA between 1815 and 1914 for Germany to take up their studies there.¹⁴ Consequently, and especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, it was “German models” more than other European ones that had exercised the “greatest impact” on the United States in stimulating an “American academic development”.¹⁵

In 1997, Herbst and Heideking went on to analyse German-American historical relations in the field of education, this time with a deliberate focus on the twentieth century. Together with Marc Depaepe, Professor of the history of educational psychology at the Belgian University of Leuven and chief-editor of *Paedagogica*

9 Cf. Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

10 Jürgen Herbst, “Introduction,” in *German Influences*, ed. Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, 2.

11 *Ibid.*, 17.

12 *Ibid.*

13 A. Gregg Roeber, “The von Mosheim Society and the Preservation of German Education and Culture in the New Republic, 1789–1813,” in *German Influences*, ed. Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, 157–176, here 157.

14 Konrad Jarausch, “American Students in Germany, 1815–1914: The Structure of German and U.S. Matriculants at Göttingen University,” in *German Influences*, ed. Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, 195–211.

15 *Ibid.*, 211.

Historica, they dedicated a multilingual volume of that international journal of the history of education to the topic of “Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States from World War I to the Cold War”.¹⁶ For Heideking, the unique quality and remarkable growth of “German-American relations in the field of education”¹⁷ – evident throughout the course of the twentieth century – reflected a sudden and dramatic change of the power structure in the Atlantic world, a change that first occurred around 1900.

Whereas, at the end of the nineteenth century, Germany was widely recognized as an educational, cultural, technological and scientific giant among the nations of Europe and beyond, the United States, despite rapid industrial expansion in the so-called Gilded Age, remained at the periphery of a political power system dominated by Europe. But slowly, just a few years after the turn of the century, the perception of the United States as an immature newcomer – in urgent need of being tutored by the culturally advanced and experienced Germans – gave way to a rapidly developing sense of American assertiveness and self-confidence, a new and strong belief in the almost limitless potential of a young and striving nation. German and American scholars conversed on equal terms. Yet this peaceful exchange of ideas grew into open confrontation as Germany and the USA became fierce rivals, first culturally, then on the military battlefield.

After the American victory over the Wilhelmine Empire, the US-government paved the way for the reintegration of German scholars into the international scientific community. And when Germany was defeated for a second time after the catastrophe of the “Third Reich” and World War II, Americans had an enormous impact on the institutions of the new democratic educational system of West Germany. In the concluding article of Heideking’s second volume on German-American educational history, the political scientist Paul-Ludwig Weinacht even built a bridge from the American influence of the post-World War period to the revolutionary changes that occurred in Eastern Europe and East Germany since 1989. He also described the repeated American attempts to reorganize the German educational system as a process of “Westernization”.¹⁸

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore – two distinguished Professors of German Studies and History, teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvan-

16 Jürgen Heideking, “Introduction. Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States from World War I to the Cold War,” *Paedagogica Historica* 33/1 (1997): 9.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Paul-Ludwig Weinacht, “Steps Toward Westernization in the German Educational System 1945 and 1989,” *Paedagogica Historica* 33/1 (1997): 351–367. The concept of “Westernization” was further developed and defined by Anselm Doering-Manteuffel. Cf. Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

nia – looked back over two hundred years of an intense and continuous “German-American Encounter” marked by both “conflict and cooperation”.¹⁹ In their representative collection of almost two dozen essays on that topic, they emphasized the important role of education. Trommler pointed to the fact that “Germans, the largest immigrant group in the United States”, contributed to shaping American society in a decisive way, as they left their mark especially on the area of “education”, whereas Americans had been instrumental in shaping the German democratic educational system “after World War II”.²⁰

Trommler’s co-editor Shore even went so far as to say that “no people” in the world had “more readily posed the question of what America is and how it acts in the world”, nor had a more difficult time finding a workable answer, “than Germans”.²¹ He also suggested that the German contribution to American history was more than just random, as it seemed deeply “woven into the fabric of America”.²² On the other hand, in the first half of the twentieth century, it was the American nation that brought down an eager and ever more aggressive Germany in war, “not once, but twice”²³, with the result that, in the post-1945 period, American cultural and educational values influenced the development of German cultural institutions, schools and universities to a hitherto inconceivable degree.

The most recent description of the educational history of Germany and America as a closely interwoven and important part of modern history was put forward in 2014 by Mark Roche – currently professor of German Language and Literature at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana – in his book on the history of the reciprocal influences of German and American universities.²⁴ Before Roche took up his position at Notre Dame, he had received several degrees from different universities in both the United States and in Germany. He then taught and researched regularly on both sides of the Atlantic. As an outstanding academic and expert in the German and American educational systems, he attempted to convey his deep conviction that the modern educational ideal of “academic freedom”²⁵ had its most devoted followers in Germany and America. This concept of academic freedom began to flourish at German universities during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. American colleges and universities then came to be

19 Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000* (New York: Berghahn, 2001).

20 Frank Trommler, “Introduction,” in *The German-American Encounter*, ed. Trommler and Shore, x.

21 Elliott Shore, “Introduction. A New View of the Nineteenth Century,” in *The German-American Encounter*, ed. Trommler and Shore, 4.

22 *Ibid.*, 5.

23 *Ibid.*, 17.

24 Mark Roche, *Was die deutschen Universitäten von den amerikanischen lernen können und was sie vermeiden sollten* (Hamburg: Meiner, 2014).

25 *Ibid.*, 30.

deeply impressed by it in the second half of the nineteenth century. Only because the two nations had been increasingly looking at each other's educational system with a steadily growing interest and mutual appreciation, was the newly founded elite university of Stanford so impressed with the German academic freedom that, at the turn of the twentieth century, it chose the German motto "Die Luft der Freiheit weht", which translates generally as "The Wind of Freedom Blows".²⁶ The motto is preserved in the seal of Stanford University, in its original German wording, up to this day. And according to Roche, German and American universities can still learn from each other's development and structures far more than from any other university system in the world.²⁷

It should have become clear by now that, since the 1960s and 1970s, generations of educational historians have felt attracted by and guided in their research by the complexity and quality of the mutual influences of the United States and Germany in the fields of education and schooling. For most of these scholars, it suffices to state that there was a special German-American relationship, but only few of these scholars tried to find out why German-American interaction in the sphere of education remained such a special affair for over three centuries – and why the analysis of German-American educational history ought to be regarded as of particular relevance for an international community of scholars and academics. It is not adequate simply to say that German mass migration to the United States heavily influenced the American educational system, or that American victory in two World Wars paved the way for the Americanization (or Westernization) of German schools and universities in the twentieth century. Important as these factors obviously are, they do not account for the whole story.

A helpful device for understanding the intensity and uniqueness of the unparalleled interaction between Germany and the United States in educational matters is to consider the suggestion – first proposed in 2000 by Daniel Fallon, the former chair of the Education Division at the Carnegie Corporation of New York – that it was the pedagogical theories and educational precepts of the age of "enlightenment"²⁸ that provided "a fertile seedbed"²⁹ and a constant point of reference for the educational systems of both Germany and America, at least during long and important stretches of their entangled history. In other words, there was "a genuine affinity of intellectual premise"³⁰ between German and American edu-

26 Cf. Gerhard Casper, "Die Luft der Freiheit weht – On and Off," (on the Origins and History of the Stanford Motto on October 5, 1995), accessed July 12, 2016. <http://web.stanford.edu/dept/pres-provost/president/speeches/951005dieluft.html>.

27 Roche, *Was die deutschen Universitäten*, 272.

28 Daniel Fallon, "German Influences on American Education," in *The German-American Encounter*, ed. Trommler and Shore, 77.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

cational thought since the groundbreaking eighteenth century, an epoch which was already styled by its contemporaries “the pedagogical century”³¹. Germans and Americans both cherished and practiced the enlightenment ideals of progress through science and self-improvement by learning and education, because they found themselves to be members – citizens or subjects – of the same rare kind of political order, namely a multi-confessional federal system with a highly diverse array of competing universities and schools. No other country in the eighteenth century had more universities (over 40) than the union of German states called the Holy Roman Empire³² – and the thirteen North American colonies did not fall far behind, as they all sought to establish their own colleges or universities. Already in 1793 and 1794, the renowned German professor of constitutional law, Carl Friedrich Häberlin, argued that the German Empire and the United States of America were comparable federal systems³³. Because of the enthusiastic “competition [Wetteifer]”³⁴ between the different states of a political union, especially in the field of education, Häberlin held that federal systems like Germany or the USA generated “more and better institutions of learning [mehrere und bessere Lehranstalten]”³⁵ than centralized states such as England or France. The literary historian Steffen Martus therefore recently emphasized, in his masterly study of the age of enlightenment, that the federal systems of the German Empire and the United States – with their remarkable measure of political³⁶

31 Johann Gottlieb Schummel, *Spitzbart, eine komisch-tragische Geschichte für unser pädagogisches Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Weyand, 1779).

32 An up-to-date interpretation of the Holy Roman Empire as a functioning union of states – with a wide variety of excellent universities – is provided by Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 2: *The Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the Reich, 1648–1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 522.

33 Carl Friedrich Häberlin, *Handbuch des Teutschen Staatsrechts nach dem System des Herrn Geheimen Justizrath Pütter* (Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1794), 123.

34 Carl Friedrich Häberlin, “Über die Güte der deutschen Staatsverfassung,” *Deutsche Monatsschrift* (January 1793): 32.

35 *Ibid.*, 31.

36 Since the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, Germany’s political constitution was securely established as a federal system, cf. Johannes Burkhardt, *Deutsche Geschichte in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München: C. H. Beck, 2009), esp. chapter VI “Der Westfälische Friede – die Vollendung der föderalen Reichsverfassung,” 67–78. The colonies of British North America also emerged in the course of the seventeenth century as a system of fairly independent entities, bound together by the overarching structure of the British Empire, cf. David Armitage, “The British Conception of Empire in the Eighteenth Century”, in *Imperium/Empire/Reich: Ein Konzept politischer Herrschaft im Deutsch-Britischen Vergleich*, ed. Franz Bosbach and Hermann Hiery (München: de Gruyter 1999), 94.

and religious³⁷ diversity – offered enlightenment thought a congenial and stimulating setting.³⁸

Fallon and Martus have argued to the point and their premises are aptly illustrated by an anecdote. In 1766, Benjamin Franklin, the founder of the University of Pennsylvania, went on an extended trip to Germany³⁹ to take a close look at the academic proceedings and courses of study at the Georgia Augusta of Göttingen, then one of the leading universities of Europe. The University of Göttingen was situated in the electorate of Hanover and had been founded in 1734 by the Hanoverian prime minister Gerlach Adolph von Münchhausen whom Franklin met. The American guest also talked to Johann Stephan Pütter, professor of constitutional law (and one of the teachers of Carl Friedrich Häberlin), and to Gottfried Achenwall, professor of European and American history, who wrote and published a rather lengthy report of their conversation.⁴⁰ Achenwall's report reveals that Franklin and the German professors talked in Göttingen (in the house of the Lutheran professor Johann David Michaelis) about federalism, enlightenment thought and the particular qualities and standards of German and American universities and colleges.

It is perhaps not surprising to note that a somewhat biased Franklin preferred his university in Pennsylvania to the colleges of Harvard, Massachusetts, or Yale, Connecticut, and that Pütter and Achenwall liked the Georgia Augusta better than the universities of Leipzig in the electorate of Saxony, or Halle in Brandenburg-Prussia. But what is really striking is Franklin's, Pütter's and Achenwall's common perception of German and American universities as the most challenging and progressive institutions of higher education in the eighteenth century⁴¹. When

37 That the religious diversity of a multi-confessional Germany caused competition in the field of education has been emphasized by Wolfgang Schmale, "Die Schule in Deutschland im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Revolution des Wissens? Europa und seine Schulen im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (1750–1825)*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale and Nan L. Dodde (Bochum: Dieter Winkler, 1991), 646.

38 Cf. Steffen Martus, *Aufklärung. Das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Epochenbild* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2015), 403. On the comparison between Germany and the United States cf. *ibid.*, 726–727.

39 Cf. Jürgen Overhoff, "Benjamin Franklin, Student of the Holy Roman Empire: His Summer Journey to Germany in 1766 and His Interest in the Empire's Federal Constitution," in *German Studies Review* 34/2 (May 2011): 277–286.

40 The report was first published in *Hannoversches Magazin* 5, 17tes, 18tes, 19tes, 31tes, 32tes Stück (February 27, March 2, March 6, April 17, April 20, 1767), 257–96; 482–508. In 1769 and 1777, two further versions of the text appeared in print. In this article I quote from: Gottfried Achenwall, *Einige Anmerkungen über Nord-Amerika und über dasige Grosbritannische Colonien* (Helmstedt: Kühnlin, 1777).

41 Cf. Jürgen Overhoff, "Gotthilf August Francke, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen and Benjamin Franklin: On the importance of the Paedagogium Regium in Halle for the Philadelphia Academy," in *Babel of the Atlantic: University Park*, ed. Bethany Wiggan, forthcoming.

Franklin visited the library of the University of Göttingen, he was impressed with its advanced cataloguing and lending system, the most modern of its kind⁴². The German professors, on the other hand, were stunned to learn from Franklin that in Philadelphia, there were no professors of theology. As there were many religious faiths in Pennsylvania, all enjoying equal rights and none dominating, theology was excluded from the syllabus.⁴³ Inasmuch as these “ideas from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment” obviously “penetrated” the curriculum of Franklin’s institution in Philadelphia,⁴⁴ that model institution – as Arthur Cohen recently argued – seems to have “presaged” the institution that eventually “epitomized” the American University in the nineteenth century.⁴⁵



Fig. 1: Plaque at the Michaelishaus in Göttingen, commemorating Franklin’s visit in 1766.

Franklin, Pütter and Achenwall agreed that federalism was the political system most likely to further academic excellence, scientific progress and enlightenment values. Decades before he became one of the founders of the United States of America, Franklin’s vision of North America was already that of a union of colonies within a British Empire conceived as a global federation of states, republics or commonwealths.⁴⁶ Pütter defined the German Empire as a “Staat, dessen einzelne Glieder wieder förmliche Staaten sind”⁴⁷, thus as a state composed of states. He

42 Cf. *Ibid.* Because of its pioneering cataloging systems and its large and regular financial income fixed by a generous state budget, the university library of Göttingen was soon considered one of the leading research libraries in Europe. Franklin’s visit to the library coincided with efforts in Philadelphia to raise additional funds in England, so as to increase the collection of their own library beyond its modest origins.

43 Overhoff, *Student of the Holy Roman Empire*, 277–286.

44 Arthur M. Cohen and Carrie B. Kisker, eds., *The Shaping of American Higher Education. Emergence and Growth of the Contemporary System*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 38.

45 Cohen and Kisker, *American Higher Education*, 25–26.

46 Cf. Carla Mulford, *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 344: “By the 1750s, Franklin recognized that the British colonies of North America could become a separate, powerful, confederated set of states within a network of similar colonial entities, all still part of the British Empire.”

47 Johann Stephan Pütter, *Historisch-politisches Handbuch von den besonderen Teutschen Staaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1758), IV.

emphasized that the various political units of the Holy Roman Empire – Saxony, Hanover, Hesse, Bavaria or Brandenburg – were not to be called provinces, but “förmlich [formally]” and really “Staaten [states],”⁴⁸ as their rank was perfectly equivalent to the status of the smaller European realms or republics. No other European body politic could be compared with the German States.⁴⁹

In 1813, one of Pütter’s most distinguished students famously repeated his teacher’s (and Franklin’s) assumptions concerning the correlation of federalism, enlightenment thought and good education. Wilhelm von Humboldt, who attended Pütter’s seminars and lectures in Göttingen between 1788 and 1790, emphasized that a federal system, a “union of states [Staatenverein]”⁵⁰, was preferable to a centralized state, because such a “division [Zerstückelung]” of one large state into several smaller ones was likely to promote the highest standards of learning, a great diversity of schools and a “plurality of education [Mannigfaltigkeit der Bildung]”.⁵¹ Already in 1792, Humboldt had noted that a “plurality” or variety of “situations” was the necessary precondition for “the highest and most harmonious development” of one’s faculties and powers “to a complete and considerable whole” as the true end of education⁵². Very rarely was the enlightenment educational ideal expressed in more vivid terms.⁵³

Humboldt’s ideal of an almost limitless process of learning – through students partaking in the most open-minded projects of research, conversing freely and sociably with their encouraging and well-meaning university teachers – soon became the educational goal of the university he founded in Berlin in 1810, an institution that came to be regarded as “a cornerstone of the modern era”.⁵⁴ Because Humboldt’s ideals were “steeped in the same philosophy of the Enlightenment” that had informed the political leaders of the early American republic such as “Benjamin Franklin” and the federalists “Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson

48 Ibid.

49 Cf. Ibid.

50 Wilhelm von Humboldt, “Denkschrift über die deutsche Verfassung. Dezember 1813,” in Wilhelm von Humboldts Politische Denkschriften, ed. Bruno Gebhardt, vol. 2 (1810–1813) (Berlin: Behr’s, 1903), 101.

51 Ibid.

52 Cf.: Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen* [1792]. Mit einem Nachwort von Robert Haerdter (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1967), 22: “Der wahre Zweck des Menschen – nicht der, welchen die wechselnde Neigung, sondern, welchen die ewig unveränderliche Vernunft ihm vorschreibt – ist die höchste und proportionierlichste Bildung seiner Kräfte zu einem Ganzen. Zu dieser Bildung ist Freiheit die erste und unerläßliche Bedingung. Allein außer der Freiheit erfordert die Entwicklung der menschlichen Kräfte noch etwas andres, obgleich mit der Freiheit eng Verbundenes: Mannigfaltigkeit der Situationen.”

53 Humboldt has been convincingly depicted as a true enlightenment thinker in Manfred Geier, ed., *Aufklärung. Das europäische Projekt* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2012), 364.

54 Fallon, “German Influences on American Education,” 78.

and James Madison”, Fallon argued that American scholars and university officials in the nineteenth century “developed an idealized model of the German university that they felt could readily be transplanted to American soil”.⁵⁵ Ironically – yet on the basis of available evidence – “no German university ever succeeded in adhering so faithfully to Humboldt’s ideals as the typical American research university”.⁵⁶ At the same time, the American university distanced itself from the old ideal of the British gentleman – a playful dilettantism of the upper class still cultivated at Oxford and Cambridge – leaning instead towards a much more professional and even “plebeian”⁵⁷ understanding of education for all through science.

Thus, with the exception of the first half of the twentieth century, when Germany entirely betrayed the enlightenment principles of education in the catastrophic years of the “Third Reich”⁵⁸, Americans and Germans often entertained similar educational ideals. These ideals date back to the eighteenth century when progress through self-improvement by learning and education seemed to be served best by competitive federal constitutions. Whoever therefore seeks to investigate the age of enlightenment, the time when the foundations of modernity were laid – and whoever wishes to understand and discuss the reception of enlightenment principles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – will certainly profit from a thorough knowledge of the intertwined educational histories of Germany and the United States. Accordingly, German-American educational history is an academic discipline of international eminence and importance, which is why so many excellent monographs and articles on that subject have appeared since the 1960s – when the history of education re-emerged as a modernized sub-discipline of international pedagogical and historical research.

Despite the availability of a great number of books, articles and other sound studies on this topic, further research – inviting us to look at German-American educational history from new and unusual perspectives – is ever evolving and new questions constantly need to be raised and addressed. The present volume therefore assembles original contributions by some of the leading scholars in the field. They cover three centuries of an intense German-American encounter, starting with the description of important aspects of German schools and educational ideals in colonial Pennsylvania, and summing the story up with a reflection on the preparations for the quincentennial commemoration of the Protestant Reformation on both sides of the Atlantic in 2017. The authors are affiliated with academic

55 *Ibid.*, 83.

56 *Ibid.*, 85.

57 Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 145.

58 The “Third Reich” was a totalitarian state which also destroyed the traditional federal system of the German States, cf. Albert Funk, *Kleine Geschichte des Föderalismus. Vom Fürstenbund zur Bundesrepublik* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), 287.

institutions in the United States and in Germany, and teach in the fields of history, educational studies, German and American studies, linguistics and theology. An international and interdisciplinary approach is therefore adopted throughout. Patrick M. Erben describes the educational efforts of the first generation of German immigrants in Pennsylvania during the first half of the eighteenth century. For the most part, they were well educated people with an advanced literacy culture. Like the English immigrants, they tried to pass on high literacy rates to America-born children by teaching them to read and to write in new school houses erected in all parts of the colony for precisely that purpose. Printers like Christoph Saur or Gotthard Armbrüster produced a large quantity of German books that found their readers both in the rural hinterland of the colonies, as well as in the cities and urban centers. But at the same time, as Erben highlights, these German American printers also published handbooks, dictionaries, primers, and glossaries specifically for German residents to acquire the English language and understand English legal and civic concepts of learning. This clearly indicates that many German immigrants sought to align themselves right from the time of their arrival in America with their English-speaking neighbors. Good education and mutual understanding was their common goal.

Bethany Wiggin tells us that in eighteenth century Pennsylvania, popular almanacs played an important role in educating the mass of readers in the striving colony. These almanacs were published in both English and German – by prominent printers such as Christoph Saur or Benjamin Franklin – dealing with a variety of everyday topics, such as literacy and health. But they also provided political education. Wiggin relates the story of a harsh conflict between the German printer Saur and his opponent Franklin, who held different opinions on the use of arms to backland claims against native peoples as well as French rivals. Most Germans were loyal to the pacifist principles of the Quaker William Penn, the colony's founder. It is remarkable to read about Saur styling Franklin as an intruder from Massachusetts who had no idea of how the German immigrants and their English Quaker friends had long established a unique tradition in Pennsylvania. Saur portrayed the Quaker colony as an American educational experiment where the exhortation to pacifism was valued more than the right to self-defense.

In the post-revolutionary period and especially in the nineteenth century, German immigrants to the United States were no longer staunch pacifists, as they were prepared to take up arms to fight for the new republican principles. Many of them supported the European revolutions of 1848 and – disappointed at the failed attempt to bring about democratic reforms in Germany – enlisted in the Union Army during the American Civil War. What did not change, however, was the profound respect for their German eighteenth century heroes such as Goethe and Schiller. As Heike Bungert points out, the efforts of the German Americans to further such highbrow 'Cultur' was rooted in the age of enlightenment – and

helping it evolve in the United States by education and schooling – could also encompass the joyful cultivation of rather down-to earth festivals (Volksfeste), such as beer festivals of a recognizably regional (Swabian or Bavarian) character. Thus, in the second half of the nineteenth century, reading Goethe and drinking beer in a festive mood were two quite different and yet cohesive facets of German-American educational history, nourishing the intellect as well as the soul.

After the Civil War, Germans remained important negotiators of ‘Bildung’ (a German term with a specific meaning that one cannot completely capture with the translation “education”) and ‘Cultur’. But additionally, in the late nineteenth century their understanding of science as ‘Wissenschaft’ became an ever more important and eventually indispensable concept in the process of creating the modern American research university. In his article on American intellectual life between 1870 and 1914 Frank Trommler argues, that a new and intense engagement with scientific thinking was seen in the so-called Gilded Age to be the prerequisite for developing leadership in research and science. It was during this period that Germany and the United States came to their closest intellectual contact in the realm of culture and education.

The climax of this intellectual encounter was the first German-American exchange agreement for professors of the universities of Berlin, Harvard and Columbia in the ten years immediately preceding the First World War. Charlotte Lerg portrays this first German-American professoral exchange program in meticulous detail, arguing that the two sides had different plans and ambitions. While the Germans wanted to exert a certain political influence, the American universities primarily sought international visibility and recognition. With the coming of the First World War, the situation changed rapidly. When war broke out in Europe in August 1914 and Germany invaded neutral Belgium, the academic exchange of the previous years was seen in a very different light. The term ‘Kultur’, as opposed to ‘culture’ or ‘civilization’ was quickly becoming a synonym for German Militarism and everything else that was unpleasant and even shocking about Germany. The recognition of Germany as a leader in scientific progress and educational reforms took a negative turn, and German language and culture, also part of the ethnic pride of German Americans, became the target of American nationalism throughout the United States. German-American culture suffered a dramatic setback from which it never fully recovered.

Anne Overbeck, however, questions the extent to which German-Americans really withdrew from the scene in the United States after 1917/18. While the First World War certainly terminated the blooming of German-American culture in the USA, German-Americans regained a considerable measure of respect and self-esteem in the 1920s. Overbeck traces the changes in the situation of German-Americans in Indianapolis, where a large community of German immigrants and their descendants had flourished and shaped the city’s character since the mid-

nineteenth century. One of the prominent German immigrants to Indianapolis was Clemens Vonnegut of Münster, the great-grandfather of the well-known writer Kurt Vonnegut Jr. who famously recalled his ancestor's coming to American shores in his "Autobiographical Collage" of 1981. Overbeck demonstrates that even after the First World War, German remained a widely taught subject in Indiana. The Indianapolis Academy of Music reclaimed its previous name 'Maennerchor' even in 1919 and German newspapers did not cease publication completely. Overbeck thus repudiates the theory of a complete eradication of German culture after 1917/18 as lacking in substance.

Precisely because German remained an important modern language of study in post-war United States, Goethe retained a preeminent place in the advanced American college curriculum. It was against this backdrop of routine curricular dominance that William Alfred Speck – since 1913 curator of Yale's newly acquired collection of Goetheana – set a rather extravagant reception of Goethe in motion at Yale. Simon Richter draws our attention to this extraordinary scholar, a son of German immigrants, who grew up in the small town of Haverstraw on the Hudson in the state of New York. As a boy, Speck attended Hoboken Academy, a school run largely by Germans, who sparked the young William's life-long admiration for Goethe. Shortly after his appointment as curator at Yale, he was also accorded a courtesy appointment as lecturer in the Yale German department. There he taught a course on Goethe's personality right through the 1920s until Speck died in 1928. Under Speck's guidance, Yale's collection of Goetheana grew from 6,000 to 10,000 items and became the largest Goethe collection outside of Germany.

When the Nazis took power and barbarically slandered Goethe's humanist legacy of enlightenment moral principles in his homeland after 1933, it was the US-American Army – with its allies from Britain, France and the Soviet Union – who defeated Nazi-Germany in 1945. Already in April of that year, all German schools were closed down according to the Directive to the Commander-in-Chief of United States Forces of Occupation JCS/1067. The American military authorities then started a program of reeducation which was intended to reintegrate Germany into the democratic and liberal culture it had so cruelly perverted in the period of the "Third Reich". Ewald Terhart emphasizes that US-American reeducation policy in post-1945 (West-)Germany focused on didactics, the theory and practice of teaching and learning at all levels. Even after the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, American models played a crucial role in the modernization and democratization of German didactics for several decades.

Johannes Bellmann then looks at the influence of the American educational reformer John Dewey – one of the leading representatives of the philosophy of pragmatism – and at the German educational debates of recent years. Bellmann examines the claim made by many leading German educational scientists that

Deweyan pragmatism was the philosophy behind the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), the worldwide study of 15-year-old school pupils' scholastic performance in mathematics, science, and reading. PISA was first performed in 2000 and measured problem-solving abilities and cognition in daily life. Bellmann points out that one can indeed detect Deweyan key concepts in the vocabulary of PISA – but then they are mostly used with a very different meaning. For example, PISA refers to 'participation' as the most important goal of education. For Dewey, however, 'participation' is not only a goal, but above all the medium in which education takes place. Bellmann therefore reminds us that the German-American encounter – like all human conversations – knew phases of severe misunderstanding and mistranslation.

Finally, Hartmut Lehmann offers a fascinating analysis of the diverse commemorations of the Protestant Reformation, both in the United States of America and in Germany in the jubilee years of 1817 and 1917, which he then compares with the planned celebrations of the quincentenary of the Reformation in 2017 on both sides of the Atlantic. As both the German and the American educational systems were strongly influenced by Protestant traditions of learning and schooling, it is instructive to learn how Martin Luther's historical achievements were (and still are) interpreted in the United States and in Germany since the early nineteenth century. Lehmann reminds us, that Goethe – the descendant of a prominent, solid and wealthy Lutheran family from the city of Frankfurt am Main – proposed in 1817 international celebrations in an ecumenical spirit, but no one paid attention to his bold proposal. Time will tell whether Goethe's call for ecumenical celebrations will strike a chord in Germany or America in 2017.

What also remains to be seen is whether the present volume, with its collection of diverse articles on German-American educational history, will stimulate further research on this important topic. Although the different contributions have touched upon many important aspects of an ongoing encounter covering more than three centuries, there is still, of course, much remaining to be researched. For example, the relationship between German and American universities between 1933 and 1945 is underexplored. After all, many students from the United States graduated from German universities during the "Third Reich" and it would be both useful and interesting to discover how they conceived their academic role, moral obligations and political responsibilities in these dark years.⁵⁹ Accordingly, more research on this particular aspect and many other facets of German-American educational history ought to be conducted in the near future.

59 Cf. Karl-Heinz Füssl, *Deutsch-amerikanischer Kulturaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert. Bildung – Wissenschaft – Politik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2004), 77.

Patrick M. Erben

“To Direct / My Loving Countrymans Defect”: Translingual Education in German-Speaking Pennsylvania, 1683–1760

English observers in colonial Pennsylvania claimed that German-speaking immigrants preserved their ignorance of English customs and laws by refusing to learn the English language. Furthermore, German migrants allegedly represented the most ignorant and poorly-educated segments of their society. Whereas social historians have proven the high literacy levels of German immigrants in colonial North America, few scholars have studied the community's efforts to learn English. This essay examines handbooks, dictionaries, primers, and glossaries published in North America specifically for German residents to learn English and understand English legal and civic concepts. Pennsylvania-German authors, educators, printers, and book sellers made available several English language works designed or imported for German immigrants in the province. Although these texts do not represent any statistical evidence of translingual literacy rates, they do reveal specific attempts among this immigrant community to gain linguistic competency in English.

Some time in the last decade of the seventeenth century, the early German immigrant leader and well-educated scholar-attorney Francis Daniel Pastorius sat at candlelight in his house in Germantown, the isolated outpost of German settlement in the New World – painstakingly translating the legal codes of the new province from English into German. Agent for the Pietist Frankfurt Land Company, Pastorius had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1683 as the vanguard of a German immigrant movement that he had no idea would eventually swell to proportions which – many observers like Benjamin Franklin and William Smith later feared – might endanger the integrity of the British Empire. Until his death in 1719, Pastorius's work translating the laws of the province into German and, vice versa, their petitions or grievances into English, became one of his most valuable services to his fellow settlers. Never published, Pastorius's legal translations (in German, notwithstanding their Latin titles) include *Leges Pennsilvaniae, h. e. The Great Law of the Province of Pennsilvania*, *Lex Pennsylvaniensis in Compendium redacta* and *Copia der Germantownischen Charters*. On the linguistic flipside, Pastorius also translated or formulated in English documents such as “Petition to Council for

a Road to Germantown” of November 18, 1701 and the “Germans’ Petition to John Evans for naturalization. May 15, 1706.”¹

Through this work, Pastorius mediated between two linguistically and culturally different groups. An entry in Pastorius’s “Bee-Hive” manuscript, his monumental commonplace-book and encyclopedia, reflected on the cultural implications of his translating and annotating English legal terms for the sake of the German immigrant community: “By adding [a] few lines I do expect No Briths [sic] by birth to teach, but to direct / My loving Countrymans (the Dutch’s) defect.” The “defect” Pastorius corrected was the Germans’ lack of familiarity with the English language and British jurisprudence. The legal volumes resulting from his dual capacities became textual emblems for Pastorius’s multiple communal roles and ability to mediate between identities and languages. He thus described himself as someone “Who English’d does himself to them [his fellow Germans] connect.” By acquiring the English language, Pastorius assumed an English cultural subjectivity and linked both groups. His use of the term “Dutch” – though an English misnomer for German immigrants – conveyed his personal and communal identity in English cultural parlance and made it intelligible for an English audience.²

Pastorius’s translingual participation in the flow of information and the construction of a colonial society consisting of multiple linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups helped the minority to become enfranchised and understood. Yet, in describing himself as “English’d” and his fellow Germans as having a “defect,” Pastorius established linguistic and cultural binaries that may eventually have led to Benjamin Franklin’s inglorious condemnation of German immigrants as stupid, boorish, und tractable. Did intelligent and educated German residents quickly assimilate to the English majority culture, while those holding on to their language and manners became increasingly isolated? This essay is an attempt to break the analytical limitations that the strict dichotomy between assimilation and resistance is still placing on our understanding and study of German and other non-English immigrant groups in colonial British America.³ In considering texts that

1 Francis Daniel Pastorius “Germans’ Petition to John Evans for naturalization. May 15, 1706” (MS, Misc. Papers of Philadelphia County, Am. 3841–f52 ½, Historical Society of Pennsylvania); “Leges Pennsylvaniae, h. e. The Great Law of the Province of Pennsylvania. 1690” (Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Abraham Cassel Collection, 1680–1893, Vol. 29); “Lex Pennsylvaniensis in Compendium redacta: h.e. The Great Law of Pennsylvania abridged for the particular use of Francis Daniel Pastorius. 1693” (Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Ms. Pastorius Papers, 1683–1719, Vol. 11).

2 Francis Daniel Pastorius, “Silvula Rhythmorum Germanopolitanorum, #48” [poetic miscellany], in “Francis Daniel Pastorius, His Hive, Melliothrophium Alvear or, Rusca Apium, Begun Anno Do[mi]ni or, in the year of Christian Account 1696” (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library: Special Collections, Ms. Codex 726).

3 In his 2013 book on German-American Broadside, for example, German scholar of Atlantic world history Hermann Wellenreuther argues that “precious few connections existed between the majority

prepared German residents for translingual contact with their English neighbors, I examine how such a mutual conversation between both groups might have taken place.

Measuring the translingual literacy of a heterogeneous German immigrant population may seem fruitless at first glance, especially given the imprecise method of counting signatures commonly used by social scientists to determine literacy rates. However, in this essay, I inspect the primers, grammars, dictionaries, and handbooks prepared specifically for German immigrants to learn the English language, customs, and laws, in order to gauge what kind of translingual abilities they acquired – if not mastered. I purposefully use the term “translingual” rather than “bilingual” or “multilingual,” in order to challenge the entrenched thesis that German immigrants lived in two separate linguistic and cultural worlds – with English governing the public world of business and politics and German the home and church. What, then, does the archive of translingual education in colonial Pennsylvania contain, and what are the questions we should ask in examining it? First, I would like to know what kind of competency or skill English-language handbooks for German settlers hoped their readers would gain. Were they basic or advanced, practical or intellectual, spiritual or secular? Moreover, what was the purpose of such translingual competency – business communication, cultural exchange, religious harmony, political enfranchisement, and, ultimately, acceptance? Or was it the transformation of an alien people into something more akin to the Anglo-Protestant majority? How were German immigrants to acquire such skills, and what means or methods did these texts offer? And ultimately, was the assimilation of self and culture into an English subjectivity still the endgame of such translingual measures. Or was there ever the possibility of a “middle ground,” an unstable but energetic space where German immigrants could be both comfortable in their own words and yet highly capable in English? In a political sense, what was more destabilizing or dangerous to the powers-that-be: a monolingual and allegedly ignorant or a translingual and civically competent German immigrant populace?

According to Benjamin Franklin’s assessment in a letter written in 1753 to Peter Collinson in England, both prospects seemed equally frightening. Although he dubbed the German immigrants “the most stupid of their own nation” and claimed that it was “almost impossible to remove any prejudices they once entertain,” he nevertheless described an advanced literacy culture:

of Germans and their surrounding American neighbors. At least as far as their cultural and religious interests were concerned, the two societies lived side by side, but without significant contact.” Hermann Wellenreuther, *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broad-sides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 10.

[T]hey import many Books from Germany; and of the six printing houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English; They have one German News-paper, and one half German Advertisements intended to be general are now printed in Dutch and English; the Signs in our Streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German.⁴

Franklin's exasperated description prompts us to ask what was at stake in the language question in colonial Pennsylvania. Was it education per se – regardless of the language in which it was conveyed – or was it linguistic and cultural hegemony? Did the bilingual competencies, signs, and print outlets threaten British imperial and English cultural power more than an altogether ignorant or simply monolingual German immigrant populace? Did the bilingualism in public life hint at a greater integration of English and German life and language, or did it merely indicate a split system, with each contingent working side by side without much connectivity?

Before assessing the translanguing literacy of German immigrants and settlers in the colony, it is important to be aware of what we know about their monolingual competencies in reading and writing, i.e. how literate they were in German – both at their initial debarkation to the New World and in subsequent generations. After all, immigrants with a low literacy rate and poor command of their mother tongue would most likely encounter problems gaining competency in another language. The foremost scholar on the topic of literacy rates among German immigrants in colonial Pennsylvania, Farley Grubb, has drawn several significant conclusions. Using a non-linear model, he found high immigrant literacy among the new arrivals, surpassing literacy rates in Germany. Among German and English immigrants alike, a dip in literacy among the next generation resulted from the difficulties these immigrants experienced in passing on high literacy rates to their American-born children. In the long run, however, literacy rose again in subsequent generations. Grubb argues that “German immigrants contributed to the general superiority of colonial literacy compared with literacy levels in Europe,” with German immigrants “approaching universal literacy” by the time of the American Revolution.⁵ Grubb's research reveals that not all Germans were simple farmers

4 Benjamin Franklin, “To Peter Collinson, Philadelphia, May 9, 1753”, in *The Papers of Franklin*, vol. 4, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 484.

5 Farley Grubb, “German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1790 to 1820,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (1990): 428–431, 429. For additional scholarship by Grubb on the topic of German immigrant literacy in colonial America, see Farley Grubb, “Growth of Literacy in Colonial America: Longitudinal Patterns, Economic Models, and the Direction of Future Research,” *Social Science History* 14.4 (1990): 451–482 and Farley Grubb, “Colonial Immigrant Literacy: An Economic Analysis Of Pennsylvania-German Evidence, 1727–1775,” *Explorations In Economic History* 24.1 (1987): 63–76.

and that among the non-agricultural workforce, German immigrants were in fact more skilled than their English-speaking counterparts.

Given these results, why did mid-eighteenth century English observers deride German immigrants for their alleged ignorance and lack of interest in literacy? One of the reasons, may not reside in the awkward otherness and guttural language of the German immigrants, but rather in colonial Englishmen's own feelings of inadequacy compared to elites in Europe. According to historian Paul Longmore, eighteenth-century British colonials shared a concern over their potential linguistic corruption, thus spurring a standardization movement that was supposed to promote "purity, propriety, and politeness." Creating an "efficient and profitable management of the expanding empire, from its core to its contiguous peripheries and overseas extension," Longmore explains, required "a stable, variation-free" consistently written medium. Writers on the periphery – like David Hume in Scotland and Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia – "exerted [themselves] to match up to the dominant literary standard and accepted English linguistic and literary hegemony as appropriate." The context of the linguistic standardization movement among English speakers may explain the dual anxieties over both German-English bilingualism as well as German monolingualism. While the latter allegedly plunged the Germans into a linguistic no-man's land and thus beyond the control of English-speaking leaders, the former threatened to corrupt the English language through mixing and blending. One British traveler, according to Longmore, complained about "such a medley of Dutch and English as would have tired a horse."⁶ Translingualism, in other words, endangered the intensifying English pursuit of linguistic uniformity and purity as an expression of imperial control, because it was not always recognizable as fully alien, yet it was surely never truly British either.

From an imperial perspective, English language instruction for German immigrants in North America, therefore, faced an almost impossible task. It had to transform German migrants into proper British citizens and at the same time, prevent them from corrupting English and Englishness in return. Could one really teach Germans and other foreign immigrants English, without by extension validating those foreign elements in a kind of bilingual or dialogic mutuality or conversation? On the flipside, could Germans ever hope to gain an acceptable level of competency in English, while being judged by harsh arbiters of linguistic purity? For early German immigrants sharing with English Quakers the desire to build a religious utopia in Pennsylvania, common spiritual principles – such as the emphasis on personal piety – offered linkages across linguistic differences. As

6 Paul K. Longmore, "'They [...] Speak Better English Than the English Do': Colonialism and the Origins of National Linguistic Standardization in America," *Early American Literature* 40/2 (2005): 279–314.

a German Pietist living in an English Quaker community, Pastorius deployed his linguistic acumen to harness language instruction for the sake of common moral and religious goals.

The first English-language book printed in America specifically for non-British immigrants, therefore, was Pastorius's primer, whose long title reveals much about its purpose: *A New Primmer or Methodical Directions To attain the True Spelling, Reading & Writing of ENGLISH. Whereunto are added, some things Necessary & Useful both for the Youth of this Province, and likewise for those, who from forreign [sic] Countries and Nations come to settle amongst us.*⁷ Pastorius's work was modeled in part on Quaker founder George Fox's own primer, *Instructions for Right-Spelling, and Plain Directions for Reading and Writing True English* (Re-printed in Philadelphia by Reinier Jansen, 1702). Jennifer Monaghan, leading scholar on literacy education in early America, calls both primers “doctrinal works” and “steeped in Christian devotional material.”⁸ Pastorius's work, therefore, is legitimized by its monolingual framework, its deference to Fox and embrace of Quaker religiosity, and even the apparent disavowal of his own German roots.

Does any feature of his primer have a specific quality that prepared foreign immigrant readers, as the title claimed, for their translingual experience? Pastorius first introduced the alphabet in two fonts, Roman and (what he calls) “old English” (presumably catering to German and Dutch readers accustomed to Gothic type), and it paid specific attention to pronunciation by listing vowels, consonants, and diphthongs separately. Pastorius then transitioned to words with one, two, three, or more syllables, thus breaking down language into more digestible units. Perhaps due to Pastorius's elite university training, he included words such as “exti-pate” or “de-cla-ma-to-ry,” whose Latinate origins hardly seem appropriate for early Pennsylvania. After “a few OBSERVATIONS for the very Novices, Readers & Writers” in English pronunciation, he lists abbreviations, rules for punctuation, the names and order of books in the Bible, and the “General and Particular DUTIES of True CHRISTIANS,” which exemplifies the Quaker desire to cleanse all language of vanity. The next section would have been potentially useful for non-English speakers, an “Alphabetical Collection of Words, which are almost the same Sound, yet differ in Sense and Orthography,” followed by a sort of dictionary explaining some “difficult Words.”

Although Pastorius's primer could have appealed to foreign learners of English, it is ultimately calibrated to submerge differences in a pool of shared spirituality.

7 Francis Daniel Pastorius, *A New Primmer or Methodical Directions To attain the True Spelling, Reading & Writing of ENGLISH. Whereunto are added, some things Necessary & Useful both for the Youth of this Province, and likewise for those, who from foreine Countries and Nations come to settle amongst us* (New York: William Bradford, 1698).

8 Jennifer E. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 93–94.

Pastorius is more interested in deeper meanings of language than the basic structures of reading and writing. He pays little attention to the particular problems that non-English speakers would have encountered in acquiring the language. Having converted to Quakerism and immersing himself in the majority language of his new home, Pastorius bypasses language difference by relating everything back to a metaphysical, non-linguistic reality. Pastorius's refocusing of his linguistic identity with respect to English, therefore, ultimately stemmed from two causes. For one, he inhabited and represented a moment of great utopian excitement about the transformative possibilities of Penn's "holy experiment." He thus linked English to a common spiritual and civic purpose, rather than a language of conquest and imperial dominance. Also, Pastorius came to Pennsylvania without a large-scale stream of immigrants to enforce the status of the German language in the province. In the following decades, however, literacy education in the German language among immigrants began to thrive, as many waves of Pietist, Anabaptist, and then Lutheran and Reformed settlers established themselves in far greater numbers during the 1720s, 30s, and 40s. In the 1750s, moreover, mounting imperial tensions leading up to the French and Indian War brought to the forefront questions over German immigrant allegiance, especially in defending an unprotected province from attacks and warding off an alleged French infiltration of unsuspecting Germans on the frontier.

In this context, the inability of many German immigrants to fully comprehend English political discourse suddenly became of paramount importance. Although Franklin's comments about the influence of German language and culture are certainly the more notorious examples, they are not the only voices in a growing chorus concerned with German immigrants' supposed lack of translangual competencies. In New York, Chief Justice James De Lancey was confident that

in a few years all foreign languages will go out and English will prevail, as it can be observed among the youth of foreign nationalities that they are forgetting their mother tongue and learning English without compulsion.⁹

Yet in Pennsylvania, English commentators were less convinced of the immigrants' voluntary assimilation. Governor James Hamilton remarked in 1753 that everything would be in good order if the Germans would just learn English and English law, but

these people do neither, nor will they for some time to come [...]. The Germans, from being the most abject Slaves at home are upon their coming hither more licentious and impatient of a just government than any others, in conse-

⁹ Quoted in A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 21.

quence thereof we may allways [sic] see the most turbulent and seditious of the people chosen into the assembly.¹⁰

Though no evidence of such recalcitrance and seditiousness on the part of German immigrants was evident (except for their stalwart support of the Quaker Party in the provincial assembly), German immigrants in Pennsylvania increasingly developed a public print culture championing the German language. For example, the first Pennsylvania-German printer Christoph Saur established a newspaper titled *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, Oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten, aus dem Natur-und Kirchen-Reich* (High-German Pennsylvanian Chronicle, or: Collection of Important News, from the Secular and Spiritual Kingdom), and issued a host of other German-language publications, including the first Bible published in a European language in the British colonies, as well as a highly successful almanac. Saur’s world of German language printing in some ways created an internal counter-empire that pitted a self-consciously German immigrant discourse of pacifism, anti-imperialism, anti-clericalism, and radical religious freedom against an increasing movement away from the core values of the Quaker founders emerging at that time in English-language politics. For English observers, Saur’s publications cemented the assumption that German immigrants stubbornly insisted on their own language and refused to assimilate an Anglophone imperial culture.

Though the stage seemed set for a confrontation along linguistic and proto-national lines, in reality, German speakers tried to accommodate themselves to the new language and legal system, often by creating a kind of hybrid language that included English terms that simply lacked a direct referent in German law and customs. For example, Saur’s various publications preferred Anglicisms such as the usage of “Layer” [sic] instead of the then current German “ein Advocat” or “Fairen” instead of “Märkte.” According to historian Gregg Roeber,

[t]he language that Saur helped to perpetuate, and to which he helped to give authoritative stature, mixed German and English terms, creating a hybrid form that reflected where penetration of English into German daily life was most difficult: areas having to do with the law of property.¹¹

Roeber interprets the incorporation of those terms into Saur’s publications as a capitulation to the incompatibility between the referents or concept in German and English, with Saur simply recording the clumsy German oral adaptation of English words, without actually using the proper translation. Yet one could also read these derivations as a flexible way for German immigrants to deal with the

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 198.

incommensurability of some social and cultural experiences; the incorporation of English signifiers into their own spoken language may therefore, also be a sign of strength and self-confidence.

Yet, Saur did not simply cater to the adaptations and lexical interferences in the speech patterns of fellow German immigrant readers. In 1751, he printed *Eine Nützliche Anweisung oder Beyhülfe vor die Teutschen um Englisch zu lernen* (A practical instruction or aid for Germans to learn English), which became the most popular guide to learning English for German immigrants in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was reissued by Saur's son in 1762 and 1772, by Peter Leibert in 1792, and by Henry Sweitzer in 1805. According to bibliographer Charles Evans, it was most likely Christopher Jr. who compiled the work.¹² Not a linguist, Saur revealed in his own preface that he had gleaned the rules included in his textbook from the *Grammatica Anglicana Critica, oder Versuch einer vollkommenen Grammatic der englischen Sprache*, published by Thomas Lediard in Hamburg in 1726. Lediard was a British diplomat who had spent many years in Hamburg studying German. Yet, Saur's *Nützliche Anweisung* is not a reprint of Lediard's work, but a sophisticated testament to Saur's knowledge of the needs and sensibilities of Pennsylvania Germans. Saur's preface explained specific challenges for Germans learning English and outlined his approach. He argued that pronunciation was the most difficult beginning for Germans:

Gleichwie aller Anfang schwer ist, also so gehet es auch vielen Teutschen mit der Englischen Sprache, zumahlen wann sie auch wollen Englisch lesen lernen; dann im Teutschen werden alle Buchstaben im A.B.C. und im Lesen ausgesprochen wie sie lauten. [...] Im Englischen aber hat oft ein Buchstabe viererley Thon, zum Exempel; das a lautet bald wie ä, bald wie e, bald wie a, bald wie o: Und so ist schier kein Englischer Buchstabe der in allen Worten einerley Thon und Laut hat. Wer sich nun eines Buchs bedienen will zur Englischen Sprache, der muß voererst lernen wie die Buchstaben im A.B.C. heissen und genennet werden: Hernach auf wie manche Weise sie ausgesprochen werden, und wann er dieses wohl gefaßt hat, so muß er nach der Englischen Aussprache lesen lernen.¹³

12 Christoph Saur II, comp., *Eine Nützliche Anweisung oder Beyhülfe vor die Teutschen um Englisch zu lernen: wie es vor Neu-Ankommende und andere im Land geborne Land- und Handwerksleute, welche der Englischen Sprache erfahrne und geübte Schulmeister und Praeceptores ermangeln, vor das bequemste erachtet worden; mit ihrer gewöhnlichen Arbeit und Werkzeugen erläutert. Nebst einer Grammatic, vor diejenigen, welche in andern Sprachen und deren Fundamenten erfahren sind* (Germantown: Saur, 1751).

13 Ibid., i. "Just as all beginnings are difficult, Germans experience the same thing with the English language, especially if they also want to learn how to read English, because in German, all letters of the alphabet and in reading are pronounced as they sound. In English, however, a letter often has many different sounds, for example: the 'a' sometimes sounds like an 'ä,' at other times as an 'e' or 'a' or 'o': And thus, there are hardly any English letters that have in all words the same sound.

Saur’s *Nützliche Anweisung* next covers the English letters and their pronunciation, followed by a separate section for each letter and rules for its pronunciation in different consonant combinations. His examples are always listed in three columns, with the English on the left, the German translation in the middle, and the phonetic transcriptions (using German letters and phonetic rules) on the right. Although Lediard had already used this technique in his grammar, it had a different, more directly experiential meaning for Pennsylvania-Germans living close to and experiencing frequent exchanges with English speakers. The phonetic transcription validated the immigrants’ oral experience and bridged the seemingly incompatible gap between the ways in which German and English people pronounced certain letters. The limitations of learning from the phonetic transcription, however, become apparent when one imagines a German immigrant using Saur’s transcriptions, especially piecemeal, i.e. focusing on one vowel at a time. For example, in the section on English words beginning with the letter “A,” Saur lists:

Im Anfang der Worte wan das a eine sylbe allein ausmacht.¹⁴

Again	wieder.	Ägän.
Abide.	Verbleiben	abeid.
Above.	Oben.	Äbov.
Abroad.	Draussen.	Äbrohd.
Awake.	Erwachen.	Äwähk.
Abate.	Abziehen.	Äbäht.
Alone.	Allein.	Älohn.
Abuse.	Mißbrauch.	Äbius. ¹⁵

While focusing on reading/pronouncing the initial “a” as its own, separate syllable, Saur does not comment on the quality of the other vowels in the words, e.g. whether the “o” in “above” is open or rather closed like the German “o.” Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Saur’s phonetic transcriptions and accompanying explanations reflect years of his own experience, struggling with the English language and potentially awkward, humorous, or dangerous confusion of words based on erroneous pronunciations. They reflect concrete interactions and potential confusions between German immigrants and their English-speaking neighbors in Pennsylvania.

Anyone who wants to use a handbook of the English language first has to learn what the letters of the alphabet are called and named and afterwards, how they are pronounced, and when he has grasped this, he must learn to read with the correct English pronunciation.” (All translations are by the author, unless noted otherwise.)

14 “At the beginning of words, when the ‘a’ constitutes a syllable by itself.” *Ibid.*, 5.

15 *Ibid.*, 5.

After covering peculiarities in English pronunciation for all letters of the alphabet, Saur provides some revealing advice concerning the oral performance of English for native Germans. He especially advises Germans not to pronounce English with a “full throat” as the Germans are wont to do, but to pay attention to the ways in which English speakers “speak only with their lips and have a gentle pronunciation.” Clearly, Saur was concerned with the way German immigrants were perceived by their English neighbors. Intonation and tone, he realized, could contribute to cultural misunderstandings and brand German settlers as boorish, simply through the sound of their voices.

Next, the book advises readers to distinguish between short and long syllables, and finally to avoid speaking too fast or too slow. Similar to Pastorius, Saur includes a list of homophones or words with almost identical sounds that could cause great confusion among foreign speakers, but unlike Pastorius, he adds phonetic transcriptions. A large section of the text is also taken up by a dictionary of common words, using the nomenclature principle, i.e. it establishes a taxonomy following areas of common concern or everyday use. The linguistic portion of the book concludes with a roughly 80-page grammar that is deliberately at the back, as it would most likely have been the least interesting for most Pennsylvania Germans seeking help with their day-to-day communication among English speakers.

Finally, Saur’s book added a section that most specifically appealed to Pennsylvania Germans, whether they were Pietists, Anabaptists, or orthodox “church people.” Similar to Pastorius’s “primer,” the text provides moral instruction in a section entitled “Eine kurtze Anleitung vor die Jugend/A short Manueduction for Young Folks.” A long line of moral precepts is given in both English and German, such as:

O Mensch! Siehe, wie theuer du erkauffet bist und erlöset, nehmlich, durch das Blut des Sohns Gottes selbst; des unbefleckten Lammes!

Behold Oh Man! By what a Price thou art bought and redeemed, viz: with the Blood of the Son, the Lamb of God without blamish [sic].¹⁶

Equally appealing to pious German immigrants were the phonetic transcriptions of the Lord’s Prayer, the Articles of Belief, and the Ten Commandments. Similarly grounded is the inclusion of a hymn that was popular with Pietists, Philipp Nicolai’s “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgen-stern” (“How Brightly Shines the Morning Star”) and a reading recommendation: Saur advised readers who owned a German translation of John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* also to acquire an English copy of the same book and read it comparatively. The Ephrata and the Saur presses printed Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* in 1755 in German translation as *Eines Christen*

¹⁶ Ibid., 152.

Reise Nach der seeligen Ewigkeit, thus enabling the kind of comparative readings Saur had recommended.

In sum, several factors may account for the popularity of Saur’s *Nützliche Anweisung* (beside the fact that he had already built a print distribution network that extended across German settlements from Maine to Georgia). Most importantly, Saur did not assume that German immigrants had difficulties speaking English because they refused to learn the language, but because of specific phonetic and grammatical differences. Thus, his textbook does not include any patronizing language, which would imply the (supposed) crudeness of German. The structure and focus of the book revolved around oral communication and thus followed the social contexts in which German immigrants would profit from some command of English. Skills are scaffolded, from a basic knowledge of pronunciation to reading words and complete sentences, vocabulary, grammatical rules, and, finally, comprehension of devotional and religious texts. As the timing of Saur’s publication coincided with rising criticism of German speakers in Pennsylvania, one could certainly argue that he merely reacted to adverse opinion, rather than proactively fostering translingual skills among his readers. Nevertheless, his publication appeared before the so-called Charity School movement that was established in 1754 to educate “poor Germans” in the English language and civics, and it remained popular long after the schools closed down around 1763.

Far less popular than Saur’s textbook, another guide to English for German immigrants had been published in Pennsylvania three years earlier by Gotthard Armbrüster, who, along with his brother Anton, worked as German printing partners for Benjamin Franklin. In spite of this allegiance, the Armbrüsters did not necessarily endorse Franklin’s agenda of anglicizing German immigrants. Entitled *Grammatica Anglicana Concentrata, oder Kurtz-gefasste englische Grammatica*,¹⁷ the book’s preface in fact warned against a thorough assimilation and abandonment of the German mother tongue:

[D]aß aber bey Erlernung der Englischen Sprache niemand seyn möchte, der in Gewinnung des einen das andere verliere, nemlich bey der allzu grossen Uebung in der Englischen seine vollkommne Deutsche Mutter-Sprache verlerne und vergesse, oder gar solche zu reden sich schämte, solches wünschet Der Verfasser.¹⁸

17 Gotthard Armbrüster, comp., *Grammatica Anglicana Concentrata, oder Kurtz-gefasste englische Grammatica. Worinnen die zur Erlernung dieser Sprache hinlänglich-nöthige Grund-Sätze auf eine sehr deutliche und leichte Art abgehandelt sind* (Philadelphia: Gotthard Armbrüster, 1748).

18 *ibid.*, n.p. (preface). “The author hopes that no one who is learning the English language will – by gaining one and losing the other, and because of too much exercise in English – unlearn or even forget his perfect German mother tongue, or worse, become ashamed of speaking it.”

The aim of English-language learning, instead, was communication with English neighbors, which Armbrüster recommended as the best avenue for acquiring the correct pronunciation:

Was die Pronunciation oder Aussprache der Englischen Sprach anbetrifft, welche denen Hoch-Deutschen ziemlich schwer fallen thut, so ist solche wohl ex usu & conversatione oder so zu sagen aus fleißiger Übung und Umgang mit denen Engländern am füglichsten zu erlernen, welche es einem am besten sagen können, wo man gefehlt.¹⁹

The book specifically mentioned German problems with the “th,” but claimed that English speakers struggled similarly with the German “ch.” The preface overall presented the book as helping with everyday conversations among common people (“unter dem gemeinen Volck”) and promised an easy learning of English (“auf eine gantz leicht Art”). Given these promises and expectations, why was Armbrüster’s textbook less successful than Saur’s, and never to be reprinted or appear in a second edition?

In reality, the Armbrüster brothers’ affiliation with Franklin did not make them particularly popular among German audiences. More importantly, Armbrüster worked less diligently than Saur to adapt the sources for his grammar to the specific needs and circumstances of his Pennsylvania-German readers. In addition to Lediard’s book, which also served as a model and source for Saur, Armbrüster leaned primarily on English-German grammars by Theodore Arnold and Johann König, published in Leipzig in 1736. Like Saur, Armbrüster also began with a section on English pronunciation, but his double-column page layout was more difficult to navigate than Saur’s full-page layout. Rather than providing prose explanations on the pronunciation of specific letters in certain vowel and consonant combinations, Armbrüster mostly reproduced lists of pronunciation, with the English word on the left, the German phonetic transcription in the middle, and the German translation on the right. More importantly, the failure of Armbrüster’s textbook to attract many readers came from his lack of sensitivity to the kind of information that was useful and acceptable for pious Pennsylvania German settlers. For example, he reprints a 30-page section featuring what he calls “common” dialogues in English. What we find here are highly stilted conversations indulging in the courtly affectations of British gentility. Even the vocabulary section seems only vaguely helpful – Armbrüster recommended reading many different authors to learn more words, whereas Saur recommended the specific reading of Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. Saur was more successful in publishing a work helping German immigrants to learn English, because he realized that translingual

19 Ibid., n.p. (preface). “Concerning the pronunciation of the English language, which is rather difficult for Germans, one may say that it is easiest learned through diligent practice and contact with English people, who can tell best where one has made a mistake.”

language learning did not occur in a vacuum, but in a newly evolving immigrant society, in which English laws and customs mattered, but where Germans had no need to ape the foppish manners and verbal ticks of British or German nobility. Nevertheless, Armbrüster’s handbook also emphasized that translingual competency evolved from contact with English neighbors in the province. Neither he nor Saur imagined German speakers as living in an ethnic enclave where German monolingualism was sufficient. Rather, they advised German immigrants to learn the English language and thus become functional members of society despite linguistic differences.

Another German printer arrived on the Pennsylvania scene in the 1750s, Henrich (or Henry) Miller – a well-traveled member of the Moravian church born in the German principality of Waldeck. Miller had worked as a journeyman printer for Franklin in the 1740s and published the bilingual *Lancastersche Zeitung/Lancaster Gazette*, briefly and unsuccessfully, in the 1750s. In 1760, Miller established his own German-language printing press in Philadelphia, and became a strong voice for an independent press and an ardent supporter of the American Revolution. In addition to printing his newspaper *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* (Pennsylvania State Courier), an almanac, and many books and pamphlets, Miller also sold many imported books at his print shop in Philadelphia. He even printed a catalogue of books that he could supply or that he stocked himself. Specifically, he sold “at a low rate: Bachmairs Deutsch und Englische Grammatik, Octavo; Nebst allerhand Englischen und Deutschen Schulbüchern,”²⁰ thus supplying his readers with opportunities to educate themselves in the English language.

As a new spokesperson for German immigrants, Miller opposed what he considered the narrow religious ideals of the Saur press and advocated a greater integration of German residents in the civic development of the colony and the new United States. As a publisher and translator, Miller made many of the foundational texts of the Revolution available to German readers, including a translation of the Declaration of Independence. For years, Miller had been using the German word *Glückseligkeit* to describe the notion of civic and inward blessedness that perhaps most closely approximated Jefferson’s “pursuit of happiness.” To secure their future happiness, Miller felt, German immigrants had to develop a much better knowledge of their legal rights and the overall civic system of the province. He thus collaborated with a Bucks County lawyer named David Henderson, who compiled a collection of all pertinent laws of the province, which Miller trans-

20 “Bachmair’s German and English Grammar, Octavo; besides all kinds of English and German school books.” Henrich Miller, *Catalogus von mehr als 700 meist deutschen Büchern, welche entweder zusammen oder einzeln zu verkaufen sind. Wo selbige zu sehen sind, solches kan man erfahren bey Henrich Miller, Buch-drucker in der Rees-Strasse, gegenüber Moravian-Alley, zu Philadelphia; bey welchem dieser Catalogus zu haben ist, wie auch bey Herrn Christoph Saur, in Germantoun* (Philadelphia: Henrich Miller, 1769).

lated and published in 1761 as *Des Landmanns Advocat. Das ist: kurzer Auszug aus solchen Gesetzen von Pennsylvania und England [...] zum Besten der hiesigen Deutschen, in ihre Muttersprache übersetzt* (The countryman's/farmer's advocate, that is, a short extract from the laws of Pennsylvania and England [...] translated into their mother tongue for the benefit of the Germans here).²¹ Henderson and Miller wanted not merely a linguistic working knowledge for German immigrants and residents, as Saur had offered in his *Nützliche Anweisung*, but a full enfranchisement.

In introducing this handbook to German readers (via Miller's translation), Henderson avoided any kind of insinuation that German immigrants were ignorant, disloyal, or incapable of handling English liberties. In fact, he began by describing his own transcultural experience among them, casting his publication as a "dutiful sacrifice of gratitude for the many favors he has received from them [i.e. the Pennsylvania Germans]."²² He next complimented the Germans' loyalty during the French and Indian War and admired the status they had gained through their hard work. Nevertheless, Henderson warned, certain "cutthroats" who had learned a little English were using their services as translators to cheat honest residents out of their property. Many of his own peers, moreover, had sought to deter him from producing this handbook for German readers, fearing it would only encourage German immigrants to overburden the legal system. Henderson rebuffed such assumptions by arguing that ignorance "was not the mother of peace and harmony." In his preface, Henderson went on to theorize on the appropriate role of the press in a representative form of government. Formerly, English laws had been announced orally in the markets, so that everyone could hear and understand them. Now, the introduction of printing turned this function over to the press, which, he argued, made it necessary that "the laws should be printed in a language that the subjects understand." "And," Henderson continued, "we should not even dare to think that the key to the understanding of His Majesty's German subjects in this country should for any reason be withheld from them."²³ *Des Landmanns Advocat*, therefore, made a crucial argument, namely that all citizens no matter what

21 David Henderson and Henrich Miller, trans., *Des Landmanns Advocat. Das ist: kurzer Auszug aus solchen Gesetzen von Pennsylvania und England welche daselbst in völliger Kraft, und einem freyen Einwohner auf dem Lande höchst nöthig und nützlich zu wissen sind. [...] Aus den Acten der Landsversammlung, oder Acts of Assembly, und andern bewährtesten englischen Bücher zusammen getragen von einem Rechtsgelehrten; und zum Besten der hiesigen Deutschen, in ihre Muttersprache übersetzt* (Philadelphia: Miller, 1761).

22 Ibid., i. "Sie wird ihnen als ein schuldiges Dankopfer für viel Gewogenheiten, die ich von ihnen empfangen, überreicht."

23 Ibid., iii. "[A]ber eben darum solten auch die Gesetze in einer Sprache, welche die Unterthanen verstehen, gedruckt werden. Und wir müssen uns ja nicht unterstehen zu gedencken, daß dieser Schlüssel des Erkenntnisses Seiner Majestät Deutschen Unterthanen in dieser Landschaft mehr solte vorenthalten werden."

language they speak have the right to have the laws of the country where they live and work available to them in a language they understand. Henderson’s argument is a crucial one about the relationship between citizenship and language; linguistic skills in the majority language were *not* a requirement for citizenship. Instead, the government and authorities had the obligation to convey its laws in the subjects’ own language. Henderson and Miller did not regard their publication as an excuse for Germans not to learn English, as some of his critics had also argued:

Der Zweck davon ist bloß denenjenigen zu Hülfe zu kommen, die entweder zu alt sind, oder keine Gelegenheit haben Englisch zu lernen: Solchen aber, die es in ihrer Macht haben, ihre Kinder Englisch lernen zu lassen, will ich solches von Herzen anrathen. Ihr wohnt nun in einem Englischen Lande, und stehet unter einer Englischen Regierung, wo die Proceduren bey den Gerichten und die Berathschlagungen der Landesversammlung in Englischer Sprache geschehen.²⁴

No matter how much wealth immigrants were able to pass on to their children, they could never take their rightful place in the public offices of the country without knowing how to read and write English. Crucially, Henderson went on to evoke a “close kinship” (“nahe Verwandtschaft”) between the German and English nations:

Es ist eine grosse Uebereinstimmung zwischen ihren Sprachen, und die einsilbigen Wörter sind fast einerley. Die alten Engländer stammeten aus Deutschland her; und ich bin gewiß, der grössete Theil ihrer heutigen Nachkommen sind bereit, ein Volk, mit dem sie in solcher nahen Verwandtschaft stehen, mit offenen Armen zu [empfangen], und eins mit demselbigen zu werden.²⁵

Yet, this unity was not even primarily grounded in a common history and origin, but rather the common “bond of civil society” (“das Band der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft”). The ultimate basis for translingual experience and instruction had shifted dramatically from Pastorius’s bonds of common spirituality, to Saur’s defense of the religious liberties granted by Penn’s Charter of Privileges, to Henderson and Miller’s focus on a public sphere governed by laws and united by a common civic commitment across languages.

24 Ibid, v. “The aim is only to help those who are either too old or do not have any opportunity to learn English. But with all my heart, I do advise those who have it in their power to have their children learn English. You now live in an English[-speaking] country and stand under an English government, where the procedures of the courts and the proceedings of the assembly are issued in English.”

25 Ibid, vii. “There is a strong similarity between both languages, and the mono-syllabic words are almost completely the same. The old English were of German origin, and I am certain that the largest share of their present descendants are ready to receive a people with whom they stand in such close kinship with open arms and to become one with it.”

Yet, Henderson's work also revealed that certain words, terms, and concepts were simply not translatable and thus had to be incorporated either without translations or in both German and English, because direct equivalence could simply not be taken for granted. For instance, in one section, no German translations are given for "Supream Court," "Writ of Habeas Corpus," "Certoriari," and "Writ of Error." Moreover, certain words, though English in origin are printed in German *Fraktur* and thus no longer identified as foreign, for example "Court" and "Jurymann."²⁶ In order to enable the society to function effectively, English laws had to be translated into German, but Germans had to accept certain words and concepts in English, because they simply did not exist in the society they had left behind. The effort of bringing both languages and both constituencies together under one working legal system thus required the collaboration of a German translator and an English lawyer.

Seventy years earlier, Pastorius had combined both roles in one person. While embracing an English language and subjectivity, Pastorius nevertheless knew how to cross translanguing bridges in order to bring his "countrymans" into mainstream English society. For him, assimilation was still the necessary choice. Henderson also hoped that his book would accomplish a similar goal. At the end of the preface to *Des Landmanns Advocat*, he imagined that after the death of the current generation of German inhabitants of the country, such an effort would become obsolete. Assimilation and translanguing education, in other words, would do its work. Yet, if one takes a quick look at the *Register* or index of Henderson and Miller's very long text, one cannot help but recognize the ironic failure of this aim of monolingualism within one generation. Here, some concepts are listed only in German, (Aufruhr, Blutschande, Brodt und Becker), some only in English (Adultery, Buggery, and Extortion), some in both languages (Bigamy oder Zweyweiberey, Duel, Zweykampf) and some seemingly in German but with an obvious English etymology (Assemblymänner and County-Tax). Despite all remonstrance to the contrary, Henderson and Miller could not hide the truth, that a clean-cut transition from German to English was not taking place. The borderlines between assimilation and ethnic isolation were as confused as the index of *Des Landmanns Advocat*.

Perhaps the trustees of the new Germantown Union School, founded in 1760, had made the most visionary decision in fostering education in general, and translanguing literacy specifically. Interestingly, the school was not only "free to the Children of Persons of all Denominations of Religion whatsoever," but it was stipulated to be a bilingual institution.²⁷ Germantown Academy developed out

²⁶ Ibid., 40.

²⁷ Germantown Academy, *Certain Agreements and Concessions, Made concluded and agreed on by and between the Contributors to a Sum of Money for erecting and establishing a School House and School*

of local efforts and was supported by both German and English members of the community, including Christoph Saur, Jr. and Franklin’s friend and political ally, Joseph Galloway. In the *Certain Agreements and Concessions* formulated to regulate the organization of the school, the founders agreed

that a large commodious School-House should be erected and compleatly [sic] finished near the Center of the said Town; that the said School-House should be a plain substantial Building, properly adapted and accommodated for two School-Rooms at least on the lower Floor, together with every other Conveniency suitable and necessary to answer the aforesaid laudable Purposes; and that the two most commodious Rooms below Stairs should be and continue for the Use and Purpose of an English and High Dutch, or German, School for ever.²⁸

The trustees of the so-called Germantown school had reached a far more ethical and practical solution than previous educators and institutions. It was not necessary to wait for the current generation of German speakers to die out or hope for teacher-lawyers like Pastorius or printer-lawyer teams like Miller and Henderson to fix their “defect.” A school that accommodated speakers of the two largest language groups of Pennsylvania, together in one schoolhouse, could provide translanguing education and let communication between the different linguistic constituencies develop organically. Here, translanguing, in other words, could become not merely a reality and necessity for *German* immigrants, but for all members of the community – English and German alike.

In conclusion, my brief survey of English-language handbooks for German settlers in colonial Pennsylvania without doubt proves that this immigrant group was keen on expanding an already strong literacy in their native language by learning the dominant language of their new home – English. Whereas Pastorius in many ways still claimed the role of linguistic mediator in lieu of his fellow German immigrants, German printers of the mid-eighteenth century offered a variety of English-language guidebooks to their readers and customers, thus enabling them to take charge of their own translanguing education. The sales success and republications of Saur’s *Eine Nützliche Anweisung* in particular demonstrate that German immigrants welcomed their printer-publisher’s recommendations to gain competency in English. Further research is needed to investigate to what extent such publications, as well as formal instruction in schools and informal language acquisition in day-to-day interaction, actually achieved translanguing skills within this population.

in *GERMANTOWN, this twenty fifth Day of January in the Year of our LORD one thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty* (Germantown: Christopher Sower, 1760), 2.

28 *Ibid.*, 1–2.

Nevertheless, the focus, structure, and depth of the various grammars, dictionaries, primers, and handbooks surveyed here confirms that Pennsylvania German publishers and their readers imagined themselves as fully competent in the English language on a range of subjects – from practical matters such as farming and daily business, to more advanced topics such as religion and politics. As “bookends” representing the early and late colonial periods, Pastorius and Miller (as Henderson’s publisher/translator) evidently envisaged German immigrants assimilating into the English language and culture. Yet, they each refrained from using patronizing language which assented English superiority, and rather cited either common spiritual goals or a long-standing, shared culture and history as foundations for an English-German translingual and transcultural cooperation in early Pennsylvania. Saur and Armbrüster most clearly articulated a vision of German-immigrant competency in English language, civics, and customs, without abandoning disavowing German cultural and linguistic independence. Across the spectrum, these linguistic manuals and their author-publishers rejected the hegemonic/imperial rationales articulated by Franklin and others. In spite of Pastorius’s early claim that he was mending his “countryman’s defect,” English language learning was not *per se* a tool for addressing a deficiency among German-speaking immigrants but rather a means of enfranchising a diverse population and strengthening translingual and transcultural communication in the colony.

Bethany Wiggin

Poor Christoph's Almanac: Popular Media and Imperial Education in Colonial Pennsylvania

This essay traces how mid-Atlantic colonial American German- and English-language almanacs engaged with the British imperial project in the years before the French and Indian War. Almanacs, the most popular of colonial printed media, offer us a lens to explore literacy as well as the contest to educate imperial, non-pacifist subjects. More and less famous English and German almanacs are read as a single group to document the deep politicization of everyday life. Not only did they educate their readers on a variety of everyday topics, such as literacy and health, but they were also deeply concerned to provide readers a political and moral education. Of utmost concern was the question of empire, the exercise of military power and particularly the use of arms to enforce land claims against native peoples and European rivals alike, the French and “their” Indians.

Doch sind dies [die Quäker des] Herrn Geschöpf, und durch Christis Blut theuer erlöset, können auch noch durch den Geist Gottes in alle Wahrheit geleitet warden, wenn sie einmahl von ihren falschen Vernunfts-Hohen herunter steigen und die Gnaden-Mittel mit Danck annehmen, welcher der barmherzige Gott zu seiner armen Creaturen Heil und Wohlfahrt verordnet hat.¹

1 Anton Armbrüster and Benjamin Franklin, *Neu-eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calender for 1750*. “Nevertheless, the Quakers are God’s creatures, and preciously redeemed by the blood of Christ, and thus they can also be truly guided by the spirit of God, if they would only take a step down from their heights of reason and accept grace in gratitude, which merciful God has assigned his creatures to achieve salvation and well-being.” All translations by Anne Overbeck and Bethany Wiggin, unless noted otherwise.



Fig. 1a/b: Title pages of two German-language almanacs published in mid-eighteenth century Pennsylvania. On the left, Anton Armbrüster and Benjamin Franklin's *Neu-eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calender for 1748* scans the heavens and the seas with the instruments of science; on the right, Christoph Saur's *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender for 1749* heralds the arrival of simplicity and harmony.

In mid-eighteenth-century Philadelphia, just about everybody had an almanac. In 1750, you could purchase almanacs in English or in German, and you might very well want one, or perhaps even more than one, in each language. You might choose one almanac to hang on your wall, and another to keep in your pocket. At your fingertips, the pocket almanac provided the times of sunsets and sunrises, phases of the moon and of the zodiac, the tides, as well as tables for converting various currencies, and the weekly and monthly dates of markets, fairs, courts, and Quaker meetings. If you choose your book by its cover, you might want an almanac emblazoned with the emblems of science: the telescope, globe and armillary sphere at the front and center of the woodcut frontispiece for the *Neu-eingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calender* (Fig. 1a) published in Philadelphia by Anton Armbrüster and Benjamin Franklin in 1748, with some occasional help from Johann Böhm. Or perhaps you might favor indicators of awakened piety: the rainbow and the shepherd featured in the frontispiece for Christoph Saur's *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender* (Fig. 1b), published in nearby Germantown.

The most enduringly famous of all Philadelphia almanacs – indeed, of all American almanacs – is of course *Poor Richard's* almanac. Published by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, it appeared annually between 1732 and 1758, and enjoyed print runs of about ten thousand a year.



Fig. 2: Title page for *Poor Richard's Almanack*, 1749. Based on a London almanac and purporting to be written by Richard Saunders, this most famous of all American almanacs was published in Philadelphia by Franklin and Hall.

It was here that many of the maxims now indelibly associated with Franklin appeared: “Many a Man would have been worse, if his Estate had been better,” for example (Fig.3), or “Friendship increases by visiting Friends, but by visiting seldom.”²

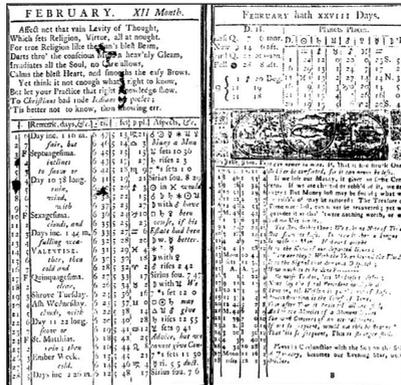


Fig. 3: The almanac crowded the paper with print. Maxims fill blank spaces in calendars, “Many a Man would have been worse, if his Estate had been better” here in *Poor Richard's Improved* for 1751.

2 Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's Improved* (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1750), n.p.

The irony of Franklin's *Poor Richard* title is particularly delicious, for it was in large part due to its financial success that the Boston-born Philadelphia printer helped himself to a better estate. Its sales – together with the Franklin newspaper, the *Gazette* – ensured that the adult Franklin would eat better fare than the crust of bread that the runaway apprentice so famously wanted when he first arrived in Philadelphia.

Almanacs provided the bread and butter for many colonial North American printers, whether in German or in English, much as they did for scores of printers in Great Britain and across the European continent. When printer Christoph Saur (1695–1758) began his printing career in 1738 on the high street in Germantown, some ten miles west of Franklin's shop on Market Street in Philadelphia, Saur made sure his bread would be buttered, by immediately launching a German-language almanac printed in Gothic typeface, *Der Hoch-Deutsche Americanische Calender*. Like *Poor Richard's*, its print run is also estimated at some ten thousand annually. It was not the first German almanac to be published in colonial Philadelphia; Andrew Bradford had brought out the *Teutscher Pilgrim* in 1731–32, and Franklin had published a German newspaper that failed after two issues.³ Both publications probably failed due to their use of Roman type to print German, rather than the German “Frakturschrift” (Gothic type).

Unlike *Poor Richard*, Saur's German almanac is hardly the source of American commonplaces, and hence this essay's title: poor, poor Christoph.⁴ Nonetheless, the Saur almanac offers a rich source for exploring popular education in colonial America. Together with other widely disseminated colonial media, they offer us a lens to examine the contest to educate imperial subjects. This essay reads poor Christoph Saur's almanac in counterpoint with the almanac which Franklin helped Johann Böhm and the Armbrüster brothers to produce in the late 1740s and 1750s (Fig. 1). Produced in the tense years leading up to the French and Indian Wars (the Seven Years War) that broke out in the so-called backcountry of Pennsylvania in 1754 the almanacs document the deep everyday politicization. Not only did they educate their readers on a variety of everyday topics, such as

3 Reimer Eck, “German Language Printing in the American Colonies up to the Declaration of Independence,” accessed January 30, 2016, http://www.dhm.de/archiv/magazine/unabhaengig/eck_2e.htm.

4 While not the source of American commonplaces, Saur is of course well known to historians of colonial German Pennsylvania. The best work on Saur (the elder) and his press is by Donald Durnbaugh. Of his many essays, see particularly “J.C. Sauer [sic] and H.M. Mühlberg: German-American Protagonists in Colonial North America,” in *Halle Pietism, Colonial North America, and the Young United States*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2008), 93–112. See also the richly detailed article by Hans Leaman, “Johann Christoph Saur (1695–1758),” in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German-American Business Biographies*, accessed January 30, 2016, <http://www.immigrant-entrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=195>.

literacy and health, but they were deeply concerned to provide readers a political and moral education.

Of utmost concern was *the* question of empire, the exercise of military power and particularly the use of arms to enforce land claims against native peoples, as well as European rivals (the French) and “their” Indians. The question was particularly thorny in a colony founded by Quaker William Penn on pacifist principles and religious tolerance. North American imperial projects were carried out within a matrix of trade, land, and power, as Dan Richter describes. While desirous of trade and land, Penn famously had scruples over the use of power.⁵ By the mid-eighteenth century, Penn’s pacifist legacy was one that British empire builders, including Franklin, very much regretted. Recalling Franklin’s involvement in this chapter of the British imperial project rather complicates the conventional portrait of Benjamin Franklin and the radical tolerance of this “most brilliant American man of Enlightenment.”⁶ In his cooperation with German Lutheran printers, as well as in a series of other projects aimed at curtailing the power of the rival Saur press, a darker side of the sunny Franklin portrait becomes visible.⁷

As this essay traces colonial popular media’s engagement with the imperial project, we see the Franklin-Böhm-Armbrüster almanac come down firmly on the side of church authority. The almanac, whose frontispiece is so obviously religious, on the other hand, comes down on the side of tolerance and freedom of conscience. But of course, you cannot judge a book by its cover, or, as Poor Richard said, “Don’t judge of Mens [...] Piety by their Appearances.” Below, I first sketch the almanac genre’s history and its importance as a tool of popular education, and the printer’s role in this project. A brief overview of colonial Pennsylvania history and its demographics follows, concentrating on the mid-eighteenth century. This period was pivotal to local and world history, witnessing the first war fought on

5 Daniel K. Richter, “Land and Words: William Penn’s Letter to the King of the Indians,” in *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America*, ed. Daniel K. Richter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 135–154.

6 Jürgen Overhoff, “Radikale Toleranz als Leitbild der amerikanischen Aufklärung,” in *Radikalität: Religiöse, politische und künstlerische Radikalismen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2, eds. Lena-Simone Günther et al. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2013), 26. Overhoff provides bibliographic details for some recent work on toleration and enlightenment, noting the influence especially of Jonathan Israel’s magisterial *Radical Enlightenment*. Also see Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003). For the German Aufklärung, see Friedrich Vollhardt, “Gotthold Ephraim Lessing und die Toleranzdebatten der frühen Neuzeit” (forthcoming; I am grateful to the author for sharing this essay before its publication).

7 On Franklin’s involvement in the German Charity School scheme, for example, see the forthcoming essay by Patrick Erben, “‘Wie ein Nimrod/Like a Nimrod’: Babel, Confusion, and Coercive Bilingualism in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic,” in *Babel of the Atlantic*, ed. Bethany Wiggin (College Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press), forthcoming.

all corners of the globe – from central Europe to North and South America to the Indian sub-continent. Both global and local contexts help us to consider the often vitriolic political and popular debates that raged in Pennsylvania popular media, namely pamphlets, including Franklin’s “Plain Truth,” on which this essay spends some space, and German and English almanacs and newspapers.

Almanacs, Everyday History, and Popular Education

As is the case for most printed ephemera, almanacs have not preserved well. Printed rapidly and often on poor quality paper, they have not held up well over time, and many have been read to shreds. Of the some 400,000 almanacs sold yearly in 1680s London, for example, precious few copies survive.⁸ Nonetheless, we can make a reasonably accurate sketch of the genre. Its beginnings are roughly simultaneous with those of print culture and date back to the well-preserved calendar-almanacs made by the German mathematician and publisher Regiomontanus (Johannes Müller von Königsberg) in the late fifteenth century in conjunction with the calendar reforms he undertook at the request of Pope Sixtus IV.⁹ By the seventeenth century in England, “no book [...] had a circulation as large as the almanac.” As Sean Shesgreen notes, “In the seventeenth century the Bible and the almanac were the entire library of many families.”¹⁰

The almanac was equally popular in the British colonies in the Americas and then in the early Republic. Nearly every city had its own almanac. As T.J. Tomlin documents, “The almanac was early America’s most affordable and widespread form of print.”¹¹ Not only were there almanacs in the metropole, but they were also made on and for the periphery. Popular seventeenth century London almanacs could be serious or satirical. *Poor Robin* from which Franklin’s *Poor Richard* would derive its title, was sharp and witty.

8 Sean Shesgreen, ed., *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawing by Marcellus Laroon* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 150.

9 A digitalized version of Regiomontanus’s *Calender* is available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/hwastro/books/regioColMed.pdf>.

10 Shesgreen, *The Criers*, 150.

11 T. J. Tomlin, *A Divinity for All Persuasions: Almanacs and Early American Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

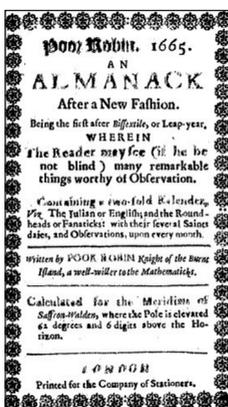


Fig. 4: Title page for the satirical London almanac, *Poor Robin* of 1663, from which Franklin's Richard took his name.

The Jamaica Almanack, published in London in the 1670s, was dry and serious.

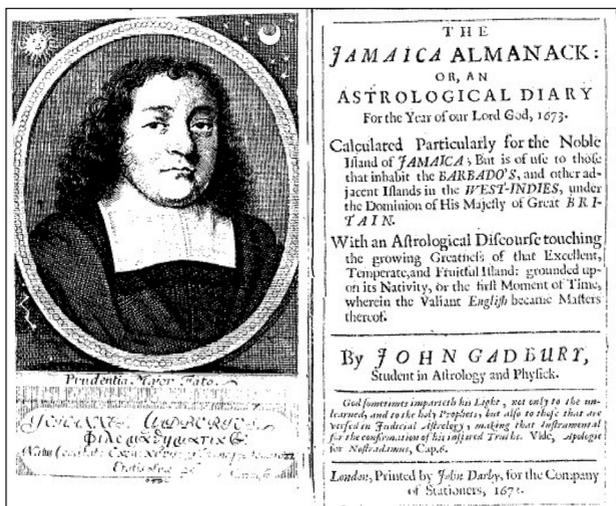


Fig. 5: Title page for John Gadbury's “very serious” almanac for Jamaica, published in London by John Darby.

Since the turn to social history and the growing attentions to popular media beginning in the 1970s, almanacs have received more attention from historians, and many have been digitized.

Throughout the early modern Atlantic world, the almanac and the print shop itself were important loci of popular education and multipliers of literacy. And while this was true throughout Europe and the Americas, it was arguably still truer in many places in colonial America, as schools and good teachers were often hard to come by. As Patrick Erben has discussed in the case of Pennsylvania in the age of Franklin,

[t]he productions of German printers and printing houses such as Christoph Saur and son, the Ephrata Brethren, the Armbrüster brothers, and Henry Miller likely exerted an even greater influence on the education of Pennsylvania Germans than school instruction itself.¹²

Christoph Saur sketched the situation in a serialized dialogue between a newcomer and resident that appeared in his almanac between 1751 and 1758:

Neukommer: hier im Busch muß man zufrieden seyn wan sie [Schulmeister] nur die Kinder lernen lesen und schreiben; und es ist sehr beschwerlich daß im Winter bey hartem Wetter die [...] junge Kinder nicht wohl weite Wege können geschickt werden zur Schule, und im Sommer braucht man die Kinder zur Arbeit, auch wird im Busch wenig oder keine Schule im Sommer gehalten; ich hab oft gedacht daß das ein groser Mangel im Land sey, und ich weiß keinen Rath wie der Sache zu helfen ist.

Einwohner: Es ist wahr, deßwegen wachsen viel Kinder hier im Lande auf wie das Holtz; aber weil die Umstände nun so sind, daß wenig Leute so beysamen wohnen, wie draussen in Städte und Dörffern so gehet es freylich ohne Beschwerung nicht ab.¹³

One way to overcome some of the difficulties of living in the backcountry was to pay a visit to the nearest print shop. *Poor Richard*, for example, regularly advertised that Franklin's business partner, David Hall, sold an array of educational materials (Fig. 6).

12 Patrick Erben, "Educating Germans in Colonial Pennsylvania," in *Educating the Youth of Pennsylvania: Worlds of Learning in the Age of Franklin*, ed. John Pollock (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2009), 122–149.

13 Christoph Saur, *Calender for 1752* (Saur: Germantown, 1751), n.p. "Newcomer: Here in the woods, you have to be satisfied when they [schoolmasters] simply teach the children to read and write; and it's very difficult that in the winter in bad weather young children really cannot be sent on long ways to school and in the summer the children are needed for work; and so in the woods hardly any school at all is held. I have often thought that this is a great disadvantage in this country, and I don't know any way to remedy the situation.

Resident: It's true, for this reason many children grow up in this country like wood; but because the conditions are what they are, that is, that few people live in one place together as they do [on the other side of the ocean] in cities and towns, they will hardly be easily remedied." For a more fulsome account of this conversation, see Bethany Wiggin, "Forecasting Loss: Christoph Saur's Pennsylvania German *Calender* (1751–1757)," in *Enduring Loss in Early Modern Germany: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lynne Tatlock (Boston: Brill, 2010), 397–414.

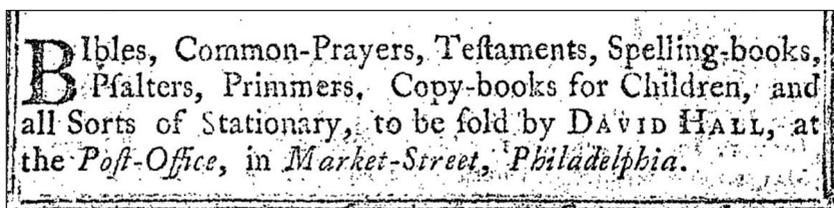


Fig. 6: This advertisement for a wide array of materials for home schooling is on the last page of *Poor Richard* for 1751.

The same was true of the printer in Germantown. Saur's son, also named Christoph, began to publish an English-language almanac, *The Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack* (Fig.7).

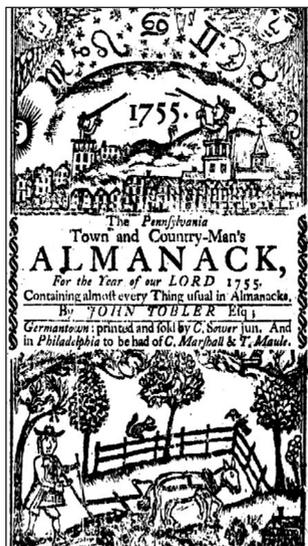


Fig. 7: Title page for John Tobler's *The Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack*, 1755. Printed by the Saur press, or Sower as the printers spelled their name on their English publications, and sold at their shop in Germantown and through C. Marshall and T. Maule in Philadelphia.

And, in the German printer's English almanac, one can likewise find advertisements for ink powder and "where also may be had, Bibles, Testaments, Spelling-books, Psalters, Primers, Blank-books Writing-Paper, Parchment, & other Stationery Ware" (Fig.8).



Fig. 10a/b/c: Saur's almanac provided letter patterns for both German (Current) and English hands, as well as practice sentences.

Readers also seem frequently to have used the paper of the almanac to practice their letters, as in this example (Fig. 11), in the blank space under a long and sympathetic article about the Iroquois confederation and other Indian nations, given to Saur by diplomat and translator Conrad Weiser and printed no doubt in their efforts to soothe European aggression against their Indian neighbors.

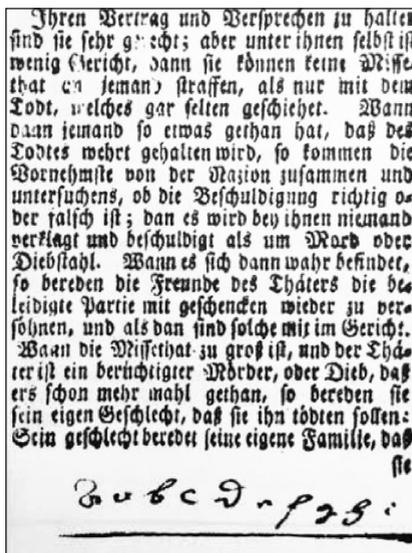


Fig. 11: A reader of the Saur almanac learns to write and practices here a German hand.

In addition to the literacy materials and calendric information provided by many almanacs, they also offered much advice about health (Fig.12), of humans and other animals, about plants, and occasionally about housekeeping.



Fig. 12: Franklin and Hall's *Poor Richard Improved* annually provided charts indicating when certain parts of the body were more likely to be afflicted. Here from the almanac for 1751.

Saur's *Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender* contains still more detailed medical advice than *Poor Richard's* and far more advice for a rural population: farmers and their wives (Fig.13).



Fig. 13: Saur's *Calender* annually provided a table not dissimilar to that of *Poor Richard*, linking body parts to zodiac signs. Additionally, the Saur almanac contained a wealth of additional medical advice, including, as seen at the top of this image, the most propitious times for blood-letting, minor surgery, etc.

Franklin and Johann Boehm's *Neu-ingerichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calendar auf das Jahr 1750* has no medical horoscope. Significantly, it contains a conversation between a German farmer in Germany and a *Neuländer*, a form that the Saur almanac soon picks up.

Colonial Pennsylvania Demographics

Before delving further into the “almanac wars” in colonial Pennsylvania, a brief review of their readers helps to contextualize their concerns about British imperialism and German-speaking subjects role in this context. As Peter Silver summarizes the demographic and historical situation of colonial Pennsylvania:

A minimum of seventy thousand German-speakers arrived in Philadelphia during the fifty years before the Revolution, with a full half of that total flooding in – as immigration surged to levels ten times those recorded only twenty-five years before – in one five-year span (1749–54) at mid-century, after which the outbreak of the Seven Years' War had the effect of turning off the tap.¹⁴

Benjamin Franklin – and many others in his wake – estimated German speakers to have comprised between a third and a half of Pennsylvania's population in 1755. In a widely circulated letter from May 9, 1753, Franklin wrote something he would come to regret, to his influential friend in London, Peter Collinson:¹⁵

Few of their children in the Country learn English; they import many Books from Germany; and of the six printing houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English; They have one German Newspaper, and one half German. Advertisements intended to be general are now printed in Dutch and English; the Signs in our Streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German.

While Franklin famously called the Pennsylvania Germans “Boors,” historian Gregg Roeber has emphasized German migrants' high literacy rates; and as Patrick Erben notes, they “usually had a solid command of reading and writing.” He summarizes, “Scholars estimate a literacy rate between 75 and 85 percent among adult men, with a lower ability in writing among women.”¹⁶

German Almanacs and Political Education, Plain Truth

To fully understand the political education that the two German-language almanacs were eager to impart to the multitudes of new settlers who began to arrive in

14 Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: Norton, 2008), 6. See also Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

15 On Franklin's likely regret, see Erben, “Educating Germans,” 130.

16 *Ibid.*

the late 1740s, we need to understand both the local and global political contexts. We have already heard Franklin's frustration in his letter to Peter Collinson from 1753. Erben describes Franklin in the letter as "almost at the point of despair over the Pennsylvania Germans."¹⁷ His frustration stems from pivotal events that began some six years earlier.

In the spring of 1747, French and Spanish privateers had been cruising the Delaware. Then, in July, some twenty raiders landed at an English farm, then known as a "plantation," south of Philadelphia on the Delaware Bay. The privateers "seized four slaves, carried off bedding, clothes, and furniture." They then forced the farmer to lead them to his neighbor, where they also plundered his farm house, wounding his wife and making off with a considerable sum of money, including another slave. Several days later, the same privateer captured the ship *Mary* off Cape Henlopen, wounding her captain.¹⁸ Express riders were sent upriver, and much of the city broke out in panic at the news. The provincial council's appeals to provide funds for defensive measures to the Quaker-dominated colonial assembly proved ineffective, and the Penn family proprietors too, failed to be moved to raise money by paying any taxes on their enormous (and, after the "Running Purchase" of 1737, illegally gotten) land holdings.

In the face of this political stalemate, Franklin drafted a pamphlet calling for self-defense, printing it in mid-November, 1747. As he later recalled in his autobiography, "Plain Truth" "had a sudden and surprizing Effect." As Leonard Labaree describes:

It was defended, approved, recommended, and explained by citizens, printers, and ministers. He printed 2000 copies; it went into a second edition; it was translated into German; and extracts were reprinted in other colonies. Samuel Smith answered it on behalf of the Quakers, Christopher Saur on behalf of the German pacifists.¹⁹

Franklin, styling himself a modest "Tradesman of Philadelphia," placed all the blame for the situation at the feet of the Quaker assembly. The great wealth of the Quaker assemblymen, he insisted, made them deaf to "plain truth" and interested only "for their own Ease, and to secure themselves in the quiet Enjoyment of their Religious Principles." While they had been unwilling to spend a penny on the protection of the "middling sort", such as Franklin's anonymous tradesman, they have, he asserts, spared no expense to generate positive press. They have "expended such large Sums to oppose Petitions, and engage favourable Representations of

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ My account of these events draws on Founders Online, National Archives: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 3, *January 1, 1745, through June 30, 1750*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 180–204, last modified December 30, 2015, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-03-02-0091>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

their Conduct.” Franklin’s everyman, however, has no “large Sums” to command. And he scolds wealthy Quakers:

That tho’ *they* themselves may be resigned and easy under this naked, defenceless State of the Country, it is far otherwise with a very great Part of the People; with *us*, who can have no Confidence that God will protect those that neglect the Use of rational Means for their Security; nor have any Reason to hope, that our Losses, if we should suffer any, may be made up by Collections in our Favour at Home.²⁰

Franklin’s “Plain Truth” was immediately answered by a number of other alleged truths. These included Saur’s “klare und gewisse Wahrheit” (clear and certain truth) as well as “various Christian truths.” These truths in turn provoked a number of still other “truths,” all purportedly spoken by honest “Handwercker” (craftsmen) and simple tradespeople.



Fig. 14: Saur’s “Clear and Certain Truth,” one of the pamphlets he fired off in reply to Franklin’s “Plain Truth.” Germantown: Saur, 1747.

The arguments against a voluntary defensive association were many and varied. Those initially coming from the Saur press were at first straightforward. Read-

20 Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography and Other Writings on Politics, Economics, and Virtue*, ed. Alan Houston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 189.

ers should simply consider the destruction already wrought in central Europe, in Flanders and in Holland in this same war,

Man sehe an Prag/ Genua/ die Flanderische Städte, Bergen in Holland, in diesem Krieg; die haben Widerstand genug gethan, und viel Volck gehabt, wie weit sind sie mit aller ihrer Klugheit kommen, oder ob sie sich haben erhalten können vorm Ruin?²¹

In the course of the debate over the use of colonial and imperial power, the arguments would grow increasingly sophisticated.

The Franklin-Armbrüster-Böhm almanac, begun in 1747, offers still other truths. The 1750 almanac, on whose title page Böhm's name appears, includes the aforementioned "Gespräch zwischen einem ehrlichen Neuländer aus Pennsylvania, und einem Teutschen Bauer, von dem Natur- und Kirchen Reich In America überhaupt, und besonders in Pennsylvania."²² The *Neuländer* (recruiting agent) and the German farmer discourse across a range of subjects including a curious discussion of the pre-Columbian settlement of America.²³ The German farmer asks the *Neuländer* for accounts of how Germans fare in the various mainland

21 Christoph Saur, *Klare und Gewisse Wahrheit [...] von einem Teutschen Geringen Handwercks Mann* (Germantown: Saur, 1747), 11. "Consider how Prague, Genua, and the cities of Flanders, Bergen in the Netherlands have fared in this war; they have resisted enough, and have had enough people, how far have they gotten with all their cleverness, or have they been able to save themselves from ruin?"

22 This is the "Conversation between an honest 'Newlander' [a recruiter of migrants from German-speaking Europe to British North America] from Pennsylvania, and a German Farmer, about the natural world and religion in America generally, and particularly in Pennsylvania." Conventional almanac lay-out would relegate this "filler" to the final pages. Interestingly, Franklin and Böhm move it up among the tables, making for somewhat hard reading of the tables, but foregrounding the importance of the conversation.

23 In the opinion of the knowledgeable and honest *Neuländer*, it was more than likely that Africans had migrated to America long before Columbus, bringing with them practices of ritual circumcision and celebrating the Sabbath:

Nicht weniger hat man bey Entdeckung der neuen Welt in dem Südlichen Theil unter den Indianern, nebst andern Merckmahlen von der Indischen und Christlichen Religion, die Beschneidung und Sabbaths-Feyer gefunden, welches wahrscheinlich macht, daß Völcker aus Abyßinia von Africa dahin gekommen, welche den Gebrauch der Beschneidung mit gebracht. („Similarly, with the discovery of the southern part of the new world, customs of the Indian and Christian religion were found [to be practiced] by the Indians there, as well as circumcision and the celebration of the Sabbath, which makes it likely that people from Abyssinia in Africa had come there, who had brought the custom of circumcision with them.”)

Such an explanation is completely reasonable, the *Neuländer* continues, observing that any number of ancient seafaring people might have come to America, blown by storms, and

Die alten Einwohner von der Küste Guinea in Africa waren berühmt in der See-Fahrt, America lag ihnen gegen Abend, und sie hatten dazu gewisse [sic] anhaltende Ost-Winde, so daß sie denselben zu Folge, mit leichter Mühe konten nach America getrieben und zum darbleiben bewegget werden

North American British colonies. Since, as the *Neuländer* explains, most Germans settle in Pennsylvania, the description of affairs in that colony is particularly detailed. All colonies, the *Neuländer* further explains, enjoy the protection of the Act of Toleration. This, he explains, explicitly guarantees tolerance to worshipers in the Church of England and to Scottish Presbyterians, as well as to Presbyterians in England, Baptists, and Quakers, protecting them in their rights and practices, “in ihren Rechten und Gebräuchen beschützt.”²⁴

The simple German farmer does not, however, prove as simple as his stereotype, and he asks for clarification, “Wir haben aber unter uns Teutschen vielmehr Gesintheiten und Partheyen, als in der Acte benahmt sind, wie können denn solche in den Königlich. Landen fortkommen?”²⁵ The *Neuländer's* responds interestingly and at some length:

N. Dabey ist erstlich überhaupt zu melden, daß in America nicht gar scharffe Aufsicht, sondern vielmehr Nachsicht des falls gehalten werde, sie sind zu frieden, wenn sie nur hören, daß man ein Protestant sey. Wenn aber die Teutschen in den Englischen Provinzien ihre eigene Verfassungen, Prediger und Kirchen oder Versammlungs-Häuser haben, so paßiren die Lutheraner mit unter dem Namen der Hoch-Kirche, die Reformirte unter dem Namen der Presbyterianer, die Mennisten und andere Tauf-gesinnte unter dem Namen der Baptisten, die Separatisten und alle übrige, welche nicht viel von den geschriebenen Zeugnissen der Propheten und Apostel, und von den Siegeln des Gnades Bundes als der Tauffe und Abendmahl halten, sondern lieber ihren eigenen Einfällen und verwirrenen Phantasien folgen, die lauffen mit unter den Namen der Quäckers.²⁶

The farmer presses on, now asking who leads and teaches the various denominations, coming finally to the teachers of the “Englisch- und teutschen Freunden, die Quäckers genant.” He begs to know exactly who holds authority in each of

(„The old inhabitants of the coast of Guinea in Africa were famous seafarers, for them America lay – toward the evening [sun], and they had certain constant easterly winds, with the result that they could easily be blown toward America and convinced to stay there.”)

Ibid., n.p., between tables for March and April.

24 Ibid., n.p., discussion occurs in the section with tables for September.

25 Ibid., n.p. “Among us Germans, we have more denominations and parties than are mentioned in the act, how can these continue to exist in the royal colonies?”

26 Ibid., n.p., this quote appears between the tables for November and December. “Firstly, it is necessary to report that in America rather than intense supervision, tolerance can be found, they are content if they just hear that one is a Protestant. If the Germans in the English provinces have their own constitutions, preachers and churches or meeting houses, so Lutherans pass as members of the High Church, the Reformed as Presbyterians, the Mennonites and other baptism-oriented [churches] as Baptists, the Separatists and all the others, who do not hold much with written testimonials of the prophets and apostles and the signs of the bond of grace, such as baptism and communion, but rather prefer to follow their own inspiration and confused phantasies, they are to be found under the name of Quakers.”

these religions. The *Neuländer* answers, here showing his anti-Quaker cards and his trust in the established “old-world” church authority:

Die guten Leutgens brauchen nicht viel Materie zu ihrem Glauben; darum forschen sie auch nicht in der Schrift, und verlassen sich auf die unmittelbare Eingebung ihres Geistes. Weil sie denn mit Gottes Wort, das Er durch seine Propheten, ja durch seinen einigen Sohn und seinen Apostels uns schriftlich anvertrauet, nicht viel zu schaffen haben, und des grossen Welt Heylandes Befehle nur sichten, das kleinste davon behalten und das schwereste dahinten lassen, so sind sie bald fertig. Die wenigen Punkten, welche sie sich ausgelesen, und die auch ein ehrbahrer Heide aus eigenen Kräfften in einer halben Stunde lernen kan, die gebrauchen sie einander nicht durch eine unmittelbare Wirkung und Einsprache des Geistes beyzubringen, sondern ein jeder Mann und Frau, Knecht und Magd kan das gantze Geheimniß in einer viertel Stunde lernen und wieder lehren, ohne dem Heil. Geiste und seinen allerheiligsten Wirkungen solche Kinder-Possen anzudichten. Von unsers Heylandes bitterm Leyden und Sterben für uns, wird nicht so viel unter ihnen gehöret, als von den Leiden und Verfolgungen, das die erste Urheber ihrer Secte zu den verworrenen Zeiten von andern zancksüchtigen Partheyen erduldet und sich wohl grösten Theils selber zugezogen hatte. Doch sind dies Herrn Geschöpff, und durch Christis Blut theuer erlöset, können auch noch durch den Geist Gottes in alle Wahrheit geleitet werden, wenn sie einmahl von ihren falschen Vernunftis-Hohen herunter steigen und die Gnaden-Mittel mit Danck annehmen, welcher der barmhertzige Gott zu seiner armen Creaturen Heil und Wohlfahrt verordnet hat.²⁷

Saur’s almanac responded in no less combative language, despite his pacifist leanings. Throughout the 1750s, the Saur press urged voters time and again to be wary of the “Pfaffen” flooding into Pennsylvania. These men of the cloth, Saur asserted – or the “black generals” as he sometimes called them in his newspaper – wanted nothing less than to curtail the religious freedoms enshrined by Quaker founder William Penn in the colony’s frame of government. In the dialogues between a

27 *Ibid.*, n.p., quote appears between the tables for November and December. “These good simple people do not need a lot of written evidence for their belief, thus they do not search scripture but rely rather on the direct inspiration of their spirit. Because they don’t concern themselves much with God’s word as entrusted to us in writing through his own son and his apostles; instead they take a glance at the orders of the great Savior, retaining the least and leaving the heaviest behind, and so they are done quickly. The few points that they have selected could be learned by any honorable heathen in half an hour; and this can be achieved without any direct impact or intervention of the spirit, but any men and woman, servant and maiden can learn this secret in a quarter of an hour and teach it to others, without attributing such childish stories to the Holy Spirit and his holy influence. They don’t say much about our Saviour’s bitter suffering and death for us, in contrast to the suffering and persecution that the founder of their sect had to endure in tumultuous times from other belligerent parties and the larger part of which he must have brought onto himself. Nevertheless, the Quakers are God’s creatures, and preciousy redeemed by the blood of Christ, and thus they can also be truly guided by the spirit of God, if they would only take a step down from their heights of reason and accept grace in gratitude, which merciful God has assigned his creatures to achieve salvation and well-being.”

Newcomer and a Resident that Saur began publishing in 1751 in response to the Böhme dialogue, Saur's *Einwohner* goes to great pains to assure the *Neukommer* that he is in no way morally or legally obliged to accept the authority of these "black generals", much less to listen to them.²⁸

Saur's Newcomer asserts his preference for a single state church, "Ja einige sagen, wan sie zu befehlen hätten, sie gäben keine Freyheit, als nur vor Ihre Religion, und ich bin selbst der Meinung."²⁹ Saur's answer, spoken by his *Einwohner* mouthpiece, justifies an extended quotation:

Was dünckt dich aber, wan du in einem lande wärest, da man dich zwingen wolte, du soltest dencken und glauben, oder man wolte dich bey deiner Meyning nicht im Lande dulden; solte dir das wohl gefallen? Und denckstu nicht/ daß es einem jeden sey wie dir? Welcher Catolicke ist gern gezwungen, zu dencken und zu glauben was die Protestant dencken und glauben, und ihre Ceremonien mit zu machen; und welcher Protestant ist gern gezwungen zu dencken oder zu glauben, was die Catolicken dencken oder glauben; und welchen Juden oder Türcken wolte mans verdencken, daß er unzufrieden ware, wan man ihn zu einer andern Meynung zwingen wolte. Und wem solte es gefallen, wan es in der Juden oder Türcken macht stünde ihn zu zwingen, daß er den Talmud oder Alcoran vor lauter Warheit annehmen. Gewißlich geht es einem wie dem andern. Darum ist es eine der schönsten Regeln, die Christus gab; Nämlich: Alles, was Ihr wolt das euch die Leute thun sollen, das thut Ihr ihnen. Und ich halte es vor eine recht Christliche Freyheit die der William Penn diesem Lande gegeben.³⁰

Almanacs belie colonial scholarship's separation of German versus English colonial cultures, helping us to understand the entanglements that cut across language

28 On Saur's fear and loathing of men of the cloth, "Pfaffen," see Bethany Wiggan, "For Each and Every House to Wish for Peace.' Christoph Saur's *High German American Almanac* and the French and Indian War in Pennsylvania," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 154–171, especially 162–163.

29 *Calender* for 1755, n.p. "Yes, some may say, when it was theirs to give orders, they would allow no freedom except for their own religion; and I myself am of this opinion."

30 *Ibid.* "What would you think if you lived in a country where you were coerced to think and believe [as prescribed by law], or that you and your opinion would not be tolerated in the country; would you like that? And do you not think that everybody feels the same way? What Catholic likes to be forced to think and believe what the Protestants think and believe, and to have to join their ceremonies; and what Protestant likes to be forced to think and believe what the Catholics think and believe; and who could blame a Jew or Turk for being unhappy if he was forced to take another opinion. And who would like it, if it stood in the power of the Jews or the Turks to force him to accept the Talmud or the Koran as the pure truth? Surely it's the same for everyone. And so it is one of the most beautiful rules given to us by Christ; that is: All that you do unto other people shall be done to you. And I consider it to be a thoroughly Christian Freedom that William Penn has bestowed upon this country."

and national cultures.³¹ They help us to parse the differences among Germans and among English, differences in religious cultures that would eventually be suppressed in the making of a bellicose Protestantism in support of the British imperial project with its underlying program of racialization. The English and German pacifists and their legacy were written off as a story of hopeless naivete.

The story of the Quaker party's fall from power in Pennsylvania politics has most often been told as a Whiggish story of progressive American politics. The early chapters of this story are steeped in the language of plain truth over blind dogma, of education over superstition, of reason over religion, and of freedom over bondage. This is one of the most powerful stories of the origins of American independence and of the separation of church and state later enshrined by the Framers. While Franklin's Associators may never have ended up taking to the battlefield, they nevertheless won the hearts and minds of voters formerly sympathetic to the Quakers and their radical pacifism. "Plain Truth" prepared Americans, so the story suggests, to pick up their guns to defend their property rights.

But of course this story is too simple. The Quaker party's fall from power by the 1760s, can also be told as a story of decline. The long quote from Saur's almanac, urging freedom of religion for all three monotheistic religions, upsets conventional narratives of American origins. It also overturns the expectations with which my essay began this exploration of popular media and imperial education in the American colonies.

With its telescopes and vigorous trade, Franklin's more elaborate and finely wrought cover purports to tell a tale of secularization and progress (Fig. 1). The more rustic woodcut on the right, scans as a story of filial piety and devotional simplicity. And yet, as I have explained, it is the Franklin-Armbrüster-Böhm almanac that enlisted church authority to curtail the power of Quaker separatists. Should that lead to a curtailment of freedom of conscience (and of the press) – well, so be it. Whether the plain truth of this story is the truth of progress or decline cannot be decided here. For now, we will give Poor Richard the last word, "Don't judge of Mens [...] Piety by their Appearances."

31 On the need for multilingual scholarship on colonial German materials, scholarship that draws from multilingual colonial archives, see Bethany Wiggin, "Birds of Different Feathers: Recent Publications from the Max Kade Series," *Early American Literature* 50/1 (2015): 153–166; and Bethany Wiggin, "Multilingual Soundings in the Colonial Mid-Atlantic: Differences of manners, languages and extraction, was now no more?" In *Babel of the Atlantic*, ed. Bethany Wiggin (College Park, PA: Penn State University Press, forthcoming), 1–42.

Heike Bungert

German Americans and their Efforts to Bring ‘Cultur’ to the United States, 1848–1914

In many U.S. cities, one can find statues of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe or Friedrich von Schiller in urban parks. “Germanfests” still occur. This article explains how German immigrants between 1848 and the beginning of World War I tried to transfer German “culture” to the United States. The focus is on German-American festive culture and the erection of monuments. After describing German-American festivals and their cultural aspects in general, the article examines in particular festivals that celebrated German and German-American “culture heroes”.

German-American Festivals and their Emphasis on Culture

Between 1830 and 1914, approximately 5 million Germans from the areas that later formed the German Empire of 1871 migrated to the United States. Immigration numbers peaked during the 1850s, with close to one million, and the 1880s with 1.5 million. By 1890, 2.78 million German Americans of the first generation lived in the United States. In 1900, ten per cent of all Americans were in the first or second generation of German descent.¹

Refugees from the revolution of 1848, while insignificant in number, played a prominent role in German-American cultural life and soon started founding German-American clubs (*Vereine*).² The clubs were essential for obtaining information on jobs, housing, and U.S. political life, and they eased the transition from Germany to the United States, as well as promoting sociability and “Cultur.”³

1 Kathleen N. Conzen, “Germans,” in *The Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom et al. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980), 406–410.

2 Conzen, “Germans,” 409, 416; James M. Bergquist, “The Forty-Eighters: Catalysts of German-American Politics,” in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000*, ed. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 22–36; David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825–1860* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 168.

3 Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Göttingen: Wigand, 1855), 404, 407; Kathleen N. Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 155; Christiane Harzig, “Gender, Transatlantic Space, and the Presence of German-Speaking People in North America,” in *Travelling between Worlds: German-American Encounters*, ed. Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross (Arlington, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 163; Albert Stevens, *Cyclopedia of Fraternities* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1907), 235, 283; Gerhard Wiesinger, “Orden der Hermanns-Söhne and Deutscher Orden

Clubs thrived on the festivals they organized for financial and advertising purposes, and as a means of community-building and constructing a German-American ethnicity.⁴ Ethnicity is seen here, in accordance with Matthew Jacobson and Kathleen Conzen, as a cultural construct that is used to unify heterogeneous ethnic groups and promote their status in the host society.⁵

Since 1849, German-American men's choirs celebrated regular large festivals. The annual national gymnastic festivals (*Turnfeste*) were the second mainstay of German-American festival culture. Sharpshooting festivals were organized from the 1860s. In addition, German Americans introduced carnival celebrations to the U.S. in the 1850s, especially masked balls, but also (male) carnival sessions and street carnivals in places like Milwaukee in the 1850s and San Antonio in the 1870s. From the late 1870s, festivals organized by clubs of veterans from the German army (*Kriegerfeste*) were added to the German-American festival calendar. At about the same time, Socialists who were fleeing the anti-Socialist laws in Germany, instituted festivals commemorating Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, the Paris Commune, and May Day and, since the late 1890s, workers' singing festivals. Finally, regional Swabian, Bavarian, or Low German festivals (*Volksfeste*) emerged. In addition, German Americans participated in U.S. festivals and celebrated German and later German-American personalities and events.⁶

German Americans attached great importance to their festivals and developed elaborate and comprehensive theories on their functions. Besides providing a temporary retreat from everyday life, festivals served to unify the migrants, to dem-

der Harugari: Two Antinativist Fraternal Orders in the United States, 1840–1910," *In Their Own Words* 3/2 (1986): 137–141; for sociability see Klaus Nathaus, *Organisierte Geselligkeit: Deutsche und britische Vereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 15.

4 Theodor Griesinger, *Lebende Bilder aus Amerika* (Stuttgart: Wilhelm Nitzschke, 1858), 307; *Banner und Volksfreund* (Milwaukee, daily edition, hereafter *BV*, July 2, 1859, 2/7; Protocoll, Turnverein Milwaukee, September 26, 1855, in: Madison, Wisconsin Historical Society: Mw Mss BM: Milwaukee Turner, 1852–1944, Box 2, Folder 1.

5 Matthew F. Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 7; Kathleen N. Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U. S. A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12/1 (1992): 4–5.

6 Heike Bungert, "Deutschamerikanische Sängereisen und Lieder als Medium der Ethnizitätsbildung, 1849–1914," *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 55 (2010): 41–76; Heike Bungert, "'Feast of Fools: German-American Carnival in the United States, 1854–1914,'" *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 48/3 (2003): 325–344; Heike Bungert, "Fighting American 'Muckerism': German-American Festivals and their Impact on American Cultural Life, 1854–1914," in *Atlantic Migrations: Regions and Movements in Germany and North America/USA during the 18th and 19th Centuries*, ed. Sabine Heerwart and Claudia Schnurmann (Münster: LIT, 2007), 183–189; Heike Bungert, "Regional Diversity in Celebrating Regional Origin: German-American 'Volksfeste,' 1870–1920," in *Regionalism in the Age of Globalism*, vol. 2: *Forms of Regionalism*, ed. Lothar Hönnighausen et al. (Madison, WI: CSUMC, 2005), 93–115.

onstrate numerical strength and potential power, and to help gain recognition for German Americans.⁷

For all these purposes, culture was important. To unify the migrants and to create and maintain a German-American ethnicity, German-American ethnic leaders, ethnic entrepreneurs, or ethnic patriots⁸ – mostly teachers, journalists, musicians, lawyers, and doctors – constantly referred to shared German and later German-American cultural traditions. To obtain distinction and social recognition, cultural capital from Germany was to be transferred to the United States and to be transformed into symbolic capital.⁹ At the same time, this allowed German Americans to legitimize the maintenance of German culture, while emphasizing the particular aptness of certain cultural traits for transfer to the U.S. The emphasis on German culture harked back to Germany, where the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*)¹⁰ had tried to hegemonize culture and to use the ideal of the cultural nation (*Kulturnation*) to work for German unification. Culture was also used to place Germans hierarchically above supposedly more materialistic English, French, or U.S. Americans.¹¹ In this vein, German-American ethnic leaders

7 *Wisconsin-Banner und Volksfreund* (Milwaukee, weekly edition), hereafter *WBV*, March 13, 1850, 2/4; *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1/2 (1892), 66, 69–70; *New-Yorker Belletristisches Journal* (*Criminalzeitung*) (prior to that *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, *New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*), hereafter *NYBJCZ*, August 12, 1853, 212; June 20, 1856, 201; June 12, 1857, 184; September 4, 1857, 372; *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, hereafter *NYSZ*, August 31, 1875, 8/5; see also Kathleen N. Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 54; Barbara Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity: Listening to German North America, 1850–1914* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 127.

8 Willi P. Adams, "Ethnic Leadership and the German-Americans," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 1, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 152; John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 139; Victor R. Greene, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860–1910* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975), 4.

9 Pierre Bourdieu, "Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten*, ed. Reinhard Kreckel (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1983), 183–198; Pierre Bourdieu, *Zur Soziologie der symbolischen Formen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1971), 60.

10 For a definition see M. Reiner Lepsius, "Das Bildungsbürgertum als ständische Vergesellschaftung," in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 3: *Lebensführung und ständische Vergesellschaftung*, ed. M. Reiner Lepsius (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992), 8–18.

11 Jürgen Kocka, "Obrigkeitsstaat und Bürgerlichkeit: Zur Geschichte des deutschen Bürgertums im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne: Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Hardtwig and Harm-Hinrich Brandt (München: Beck, 1993), 113; Aleida Assmann, "Zum Problem der Identität aus kulturwissenschaftlicher Sicht," in *Die Wiederkehr des Regionalen: Über neue Formen kultureller Identität*, ed. Rudolf Lindner (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1994), 21, 24; Wolfgang Kaschuba, "Deutsche Bürgerlichkeit nach 1800: Kultur als symbolische Praxis," in *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*,

claimed that in contrast to U.S. leisure activities with their “race for diversion” and to Americans’ presumed lack of culture, German-American festivals stood for ethics and culture and were to be transferred to the U.S.¹²

Music and singing in the German romantic tradition was interpreted as an expression of the soul, the (German) nation and humanity, with Germans claiming a special relationship to music. With music and singing festivals, German-American (male) singers wished to bring culture to the United States and refine both their less educated fellow migrants and U.S. Americans.¹³ Ethnic leaders stressed that German migrants had to undertake the historically important task to replace the American “cult of the practical” with the German “cult of the beautiful and noble.”¹⁴ As a universal language, music was to provide a “bridge” between Germans and Anglo Americans.¹⁵ German-American male choirs and their singing

- vol. 3, ed. Jürgen Kocka (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988), 17–19; Georg Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur: Glanz und Elend eines deutschen Deutungsmusters* (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1994), 22–27, 155–159, 173; Bernhard Giesen, *Kollektive Identität: Die Intellektuellen und die Nation 2* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1999), 11; Peter J. Brenner, *Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), 323.
- 12 *Texas Staats-Zeitung* (San Antonio, weekly edition), hereafter *TSZ*, November 19, 1859, 2/1 (“Haschen nach Zerstreuung”); see also *NYBJCZ*, August 19, 1853, 224; June 7, 1867, 208; *NYSZ*, July 30, 1853, 3/7; June 24, 1893, 10/2; Löher, *Geschichte*, 380, 384; *Wisconsin-Banner und Volksfreund* (twice-weekly edition), hereafter *WBV* (2w), September 3, 1895, 8/1–4; Wolfgang Helbich, “Immigrant Adaptation at the Individual Level: The Evidence of Nineteenth-Century German-American Letters,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 42 (1997): 414.
- 13 *Wochenblatt der N. Y. Staats-Zeitung*, hereafter *WNYSZ*, June 22, 1850, 2/2; January 18, 1851, 3/6; *Atlas* (Milwaukee), May 3, 1859, 3/1–2; *NYBJCZ*, June 29, 1855, 216; *Turn-Zeitung* (New York), August 1, 1852, 83–84; *NYSZ*, July 2, 1853, 3/5–7; July 21, 1860, 4/7; June 17, 1871, 8/1; Theodore J. Albrecht, “German Singing Societies in Texas” (PhD diss., North Texas State University, 1975), 55; see also Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 8; Thomas Schmidt-Beste, “The Germanization of American Musical Life in the 19th Century,” in *Die deutsche Präsenz in den USA – The German Presence in the U.S.A.*, ed. Jan Wirrer and Josef Raab (Münster: LIT, 2008), 519; Celia Applegate, “What is German Music? Reflections on the Role of Art in the Creation of a Nation,” *German Studies Review* 15 (1992): 22; Ursula Geisler, *Gesang und nationale Gemeinschaft: Zur kulturellen Konstruktion von schwedischem ‘folksång’ und deutscher ‘Nationalhymne’* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2001), 23–32; Dietmar Klenke, *Der singende ‘deutsche Mann’: Gesangvereine und deutsches Nationalbewußtsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster: Waxmann, 1998), 1, 7, 25.
- 14 “Cultus des Nützlichen,” “Cultus des Schönen und Edlen,” *WBV*, June 9, 1868, 2/8; see also *NYSZ*, July 30, 1853, 3/7; *NYBJCZ*, June 7, 1867, 208; *Freie Presse für Texas* (San Antonio, thrice-weekly edition), hereafter *FPT* (3w), July 27, 1869, 2/3–4; *Souvenir Programme 22nd National Song and Music Festival. Saengerfest of the NordOestliche Saengerbund of America, Madison Square Garden, New York, June, Nineteenth to the Twenty Fourth Nineteen Hundred and Nine* (New York: s. n., 1909), 24–25.
- 15 *Atlantis* (Detroit) 6, No. 1 (1857): 8; see also Lorenzkowski, *Sounds of Ethnicity*, 103.

festivals introduced U.S. audiences to the choral and symphonic literature that was standard in most of Europe and which led to the building of permanent festival or concert halls in many festival cities.¹⁶

Transplanting German carnival to the U.S. was likewise seen as a cultural achievement. Carnival, on the one hand, via its masked processions, depicted German operas, literary works, myths, or fairy tales. On the other hand, the music, plays, dance, and humor exhibited were seen as promoting culture. German Americans displayed their feelings of superiority, when they stated that German-American carnival lagged behind that in Germany, because the United States were a century behind Germany in the "ethical development of its people."¹⁷

In their *Volksfeste*, German Americans demonstrated their regional cultural traditions and pointed to their regional "culture heroes."¹⁸ Thus, the Swabians proudly celebrated the composers Conradin Kreutzer and Friedrich Silcher as well as the writers Friedrich Schiller, Ludwig Uhland, Eduard Mörike, Wilhelm Hauff, Justus Kerner, and Heinrich von Kleist, the latter not as a Swabian but as the author of a play taking place in Swabia, "Das Käthchen von Heilbronn." Festival newspapers contained poems from local poets in their regional dialects, and composers submitted their works.¹⁹

Ethnic leaders of the workers' movement likewise claimed to be representatives of German culture. Especially in the workers' singers festivals, they wanted to develop a feeling for art within the workers' movement and use the emotional and liberating power of song to introduce the cultural epoch of Socialism. Instead of visiting questionable "American" amusements, German-American workers as the "true, only carriers of culture" wanted to fashion their own intellectual and cultural world in singing festivals.²⁰

16 Bungert, "Fighting American 'Muckerism,'" 191–196, 206.

17 "Sittlichen Entwicklung des Volkes," *NYBJCZ*, February 26, 1869, 816; see also February 21, 1868, 800; *Milwaukee Freie Presse* (continuation of *Banner und Volksfreund* and *Milwaukee's Socialist*), hereafter *MFP*, February 21, 1881, 3/3; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), hereafter *FLIN*, February 25, 1860, 200; *San Francisco Abend Post*, hereafter *SFAP*, January 19, 1867, 3/1; March 2, 1868, 2/6; 1859–1909: Mainzer Carneval-Verein in New York: Einst und jetzt. Ein Gedenkbuch zum goldenen Jubiläum (New York: s. n., 1909–1910), 48; *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung für die Vereinigten Staaten* (Philadelphia), hereafter *DMZ*, March 1, 1858, 170–171; *BV*, February 21, 1873, 2/6.

18 Adams, "Ethnic Leadership," 153.

19 Bungert, "Regional Diversity," 106–107.

20 "Die wahren, einzigen Kulturträger," *Fest-Zeitung für das 4te Bundes-Sängerfest des Arbeiter-Sängerbundes des Nordwestens der Ver. Staaten, abgehalten am 23, 24, 25, u. 26. Juni 1907 in Davenport, Ia.*, 1 (Juni 1906): 7; see also *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, hereafter *NYVZ*, July 3, 1899, 1/3–4; July 3, 1905, 1/3; July 3, 1908, 1/4; *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, August 16, 1899, in: Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 284–289; *Fest-Zeitung für das Bundes-Sängerfest des Arbeiter-Sängerbundes des Nordwestens der Ver. Staaten, abgehalten am*

Celebrating German and German-American “Culture Heroes”

German Americans also organized festivals which celebrated German, and later on, German-American “culture heroes.” In these – as in other festivals – German-American ethnic leaders emphasized highbrow culture.²¹ They were representatives of what I refer to as the German-American Ethnic Legitimation Memory. Ethnicity, identity and memory are closely related. Memory is shaped by identity, while memories influence ethnicity.²² Building on John Bodnar’s terms of Official Memory (social elite; focused on status quo), Vernacular Memory (special groups; interested in change), and Public Memory (the result of a struggle between the two)²³, we can find these same three types of memory within the ethnic group of German Americans. German-American ethnic entrepreneurs, as supporters of an Ethnic Legitimation Memory, demanded to be leaders of their less “cultured” compatriots and within the nation at large. “Ordinary” German Americans attached more importance to their sub-group or milieu and developed their own Ethnic Vernacular Memory as a counter-memory. A German-American Ethnic Communal Memory was negotiated in intense discussions between the two.²⁴ By celebrating German and subsequently German-American “culture heroes” and events, German-American ethnic leaders attempted to build a canon of cultural values and traditions, which became the basis of a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory. Canon can be defined, according to Jan Assmann, as “that form of tradition in which tradition becomes most binding in its contents and fixed in its form.” A canon is especially important in times of a lack of orientation

24., 25., 26. u. 27. Juni 1910 in Chicago, 2 (February 1910): 5; *Fest-Zeitung für das vierte Bundes-Sänger-Fest des Arbeiter-Sängerbundes der Nord-Ost-Staaten von Amerika abgehalten in Brooklyn, N. Y., am 1., 2., 3. und 4. Juli 1905*, 2 (August 1, 1904): 3.

- 21 *BV*, July 20, 1858, 3/2; Albert Krause, Buffalo, an Mutter, July 22, 1883, in: Wolfgang J. Helbich, ed., *Amerika ist ein freies Land: Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1985), 175; *NYSZ*, August 17, 1875, 8/6; see also Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow, Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).
- 22 Jan Assmann, “Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität,” in *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, ed. Jan Assmann and Tonio Hölscher (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1988), 12–13; Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999), 131; John R. Gillis, “Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 197.
- 23 John E. Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 17–19.
- 24 Heike Bungert, “Memory and Migration Studies,” in *The Merits of Memory: Concepts, Contexts, Debates*, ed. Sabine Schindler and Hans-Jürgen Grabbe (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), 197–219.

and potential loss of tradition, as was the case for many migrants.²⁵ The canon was regarded as worth preserving and as a valuable transfer to the United States. Education, German art, music, the German language, love of liberty, and idealism were all to become part of the German-American canon, with the commemoration of Alexander von Humboldt's death in May 1859 and his 100th birthday in September 1869, with the celebration of Ludwig van Beethoven's 100th anniversary in December 1870, of Friedrich von Schiller's 100th birthday in November of 1859 and of the 100th anniversary of his death in 1905, of Ludwig Uhland's 100th birthday in 1887, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 150th birthday in 1899.

Ethnic leaders called for commemorations of Humboldt, pointing to Humboldt's and supposedly all Germans' superior intellect, which they also used to claim a greater role in U.S. nation-building. They compared Humboldt to Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, and Beethoven as a representative of truth and reality and emphasized his cosmopolitan traits and his admiration of U.S. republicanism.²⁶

The festivities, though, were not a complete success. In 1859, in New York, a parade was well attended, but the indoor commemoration remained rather empty. In Milwaukee, the festival orator failed to show up.²⁷ In 1869, a collection for a Humboldt statue in New York raised barely enough money for a bust, the project of a German university in the U.S. came to nothing, and in several cities, the elite celebrated among themselves.²⁸ In addition, some German Americans claimed Humboldt as an atheist, others as a free-thinker, and some religious newspapers voted against celebrating him at all.²⁹ Thus, the festival revealed debates and con-

25 "Jene Form von Tradition, in der sie ihre höchste inhaltliche Verbindlichkeit und äußerste formale Festlegung erreicht," see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 1992), 103, 123–127, quotation 103.

26 *Milwaukee Herald* (daily edition), hereafter *MH*, September 12, 1869, 3/3–4; September 15, 1869, 3/2–4; *SFAP*, July 3, 1869, 2/1; September 15, 1869, 2/2; *Atlas*, June 29, 1859, 2/1; *New York Times*, hereafter *NYT*, July 12, 1859, 4/4; July 16, 1859, 3/5–6; *FPT* (3w), September 7, 1869, 2/2; *WNYSZ*, July 16, 1859, 3/5; see also Andreas Daum, "Celebrating Humanism in St. Louis: The Origins of the Humboldt Statue in Tower Grove Park, 1859–1878," *Gateway Heritage* 15/2 (1994): 55.

27 *NYT*, July 12, 1859, 4/4; *WNYSZ*, July 16, 1859, 3/5; *BV*, June 29, 1859, 3/2; July 1, 1859, 3/2; *Atlas*, July 2, 1859, 3/3.

28 *NYB/CZ*, September 3, 1869, 409; May 14, 1869, 147; August 27, 1869, 393; September 24, 1869, 464; *FLIN*, October 2, 1869, 45; *SFAP*, September 11, 1869, 2/7; September 13, 1869, 3/1–2; September 15, 1869, 2/1–4; September 20, 1869, 3/1; *MH*, August 5, 1869, 3/3–5; August 17, 1869, 3/2; *Milwaukee Seebote* (weekly edition), hereafter *MSB* (w), September 15, 1869, 1/4; for other Humboldt statues, see Daum, "Celebrating Humanism," 51.

29 *MSB* (w), September 8, 1869, 2/1–2; *Harper's Weekly* (New York), September 15, 1869, 3/5; *FPT* (3w), March 16, 1869, 2/2–3; see also Cora L. Nollendorfs, "Alexander von Humboldt Centennial Celebrations in the United States: Controversies Concerning His Work," *Monatshefte* 80/1 (1988): 62.

troversies about Humboldt's place and role in a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory.

While Humboldt represented science and education, Beethoven symbolized music and, for many German Americans, was associated in German idealism with the "beautiful, good, and truthful". At the same time, he could be claimed as a carrier of German republican traditions, because he withdrew the dedication of his symphony "Eroica" to Napoleon, thus showing that German migrants were ideal citizens of the republic of the United States.³⁰ German-American ethnic leaders vacillated between their desire for distinction and the need to draw a large audience, in order to demonstrate the numerical power and cultural affinities of German Americans. On the one hand, they wanted to acquaint the "masses" with Beethoven's music. On the other hand, his genius might only reach a refined audience. Ultimately, in Milwaukee, the organizers decided on a church concert and a *matinée* with "salon music."³¹

As with Humboldt, the results of the celebrations demonstrated that German Americans' supposed affinity to highbrow culture was a conscious or unconscious idealization by ethnic leaders, and that Beethoven was not necessarily part of a German-American Vernacular Memory. Milwaukee's festival ended in a financial loss. Nonetheless, German-American journalists emphasized that an interest in classical music and German culture had been inculcated into the masses of German Americans.³² In San Francisco, the audience applauded frenetically at the end of a work for harp, which the journalist of the *San Francisco Abend Post* called "dirt and sugar."³³ However, as the concert was relatively long, many people left before the end, thus not really attesting to much enthusiasm for "the greatest composer who ever lived."³⁴ New York's German Americans celebrated with two separate concerts of classical music, thus demonstrating a lack of unity.³⁵

30 "Allem Schönen, Guten und Hohen," *NYBJCZ*, December 23, 1870, 672; see also *WBV*, November 23, 1869, 2/9; *SFAP*, December 19, 1870, 3/3; *NYT*, June 14, 1870, 4/7; for Germany see Applegate, "What is German Music?," 29.

31 "Salonmusik," *BV*, October 22, 1870, 3/2; see also July 30, 1870, 3/3; November 24, 1870, 3/2; December 8, 1870, 3/1.

32 *WBV*, November 23, 1869, 2/9; *BV*, November 27, 1870, 3/2; December 13, 1870, 3/1; *Milwaukee Seebote* (daily edition), December 12, 1870, 3/1–2.

33 "Dreck und Zucker," *SFAP*, December 19, 1870, 3/3.

34 "Den größten Tonkünstler, welcher je gelebt hat," *SFAP*, November 29, 1870, 3/2.

35 *NYBJCZ*, December 23, 1870, 672; *NYSZ*, December 17, 1870, 8/1; December 18, 1870, 4/2–4. The German-American press derided a commercial Anglo-American Beethoven festival with 10,000 singers, 8,000 school children, 550 instrumentalists, canons, and anvils. Even the *New York Times* opined: "Beethoven is compelled to shine by being absent," *NYT*, June 18, 1870, 5/1; see also *Dwight's Journal of Music* (Boston), June 19, 1869, 55; *NYSZ*, June 2, 1870, 6/2; June 5, 1870, 8/2; June 7, 1870, 5/2–4; June 16, 1870, 8/4.

In smaller festivals, German-American male choirs commemorated other German composers, like Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, on the occasion of his death in early 1848, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart on his 100th and 150th birthdays in 1856 and 1906, and in later years, Franz Schubert, Carl Maria von Weber, or Richard Wagner. The latter’s 100th birthday in 1913 drew 50,000 listeners to a park concert in Brooklyn, which was intended to acquaint the audience not only with Wagner, but also with German song in general. Milwaukee’s German-American printers regularly celebrated the achievements of Johannes Gutenberg, beginning in 1859, thus starting their own Ethnic Vernacular Memory.³⁶

German literary “heroes” were also honored. Schiller was celebrated in 1859 in a “national festival.”³⁷ In the nineteenth century, Schiller became a German national hero and model for Germany’s educated middle class. In 1859, he was celebrated in all of Germany, but also in Austria-Hungary, France, England, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Holland.³⁸

German-American ethnic leaders hoped that the young, energetic, and idealistic Schiller – who, in contrast to Goethe, was seen as “a man of the people” – would appeal to the hearts and minds of all those who remembered growing up with his poems and dramas. Ethnic entrepreneurs urged their compatriots to preserve Schiller’s idealism, i.e. truth, beauty, nobleness, and goodness, as their unique

36 *WNYSZ*, February 12, 1848, 3/3; February 6, 1897, 5/6; *Mozart Verein Fest-Souvenir zum Goldenen Jubiläum, New York, 1904* (New York: Isaac Goldmann, 1904), 18; *Freie Presse für Texas* (San Antonio, weekly edition), hereafter *FPT* (w), October 19, 1905, 5/2–3; *BV*, June 24, 1859, 3/2; June 24, 1860, 3/4; June 25, 1864, 3/2; minutes, Vorstand Milwaukee Musikverein, February 26, 1877, March 12, 1877, March 30, 1877, in: Milwaukee, Milwaukee County Historical Society, Mss 1763: Milwaukee Musikverein, F Meeting Minutes Musikverein, 1875–1880, pages 76, 82, 84; *Germania-Abendpost* (Milwaukee, continuation of *Milwaukee’s Abendpost*), hereafter *GAP*, February 1, 1897, 5/6; Oscar Burckhardt, ed., *Der Musikverein von Milwaukee, 1850–1900: Eine Chronik* (Milwaukee, WI: Herold, 1900), 99, 110, 120–121; *NYSZ*, January 10, 1913, 2/4; February 2, 1913, 28/6; April 28, 1913, 1/7–2/3; June 2, 1913, 4/1–2.

37 “Nationalfest,” *MSB* (w), November 16, 1859, 366/2–3; see also Moritz Meyer, *Die Schillerfeier in den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (New York: Druckerei der New Yorker Handels Zeitung, 1859), 8–13.

38 Otto Dann, “Schiller,” in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 2, ed. Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (München: Beck, 2001), 172, 174–181; Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur*, 133–142, 198; Rainer Noltensius, *Dichterfeiern in Deutschland: Rezeptionsgeschichte als Sozialgeschichte am Beispiel der Schiller- und Freiligrath-Feiern* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1984), 71–77, 244, 248–249; Andreas Baisch, “Die Schillerfeiern des Jahres 1859 im Urteil des liberalen Bildungsbürgertums: Ein nationales Fest als Vorwegnahme der deutschen Einheit und Verwirklichung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft” (M.A. thesis, Universität Tübingen, 1995), 5, 16–19, 59, 67, 96–99; Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (1806–1918)* (Essen: Klartext, 1995), 149–156; Thorsten Gudewitz, “Bußen, Beten und Randal: Mit- und gegeneinander Schiller feiern in Hamburg, Berlin und St. Louis,” in *Medialisierte Ereignisse. Performanz, Inszenierung und Medien seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Frank Bösch and Patrick Schmidt (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2010), 140.

national trait. Migrants were also encouraged to keep up the German language, which, they said, Schiller had used so masterfully. At the same time, festival orators emphasized that Schiller had been committed to individual, religious and national liberty, that is, to ideals also prevalent in the U.S. During the Schiller celebrations in Texas, Schiller's struggle for liberty was used as a model for the German-American battle against temperance and the Sunday laws. By emphasizing the worldwide acclaim of Schiller, which supposedly put him on a par with John Milton, William Shakespeare, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Dante Alighieri, and Homer, German-American ethnic leaders claimed recognition for Germans and German Americans.³⁹

To both obtain recognition and transfer German culture, German-American ethnic leaders wanted their Schiller celebration to be a festival in the European tradition, i.e. intellectual and sophisticated. Instead of fireworks and pageants, parts of Schiller's works were performed. To demonstrate Schiller's love of liberty, the festivals mostly consisted of scenes from "The Robbers/Die Räuber," "Wilhelm Tell," or "Wallenstein's Camp/Wallensteins Lager." In addition, the commemorations included speeches, music – often Beethoven's ninth symphony with Schiller's "Ode to Joy/Ode an die Freude" – *tableaux vivants* from Schiller's works, crownings of Schiller busts with floral wreaths, sometimes also a solemn parade to the festival hall, and often a concluding ball.⁴⁰

The festivals were equally used to promote German-American culture. In some cities, prize competitions for festive odes to Schiller were held, which, for example, the 48er and history professor Reinhold Solger won in New York. Another

39 "Mann des Volkes," *Frank Leslie's Illustrierte Zeitung* (New York), November 12, 1859, 1; see also *TSZ*, November 19, 1859, 3/1–2; *Schiller-Album zur hundertjährigen Feier der Geburt des Dichters: Eine Festgabe der Freunde Schiller's in der neuen Welt* (Philadelphia: Schäfer & Konradi, 1859), 154; M. Meyer, *Die Schillerfeier*, 1; *Die Bedeutung und Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstages von Friedrich Schiller, New-York, den 8. 9. 10. 11. und 12.11.1859* (New York: M.W. Siebert, 1859), 3–4, 6, 23; *New York Evening Post*, hereafter *NYEP*, November 10, 1859, 2/9; *MSB* (w), November 16, 1859, 366; *FLIN*, November 19, 1859, 209; for a discussion of Schiller's idealism see Karl S. Guthke, *Schillers Dramen: Idealismus und Skepsis* (Tübingen: Francke, 1994), 11–30. Festival organizers also sent reports of their festivals to Germany, both privately, and in special publications to authorities and the press, see M. Meyer, *Die Schillerfeier; Die Bedeutung und Feier; California Demokrat* (San Francisco), hereafter *CD*, November 21, 1859, 1/1, in: Weimar, Schiller-Archiv, hereafter *WSA*, GSA 83/1304; letters Robert Rossi, to his sister in Schwerin, November 27, 1859, as well as Emil Dupré, both New York, to his mother in Braunschweig, November 23, 1859, in: Erfurt, Universität Erfurt, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Auswandererbriefesammlung, hereafter *EGABS*; letter Johann Dieden, Chicago, to his Cousin, March 15, 1860, in: Wolfgang J. Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, eds., *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: Briefe von Front und Farm 1861–1865* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), 352.

40 *DMZ*, November 26, 1859, 726, 730; *TSZ*, November 19, 1859, 2/1–2; November 26, 1859, 2/2–3, in: *WSA*, GSA 83/1302; *CD*, November 21, 1859, 4/1–5, in: *ibid.*; M. Meyer, *Die Schillerfeier; Die Bedeutung und Feier*, 15–16, 22–26.

48er, Germain Metternich, wrote a festive play, "Schiller's Birth/Schillers Geburt." Local German-American composers set Schiller texts to music.⁴¹ German Americans in New York erected a Schiller statue in Central Park. San Antonio's German Americans started a Schiller Foundation and built a German-English school, which was enlarged with the proceeds from the Humboldt festival in 1869. Its pupils annually commemorated Schiller with recitations and play.⁴²

Judging from newspaper accounts, festival organizers were not yet in touch with the masses of German immigrants, that is, the Ethnic Legitimation Memory was not in sync with the Ethnic Vernacular Memory. Several cities witnessed squabbles between different factions, people resigned their committee membership when outvoted, clubs kept to themselves, and Milwaukee's population was so unmoved by Schiller hat only eighteen people attended a preparatory mass meeting.⁴³ Both in Milwaukee and New York, the "true" representatives of culture fought the "so-called respectable," i.e. wealthy, citizens who supposedly wanted spectacular entertainment instead of a cultural event. The educated bourgeoisie also saw itself working against the masses who seemed to know Schiller only by name.⁴⁴ While in many cities, several festivities took place simultaneously, which could indicate a lack of unity, the numerous events might also have demonstrated Schiller's popularity, with even beer gardens and small restaurants offering celebrations.⁴⁵

In May 1905, Schiller was again celebrated, this time on the 100th anniversary of his death. Again, the celebrations were to showcase highbrow culture. New

41 M. Meyer, *Die Schillerfeier*, 6–8; *BV*, September 20, 1859, 3/3, Adolf Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 319, 343–344; *Atlas*, November 14, 1859, 2/2; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, hereafter *MS*, November 11, 1859, 1/3.

42 "Das erste Denkmal im Central-Park in New York: 'Ein deutsches Denkmal,'" *Der Deutsche Pionier* 4/6 (1872): 202–203; James G. Wilson, ed., *The Memorial History of the City of New-York From its First Settlement to the Year 1892*, vol. 4 (New York: New-York History Co., 1893), 219–220; Minutes, Schiller Festival Committee, August 23, 1859, September 28, 1859, October 5, 1859, in: San Antonio, Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library, Col 890: German-English School Records, Box 1, Folder 3; *San Antonio Daily Herald*, November 12, 1859, 2/3; Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio, TX: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), 133; see also Ron Tyler, ed., *The New Handbook of Texas*, vol. 3 (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), s.v. "German-English school."

43 *Atlas*, September 21, 1859, 3/3–4; Minutes Schiller Festival Committee, September 28, 1859, October 5, 1859, in: San Antonio, Col 890, Box 1, Folder 3; *BV*, November 12, 1859, 3/2; *TSZ*, November 26, 1859, 2/2.

44 "Wahren," "sogen. respectable(n) Teil der Gesellschaft," Milwaukee Public Library, R 780.6 M67r C. 1: Repertorium des Musik-Vereins 1857–1860, II, Ed. Hoffmann, pages 336, 343; *DMZ*, November 25, 1859, 727; *NYEP*, November 12, 1859, 3/7.

45 *NYSZ*, November 11, 1859, 3/2–4; *DMZ*, November 25, 1859, 726; *Die Bedeutung und Feier*, 25–26; letter Robert Rossi, Hoboken, to his sister in Schwerin, November 27, 1859, in: Helbich, ed., *Amerika*, 172–174.

York's German Americans staged a torchlight procession with some floats depicting scenes from Schiller's works, while Milwaukee witnessed – among other things – an academic celebration by the Association of German Teachers. Just as in 1859, ethnic leaders cast Schiller as a role model for preserving the German language by passing it onto American-born children and by pleading for the preservation of German classes in public schools. Speakers underlined the importance of Schiller and his ideals of liberty, beauty, and truth, but this time, they focused more on the impact of those values on the United States. The country of liberty and popular government, in their view, owed much to Schiller's ideas of liberty and human dignity. Orators compared Schiller's early revolutionary years with the formation of the U.S. republic and regarded the mission of German Americans as that of teaching Anglo Americans Schiller's later ideals, so as to render the United States more refined and more mature. At the same time, ethnic leaders proudly emphasized how deeply German Americans had already made their impact felt.⁴⁶ Whereas journalists and festival organizers stressed that all classes had taken part in the festivities, the Socialists celebrated separately. They stressed Schiller's revolutionary progressive ideals and chided the middle class for their placid remembrance of Schiller and obliviousness to his demands for liberty, which, for them, contradicted the oppression of the proletariat. German-American Socialists also linked Schiller to German America. For them, the United States presented a particularly fruitful place to apply the ideals of Schiller as they perceived them.⁴⁷

46 *GAP*, May 8, 1905, 4/1–2; May 9, 1905, 6/2–3; *Freie Presse für Texas* (San Antonio, daily edition), hereafter *FPT* (d), May 15, 1905, 4/1–2; *WNYSZ*, May 13, 1905, 1–2, 4/3, 6/3–4; May 20, 1905, 6/4; “The Centenary of Schiller’s Death,” *German American Annals* III/6 (1905): 163; *NYVZ*, May 8, 1905, 1/1–3. Just as in Germany, the festivals were more numerous but smaller, see *New-Yorker Schillertage Mai 1905: Festschrift herausgegeben von den Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften der Stadt New York zum Deutschen Tag, Sonntag, den 29. Oktober 1905* (New York: L. Boeker, 1905); *WNYSZ*, May 6, 1905, 5/6–7; May 13, 1905, 1–2; *NYT*, May 9, 1905, 9/3; *GAP*, May 7, 1905, 10/1–2; May 8, 1905, 4/3; *Zur Erinnerung an den Dichterheroen: Friedrich Schiller, gewidmet zur Gedenkfeier seines hundertjährigen Todestages abgehalten am Sonntag, den 7. Mai 1905, im Pabst-Theater* (Milwaukee, WI: Schiller-Goethe Monument Association and Buehler Print Co., 1905). In Germany, Schiller was no longer cast as a republican, but as a defender of German national unity, see Dann, “Schiller,” 172–173; Bollenbeck, *Bildung und Kultur*, 235–236; Edith Benner, “Die Schillerfeier 1905,” in *Feste in Regensburg: Von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Karl Möseneder (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1986), 553; for a comparison between the Schiller festivals 1859 and 1905 see also Heike Bungert, “From Celebrating the Old to Celebrating the New: The Formation of a German-American Identity, 1859–1914,” in *Sites of Memory in American Literature and Cultures*, ed. Udo Hebel (Heidelberg: Winter, 2003), 193–212.

47 *GAP*, May 9, 1905, 6/2–3; *NYVZ*, May 8, 1905, 1/1–3; *San Francisco Tageblatt*, March 24, 1905, 8/4; *WNYSZ*, May 13, 1905, 2/6; for similar separate celebrations in Germany see Dann, “Schiller,” 173; Wolfgang Hagen, *Die Schillerverehrung in der Sozialdemokratie: Zur ideologischen Formation proletarischer Kulturpolitik vor 1914* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977).

Obviously, there was a struggle about how to define a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory. Schiller's 150th anniversary in 1909 was mainly commemorated by some literary, dramatic, or Swabian clubs, as well as by some gymnasts.⁴⁸ Two other German poets were celebrated, but on a smaller scale. Uhland, whose poems were well-known because many of them had been set to music and were part of the German-American musical repertoire, was commemorated on his 100th birthday in 1887. In Milwaukee, even the public schools held celebrations in order to demonstrate that cultural transfer had taken place. In San Francisco, Protestant church clubs, the Swabian club, singers, gymnasts, and the Socialist male choir celebrated together. They cast Uhland not only as a poet, but as a politician who had worked for freedom and democracy all his life and whose ideals had been realized in the U.S., thus anchoring Uhland in a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory.⁴⁹

In smaller celebrations, often meant to acquaint German-American children with German literature, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Friedrich Rückert, and Johann Gottfried Herder were commemorated in German schools, and also in school associations or intellectual clubs. Mostly, the festivals consisted of lectures, recitations of poems or works by the writers, and sometimes songs set to texts by the poets.⁵⁰

Goethe was mainly commemorated by the gymnasts with literary exercises and song, as he was seen more as a cosmopolitan and to fit less well into a German-American canon or Ethnic Communal Memory. On the occasion of his 150th birthday in August 1899, German Americans in some cities celebrated him in huge picnics with tens of thousands of people. In most cities, though, only small academic events were organized. Orators presented Goethe as a model of belief in progress, an emphasis on education, self-confidence, and, like Schiller, maintaining the German language. In 1908, New York's elite clubs commemorated the publication of Goethe's "Faust."⁵¹

48 *NYSZ*, November 11, 1909, 1/6–7, 2/2–3; *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* (Milwaukee), hereafter *ATZ*, November 14, 1909, 4/3, 5/2; November 21, 1909, 5/1.

49 *MH*, April 27, 1887, 4/4–6; *SFAP*, April 25, 1887, 3/3; *NYSZ*, April 26, 1887, 5/1–2; April 28, 1887, 1/6–2/5; for Germany see Utz Jeggle, "Nachruhm und Kult," in *Ludwig Uhland: Dichter, Politiker, Gelehrter*, ed. Hermann Bausinger (Tübingen: Attempto, 1988), 217–236.

50 *MS*, May 19, 1888, 5/1; January 12, 1896, 3/1; *NYSZ*, February 24, 1888, 8/5; October 8, 1907, 1/6; *GAP*, December 6, 1903, 1/1–2; "Herder Memorial Day," *German American Annals* NF 2/3 (1904): 175–177; *CD*, March 1, 1908, 8/2.

51 *ATZ*, November 29, 1891, 2/1–2; November 12, 1899, 4/1; *WNYSZ*, September 2, 1899, 6/1–3; September 9, 1899, 1/7; October 2, 1899, 9/1–3; October 13, 1899, 8/2–3; *MS*, November 4, 1899, 3/5; *SFAP*, August 29, 1899, 1/3; New Yorker Liederkrantz, letter of December 28, 1907, in: New York, New York Public Library, Deutscher Liederkrantz, Programs, *MAA; for Germany see Klaus L. Berghahn, "Von Weimar nach Versailles: Zur Entstehung der Klassik-Legende im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Feiern*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Wiesbaden: Athenaion,

Ultimately, however, Goethe became a German-American site of memory, though often together with the more popular Schiller. Just like U.S. Americans and Germans⁵², German Americans increasingly erected monuments from the 1880s onwards. The migrants thus created sites of memory and communication for the second and third generations and celebrated their (economic) success, while transferring German cultural icons into U.S. public space and gaining some sort of recognition.⁵³ Schiller statues were built, for example, in Philadelphia in 1885, in Chicago in 1886, in Cleveland in 1891, and in St. Louis in 1898, all of them replicas of German monuments. Goethe statues were erected in New York in 1875, in Philadelphia in 1890, in St. Paul in 1905, in Detroit in 1908 (the latter two being original), and in Chicago in 1913.⁵⁴

However, double monuments to Goethe AND Schiller, replicating Ernst Rietschel's 1857 monument of the two in Weimar, became the fashion. San Francisco's German Americans started to campaign for such a monument in 1895 and unveiled it in Golden Gate Park in 1901. The friendship between Goethe and Schiller was to become a model of friendship between Germany and the U.S. Half of the cost of 10,000 dollars was raised by donations, the other half from a large bazaar, in which most of San Francisco's German-American clubs participated. Each booth was dedicated to a work by Schiller or Goethe, thus bringing "culture" to America, acquainting German Americans and U.S. Americans with the works of the two poets, as well as unifying German Americans. In "Wallenstein's

1977), 50–78; Dieter Borchmeyer, "Goethe," in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, ed. François and Schulze, 198–200.

52 Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 206 (1968): 542; Lutz Tittel, "Monumentaldenkmal von 1871 bis 1918 in Deutschland: Ein Beitrag zum Thema Denkmal und Landschaft," in *Kunstverwaltung, Bau- und Denkmal-Politik im Kaiserreich*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Stephan Waetzoldt (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1981), 215; Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation: Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal; zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918* (New York: de Gruyter, 1996); Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263–307; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1993 [New York: Knopf, 1991]), 115.

53 For sites of memory see Jakob Tanner, "Nation, Kommunikation und Gedächtnis: Die Produktivkraft des Imaginären und die Aktualität Ernest Renans," in *Politische Kollektive: Die Konstruktion nationaler, rassistischer und ethnischer Gemeinschaften*, ed. Ulrike Jureit (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2001), 59; A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume*, 299, 337, 410; Pierre Nora, "Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis: Die Gedächtnisorte," in *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, ed. Pierre Nora (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1990), 11–33.

54 *MH*, May 16, 1886, 1/5; *NYSZ*, November 14, 1898, 1/3–4; December 3, 1913, 3/3; *GAP*, June 14, 1908, II/1; *NYEP*, August 28, 1875, 2/1; August 30, 1875, 1/1–3; *NYT*, August 29, 1875, 2/3–4; *WNYSZ*, September 2, 1899, 6/1; see also Hans A. Pohlsander, *National Monuments and Nationalism in 19th Century Germany* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 82–84.

Camp/Wallensteins Lager,” the sharpshooters’ booth, visitors had to pay ransom to leave prison, while the “Fair of Plundersweiler/Jahrmart zu Plundersweiler” represented a fair within a bazaar. In addition, festival organizers asked German and German-American writers and poets to contribute to the bazaar by sending greetings, which were published in the festival brochure.⁵⁵ Milwaukee’s German Americans also wanted a replica of the Weimar monument. The Swabian Mutual Benefit Association argued that a city with such a large percentage of German immigrants needed a monument to demonstrate the important position of German Americans in the arts and sciences, as well as in business and commerce. At its inauguration in 1908, orators reminded the audience of the value of German cultural traditions and of the ideals of freedom and dignity, as personified by Schiller and Goethe.⁵⁶

Other monuments were intended to transplant the memory of German composers to U.S. soil. New York’s Beethoven Male Choir donated a bust of Beethoven to be erected in Central Park in 1884. Brooklyn’s Prospect Park was adorned with a Beethoven statue in 1894, a Mozart statue in 1897, and a Weber statue in 1909.⁵⁷ Immigrant letters back home demonstrate the pride that many German Americans felt when enough money had been raised for a monument.⁵⁸ With the monuments, German Americans had tangible sites of memory where they could celebrate. In some cities, German Americans met in front of the statues annually, or at least regularly, to remember German cultural traditions and to preserve their

55 *SFAP*, September 11, 1895, 4/1; November 6, 1895, 1/4; November 9, 1895, 1/3–4; *Das Goethe-Schiller Denkmal in San Francisco, California: Erinnerungen an den “Deutschen Tag” der California Midwinter International Exposition 1894, an das “Goethe-Schiller Fest” 1895 und an die “Enthüllung des Denkmals” im Golden Gate Park 1901* (San Francisco: C. Leidecker & Co., 1902), 32, 71–112, appendix; Goethe-Schiller-Denkmalgesellschaft, *Gedenkblätter zur Goethe-Schiller-Feier veranstaltet von den Deutschen Californiens San Francisco, 5.-9. November 1895* (San Francisco: Roesch, 1895); *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 12, 1901, 3/1–3; *WNYSZ*, August 24, 1901, 7/5–6; Henri Maret, *Das Neue Jahrhundert: Eine Chronik Deutschen Vereinslebens an der Pacific-Küste* (San Francisco: C. Leidecker, 1901), 9, 19.

56 *GAP*, October 6, 1907, II/1/1–7, 3/1–7; see also May 13, 1903, 7/2; July 28, 1903, 7/4; July 30, 1903, 9/1; April 29, 1908, 4/5; May 27, 1908, 2/4; June 15, 1908, 1/5–6; *Gedenkblatt Herausgegeben von der Schiller-Goethe Denkmal-Gesellschaft Gegründet am 4. Juni 1902 zur Errichtung eines Doppeldenkmals der Dichterheroen, Milwaukee, am 7. Mai 1905* (Milwaukee, WI: s. n., 1905); Diane M. Buck and Virginia A. Palmer, *Outdoor Sculpture in Milwaukee: A Cultural and Historical Guidebook* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society, 1995), 156–159; for other monuments see Pohlsander, *German Monuments*, 85–86.

57 *NYT*, July 22, 1884, 8/1; *Harper’s Weekly*, August 2, 1884, 503; see also Lewis I. Sharp and David W. Kiehl, *New York City Public Sculpture by 19th-Century Artists* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 8–9; for European statues to Beethoven see Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven: A Study in Mythmaking* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), chapter 5.

58 Letter Theodor Treutlein, Chicago, to his sister-in-law, Ittenschwand, June 28, 1914, in: EGABS.

German-American ethnicity.⁵⁹ At the same time, the monuments showcased German culture for a U.S. audience.

Some monuments proved controversial, however. The Loreley fountain honoring Heinrich Heine led to years of strife in New York. The monument had originally been intended for Düsseldorf as the poet's birthplace. Yet, in 1893, due to strong opposition among the citizenry, the Düsseldorf city council rejected the monument. Probable reasons were that Heine was originally Jewish, that he had criticized Germany rather sarcastically and caustically, and that he had been a liberal democrat.⁶⁰ New York's elite German-American male choir Arion then offered to buy the fountain and asked other German-American clubs to help finance it. Money was not forthcoming, however, because the Arion club had taken the lead without consulting the other clubs, and since German Americans did not seem to have any real affinity to Heine, even though some of his texts had been set to popular tunes. While Socialists would have been willing to support Heine, they did not approve of his representation by the romantic Loreley, set to music by Friedrich Silcher. In the end, the German-American elite donated the necessary funds.⁶¹ The city of New York, however, rejected the fountain, since experts of the National Sculpture Society and the Fine Arts Commission did not consider the monument artistically valuable, which was deemed important in the context of the City Beautiful movement. New York's German-American elite, in return, accused the committees of nativism. Finally, in 1899, the fountain was installed in an obscure location in the Bronx.⁶² What constituted German culture, what

59 *Germania-Herold* (Milwaukee, merger of *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote* and *Germania-Abendpost*), July 12, 1913, 1/5; see also July 14, 1913, 10/3–6; May 22, 1915, 3/1–2; *San Francisco Call*, May 8, 1905, 5/2–6; *Erinnerungsblätter zur Schiller-Gedächtnisfeier gehalten in San Francisco 1905: unter den Auspizien des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Verbandes von Kalifornien, im Golden Gate Park, Sonntag Vormittag, den 7ten Mai, und im Alhambra Theater Dienstag Abend, den 9ten Mai* (San Francisco: Roesch, 1905), 6; *CD*, November 11, 1909, 1/3–5.

60 *NYSZ*, February 19, 1893, 18/3; *NYT*, September 24, 1893, 21/7; Michael Werner, "Heinrich Heine," in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1, ed. François and Schulze, 485–496; Peter U. Hohen-dahl, "Erzwungene Harmonie: Bürgerliche Heine-Feiern," in *Deutsche Feiern*, ed. Grimm and Hermand, 128–133.

61 *Gedenk-Blätter, herausgegeben zum Besten des Heinedenkmal-Fonds* (New York: Press of Wm. Wieser, 1894); *NYSZ*, July 19, 1893, 10/6; July 23, 1893, 4/2; September 16, 1893, 2/3; June 4, 1898, 14/3; July 27, 1898, 16/6; *NYT*, November 3, 1895, 20/1–2; November 12, 1895, 10/2–3; July 9, 1899, 10/2; *NYT Illustrated Magazine Supplement*, July 2, 1899, 3; Michele H. Bogart, *Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 62; *NYVZ*, July 9, 1899, 1/5, 4/1–2; see also Joseph A. Kruse, "Ich weiß nicht was soll es bedeuten: Heine und die Folgen," in *Die Loreley: Ein Fels im Rhein, ein deutscher Traum*, ed. Mario Kramp (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), 66–73.

62 *NYT*, April 4, 1894, 16/1–2; May 27, 1894, 19/5; August 11, 1895, 20/4–5; November 19, 1895, 8/1–2; November 24, 1895, 16/5–6; November 25, 1895, 5/5; December 15, 1895, 17/1–2; January 2, 1896, 4/6; January 16, 1896, 16/2–4; January 22, 1896, 4/4; January 26, 1896, 11/3;

was to represent German Americans, and what fit in a U.S. context, therefore, was highly controversial. German Americans were only interested in German culture when it became relevant for German America or for the U.S. Attempts by German foundations to raise money among German Americans for a Schiller or Uhland monument in Germany remained unsuccessful.⁶³

Since the 1900s, monuments were also increasingly erected to German-American "culture heroes". In order to establish a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory, sites of memory for famous German Americans were to educate Anglo Americans about the political, cultural, and military contributions of German Americans to the U.S.⁶⁴ The German-American pastor and general in the American War of Independence, Peter Mühlenberg, was honored by a monument in Philadelphia in 1910, with part of the cost being financed by U.S. Congress.⁶⁵ Monuments to former 48er and civil war general Franz Sigel were erected in St. Louis in 1906 and in New York in 1907⁶⁶ and to 48er, civil war general, and politician Carl Schurz in New York in 1913.⁶⁷

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- March 11, 1896, 9/3–4; March 13, 1896, 9/5; April 29, 1896, 5/5; July 9, 1899, 10/1–2; *NYT*, July 15, 1899, 479; *NYSZ*, June 4, 1898, 14/3; April 15, 1898, 15/1–3; *Fest-Zeitung für das 8. Bundes-Sängerfest des Arbeiter-Sängerbundes des Nordwestens der Ver. Staaten, abgehalten am 30. Juni, 1., 2., 3. Juli 1922 in Milwaukee, Wis.*, 3 (February 5, 1922), 13; Bogart, *Public Sculpture*, 50, 56–57, 60–66; Katja Czarnowski, "Die Loreley," in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3, ed. François and Schulze, 490–492; Bettina Baumgärtel, "'Die schönste Jungfrau': Eine Ästhetik des Verführens," in *Die Loreley*, ed. Kramp, 92–103.
- 63 *NYBJCZ*, December 14, 1855, 600; February 1, 1856, 712; April 12, 1872, 82; *SFAP*, January 10, 1863, 3/1; May 16, 1863, 2/7; April 27, 1888, 3/2–4; May 18, 1888, 3/3.
- 64 *Milwaukee Herold und Seebote* (merger of *Milwaukee Herold* and *Milwaukee Seebote*), January 21, 1911, 4/7; *Germania-Herold*, January 21, 1913, 5/5; April 29, 1913, 9/4; October 1, 1913, 9/3–4; *MSB* (w), July 3, 1921, 8/1; *NYT*, July 19, 1914, 4/2; *NYSZ*, March 14, 1913, 1/6; March 31, 1913, 9/6; May 11, 1913, 27/5–28/5; Reiner Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung 1890–1917* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 3; Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany, 1906–1914" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1965), 288, 290; Pohlsander, *German Monuments*, 28; Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 136–143; Albert Godsho, *Chronological History of the National German-American Alliance of the United States* (Philadelphia: National German American Alliance, 1911), 14; Sharp/Kiehl, *New York City Public Sculpture*, 63.
- 65 *GAP*, October 7, 1910, 6/5; *FPT* (w), October 12, 1910, 2/1–2; *WNYSZ*, October 12, 1910, 1/5–6; Günter Moltmann, "Der 'Deutsche Tag' in Amerika: Geschichte und Gegenwart," in *The Transit of Civilization from Europe to America: Essays in Honor of Hans Galinski*, ed. Winfried Herget and Karl Ortsseifen (Tübingen: Narr, 1986), 238; Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 136–143, 197–198; Christine M. Totten, "Elusive Affinities: Acceptance and Rejection of the German-Americans," in *America and the Germans*, vol. 2, ed. Trommler and McVeigh, 196.
- 66 *WNYSZ*, June 27, 1906, 1/3–4; *NYSZ*, October 20, 1907, 25/1–7; *WBV*, September 25, 1907, 5/4–5; Pohlsander, *German Monuments*, 52.
- 67 *NYSZ*, March 14, 1913, 1/6; March 31, 1913, 9/6; May 11, 1913, 27/5–28/5.

German-American ethnic leaders had already begun to place more emphasis on German-American cultural traditions, with the 200th anniversary of the “first” German migration to the U.S. in 1883. The canon of German-American cultural and historical achievements began to expand. The founder of the first German settlement in 1683, Germantown, Daniel Pastorius, and his ship, the “Concord,” were presented as equivalent to the “Mayflower”. Also shown were German-American “heroes” in U.S. wars, from the War of Independence (Mühlenberg, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben) to the American Civil War (Schurz and Sigel); David Zeisberger as missionary to the Indians and bringer of “civilization”; Christopher Sauer as the printer of the first bible in a European language on the North American continent; and early local German-American settlers. The canon, though, was not yet ingrained in the German-American Ethnic Communal Memory. While some cities on the East coast, and towns with a high percentage of German migrants celebrated the bicentennial, other cities like New York or San Francisco had only small festivals.⁶⁸

German Americans in some cities attempted to organize regular celebrations of the first German migration to the U.S. as German Day in the early 1890s, although they never attracted many visitors.⁶⁹ Local cultural traditions were also emphasized. Thus, Milwaukee’s parade in 1890 included floats of Milwaukee as the “German Athens/deutsches Athen,” the founding of the first gymnastic club in the U.S., as well as the transfer of the “German” Christmas tree, the kindergarten, and German song.⁷⁰ German Day became a regular event with the founding of the National German-American Alliance in 1901.⁷¹ Women formed an impor-

68 *MFP*, August 31, 1883, 4/2–3; October 8, 1883, 1/3–6, 2/1–2, 4/4–6; October 9, 1883, 7/2; *NYSZ*, October 7, 1883, 4/6–5/3; *WNYSZ*, October 13, 1883, 1/7, 2/3–4; *NYT*, October 8, 1883, 5/5; October 9, 1883, 2/3; *SFAP*, October 6, 1883, 3/5; October 7, 1883, 3/4; *FPT* (d), September 12, 1883, 4/1–2; Lesley A. Kawaguchi, “The Making of Philadelphia’s German America: Ethnic Group and Community Development, 1830–1883” (PhD diss., University of California, 1983), 306–307, 313–314; Moltmann, “Der ‘Deutsche Tag,’” 232–234.

69 *WNYSZ*, October 10, 1891, 1/5; *NYT*, October 5, 1891, 2/5–6; *SFAP*, October 6, 1891, 2/1–2, 4/3; October 10, 1892, 4/2; September 11, 1893, 4/1–2; Anton H. Dorndorf, “Historical Analysis of the German American Singing Societies in California: With an Evaluation” (M.A. thesis, College of the Pacific, 1955), 65–66; Maret, *Das Neue Jahrhundert*, 27–29.

70 *MS*, June 1, 1890, 3/2; October 5, 1890, 1/5–6; October 7, 1890, 1/2–5; George Meyer, *Die Deutschamerikaner: Festschrift zur Feier des Deutschamerikanischen Tages in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, am 6. Oktober, 1890* (Milwaukee, WI: Hake & Stirn, 1890); *WNYSZ*, October 11, 1890, 1/6.

71 The organization was founded in a time of decreasing migration from Germany, intensified nativist tendencies, and a growing prohibition movement to unify German Americans, to use their numerical power and “the strong cultural importance of the German population element” to protect German-American interests, and to promote friendship between Germany and the United States, see Vereinigte Deutsche Gesellschaften New York to German Ambassador Theodor von Holleben, October 28, 1902, in: Berlin, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, hereafter AA-PA, Kaiserliche Deutsche Botschaft in Washington, vol. 613; *Festschrift der Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften der*

tant part of the organization, as they were deemed necessary by male organizers to help preserve German education and culture.⁷² To gain more recognition for German Americans, the National Alliance sponsored research and publications on German-American history. It also propagated gymnastic and German classes in public schools, as well as German-American festivals and monuments to German-American "culture heroes."⁷³ The German-American canon expanded considerably in the German Day celebrations. German-American history now began around 1000 AD with a supposed Rhenish boat mate of Leif Eriksson's, Thytker or Dietrich, who was claimed to have introduced German viticulture to the U.S. Cultural feats included the German-American press, German-American schools, and German-American art, especially the painter Emanuel Leutze, creator of the famous 1851 painting "Washington Crossing the Delaware."⁷⁴ Sometimes, German philosophers or writers were also mentioned.⁷⁵ German Day, however, also saw a conflict between the German-American Ethnic Vernacular Memory and the German-American Legitimation Memory. During the first German Day in New York in 1902, neither the speeches nor the music could be heard beyond the first two rows of the hall, because visitors walked through the aisles, talked, and ordered drinks. German-American ethnic leaders railed against compatriots who supposedly endangered the existence of a "culture that is a thousand years old."⁷⁶

Stadt New York zum Deutschen Tag am Sonntag, den 9. November 1902 im Madison Square Garden, New York City (New York: L. Boeker, 1902); Charles T. Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901–1918* (New York: Lang, 1999), 7, 15–17, 29, 67–89; Godsho, *Chronological History*, 7, 11, 13–14.

- 72 *Cincinnati Volksblatt*, September 4, 1911; newspaper article, October 6, 1909, in: AA-PA, Abt. A, I C., Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika 16, Beziehungen der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu Deutschland, R17352; *NYSZ*, October 5, 1908, 1/7.
- 73 *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, hrsg. unter den Auspicien des deutsch-amerikanischen National-Bundes von Max Heinrici (Philadelphia: Walther's Buchdruckerei, 1909), 819–820; Godsho, *Chronological History*, 7–24. In 1886, the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland had been founded, in 1891 the Pennsylvania German Society, and in 1900 the German-American Historical Society of Illinois; in 1901, the German-American Historical Society was added, see Frank Trommler, "The Use of History in German-American Politics," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Lang, 1989), 289–290.
- 74 *Festschrift der Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften den 9. November 1902*, 7–16; Emil Schneider, *Deutsche Taten: Ein Fest-Spiel zum Deutschen Tage, veranstaltet von den Vereinigten Deutschen Gesellschaften von New York* (Hoboken, NJ: E. Schneider, 1905), 2; *WNYSZ*, November 15, 1902, 7/4–5; November 28, 1903, 7/3; October 5, 1910, 6/2–3; *NYSZ*, October 7, 1907, 9/1–5; *10ter Deutscher Tag abgehalten am Sonntag den 1. Oktober 1911 im Terrace Garden New York, Vereinigte Deutsche Gesellschaften der Stadt New York* (New York: J. A. Seeke, 1911).
- 75 E. Schneider, *Deutsche Taten*; *NYSZ*, October 7, 1907, 9/2–5; *GAP*, October 7, 1910, 3/4; October 11, 1912, 8/1–3.
- 76 "Einer tausendjährigen Kultur," *GAP*, April 14, 1908, 8/1–4; see also *NYSZ*, November 10, 1902, 1/6–2/5; *Vereinigte Deutsche Gesellschaften der Stadt New York, Deutscher Tag Sonntag, den 4. Octo-*

Conclusion

German-American ethnic leaders regarded culture as a means of distinction, as well as an asset for transfer. In addition, culture was important for the maintenance of German-American unity and ethnicity. Thus, for German Americans, culture was politicized since the late 1840s.⁷⁷ German-American ethnic leaders, at festivals and with respect to monuments, attempted to create a canon of “values” that were to be maintained and transplanted to the U.S. Besides education, this also included music, literature, highbrow culture, the German language, love of liberty, idealism, but also the Christmas tree or kindergarten. Culture was conveyed through commemorations of German and German-American “culture heroes,” as well as through German-American singing, carnival, or workers’ celebrations.

Culture, though, was not always interpreted in the same way. In the German-American Ethnic Vernacular Memory, culture consisted mainly of German beer, food, and songs, which provided a sense of community. By contrast, in the German-American Ethnic Legitimation Memory, culture involved highbrow aspects, which was to gain German Americans recognition. In a struggle over the definition of a German-American Ethnic Communal Memory, German Americans in the end wanted to include their German-American Communal Memory, partially as a Vernacular Memory, in a U.S. Public Memory.

ber 1908 in sämtlichen Räumlichkeiten des Terrace Garden (New York: Max Schmetterling, 1908); Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 133.

77 Frank Trommler posits that culture only became politicized for German Americans with the imperial tensions between Germans and the US, see Frank Trommler, “Inventing the Enemy: German-American Cultural Relations, 1900–1917,” in *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900–1924*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schröder (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), 99.

Frank Trommler

Negotiating German “Kultur” and “Wissenschaft” in American Intellectual Life, 1870–1918

While the role of the German university, as a model for the American research university has been often cited, this article shows that the cultural transfer was much broader in scope, providing important clues and indicators for the building of a modern, well-educated nation after the devastating Civil War. By applying concepts such as Kultur, Bildung, and Wissenschaft, Americans of the late nineteenth century articulated their own manifestations of public culture – catching up with European culture. They also engaged in scientific thinking, the prerequisite for developing leadership in research and science. However, the recognition of Germany as a leader in educational reform and scientific progress took a negative turn with the increasing manipulation of Kultur and Wissenschaft for nationalistic purposes during World War I. Both German language and culture, also part of the ethnic pride of German Americans, became the target of American nationalism.

1 Germany: From the Stalwart of Culture to the Epitome of Barbarism

Nietzsche’s warning, after the military victory over France in 1871, that this victory could easily lead to the elimination of the German *Geist* in favor of the German Empire, if it was also understood as a victory of German culture, has resonated for decades.¹ It is still the favorite reference of historians who wish to emphasize the demise of German culture after Bismarck’s founding of the *Reich*. The warning against confusing military superiority over France with German cultural superiority seemed to be verified by the pervasive complaint that literature and arts in Germany had slid into a state of “*Epigonentum*”, since the heights of literary and philosophical creativity in the age of Goethe and Hegel.

And yet, summed up in the famous quip that the Germans owed their victory at Sedan less to the generals than to the Prussian schoolmaster, Germany’s educational system at exactly that time became the focus of intense scrutiny by other

1 Friedrich Nietzsche, “David Strauß, the Confessor and the Writer,” in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale, trans. by R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

countries, sometimes elevated as a model for restructuring learning and research that contained the key to the door of progress and modernity. It is not without irony that at a time when the inner-German disparagement of cultural achievements – *Kulturpessimismus* – reached its zenith, foreign interest in German culture with respect to education and science, reached its heights, a twenty-year era of appreciation that remained unique – and rarely recognized by historians.² Whereas Germans maintained interest in Paris and the French art scene and otherwise read little about France, more than a hundred books appeared between 1870 and 1914 by French authors who analyzed the social, economic, and educational life of the neighbor across the Rhine.³

One result of the historians' fixation with Nietzsche's warning is the retrospective nationalization of the debates about culture, at a time when this was not yet the main focus, unlike in the period of World War I. Germany, the land of Goethe and Humboldt, led the way towards a broader understanding of culture, by expanding its educational dimension for which its universities became the fulcrum and *Wissenschaft* (science) the universal message. *Wissenschaft* belonged to culture. When the famous British intellectuals Matthew Arnold and Thomas Henry Huxley engaged in the most influential debate about culture and its potential that resonated both in Europe and America in the 1880s, they formed a narrative of the contrast between literature and science as a transnational cultural phenomenon. The scientist T. H. Huxley contradicted his friend, the poet and critic Matthew Arnold, by insisting that scientific exploration and knowledge were crucial for the humanizing process of education. "Mr. Arnold tells us that the meaning of culture is 'to know the best that has been thought and said in the world,'" Huxley stated in agreement with Arnold, but objected vehemently to Arnold's assertion, "It is the criticism of life contained in literature."⁴ Huxley maintained that literature alone could not provide sufficient knowledge of life and its various possibilities to establish an adequate standard of value. Without physical science, such a standard would be precarious and insufficient, to which Arnold responded that Huxley's concept of literature as belles-lettres was too narrow. Knowing belles-lettres was far from knowing all the best that had been thought and said in the world. Litera-

2 About the British use of the German university model see Günter Hollenberg, *Englisches Interesse am Kaiserreich: Die Attraktivität Preussen-Deutschlands für konservative und liberale Kreise in Großbritannien 1860–1914* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), 167–173.

3 Friedrich Wolfzettel, "Das entzauberte Deutschland: Französische Reiseberichte zwischen 1870 und 1914," in *Grenzgänge: Kulturelle Begegnungen zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich*, ed. Hans T. Siepe (Essen: Die blaue Eule, 1988), 64–82; Alexander Schmidt, "Deutschland als Modell? Bürgerlichkeit und gesellschaftliche Modernisierung im deutschen Kaiserreich (1871–1914) aus der Sicht der französischen Zeitgenossen," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1992:1): 221–242.

4 Thomas H. Huxley, "Science and Culture," in *Science and Education: Essays*, ed. Thomas H. Huxley (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 142.

ture included what had been thought and said “by the great observers and knowers of nature.”⁵ Sensing the public interest in this debate, and not just in Great Britain, Arnold clarified this point in his essay, *Literature and Science*, which he presented as a lecture on several occasions in America in 1883 to large audiences. “There is a perfect craze in New England for hearing it,” he wrote in a letter, where “everyone is full of the education question, and of the contest between letters and science more particularly.”⁶

Matthew Arnold referred to British and French as well as German sources, especially Goethe. The debate had no national overtones. And unlike C. P. Snow’s subsequent attack on the humanities in his 1959 talk on “The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution,” Arnold took great pains to keep literature (humanities) and sciences together within the humanizing process of education.⁷ This ingratiated him particularly to the American public that looked on him as the apostle of culture, as a concept that implied an ideal and the habit of critically estimating the value of things. As education had become a key to building a united country after the Civil War, Arnold’s insistence on the mission of culture that expressed itself in artistic and humanistic pursuits, resonated in the ascending middle-class in America that was looking for tangible enforcements of its striving towards “higher” social status.

Germany’s star had risen, especially in New England, with Emerson and the transcendentalists when intellectuals wanted to depart from British dominance and aspired to find alternative models for their own culture. A few decades later, accelerated by the unification, Germany was shockingly transforming itself towards a country whose engagement in industrial and military competition was alienating many of its former friends and admirers. However, its continuous attention to education and the investment in research and higher learning brought new friends and admirers, particularly in the country that after the Civil War aspired to become a modern nation. Americans were enamored with the German university as a model for building their own university system, educating a new generation of social elites, and expanding the participation in high culture as part of personal enhancement. In the period between 1870 and 1890, Americans, as students at German universities, founders of new universities in the United States, or scholars who developed their own research agendas, were most prominent in consolidating Germany’s fame as a stalwart of culture.

While Nietzsche’s warning that the German *Geist* could be obliterated in favor of the German Empire hardly resonated among the academic elites of other coun-

5 The debate is critically presented by W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950), 196–202.

6 Connell, *The Educational Thought*, 199.

7 Matthew Arnold, “Literature and Science,” in *Discourses in America*, ed. Matthew Arnold (1885. Reprint, London: Macmillan, 1912), 72–137.

tries at that time, except in France, it caught on as soon as the national overtones of scientific progress gained a broader emphasis under the increasingly nationalist regime of Kaiser Wilhelm II. What had been noticed by foreign students and travelers as an annoying accompaniment of leadership in science and education turned more and more into a display of nationalist zeal in an area that was claimed to be truly international and universal, frequently by prominent German scholars in reference to the universalist aims of classical philosophy and learning. The outcry at the beginning of World War I is well known, when the academic establishment in France and Britain rallied against German *Kultur*, deeply intertwined with Prussian militarism, as barbarism. At that moment, a substantial number of American professors clung to neutrality or even defense of the German position, but not for long. The disenchantment had set in during the 1890s, when the enrollment of American students in German universities peaked (the highest number of 517 Americans were officially matriculated in 1895/96, many in medicine).⁸ The process of disentanglement from German universities extended over several years with increasing intensity, not least because it was also part of the emancipation of American universities, as independent institutions with different administrative structures and teaching obligations, clearly aimed at becoming competitors on the world stage.

When President Wilson declared war on Germany in response to the provocation of unconditional submarine warfare in 1917, American scholars had already joined in the condemnation of “German academe as ‘a baffling paradox of culture and brutality’ with the latter overshadowing the former.”⁹ The turnaround from a Germany as a stalwart of culture to the epitome of barbarism assumed the characteristics of a personal declaration of war. If it had not been so devastating for the millions of German Americans who, as a distinct ethnic group, challenged the prevailing culture by maintaining some adherence to German culture and language and were harshly punished as a hyphenated segment of America, the turnaround would have counted as an appalling price to pay for a military confrontation. Yet it was more, carried by strong currents defining American identity through the encounter with another nation, first with strong admiration, later with even stronger condemnation. In both cases, not more than thirty years apart, much of the thrust, equally forceful, resulted from lively projections of the other country. In both cases, Germany’s role was that of an instigator as well as a target; it empowered those projections to amplify the state itself and the purpose of America as a nation. In order to understand these amazing and shocking developments as a story, a crucial ingredient is the handling of the German concepts of

8 Konrad Jarausch, “The Universities: An American View,” in *Another Germany: Reconsiderations of the Imperial Era*, eds. Jack R. Duker and Joachim Remak (Boulder: Westview, 1988), 185.

9 Jarausch, “The Universities,” 196.

Kultur, *Wissenschaft*, and *Bildung* on the part of Americans who engaged in the formidable project of educating a newly united country and making it a cultural competitor among Western nations.

2 The German University as a Model – An American Projection

Cultural transfer is always a reciprocal undertaking, shaped no less by the recipient than by the originator. The handling of German *Kultur* and *Bildung* in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century, strongly connected with the growth of *Wissenschaft* and the research university, is an example of the recipient operating much more decisively than the originator, both in the acceptance and refutation. German historians, used to basing evidence of cross-cultural relations on national policies as agents of influence, preferred to follow the path of the German model of the research university as it was accepted – most effectively by the founding of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 – by prominent university founders like Daniel Coit Gilman, Andrew White, C. Stanley Hall, and William Rainey Harper, who had all spent time as students at German universities. Aside from the admiration and intense discussion of the German educational system and its scholarly achievements, especially on the basis of the laboratory and seminar structures, later historians found little evidence of a direct replication of German facilities, let alone the Humboldtian model of the university that became a lively topic of debate around 1900, when most universities had established themselves.¹⁰ As pointed out above, cultural transfer rarely takes a direct route or confines itself to a particular practice or institutional setup. A closer look at the intentions of Americans who pursued their interests at the German universities in the decades before and after the Civil War, reveals how little was known about its inner workings and how much it was just used as a convenient tool for personal advancement. The idea of modeling American universities on a German “system” seems to signify a later overlay, something that represented more of an effective self-promotion than an institutional replica on American soil. The first sentence of one of the early comprehensive descriptions of German universities in the leading journal, *Atlantic Monthly*, is characteristic in its emphasis on their usefulness for American students:

10 A summary in Peter Uwe Hohendahl, “Humboldt in Amerika? Zur Genese der amerikanischen Forschungsuniversität,” *Leviathan* 32 (2004): 225–49; Rainer C. Schwings, “Humboldt International: Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells: Eine Einführung,” in *Humboldt International: Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer C. Schwings (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 1–13; *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, eds. Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst (New York: German Historical Institute/Cambridge University Press, 1995).

‘Which of the German universities would be the best adapted to my purpose?’ is the question of many an American student, who, having gone through the usual course in the United States, looks abroad for the completion of his scientific or liberal studies.¹¹

The author takes issue with the fact that the Germans who publish so much about pedagogy do not even bother (being “a most unpractical people”) to “give one unacquainted with their university system a true notion of its workings and actual state.” He complains:

Statistics, every information, in fine, concerning the present intellectual wealth of the nation, must be acquired either orally, or from catalogues, programmes, and hundreds of local pamphlets that are issued yearly.¹²

And yet, at the end of his thorough description of what the American student will encounter in Göttingen, Heidelberg, Berlin, and other places, the author dwells extensively on the fact that this nation always had its intellectual center in the universities, from the Reformation to the recent liberation of intellectual discourse from French linguistic and conceptual dominance. He goes as far as stating: “Nor is the influence of the university in Germany exerted in matters of great national interest only. It pervades the social, literary, and political organization of the people.” He credits its freedom – more than in France and in England – with making the land a “hot-bed of the boldest philosophical systems and the wildest theological aberrations,” and adds: “In law, in medicine, in philology, in history, the old methods of study and research have been revolutionized.”¹³

The broad panorama that the author unfolded for the readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* implied the wish for the creation of this kind of universities, as happened years later with the founding of Johns Hopkins, Cornell and other research universities. However, this was not the purpose of the article. In addition to providing necessary information about the everyday utilization and inner structure of universities, it was meant to open the eyes of the readers to the power that universities were able to engender for the growth of a nation, the power of intellectual innovation for the cultural and social life of a politically self-absorbed society. Not the individual university was the model, but rather the role that universities, thanks to their free yet scientifically charged practices, were able to play in this process. It did not take long for this broader message to find a ringing echo in the call to build a new unified American nation after the devastating Civil War. This call was forcefully articulated a few years later in the same journal, *Atlantic Monthly*, under the title, “A Plea for Culture,” by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the famous

11 “German Universities,” *Atlantic Monthly* 7 (1861): 257.

12 “German Universities,” 259.

13 “German Universities,” 271.

abolitionist and campaigner for the rights of women and of minorities. Higginson pleaded:

Culture is the training and finishing of the whole man, until he sees physical elements to be merely secondary, and pursues science and art as objects of intrinsic worth. [...] The demand for high culture outruns the supply. This is proved by the palpable fact, that more and more pupils are sent to Europe for instruction, every year; and more and more from the Western States than from the Eastern. There are more and more young men of fortune whose parents will not stint them in education, at least; more and more poor young men, who will live on bread and water, if need be, to gain knowledge. What we need is the opportunity of high culture somewhere, - that there should be some place in America where a young man may go and study anything that kindles his enthusiasm, and find there instrumentalities to help the flame. As it is now, the maximum range of study in most of our colleges leaves a young man simply with a good preparation for Germany, while the minimum leaves him very ill prepared for America. What we need is a university. Whether this is to be a new creation, or something reared on the foundations now laid at Cambridge, or New Haven, or Ann Arbor is unimportant. Until we have it somewhere, our means of culture are still provincial.¹⁴

By delineating the route to high culture through higher education, culminating in a German-style university education for young men that balanced science with Philology, History, and Metaphysics, Higginson was less pessimistic about the chances of America creating high culture than Henry James ten years or Charles Eliot Norton twenty years later.¹⁵ In Higginson's agenda for creating an American culture, universities played a crucial role for which the German research university could be replaced some day, yet he pointed with equal eagerness towards the need to develop an American literature which could be accomplished only by the growth of a public sympathetic to these higher endeavors.

The ways in which Higginson indicated a desire for both literature and science – defining these words very widely – paralleled the “gospel” for culture with which Matthew Arnold reacted against the alleged lack of intellectual life in Great Britain in his book *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) at the same time. As Americans had been following the British lead in matters of etiquette, gentlemen's education, aesthetic and literary tastes, Arnold's provocative claims for instituting culture as a significant agenda for the moral and intellectual enhancement of the whole society found a strong resonance in the United States, that indicated how receptive the rising middle class was for this gospel. Arnold's parameters for culture continued to resonate into the twentieth century. In short: “First, the aim of culture is total perfection; secondly, culture is an activity not a mere body of knowledge; and

14 T. W. Higginson, “A Plea for Culture,” *Atlantic Monthly* 19 (1867): 31.

15 Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 214.

thirdly, culture is an instrument of social amelioration.”¹⁶ Just as important as his emphasis on higher pursuits, refinement, and excellence – something that “democratic” Walt Whitman abhorred as instituting cultural hierarchy¹⁷ – was Arnold’s eye-opening insistence on culture as an activity, including research, teaching, learning. No less important was the third component, the enhancement of social status, generating an “intellectual class,” and with it the rise of the professoriate, in the words of Richard Hofstadter,

growing immensely in numbers, improving in professional standards, gaining in compensation and security, and acquiring a measure of influence and prestige in and out of the classroom that their predecessors of the old college era would have never dreamed of.¹⁸

The period after the Civil War presented the opportunity to consider university-based higher education as an indispensable ingredient for building the new nation, and the German system of learning and *Wissenschaft* was able to provide important tools. A kind of kinship with the other nation that also had gone through wars of unification favored the ties in higher education beyond those with Britain and France. It was arguably a rather narrow base, sustained by male networking, romanticizing German university towns like Heidelberg and Göttingen, and an exalted perception of German *Wissenschaft*, but it was more than just a system to be adopted. In his classic history of the American university, Burton Bledstein addressed the deeper motivations for affinity:

Why did Americans, with their evangelical impulses, entrepreneurial habits, and suspicions of Old World privileges and central governments favor German higher education? One may conclude that what Americans selected to see and in many instances experienced in Germany served the end of American professional careers. All other perceptions existed at the fringes of attention. The political arrangements of the German university, the arrogance of the professors, the real meaning of academic freedom, the treatment of the *Privatdozent*: these escaped the American’s notice. He instead perceived those specific features of the German system that strengthened his self-confidence, making up for a serious lack in his own background. Influenced by German models, the American university cultivated in its clients a faith in this mighty power of their own “usable intelligence.” Americans grew to believe that the claim to possess such an intelligence both provided the *raison d’être* of the middle class in America and justified its rising standard of living. In brief, the German experience offered American students a

16 Connell, *The Educational Thought*, 161.

17 Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 223–226.

18 Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1961), 154.

way of reflecting upon the possibilities and limitations – the liberation and containment – of their own lives in the context of nineteenth-century America.¹⁹

Roy Steven Turner, the eminent historian of university developments in Germany and the U.S., credits Bledstein with explaining why the new American universities received so much support as icons in the national cultural landscape, not only as “an avenue of social mobility but also the institutional expression of aspiring middle-class values.”²⁰ The parallels to the role that universities played for the German educated classes (*Bildungsbürgertum*) cannot be overlooked, yet Turner abstains from claiming the German institution as the template for the American “centers for faculty research, disciplinary fragmentation, and advanced training.” Not institutional forms or educational ideals in the strictest sense were borrowed, but rather

a model of professorial professionalization, an image of elite knowledge reshaped into disciplinary forms, an ideal in which disciplinary values take primacy in determining the scholars’ activities and worth.²¹

Even the scholar who traced Wilhelm von Humboldt’s and Friedrich Schleiermacher’s legacy of combining research and education most consistently through the emergence of American university concepts, Daniel Fallon, has remarked that it was more projection than a direct transfer. In Fallon’s words:

The German contribution to the American university was an American interpretation of certain ideas derived from German intellectuals, rather than the importation of a German product.²²

19 Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976) 318f.; an important source for Bledstein was Friedrich Paulsen, *Die deutschen Universitäten und das Universitätsstudium* (Berlin: Asher, 1902).

20 Roy Steven Turner, “Humboldt in North America? Reflections on the Research University and Its Historians,” in *Humboldt International: Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges (Basel: Schwabe, 2001), 297.

21 Turner, “Humboldt in North America?,” 301.

22 Daniel Fallon, “German Influences on American Education,” in *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000*, eds. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn, 2001), 85.

3 The “Passion for Culture” and the Challenges of Specialization

While the debate about the transfer of the German university system or elements thereof has run its course, the intellectually more engaging issue ensued from the juxtaposition of liberal arts, the mainstay of the American college (which was not touched by the German-based graduate instruction), with scientific thinking, a juxtaposition that in Germany had started earlier and shaped much of the discourse of the academic *Bildungsbürgertum* as *Bildung* and *Wissenschaft*. Would scientific thinking, based on a constant rationalization of an experimental and experiential approach to reality, eclipse the striving for values, personal development, and independent thinking that was being honed by serious engagement with arts, culture and languages? When Matthew Arnold in the 1880s addressed his American audiences which were eager to hear about “the contest between letters and science,” he insisted that his critic, T. H. Huxley, had not fully grasped the broad grounding of the concept of culture.²³ In his “passion for culture”, Arnold formulated, close to Weimar classicism, an orientation towards the ideal of Greek antiquity and a constant evaluation of things by striving for values. Yet, despite stressing the fundamentals of Enlightenment by calling culture “criticism of life,” he did not fully absorb the critical impact of scientific research on the relationship with the rapidly transforming reality of industrial societies and research establishments on both sides of the Atlantic.

Germans and Austrians contributed a substantial share of both scientific discoveries and thinking about the cultural impact of this kind of research. The distinguished psychologist William James who studied, among others, with Wilhelm Dilthey in Berlin, is a frequently quoted example of the ways that American students, overwhelmed by the broad knowledge of German professors, learned the virtues of scientific pursuits as an educating experience. He learned in this environment that the scientific pursuit of a given matter held the potential of a new kind of modern education, but also that one had to bring together *Bildung* and *Fachmenschentum*, since they did not necessarily converge on their own. In Bledstein’s summary:

Education meant the freedom to approach one’s interest as a serious scholar – professionally. The experience abroad convinced Americans that growth in one’s life and work required dedicated intellectual preparations.²⁴

The sociologist Edward Shils, in his masterly account of German influences on American learning, pointed to the fact that many American students prepared

²³ Arnold, “Literature and Science,” 94–99.

²⁴ Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, 320.

for their stay in Germany by studying modern literature and classics – and most importantly the language – as well as scientific subjects which “kept them from narrowness since the ideal of *Bildung* had not been wholly vanquished by the idea of *Fachmenschentum*.”²⁵ And in his analysis of *Bildung* in its social and ideological context, Fritz Ringer, author of the classic study of the German professorate around 1900, *The Decline of the German Mandarins* (1969), emphasized that the birth of the research seminar and the subsequent expansion of the “philosophical” faculties were once “linked to the emergence of the philological and interpretive disciplines, which initially shaped the dominant paradigms of exact scholarship or *Wissenschaft*.”²⁶

The protagonists of the great scientific discoveries in the late nineteenth century tried to instill an awareness of these origins in their students. The traditional hierarchies of the German university – though directed towards a community of scholars always subjugated to the authority of the professor – helped keep this framework as a powerful part of its claim to universal education, even long after it ceased to translate into useful stimulants for experimental research. Still, what was called a “scientific spirit” (“*wissenschaftlicher Geist*”), encompassed the humanities as well, both in America and Germany. Philology was the most quoted discipline for exemplary work in *wissenschaftlich* exploration, based on groundbreaking insights into the historical development of a language. Oliver Farrar Emerson, chairman of the Modern Language Association, the largest association in the humanities, founded in 1883, credited the enormous leap beyond previous knowledge about languages and their inner workings to “the new investigatory spirit.”

Those training in the graduate school there learned what research really meant, and how it could be applied in their several fields. The teacher became an investigator as well, and thus added to his function of imparting knowledge that of extending the boundaries of what is known.²⁷

Because the German term *Wissenschaft* was used as a reference for effectiveness, thoroughness, and seriousness, it also indicated a holistic approach that was not lost on Americans who claimed the term *science* in a similar way. (The nineteenth-century usage of the term *science* was broader than in the twentieth century.²⁸)

25 Edward Shils, “The Order of Learning in the United States from 1865 to 1920: The Ascendancy of the Universities,” *Minerva* 16 (1978): 186.

26 Fritz Ringer, “*Bildung*: The Social and Ideological Context of the German Historical Tradition,” *History of European Ideas* 10 (1989): 197.

27 Oliver Farrar Emerson, “The American Scholar and the Modern Languages,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 17 (1909): lxxx.

28 Anja Werner, *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education: Americans at German Universities, 1776–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 35.

When Andrew White, the founder of Cornell University, the “people’s college,” delivered the keynote address at the Centennial Celebration of the German Society of New York in 1884, he formulated a kind of interim assessment of the endeavor to generate culture in America, both in literature and science. White was not uncritical of the lack of democracy in Germany, but asserted that certain achievements in the political realm such as the Civil Service Reform could be seen as exemplary. And again, the gist of his praise of German influences on the growth of culture concerned more an attitude than particular models in music and science, despite his mentioning famous scholars like Helmholtz, DuBois Raymond, and Ranke, composers like Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart, and writers like Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller. In his opinion, Germans inspired the striving for culture by their belief,

that the ultimate end of a great modern nation is something beside manufacturing, or carrying, or buying or selling products; that art, literature, science, and thought in its highest flights and widest ranges, are greater and more important; and that highest of all – as the one growth for which all wealth exists – is the higher and better development of man, not merely a planner, or a worker, or a carrier, or a buyer and seller, but as a man.²⁹

A flattering projection indeed, yet also a reflection of the enthusiasm for *Kultur* and *Bildung*, rampant among German *Bildungsbürger*, that Americans experienced as students in German university towns. Devoted to enhancing the ennobling momentum of culture, White’s inflation of the words “high” and “higher” resonated not just with the tendency of university professors to celebrate their standing in the pursuit of a new elitism, but also with “the sacralization of culture,” as Lawrence Levine called the broad and exhilarating effort of American middle-classes in the last decades of the nineteenth century.³⁰

In Levine’s analysis of this enormous effort to catch up with European culture by way of adapting, performing, collecting, and redoing the aesthetic production of centuries, the German component is clearly secondary to the British and French, except for music. Levine neglects the far-reaching stimulus that universities contributed to cultural self-enhancement, the only area in which the United States actually caught up with Europe by World War I. However, he illuminates the central status that classical music claimed, mostly carried by German musicians like the conductor Theodore Thomas, who popularized classical music through innumerable travels and mass concerts across the continent. Classical music represented a

29 Andrew D. White, “Some Practical Influences of German Thought Upon the United States.” Address, delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the German Society of New York, October 4th, 1884. *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* 27/28 (1927/28): 245.

30 Lewis Perry, *Intellectual Life in America: A History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1984), 284f.; Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 86–168.

particularly intimidating genre, but also art and literature posed enormous challenges when Americans tried to conjure up the feeling of weight and importance towards Europe that they enjoyed in the realms of business and industry.³¹ While the obligatory reverence of the middle classes towards the symphonic hall, the opera house, the museum, and the library enhanced their feeling of status and belonging, it tended, as in Europe, to transform what was praised as culture to the mere demonstration of culture. Levine counts the early mocking of efforts to participate in high culture as the most telling indicator of the seriousness of this society-wide endeavor. He points to Walt Whitman’s fight against the new hierarchy of high and low culture and quotes the sociologist Thorstein Veblen in his analysis of conspicuous consumption as an expression of middle-class and upper middle-class achievement and status.³² Veblen concluded his *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) with the observation that higher learning itself – exemplified by the learning of Greek and Latin – could become a sign of mere status enhancement. In the chapter, “The Higher Learning as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture,” Veblen confirmed the link between higher learning and the demonstration of social standing, yet added the prognosis that once this equation was absorbed by the pecuniary culture, learning and scholarship were to decline. In his words:

It is true, since conspicuous consumption has gained more and more on conspicuous leisure as a means of repute, the acquisition of the dead languages is no longer so imperative a requirement as it once was, and the talismanic virtue as a voucher of scholarship has suffered a concomitant impairment.³³

Whether this was meant as a provocation or not, it signaled the fragility of the pursuit of culture in its wavering between individual enrichment through values, art, and learning, and enrichment through conspicuous consumption. Yet, the 1890s were still a period of expanding belief in culture as a basis for building a great nation, in the need to educate the individual to embrace culture in this pursuit, and the mission of the university to spearhead this endeavor. Greek and Latin, once the staple of a good college education under mostly clerical supervision, gave way to a broader encounter with history, literature, and art, which started with the Greeks but ushered in a kind of Eurocentric universalism as a template for general education. Its philosophy was strongly inspired by the German concept of *Bildung* as the individual conduit to culture that was poignantly formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt and enhanced by Goethe’s idea of the individual, organic self-development.

31 Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 153f.

32 Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 225f.

33 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Viking, 1934), 396.

The fact that around 1900, new interest in Humboldt's ideas arose, had much to do with the rediscovery of his memorandum, "On the internal and external organization of institutions of higher education in Berlin," on the occasion of the founding of the Berlin university in 1810, welcomed by university reformers all over the world. This interest was also fostered by the hope that his notions of the unity of research and instruction, the link between solitude and freedom, science as unity, and the devotion to *Bildung* as the main ingredient of higher education, were holding up against the increasing weight of specialization. When Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, gave his reasons for introducing courses of general education, he stated "that common body of knowledge which had educated men together in understanding and in sympathy" had been weakened by specialization and the chosen system. What was required was "a unifying force of common understanding, common appreciation and common sentiment."³⁴ Under the banner of *Western Civilization*, the new courses were to serve as the American equivalent of *Bildung*.

In the later nineteenth century, Humboldt's ideas had been exported, enjoying special attention among American university founders. They became a devotional object – some called it a myth – in numerous countries, not until their academic elites were looking for ways of bridging the growing rift between the needs for higher education and the needs for scientific research facilities.³⁵ At this time Humboldt's ideas of the university as a unifying catalyst of culture and learning were propagated at the expense of his remarks concerning the need for centers of specialized research without teaching (which in 1910 were used by Adolf von Harnack as a template for justifying the founding of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft). Ironically, the new attention paid to this export item of the German university arose when the same university was in the process of abandoning the unity of research and teaching (*Forschung und Lehre*). While educational leaders praised the unity of knowledge, their institutes pursued and refined their separation and specializations way beyond the natural sciences, thus confirming the growing split between what William James, as a student in Berlin, had been asked to keep together: *Bildung* and *Fachmenschentum*.

The German idea of *Fachmenschentum* contained the positive and negative social dimensions of *Wissenschaft*. Edward Shils described it not as a method or technique, but rather an attitude, a *habitus*:

To be a serious scientist or scholar required that one be a *Fachmann*. The word dilettante became a term of scorn. There was a stern moral overtone to specialization. It meant no

³⁴ As quoted in Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 58; Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 101.

³⁵ Schwinges, *Humboldt International*, 9f.

trifling, no self-indulgence, getting on with the job. It was uncongenial to false pride and all-knowingness. Specialization was quite consistent with the secularized Protestant Puritanism of the quarter of a century which preceded the First World War.³⁶

Commenting on the positive side of this kind of *habitus*, William James contrasted it in the 1880s – according to Bledstein’s summary – with the “immaturity and childish habits in America” (by which he meant the students) that “prevented the cultivation of the inner confidence in solid mental effort and in the sacrifice of hours and hours of labor that perhaps best explained the German success.”³⁷ Shils’s statement illuminates the steep learning curve of Americans in subsequent decades, yet leaves the question open as to whether Protestant Puritanism had enough stamina for the moral superiority of this *habitus*, attributed to Germans, that “specialized research was regarded as a creative act – a higher calling – not a professional career for which one was paid money.”³⁸ This aspect, responsible for the poor financial compensation of *Privatdozenten* and junior scholars in the German system, evaporated over the Atlantic to the benefit of reasonably well paid American assistant professors in their pursuit of research.

The negative side of this scholarly *habitus* resulted from a different aspect of the habitual code, closely tied to the claims of the professoriate of its higher calling. The conduct of the German professor, much parodied and ridiculed in Germany, as well as in other countries, was usually embedded in enough respect for science and its discoveries, that it did not provoke antagonism by itself. However, once it became endowed with the feeling of a mission in the service of the nation, mostly fed by the increasing insecurity of the academic caste vis-à-vis social and economic modernization, it lost the trust of its devotees abroad. The much quoted arrogance became a paradigm of Prussian offensiveness, the display of superiority a reflection of German imperialism, the disregard for the less educated a confirmation of Germany’s autocratic, antidemocratic spirit. As nationalism grew, the undemocratic accompaniments of the elitist concept of individual self-realization attracted new scrutiny, often by the same American academics who had promoted science-based elitism years earlier, as part of their efforts to attain a similar preponderance in American society as the *Bildungsbürger* in Germany. A curious repulsion effect shaped these reactions, as if the academic enrichment that these critics took as students from Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg, had lost its mantra of idealism and universalism, leaving them to draw the conclusion that all of this had been the flipside of authoritarianism and militarism.

36 Shils, “The Order of Learning,” 186.

37 Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism*, 320

38 *Ibid.*, 314.

4 German *Kultur* as a Target of American Nationalism

As much as Germany had been recognized as the leader in educational reforms and scientific progress in the second half of the nineteenth century, as effectual, yet confusing was its vilification as a power that manipulated these achievements for nationalistic goals. And as willingly as American intellectuals had welcomed the inspiration from German culture and higher learning as part of building an American culture, as unscrupulously did many of them renege on their embrace of German concepts of *Bildung* and *Kultur*, especially when the war put them in a confrontational situation in which they used this rejection as a means of enforcing their American identity. The main argument was that of betrayal; the German professoriate was accused of having put *Wissenschaft* at the service of expansionist nationalism, in disregard of its much vaunted universal nature. Closely connected to this was the rejection of the prevailing disregard of democracy in Germany that many American students had noticed, but not regarded as a hindrance to achieving superiority in science.

Thus, the rhetoric of competition and confrontation that filtered into public communication in the period of World War I received crucial impulses from the realm of culture and education, the areas where the two nations had come into closest intellectual contact. It is hardly surprising that the other non-economic area of close contact, the give and take of the German-speaking immigrants, did not remain untouched by references to culture, as German Americans retained a variety of traditional venues of gathering, speaking, singing and celebrating their linguistic and cultural heritage. Their claim of participating in German *Kultur* – though hardly close to the academic and scientific *Kultur* embraced by American students and professors – became not only the main target of American nationalism after Wilson's declaration of war, but a substitute for confronting the enemy four thousand miles away. Speaking German was considered a hostile act and provoked retaliation. Language betrayed complicity with the enemy; the denigration of its adherents could not be more complete.

The instruction of German in schools, outlawed in many states in 1917/18, had acquired a symbolic dimension many years before. As a means of attaining a good education in liberal arts, German had lost its role as a tool of ethnic preservation. As a boost to the standing of the German element in American society, this constellation fed into the willingness of many middle-class German Americans to elevate their status among immigrant groups and demonstrate, especially after the unification of the Fatherland, a somewhat better and more dignified appearance, something that had escaped them for decades, when their image had been solid but uninspired. "Deutsche Kultur," in the context of the urban American middle class, signaled above all status, a status that in the life of German Americans was rarely connected with academic pursuits, but rather with social standing – a side-

line of the “passion for culture,” devoted primarily to building self-esteem.³⁹ In turn, once the link to Germany meant a link to an increasingly loud and provocative power whose representative was not Beethoven, but a Kaiser who projected arrogance and militancy, it made them suspicious once a military confrontation appeared likely and the specter of treason was raised. Now the higher profile, once aspired to, became detrimental.

Theodor von Holleben, the German Ambassador at the time of Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency, warned against mistaking the public appreciation of belonging to German organizations as a sign of strength of German culture. He was even more critical of the assumption that the high standing of German language instruction in schools reflected the influence of German thinking on American youth:

Although German is taught widely in American schools, it is hardly astounding that the democratic and antimonarchic element which prevails in American schools smothers among the young the germs of genuine German thinking. The American appreciates in the German his joy in work and on average higher erudition (*Bildung*). Yet the aspiration aims towards liberating oneself also in this regard from German influence.⁴⁰

Holleben’s warnings did not make it beyond the confines of the Foreign Ministry in Berlin. Germans were under the illusion that the high standing of the German language in the United States reflected a far-reaching cultural influence in that country and its firm connection with Germany. This standing owed much to the respect for German learning that had grown in the second half of the nineteenth century, a phenomenon whose legacy survived the period of military confrontation, though much diminished. However, Germany’s model role passed into history as the dynamics of American self-empowerment shifted the outlook on Europe’s cultural leadership after 1900. As the intellectual declaration of American independence took its early shape in those years, it gained a unique momentum with the entry into the war against Germany. The increasing militarization of the Kaiser’s empire and its academic establishment offered easy arguments for self-assured assertions of American cultural values, based on democratic ideals.

As a result, the crucial terms “Bildung” and “Kultur” suffered a harsh beating in numerous efforts to deconstruct the intellectual foundations of the German influence on American education. The most vindictive attack took the accusation of betrayal to its ultimate conclusion. Gustavus Ohlinger, a German American from Ohio, managed to engage Congress in hearings of members of the German-

39 Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1935), 601f.

40 Holleben an Auswärtiges Amt, March 20, 1902, in Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 602.

American National Alliance concerning the German conspiracy to undermine the American resolve as a sovereign nation. Ohlinger, well acquainted with the attraction of German universities to Americans, called the whole enterprise a “German conspiracy in American education,” in fact the title of his book. He drove the disenchantment with the language of *Wissenschaft* back to its country of origin:

The old watchwords, *Wissenschaft*, *Lernfreiheit*, and *Lehrfreiheit*, still resounded in their ears, though long since silenced in the land that gave them birth; they failed to recognize in modern Germany the Frankenstein that had created in the state a monster devoid of all ethical principle and moral restraint – a monster which was even then destroying the fairest children of the German heart.⁴¹

As close as Ohlinger’s condemnation of German surrender to militarism sounded to Nietzsche’s warnings, he built his argument around the betrayal of freedom and the suppression of democracy – not exactly Nietzsche’s concern with culture. Extreme in his obsession with a German conspiracy, Ohlinger’s reasoning reflected the broadly voiced accusation that the Germans had delivered themselves into the arms of authoritarianism, militarism, and barbarism, with the professors as the main culprits.

More substantial was the critique of the German concept of *Bildung* that the most famous philosopher and educational reformer of the period, John Dewey, published in 1915. He joined others in denouncing German educational philosophy as dangerously divided between idealistic *Bildung* and state-sponsored power claims. Dewey, educated at Johns Hopkins by the German-trained Hegelian philosopher George Sylvester Morris in the 1880s, made overcoming idealism into a kind of political maxim. He proceeded in his effort of disowning German philosophy, by blaming it for its turn to blatant militarism and made no other thinker responsible but Immanuel Kant and to some extent Fichte. In his much quoted book, *German Philosophy and Politics*, Dewey attacked the separation of German thought since Kant, between the inner and the outer “with its lessons of freedom and idealism in one realm, and of mechanism, efficiency and organization in the other.” Dewey reviled the disconnect in between ethics and practical behavior, the latter being easily unhinged by the claim of military necessities.⁴²

⁴¹ Gustavus Ohlinger, *The German Conspiracy in American Education* (New York: Doran, 1919), 28.

⁴² John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics* (New York: Putnam, 1942), 81; Frank Trommler, “Inventing the Enemy: German-American Cultural Relations, 1900–1917, in *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900–1924*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schröder (Providence: Berg, 1993), 99–125.

5 Situating the Story in its Historical Context

In 1917, both German-American history and the history of German Americans took a fateful turn. It is tempting to close the chapter of the intellectual encounter of the two countries in their pursuit of modernization at the moment when the fruitful cooperation in the realm of education and universities came to a standstill. But a broader look at the dramatic confrontations of two powers that became leaders in industrialization and modernization, reveals that numerous other developments had taken the innovations of education, science and social policies beyond the confines of the university and far into the reforms of the infrastructure of each society. In Germany this applied to reforms of working and living conditions and municipal efficiency, in the United States to the efforts of the Progressivist reformers in finding social solutions to the problems of “high” capitalism.⁴³ The dynamics of these developments are no less compelling and need to be mentioned in order to situate the story of the German university model in its increasingly complicated context.⁴⁴

This story was strongly impacted by the fate of the German professoriate that Fritz Ringer analyzed in *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933*. Ringer showed how the German professoriate lost its grip on innovation and the control of its social status within the industrial society and how this demise led to much of its nationalist grandstanding, especially at the beginning of World War I. Ringer’s conclusion that the American professoriate became more modern than the German one, however, did not go uncontested. Harry Liebersohn argued that the two educational systems, due to their different traditions, were not easily comparable, if one took the democratic framework as the decisive reference for modernity:

To claim that Germany’s system of state bureaucratic control was less modern than America’s community control would be as misguided as arguing that Germany’s banking entrepreneurship was less modern than American private enterprise.⁴⁵

43 Alexander E. Campbell, “Progressive Concepts of the World Order,” in *Impressions of a Gilded Age: The American Fin de Siècle*, eds. Marc Chenetier and Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: Amerika Instituut, 1983), 215–227.

44 Frank Trommler, “Reformkultur oder Progressivism? Modernisierungskonzepte um 1900 in Deutschland und den USA,” in *Zwei Wege in die Moderne: Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen 1900–1918* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1998), 27–44; Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, eds., *Wettlauf um die Moderne: Die USA und Deutschland 1890 bis heute* (München: Pantheon, 2008).

45 Harry Liebersohn, “The American Academic Community before the First World War: A Comparison with the German ‘Bildungsbürgertum,’” in *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, part I: Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleichen*, eds. Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985), 185.

Even Dewey's contemporaries struggled with the question of the way in which the undemocratic system of state governance in Germany could be associated with the concepts of progress (*Fortschritt*) and modernization that were inherent in the pursuit of *Wissenschaft*. Here lay the origins of another story built on the realization that the university's capacity to instigate modernization of societies in the nineteenth century could not be easily transferred to the twentieth century, with its social and technological innovations in engineering and product design, public and private organizations, communication and business conglomerates.⁴⁶ It meant, among other things, that American observers, increasingly labeling the autocratic structures of German state bureaucracy as anachronistic, failed to recognize other sources and factors of modernization. Dewey, who rallied the country against the German "menace to democracy", encountered strong resistance from his own student, the journalist and social critic Randolph Bourne. Untouched by the twofold experience of admiration and then disillusionment vis-à-vis German higher learning that many American intellectuals went through, Bourne learned from the Progressivist reformers not to concentrate on the limited potential of universities for social innovation. He concerned himself with the social infrastructure of the other country and found that discipline and effectiveness in a national pursuit did not exhaust itself in warmongering. He projected it also as a crucial element for a successful social policy.

The Bourne-Dewey controversy constitutes a crucial part of the disputes about the nature of German modernization. It provides insights into distinguishing between the older perception of German *Kultur* and *Wissenschaft*. Upon the latter, Dewey bestowed the mark of intellectual dishonesty emanating from a contemporary understanding of scientific efficiency as the necessary basis of a modern society. The controversy gives insights into the new and different sources of innovation. Bourne, who had visited Germany shortly before the war and returned with a strong aversion to German militarism, nonetheless advised against being locked in the mere condemnation of militarism, because so much of its dynamics also pertained to the disciplining and organizing of modern society, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic. As the "scientific spirit" had already penetrated broad areas of public life in Germany, his "glance at German 'Kultur,'" as he called his thorough exploration of the subject in 1915, became a fascinating mapping of the appalling and tragic, yet unavoidable landscape of a modern, scientifically governed society.⁴⁷

46 Dieter Langewiesche, "Die Universität als Vordenker? Universität und Gesellschaft im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," *Saeculum* 45 (1994): 316–331.

47 Randolph S. Bourne, "A Glance at German 'Kultur,'" *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (February 1915): 22–27.

All this confirms the power and ultimate demise of a uniquely fruitful cultural transfer of “Kultur” and “Wissenschaft” under the aegis of the German university. These processes illuminate the fact that the demise was partly self-inflicted and partly the result of developments beyond the reach of universities. It is a story without closure, as it leads inevitably into a broader consideration of the modernizing dynamics of the twentieth century, within which the university does not occupy the same privileged position as in the later decades of the nineteenth century.

Charlotte A. Lerg

Uses and Abuses of the First German-American Professorial Exchange, 1905–1914

The German Ministry of Culture and Education negotiated the first German-American exchange agreements for professors with the universities of Harvard and Columbia in the decade preceding the First World War. The motivation on the German side was distinctly political, while the American universities harbored their own ambitions. They were striving for international visibility and cultural capital. A closer look at the initiation of the program sheds light on how these different aspirations converged in the establishment of these exchanges. However, when war brought an end to them both, as they were hijacked for propaganda purposes, the exchange project as a whole was challenged. This paper argues that the way the exchange was set-up – based on different agendas on each side of the Atlantic – was fundamental in making it possible at that particular point in time, but simultaneously opened it up to abuse only a few years later.

On New Year's Day 1905, in a small reception at the marine salon of the Berlin City Palace, the German Kaiser Wilhelm II greeted the ambassadors of major fellow nations. Included beside powers like Britain and France were also the USA, the newest global player. During his brief conversation with Charlemagne Tower, the American representative, the Kaiser expressed his admiration for President Theodore Roosevelt, and his hope for a continuation of friendly relations. He then remarked – as if the idea had just struck him:

I wish an arrangement could be made under which all American professors could come to our Universities and deliver courses of lectures each year, and for German professors to go to American universities and deliver lectures there.¹

Less than two weeks later, the *New York Times* headlined Harvard University “adopts Kaiser’s suggestion”.² Thus, the first transatlantic professorial exchange was officially established in January 1905. However, what seemed like – and was indeed carefully staged as – the ingenious idea of the German Kaiser, had in fact

1 “Kaiser greets America: Says President Is Leading the Nation to Advanced Power,” *New York Times*, hereafter *NYT*, January 2, 1905, 1; “Kaiser to Americans: New Year’s Greetings to President and People,” *The Washington Post*, January 2, 1905, 4.

2 “Adopt Kaiser’s Suggestion: Harvard and Berlin Universities to Exchange Lecture Courses,” *NYT*, January 10, 1905, 1.

for some time been in the making. It is therefore worth exploring the circumstances that lead to the first two German-American exchange programs during the early decades of the twentieth century. In particular, the different motivations behind this endeavor shed light on the professionalization of cultural diplomacy on campus, at a time when practices that are now widespread, were just beginning.

Academic Relations and Cultural Diplomacy

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Germany was keen to improve relations with the United States. Based on the balance-of-power doctrine and in view of the ever-mounting German rivalry with Britain, as well as the old antagonism towards France, the newly emerging global power across the Atlantic was considered a key player to reckon with in the future. At the same time, the economic and industrial might of the United States caused unease among German elites, while American elites for their part, critically eyed German militarization and bureaucratization. Furthermore, the United States were beginning to visibly shed their isolationist approach to foreign policy and acted more assertively on the world stage. This position they had first extended economically, but soon followed up politically. Between Germany and the USA, the two “late-comers” to the colonial race, there had been a number of close encounters – diplomatic and military – over protective tariffs, the Monroe Doctrine and other issues, ranging from the Philippines to Venezuela.³ Respectively, public opinion was volatile at best. Germany particularly feared British influence in the United States and welcomed the effort among German-Americans to organize and gain more political influence in US-public life.⁴ Nevertheless, direct backing from the Fatherland had to be handled carefully, lest it backfire. The American public was quick to regard any hint of active support by the German government, e.g. of a financial nature, for German-American activities, as illegitimate interference.⁵ Against this back-

3 Wolfgang Helbich, “Different but Not Out of this World: German Images of the United States between the Two Wars, 1871–1914,” in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776*, ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109–130; Raimund Lammersdorf, *Anfänge einer Weltmacht: Theodore Roosevelt und die transatlantischen Beziehungen der USA, 1901–1909* (Berlin: Akademie, 1994); Reiner Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung, 1890–1917* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986).

4 Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Heike Bungert, “Migration und Internationale Beziehungen im Kaiserreich: Wilhelm II., das Auswärtige Amt und ihr Interesse an den Deutschamerikanern,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 68/5 (2015): 413–434.

5 Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, “German-American Cultural Relations, 1870–1914: A Historical Retrospective,” in *The Cultural Turn. Essays in the History of US Foreign Relations*, ed. Frank A. Ninkovich and Liping Bu (Waterloo: Imprint, 2001), 53–82; Konrad H. Jarausch, “Huns, Krauts or Good Germans? The German Image in America, 1880–1980,” in *German-American Interrelations: Heritage and Challenge*, ed. Adolf Theis, John Toll, and James Harris (Tübingen: Attempto,

ground, a soft-power⁶ approach appeared promising. Both nations were led by virile and militaristic heads-of-state – Wilhelm II and, from 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt, although both also liked to show themselves as patrons of the arts and sciences. The latter offered ample opportunity for what would later be called cultural diplomacy.⁷

In 1901, the German ambassador in Washington, Theodor von Holleben, reported home that academic ties could be the key to a profitable transatlantic understanding. In his estimation, furthering scholarly exchange provided “almost the only thing we can do on this side of the Atlantic”.⁸ He admitted though, that for the time being, America lacked a thoroughly educated intellectual class, so that influencing society through universities still seemed rather a long shot. However, he made one notable exception, namely Harvard University that incidentally, had just awarded him an honorary degree.⁹

The German government lost no time. In 1902, Prince Heinrich, the Kaiser’s brother embarked on a goodwill tour through the United States. Among his many social engagements was an elaborate celebration at Harvard University, where he also received an honorary degree. On this occasion, he announced that Wilhelm II intended to donate a large collection of plaster casts based on German works of art as the foundation for a new museum for the university. Kuno Francke, professor of German at Harvard since 1887, had pulled a lot of strings in the background to get this project off the ground. He had travelled back and forth across the Atlantic

1985), 145–159; Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, eds., *Wettlauf um die Moderne: Die USA und Deutschland 1890 bis heute* (München: Pantheon, 2008); Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore, eds., *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000* (New York: Berghahn, 2001).

6 On the concepts of ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘soft power’ in history see Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried, “The Model of Cultural Diplomacy: Power, Distance, and the Promise of Civil Society,” in *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, ed. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Marc C. Donfried (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010); Ninkovich and Bu, *Cultural Turn*.

7 Franz Schmidt, “Anfänge deutscher Kulturpolitik im Auslande,” *Zeitschrift für Politik N. F.* 3/3 (1956): 552–558; Franziska Ungern-Sternberg, *Kulturpolitik zwischen den Kontinenten: Deutschland und Amerika: Das Germanische Museum in Cambridge/Mass* (Köln: Böhlau, 1994).

8 Theodor von Holleben to German Foreign Ministry (August 2, 1901), cited in Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, vol. 2 (New York: MacMillan Company, 1935), 2003–2004.

9 The practice and theory associated with awarding honorary degrees differed considerably in transatlantic comparison. The interpretation was linked to the role universities were considered to play in society. Hence, in the US, they were to be an active contributor to moral and social discourse and consequently would more frequently honor public figures. In Germany, on the other hand, until today, scientific and scholarly achievement remains the key mark of distinction in the selection of dignitaries. Cf. Charlotte Lerg “Die Ehrendoktorwürde im Dienste der Diplomatie: Politische Dimensionen einer akademischen Praxis im transatlantischen Verhältnis,” in *Akademische Wissenskulturen: Praktiken des Lehrens und Forschens vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne*, ed. Martin Kintzinger and Sita Steckel (Basel: Schwabe AG, 2015), 301–322.

to win the support of the German government, and successfully convinced his colleagues at Harvard and the university administration. On top of that, he had managed to secure donations to cover the costs. A year later, the Germanic Museum at Harvard opened its doors.¹⁰ In this context, in 1902, almost three years before the Kaiser's ever so spontaneous idea in the marine salon, the plan for an institutionalized exchange of professors emerged.¹¹

Today, scholars regularly cross the Atlantic; they participate in conferences, attend congresses and spend semesters, years or whole careers abroad. Of course, by the turn of the twentieth century, this had also already been going on for some time, although naturally on a smaller scale. As Peter Burke has pointed out, the "age of steam" also very much affected and transformed the republic of letters, as scholars became more mobile.¹² Between 1880 and 1900, the number of international congresses soared from an average of less than twenty a year to over a hundred – by the eve of World War I that number had again more than doubled.¹³ Private networks had existed and developed for most of the nineteenth century. After all, postgraduate education was not introduced to the US on a large scale until after the Civil War in the late 1860s. Before that, American scholars flocked to European universities to complete doctoral degrees, study with eminent professors or simply to broaden their knowledge in a particular field. By the last third of the nineteenth century, American scholars were extremely well acquainted and connected with the academic scene in Germany.¹⁴ German universities were particularly attractive, due to their reputation for progressive methods of research and teaching, and they were also, on a more practical level, more accessible to foreign students than, for example, the socially rather closed British universities and the more provincial French ones. Paris was a major exception, of course, as in the

10 Ungern-Sternberg, *Kulturpolitik*. See also Charlotte Lerg, "'We are no Teutomaniacs...': Cultural Diplomacy, the Study of German and the Germanic Museum at Harvard before the First World War," *Germanistik in Irland Schriftenreihe* 3 (2013): 43–54.

11 Kuno Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit in Amerika: Erinnerungen* (Leipzig: Meiner, 1930), 44–45.

12 Peter Burke, "From the Disputation to the Power Point: Staging Academic Knowledge in Europe 1100–2000", in *Inszenierung und Gedächtnis: Soziokulturelle und ästhetische Praxis*, ed. Herman Blume, Elisabeth Großegger, Andrea Sommer-Mathis and Michael Rössner (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 119–131, here 129.

13 Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere, *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post)Colonial Education* (New York: Berghahn, 2014); Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Politics of the Republic of Learning: International Scientific Congresses in Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America," in *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 205–244.

14 Anja Werner, *The Transatlantic World of Higher Education: Americans at German Universities, 1776–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

eyes of American scholars, the Sorbonne bore the eternal nimbus of the idealized mediaeval university.

One of these students who had completed his academic education in Germany was historian and political scientist John W. Burgess. After completing an undergraduate degree at Amherst College, he spent several years at the Universities of Göttingen, Leipzig and Berlin during the early 1870s. In 1876, he took up a professorship in history, politics and international law at Columbia University in New York. As a student, his mentor, US-ambassador to Berlin, George Bancroft, had introduced him to the urban bourgeoisie of the capital and the Prussian nobility.¹⁵ As one of the first exchange professors, he developed a personal relationship with the royal family, repeatedly taking meals at the palace and even tutoring one of the princes.¹⁶ These ties would later cause him much private as well as public grief, during the First World War.¹⁷ However, his emotional memories of German university life left him an outspoken Germanophile for the rest of his life.¹⁸ During the 1880s, as dean of the graduate school of political science at Columbia, that he had helped establish based on the German model, he drew on the transatlantic networks of his late student days. In 1884, he penned a letter to Gustav Droysen his “honored teacher and friend”. He approached the aging German professor, then in his mid-eighties, with a particular idea:

We should take the first steps towards making University education international rather than national [...]. My suggestion is Germany and America should lead in this movement, that German professors should come to us and teach in our American Colleges [sic] and that American professors should go over to you and teach in your universities.¹⁹

Burgess was effectively suggesting an institutionalized exchange as early as 1884. However, as open as German universities might have been to American students,

15 J. William Burgess, *Reminiscences of an American Scholar: The Beginnings of Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 91–93.

16 Ruth Payne Burgess to ‘Mr. Flagg’ (January 28, 1906), in: Columbia University Archives, hereafter CUA: Burgess Family Papers MS#0168 Mrs. Burgess. From the letter, it is impossible to tell if Burgess’ wife is addressing Jerald Bradly Flagg or his son Ernest Flagg. Both were notable personalities in the New York art scene (Flagg senior a painter, Flagg junior an architect). As Ruth Payne Burgess was a painter herself, she would have moved in the same circles.

17 Burgess to Butler (September 20, 1918), in: CUA: Butler Papers #58 Burgess; *The* [New York] *Sun* to Burgess (telegram, December 6, 1918); “Prof. Burgess Loyal, He Says” *The* [New York] *Sun* (Dec. 7, 1918), 3.

18 John W. Burgess “The German Emperor,” *NYT* (October 17, 1914). Reprint under the auspice of the Germanistic Society, Chicago (pamphlet no. 7); Burgess to Wilhelm II (draft, no date), in: CUA: Burgess MS#0168 Kaiser Wilhelm. Burgess to Prince August of Prussia (no date, but the text clearly indicates that it was written after the First World War), in: CUA: Burgess MS#0168 Box 2 Prinz August von Preußen.

19 Burgess to Droysen (February 22, 1884), in: CUA: Burgess MS#0168 Droysen.

their teaching ranks were not. In his genuine, but skeptical and ultimately dismissive reply, Droysen explained that it was extremely unlikely that any German university would allow an American professor to teach without a Habilitation.²⁰ Droysen's reservations are symptomatic of a larger mistrust regarding the quality of US institutions of higher education that was prevalent among German academics. It was felt that the American universities, due to their relatively brief tradition, their lack of emphasis on research and their general remoteness, could not match their European counterparts, least of all the eminent German establishments.

Even twenty years later, attitudes had not changed much. In his memoirs, Friedrich Paulsen, professor of Philosophy at Berlin University, remembered his colleagues' dismissal of US-institutions when the prospect of an exchange was brought up in 1905.²¹ As late as 1910, Leipzig historian Ernst Daenell observed in the *Internationale Wochenschrift*, that German academics still tended to believe that "die amerikanische Universität wissenschaftlich noch nicht auf der Höhe sei."²²

The reality, however, had long changed and American universities caught up rapidly with their European counterparts. Prominent US-industrialists had made large fortunes mostly through monopolies in steel, railways or oil. Keen to invest in philanthropic endeavors, they soon discovered the academic world. John D. Rockefeller funded an entire university at Chicago in the 1890s, as did Leland Stanford and his wife a year later in California. All over the country, universities profited from this financial windfall and as endowments grew, they were able to fit out lavish laboratories, host international gatherings, buy up European libraries and offer competitive salaries. A considerable number of European scholars came over and pursued careers in America. From the 1890s onwards, a new kind of self-confidence was growing among American scholars, who were striving to come into their own within the international republic of letters. However, what all this money could not buy – at least at first – was prestige abroad.

When we look at cultural diplomacy in the academic world, we cannot simply use a language of instrumentalization.²³ We have to pay just as much attention to the agency and interests of the institutions – the universities – and the individuals,

20 Droysen to Burgess (April 5, 1884), in: CUA: Burgess MS#0168 Droysen.

21 Paulsen himself did not share this view. Friedrich Paulsen, *Friedrich Paulsen: An Autobiography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938) 438. Cf. also Wilhelm Ostwald, *Lebenslinien: Eine Selbstbiographie* (Leipzig: Verlag der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003 [original 1926/27]), 385.

22 "That American universities were not quite up to the mark." (Translation by the author.) In Ernst Daenell, "Betrachtungen zum Professoren Austausch," *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft Kunst und Technik* 4/5 (January 29, 1910): 145–154, quotation 148.

23 Thomas Adam and Charlotte Lerg, "Introductory Remarks," *Diplomacy on Campus: The Political Dimensions of Academic Exchange in the North Atlantic*, ed. Thomas Adam and Charlotte Lerg, *Journal of Transatlantic Studies. Special Issue* 13/4 (2015): 299–310.

not only the professors, but also the administrators. In academia, more often than not, prestige and reputation is a most relevant currency. For example, over and above the cultural and intellectual input, Berlin University, as well as Columbia benefited from the exchange programs in two ways. The exchangees always had to read at these institutions no matter which institution they hailed from. This way, there was an additional professor each winter, without necessarily having to spare a member of their own teaching staff. (Berlin even had two: one Columbia Professor and one from Harvard). Moreover, the foreign guests always acquired a considerable amount of public interest for the institution. This attention universities knew to foster through grandly staged opening lectures and society dinner-parties. When the first Harvard exchange professor, moral theologian Francis Greenwood Peabody, delivered his first lecture in Berlin, the main auditorium of Berlin University was packed with students, professors and an interested public.²⁴ There were so many people, they even sprawled out into the streets. Numerous political dignitaries attended the event, like the American ambassador Charlemagne Tower and the German Foreign Minister Count von Richthofen. Both men had brought their wives, which indicates their interpretation of the lecture as a distinctly social event. Most importantly, however – and probably the real reason for the large crowds – the Kaiser himself graced the American guest with his presence. According to newspaper reports, this was actually the first time His Royal Highness had ever set foot in the university at all – a very clear statement.

When John W. Burgess, the first Columbia professor, lectured a year later, Wilhelm II even brought his wife and son. Such events meant welcome publicity and international exposure for the university. They were also duly noted in the American papers, where reports even detailed the number of minutes the Kaiser spent in conversation with the professor afterwards, creating valuable credit that the scholar himself could charge to his public profile account. Naturally, most of them were at pains to appear modest, and usually downplayed the representational side in favor of academic content. Friedrich Paulsen was among the few whose distaste for the political and ceremonial sides of the endeavor actually lead him to decline the offer to go abroad – at least according to his autobiography:

[...] a political flavour had now been imparted to the affair [...]. Needless to say, that would have entailed no end of formal calls and receptions and presentations and dinners – obligations, in short that would have amply sufficed in themselves to deter me from the journey.²⁵

24 Agnes Goodwin Culver, "Prof. Peabody in Berlin: A Summary of his First Lecture," *Boston Evening Transcript* (November 15, 1905).

25 Paulsen, *Autobiography*, 438.

Setting up Contact

Despite the immense self-importance of German academia, reflected particularly in the idea of a “Weltmacht des Geistes”²⁶, Germany was not the first nation to consider the American campus a fitting stage for international friendship. Most prominently, Britain and France had also shown initiative in that direction. In 1902, the Rhodes Fellowship at Oxford University became one of the first institutionalized post-graduate exchange programs, while in the same year, the French ministry of education, with generous financial aid from the Francophile American stockbroker James Hazen Hyde, sent lecturers to tour US-universities and vice versa.²⁷ Both these schemes were explicit points of reference when negotiations for a German-American co-operation gained momentum in 1902, in the wake of the founding of the Germanic Museum at Harvard and as preparations for an international science congress at the 1904 World’s Fair in St. Louis had transatlantic scholarly networks abuzz. The roots of the German-American exchange programs therefore have to be understood as much in the context of transatlantic relations, as with an eye on rivalries within Western Europe.

Wilhelm Waldeyer, professor of anatomy and former rector of Berlin University, was trying to generate support for his plan to establish a regular lecture circuit for German professors in America, while at the same time inviting US-colleagues over as guests of the German universities. What he had in mind was a similar arrangement to that maintained by the French. Around the same time, Kuno Francke presented the Harvard Corporation with a draft of the plan he had worked out with Friedrich Althoff of the Prussian ministry of Education. The latter was known for his preoccupation with international academic networks and his elaborate ‘system’, through which he kept a hand on the running of German academic life, particularly when it came to the Prussian universities.²⁸

As both Francke’s and Waldeyer’s plan were under consideration in Harvard, Hugo Münsterberg, the other German professor there, wrote a long letter to Harvard president Charles W. Eliot, weighing the two options against each other.²⁹ Münsterberg had been teaching philosophy and psychology at Harvard since 1892, and ever since he settled in the United States, he had felt his calling to be that of

26 Eugen Kühnemann, *Vom Weltreich des deutschen Geistes: Reden und Aufsätze* (München: Beck, 1914).

27 Philip Ziegler, *Legacy: Cecil Rhodes, the Rhodes Trust and Rhodes Scholarships* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); “First Hyde Lecture Today,” *The Harvard Crimson* (February 7, 1906) no page numbers.

28 Bernhard vom Brocke, “Hochschul- und Wissenschaftspolitik in Preußen und im deutschen Kaiserreich 1882–1907. Das ‘System Althoff,’” in *Bildungspolitik in Preußen zur Zeit des Kaiserreichs*, ed. Peter Baumgart (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 9–119.

29 Münsterberg to Eliot (September 4, 1902), in: Harvard University Archives, hereafter HUA: UAI 5.150 Eliot Papers Box 56 Münsterberg (folder not numbered).

a cultural mediator – especially when it came to academic cultures.³⁰ Interestingly though, he did not fully approve of either of the plans. The lectures Waldeyer had suggested, if they were anything like their French models, he explained, would be superficial at best and have no real impact on the university, the academic scene or even the broader population. Nevertheless, of the two options, he still preferred Waldeyer's to Francke's. The former, he thought, was "at least harmless".³¹ A full-blown exchange like Francke had proposed, on the other hand, "would do serious harm to American universities."³² As the letter continues, it becomes clear that Münsterberg's central concern was with the reputation of American universities in general, and of Harvard in particular, especially the respect they could command in Germany. It was his belief that a German professor, faced with the everyday tasks of an American professor, having to deal with undergraduate students and examination administration, could only be appalled. At length, he cites his own impressions during his first few years at Harvard until, he remembers, he had fully understood the system as a whole. But since a year would never be enough to gain this kind of complex understanding, he argued, any German exchange professor "would return [home] as a new apostle of the doctrine that the American universities are far below the level of the German ones".³³

In his reply to Münsterberg, Eliot took on board this skepticism, but was seemingly unwilling to give up on the exchange idea just yet. He suggested some modifications and indicated that his two German professors, Francke and Münsterberg, should find a solution together.³⁴ During an intense meeting at Münsterberg's holiday home, they worked out a compromise. In September 1902, Münsterberg privately informed Eliot of the new plan, which had been passed on to Althoff.³⁵ On the basis of this draft and after some further negotiations, Friedrich Althoff submitted an official proposal to president Eliot in late November 1904 and in mid-December, Harvard approved the program. It stipulated that the exchange would only be for one semester, not for a whole year, and that the professors would be expected to deliver a lecture series and a doctoral seminar, instead of a full course for undergraduates, which would have demanded a high degree of administrative involvement. By the time the Kaiser announced his "spontaneous"

30 Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 31–68.

31 Münsterberg to Eliot (September 4, 1902), in: HUA: UAI 5.150 Eliot Papers Box 56 Münsterberg (folder not numbered).

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Eliot an Münsterberg (September 8, 1902), in: Boston Public Library, hereafter BPL: Münsterberg Papers MS. Acc 1678.4.

35 Münsterberg to Eliot (September 12, 1902), in: HUA: UAI 5.150 Eliot Papers Box 56 Münsterberg (folder not numbered).

desire to establish a transatlantic academic exchange program in January 1905, Althoff and Eliot were already exchanging letters regularly, arranging the details and selecting the first set of candidates.³⁶

Nevertheless, the ceremonious announcement and the press coverage that ensued was as much part of the deal as the actual exchange. It contributed not only to the German reputation in the United States, but also to the image of American academia abroad. Furthermore, the exponential extension of the US-landscape of higher education had sparked a considerable domestic competition for funds, students and attention, particularly fierce among the most prominent institution.³⁷ In his 1902 letter, when the different exchange ideas were first discussed, Münsterberg, for all his skepticism, had warned president Eliot: “it is clear that it will be done and if you do not do it, either Harper or Butler will undertake it and misuse it in the usual way for local advertisement.”³⁸ President Nicolas Murray Butler of Columbia University and president William Rainey Harper of Chicago, were among the most enterprising when it came to generating publicity and funds for their institutions. Harper in particular, who in 1893, aged only 35, had become the founding president at John D. Rockefeller’s pet project, the University of Chicago. In view of his tireless efforts, Chicago citizens had begun to jokingly refer to their new university as “Harper’s Bazaar”,³⁹ evoking the glossy fashion magazine of the same name as well as, more literally, a place where commodities were bought and sold.

Nicolas Murray Butler had only just succeeded to the president’s chair at Columbia in 1902, but he had big plans. Under his reign, the lion’s share of Columbia’s transformation from college to university would take place. Butler was also very involved in the local politics of New York City and well connected within its high-society.⁴⁰ Like Harvard president Eliot and a few other university presidents, his voice was heard on national issues and international relations. No wonder that Münsterberg, who had an acute sense of prestige coupled with a highly developed

36 Althoff to Eliot (November 12, 1904); Eliot to Althoff (December 2, 1904) all in HUA: UAI 5.150 Eliot Papers Box 75 University Berlin (folder not numbered).

37 Cf. for example: Joseph Ben-David, *Centers of Learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States: An Essay*, ed. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (Berkeley: McGraw-Hill, 1977); Edward Shils, “The Order of Learning in the United States: The Ascendancy of the University,” in *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860–1920*, ed. Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 19–47; John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 317–332.

38 Münsterberg to Eliot (September 4, 1902), in: HUA: UAI 5.150 Eliot Papers Box 56 Münsterberg (folder not numbered).

39 Thelin, *American Higher Education*, 120.

40 Michael Rosenthal and Patricia O’Toole, *Nicholas Miraculous: The Amazing Career of the Redoubtable Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

understanding of public relations, felt that Butler was a force to be reckoned with. Indeed, regarding the establishment of exchange programs, Münsterberg had assessed the Columbia president correctly.

Around the time American papers were announcing the new Harvard-Berlin connection, Butler was already busy preparing a similar arrangement for Columbia. Through the new German ambassador Herman Speck von Sternburg, he secured an audience with the German Kaiser for that very summer.⁴¹ At Wilhelmshöhe in August 1905, he presented his plan for a transatlantic exchange program to the monarch himself and to the ever-stirring Friedrich Althoff. In his memoirs, Butler remembers the Kaiser's reaction very specifically:

He listened eagerly and was most emphatic and cordial in his approval of it. He said at once that it was a great improvement on the existing exchange, which had been effected between Berlin and Harvard, and that it had a real idea behind it.⁴²

Indeed, the Columbia project conformed more directly with the motivations pursued by the German government officials in furthering academic exchange, as it was more openly political. In a letter to his colleague, Yale president Arthur Hadley, Butler confided in him: "The plan is an outgrowth of my dissatisfaction with the mere personal interchange of professors between German and American Universities." He continued to explain, "I have felt what is most needed is a way to present in its entirety the history and the culture of the one people to the students of the other."⁴³ In line with this concept, the representative professors who were to take up the exchange position in New York and Berlin according to Butler's ideas, were supposed to cover relevant fields like history, social institutions, politics, economics, and the culture of the respective country. Moreover, to ensure maximum impact, they were required to deliver at least one weekly public lecture in the language of the host country. Additionally, they could teach more advanced seminars in their mother tongue. In comparison, the Harvard exchange agreement had specifically included a paragraph giving the professors the choice of language.⁴⁴ In its public presentation, too, the Columbia project was more closely linked to the governments of the two countries involved. When it came to naming the program, it was decided to invoke the respective leaders and thus the chairs were

41 Butler to Speck von Sternburg (May 16, 1905), in: CUA: Butler Correspondence MS#0177 Box 155 German Ambassador.

42 "European Trip 1905," in: CUA: Butler papers Unprocessed MS#0177 Box 40 Diaries.

43 Butler to Hadley (October 20, 1905), in: Yale University Archives, hereafter YUA: RU25 Hadley Incoming Correspondence #14 Butler.

44 Bernhard vom Brocke, "Der deutsch-amerikanische Professoren Austausch: Preußische Wissenschaftspolitik, internationale Wissenschaftsbeziehungen und die Anfänge einer deutschen auswärtigen Kulturpolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 31/1 (1981): 128–183.

named officially: “Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History and Institutions” in Berlin and the “Kaiser Wilhelm Professur für Deutsche Geschichte und deutsche Einrichtungen” at Columbia.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the Harvard exchange was somewhat imbalanced – on the German side, professors could initially hail from the ten Prussian universities, and later from all 21 universities within the German Reich. On the American side, however, only Harvard professors were eligible. In contrast, the Roosevelt professor was not limited to Columbia faculty, but was chosen from all the American universities. (There were around 60 full universities in the US at the time, and there was no explicit exclusion of liberal arts colleges or technical schools from the exchange). Nevertheless, the authority on the American side remained with Columbia. Butler chaired the committee that nominated and suggested candidates to the German partners – initially Althoff, and after his death in 1908, his successor Friedrich Schmidt. They in turn nominated the German candidates to be accepted by the American administrators. This process of nomination worked almost the same way for both exchanges. The ultimate decision therefore always lay with the host institution.

Under the two German-American exchanges, 31 scholars crisscrossed the Atlantic between 1905 and 1914. The nine Harvard professors almost all came from different disciplines. Only theology was represented twice. But in general, the distribution between the natural sciences and the humanities was almost even – with a slight slant towards the latter. Especially a subject like psychology would have been difficult to place along the continuum at the time. Among their counterparts on the German side, there was a clear imbalance in favor of the humanities, with a particular emphasis on philosophy and history. This was added to by the fact that Eugen Kühnemann participated twice. He came first for one semester in accordance with the agreement in 1906, but then returned in 1908 to fill in for Kuno Francke, who had taken a one-year leave. The exchange offered a great opportunity to temporarily refill the faculty ranks. The Roosevelt Professors in Berlin all had a background in history, politics, constitutional law or American culture – as stipulated in the original plan – the only exception to this was the very last candidate Paul Shorley, who was a professor of Greek. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that among the Roosevelt professors, there were two active university presidents (Arthur Hadley of Yale in 1907 and Benjamin Wheeler of Berkeley in 1909). This also indicates the more representative character of the program. The line of Kaiser Wilhelm professors in New York also started off in accordance

45 In reconstructing the exact modalities and the lists of participants in the exchange program, I am greatly indebted to the work of Bernhard vom Brocke and Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, cf. vom Brocke “Professorenaustausch” and Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, “Der so genannte ‘deutsch-amerikanische’ Professorenaustausch 1904–1914,” in *Zwei Wege in die Moderne: Aspekte der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen 1900–1918*, ed. Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase and Jürgen Heideking (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1998), 45–88.

with the plan to represent national culture. Candidates came from research fields like national economy, law and geography. In later years, though, the list became more chequered, including a mathematician and an English philologist, as well as a psychologist.

After the great hullabaloo at the initiation of the two programs, routine ensued surprisingly quickly. The exchangees moved among the intertwining circles of academic and political elites, along the American east coast and around the German capital respectively. Thus, in the years that followed, these foreign guests still generated public interest beyond the campus, but the attention became more localized. Other American universities soon followed suit and established their own exchange programs, for example the University of Wisconsin and the University of Chicago, as well as some technical schools. It did not take long for other nations also to initiate academic exchange, first Italy and the Habsburg Empire, soon Sweden, Denmark, and even Japan. Most exchange professors later published recollections of their experiences in one form or another, either in their memoirs or in articles. Particularly the *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft Kultur und Technik*, a weekly (later monthly) journal founded in Berlin in 1907, regularly devoted considerable space to the exchange professors. Both the returning German colleagues, as well as the American guests, published here.⁴⁶ Hence, especially in Germany, where American scholarship had been slighted and few American universities ever became part of the relevant academic discourse, the exchanges did contribute to a greater awareness of the various institutions across the ocean and to a more thorough understanding of the US system of higher education.

Financing the endeavors could be called a transatlantic public-private partnership. On the German side, the money for both programs came from the Ministry of Education. They had a little help from the Koppel Foundation, and the Hamburg-America Line saw a chance for some American-style public involvement and offered to provide free passages for all the exchange professors.⁴⁷ In the United States, both programs were covered through donations. The Harvard exchange was funded through the endowment that also maintained the Germanic Museum and the guests, therefore, also had their office in the building and wrote on Museum stationary. The main financial backing was obtained from the so-called "Kaiser Wilhelm Fund" that had first been established in winter 1905/06

⁴⁶ The first volume alone of *Die Internationale Wochenschrift* (1907), comprises numerous contributions by the exchange professors: Theodor William Richards, "Die Entwicklung der Chemie in Amerika" I.3 (April 20, 1907); John W. Burgess, "Deutschland England und die Vereinigten Staaten" I.4 (April 27, 1907); Arthur J. Headley, "Die Eigenart des amerikanischen Wirtschaftsystems" I.31 (November 2, 1907).

⁴⁷ On the involvement of the Koppel Stiftung cf. vom Brocke, "Professorenaustausch," 144. On the generosity of the Hamburg-Amerika-Line, see Butler to Hadley (October 20, 1905), in: YUA: RU25 Box14#246 Butler; also see Ostwald, *Lebenslinien*, 388.

in honor of the Hohenzollerns' wedding anniversary.⁴⁸ A particularly generous donor to various endeavors was St. Louis brewer Adolphus Busch, probably the most influential German-American businessman and philanthropist. Jacob Schiff also gave generously, as did his fellow partners at the banking house Kuhn&Loeb, with the brothers Moritz and Paul Warburg among them, who would later make their mark on German-American cultural relations.⁴⁹ Contributors to the fund included many German-Americans, but it was by no means limited to them. James Speyer, a banking and stock-millionaire, financed the entire project at Columbia by giving \$50,000.⁵⁰

These variances in funding modalities were of course partly rooted in the different ways universities were financed and administrated on either side of the Atlantic. However, they also indicate how diversely political and institutional interests in the project were distributed. In Germany, the initiative came primarily from government authorities, be it Althoff and the Ministry of Education or the Kaiser himself. The University of Berlin was only a secondary beneficiary, provided we accept it as a separate institution from state interests. In the United States, it was somewhat the other way round. Only after the universities – private institutions – had negotiated the respective agreements for their own sake, did the government endorse them through public acknowledgement. President Roosevelt agreed to lend his name to the Columbia project and repeatedly stressed his appreciation of the idea. Furthermore, he sent official notes to greet the German public through the American professors, and he also telegraphed to welcome the German guests in the United States. However, not even at Harvard, his cherished alma mater, did he make any specific effort to hear them speak or even to see them, unless they came to him. We could say therefore, that on the American side, until about the 1920s, the government was the secondary beneficiary of the exchange agreements. Nevertheless, this kind of institutionalization could only come about, because very different interests on both sides of the Atlantic converged uniquely at that particular point in time. American universities were striving for international recognition and the German government sought cultural inroads into the United States.

48 *Report of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College, 1905–06* (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 1907), 307. In 1907 the fund was at \$26,285, cf. "Miscellaneous and Personal: The Emperor William Fund," *Harvard Graduate Magazine* XV.60 (June 1907): 632.

49 Emily J. Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

50 "Speyer founds German Professorship," *NYT*, November 13, 1905, 1.

The First World War

Naturally, with the coming of the First World War, the situation changed quickly. When war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the academic exchange efforts of the previous years were suddenly seen in a very different light. One exasperated alumnus of Michigan University explained, "Many of the exponents and apologists of Kultur were craftily planted by Germany in our innocent colleges and universities."⁵¹ The term 'Kultur', as opposed to 'culture' was quickly becoming shorthand for German Militarism and everything else that was bad about Germany.⁵² Not surprisingly, 1914 was to be the final year for both German-American exchange programs, even though it took almost three more years before the United States entered the European conflict, and diplomatic relations were broken off officially. There would be some attempts to revive the programs in the late 1920s, but to little or no avail. The Roosevelt Professorship did experience a brief resurrection during the early 1930s, but ceased completely in 1933. Similarly, German guests occasionally came to New York before 1933 through the former Kaiser Wilhelm professorship at Columbia, which naturally no longer bore the now exiled monarch's name during the Interwar period. Examining the end and the afterlife of the early endeavors at institutionalized German-American academic exchange, poignantly reveals its unique role in transatlantic relations.

The candidates for the winter semester 1914/15 had been duly selected and some had already begun preparations and made travel arrangements during the early summer of 1914. But all four men who were supposed to take up the respective positions cancelled.⁵³ In his annual report to the board for the academic year 1914/15, Harvard president Lawrence Lowell, Eliot's successor, noted that the exchange had been discontinued – in accordance with the wishes of the German side.⁵⁴ Columbia still suggested candidates to fill the Roosevelt Professorship for the two following years, but nothing ever came of it. This was as much a practical and security issue, as it may have been motivated by the growing anti-German sentiment. The combination of the British naval blockade and the German submarine war made crossing the Atlantic difficult and perilous. And even during the neutrality-years, public opinion in the United States was distinctly in favor

51 Jesse F. Orton to Lowell (May 11, 1918) incl. draft for a letter to the editor of *The Nation* (dated May 4, 1914 but not printed in that edition), a reply to an editorial of *The Nation* (March 7, 1918) that had quoted Lowell's staunch views on academic freedom and his refusal to dismiss German professors simply on account of their nationality, in: HUA: Lowell Papers UAI 5.160–127 #1803 Academic Freedom.

52 Jörg Nagler, "From Culture to Kultur," in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776*, ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 131–154.

53 vom Broeke, "Professorentausch," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 31/1 (1981), 142–145.

54 *Report of the President and Treasurer to Harvard College 1914/15* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1916): 26.

of the British and their allies. The German attack on Belgium and the sinking of the *Lusitania* became the touchstones of American sympathies in the European conflict. Academics, in particular, regarded the destruction of Louvain University as the final proof that Germany was no longer part of the civilized world.

In the wake of an almost hysterical fear of enemy-subversion in the United States, the image of the German professor, who had infiltrated the American campuses in a spy-like manner, was further strengthened by the way scholars back home championed the Kaiser's war rhetoric. Numerous former exchange professors were among the signatories of the *Manifesto of the 93*, a pamphlet fervently condoning and defending the German course in the war.⁵⁵ Jena philosopher Rudolf Eucken, just back from his guest semester at Harvard, and his Jena colleague biologist Ernst Haeckel, even authored a specific three-page *Appeal to the American Universities*.⁵⁶ It rehearsed the content of the *Manifesto* for a US audience. Given the German effort to turn the debate over who was to blame for the opening of hostilities into a question of international law, it was also most likely no coincidence that the last candidate nominated to be the Kaiser Wilhelm professor in 1914 at New York was Theodor Niemeyer, a specialist in international law. However, he never got to go to New York.

Someone who did travel across the Atlantic in 1914 was former exchange professor Eugen Kühnemann. The professor of Philosophy from Breslau embarked on a lecture tour to win over American hearts and minds for the German cause – or at least to keep them neutral. He received money through channels connected to the German foreign office.⁵⁷ His tour took him along the east coast, through the so-called German belt in the Mid-West and all the way across to California.

Kühnemann himself had always defined his participation in the exchange as a political mission, and he was keenly aware of its ideological dimension.⁵⁸ With some pride, he specified on any possible occasion in his later life, that he had delivered 296 speeches in 137 different American cities between 1914 and 1917.⁵⁹ He was a committed advocate of German supremacy in all things intellectual, and as early as 1907, after returning from his first term as exchange professor at Harvard, he had argued this position in the *Internationale Wochenschrift*. His contemporary and later fellow exchange professor at Wisconsin, the economist Moritz Julius

55 Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg and Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, *Der Aufruf An die Kulturwelt Das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: Mit einer Dokumentation* (Stuttgart: Fritz Steiner, 1996).

56 Rudolf Eucken and Ernst Haeckel, "An Appeal to the Universities of America," *The Open Court* XXVIII (11/1914): 659–661.

57 Eugen Kühnemann, *Deutschland und Amerika: Briefe an einen Deutsch-Amerikanischen Freund* (München: Beck, 1917), 24.

58 *Ibid.*, 1–2.

59 *Ibid.*, 13.

Bonn once called Kühnemann a “travelling salesman of German culture.”⁶⁰ From this, it was a small step to engage in propaganda work once the war came. Kühnemann qualified for the job due to a combination of talent, experience and expertise. Through the exchange programs, he had already spent several years in the United States, teaching twice at Harvard and once at the University of Wisconsin. Consequently, he was well acquainted with the academic elites, as well as with the leading figures among the German-American community. As an added bonus, he was fluent in English, which was by no means common at the time. And he was well known and liked for his oratorical skills.⁶¹ His appearances were grandly announced on multi-colored posters, in newspapers and pamphlets. His holding of three prestigious exchange positions was listed specifically to distinguish him in the eyes of his potential listeners, both Anglo- and German-Americans. Thus, even after it had already ended, the exchange program took on a new character, providing authority for a ‘propaganda professor’. During the First World War, when neither propaganda nor scholarly exchange had reached the level of professionalization achieved soon after, a number of scholars on both sides of the conflict rode the waves of academic relations established during the preceding decades.⁶² There were other German examples besides Kühnemann, most notably Kuno Meyer, a professor of Celtic studies who was given the task of focusing on the Irish-Americans. In view of their own political issues with Great Britain, Americans of Irish decent were considered a likely ally worth humoring.⁶³ Meyer had not been an exchange professor himself, but his brother, the eminent historian Eduard Meyer had spent a semester at Harvard 1909/10. The social and academic contacts formed during his stay, now opened doors for his brother.⁶⁴ What set these ‘propaganda professors’ apart from their equally nationalist and fanatically patriotic colleagues, was that they usually operated purely on a mission and fully suspended teaching and research in favor of public engagements. However, they still very explicitly identified themselves as members of the academic community. They used that particular image to bolster their credentials both inside and outside the academic community. For this purpose, the exchange program provided a useful point of reference and legitimation.

60 Fiebig-von Hase, “Professoren Austausch,” 72.

61 See collected clippings relating to his public appearances in papers of Eugen Kühnemann (Universitätsbibliothek Marburg Handschriften und Nachlässe).

62 Silvia Daniel, *A Brief Time to Discuss America* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008); Carol Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975); Peter Hoeres, *Krieg der Philosophen. Die deutsche und britische Philosophie im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004).

63 Joachim Lerchenmüller, *Keltischer Sprengstoff. Eine Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie über die deutsche Keltologie von 1900 bis 1945* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997).

64 Cf. e.g. Kuno Meyer to Butler (December 22, 1914), in: CUA: Butler Correspondence MS#0177 Box 258 Kuno Meyer.

In assessing the uses and abuses of the first German-American professorial exchanges, we should acknowledge that their *academic* impact was by no means paramount, nor was it intended as such. This was clear, even if the rhetoric connected with its establishment continuously stressed the scholarly side of the arrangement. For the exchange of research results and professional opinion, international congresses and personal networks were far more effective and significant during the period before 1914.

After the Second World War, the initiative mostly lay with the American government.⁶⁵ With programs like Fulbright, academic exchange took on a much larger scale, though no less political. To this day, the institutionalized exchange of scholars and students features prominently in everyday international relations. The transatlantic professorial exchanges during the first decade of the twentieth century provide one of the first manifestations of a central building block in the repertoire of soft power strategies that has since formed in the realm of academia. However, it does not suffice either, to simply view these early exchange programs as phony efforts at cultural diplomacy that were at best thinly veiled propaganda. Political agendas were not the only motivations in the establishment of these projects. At a time when American universities had come into their own and strove to position themselves internationally, institutional interests were a driving force not to be underestimated. Arguably, it was precisely this complex correlation of its uses for politics, prestige and publicity, that rendered the exchange program so vulnerable to abuse for propaganda purposes.

65 Liping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War," *Journal of American Studies* 33/3 (1999): 393–415; Robert Dallek, *The American Style of Foreign Policy: Cultural Politics and Foreign Affairs* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 9–28; Molly Bettie, "Ambassadors Unaware: The Fulbright Program and American Public Diplomacy," in *Diplomacy on Campus*, ed. Adam and Lerg, 358–372.

Anne Overbeck

Between Goethe and Washington: German-American Life in Indianapolis in the Early Twentieth Century¹

The widely held belief in contemporary scholarship is that World War I meant the end of German-American culture in the USA. This essay will focus on the state of Indiana, mainly on the city of Indianapolis, in order to trace the changes in the situation of German-Americans from the height of German-American life in the 1890s, throughout the crisis of the war years until the phase of recovery in the 1920s. The text aims at putting into perspective the intense, but short phase of anti-German hysteria that swept the US during the First World War.

You ought to change your name. Everything German is now suspicious, and rightfully so. Many do not question the sincere loyalty of your organization, but you can prove it by being willing to take a name that is not detestable to earnest Americans. I hope you will do so at once.

Letter to the director of *Das Deutsche Haus* in Indianapolis, April 1917²

In April of 1917, the president of the German-American cultural center *Das Deutsche Haus* in Indianapolis received the above letter, written anonymously by “a concerned citizen” asking him to sever the ties of his institution to its German roots.³ And he did precisely this. Shortly thereafter, the *Deutsche Haus* was renamed to Athenaeum, drawing on ancient Greece as a cultural inspiration instead of the Germans. This incident is representative of an intense – but mercifully short – phase of anti-German hysteria that swept the US during World War I, after the US had officially declared war against the German Empire.⁴ This hysteria did at-

1 I would like to thank Gregory Mobley, archivist at the IUPUI University Library in Indianapolis, and Chandler Lighty at the Indiana State Library for their invaluable assistance with my research and for graciously providing me with the visual material that accompanies this publication.

2 Letter to the director of *Das Deutsche Haus* in Indianapolis, 26 May 1917, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

3 Ibid.

4 Katja Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 131–304; Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 151–196; Frank Trommler, “The Lusitania Effect: America’s Mobilization against Germany in World War I,” *German Studies Review* 32/2 (2009): 241–266.

tack everything German, but Kultur (culture) played an “eminent role and function [...] in the anti-German propaganda struggle on the American home front during World War I”.⁵ This focus on the concept of Kultur made institutions like the *Deutsche Haus* a typical target of anti-German sentiment. This is particularly remarkable, since German-Americans were, in the normal run of events neither an easy nor obvious prey for ethnic hostility. Since the height of German migration in the 1880s, German-Americans had held numerous positions of power and especially in the Midwest, dominated political, and, most importantly, cultural life. Only three years before the US joined the war, Harvard University decided to found a Germanic Museum, showing strong reverence to Germany as an example of academic excellence and culture.⁶

This paper will address the changes and severe challenges that World War I brought to the German-American community in Indianapolis, a city in the Midwest with a substantial German-American population. It will address the question of how this community fell from its position of power, how the community dealt with these challenges and tried to carve out for itself a German-American identity within the narrow confines of anti-German propaganda. Finally, it will consider the astounding resilience of the German-American community that enabled it to revive its culture, albeit in a somewhat different form, after the end of the war.

“Wahrt deutsches Wesen” – The Decline of German-American Culture before World War I

Around 1890, about a third of all people living in Indianapolis had German roots.⁷ This group left its imprint on the city – not only through sheer quantity, but also through the fact that a remarkably large number of Germans were in positions of power. They were teachers and pastors, architects and lawyers, mayors and judges, leading businessmen and successful entrepreneurs.⁸ Innumerable German societies, *Turnverein* (gymnastic clubs), singing and music clubs, gardening

5 Jörg Nagler, “From Culture to Kultur. Changing American Perceptions of Imperial Germany, 1870–1914,” in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*, ed. David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 132.

6 Theodore Stempfel, *Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis 1848–1898* (German-American Center, 1991), 27–102; Guido Goldman, *A History of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University* (Cambridge, MA: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1989); Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 23–50; Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 17–78; Heike Bungert, “Memory and Migration Studies,” in *The Merits of Memory: Concepts, Contexts, Debates*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe and Sabine Schindler (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2008), 197–219.

7 U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, vol 1 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1975), 105–106.

8 Newspaper Cartoonists’ Association of Indianapolis, *Indianapolitans ‘As We See ‘Em’: Cartoons and Caricatures* (Indianapolis, IN: WM. B. Burford Print, 1904), accessed July 22, 2016, <http://archive.org/details/indianapolitansa00newsiala>.

societies and of course churches thrived in the city.⁹ German-Americans were a minority, but a confident and influential minority. *Das Deutsche Haus*, a stately building erected and run through donations, and which served as the well-respected cultural center of the city, was a symbol and culmination point of this group's influence. The *Maennerchor* met here, as well as the Turners, and recitals and concerts also took place at this venue. It also offered a bowling alley (*Kegelbahn*), a *Rathskeller* and a *Biergarten* to ensure that the community could and would meet outside organized events.¹⁰

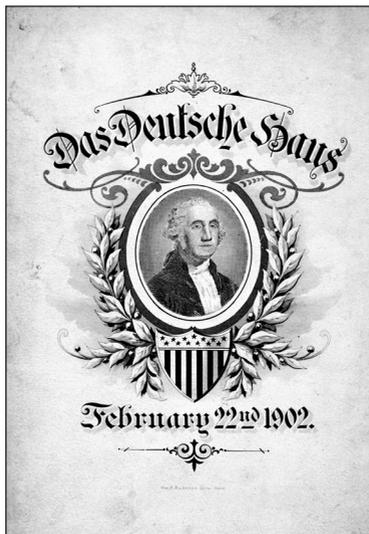


Fig. 1: The image of George Washington adorned invitation cards to the annual celebration at the *Deutsche Haus* in Indianapolis, 1902.

Despite the celebration of German culture, those who frequented the *Deutsche Haus* insisted on showing their allegiance to the host country. The founding day of the *Deutsche Haus* was February 22nd, Washington's Birthday. Every year, the birthday of the first president of the United States was celebrated alongside the founding of the institution,¹¹ thereby connecting the central German-American cultural institution in Indianapolis to one of the most prominent American po-

⁹ Stempfel, *Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis 1848–1898*, 27–102.

¹⁰ *Das Deutsche Haus*, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

¹¹ "Washington's Birthday – *Das Deutsche Haus*," 1902, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

litical icons. The German-Americans' intellectual elites tried to combine what in their view constituted the best of both worlds, namely German *Kultur* and American politics. Goethe's "Heidenröslein" was sung by the *Indianapolis Maennerchor* and the students at the *Deutsch-Englische Unabhängige Schule* alongside the "Star Spangled Banner".¹² For the German-Americans, Goethe and Washington were seen as allies going back to Goethe's admiring comments about Washington in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.¹³ On the one hand, the mixing of icons and reference points shows a firm conviction about and close connection of the German-American's intellectual elite to the chosen country. But it is also a sign of high self-esteem and sense of self. It also sent a message about which society was lacking what in various respects. This attempt of the German-American community to lay claim to a superior sense of culture or *Kultur* was not unique to the German-Americans in Indianapolis, but could also be found in other American cities and other German-American communities.¹⁴

Despite this public display of self-confidence, by the early 1910s, the German-American community was already in decline. The mass migration from Germany had reached its peak in 1882, when 250,000 Germans had come to the US. In 1900, this number had declined to a meager 19,000 new immigrants per year.¹⁵ As a result, more and more second or third-generation Germans were willing and able to leave their ethnic roots behind and join the American mainstream. The distribution numbers of German-American newspapers had declined by almost 30 percent nationwide and 25 percent in Indianapolis since their peak in 1893. Many German Schools had closed or merged with public high schools, membership in the different German clubs was declining as well. Ethnic entrepreneurs that had catered to a German-American crowd until the late nineteenth century were now opening up their services to a wider market.¹⁶

The ebbing flow of immigration, however was not the only reason that immigrants were leaving their roots behind. Nativist tendencies that had been prevalent in American political discourse since the 1850s, and related but more importantly,

12 Theodore Stein, *Our Old School: Historical Sketch of the German-English Independent School of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis, IN: The Cheltenham-Aetna Press, 1913), accessed July 22, 2016, <http://archive.org/details/historicalskech00stei>.

13 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Aus meinem Leben. Dichtung und Wahrheit. Dritter und vierter Teil*, 17. Accessed August 11, 2016, <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/dichtung-und-wahrheit-dritter-und-vierter-teil-7128/10>.

14 Heike Bungert, "'Feast of Fools': German-American Carnival as a Medium of Identity Formation, 1854–1914," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 48/3 (2003): 325–344.

15 *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 105–106.

16 Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 79–94; Paul J. Ramsey, "The War against German-American Culture: The Removal of German-Language Instruction from the Indianapolis Schools, 1917–1919," *Indiana Magazine of History* 98/4 (2002): 79–150.

the temperance movement, put stress on German-American culture.¹⁷ Nativists had been arguing for immigration restrictions, against voting rights for new immigrants and for English-only education for many decades. They were partly successful in achieving these objectives. The first immigration restrictions were passed in the 1890s, foreign language education was banned in schools in Arizona and California, and a five-year voting moratorium passed, for example in Illinois, to prevent newcomers from voting.¹⁸ At the same time, the so-called temperance movement gained momentum in the late 1900s, with the admirable goal of ending poverty and deprivation in the newly emerging larger cities in the north. One of the key causes of the dilapidated state of parts of these cities was, so the argument of the reformers, the unrestricted availability of alcohol. Alcohol consumption however, had strong ethnic connotations, beer in the case of the Germans, and spirits in case of the Irish.¹⁹

These charges had their base in reality. Nine out of ten breweries in Indianapolis, and eight out of ten nationwide, were run by Germans, and the most popular celebration of the German-American community in the city, which was also well attended by Anglo-Americans, was the so-called “St. Benno Fest”.²⁰ Celebrated in the spring, it bore a strong resemblance to the tradition of the German Oktoberfest – unashamedly putting the consuming of beer at the center of the event.²¹

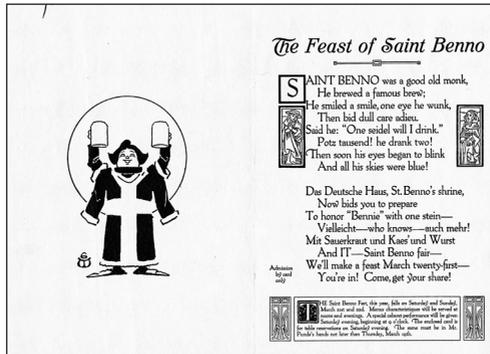


Fig. 2: Invitation to the annual St. Benno Fest in Indianapolis, 1914.

17 Thomas Welskopp, *Amerikas große Ernüchterung. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Prohibition* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2010), 33–50.

18 Ramsey, “The War against German-American Culture.”

19 Ibid.

20 Jana Weiß, “The Art of Brewing Was Developed by the Germans’ – Der Einfluss deutschamerikanischer Einwanderung auf die US-amerikanische Brauindustrie vor der Prohibition,” in *Vom Streben nach Glück. 200 Jahre Auswanderung aus Westfalen nach Amerika*, ed. Willi Kulke (Essen: Klartext, 2016), 109.

21 “St. Benno Fest,” 1902, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

The dilemma of the German-American community on the eve of World War I is summed up perfectly in a poem for the German Day 1913 with the telling title “Wahrt deutsches Wesen”.²²

In the first and second stanzas, the American ideals of political freedom and individual liberty are evoked:

Euch, die ihr halft Columbia befreien
 Von Englands Tyrannei mit Eurem Schwert
 [...]

 Die ihr gehalten habt in grimmer Fehde
 das sternbestandene Panier
 und schuft dem freien Denken, freier Rede
 Im freien Land ein unbeschränkt Revier²³

In the third and fourth stanza, the importance of and threat to German culture is depicted:

Die nicht versinken ließt im Tagesringen
 Ihr eurer deutschen Muttersprache Hort
 Nein strebtet euren Kindern nah zu bringen
 Der deutschen Geisteshelden herrlich Wort
 [...]

 Doch ratlos müß'n die feindlichen Naturen
 Der Widersacher gegen uns sich ab.
 Nun gilts zu wahren schon errungene Güter
 Wenn nicht das Erbe sich verlieren soll.²⁴

22 “Preserve Your Germans.” In “Zur Deutschen Tag-Feier: Wahrt Deutschen Wesen,” *Spottvogel*, August 17, 1913. All translations by Anne Overbeck.

23 “Those, who helped to liberate Columbia
 From England's tyranny with your sword
 [...]

 Who have held high in grim battle
 The star-spangled banner
 And created free thought, free speech
 Unlimited space in a free country.” Ibid.

24 “Those of you who did not let go in daily life
 Of the origin of your mother tongue.
 Instead, you strived to familiarize your children
 With the wonderful literature of German geniuses.
 [...]

 The enemy forces are relentlessly
 Trying to work against us
 Now it is our duty to hold on to our achievements
 Unless we want to risk losing our heritage” Ibid.

Finally, the goal of German-American education and culture is formulated – a strong German presence within the confines of American society:

Dann wird sich herzerobernd offenbaren
 Des deutschen Wesens ganze Tüchtigkeit
 Nährt fürder das Gemüth, die deutsche Tugend,
 der deutschen Schule eure Treu bewahrt,
 und lehrt die deutsch-amerikan'sche Jugend
 Amerikaner sein, doch deutscher Art.²⁵

Before 1914, Indianapolis was home to a large minority of German-Americans, some of whom were in a position of power, but whose ethnic ties were in decline for demographic reasons, as well as those of nativism and cultural stereotyping.

Niebuhr, Kallen and the American Melting Pot – Renegotiating German-American Identity from 1914–1917

The outbreak of the war in Europe intensified the debate on the identity of the American nation and the part German-Americans were to play in it. The nativism of the late nineteenth century had turned into the Americanization movement. Prominent German-American intellectuals like the protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and the Jewish philosopher Horace M. Kallen argued publicly about both the beneficial and detrimental aspects of a multi-ethnic society. Both Kallen and Niebuhr concluded in their writings that American society, as a “melting pot,” which merged different national identities into a homogenous one, was a myth. However, whereas Kallen saw this cultural diversity as an asset to American society, Niebuhr saw it as a threat.

In his first article for a national magazine, published under the title “The Failure of German-Americanism” in the *Atlantic* in July 1916, Niebuhr argued that German culture did contain admirable elements such as dependability and prudence. Nevertheless, he also described the current state of the German-American community as disloyal, individualistic and separatistic. He especially scorned the lack of patriotism to the American cause and demanded that the German-Americans become “less indifferent to the ideals and principles of this nation.”²⁶ The melting pot had failed, so his appraisal, and the fragmented state of American society made it vulnerable to its enemies.

25 “The efficiency of the German way
 Will take people’s hearts by storm,
 And keep on fostering the minds of the German youth,
 Stay loyal to the German school
 And teach the German-American youth
 To be American, but in the German way.” Ibid.

26 Reinhold Niebuhr, “The Failure of German-Americanism,” *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (1916): 13–18, accessed July 22, 2016, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4971>.

A little earlier, Horace M. Kallen had argued the complete opposite. He had also negated the existence of the melting pot. However, as he looked at the Scandinavians in Minnesota, the Germans in Wisconsin, and the Irish in Boston, he saw a distinctive process of Americanization that, at the same time, preserved cultural uniqueness. He observed that, after a period of economic assimilation into American life, many immigrants began to identify once again with their distinctive cultural heritage. It was now not a disadvantage, but an asset to identify with that culture. The fact that Scandinavians in Minnesota created a Scandinavian Society, or Germans supported the translation of German classics, was not evidence of fragmentation, but of a very American kind of freedom. "Americanization has liberated nationality," Kallen wrote in an essay entitled "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot" in the magazine *The Nation* in 1915.²⁷ Rather than a melting pot, he proposed that America could be a "nation of nationalities." To be sure, immigrant groups had to be loyal to certain democratic principles but, within those constraints, Kallen argued, there was no reason why immigrants should be unable to maintain their identities, cultural expressions, religious beliefs, and even languages.²⁸

While the advantages and disadvantages of a multi-ethnic society were debated on a theoretical level, the German-Americans in Indianapolis had to navigate their way through a changing political environment in their daily lives. The German Empire's entry into the war in 1914 served for the German-American community as a focal point and a reason to recover and rejuvenate their roots. Between 1914 and 1916, the subscription numbers of German-American newspapers skyrocketed and German club memberships rose to pre-1890 heights.²⁹ Three strands of reaction can be found in the German-American press in Indianapolis in the weeks immediately following the outbreak of the war. These were a demand for neutrality against pro-British press coverage in the American press, a claim for active cultural and political unity, and finally, a demand for loyalty not to Germany or the US, but to the concept of freedom.

The demand for neutrality was a major concern for large parts of the German-American community. They considered the English speaking American press to be

27 Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot: A Study of American Nationality," part 1, *The Nation*, February 18, 1915, 190–194, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Nation-1915feb18-00190a02>; Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot: A Study of American Nationality," part 2, *The Nation*, February 25, 1915, 217–219, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.pluralism.org/encounter/history/different>.

28 Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot," part 1+2.

29 Ramsey, "The War against German-American Culture," 289–294; Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 151–170.

biased against the Germans. As Joseph Keller, a former US-senator put in on the occasion of the German Day, the *Deutscher Tag*, on August 16th 1914³⁰:

Noch nie ist ein deutscher Tag in solch schwerer und aufgeregter Zeit gehalten worden, und noch nie ist die Notwendigkeit DRINGENDER gewesen, dass die Amerikaner deutscher Herkunft wie EIN Mann zusammenstehen, um den guten Namen und die Ehre unseres lieben alten Vaterlandes hochzuhalten und gegen niedrige Verleumdung und Lüge zu schützen.³¹

Numerous articles criticized this bias and also gave advice on how to assert influence in the English speaking newspapers.³² A second, but minor trend was to claim loyalty and foster support for the fatherland in its time of need. Articles were printed to encourage German-Americans to join the German army.³³ In addition, the Women Turners and other German-American organizations started fundraising to aid the German Red Cross.

One part of the German-American community saw this moment as a chance they had long been waiting for to reunite the diverse German community under one cause and finally give it a political voice and political weight. The National German-American Alliance spearheaded this line of argument. This alliance had been founded in 1901 in Philadelphia with the explicit purpose of forming a lobbying group, and to build up political power. The diverse German-American community proved to be a challenge to this plan and little unity was to be found in the voting behavior among German-Americans for the first decade of the group's existence.³⁴ This movement now tried to seize the moment. The *Spottvogel* (Mocking Bird), the Sunday edition of the German-American newspaper *Telegraf und Tribüne* in Indianapolis, reported on August 16 1914³⁵:

30 Joseph Keller, "An die Mitglieder des Verbandes Deutscher Vereine von Indianapolis," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914.

31 "Never has a German Day been held in such difficult and exciting times, and never has the need been more pressing that Americans of German heritage stand together, to uphold the good name and the honor of our good, old fatherland and protect it against base defamation and lies." In Joseph Keller, "An die Mitglieder des Verbandes deutscher Vereine von Indianapolis," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914. (Emphasize in original.)

32 "Gegen Nativismus und Freiheitsfeinde," *Spottvogel*, August 22, 1915.

33 "Freiwilliger vor," *Spottvogel*, May 9, 1915; Hans Joachim Buddecke, "Aufruf an die Bürger der Stadt Indianapolis," *Spottvogel*, February 8, 1914;

34 Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 151–170.

35 "Die Grundsätze und Ziele des (Deutsch-)Amerikanischen National-Bundes," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914.

Der Nationalbund fordert alle Deutschen auf, das Bürgerrecht, sobald als sie dazu berechtigt werden zu erwerben, sich rege an dem öffentlichen Leben zu beteiligen und ihre Bürgerpflicht an der Wahlurne nach eigenem Ermessen auszuüben.³⁶

Not all articles were this subtle. Numerous poems and articles tried to convince the German-American community, or at least the readers of the German-American newspapers, to vote with one voice.³⁷ The year 1914 saw an election for the House of Representatives. Efforts were made to convince the German-American community to vote for the Democrats, the party that seemed more likely to keep the US neutral.

The hope that voting for the Democratic Party would ensure American neutrality, is summed up nicely in a poem published in the *Spottvogel* in August of 1914³⁸:

Deutsche Sitten, deutsche Treue,
 Deutsche Muttersprache gut
 Dir geloben wir aufs Neue
 Unser Gut und unser Blut
 [...]
 O, Columbia, Du Land der Freiheit,
 Die uns eine zweite Heimat gab,
 Auch dir geloben wir mit Einheit
 Deutsche Treue bis zum Grab
 [...]
 O Partei der freien Söhne
 Die an des Volkes Wiege stand
 Auch dir erklingen unsere Töne
 In diesem freien Land
 Wir werden dich unterstützen
 Demokraten wollen wir sein
 Demokratisch wollen wir stimmen
 Jahr aus und auch Jahr ein.³⁹

36 "The National Alliance asks all Germans to acquire citizenship as soon as they are eligible, to take active part in public life and to fulfil their public duty at the ballot box at their own discretion."

37 J. C. Hansen, "Oh Vaterland – Ein Liedtext," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914; "Glorreicher Sieg deutschen Heldenmuthes," *Spottvogel*, August 9, 1914; George Schauer, "Wach auf du deutscher Heldengeist," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914.

38 George Schauer, "Schon lange hat's gegoren," *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914.

39 "German customs, German loyalty
 German mother tongue
 We pledge to you
 Our possessions and our blood
 [...]
 O, Columbia, country of freedom,
 Who gave us a second home,

In this poem, the German-Americans are asked to prove their loyalty both to their German cultural roots and to the US, the land of freedom, by forming a united bond to support a party that was supporting American neutrality towards the conflict in Europe. This poem also leads to another interesting aspect of negotiating a German-American identity after the outbreak of the war, namely the concept of freedom.

The term and symbols of *Kultur*, had been the uniting element in the prewar years, but had come under attack already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and finally became a smear word after the beginning of the war. One of the most famous images of anti-German propaganda, shows how closely the term was now associated with brutish militarism. Under the title “Destroy this Mad Brute” it depicted a gorilla, wearing the helmet of the Prussian army and carrying a wooden club, with the word *Kultur* written on it.⁴⁰

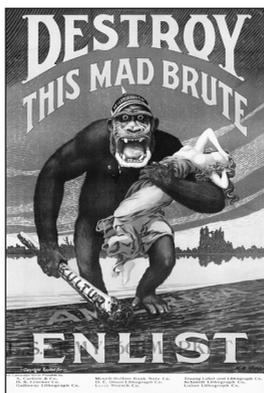


Fig. 3: Anti-German war time propaganda, around 1917.

We pledge our German loyalty to you as well
 Until the grave
 [...]
 O party of the sons of liberty
 Who stood at the cradle of this nation
 We sing your praise
 In this free country
 We will support you
 Democrats we will be
 Democratic we will vote
 Year in year out.” Ibid.

40 The campaign was, among others, sponsored by Schmidt Lithography Co., a printing company based in San Francisco and founded by the German-American Max Schmidt. This is just another examples of how German-Americans tried to prove their loyalty to their new home (see below). Harry R. Hopps, “Destroy this Mad Brute: Enlist” (San Francisco, CA: A. Carlisle & Co. et al., 1917–1918), accessed July 22, 2016, <http://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/28722/bk0007s1820/?brand=oac4&layout=metadata>.

When *Kultur* had finally become a victim of wartime propaganda, it was hoped that freedom would take its place after 1914. Repeatedly, the German-American press reminded its readers that Germans had fought for the ideal of freedom and democracy in previous armed conflicts – mainly the Civil War, thereby legitimizing their presence in the US. In addition, the demand for just representation in the press and the struggle against repression of their cultural roots was consistently framed as a demand for freedom. Thirdly, a number of articles tried to depict the German-Americans as the true advocates and defenders of freedom and thus as the true Americans.

Another article from August 16, 1914 is a case in point. The author describes the difficult situation of both Prussia and the German-American community and then goes on to recount the numerous occasion throughout US history on which German immigrants fought for freedom alongside Americans or American settlers.⁴¹ He continues:

Jetzt bietet sich für Deutsch-Amerikaner wieder eine Gelegenheit zu zeigen, dass sie es ehrlich und aufrichtig mit der Freiheit meinen. [...] Der Kampf gegen Prohibition und für persönliche Freiheit ist eine deutsch-amerikanische patriotische Aufgabe, welche ein einzig Volk von Brüdern auch hier finden sollte, wie drüben in der alten Heimat, die von den Erbfeinden des Germanenthums so schwer bedroht wird.⁴²

According to this line of argument, German-Americans were not loyal to the US as a nation but to freedom as a concept that they derived from their mother country currently in peril. Yet this was a concept, which they had also defended in the US, be it freedom of speech, freedom of religion or – as they called it at the time – *Getränkefreiheit*, freedom of drink. It was this concept of freedom that formed the connecting line between the two conflicting loyalties.

When the US joined the war in April of 1917, it hit the German-American community at a moment when they had just rediscovered and rejuvenated their German-American roots and had just begun to carve out for themselves a German-American identity, based on the concept of freedom that could encompass sympathy for both their American presence and their German past.

“Their Allegiance Firm without Crack” – German-American Culture under Attack, 1917–1919

Anti-German propaganda had been prevalent before the United States joined the First World War in April 1917, but naturally increased sharply in both quality and

⁴¹ “Eine Große Deutsche Tag-Feier,” *Spottvogel*, August 16, 1914.

⁴² “Now the German-Americans get the chance once again to prove that their attitude towards freedom is honest and genuine. [...] The fight against prohibition and for personal freedom is a German-American patriotic task that a united folk of brothers should fulfil here, as well as in their old home country, which is being threatened so seriously by the old enemies of Teutonium.”

quantity after the outbreak of the war and then influenced the everyday life of the German-American community. President Woodrow Wilson addressed the question of German-American loyalty in a speech he gave to congress four days before the official declaration of the war on April 2, 1917:

We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life [...] They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. [...] If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with a firm hand of stern repression.⁴³

How this anti-German-American sentiment translated into everyday harassment has been written about by historians repeatedly and could also be found in the city of Indianapolis, however less strongly and violently than in other cities in the Midwest.⁴⁴ The two major English speaking newspapers – the Indianapolis Star and the Indianapolis News printed a few clearly anti-German-American articles but did publish a similar limited number of items defending the German-American community against public attacks.⁴⁵ Public pressure led to the renaming of Bismarck Avenue into Pershing Avenue, Germania Street turned into Bellevue Street.⁴⁶ The Berghoff Brewery changed their brand name from “A real German Brew” to “A real American Brew”.⁴⁷ How prevalent and unquestioned anti-German-American sentiments had become only a few months into the war, can be seen, in the letter of Kenton Craig Emerson, born on December 4, 1895 in Angola, Indiana, which he sent home to his father from active duty in Europe in December of 1917. In this letter, he describes an attack by him and his peers on a German-American. In his letter it reads:

I am afraid it's going to be impossible for me to come home Xmas. Our entire company was put under arrest this morning. We discovered a German in our company. We had been doubting him for quite a while [...] last night he came in and said the American artillery didn't amount to a damn. [...]

43 Woodrow Wilson, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany,” April 2, 1917, accessed July 22, 2015, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65366>.

44 Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 214–304; Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 171–198; Trommler, “The Lusitania Effect,” 251–258; Ramsey, “The War against German-American Culture,” 295–302. “Vereinigete Staaten Bonds,” *Spottvogel*, April 8, 1917.

45 “Loyal German Born Support the President,” *Indianapolis News*, April 26, 1916; “Loyalty is the Rule,” *Indianapolis News*, March 22, 1917; “Comment on Editorial,” *Indianapolis News*, March 22, 1917; “Accepts offer of German House,” *Indianapolis News*, April 9, 1917; “Was Born in Germany, But is Real American,” *Indianapolis News*, June 5, 1917.

46 “Would Change German Names,” *Indianapolis News*, June 5, 1917.

47 Berghoff Brewery, “History,” accessed July 22, 2016, <http://berghoffbeer.com/history>.

We grabbed him and took him over and gave him a good cold shower bath, and rolled him in the snow. We handled him awful rough. We called up the hospital and sent him over. We haven't heard from him yet, but I hope he dies. This morning Lieut. Russel came in and placed us under arrest. [...] He told us though that he thought we did the right thing.⁴⁸

This is of course an extreme example under extreme conditions where loyalty to one's army was demanded even more than under normal circumstances. The fact, however, that Kenton Emerson sent this letter to his parents without questioning the justification of his violent behavior and the fact that his supervising officer unofficially condoned his actions, provide insight into the attitude towards German-Americans displaying German sympathies at that time.

Despite the open and increasing hostilities, the German-American community seems only to have realized the severity of anti-German-American sentiment rather slowly and gradually. The reaction of the German-Americans to the attacks on their community and the rise in anti-German sentiment after the US joined the war can be divided into three stages. At first a phase of intense public display of loyalty to the United States was evident. Secondly, there was a willful denial of the growing anti-German sentiment for the first year of the conflict which could not be sustained and was followed by a phase of (partial) surrender and succumbing to pressure following the passing of the Sedition Act in 1918. In the following analysis, I will look into these three stages in greater detail.

As divided as the reaction of German-Americans had been after the outbreak of the War in 1914 – so universal was, at least the official response, of German-American publications, clubs and initiatives in 1917, one of loyalty and support for the United States. The American Turnerbund sent a letter to the president assuring him that the German-American community regarded themselves as American citizens and stood firmly behind the American Government.⁴⁹ The *Deutsches Haus* offered its facilities for fundraisers of the Red Cross, and the German-American newspapers started to publish advertisements for military bonds and fundraisers – not for the German army but for US-forces.⁵⁰ The *Deutscher Tag* celebration was canceled. Moreover, the German-American newspaper *Spottvogel* published on April 22, only two weeks after the US entered the war, the lyrics of the song “The Star Spangled Banner” in both German and English on their front page.⁵¹

48 Letter, dated December 1917, by Kenton Craig Emerson to his father in the USA, Kenton Craig Emerson World War I Materials, 1914–1931, Indiana Historical Society.

49 Letter to President Wilson, 9 April 1917, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives; “Accepts Offer of German House,” *Indianapolis News*, April 9, 1917;

50 “Vereinigte Staaten Bonds,” *Spottvogel*, April 8, 1917; “Loyalitätserklärung,” *Spottvogel*, April 8, 1917.

51 “Das Sternenbannerlied in deutscher Übersetzung,” *Spottvogel*, April 22, 1917.



Fig. 4 Front page of the German-American newspaper *Spottvogel*, April 22, 1917.

Another poem in the *Spottvogel* exemplifies this intense public display of loyalty to the US:

Our own free decision, our free will has led.
 Us away from our home 'cross the sea.
 [...]

 To God and the country we chose
 Its world renowned justice, with people so fair
 Who free from oppression arose
 [...]

 Our oath must be kept, our kinsmen will show
 Their allegiance firm, without crack.⁵²

The concept of freedom again stands front and center. This time however, it has entirely lost its connection to Germany as a country or a culture, but is the bedrock of the argument as to why German-Americans should remain loyal to the US in times of war.

52 Pedro Ilgen, "German-Americans," *Spottvogel*, April 29, 1917.

Surprisingly, the war and the question of loyalty was only discussed in the German-American press of Indianapolis in the weeks immediately after the US joined the conflict. Throughout the summer of 1917, much greater coverage was given to the debate on prohibition and other domestic issues. In addition, the minutes of the Turnerbund – both male and female – did not mention the conflict again after the initial positioning in April 1917.⁵³

In June of 1917, the US Congress passed the Espionage Act – the first of its kind in the US – making it illegal

to convey information, false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies when the United States is at war.⁵⁴

Even though the law was the first of its kind to address loyalty to the US and to make treason a crime punishable by up to 30 years prison, the passing of this law was not even mentioned in the German-American press. The German-American community did not seem to realize or be willing to admit that this law was aimed at their community.

By 1918, this tactic of denial could be upheld no longer. The passing of the Sedition Act on May 16, 1918 finally put the German-American community under national scrutiny. The law extended the Espionage Act of 1917 to cover a broader range of offenses, notably speech and the expression of opinion that cast the government or the war effort in a negative light or interfered with the sale of government bonds. This gave propaganda institutions such as the Committee on Public Information a legal basis upon which to act.⁵⁵ The Committee on Public Information – an institution founded in 1917 to coordinate wartime propaganda – had increased its influence, demanding German clubs to make their loyalty to the US provable by publishing their annual reports in English and subjugating the German-American press to a number of censorship procedures. This committee was soon omnipresent, as local chapters opened up in great number – about 6.000 chapters had opened up throughout the US by the summer of 1918.⁵⁶

The domestic propaganda campaign against German-American culture now did show results. It was around this time that the cultural center *Das Deutsche Haus* was renamed *Athenaeum*. The *Deutscher Maennerchor* decided to call itself the *Academy of Music* and the women's chapter of the *Indianapolis Turnerbund* decided on October 6, 1918, "that hereafter the recording of the minutes should be made

53 Minutes Lady Turners, 1914–1918, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

54 Arthur H. Garrison, *Supreme Court Jurisprudence in Times of National Crisis, Terrorism, and War: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Lexington Books, 2011), 92.

55 Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 177–198.

56 *Historical Statistics*, 105–106.

in English during the duration of the war.⁵⁷ All three decisions were described by the protagonists as acts of patriotism with no hint of the anti-German craze that was going on at the time.

This section of the German-American community bowed to the pressure but managed, to a certain degree to remain active agents in the change. They were able to influence the degree to which their "Germaness" had to be hidden and to which extent it could still be part of the public realm. The Sedition Law also put increased pressure on the German-American press. Only three days after it was passed in Congress, the *Spottvogel*, the Sunday edition of the German-American newspaper *Telegraph und Tribüne* placed a prominent statement on their front page. Under the title, *Creel Says Loyal German Papers Have a Right to Continue*, the editor justified the existence of German-American newspapers as a necessary propaganda tool through which to reach American citizens unable to speak English.⁵⁸ Curiously, only a week later, the newspapers ceased publication without any further explanation. Whereas in the case of the *Maennerchor* or the German House, the German-American community found a way to navigate through the pressure put upon them, in the case of the newspaper *Telegraph und Tribüne* and its Sunday edition *Der Spottvogel* however, the editors were finally forced to give in to the pressure.

World War I had an enormous effect on the German-American community in Indianapolis. The major German-American newspaper ceased publication and several *Vereine* changed their name to hide their connection to Germany. However, World War I served as a catalyst for trends among both the German-American minority and the Anglo American majority that had existed long before the war. It led the German-American community to distance themselves without much protest from publicly displaying their roots. On the contrary, the majority of the German-American community showed great eagerness to prove themselves to be true Americans, using the concept of freedom to find common ground with their adopted culture.

German-American Culture after the End of the War

The immediate post-war period has not received much academic attention, so that this paper will only be able to indicate certain trends and developments that still need to be looked at in greater detail.

Without doubt, the German-American community during World War I had suffered a heavy blow. After the war, streets remained renamed, family roots concealed, and German newspapers out of print. But four developments serve as a

57 "Minutes Lady Turners, 1914–1918," Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, 96–97.

58 "Creel Says Loyal German Papers Have a Right to Continue," *Spottvogel*, May 19, 1918.

starting point for questioning the theory of the “eradication of German culture”⁵⁹ after the end of war. Immigration trends, club membership, publication trends and foreign language acquisition put the Anti-German crisis in perspective. Right after the US signed the peace treaty in 1921⁶⁰, immigration rates from Germany skyrocketed. Between 1921 and 1923 about 250.000 Germans came to the US.⁶¹ These high immigration rates indicate that Anti-German sentiment did not survive the war to an extent that would cause German-Americans to warn those “back home” against migration to the US. In 1924, in reaction to the newly developing trend of mass immigration from all over Europe, the US passed a law that set the quota for German immigration at 57.000 per year. However, the quota for German immigration set in 1924 was the highest set for any ethnic minority. The anti-German fervor had left American politics.⁶²

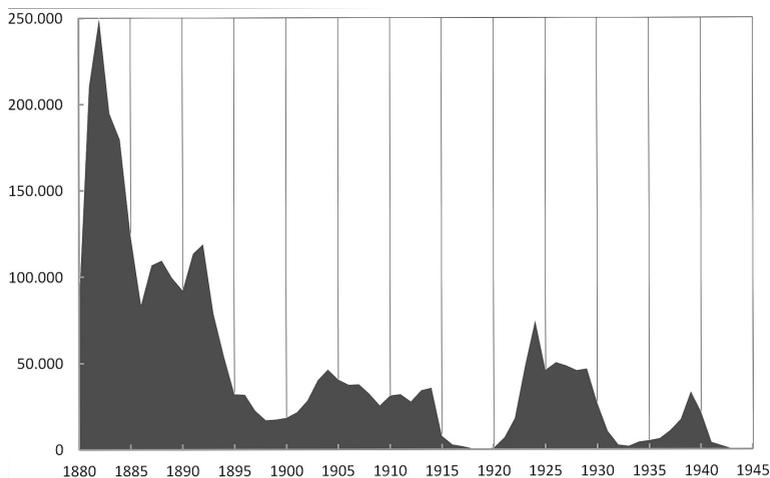


Fig. 5: Immigration statistic, 1880–1945.

Some German-American clubs and the newspapers that survived the war bounced back with remarkable speed. The Indianapolis Academy of Music reclaimed its previous name *Maennerchor* already in 1919, the *Deutsche Gärtnerverein* retained German as its main language until 1983, and the membership rates of the Ameri-

59 Erik Kirschbaum, *The Eradication of German Culture in the United States, 1917–1918*, Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien 2 (Stuttgart: H.-D. Heinz, 1986).

60 The US did not sign the treaty of Versailles but negotiated a separated peace treaty in 1921.

61 *Historical Statistics*, 105–106.

62 Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 197–212, 246–261.

can Turnerbund Indianapolis persisted in the postwar years.⁶³ The *Deutscher Tag* was not held again in Indianapolis until the 1930s, but celebrated in Philadelphia and New York already in 1920.⁶⁴ German newspapers that had not ceased publication completely, such as the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, regained their pre-war publication rates by 1921.⁶⁵

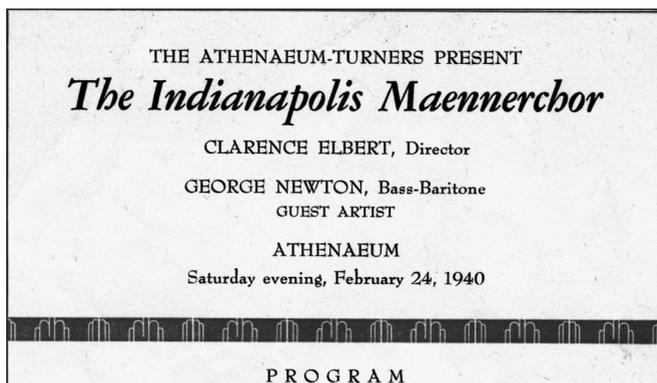


Fig. 6: Program of the *Indianapolis Maennerchor*, 1940.

Another example of the rapidly abating anti-German hysteria is the issue of German language instruction in high schools and elementary schools in Indiana. German language instruction had a venerable tradition in the state. In 1869, a law was passed that made the instruction of German or Latin mandatory for any school with more than 25 students. In 1907, this law was amended to restrict the regulation to high schools only. Even so, around 1915, about 25 percent of all high school students studied German for at least a year.⁶⁶ But the tides were starting to turn. M. D. Learned, an often-cited scholar of German and German culture, defended the teaching of German in 1913 in ardent terms:

The cultural value of a foreign language does not depend upon the number of persons speaking that language in this or that country or even in America, but that language

63 "The Athenaeum Turners present The Athenaeum Maennerchor," 1940, Athenaeum Turners Collection, IUPUI University Library, Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives.

64 Barbara Wiedemann, *Die Auswirkungen des Ersten Weltkrieges auf die Deutsch-Amerikaner im Spiegel der New Yorker Staatszeitung, der New Yorker Volkszeitung und der New York Times, 1914–1926* (New York, NY: Lang, 1993), 210–213.

65 *Ibid.*, 261–268.

66 Jonathan Zimmerman, "Ethnics against Ethnicity: European Immigrants and Foreign-Language Instruction, 1890–1940," *The Journal of American History* 88/4 (2002): 1393.

which is the medium of the most important culture of the age [and] which unlocks the best sources of literary and scientific knowledge of our age.⁶⁷

This quote taps into German as the language of research and culture, and also positions itself against a service to be offered to please a certain immigrant group. To him, German is a gateway to learning, and not to advocate or advance the cultural heritage of the German-American community. Learned thereby tried to defend the German language against its attackers. The debate on whether the German language was responsible for the negative elements of German *Kultur* – namely authoritarianism and militarism – and whether teaching the said language would endanger the structure of the American democracy had been going on for many years. States like Arizona and California had outlawed German instruction in schools already before the war. The outbreak of the war led more and more states to question the instruction of foreign languages in public schools. By 1918, 14 states had passed laws restricting or outlawing the teaching of German – or as in Ohio and Louisiana – the teaching of foreign languages altogether.⁶⁸

In Indiana, this debate did not take hold until 1919 – a couple of months after the armistice of World War I – but raged with equal fervor. On February 17, the so called McCray Bill passed the senate. It outlawed the teaching of German in elementary schools and lifted the mandatory instruction of German in high schools.⁶⁹ The law was passed with only one dissenting vote. German-American roots seem not to have played a role in this decision, as senators with names like Metzger, Maier, Benz and Elsner were among the aye-sayers. Senator Sam Benz of English, Indiana, even claimed that his German roots caused his decision:

“I am a German [...] but you can’t get this bill too strong for me.” Then he told that his father had left Germany because “he couldn’t believe in the Kaiser. [...] If there are any Germans in this country who do not believe in this country we should pass a law to send them back to Germany,” he concluded amid applause.⁷⁰

The only dissenting opinion came from Senator Haggerty of South Bend:

We have had our disloyal Germans: we have had our disloyal men of other nations. But we have had our loyal Germans as well. In the name of those soldiers of German parentage who fought for our country, I now speak! [...] we hope to have the immortal principles of democracy appreciated by all. [...] (With this bill) you are poisoning the minds of Americans against anybody who have a trace of German blood in him.⁷¹

67 M. D. Learned, “German in the Public Schools,” *German American Annals* 2 (1913): 102–103.

68 Zimmerman, “Ethnics against Ethnicity,” 1393.

69 Ramsey, “The War against German-American Culture,” 299–300.

70 “Governor Signs Anti-German Bill,” *Indianapolis News*, February 26, 1919, 15.

71 “Senate Hits High School German,” *Indianapolis News*, February 26, 1919, 8.

This exchange echoes the views of Horace M. Kallen and Reinhold Niebuhr on whether or not Americans should aim for a multi-ethnic society. The defense of democracy lies at the heart of both Benz's and Haggerty's argument. Whereas the former argues for a unified and uniform nation that shies away from diversity to achieve a perfect nation, the latter sees plurality and the contribution of the many as the fulfillment of the American democratic ideal.

In 1919, Senator Haggerty was a lone voice. By 1923, however the federal Supreme Court in *Meyer v. Nebraska* put an end to the restrictions on foreign language teaching. In the same year, the Indiana state legislature abolished the McCray Bill and reinstated the teaching of German in the state curriculum.⁷² In 1921, a first attempt to do so had still caused a massive public debate and ended in a widely publicized decision to postpone the renegotiation of the bill indefinitely.⁷³ Now, only two years later, the amendment passed with a large majority in both the house and the senate, with little or no attention by the press. The (few) critics of the reintroduction of German language instruction no longer feared the influences of militarism, espionage or disloyalty, but focused on whether or not growing up bilingual would hamper a child's success in American society.⁷⁴ Foreign language instruction remained controversial, but the year 1923 put an end to the specific targeting of German language instruction, and schools recovered quickly.⁷⁵ German had lost its leading role in education, but remained a widely taught subject in American colleges and universities.⁷⁶

During World War I however, German-American *Kultur*, a concept that had already been in decline before the war, lost its final battle for superiority. The attempt to replace the concept of *Kultur* with the concept of freedom failed as the US entered the war. Large parts of the German-American elite who had been actively trying to renegotiate German-American identity had to give in to the anti-German pressure. After the war, the German-American community could no longer lay claim to the superiority of German culture, although certain aspects of German-American culture bounced back with remarkable speed, as anti-German sentiment abated quickly and new minority groups occupied the public eye.

72 Ramsey, "The War against German-American Culture," 301–303.

73 "Senate Bill Meets Death in Assembly," *South Bend News-Times*, February 23, 1921.

74 "Chapter 91: Education – High School Studies Enumerated," in *Laws of the State of Indiana: Passed at the Seventy Thirds Regular Session of the General Assembly* (Indianapolis, IN: WM. B. Burford, 1923), 262.

75 This new focus looked skeptically upon all foreign language instruction, especially Italian and Polish, due to the large numbers of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, who had started to immigrate in large numbers after WWI. This led the state of Indiana to pass an "English-only" law in 1931.

76 Zimmerman, "Ethnics against Ethnicity," 1394.

Simon Richter

Goethe Goes to Yale: William James, Carl Jung, William Speck, Alice Raphael and the Pursuit of Personality, 1917–1932

Since the nineteenth century, when the German university was deemed superior to what America and other nations had to offer, Goethe has been a staple of American educational culture and claimed a preeminent place in the advanced undergraduate curriculum. This essay traces the career of William Speck, an apothecary, collector of “Goetheana” and later curator and teacher at Yale University, and through him an extravagant reception of Goethe that is connected to both the history of education and the history of psychology. Beginning in 1917, Speck transformed the Yale curriculum in a way that involved Goethe and himself in an esoteric and early feminist discourse of the concept of personality that combined regard for the American psychologist William James with the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung. This extravagant Goethe-centered pedagogy continued at Yale until 1932, four years after Speck’s death, when much of the Western world celebrated the 200th anniversary of Goethe’s death against the specter of the impending Nazi transformation of Germany.

Ever since young American men from Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, drawn to the vanguard German universities in the first decades of the nineteenth century, started trekking to Weimar to see the man in person, Goethe has been a staple of American educational culture. Beginning in Goethe’s lifetime, such luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Margaret Fuller, and Bayard Taylor established a unique, indigenous American regard for a man whose genius was irresistible, but whose morals were questionable and whose republican bona fides dubious. In the course of the latter half of the nineteenth century, this indigenous tradition was supplemented by university-educated German émigrés, among them members of the *Vormärz* and 1848ers, who appreciated Schiller and Goethe with an emancipatory, nationalist fervor. The context for all of this was the overall conviction that the German university was superior to what the United States and other nations had to offer. “From New England transcendentalists to St Louis Hegelians, Germany was the model and the cynosure”¹. As German de-

1 Jeffrey L. Sammons, “The Constituencies of Academics and the Priorities of Germanists,” in *German Studies in the United States: A Historical Handbook*, ed. Peter Uwe Hohendahl (New York: Modern Language Association, 2003), 57.

partments were gradually established in the predominantly male-only American universities and colleges of the time and German emerged as the foremost modern language of study, Goethe claimed a preeminent place in the advanced undergraduate curriculum as the only named author worth a full semester of attention. This raises a question: If Goethe was ubiquitous in the American college curriculum from the 1880s to the dawn of World War I, does it make sense to speak of Goethe going to Yale?

It is, in fact, precisely against this backdrop of routine curricular dominance, signaled by the annual recurrence of courses on Goethe's life and works, that the unlikely appearance on the scene in New Haven, Connecticut of one William Speck² sets an extravagant reception of Goethe in motion, that is connected to both the history of education and the history of psychology. Speck was an apothecary from the small town of Haverstraw on the Hudson, who, upon his appointment in 1913 as the curator of Yale's newly acquired collection of "Goetheana", brought Goethe to campus in a wholly new manner. The collection Speck was to curate was in fact his own and, with its 6,000 items, was already second only to the Kippenberg collection in Düsseldorf. Accordingly, part of the story we will relate concerns Speck's remarkable self-transformation from a pharmacist with a collecting mania into a curator and faculty member of one of the premiere institutions of higher learning in the United States. But more than that, this story is about the alchemy of Speck's ability to transform the curriculum, to conjure up Goethe, to bring him to life for students at Yale, and to involve Goethe and himself in an esoteric and early feminist discourse of the concept of personality that combines regard for the American psychologist William James, brother of Henry James, with regard for the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung. This is, if I may say so, a strange, hybrid, even extravagant pedagogy, anomalous to Yale, and of relatively short duration. Strictly speaking, it lasts, exclusively at Yale, from 1917, a year coincident with the American declaration of war on Germany, to 1932, four years after Speck's death, when much of the Western world celebrated the 200th anniversary of Goethe's death against the specter of the impending Nazi transformation of Germany.

If 1913, the year Speck moves to New Haven, seems like an auspicious year for Goethe to begin his tenure at Yale, 1917 certainly was not. It is in 1917 that William Speck is accorded a courtesy appointment as lecturer in the Yale German Department and, for the first time, taught what would become his staple graduate

2 William Alfred Speck (1864–1928) was born in New York City to German immigrants, Otto Speck, a pharmacist, and Natalie Adolphine Haase. As a boy, he attended a school largely run by Germans. He studied at the Pharmaceutical College in New York City, and from 1883 until 1912 he worked in the family drug store in Haverstraw, New York. Details about Speck's life come from Carl F. Schreiber, "William Alfred Speck," in *The William A. Speck Collection of Goetheana in the Yale University Library*, ed. Carl Frederick Schreiber (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), xxi–xlii.

level course on Goethe's Personality. It took some doing to secure this appointment from a Department chair, Arthur Palmer, who had been excluded from the negotiations about the collection and who understandably had some concerns about the teaching credentials of a small-town pharmacist. But it was also in the spring of that year that the American declaration of war against Germany unleashed strong anti-German sentiment, fanned by official national- and state-level propaganda that targeted:

the language, its literature as a whole, and in some cases even [...] its teachers who were confronted with the sweeping accusation of being "pro-German." Groups of vigilantes visited the libraries and removed German books; others came to the departmental offices in the universities and confiscated textbooks containing pictures of Emperor William II or equally "subversive material. [...] State legislatures [...] and a score of cities vied with one another in forbidding the teaching of German in the public elementary and high schools, or even in prohibiting the speaking of German when more than a given number of persons were present. [...] As a result of this hysteria the study of German was either propagandized or actually legislated out of existence. Between 1917 and 1919 the teaching of German became practically non-existent in the public and private high schools, 315,884 (28%) of whose students had still been studying it in 1915. By 1922, four years after the end of the war, the high schools had less than 14,000 students of German, or little more than one-half of one per cent of the high-school enrollment of 2,500,000.³

Speck was also affected by the hysteria. His colleague and successor as curator after his death, Carl Schreiber, recalls:

The intense hatreds engendered by the conflict left the sober mark of care on his generally genial nature, and clouded the optimism of his soul. To Mr. Speck Germany continued to remain the land of Goethe, and he did not hesitate to express his opinions openly. The Federal Government was definitely concerned and sent two officials to interview him. Looking about the book-lined walls of the room in the Old Library building one of his inquisitors remarked: We wonder how a man of your caliber can spend his days in a room surrounded by German books.⁴

As enrollment numbers throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first indicate, the teaching of German in the United States never recovered. But let us return to 1916, in order to show how Speck's presence at Yale transformed the curriculum. In that year, the course calendar was unchanged from previous years and indistinguishable from the German offerings at other colleges and universities. As chair, Arthur Palmer, a Scandinavian specialist by training,

3 Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present," *German Quarterly* 37 (1964): 360–362.

4 Schreiber, "Speck," xxxix.

had the honor (or duty) of teaching *German 35* Goethe: Life and Works, a course taken by advanced undergrads and graduate students. The following year however, even as Palmer repeated his course for the umpteenth time, three new Goethe courses suddenly appeared in the catalogue, two taught by Speck and one by the new hire, Carl Schreiber.

German 32 Goethe (Schreiber, 2hr.) Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke mit besonderer Rücksicht auf seine Prosaschriften. Mehrere schriftliche Arbeiten und Besprechung derselben. Je nach Vollendung eines wichtigen Abschnittes wird eine Ausstellung in der Spechschen [sic] Goethe-Sammlung veranstaltet. Die Sammlung steht Hörern zur Verfügung.

German 33 Goethe's Personality and Personal Appearance (Speck, 1 hr)

Lectures, illustrated by materials contained in the Speck Collection of Goetheana, on Goethe's personal appearance, influence on contemporaries, and relation to modern thought and literature. Reports on assigned reading; papers prepared.

German 34 Goethe-Bibliography (Speck, 1 hr)

Lectures, similarly illustrated, on the bibliography of Goethe's *Faust*, the Faust legend, and Goethe's *Faust* in art. Omitted in 1917–18.⁵

This annual pattern of generally four courses on Goethe continued after Palmer's death in 1918, when Gustav Gruener took over as chair and became the proprietor of *German 35*, but added these words to the course description: "Six lectures on subjects connected with Goethe's personality and works will be given during the year, by Mr. Speck, Curator of the Speck Collection of Goetheana." This arrangement and the array of four Goethe courses, all integrated with the Speck collection, were maintained until both Speck and Gruener died in 1928. Schreiber, who assumed the chairmanship, and the new hire, Hermann Weigand, then rolled out a new, historically based curriculum in 1930 with a diminished presence for Goethe, in line with the offerings of other universities. The 1932 *Goethejahr* celebration, organized on a grand scale by Carl Schreiber, is the coda to Goethe's tenure at Yale. The Yale anomaly was over.

We have established the undue and commanding curricular presence of Goethe – four individual courses – in the Yale curriculum from 1917-1928. It was only natural for Yale to boast routinely of its unparalleled collection of Goetheana, which, under Speck's guidance, would grow from 6,000 to 10,000 items and become the largest Goethe collection outside Germany. The appeal of these objects, housed on the third floor of the Old Library extension in Linsly Hall in what was called the Goethe Room, was considerable. Carl Schreiber describes the many who:

5 Course offerings from 1911 to 1932 were culled from the annual Yale University Graduate School Catalogue. Enrollment figures were collected from annual departmental reports filed with the Gustav Gruener Papers MS 257 Box 5, Yale University Library Manuscripts and Archives.

came and lingered days and weeks in this book-lined room. Undergraduates came from their classroom studies to augment their small knowledge of Goethe. [...] There came to this room graduate students to advise with Mr. Speck on the choice and writing of their theses, and to be instructed in the use of books of reference. His colleagues at Yale and [...] from nearby institutions of New England foregathered once annually in this room to listen with delight to a scholarly paper, which he had prepared on an important new acquisition. [...] To this room came a scholar penitent, [...] the head of his department, [Arthur Palmer] who had been ignored in the negotiations to bring Mr. Speck to Yale. His fine sensibilities had been affronted, and over a period of four years he never set foot in the Goethe Collection. But he observed Mr. Speck the scholar and the man with growing delight. In the last year of his life he ascended the three long flights to the room with the great oaken door and asked permission to attend Dr. Speck's lectures on "Goethe's Personality and Personal Appearance." Week after week he came. It was the only way he knew to tell Mr. Speck that he was sorry.⁶

What did Mr. Speck talk about for one hour every week in the Goethe room? And how many students attended? The official numbers were small: generally, between one and four students, plus auditors. Handwritten notes in pencil for twenty-three consecutive lectures are preserved in the Beinecke Rare Book Library. From the beginning, Speck warns that his approach to Goethe will be unconventional:

It is my plan to study with you the personality of Goethe. The method which I propose to pursue differs greatly however from the paths usually followed by the student of the poet's life and works.⁷

How did it differ from typical Goethe courses? For one thing, he paid virtually no attention to the literary works. This may have been for reasons of discretion, as Schreiber suggests, not to tread on the toes of Arthur Palmer.⁸ But what he proposes instead is radical enough in its own right, that such discretion need not be the sole explanation. Speck aspires "to build up [...] as perfect a conception as conditions permit of one of the most fascinating and helpful personalities in history"⁹. Since it was no longer possible to grasp Goethe firmly by the hand or look him in the eye – both guarantors of "true insight" as far as Americans are concerned –

it devolves upon us to create for ourselves a substitute which is nothing less than a clear ideal picture – a speaking likeness deduced by a careful, loving, analytical study of the existing portraits and documentary evidence preserved for us in countless descriptions recorded in letters, conversations and diaries by chance acquaintances, close associates

6 Schreiber, "Speck," xl.

7 William A. Speck, "Lectures on Goethe's Personality," Lecture 1, in *William A. Speck Papers* YCGL MSS 20, Series IV, Box 22. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, 1.

8 Schreiber, "Speck," xli.

9 William A. Speck, "Lectures on Goethe's Personality," Lecture 1, 1–2.

and personal enemies. We shall indeed get very near to him if we succeed in conjuring up a convincing portrait of the physical man.¹⁰

This is how he will deploy his collection, with its over 150 images of Goethe (paintings and copies of paintings, masks, medallions, sculptures, silhouettes, engravings, and sketches) from Goethe's childhood to his deathbed.

Let us step back for a moment. We realize now that Speck meant his title quite literally. This is a course about Goethe's *Personality and Personal Appearance* – or perhaps, more accurately, a course about gaining access to his personality through his appearance, visually in the images, and through documentation of how he appeared to his contemporaries. The word Speck uses for the process – “conjuring up” – gives us food for thought. That may just be a metaphor, but the goal of the course – bringing Goethe to life – suggests that there is some kind of pedagogical alchemy at play. Certainly, a scholar of Goethe and particularly of *Faust*, as Speck was, would not use the word “conjuring” loosely. After all, the Faust of the chapbook and legend that Speck knew so well was also a master of conjuring historical figures for his students. He not only brought Homer to life, so to speak, he actually conjured up Helen of Troy, “bring[ing] her into your [the students'] presence personally”¹¹.

In his third lecture, Speck provides an instructive prototype for his pedagogical enterprise from the world of modernist art. He recalls that shortly before he accepted

Yale's invitation to deposit my collection here, the sculptor John Mowbray-Clarke said to me that he would like to model an ideal profile of Goethe adding, in explanation, that he aimed at making a medallion portrait of the poet as *I pictured him to myself*. In other words he desired to add a bronze relief of *my Goethe* to the collection. The sculptor's scheme was new and startling! I was to sit for Goethe! That sounds wild enough to be sure and I met the suggestion with a peal of laughter. However, he soon convinced me that his plan was not in the least utopian.¹²

This recollection is immediately interesting because it places our modest small town pharmacist and Goethe collector in the company of John Frederick Mowbray-Clarke, a modernist sculptor, whose wife Mary was an art critic, writer, publisher, and proprietor of the Sunwise Turn Bookshop in New York City, where artists, anarchists, and spiritualists met during the 1910s and 1920s.¹³ Together

10 Ibid., 12–13.

11 Anonymous, *The History and Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* [1592], in Christopher Marlow, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. Sylvan Barnet (New York: Signet, 1969), 145.

12 William A. Speck, “Lectures on Goethe's Personality,” Lecture 3, 1.

13 The Sunwise Turn book store was, according to Carl Zigrosser, who would later become curator of the Philadelphia Museum of Arts prints collection, “more than just a bookstore: it was a clearing house for ideas [and] a meeting place for free spirits” (quoted in Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modern-*

with American avant-garde artists Arthur Davies, Robert Henri and many others who were identified with the New York based anarchist movement, the two were involved in organizing the International Exhibition of Modern Art at the Sixty-Ninth Regiment Amory in New York. Known as the Armory Art Show of 1913, this was a groundbreaking exhibition that introduced the public to Matisse, Duchamp, Picasso, and the like.¹⁴ Hutchins Hapgood, a defender of the controversial exhibition, noted in an article published in *The New York Globe* that through their vitality and restlessness, the modernists brought “art back to life – to instinct, to feeling, to expression, to personality”¹⁵. Speck’s recollection of his work with Mowbray-Clark therefore not only shows him at ease in the company of the anarchist art movement, it also reveals the point of intersection between them: the profound interest in the phenomenon of personality.

The Mowbray-Clarkes lived on a farm and studio in Pomona, NY, about 10 kilometers from Haverstraw on the Hudson. They called their home “the Brocken,” an appropriate setting for conjuring up Goethe. Speck continues:

I was to select a small group of say ten or twelve characteristic portraits from my collection. These portraits representing the poet in the important periods of his career were to be placed on an otherwise bare wall in such a way that the sculptor’s eye might easily take them in at a glance. On his knee he was to hold Weisser’s mask of Goethe whilst I, seated between the pictures on the wall and himself, was to *talk of Goethe!*

He wanted no description of the man’s personal appearance from me. What he wanted me to provide was a Goethe atmosphere. The mask, in a very real sense a counterfeit of the face, would supply the skeleton, the solid foundation on which the whole structure was to grow. The spirit or, if you please, the soul of the man whom I know, he would find in the presentation of the poet’s character, habits and view of life which I was to furnish in an easy natural flow of talk. The truth of what I said might then easily be verified in the physiognomy of the mask and the records of fleeting expressions caught by artists and fixed permanently in the pictures on the wall.

We held one preliminary session or sitting and Clarke assured me that he was gratified with the result. Then I left Haverstraw on the Hudson for good and as his work has kept him out of New York it has not been possible for us to arrange a series of meetings since.¹⁶

ism: Art, Politics, and the First American Avant-Garde [Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001], 127). One of those free spirits, who was particularly close to the Mowbray-Clarkes, was philosopher and art theorist Ananda Coomaraswamy.

14 For an account of the Armory exhibition, see Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 39–52.

15 Quoted in Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 43.

16 William A. Speck, “Lectures on Goethe’s Personality,” Lecture 3, 1–2.

The scene is set as if for a séance. With the life-mask of Goethe in his lap, the artist-medium surrounds himself with visual and auditory stimuli that cumulatively channel the spirit of Goethe, bringing him to life on the Brocken of Pomona, NY. Speck supplies a key contribution with his “easy natural flow of talk” – a formulation that borders on William James’s conception of the stream of consciousness or the kind of automatic writing cultivated by William Butler Yeats and others interested in spiritualism at the time. Even if Mowbray-Clarke was unable to finish his Goethe medallion, Speck’s lectures delivered in the Goethe room, in the presence of images, manuscripts, first editions, and realia, served to bring the project to a conclusion in another medium – the lives of his students.

Now, I have told you all this because it is precisely this sort of thing we must undertake ourselves. We also shall look upon the masks of Weisser and Schadow – to which we are now able to add some other reliques of the poet – as the authoritative and determining factor in our structure. To the portraits we shall likewise go for evanescent moods. And the strength and power and mobility – the life-glow of the man – will be added to the whole by our study of his human relationships. *I want you to see the man as though he were present in the flesh.* Unless you succeed in this you will only partially succeed in understanding him. *His every move, his every line, his every word is an unique part of his personality.*¹⁷

What is it that enables this enterprise? If we assume – and I think we should – that Speck is sincere and his formulations more than rhetorical, then there must be a basis for his conviction that he will be able to bring Goethe to Yale, to bring him to life so that students “see the man as though he were present in the flesh” – and that it matters. He himself answers this question in his stated ambition – “It is my plan to study with you the personality of Goethe” – and in the title of his course – “Goethe’s Personality and Personal Appearance.” It is the strength of Goethe’s *personality* that allows Goethe *to appear personally*. In other words, and this is the next item that will require attention, the phenomenon of “personality” appears, in the first decades of the twentieth century, to have been invested with a level of meaning that far exceeds our casual use of the term nowadays. Do we find confirmation of this in the surrounding discursive field? And is it merely a matter of the hypostatization of the concept of personality or does Goethe himself exemplify personality per se? Does “meeting Goethe” have the power to change one’s life?

Let us step away from the Goethe Room for a moment, although we will soon be knocking on the door again, and cast a wider gaze. The question of personality is a matter of the self. It was William James, the great American psychologist, who inaugurated a theorization of the self in his monumental 1880 *Principles*

17 Ibid., 2–3. Italics S. R.

of *Psychology*. “Personality,” James writes in an elegant and concise formulation, “implies the incessant presence of two elements, an objective person, known by a passing subjective Thought, and recognized as continuing in time”¹⁸. The distinctiveness of personality is associated with the spiritual self, an aspect of the empirical self, the reflection of which, however, requires the involvement of the subjective self.

[The] psychic dispositions [that are the content of the spiritual self] are the most enduring and intimate part of the self, that which we most verily seem to be. [...] But [...] our considering the spiritual self at all is a reflective process, is the result of our abandoning the outward-looking point of view, and of our having become able to think of subjectivity as such, *to think ourselves as thinkers*.¹⁹

The reflexivity of James’s formulation signals a distinctly German style of thought. James was born too late to be among the young Americans to visit Goethe in person. That did not prevent him from seeking an intense encounter with Goethe’s personality. Suffering from physical ailments and depression, the twenty-five year old James spent more than a year in Europe in 1867–68, primarily in Germany, where he learned the language by reading literature and philosophy. He read a great deal of Goethe, Kant and Schiller. From Kant, he learned that

[das], was den Menschen über sich selbst (als einen Theil der Sinnenwelt erhebt) [...] ist nichts anders als die Persönlichkeit, das ist die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit von dem Mechanismus der ganzen Natur.²⁰

Kant identified different aspects of the personality, among them the psychological personality which he defined as “das Vermögen, sich seiner selbst in den verschiedenen Zuständen der Identität seines Daseins bewusst zu werden”²¹. While Kant and Schiller helped him develop an early concept of the self, it is Goethe who presented himself to James *as personality*. The goal of his intense engagement was, as he reports at length in a letter to his friend Tom Ward, “to break through the skin of Goethe’s personality and to grasp it as a unity.” What astonished him about Goethe was his “openness to life.”

18 William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1890), I: 371.

19 *Ibid.*, I: 296.

20 Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1990), 87. English translation: “what elevates a human being above himself (as a part of the sensible world) [...] is nothing other than personality, that is, freedom and independence from the mechanism of the whole of nature [...].” Quoted from Immanuel Kant, Kant: *Critique of Practical Reason*. Translated by Mary Gregor (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 71.

21 Immanuel Kant, “Die Metaphysik der Sitten,” in *Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie, Zweiter Teil*. Vol. 7 of *Werke*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 329.

The man lived at every pore of his skin, and the tranquil clearness and vividness with which every thing printed itself on his sensorium, and found a cool nook in his mind without interfering with any of the other denizens thereof, must have been one of the most exquisite spectacles ever on exhibition on this planet²².

That is indeed an extravagant claim.

Another psychologist, slightly younger than James, who also looked to Goethe as the epitome of personality, is Carl Gustav Jung. We might hesitate to bring Jung and James into proximity, but they did meet at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1909. The elderly James attended with the express purpose of meeting Sigmund Freud. While Freud left him cold, “Jung [...] ‘made a very pleasant impression’ on James.” James had two conversations with Jung, who noted that they “‘got along excellently with regard to the assessment of the religious factor in the psyche.’ After his second conversation with James, Jung even found himself beginning to have doubts about certain aspects of Freud’s work”²³.

In the concluding chapter of *The Integration of Personality*, Jung draws attention to personality as a crucial problem of education. If, as a line from Goethe’s *Divan* has it, “Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder / Sei nur die Persönlichkeit,” where personality is understood as “the fullness of human existence”²⁴, it is not surprising, that “‘education to personality’ has become a pedagogical mantra that turns its back upon the standardized – the collective and normal – human being.” Jung spells out “what is generally understood by personality – namely, a *definitely shaped, psychic abundance, capable of resistance and endowed with energy*” and claims that it is “an adult ideal”²⁵. This explains why he has serious misgivings about pedagogical trends. “Personality is a germ in the child that can develop only by slow stages in and through life”²⁶. Direct educational intervention with the goal of fostering personality in a child will only result in “unnatural, precocious pseudo adult[s]” and “monsters”²⁷, not least because the parents and teachers who intervene most likely fall short of being personalities themselves. Personality in this positive sense is a rare achievement.

On the face of it, Jung’s adumbrations of the definition of personality (“the best possible development of all that lies in a particular, single being”; “the highest realization of the inborn distinctiveness of the particular living being”: Personality is “an act of the greatest courage in the face of life, and means unconditional af-

22 Quoted in Robert D. Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 81–82.

23 *Ibid.*, 521.

24 Carl Gustav Jung, *The Integration of the Personality*, trans. Stanley Dell (New York and Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939), 281.

25 *Ibid.*, 284.

26 *Ibid.*, 285.

27 *Ibid.*

firmation of all that constitutes the individual, the most successful adaptation to the universal conditions of human existence, with the greatest possible freedom of personal decision”²⁸) would seem appealing in an American context. Herbert Hoover’s 1928 New York City campaign speech on “American Individualism” rejected external designations of American society, such as capitalism, plutocracy, and notions of class, arguing that American individualism

springs from the one source of human progress – that each individual shall be given the chance and stimulation for development of the best with which he has been endowed in heart and mind; it is the sole source of progress; it is American individualism.²⁹

Both Jung and Hoover set the individual or the personality in opposition to the masses and the dynamic of group identification. However, for Hoover individualism is a “social system” of opportunity that allows individuals and the nation to progress, while for Jung, personality is a vocation – a call – for the individual to choose his own way, to liberate himself from convention, to heed the law of his own life, and to confront his daemon. Jung mentions Goethe’s experience with *his* daemon as an example of a modern historical individual and asserts that Faust’s Mephistopheles is likewise an externalization of a psychic process. This is important; as Jung says,

The inner voice brings forward what is evil in a temptingly convincing way, so as to make us succumb to it. [...] The character of the inner voice is ‘Luciferian’ in the most fitting and unequivocal sense of the word, and that is why it places a man face to face with final moral decisions, without which he could never attain consciousness *and become a personality*. In a most unaccountable way, the lowest and the highest, the best and the most atrocious, the truest and the falsest are mingled together in the inner voice, which thus opens up an abyss of confusion, deception, and despair.³⁰

“The development of personality,” writes Jung, “is a wager and it is tragic that the demon of the inner voice should spell greatest danger and indispensable help at the same time. It is tragic, but logical. It is artlessly so.”³¹

We are a long way away from Hoover’s “American individualism” and perhaps also, it might seem, a great distance from the Goethe Room in Linsly Hall. But let us reverse the direction and begin a new approach from the position we have now attained. We will do so by shifting our attention only slightly, by focusing now on Jung’s first American translator, Beatrice Hinkle. Born in San Francisco in 1870, she studied medicine at Cooper Medical College and served as San Francisco’s

28 Ibid., 286.

29 Herbert Hoover, *American Individualism*, accessed January 28, 2016, http://www.hooverassociation.org/hoover/americanindv/american_individualism_chapter.php.

30 Jung, *Integration*, 303. Italics S. R.

31 Ibid., 304.

city physician. In 1905, she moved to New York where she lived in a building on Gramercy St, in which the modernist painter, Robert Henri, friend of the Mowbray-Clarkes, had his studio. On becoming familiar with psychoanalysis in 1909, she packed her bags and left for Europe. She met Jung in Weimar in 1909 and attended the 1911 Psychoanalytic Congress. After returning to the United States, she set up her own practice and personally introduced Jung to the radical intellectual scene in New York. Jay Sherry writes that it is “probable that she accompanied Jung to the famous Armory Show of modern art.”³² Hinkle translated Jung’s *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, the first of his books to be translated into English, as *Psychology of the Unconscious*³³ in 1916. More interesting for our purposes is her own book, *The Re-Creating of the Individual: A Study of Psychological Types and Their Relation to Psychoanalysis*, published in 1923. In this book, we can begin to trace lines of affiliation that will bring us back to Yale and the Goethe Room for an expanded appreciation of Speck’s devotion to Goethe’s personality.³⁴ Like Jung, Hinkle is interested in helping individuals toward the conscious development of a greater life. She begins with the phenomenon of neurosis, which she, also like Jung, understands as an attenuated version of the inner voice. As Jung claimed, “behind the neurotic perversion is concealed vocation, destiny, the development of personality, the complete realization of the life-will that is born with the individual”³⁵. What Hinkle adds to Jung’s account is sensitivity for the position of the new woman with her “desire to free [herself] from the effects of the age-long oppression and subjection of [her] personality”³⁶, particularly in the United States. The section on “Masculine and Feminine Psychology” in turn culminates with a discussion of the psychology of the artist “for his is the personality which reveals to us through definite forms the peculiarly human capacity of non-biological creativeness.”³⁷ That is why the artist, as she says,

approximates more to the psychology of woman who, biologically speaking, is a purely creative being and whose personality has been as mysterious and unfathomable to the man as the artist has been to the average person.³⁸

32 Beatrice M. Hinkle, *The Re-Creating of the Individual: A Study of Psychological Types and Their Relation to Psychoanalysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1923), 495.

33 Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, trans. Beatrice M. Hinkle (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

34 Biographical information comes from Jay Sherry, “Beatrice Hinkle and the Early History of Jungian Psychology in New York,” *Behavioral Sciences* 3 (2013): 493–496, accessed 30 June 30, 2016, www.mdpi.com/2076-328X/3/3/492/pdf.

35 Jung, *Integration*, 301. Italics S. R.

36 Hinkle, *Re-Creating*, 326.

37 *Ibid.*, 336.

38 *Ibid.*, 337.

It should not surprise us that Goethe is Hinkle's primary example of the successful artist, whose "intuitive and subjective character gave him clearly defined feminine qualities and characteristics which he recognized himself"³⁹. What Goethe succeeds in doing, contrary to many troubled artists, is to "utilize [his] life's experience for [his] own growth as well as for the material for [his] new creative purposes"⁴⁰. Goethe uses his "experience and [...] creative energy in the service of a higher self-creation"⁴¹. Not only does Goethe write remarkable works of literary art (*Faust*, for instance), the act of creating his own personality *as a work of art* makes him sui generis *as personality*. This alone would constitute a sufficient justification for Speck's course on Goethe's personality.

Can we connect William Speck with Jung, Hinkle, and their theory of personality? Absolutely! Let us go back to the Goethe Room in the company of another ambitious young woman. "To this room," recalls Carl Schreiber,

came a lady with the first rough draft of her translation of the first part of *Faust*. Mr. Speck recognized its inherent excellence, and undertook to cooperate with her. He weighed every word of this extensive work. Before it was ready for the printer he had prevailed upon her to make seventeen complete revisions of her manuscript.⁴²

The woman in question is Alice Raphael (1887–1975), a graduate of Barnard College in New York, one of the "seven sisters," the women-only counterparts of the Ivy League. After her B.A., Raphael studied music in Germany. She began her monumental translation of Goethe's *Faust* after a dream in 1918 and had already completed a draft of Parts I and II when she first contacted William Speck in 1922. Her introduction to Speck was facilitated by Mary Mowbray-Clarke, proprietor of the anarchist bookshop in New York City, whose husband had started to sculpt Goethe with Speck at the Brocken. She became familiar with Jung's writings in 1919 and went to Europe together with Beatrice Hinkle in 1925, where she remained for several years, becoming Carl Jung's analysand and pupil in Zurich in 1927. From Zurich, she writes to Speck on 17 May 1928, not long before his death: "To work with Dr. Jung is a great experience as I find in him, not only the great psychologist, but a great *Faust* student."⁴³

From 1922 to 1925, she met frequently with Speck in the Goethe Room. She may have been the first woman to do so, though not the last. Yale University records show that Speck was the advisor for Annie B. Chaney's dissertation on "The Personality of Goethe as Reflected in the American Magazines Before 1860,"

39 Ibid., 358.

40 Ibid., 355.

41 Ibid.

42 Schreiber, "Speck," xl.

43 Biographical details have been obtained from the Alice Raphael Papers, housed in the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at Yale University: YCGL MSS 21.

completed in 1927. Speck “received Ms. Raphael [and other women] heartily and with an open mind,” writes Carl Schreiber.

As the conferences continued in the Goethe room the translation gradually evolved out of blank verse into rhymed meters. [...] At a later period Mr. Speck sat down to the task of discussing with the translator the entire drama line for line. When this had been accomplished the last great step was taken; the form was brought to conform as nearly to the original as the English idiom would permit. In the truest sense of the word Alice Raphael’s *Faust* translation is inseparably linked with the great Goethe Collection in the Yale University Library. It breathes the spirit of its distinguished founder.⁴⁴

What Schreiber particularly values about Raphael’s translation is how she brings

Margarete back from the dead. The personality of Margarete had become blurred and had almost lost its identity [...] the quality of her nature is now restored by the simplicity of the idiom in which she reveals herself.⁴⁵

Goethe, writes Schreiber, “was of all great modern poets the most feminine in his make-up. He observed and felt more than he thought”⁴⁶.

Raphael’s sustained engagement with Goethe’s *Faust* in joint collaboration with William Speck and Carl Jung came to a triple fruition. The Yale School of Drama selected her final, eighteenth (!) revision of the complete translation of *Faust* for a production at the University Theater in the Goethe Year of 1932, as part of the festivities commemorating the bicentennial anniversary of his birth. According to Carl Gruener’s annual report for 1921–22, the Yale German Department already regarded it as likely that “the Speck Library [...] would be the central laboratory” for Goethe celebrations being planned by the Modern Language Association. Raphael recalled Speck saying, “As a collector of Goetheana I have one wish; I desire to live until 1932, a most fitting time for a Goethe collector to be forced from the scene of action”⁴⁷. Although Speck died four years short of his goal, Raphael co-commemorated him with Goethe in the production of her translation of *Faust* and again with the 1932 publication of a book entitled *Goethe the Challenger*, consisting of two essays, “Goethe the Challenger” and “Joseph Conrad’s Faust.” The book is dedicated to Speck. In a brief biographical sketch in the foreword to her book, Raphael links the growth of Speck’s collection of Goetheana with the unfolding of “his personality”⁴⁸. The essay on Goethe is woven together of apt quotations from the theorists and practitioners of the self and sets forth the components

44 Carl F. Schreiber, *A Note on Faust Translations* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930), 11.

45 *Ibid.*, 9.

46 *Ibid.*

47 Alice Raphael, *Goethe the Challenger* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Robert Ballou, 1932), x.

48 *Ibid.*, viii.

of the discourse of personality. In addition to William James, Freud, Jung, and her friend Beatrice Hinkle, Raphael quotes from Carlyle, Bergson, and Gide. Their cumulative efforts, directly and indirectly, she would argue, were in the service of coming to terms adequately with the challenge of understanding Goethe's life.

[Goethe] is the symbol of all that men *may* become if they follow the path of self-development. It is therefore in no sentimental spirit of hero worship but with a profound desire to understand this phenomenon [...] that we must contemplate the soul of Goethe, who was in truth 'the first full-statured man,' as Bayard Taylor so happily expressed it; and it is because he belongs more closely to our day and generation than to his own [...] that it is so important for modern man to evaluate his significance.⁴⁹

In 1932, one year before the Nazi transformation of Germany and the devastation that would follow, Raphael looks back on "the past fifty years," during which "so much study has been devoted to Goethe's personality"⁵⁰.

Until very recent years we had no technique by which we could isolate the psychological facts with any degree of scientific accuracy, and hence we could not reach the general law which governed his [Goethe's] being.⁵¹

It is thanks especially to Jung's and Hinkle's attention to Goethe in the context of their research into the phenomenon of personality that "the life accomplished by Goethe radiates its beneficent light in 1932"⁵².

When we study the completed Self of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, where intellect was blended with vision, action with meditation, love with justice, and strength with sensibility, we stand in reverence before a willed development of the Self which the world had not yet beheld, and which has not since been equaled.⁵³

In 1964, Raphael belatedly completed what Jung called her "tremendous task," the third fruit and culmination of her extensive conversations with first Speck and then Jung, in a monograph titled *Goethe and the Philosopher's Stone: Symbolical Patterns in the Parable and the Second Part of 'Faust'* (1965). In a book that won the allegiance and support of a leading Princeton Germanist and Goethe scholar, Victor Lange, Raphael lays out the strongest argument for the interpretive significance of Goethe's lifelong engagement with alchemy and the esoteric tradition. Her model for this perspective is appropriately Carl Jung, whose major work on *Psychology and Alchemy*⁵⁴ was published in 1944 and revised in 1952. Although

49 Ibid., 4.

50 Ibid., 16.

51 Ibid., 20.

52 Ibid., 37.

53 Ibid., 36.

54 Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953).

the first sentence of her new book is a succinct formulation of the conviction about Goethe's person, which she shared with William James, William Speck, Beatrice Hinkle, Carl Jung, and Carl Schreiber – “Goethe is the prototype of European man in his highest evolutionary form”⁵⁵ – we cannot help but notice that she here and throughout dispenses with the word ‘personality’. The shape of the argument remains the same; Goethe stands for the desire to maximize human potential. We still find references to *Bildung* (development) and the notion of wholeness rendered as an imperative: “*Ganz werden*”⁵⁶. In the concluding chapter entitled “The Product of Experience,” Raphael dwells on the concept of *entelechy*, in terms that remind us of the earlier investment in personality.⁵⁷ Still, it is difficult to imagine *entelechy* as a word to conjure with.

Raphael remains confident of the assessment of Goethe to which she (and James, Jung, Hinkle, and Speck) had come, even if she no longer relies on the currency of the discourse of personality. The German language has a word for the fortuitous coincidence and conjunction of circumstances that coalesce in the irresistibility of a trend that is, in etymology and standard use, both astrological (even alchemical) and economic – the word is *Konjunktur*. We could well say that the idea of personality was “in conjuncture” in the first third of the twentieth century, leading up to the centennial anniversary of Goethe's death in 1932. It was that *Konjunktur* that brought Speck and Goethe to Yale, Hinkle and Jung to New York, and Raphael to New Haven, where, for a decade, a decidedly extravagant Goethe-centric pedagogy took place. It was within that *Konjunktur* that enterprising and progressive women such as Mowbray-Clarke, Hinkle and Raphael were co-participants with university-affiliated men in exploring the possibilities and limits of a modernist discourse in relation to Goethe, despite the gender asymmetries that governed the Ivy League. And it was that *Konjunktur* that allowed Goethe briefly and intensely to flourish in a distinctly American setting that exceeded the usual limits of American moral propriety. Speck, Raphael, and Hinkle were right. America needs Goethe in the Jungian sense of acknowledging and confronting one's daemon. But they were also wrong. America continues to be thoroughly incapable of performing this task. Even if the demons of 1933 had not reared their ugly head, Goethe's Yale years would have come to an all but necessary end.⁵⁸

55 Alice Raphael, *Goethe and the Philosopher's Stone* (New York: Garrett Publications, 1965), 3.

56 *Ibid.*, 18, 249.

57 *Entelechy* is a philosophical term, introduced by Aristotle to name that which actualizes or realizes potential. Late in his life, Goethe also used the term. See for instance the entry in Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe* for 11 March 1828.

58 I would like to thank Christa Sammons, retired curator of the Speck Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, for introducing me to William Speck and Alice Raphael. I am grateful to Christa and her husband Jeffrey D. Sammons for two delightful and informative conversations about the early twentieth-century history of the German Department at Yale.

Ewald Terhart

“Research on Teaching” in the USA and “Didaktik” in (West-) Germany: Influences since 1945¹

This paper describes the influence of US-American research on learning and teaching on West-German pedagogy and didactics for the period from 1945 to the 1970s. Whereas German theorists clearly dominated the field before World War II, the post-1945 period was marked in Germany by a strong influence of US educational research. This was due to urgent modernization needs after the Nazi era. The tendency towards an empirical educational science, towards psychological research on learning and teaching, towards programmed instruction, and towards modern curriculum research led to a strong adaptation of ‘Anglo-American’ concepts and methods, especially in the first intense educational reform period from 1965–1975. At present, it is difficult to identify such a unilateral and specific influence, because also a complex process of globalization and internationalization can be observed in international educational science.

The organization of teaching and learning in compulsory school systems is a central component of all modern societies. Throughout the “educational revolution”², state-driven, compulsory and more or less centralized school systems spread throughout the world. The birth and growth of the school system has been accompanied over time by the development of the teaching profession. The teaching of and learning by the young is no longer devoted to chance or familial and individual interest and desire, but is organized and has been professionalized and incorporated into a rather large system. This entails school organization, curriculum advice, grades and qualifications, teaching methods and strategies, and last but not least, teachers and teacher education – all of which is underpinned by educational research.

In modern societies, classroom teaching – which remains the backbone of every teacher’s work – is no longer seen as a personal craft, founded on intuition and mere individual experience, but as the work of experts, based on research, education and training, individual professional knowledge, experience and reflection, all of which has to be maintained by ongoing teacher development. Intellectual efforts to theorize teaching, and to incorporate teachers’ work into science, research

1 This is the extended English version of my paper “Drifting Didactics: US-amerikanische Einflüsse auf die deutschsprachige Didaktik 1945–1975“, *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung* 20 (2014), 285–306.

2 Talcott Parsons, *The System of Modern Societies* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971).

and development, started in the nineteenth century and flourished in the twentieth. Meanwhile a “scientific basis for the art of teaching”³ has been established. This was an international development, taking place in all cultures and countries with systems of schooling and teaching. An intensive national and also international cooperation of teachers, teacher organizations, teacher educators and school reformers, scholars and researchers in the field of education, all accompanied this process. Although educational systems and practices are heavily state-dependent and culture-bound, there has always been an interest in seeing how things work ‘on the other side’: How are they doing it? Can anything be adopted? Should we demonstrate our ideas to others? And of course, those ‘on the other side’ ask the same questions. Inevitably, this leads to certain forms of mutual exchange and influence, to some kind of ongoing borrowing and lending in the fields of education, schooling and teaching.

The mutual influences between German and American pedagogical thinking reach far back into early modern colonial times, move more or less in both directions, and have sometimes been weaker and sometimes stronger.⁴ At the general level of the sciences and universities, in the nineteenth century, the still young American nation learned much from the German university system. The disciplines of philosophy, psychology and education were heavily influenced by German educational thinkers and reformers, administrators and principals, teachers and teacher educators.⁵ This changed during the course of the twentieth century, especially because of the “eclipse of reason” in Germany during the Nazi period.⁶ In the second half of the twentieth century, the position and importance of German science, universities and educational thinking and research slowly diminished, whereas the position of the USA in the fields of science in general and also in education, schooling and teaching increased – both worldwide and also with respect to Germany.

3 Nathaniel L. Gage, *The Scientific Basis of the Art of Teaching* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1978). In German: Nathaniel L. Gage, *Unterrichten – Kunst oder Wissenschaft?* (München: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1979).

4 Dietrich Goldschmidt, “Transatlantic Influences: History of Mutual Interactions between America and German Education,” in *Between Elite and Mass Education: Education in the Federal Republic of Germany*, ed. Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 1–65.

5 Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking, and Jürgen Herbst, eds., *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Peter Drewek, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Michael Zimmer-Müller, *Internationale Rezeption in pädagogischen Zeitschriften im deutsch-amerikanischen Vergleich: 1871–1945/50*. Bestandsverzeichnisse zur Bildungsgeschichte, Bd. 14 (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für internationale pädagogische Forschung, 2010).

6 Jürgen Heideking, “Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States from World War I to the Cold War,” *Paedagogica Historica* 33 (1997): 9–23; Val D. Rust, “The German Image of American Education through the Weimar Period,” *Paedagogica Historica* 33 (1997): 25–44.

Bearing in mind this historical and cultural background, I would like to outline the different waves or phases, by which US research on teaching and curriculum influenced the (West-) German scientific debate on *Didaktik*, since the end of World War II until today.

1 Re-education and Reconstruction

As soon as the Allied forces could foresee that Germany would lose the war and be freed from the Nazi regime, they started planning what to do with Germany and the Germans in the post war period and beyond. It was agreed that the German people could be re-educated and thus (re)integrated into the democratic and political culture of all other civilized nations. The Soviet Union integrated the eastern zone into its system by means of command. The western Allied forces introduced democracy, tried to eliminate former Nazis, ensure free enterprise – and started re-education to convince the Germans of the advantages of a democratic society and to do something against the German tendency to rely on authoritative leadership, militarism, racism and so on. This was only possible by employing democratic means in the process of re-educating the Germans. In addition to strengthening adult education, controlling and supporting the media and press, supporting democratic parties, firing former Nazi teachers, excluding Nazi-inspired textbooks, and developing a democratic consciousness through civic education, fundamental re-education took place within the school system.

However, not only the school system had to be changed in structure, content, personnel and process. After the period of Nazi isolation, German educational thinking in the academic and administrative field also needed to be immersed in modern western educational thought, scholarship and science. During the Cold War, western allies, especially the USA, tried to disseminate democratic educational thinking and introduce modern educational theories and research to West-Germany. Some academic and administrative experts in pedagogy and schooling, who had emigrated during the Nazi regime, returned to both West- and East-Germany, but overall their influence was not very strong.⁷ An important instrument in the context of re-education was an intense exchange between academic elites in the field of education, social sciences and schooling. Many (young) German scientists and researchers in these fields visited universities and colleges in the USA,

7 Klaus-Peter Horn and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, “Remigration in der Erziehungswissenschaft,” *Exilforschung* 9 (1991): 171–195; Heinz-Elmar Tenorth and Klaus-Peter Horn, “The Impact of Emigration on German Pedagogy,” in *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Emigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933*, ed. Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Söllner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 156–171.

studied the literature, talked to US-American experts – and returned to Germany with new ideas, methods and practices.⁸

What were the consequences of re-education policy and academic exchange for the field of teaching and learning, of teachers' work in the classroom, that is, for *Didaktik* in Germany? *Didaktik* is the German academic term for the theory and practice of teaching and learning at all grades (from elementary to tertiary) and in all subject fields (early reading and writing, math, geography, foreign languages, and so on). In the post-war period, German teachers and schools tried to return to the practice and theory that had been in place during the Weimar Republic (1919–1933), i.e. before Nazism. During the Weimar Republic and again after World War II German pedagogy in the universities, where the future teachers of the *Gymnasium* were being educated, was predominantly influenced by philosophy. Teaching in the *Gymnasium* was oriented towards the later university studies of its graduates. Teachers for the *Volksschule* were trained in *Pädagogische Hochschulen* (teacher-training colleges). Here, pedagogy and didactics were predominantly practically-oriented and teachers' work was regarded as some kind of moral skill. Professors at these teacher training colleges had no research obligation and were merely responsible for training and socializing the student teachers for the requirements of their future work in the *Volksschule*. This school type, in the 1950ies attended by 70–80% of all children up to the age of 14, led to further vocational training or to unskilled jobs.

2 1960s: The times they are a-changing

The masterminds of philosophical pedagogy in the German universities were skeptical, even critical of what they called “Anglo-Saxon” philosophy and educational thinking. Its pragmatism was misunderstood as plain and simple functional thinking which might be suitable for technicians, engineers and administrators, but was hardly considered appropriate for philosophers, educationalists, educa-

8 Karl-Heinz Füssl, *Deutsch-amerikanischer Kulturaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert: Bildung – Wissenschaft – Politik* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2004); Karl-Heinz Füssl, “Pädagogische Emigranten in den USA und Deutschland nach 1933/1945: Forschungsstand und Desiderata,” *Bildung und Erziehung* 62 (2009): 7–23; Thomas Koinzer, “German Post-War Educational Reform and the ‘American Way of Life’,” in *American Post-Conflict Educational Reform: From the Spanish-American War to Iraq*, ed. Noah W. Sobe (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 14–165; Thomas Koinzer, *Auf der Suche nach der demokratischen Schule: Amerikafahrer, Kulturtransfer und Schulreform in der Bildungsreformära der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2011); Marita Krauss, “Exilerfahrung und Wissenstransfer: Transatlantische Gastprofessoren nach 1945,” in *Elitenwanderung und Wissenstransfer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Dittmar Dahlmann and Reinhold Reith (Essen: Klartext, 2008), 35–53.

tors and teachers. The entire pedagogical sphere was mostly regarded as a cultural and moral endeavor with a degree of autonomy and directed by specific inner pedagogical and educative values. Educators, teachers and so on had to have pedagogical convictions, the right attitudes and a certain spirit; acting as an educator was a matter of personality, of pedagogical sensitivity and tact. Conceived in this manner, the system was not open to administrative reforms of a ‘technological’ nature. Academic educational research in the context of “*geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*”⁹ was conducted in a historic-hermeneutical manner and as part of the humanities, not in the manner of empirical research in the social sciences.

Until the 1960s, this hostile attitude dominated. However, processes of intense academic exchange began to show results. Traditional German pedagogy and *Didaktik* were challenged by modern theories and research methods already quite prevalent in the western world. New theories of learning were being integrated into the field of educational and teacher education. Modern sociological theories of group dynamics, socialization processes and so on painted a new, realistic picture of the processes and risks of growing up. Behavioristic and other learning theories and programmed instruction were ‘imported’ into didactical thinking and practice. On an academic level, W. Brezinka introduced the motto of the époque: *Von der Pädagogik zur Erziehungswissenschaft* (“From Pedagogy to the Science of Education”):¹⁰ analytical philosophy of education *and* modern empirical quantitative methods (experiments, questionnaires, observation manuals, statistical analysis and so on) had to be integrated in the new and modern ‘science of education’ (*Erziehungswissenschaft*).

If we look back, we can say that in the nineteenth century, German *Didaktik* had drifted across the Atlantic to the USA; in the second half of the twentieth century, American research on learning, teaching and curriculum had drifted to Germany – and influenced *Didaktik*.

By the end of the 1960s and at the beginning 1970s, the so called ‘Anglo-Saxon’ or ‘American’ style of scholarly educational thinking and of empirical educational research had become well-known and was being accepted more and more, but without completely substituting former traditions. Accordingly, there remained an element of struggle between ‘the traditionalists’ and ‘the innovators’. This situation became more complicated, when a third party appeared on the scene, namely critical pedagogy, inspired by neomarxism, critical theory, psychoanalysis etc., and

9 Jürgen Oelkers, “The Strange Case of German ‘geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik,’” in *Passion, Fusion, Tension: New Education and Educational Sciences. End 19th – Middle 20th Century*, ed. Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (New York, NY: P. Lang, 2006), 191–222.

10 Wolfgang Brezinka, *Von der Pädagogik zur Erziehungswissenschaft: Eine Einführung in die Metatheorie der Erziehung* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1971); Wolfgang Brezinka, *Philosophy of Educational Knowledge: An Introduction to the Foundations of Science of Education, Philosophy of Education and Practical Pedagogy* (New York, NY: Springer, 1991).

supported by the critical student movement that was spreading around the world and influencing universities and colleges, schools and families. At the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s, German academic pedagogy consisted of three different theoretical and methodological paradigms: hermeneutical, empirical, and critical.¹¹

And here something needs to be said in more detail about books and the importance of translations in times of change: It was important that German educational scholars such as Heinrich Roth, Werner Correll, Reinhard and Annemarie Tausch and others presented modern American educational research in books and articles. Furthermore, many prominent English books were being translated. A milestone was the translation and adaption of the famous first “*Handbook of Research on Teaching*” (1963; edited by Ned L. Gage). This handbook was not just translated, but adapted to fit the German context. Each chapter was translated by a German expert, who also integrated additional material, explanations and illustrations. This resulted in the German “*Handbuch der Unterrichtsforschung*” (1971/73; edited by Karlheinz Ingenkamp et al.), which consisted of three (!) volumes. Important as a textbook in courses on research methods was Fred Kurlinger’s “*Foundations of Behavioral Research*” (1969; translated 1975). Also very prominent in Germany were the translated books of Jerome Bruner, David Ausubel and Urie Bronfenbrenner.

Beginning in 1970, Gerhard Prisemann and Werner Loch (and later with Harm Paschen) edited a book series entitled “*Sprache und Lernen*” (language and learning), which included more than 50 volumes. Alongside German publications in this series, many translations of books on educational topics from the English-speaking world appeared – not only about empirical research and curriculum reform, but also landmark books in the field of analytical philosophy of education: Bruner, Scheffler, Hirst, Peters, Lawton, Bernstein, Bellack and many others. The last volume in this series appeared in 1977.

In the field of teaching/didactics, Levin’s work on styles of educational leadership became highly prominent, as did the research surrounding “*Pygmalion in the classroom*” by Rosenthal & Jacobson. Paul Watzlawick and his communication model inspired the so-called “*kommunikative Didaktik*”, and Philip Jackson’s and Jules Henry’s concept of the “hidden curriculum” also found widespread attention and acceptance among German experts for teaching in universities and teacher training institutions (also see Seel & Hanke, 2011¹²).

11 Christoph Wulf, *Educational Science: Hermeneutics, Empirical Research, Critical Theory* (Münster: Waxmann, 2003).

12 Norbert M. Seel and Ulrike Hanke, “Unterrichtsgestaltung als Instructional Design: the American Way,” in *Geschichte der Unterrichtsgestaltung*, ed. Klaus Zierer and Ewald Kiel (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 2011), 185–201.

This large number of translations is typical of the period between 1965 and 1975. Important books on education in a foreign language (beside the US and British authors, also the work of Piaget, Bourdieu, Vygotsky and so on) needed to be translated into German, because in those days, few educational experts in Germany could read and understand books in a foreign language. However, a new generation of researchers became more and more used to reading English publications and journals on education. As this skill increased, the number of translations decreased, because leading researchers and their (doctoral) students no longer needed them. Beginning in the 1980s and intensifying in the 1990s, the international orientation of German *Erziehungswissenschaft* (education as a *discipline*) and *Bildungsforschung* (research on education as an *interdisciplinary field of study*) grew slowly, but is becoming stronger and stronger. It is important to note that this ‘internationalization’ is *not* restricted to educational psychology, research on teaching, empirical-quantitative research concepts and methods and so on. *All* theoretical and methodological paradigms are discussed on an international level – qualitative research methods, action research, gender research, humanistic psychology, post-modern and post-structural theorizing, critical pedagogy, the different forms of constructionist or constructivist thinking, research on the history and philosophy of education, post-colonial studies, capabilities-approach, educational engineering and critique of neoliberal strategies in education. All these approaches and paradigms of the academic educational discourse have now been connected on an international level.¹³

3 The Golden Era of reform: from the 1960s to the 1970s

From the early 1960s onwards and in particular throughout the 1970s, the West-German state engaged in a huge modernization process of its *school system*. The “Sputnik-Shock” waves of 1957 also reached West-Germany;¹⁴ education and schooling were identified as important factors of economic stability and growth. Modern society and industries changed the structure of work life and qualifications (modernization of human capital). Formerly excluded segments of the pop-

13 It is therefore difficult to answer the question: Who is influencing whom? In his essay “What Do Philosophers of Education Do? An Empirical Study of Philosophy of Education Journals” (*Studies in Philosophy and Education* 31, 2012, 1–27), Matthew J. Hayden analyzed four international journals in the field of philosophy of education. Alongside many other questions he wanted to find out which (educational) philosopher the most articles were devoted to (number of articles for each thinker). The winner, of course, was Dewey, followed at a considerable distance by three European thinkers: Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

14 Wayne J. Urban, *More than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

ulation needed to be integrated into educational tracks leading to higher qualifications and positions (equality of educational opportunities). Planning, organizing and evaluating a new school system, new curricula, and new forms of teaching and teacher education required scientific support from a modern science of education based on empirical research. The science of education seemed able to construct, implement and evaluate all of these educational innovations. This led to a steady import of scientific theories, methods and models of education from Scandinavia, Great Britain and the USA into the German educational discourse. During these decades, the theory of symbolic interactionism, of cognitive theories of learning, curriculum theories, quantitative empirical research methods, research, development and dissemination-models (RD&D) came to dominate the academic and administrative educational scene. Modern *Erziehungswissenschaft* promised some kind of educational engineering to reorganize the German school system, the curriculum, the teacher education and – last but not least – the classroom teaching itself.

In the sections below, an overview of several steps or phases of (mutual) influence between the US and the German discourse on education and didactic is presented. Because of space limitations, it is only possible to discuss some examples.

3.1 Programmed Instruction

A now largely forgotten chapter of US influence on German didactics is the era of programmed instruction. Based on the principles of behaviorism in the sense of B. F. Skinner, it was assumed that teaching effectiveness can be improved by specifying the goals in behavioral terms and constructing reinforcement systems based on the principles of operant conditioning in order to precisely achieve the intended learning results. The hype surrounding programmed instruction in the USA and in Germany was remarkable and just one example of the rather naïvely optimistic trust at that time in science and technology as universal problem solvers. In 1964, the German educationalist F. Loser noted:

Since 1954, more than 200 research papers have been presented in the field of programmed learning in the US alone. Especially the Soviet success in space technology led to a new thinking in American education. With a ‘quick fix’, attempts were made to make up for lost opportunities. In this frantic search for a faster and more effective strategy to modernize American education, many saw teaching machines as a harbinger of the new era in education. [...] – Huge sums from the National Defense Education Act fueled the economic boom in teaching equipment and teaching programs; the commercial yield seemed to be more important than the development of well thought through programs. In 1962, more than 150 companies have benefited from this movement.¹⁵

15 Fritz Loser, *Lernmaschinen und programmierter Unterricht in didaktischer Sicht* (Esslingen: Burgbücherei W. Schneider, 1964), 11; Translation: E.T.

The idea of a “teaching machine” materialized first as mechanical reading aids, then as simple ‘question and answer’-reward-machines (on the history of the teaching machine, see Benjamin, 1988¹⁶). Programmed instruction, or more generally: the technological approach to teaching and learning, led to the well-known “technological turn of didactics” (K. Flechsig¹⁷), and to H. Blankertz’ canonical classification of the theories and models of general didactics¹⁸ with its “information-theory and cybernetic didactics”. H. Frank, in those days one of the main representatives of this trend, predicted in 1970 that in 1977, already 75% of all school teaching would be done in a programmed manner.¹⁹ While some German states established research centers for educational technology and innovation mostly in universities, but nevertheless closely connected to school administrations, the movement towards programmed teaching and educational technology did not keep its promises. It would require specific historical studies to determine whether and to what extent programmed instruction and “learning machines” were really used in German schools over the period 1960–1970. Oelkers speaks of the so-called “cybernetic pedagogy” as a strictly time-bound and now nearly forgotten episode in the German educational discourse.²⁰

3.2 Curriculum Research and Educational Objectives

A second wave took place under the banner ‘curriculum reform & educational objectives’. The reform of the German school system, the implementation of a scientific (and that meant university) training for *all* teachers, the development of new curricula and of new teaching strategies in the classrooms were all elements aimed at the modernization of the German educational system. The guiding principle was an orientation towards modern science in two respects. First, teaching and learning at all school levels and in all school types was expected to be “science oriented”, and second, the whole reform process should be based on “scientific” research results and strategies. Oriented to science and based on science – that was the leitmotif of the curriculum reform and the reform of classroom teaching which determined the German school pedagogy and didactics between about 1968 and 1975. Curriculum research aimed at a science-based revision of cur-

16 Ludy T. Benjamin, “A history of teaching machines“, *American Psychologist* 43 (1988): 703–712.

17 Karl-Heinz Flechsig, „Die technologische Wendung in der Didaktik.“ in *Unterrichtstechnologie und Mediendidaktik*, ed. Ludwig J. Issing and Helga Knigge-Illner (Weinheim: Beltz, 1976), 15–38.

18 Herwig Blankertz, *Theorien und Modelle der Didaktik* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1969).

19 H. Frank’s statement is cited in an article of the German newspaper DIE ZEIT written by Dieter E. Zimmer, “Was heißt Programmierter Unterricht?“, October 16th, 1970.

20 Jürgen Oelkers, “Kybernetische Pädagogik: Eine Episode oder ein Versuch zur falschen Zeit?” in *Die Transformation des Humanen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Kybernetik*, ed. Michael Hagner and Erich Hörl (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2008), 196–228.

ricula. The German reform of curriculum and classroom teaching adapted the so-called “Tyler-rationale” of curriculum construction and instructional design, which R. Tyler had first presented in his famous book “Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction”²¹:

- What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? (Defining appropriate learning objectives.)
- How can learning experiences be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives? (Introducing useful learning experiences.)
- How can learning experiences be organized for effective instruction? (Organizing experiences to maximize their effect.)
- How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated? (Evaluating the process and revising areas that were not effective.)

This basic pattern of a planning, performing and controlling teaching-learning processes has determined – with extensions, additions and differentiations – empirical research on curriculum and teaching until today. A broader view of the process of curriculum reform was developed by the German curriculum expert S. B. Robinsohn in his proposal for a three-step model of curriculum revision:

Since (a) it is the purpose of education to enable the individual to deal with various situations in life,
 since (b) the individual gains this ability through acquiring certain qualifications and dispositions, and
 since (c) it is through the various elements of the curriculum that such qualifications are to be generated,
 a rationally planned curriculum should be developed on the basis of an identification of these situations, qualifications and curriculum elements to an optimal degree of correctness and objectivity.²²

It seems unbelievable today, but in those days, a complete revision of the whole school curriculum on the basis of a centralized process was not a vision, but the technocratic plan. It inevitably failed, because it was and is not possible to foresee future life situations, and in addition, it is not possible to specify the abilities today’s students need to cope with these future problems, and finally, it is not possible to derive curricula from these first steps.

21 Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), 31st ed. 1971, latest e-book edition August, 13, 2013. Tyler’s importance is demonstrated and discussed by Morris Finder, *Educating America: How Ralph W. Tyler Taught America to Teach* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004).

22 Saul B. Robinsohn, “A Conceptual Structure of Curriculum Development,” *Comparative Education* 5 (1969): 223.

Nevertheless, a huge number of curricula were reformed and developed over the period 1965–1975 through many research and development projects, as well as by curriculum commissions – partly with substantial socio-political conflict potential. The actual work done in the commissions was based predominantly on estimates and assumptions of the participating experts, concerning the importance of certain curriculum content for the future-relevant skills, and less on the basis of research and proven empirical evidence. A central institution for a general reform of curriculum at the federal level was planned but never realized. At the level of the various German states (*Länder*), curriculum commissions for the various school subjects developed new curricula. But before all this could unfold, the ‘next wave’ of American thinking about curriculum reform was adopted in Germany. The critique of centralized curriculum reform in a top down-manner grew stronger and stronger. As a result of this critique an approach directed to more decentralized, open curriculum-reform and school-based curriculum development was favored. And above all: Around 1975, German curriculum discussion and school reform in general came to an end. The reasons were manifold: The consensus between conservative and progressive parts of the political landscape concerning educational reform eroded, reform processes appeared to be very difficult and manifested the limits of state- and administration-driven interventions in educational institutions, unintended consequences showed up – and because of the oil crisis and other economic developments the West-German state ran out of money. The result was a long period of no or just incremental school reform. It needed the “PISA-Shock” of 2002 to bring state-driven school reform back on the agenda again.

Apart from the more general level of curriculum reform and at the practical level of classroom teaching, the “Taxonomy of Educational Objectives” of B. Bloom²³ was very important for the German didactic discourse and for the work of curriculum committees. R. Mager’s booklet “Preparing Instructional Objectives” (1965) was published in the same year in German under the title “Lernziele und programmierter Unterricht”²⁴ and brought the ideas of goal-oriented curricula and goal-oriented teaching into the classrooms, controlled via standardized tests. Especially in the practical aspects of teacher training, the movement towards educational objectives and goal-oriented teaching was very important. It seemed possible to transform teachers’ work from the level of an art or a moral craft up to the level of an applied behavioral science and the engineering of learning, focusing on clear objectives and controlling for success.

23 Benjamin S. Bloom, ed., *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: The Classification of Educational Goals. Handbook I: Cognitive Domain* (New York, NY: David McKay, 1956). In German: Benjamin S. Bloom, ed., *Taxonomie von Lernzielen im kognitiven Bereich* (Weinheim: Beltz, 1972).

24 Robert Mager, *Lernziele und programmierter Unterricht*. (Weinheim: Beltz, 1965).

Many strategies and innovations which were implemented during the reform period did not reach completion or had unforeseen and undesired side-effects. It became apparent that some of the political hopes relating to educational reform were misplaced or delusional.²⁵ The societal, cultural, political and economic conditions were rapidly changing during the 1970s, and some of the plans which had seemed reasonable and necessary at the time turned out to be worthless ten or twenty years later. After some economic crises and after experiencing the difficulties of “planned educational change”, the momentum of state-driven centralized reform of the educational system and of teaching practice in the classrooms decreased. During the 1980s, high unemployment rates among fully-trained teachers became a problem and politicians lost their interest in educational reform. Many new and pressing political problems (terrorism at the end of the 1970s; at the beginning of the 1980s heated debates about the civil use of atom power, growing multiculturalism, peace movement and so on) took education and school reform away from the top of the political agenda.

3.3 Influence of German *Didaktik* on the US Debate

What elements of the German *Didaktik* then found their way into the international, English-speaking world? Beginning in the late 1990s, a research project “*Didaktik* and /or curriculum?” conducted by German, American and Scandinavian scholars aroused great interest in the community of experts on curriculum, classroom teaching and teacher education. Several conferences and collections of papers dealt with the relationship between European *Didaktik* and American curriculum.²⁶ Especially the Scandinavian scholars were important in this discourse because they were able to move competently and easily between the Anglo-Phone

25 Rudolf Künzli, “The German Curriculum Movement – a Failure of Transatlantic Exchange,” *European Journal of Curriculum Studies* 1 (2014): 53–59.

26 Stefan Hopmann et al., eds., *Didaktik und/oder Curriculum*. 33. Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Pädagogik (Weinheim: Beltz, 1995); Stefan Hopmann and Kurt Riquarts, eds., *Didaktik and/or Curriculum* (Kiel: Institut für die Pädagogik der Naturwissenschaften, 1995); Bjørg B. Gundem and Stefan Hopmann, eds., *Didaktik and/or Curriculum: An International Dialogue* (New York, NY: P. Lang, 1998); Ian Westbury, Stefan Hopmann, and Kurt Riquarts, eds., *Teaching as a Reflective Practice: The German Didaktik Tradition* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000); Ewald Terhart, “Didaktik/Curriculum in Teacher Education: Some German Complications,” in *Didaktik and/or Curriculum*, ed. Stefan Hopmann and Kurt Riquarts (Kiel: Institut für die Pädagogik der Naturwissenschaften, 1995), 289–300; Ewald Terhart, “Changing Concepts of Curriculum: From ‘Bildung’ to ‘Learning’ to ‘Experience’: Developments in (West) Germany from the 1960s to 1990,” in *Didaktik and/or Curriculum: An International Dialogue*, ed. Bjørg B. Gundem and Stefan Hopmann (New York, NY: P. Lang, 1998), 107–125; Ewald Terhart, *Review of Teaching as a Reflective Practice: The German Didaktik Tradition*, ed. Ian Westbury, Stefan Hopmann, and Kurt Riquarts, *Teachers and Teaching* 7 (2001): 104–109.

and German worlds of teaching and learning, curriculum and didactics.²⁷ The participants in these discussions discovered that they had much in common, but if we take a closer look at the results, it is quite obvious that the meeting of German *Didaktik* and US *Curriculum* was little more than an interesting encounter. In Germany, everything continued to move along established paths. However, the PISA process then started and in 2002 really led to a “shock” in Germany – a second one after the Sputnik-shock. From then on, the problems of curriculum and teaching were re-interpreted in the language of large-scale assessments and domain-specific research on teaching and learning processes. It is quite logical that the *Didaktik* experts in Europe talk about the fragmentation of theory and research in their field as a result of the PISA shock.²⁸

One element in this context was of special interest to American research on teaching and teacher education; traditional German *Fachdidaktik* corresponds with the concept of *pedagogical content knowledge*, a term coined by L. Shulman²⁹. Two didactical paths seemed to come together; whereas *Allgemeine Didaktik* (general didactics) is related to teaching and learning on a general level and independent of a specific domain or subject (math, geography etc.), *Fachdidaktik* is related to teaching and learning in a specific domain (*Fachdidaktik Mathematik*, *Fachdidaktik Geographie* etc.). A geography teacher is required to have knowledge of geography, of classroom teaching in general (e.g. classroom management etc.), and also pedagogical content knowledge, that is, how to teach geography, support students in learning the subject and so on. Shulman’s classification of different forms or realms of knowledge for teachers is very prominent in the German scene. Although empirical research in several *Fachdidaktiken* is growing, it is accepted that general pedagogical knowledge is also important for teachers and in teacher education. In Germany at present, there is a strong tendency to convert research on teaching (in general and in specific domains) into research on teachers and teacher education³⁰. The fundamental idea behind this is that, at the end of the day, the quality of the teaching-learning process in the classroom is heavily dependent on professional knowledge, capacities, competencies, experiences, motivations, be-

27 Sigrun Gudmundsdottir and Rolf Grankvist, “Deutsche Didaktik aus der Sicht neuerer empirischer Unterrichts- und Curriculumforschung in den USA,” *Bildung und Erziehung* 45 (1992): 175–188; Pertti Kansanen, “The Deutsche Didaktik and the American Research on Teaching,” *Thematic Network and Teacher Educational Research* 2 (1999): 21–35; Pertti Kansanen, “Didactics and Its Relation to Educational Psychology: Problems in Translating a Key Concept across Research Communities,” *International Review of Education* 48 (2002): 427–441.

28 Brian Hudson and Meinert A. Meyer, eds., *Beyond Fragmentation: Didactics, Learning and Teaching in Europe* (Farmington Hills, MI: Barbara Budrich, 2011).

29 Lee Shulman, “Those who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching,” *Educational Researcher* 15/2 (1986): 4–14.

30 Ewald Terhart, Hedda Bennewitz, and Martin Rothland, eds., *Handbuch der Forschung zum Lehrerberuf* (2nd ed., Münster: Waxmann, 2014).

liefs, and routines of teachers, and all of these can be influenced by appropriate forms of pre- and in-service teacher education.

Currently, German *Didaktik* is again in close (adaptive) contact with mainstream American research on teaching. One of the most prominent and successful textbooks in the field of general didactics, H. Meyer's "*Was ist guter Unterricht?*"³¹, is based on J. Brophy's review of empirical research on the central elements of effective teaching³². A. Helmke's successful textbook "*Unterrichtsqualität und Lehrerprofessionalität*" ("The quality of teaching and teachers' professionalism")³³ also heavily cites international empirical research on teaching and learning in classrooms. J. Hattie's "*Visible Learning*"³⁴ has also attracted tremendous attention in Germany³⁵.

3.4 Constructivism as a global didactical doctrine

One of the new ideas for teaching and learning was based on (more or less radical) constructivism or constructivist teaching.³⁶ This concept and the associated practice opposed instructivism. Constructivism in education and teaching in Germany was in part informed and influenced by radical-constructivist epistemologies, brain research and neuroscience, constructivist psychologies of thinking and learning, constructionist social psychology and sociology, computerized teaching and learning. Many of these theories were adapted from developments in the USA. Empirical research revealed that under certain conditions, constructivist methods of teaching and constructivist beliefs of teachers lead to improved learning results. Constructivist *Didaktik* provides the research community, teacher educators and teachers with a new language for describing learning and teaching.

31 *Was ist guter Unterricht* means: What is good teaching. Hilbert Meyer, *Was ist guter Unterricht?* (Berlin: Cornelsen, 2011).

32 Jere E. Brophy, *Teaching: Educational Practices Series 1*, ed. International Bureau of Education (Paris: UNESCO, 2000).

33 Andreas Helmke, *Unterrichtsqualität und Lehrerkompetenz*. (Seelze: Klett-Kallmeyer, 2003, 5th edition 2012).

34 John Hattie, *Visible Learning: A Synthesis of over 800 Meta-Analyses Relating to Achievement* (London: Routledge, 2009). In German: John Hattie, *Das Lernen sichtbar machen* (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 2013).

35 Ewald Terhart, "Has John Hattie Really Found the Holy Grail of Research on Teaching? An Extended Review of 'Visible Learning'," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43 (2011): 425–438; Ewald Terhart, ed., *Die Hattie-Studie in der Diskussion: Probleme sichtbar machen* (Seelze: Klett-Kallmeyer, 2014).

36 The idea that each curriculum-element or content of teaching is always multi-faceted and that teaching always has to demonstrate the constructed character of its contents has been formulated in Germany by Gotthilf G. Hiller, *Konstruktive Didaktik: Beiträge zur Definition von Unterrichtsziele durch Lehrformen und Unterrichtsmodelle. Umriss einer empirischen Unterrichtsforschung* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1973). This was a moderate constructivist approach to teaching *avant la lettre*.

However, this didactical doctrine gains practical impetus not on the basis of its radical variants, but only on the basis of a moderate understanding. At the extreme, if you really believe in the constructivist dogma “*Nobody can teach anything to anyone!*”, which is attributed to the famous American psychologist Carl Rogers (1902–1987), then teaching as a practice becomes pointless, and *Didaktik* as a theory inevitably comes to an end.

Constructivist thinking and brain-based teaching and learning (*Neurodidaktik*) have – at least to a certain extent, in moderate forms and in a controversial manner – been integrated as modern approaches to *Didaktik* in current German textbooks in the field. However, they have meanwhile lost their former radical chic and become normalized³⁷. Furthermore, the language of didactical constructivism (or to be precise, the languages of different constructivisms) tends to drift around the world and remains an opaque, but nevertheless stable element in the international discourse and research on teaching and learning in classrooms. But the opacity of this language is not a hindrance, but a necessary precondition for its attractiveness and its widespread use.

4 The New Century: Globalization of Educational Discourse

By reflecting and concentrating on structures (not so much on details) it is not possible to arrive at a clear, plain and simple result. Instead, it becomes possible to outline a dynamic process; German and American thinking on education, schooling and teaching have always been ‘in contact’, and influenced each other mutually. However, the *direction*, *intensity* and *themes* of contact and conversation have diverged. Although based on European thought, American intellectualism has also developed new interpretations and forms which in turn have influenced the European and German scene. If we examine educational and didactical thinking (teaching learning) and concentrate on the time from 1945 to the present, we are able to identify three phases:

- 1945–1960/65: Hostility towards US-American influences, concentration on the German tradition. Pragmatism and Behaviorism were regarded as simple and brutal; critical re-emigrants were not always very welcome. However, it was not possible to uphold the notion of traditional German pedagogical thinking.
- 1965–1970s: Widespread, intense and sometimes uncritical adaption of US-American models as a central element of modernizing German philosophical-

37 Ewald Terhart, “Constructivism and Teaching: A New Paradigm in General Didactics?” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35 (2003): 25–44; Ewald Terhart, *Didaktik: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2009).

hermeneutic pedagogy towards an *Erziehungswissenschaft* (science of education). During this period, the translation of English-language academic books (textbooks, readers, handbooks etc.) was very important. Very few German educationalists published their papers in international journals. Through this process, learning theories, programmed instruction, theories of curriculum and models of curriculum development were adapted. “Curriculum” seemed to be some kind of counter-concept to *Didaktik*.

- 1980–2000: Beginning in the 1980s, there was a tendency to blur the borders between American and European thinking in the social and cultural sciences; post-modern thinkers and their topics moved around the world as some kind of theory-globalization in the social and cultural sciences. Traditional systems, concepts and conflict lines were abandoned, reason and dialogue became suspect, the dominance of western and/or male thought was challenged and seemed to erode. A new generation of educational researchers and scholars in Germany and many other countries was acquainted with the international (English-speaking) journal-system and publication-channels. Although some texts are still being translated into German, the heyday of translation is now over. A requirement of a leading researcher is to move comfortably in the academic English of one’s chosen discipline(s).

Since 2000, mutual influences and academic exchange have become so strong that it is now difficult to identify different educational scenes, discourses, theory families, research paradigms on this or the other side of the Atlantic. International and globalized borrowing and lending in the field of education and educational policies is a growing research domain for comparative educational research.³⁸ All theoretical and methodological variants of educational thinking and research can be found in nearly every scientific and educational culture, in every university throughout the world. Modern Information & Communication Technology not only influences teaching and learning inside and outside schools, but also and perhaps even more strongly, the worldwide communication and research performed by academic experts in all fields. To some extent, geographical distances have become irrelevant, and a more or less elaborate form of academic English will be or is already the *lingua franca* of the cultural, social and moral sciences. It is possible to meet a hermeneutical expert in Nebraska and a hardnosed empirical researcher in Heidelberg – and many more in Helsinki, Sao Paulo, Brisbane, and Seoul...

38 David Phillips, and Kimberly Ochs, eds., *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives*. (Oxford: Symposium, 2004); Gita Steiner-Khamsi, ed., *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004); Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Florian Waldow, eds., *World Yearbook of Education 2012: Policy Borrowing and Lending in Education* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Johannes Bellmann

The Reception of Dewey in Germany after PISA: On the Language of Progressivism and its Adaptability¹

Addressing the question of what constitutes a good educational system, the progressive idiom seems to have a remarkable power of reconciling differing positions. This article exemplifies such a convergence by focusing on John Dewey being used as an authority for the present school reform initiated by PISA. Several German scholars promote compatibility between PISA and American pragmatism, especially drawing on the notion of successful education as the ability to master real-life situations. In this article, this claim is examined in three dimensions (educational theory, research, and policy), coming to the conclusion that the label “pragmatic” only holds true for PISA when addressing a colloquial sense of the term, but is otherwise misplaced altogether. This becomes evident when considering that Dewey regards education as something irreducibly social which does not allow for measuring or comparing individual scores in ready-made test formats designed by external agents. Nevertheless, a synthesis of these colliding perspectives seems to be tempting for strategic reasons.

Introduction

Looking at the battles over school reform, one repeatedly finds alliances between groups which in fact hold competing views about what counts as good teaching and learning and what constitutes a just education system.² Successful reform initiatives are usually characterized by having succeeded in reaching new compromises between different perspectives on education. In any case, the initiatives of educational *policy* need to find resonance in the field of educational *practice*, and this requires a common understanding of the supposed crisis of the system, its diagnosis, and its therapy. Accordingly, educational reform cannot be successful

1 The original version of this essay was first published in 2010 as “Deweyan Pragmatism as the Philosophy of PISA? On the Language of Progressivism and Its Adaptability” in *Pragmatism and Modernities*, ed. Daniel Tröhler, Thomas Schlag, and Fritz Osterwalder (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2010), 191–206.

2 Michael W. Apple, “Rhetorical Reforms: Markets, Standards and Inequality,” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 1/2 (1999): 6–18.

without a rhetorical reform that creates a common language. A progressive idiom seems to be particularly suitable for providing such a common language that is not only understood in the field of educational practice, but also in educational theory, research, and policy. Historians like Lagemann³ and Labaree⁴ have provided several examples of administrative progressives and pedagogical progressives speaking essentially the same idiom.

In recent years, we find new examples of the remarkable adaptability of progressive idiom. Hartmut von Hentig, a major figure of contemporary progressive education in Germany, prefaces a new standards-based curriculum without mentioning any frictions between progressivism and standards-based reform. On the contrary, he celebrates standards and their focus on competencies as a fulfilment of Humboldt's concept of formal education that is opposed to an inert knowledge of facts.⁵

Reinhard Kahl, a journalist who makes influential documentaries on progressive schools, was a keynote speaker at a congress organized by the consulting company McKinsey. In contrast to the critical impetus of former school reforms, Kahl wishes only to present positive models from which to learn. He wants educators to "fall in love with success"⁶. Schools should turn into "greenhouses for the future"⁷ or even "cathedrals for children"⁸, and this progressive idiom seems to be easily understood even by a consulting company like McKinsey that is seeking support for its "alliance for children"⁹.

A further example of the adaptability of the progressive idiom is at the core of my article, namely the claim that American pragmatism and pedagogical progressives like John Dewey constitute the philosophy underlying PISA. In Germany, the *Program for International Student Assessment* (PISA) attracted enormous attention, not only in the scientific community, but also among the public. PISA

3 Ellen C. Lagemann, "The Plural Worlds of Educational Research," *History of Education Quarterly* 29/2 (1989): 185–214.

4 David F. Labaree, "Progressivism, Schools and Schools of Education: An American Romance," *Pedagogica Historica* 41/1+2 (2005): 275–288.

5 Hartmut von Hentig, "Einführung in den Bildungsplan 2004," in *Bildungsplan 2004*, ed. Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Landesinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht Stuttgart, 12, accessed May 3, 2016, <http://www.bildung-staerkt-menschen.de/service/downloads/>.

6 Reinhard Kahl, "PISA-Masochismus? NDR Kultur-Journal; 15.02.2006," accessed October 10, 2006, http://www.reinhardkahl.de/artikkellesen142r_1.html.

7 Reinhard Kahl, "Treibhäuser der Zukunft: Wie in Deutschland Schulen gelingen; eine Dokumentation" [DVD], 2nd. ed. (Weinheim, Germany: Beltz, 2005).

8 Reinhard Kahl, "McKinsey Bildungskongress Berlin. 26.10.2005: Zeigen von Einspielfilmen," accessed October 10, 2006, <http://www.reinhardkahl.de/veranstaltung137.html>.

9 "McKinsey bildet: Bildungskongress in der Staatsoper Berlin am 26. und 27.10.2005," accessed October 10, 2006, http://www.mckinsey-bildet.de/html/05_kongress/kongress.php.

was perceived as an alarming and disturbing event, not only because of the poor performance of German students and the inequality inherent in the German education system, but also because the German education system was obviously confronted with standards of achievement and methods of measurement to which it was poorly adapted, at least compared to other nation states. Therefore, PISA not only stimulated investigations about the causes of the poor performance of German students, but also about the philosophical and theoretical background which forms the basis of the survey and its standards of achievement. Various scholars in Germany, including several leading experts in the field of education, have come to the conclusion that American pragmatism can be regarded as the philosophical background of PISA. But who exactly claims this and how do they justify it?

The view that pragmatism is the background philosophy of PISA is not claimed in the PISA-research itself; here the term “pragmatic” is used solely in a colloquial sense.¹⁰ Hence, this thesis is proposed by external observers and its plausibility needs to be examined more closely. I will draw on a paper by Hans-Werner Fuchs from the Helmut-Schmidt-University in Hamburg, as a representative of other German scholars. Fuchs emphasizes PISA’s “functional concept of competence”¹¹, whereby “educational aims and contents are defined according to how well they contribute to mastering specific real life situations”.¹² Directly following we find the following claim:

The roots of this type of thinking are based on philosophical pragmatism to which, among others, Dewey and James lent their support. This particularly Anglo-Saxon way of thinking is concerned with judging ideas, theories, and philosophical positions on their performance in practice.¹³

From this, Fuchs draws the conclusion that: “The Anglo-Saxon pragmatism can be identified as a kind of philosophical foundation for PISA”¹⁴.

Jürgen Oelkers also sees the focus of the underlying conception of PISA in the “applicability of learning”¹⁵ in ‘realistic situations’. In this context, Oelkers explains to his German readers:

10 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Measuring Student Knowledge and Skills: A New Framework for Assessment* (Paris: Author, 1999); Franz E. Weinert, *Concepts of Competence* (Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1999).

11 Hans-Werner Fuchs, “Auf dem Weg zu einem Weltcurriculum: Zum Grundbildungskonzept von PISA und der Aufgabenzuweisung an die Schule,” *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 49/2 (2003): 168. All translations are by the author, unless noted otherwise.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Jürgen Oelkers, *Wie man Schule entwickelt: Eine bildungspolitische Analyse nach PISA* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2003), 89.

The philosophy of PISA is pragmatic; learning is understood as a lifelong process of adaptation which targets usage and usefulness. Two concepts from John Dewey are clearly recognizable, that is, the continuous reconstruction of experience and a practically-oriented understanding of learning.¹⁶

There are many more examples¹⁷ such as these. The thesis that Deweyan pragmatism is the background philosophy of PISA has become an undisputed pattern of a kind of interpretation, according to which, part of the German educational research community is attempting to classify and understand the unsettling major event of PISA. But is there any foundation to this thesis and if there is, what kind? This question will be scrutinized critically in the following sections.

A certain amount of skepticism could infuse those who look around the homeland of pragmatism and encounter an almost oppositional reception. In the U.S. pragmatism especially John Dewey is regarded as a contradiction to and inconsistent with the basic orientation of the current educational reform. Dewey's version of progressive education is commonly seen as incompatible with an educational reform, which is set on monitoring output using competence-based standards and external evaluation. Consensus prevails in the U.S. over this issue, even among protagonists and critics of Deweyan pedagogy.¹⁸ The contradiction in the current reception of Deweyan pragmatism in the U.S. and in Germany is reason enough to systematically examine the relationship between pragmatism and PISA. For this purpose, I will differentiate between three aspects within the discourse realm of PISA.

16 Ibid.

17 Rudolf Messner, "PISA und Allgemeinbildung," *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 49/3 (2003): 403; Krasimir Stojanov, "Bildung und Education: Implizite bildungsphilosophische Annahmen bei der PISA-Studie in vergleichender Perspektive," *Tertium Comparationis* 11/2 (2005): 229–242; Ewald Terhart, "Bildungsphilosophie und empirische Bildungsforschung – (k)ein Missverhältnis?" In *Bildungsphilosophie und Bildungsforschung*, ed. Ludwig A. Pongratz, Michael Wimmer, and Wolfgang Nieke (Bielefeld: Janus Presse, 2006), 27.

18 J. Wesley Null, "Education and Knowledge, Not 'Standards and Accountability': A Critique of Reform Rhetoric Through the Ideas of Dewey, Bagley, and Schwab," *Educational Studies* 34/4 (2003): 397–413; Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Battles Over School Reform* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 2000); Allan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel, "Durkheim, Dewey and Progressive Education: The Tensions Between Individualism and Community," in *Durkheim and Modern Education*, ed. Geoffrey Walford and W. S. F. Pickering (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 142–163; Kenneth A. Strike, "Community, the Missing Element of School Reform: Why Schools Should Be More Like Congregations Than Banks," *American Journal of Education* 110/3 (2004): 215–232.

Educational Theory, Research, and Policy

PISA primarily represents a research project for the international comparison of student achievements. This research project is based on certain, more or less explicit, theoretical assumptions, while at the same time including more or less explicit political options. In the public discourse, educational theory, research, and policy are often perceived as merging, creating the impression that we are dealing with a single monolithic reform project. However, on closer inspection, it is evident that between theory, research, and policy in the field of PISA, there is by no means an unbroken continuity.

It is for this reason that the assumed relationship of PISA to philosophical pragmatism needs to be investigated in a more differentiated way. I would like to assign a core concept to each of the three aspects of educational reform in the context of PISA. In educational *theory* the term at center stage is “literacy”, which is difficult to translate into German, meaning more than basic alphabetization, but less than a content-related and culturally specific basic education.¹⁹ In educational *research*, the central term is “competence” which is the operationalized core concept for achievement comparisons in international and national systems of reference. Lastly, in educational *policy*, the term “standards” represents the core concept by which schools can be monitored, and output can be governed according to uniform normative expectations. I will proceed by examining the similarities and differences between PISA and pragmatism, considering the three abovementioned aspects in each case, which allows for a more differentiated final verdict. Concerning pragmatism, I will refer mainly to John Dewey, because in his work, one can find not only an elaborated educational theory, but also a firm understanding of educational research and educational policy.

1 Educational Theory: Literacy

As already indicated, the OECD²⁰ conceives literacy as more than basic alphabetization. Reading literacy, for example, does not just mean the ability to decode texts. Rather, readers are expected to use their prior knowledge in order to actively reconstruct the meaning of the text and, furthermore, to use their text comprehension to achieve their own objectives. This ambitious notion of literacy, which explicitly entails processes of the generation of meaning²¹, is then transferred analogically to the field of mathematical and scientific competencies.

19 Stephan Sting, “Stichwort: Literalität – Schriftlichkeit,” *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 6/3 (2003): 322.

20 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Measuring Student Knowledge and Skills: A New Framework for Assessment* (Paris: Author, 1999).

21 *Ibid.*, 19.

Transition in the understanding of literacy becomes particularly apparent in an OECD-document published in 1999: *Measuring Student Knowledge and Skills*²². Here, reading is conceived of as a process of making sense in an interaction with texts. The interactive character of reading, and the constructive character of interpretation, are emphasized throughout. Therefore, it is not just about “meaning-extraction”, as often stated in the didactic literature, but about “meaning-making”. As a theoretical-historical background to this changed notion of literacy, one can consider two theoretical schools of thought, which are especially significant for the Anglo-American discourse. On the one hand, there is the development of cognitive science, in which the constructive and domain-specific character of knowledge is emphasized.²³ On the other hand, there is social constructivism, which developed particularly under the influence of the cultural psychologist Lev Vygotsky in the course of the 1980’s.²⁴ Regardless of their differences, both theoretical schools of thought have a common constructivist foundation and a firm renunciation of the long-dominant behavioristic theories of learning. Against this background, a certain affinity to classic American pragmatism can be claimed. Dewey and Mead also developed an important theory of social construction in the process of interactive communication and so departed from contemporary behaviorist psychology.

It is interesting that in its programmatic publications, the OECD distances itself from a narrowly conceived functionalistic comprehension of literacy on the basis of the underlying cognitive-constructivist theory of learning. Instead of “function in society”, as in other studies on reading ability, the talk is now about “participation in society”.²⁵ The word “function” is rejected, because it carries a “limiting pragmatic connotation,”²⁶ and does not sufficiently emphasize the active role and initiative of the learner.

The orientation of the literacy-concept towards active participation does not necessarily contrast with a functionalistic conception of education. This can be confirmed by taking a look at the socio-political background to changes in the perception of literacy. In the OECD documents, there are repeated references to the transition from an industrial to a knowledge society, resulting in rising qualification requirements for an active participation in vocational and social life.²⁷

22 Ibid.

23 Ellen C. Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 212ff.

24 Stojanov, “Bildung und Education”.

25 OECD, *Measuring Student Knowledge*, 20.

26 Ibid., 21.

27 Jürgen Baumert and Deutsches PISA-Konsortium, eds., *PISA 2000: Basiskompetenzen von Schülerinnen und Schülern im internationalen Vergleich* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2001), 20; Organisa-

Non-domain-specific competencies, such as ‘problem-solving’ or ‘critical thinking’, are also seen as functional competencies for conducting a successful life²⁸ Despite its emphasis on the interactive and constructive character of learning, the OECD places the literacy-concept in the context of human capital theory, which is based on an individualistic framework. That is, knowledge, skills, and competence are seen as human capital embodied in the individual, and their vital importance for individual, social, and economic wellbeing is emphasized.²⁹ According to human capital theory, it is possible to predict the competitive advantages of individuals and nations on the basis of achieved competence levels. Whether and to what extent the strongly individualistic framework of human capital theory is at all compatible with social-constructivism is not discussed further in the OECD documents. One gets the impression that the educational theory behind PISA is the result of a degree of eclecticism which is not totally free of controversy, even at the level of theory.

I would now like to consider the status of literacy in Dewey’s educational theory. Overall, it can be said that basic “social tools”, as Dewey calls them, only play a subordinate role. Some historians even argue that the disregard of social tools among pedagogical progressives was a major reason for the subsequent decline of academic standards in public schools.³⁰ For Dewey, however, social tools only gain relevance and value in the overriding process of an educative experience, which has no end beyond itself. Dewey names only two criteria for this perpetual process, namely continuity and interaction. This refers to the association of an experience with past and future experiences in the continuity of an educational biography as well as the degree and scope of interactions with the world and with others in specific situations.³¹ This process of “educative experience”³² means, according to Dewey, an ever-increasing integration of personality and at the same time, a deepening and broadening of democratic interactions.

Dewey thus proceeds from the possibly naive belief that in a context of situated learning challenges, social tools can be acquired which are suitable for mastering these challenges. In institutionalized education, according to Dewey’s critique, the formal “social tools” of languages and mathematics are separated from social aims, which can nevertheless only be achieved and controlled with the help of these

tion for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Lernen für die Welt von morgen: Erste Ergebnisse von PISA 2003* (Paris: Author, 2004), 20.

28 Colin Lankshear, “Meanings of Literacy in Contemporary Educational Reform Proposals,” *Educational Theory* 48/3 (1998): 358ff.

29 OECD, *Measuring Student Knowledge*, 11; Baumert, *PISA 2000*, 29ff.

30 Ravitch, *Left Back*, 344.

31 John Dewey, “Experience and Education,” in *The Later Works: 1925–1953*, vol. 13 (1938), ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1976–1983), 17ff.

32 Ibid.

tools. For Dewey, the contemporarily prevalent talk of “social tools” is just a verbal acknowledgement of the social character of education, whilst at the same time, the detachment of these tools from their social context of acquisition and application denies this social character.³³

Superficially, the PISA literacy-concept is attempting to take the critique of the separation of formal and informal education into account by stressing the importance of basic competencies to meet challenges for learning in real-world situations. PISA thus borrows from the language of progressivism, yet the “learning for life”³⁴ which PISA is concerned about assumes an instrumentalism that has little to do with Dewey’s understanding of learning in schools.

Dewey regarded school as a specific environment in which learning takes place. Talking about learning for *life* is, from his point of view, equally as misleading as talking about learning for *school*. For Dewey every educative experience is generally not only instrumental, but has also a final character. “That education is literally and all the time its own reward means that no alleged study or discipline is educative unless it is worthwhile in its own immediate having.”³⁵

One can also show the difference with reference to the term “participation”. In the context of PISA, literacy is seen as a prerequisite for the ability to participate. Accordingly, basic competencies are regarded as “premises for communication”³⁶, without which an intelligent participation in society is impossible. For Dewey, however, participation is not only a goal for which education prepares by conveying appropriate cultural tools. Social interaction is above all the medium in which education takes place.

The background to this view is his anti-dualistic theory of communication.³⁷ For Dewey, communication is always instrumental and final at the same time. It is instrumental in that it enables us to access a world of things which have meaning and final in that it means being able to share objects and arts which are of value to a community.³⁸ The division of the instrumental and the final function of com-

33 John Dewey, “The Social-Economic Situation and Education,” in *The Later Works*, vol. 8 (1933), ed. Boydston, 58f.

34 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Lernen für das Leben: Erste Ergebnisse der internationalen Schulleistungstudie PISA 2000* (Paris: Author, 2001).

35 John Dewey, “Democracy and Education,” in *The Middle Works: 1899–1924*, vol. 9 (1916), ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1976–1983), 116.

36 Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, “Stichwort: ‘Grundbildung’ und ‘Basiskompetenzen’: Herkunft, Bedeutung und Probleme im Kontext allgemeiner Bildung,” *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 7/2 (2004): 176.

37 Hans-Peter Krüger, “Öffentliche Interkommunikationen: Deweys Weg der Rekonstruktion von Fehlmodernisierungen,” in *Pragmatismus und Pädagogik*, ed. Daniel Tröhler and Jürgen Oelkers (Zürich: Pestalozzianum, 2005), 39–50.

38 John Dewey, “Experience and Nature,” in *The Later Works*, vol. 1 (1925), ed. Boydston, 159.

munication is for Dewey, a detrimental dualism which destroys the cohesion of educative experience:

When the instrumental and final functions of communication live together in experience, there exists an intelligence, which is the method and reward of the common life, and a society worthy to command affection, admiration, and loyalty.³⁹

The understanding of literacy subjected to exclusively instrumental aspects as cultural tools, is the expression of a vulgar and inchoate pragmatism, which is exactly what Dewey tried to overcome.⁴⁰

Dewey's anti-dualistic approach has, at the same time, momentous consequences for the perception of cognitive performances in general. These must be considered as social communication skills that are embedded in a community, rather than the specific performance of an isolated individual.

A one-sided psychology, a reflex of eighteenth-century 'individualism,' treated knowledge as an accomplishment of a lonely mind. We should now be aware that it is a product of the cooperative and communicative operations of human beings living together.⁴¹

Finally, one must not overlook the political implications of this theory of learning to which Dewey repeatedly referred with the keyword "democracy". Democratic education is not just about participating in communication, but also about enhancing the conditions of communication. You cannot have one without the other. It is not only about the ability to participate, but also about a deepening and a broadening of communication. For Dewey, education is not only a function of society, but also a constitutive factor of society.

What a society is, it is, by and large, as a product of education, as far as its animating spirit and purpose are concerned. Hence it does not furnish a standard to which education is to conform.⁴²

This society-generating and society-changing aspect of education recedes into the background in a functionalist interpretation of literacy. The same applies to an interpretation of literacy which has been developed to accommodate increasing qualification requirements of a knowledge-society. Generally, it seems to be a characteristic of the present reform era that the connection between educational reform and social reform has largely gone astray. Unlike the political aspirations

39 Ibid., 160.

40 Johannes Bellmann, *John Deweys naturalistische Pädagogik: Argumentationskontexte, Traditionslinien*, (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007), 198.

41 John Dewey, "A Common Faith," in *The Later Works*, vol. 9 (1934), ed. Boydston, 57.

42 John Dewey, "The Sources of a Science of Education," in *The Later Works*, vol. 5 (1929), ed. Boydston, 38.

of past reform eras, contemporary reformers have assumed a markedly restrained position. The question today is principally how improvements can be achieved within the existing system. If this is to be called “pragmatism”, one should then be aware that it has nothing in common with Dewey’s philosophical pragmatism.

2 Educational Research: Competence

The maxim of the contemporary educational reform to concentrate on improvements in the existing system has contributed significantly to the boom of a particular type of empirical educational research. A central point of research interest is the comparison of performance across classes, schools, school types, and educational systems. In this way, it is hoped to identify more successful models in an existing system and the conditions of their success can be explored more closely. The idea is that if successful models are copied, efficiency within existing systems should improve.

To achieve this objective, the theoretical concept of literacy has to be converted into a construction which is suitable for comparative performance assessment. The result of this operationalization is the term “competence”, as laid down by the OECD for international comparative assessment. Generally speaking, operationalizing terms necessarily entails simplification. The degree of complexity of theoretical constructions necessarily has to be reduced for practical research purposes. It is now worth taking a look at which semantic components of the literacy concept are taken up and which are lost during the process of operationalization. The reference text for this purpose is Franz E. Weinert’s expertise *Concepts of Competence*.⁴³

The first point which is noticeable, is that competence is in fact a category by which individuals are classified. The main research concern is performance differences which result from individual learning experiences: “From an educational psychological perspective it is inter-individual differences in intra-individual change that are the focus of scientific and pragmatic interest.”⁴⁴

In this respect, an early decision has been made for strategic research reasons, which are by no means imperative. Weinert is well aware of theoretical approaches where competence is a social category which cannot be attributed only to the individual.⁴⁵ Weinert considers the decision in favor of an approach which is centered on the individual to be justified for practical research reasons, which he calls, in a colloquial sense, “pragmatic”: “The choice to focus on the individual rather than

⁴³ Weinert, *Concepts of Competence*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁵ Franz E. Weinert, “Für und Wider die ‘neuen Lerntheorien’ als Grundlagen pädagogisch-psychologischer Forschung,” *Zeitschrift für Pädagogische Psychologie* 10/1 (1996): 8ff.; Weinert, *Concepts of Competence*, 5.

the collective concept of competence is pragmatic and implies no evaluation of the two theoretical-conceptual approaches.”⁴⁶

Whilst central OECD papers point to ‘social constructivism’ as a background against which to clarify the literacy concept, Weinert clearly professes methodological individualism in elaborating of the competence concept. The fact that they are not readily compatible with one another indicates an extraordinary discontinuity between educational theory and educational research in the context of PISA.

How little the individualistic concept of competence has to do with Dewey’s pragmatism is explained below: Dewey can be seen as one of the founders of a social interpretation of central psychological and educational terms. Intelligence, reason, learning, knowledge and competence are, from his point of view, aspects of a transaction between an individual and the environment in which both sides are changed.⁴⁷ Cognitive performance for Dewey then, is not the performance of an individual, but a social transaction. At that time, it was the individualistic notion of intelligence against which Dewey fought above all and which he attributed to the individualism of eighteenth century liberalism. For Dewey, the crisis in American culture was rooted in this school of thought and its flaws. A renewed liberalism would have to be concerned with putting individuals into a position where they are able to apply knowledge and skills embodied in the social relationships in which they live and interact.⁴⁸

Standardized tests, however, used as a central instrument for comparative performance assessment, separate individual influences from social influences on performance, and in doing so, they abstract from the social situatedness of cognitive achievements.⁴⁹ Thus, test developers use existing “task profiles”⁵⁰, as typically found in vocational or real-life contexts. Accordingly, the task is known in advance and on the basis of the task, one seeks to test the different levels of individual performance and their performance development.

Dewey called a test assignment of this sort a “ready-made problem”⁵¹, because, it assumes firstly that the incorporated cognitive problem has already been defined, and secondly, that it is the same for all pupils. According to Dewey, real problem solving first requires an interactive process to define the problem, which can quite conceivably lead to differing and changing views about a problem and its solution. Even though the importance of problem solving is emphasized repeatedly by PISA, this has very little

46 Weinert, *Concepts of Competence*, 5.

47 Eric Bredo, “Reconstructing Educational Psychology: Situated Cognition and Deweyan Pragmatism,” *Educational Psychologist* 29/1 (1994): 23–35.

48 John Dewey, “Liberalism and Social Action,” in *The Later Works*, vol. 11 (1935), ed. Boydston, 38.

49 Bredo, “Reconstructing Educational Psychology,” 27.

50 Weinert, *Concepts of Competence*, 27.

51 John Dewey, “How We Think,” in *The Later Works*, vol. 8 (1933), ed. Boydston, 201.

to do with the understanding of problem solving which Dewey considers to belong to every learning experience.

PISA disregards, for methodological reasons, the internal social dimensions of cognitive achievements and then attempts to secure them indirectly. Apart from the allegedly individual basic competencies, cross-curricular ‘social competencies’ are also tested, as if this could compensate for the deficit primarily generated by the method of standardized tests. Indirect attempts are also made to take account of the social circumstances surrounding cognitive achievements by “dressing up” tasks in an imaginary real-life setting.⁵²

To be fair, it must be said that the critique of a decontextualized understanding of cognitive performance applies not only to standardized performance tests, but also to some extent to the already artificial setting of formal schooling as a whole. Here “ready-made problems” are also encountered, and using supposedly life-related tasks only obscures the constitutive discrepancy between school and life. Nevertheless, in classroom interaction, there is more potential for taking the social situatedness of cognitive performances into consideration than in the case of standardized performance assessment.

It therefore comes as no surprise that against this background, Dewey commented critically on standardized performance assessment. According to Dewey, the assumption that all individuals have identical, clearly definable mental abilities, which differ only in quantity due to unequal distribution, is a figment of imagination.⁵³ In referring to the mind, Dewey means something of quality, that is to say, the quality of meaningful and purposeful action. “How one person’s abilities compare in quantity with those of another is none of the teacher’s business. It is irrelevant to his work.”⁵⁴

In his essay about *The Sources of a Science of Education*⁵⁵, Dewey refers to the “limits of quantitative measurements for the educational science”⁵⁶. Despite the status of measurement in physics, educational research should not become blind to the limits of quantitative procedures. The “specific” can be measured, and is something which can be isolated. Thereupon, Dewey asks the question: “How far is education a matter of forming specific skills and acquiring special bodies of information which are capable of isolated treatment?”⁵⁷ Admittedly, while learning, one is always engaged with something in particular, if one learns anything at

52 Thomas Jahnke, “Aufgaben im Mathematikunterricht,” University of Potsdam, Department of Mathematics, 2005, accessed October 10, 2006. http://www.math.uni-potsdam.de/prof/o_didaktik/aa/Publ/mu.

53 Dewey, “Democracy and Education,” 179.

54 Ibid.

55 John Dewey, “The Sources of a Science of Education”.

56 Ibid., 33.

57 Ibid.

all, but the relevant educational question is which other abilities and inabilities, likes and dislikes are acquired simultaneously. Intelligent action is sustained by the employment of abilities with a variety of interrelations.

Dewey emphasized all this, especially in his later works, because he was well aware that mainstream American psychology and education were developing in different directions. His opponent in the controversy about the importance of “mental testing” for education, was his influential colleague from Columbia University, Edward Lee Thorndike. Both developed opposing ideas about the role of research in the field of education.⁵⁸ Thorndike saw education as an area of practice which can be made more efficient by the utilization of expert knowledge from different fields, particularly psychology. Dewey considered this to be the expression of yet another dualism, a differentiation between experts and laymen, which is opposed to the cultivation of intelligent practice in the field of education.

For Dewey, education is “an activity which includes science within itself”.⁵⁹ Insofar as the agents in the field of education learn to discern and evaluate the consequences of their own actions, science develops within the practice itself. Improvements in educational practice can only be achieved if the reflective judgement of the participants themselves improves, rather than by delegating the task of assessment to other authorities independent of the educational processes. The simple transfer of knowledge and methods from other established sciences is a symptom of flaws in educational science, but no means to overcome these flaws. When psychology is applied to improve an existing lesson in numeracy and writing, for example, this can be acknowledged. Progress in educational science, however, is not to be expected. “Such ‘science’ only rationalizes old, customary education while improving it in minor details.”⁶⁰

A discrepancy becomes apparent between Dewey’s concept of educational science and the form of educational research that has been established in the context of PISA. An important line of reasoning to justify the need for comparative performance assessment is the realization that teachers’ judgement about student performance is frequently unreliable. The question is what consequences are to be drawn from this deficit. Should one attempt to improve teacher judgement for the sake of professional development, or should one delegate an integral element of every intelligent activity, namely perceptions and an evaluation of consequences and results, to external experts who give feedback to the practicing educators? Perhaps the alternative is too harshly formulated. From Dewey’s point of view, there is the danger that the separation of educational action and its scientifically-based evaluation widens the gap between laymen and experts. Science does not then function

58 Lagemann, “The Plural Worlds”.

59 Dewey, “The Sources of a Science of Education,” 40.

60 John Dewey, “Education as Engineering,” in *The Middle Works*, vol. 13 (1923), ed. Boydston, 326.

as a means of carrying out intelligent action, but as a means to command and control.

3 Educational Policy: Standards

A central instrument of governance in educational policy in the context of PISA is the formulation of educational standards. Such standards constitute obligatory requirements for learning outcomes, that is, the expected achievements or output of schools. The main reference document about the concept of standards in the context of contemporary educational policy is the report *Zur Entwicklung nationaler Bildungsstandards* [*The Development of National Educational Standards*] published by Eckhard Klieme et al. Here, it is stated that standards are “competence requirements”⁶¹, meaning that the expected learning outcomes are described in the form of verifiable competencies, which should be achieved by a certain point in a school career. Currently, standards-oriented sets of assignments are being compiled, which have a dual function. On the one hand, these assignments serve didactic purposes, intended to be directly applied in the classroom, so that pupils can actually develop the competencies expected in a corresponding assignment culture. On the other hand, the assignments serve diagnostic purposes for the empirical investigation of actual competence levels achieved by pupils.

The educational-policy dual function of standards should be underlined. On the one hand, they are “normative specifications for the governance of education systems”⁶². On the other hand, they are seen as a requisite for schools to obtain “feedback concerning the results of their work”⁶³ in relation to obligatory performance criteria, political control and governance in the sense of continuous “educational monitoring”⁶⁴. That is, on the one hand, reliable feedback for self-evaluation, and the self-optimizing of educational work on the other.

Stating normative expectations for the results of education, standards belong to the category of educational aims. Unlike general educational aims, competence standards constitute a more exact specification and operationalization.⁶⁵

Now what could “pragmatism” have to do with educational standards? The emphasis on results could be considered “pragmatic” in a colloquial sense. Educational standards follow Helmut Kohl’s colloquial pragmatic maxim “What matters is how it comes out in the end” (transl. “Entscheidend ist, was hinten

61 Eckhard Klieme et al., eds., *Zur Entwicklung nationaler Bildungsstandards: Eine Expertise* (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2003), 1.

62 Klieme et al., *Zur Entwicklung*, 32.

63 *Ibid.*, 19.

64 *Ibid.*, 99.

65 *Ibid.*, 21.

rauskommt.”⁶⁶). If one wanted to award this colloquial pragmatism the higher honor of a philosophical pragmatism, one could quote William James: Pragmatism is “the attitude of looking away from first things, principles, ‘categories,’ supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts.”⁶⁷ The change of direction to monitoring output in the educational system would therefore be a change of direction wholly in the spirit of pragmatism, away from (at best) theoretically justified educational principles and God-terms like “Bildung” towards specific results.

But this superficial impression is deceptive. If one examines the theoretical framework for the concept of educational standards, it becomes apparent that there is an incompatibility with the educational pragmatism developed by Dewey. The dualism behind the concept of educational standards can be attributed to the dualism of methods and aims. The responsibility of individual schools is restricted to how they achieve predefined (standardized) objectives. Thus, a division of labor is imposed between those who are responsible for defining the standards and those who must try to meet these standards under conditions about which the authors of such standards rarely concern themselves, at best only in a very abstract manner.⁶⁸

Dewey considered it altogether problematic to set “external standards”⁶⁹ for education. Externally set objectives may well be justified for the functional requirements of a society, but they ignore the fact that education can only fulfil its social function if it is autonomous, in the sense of setting its own objectives within the educational process itself. In his 1929 essay about *The Sources of a Science of Education*, Dewey wrote:

Education is autonomous and should be free to determine its own ends, its own objectives. To go outside the educational function and to borrow objectives from an external source is to surrender the educational cause. Until educators get the independence and courage to insist that educational aims are to be formed as well as executed within the educative process, they will not come to consciousness of their own function. Others will then have no great respect for educators because educators do not respect their own social place and work.⁷⁰

66 Helmut Kohl at a press conference at August 31, 1984, as cited in “Geißler: ‘Es geht um die Glaubwürdigkeit,’” *Der Spiegel*, September 3, 1984, accessed May 3, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13509898.html>.

67 William James, “Lecture 2: What Pragmatism Means,” in *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, edited by William James (New York, NY: Longman Green, 1907), 22, accessed May 3, 2016, http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/James/James_1907/James_1907_02.html.

68 Helmut Heid, “Standardsetzung,” in *Recht – Erziehung – Staat: Zur Genese einer Problemkonstellation und zur Programmatik ihrer zukünftigen Entwicklung*, edited by Hans-Peter Füssel and Peter M. Roeder [*Zeitschrift für Pädagogik. Supplement* No. 47] (Weinheim: Beltz, 2003), 176.

69 Dewey, “How We Think,” 164.

70 Dewey, “The Sources of a Science of Education,” 38.

Concluding Remarks

It should be clear that Dewey's concept of education is based on a different theoretical framework than the core concepts of contemporary educational reform, namely literacy, competence and standards. Whoever therefore believes that pragmatism is the philosophy of PISA either means pragmatism in a colloquial sense, or concentrates on single aspects such as the orientation towards application or problems or results, and detaches it from the systematic context in which they were placed by Dewey and others. This is nothing new for Dewey's philosophy and concept of education. The history of his reception especially in Germany, often shows that, again and again, he is retranslated into dualist schools of thought, which (ironically) he particularly wanted to overcome.

I have stressed the differences between the core concepts of the present educational reform and Dewey's concept of education. This does not, however, mean that I consider Dewey to be right and the philosophy of PISA to be wrong. Much could be said about the limits of pragmatism as a theoretical framework for public education. The weaknesses of pragmatism, however, are not necessarily the strengths of PISA. Above all, it should be evident that Dewey is an unsuitable authority for the present educational reform.

My final question refers to why he is used as an authority for the present reform anyway. It is both theoretically and historically inappropriate, but who cares anyway, if it might be politically favorable in the public and scientific discourse on educational reform? I will thus close with two conjectures about the gains that can be made by this pattern of interpretation.

(1) One benefit is derived from the "field credibility" of the progression idiom. By drawing on the progressive idiom, educational policy and educational research is gaining legitimacy and acceptance in the field of educational practice. This is of particular importance since, so far, the recent reform initiatives from educational policy and administration find only a weak resonance among educators. This is significantly different to educational reforms in the 1960s, when reforms witnessed strong and broad support in the field of educational practice. The claim that Deweyan pragmatism is the philosophy of PISA could, in these times of change, have a reassuring side-effect. The professionals in the field are given the impression that in the progressive guise of "learning-for-life" and "functional knowledge and skills", only harmless consequences of the reform are to be expected.

(2) Another benefit is derived from the reference to a model abroad. In the German context, the international argument entails a widespread discursive strategy. A recent example of this is the impact of PISA in the German research community and the German public, and the emergence of role models like Finland as a remedy for the "manufactured" crisis of the German education system. Bernd

Zymek⁷¹ and Jürgen Schriewer⁷² have shown what can be achieved by such discursive strategies.

Drawing on Luhmann's theory of social systems, Jürgen Schriewer analyses these strategies as forms of externalization. In the field of education, there are different patterns of externalization. One refers to science or scientific evidence, another to values or value-based ideologies. These two patterns of externalization seem to be very successful in the Anglo-American discourse, where PISA did not have an impact comparable to Germany. The reference to examples abroad or the comparison with examples abroad seem to be a particularly successful pattern of externalization in the German discourse where in the 1960s, an OECD ranking was already considered evidence of a supposed educational crisis (a "Bildungskatastrophe") and to trigger educational reforms as a response.

As Bernd Zymek concludes,

These varying forms of internationalizing one's own reform issues, policies, or ideas have served to support the commitment of like-minded people who shared the positions in question and to justify arguments against opponents. Demonstrating the internationality of one's own demands for reform has meant relieving them of the reproach of interested partiality and conferring on them the qualities of generality and indispensability.⁷³

In contemporary battles over school reform, the reference to pragmatism and to Dewey can have an equivalent function of externalization. In the German discourse, Deweyan Pragmatism is surrounded by an aura of internationality and modernization. At the same time, internationalization and modernization are often portrayed as a process of convergence to a single global model. Thus, a normative status is attributed to this process. With respect to new accountability systems in education, for instance, some scholars claim that there is no alternative to adopting successful models of educational policy from abroad.⁷⁴ The idea is that some nations must catch up on a development that has proved successful elsewhere.

71 Bernd Zymek, *Das Ausland als Argument in der pädagogischen Reformdiskussion: Schulpolitische Selbstrechtfertigung, Auslandspropaganda, internationale Verständigung und Ansätze zu einer vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft in der internationalen Berichterstattung deutscher pädagogischer Zeitschriften. 1871–1952* (Ratingen: Henn, 1975).

72 Jürgen Schriewer, "The Method of Comparison and the Need For Externalization: Methodological Criteria and Sociological Concepts," in *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, edited by Jürgen Schriewer in co-operation with Brian Holmes (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1988), 25–83.

73 Zymek, *Das Ausland als Argument*, 348f.

74 Jürgen Oelkers, "Bildungsstandards, Tests und Schulentwicklung: Eine bildungspolitische Option," Paper presented at the Institut zur Qualitätsentwicklung im Bildungswesen, Humboldt-University Berlin, Germany, October 11, 2005, 2, accessed October 10, 2006, http://www.paed.uzh.ch/ap/downloads/oelkers/Vortraege/175_Chur2.pdf.

Eric Bredo has recently shown that contemporary educational reform is characterized by a conception of competitive individualism driven by an external threat, in which individuals may be at different levels, such as a person, district, province, or nation.

Framing the situation in terms of individual competition leads to an instrumental-rational way of thinking because it focuses attention on achieving more of a given goal, drowning out questions about whether the goal is a good one in the first place. When such a pattern of thought is viewed as the only appropriate way to view things, belief in rationalism becomes a kind of irrational, quasi-religious dogma.⁷⁵

To sum up, not pragmatism but competitive individualism can be regarded as the philosophy of PISA. Dewey and other prominent pragmatists have repeatedly criticized this individualism as “an outstanding curse of American civilization”.⁷⁶ An alternative to this individualistic way of thinking can be found not only in Dewey’s works, but also in a letter by William James to Mrs. Henry Whitman, in which he wrote about the value of international comparisons. James was travelling around Europe and described Switzerland in “its sometimes awful, sometimes beefy beauty”⁷⁷ and wrote about the “corruptive geniuses of monarchy, nobility, church, and army” that penetrated all the European states (except Switzerland) and found that, compared to this situation, in the U.S. “we don’t know what the word corruption means at home” because “crude pecuniary bribery” is ubiquitous. Finally, he comes to the following conclusion:

I believe that international comparisons are a great waste of time, at any rate, international judgments and passings of sentence are. Every nation has ideals and difficulties and sentiments which are an impenetrable secret to one not of the blood. Let them alone, let each one work out its own salvation on its own lines.⁷⁸

To say the least, PISA and the OECD will not leave us alone any time soon.

75 Eric Bredo, “Is Educational Policy-Making Rational – And What Would That Mean, Anyway?” *Educational Theory* 59/5 (2009): 534.

76 John Dewey, “Mediocrity and Individuality,” in *The Middle Works*, vol. 13 (1922), ed. Boydston, 289.

77 William James, “Letter ‘To Mrs. Henry Whitman’, Oct. 5th 1899,” 104–105, accessed May 3, 2016. http://www.archive.org/stream/lettersofwilliam004260mbp/lettersofwilliam004260mbp_djvu.txt.

78 James, “Letter,” 105.

Hartmut Lehmann

The Quincentennial Commemoration of the Protestant Reformation on Both Sides of the Atlantic

A comparative analysis of the commemorations of the Protestant Reformation both in the United States of America and in Germany demonstrates that Germans have not been alone, and are not alone, with their view of Martin Luther's historical and educational achievements. This is true for the tricentenary celebrated in 1817, as well as for the quadricentenary in 1917. As far as one can tell at this point in time, the quincentenary of the Protestant Reformation in 2017 will also be celebrated quite differently on the two sides of the Atlantic. As the exercise in comparative history undertaken in this essay shows, Luther – and this also applies to other prominent figures in German history – is not exclusively German property. Therefore, it is most instructive to examine how societies other than Germany and churches other than the German Evangelical Lutheran Church have commemorated an outstanding figure like Martin Luther.

This topic obviously lends itself to a comparative approach. But in order to comprehend the scope – and the limitations – of the preparations for what I will term “The Quincentennial Commemoration of the Protestant Reformation on Both Sides of the Atlantic”, it is useful to add a chronological perspective. Therefore, I will begin with some brief remarks about the ways in which the tricentennial anniversary of the Protestant Reformation was celebrated in 1817, both in the young United States of America and in Germany, which had been liberated from Napoleonic rule just a few years earlier. I will then take a look at the quadricentennial celebration of the Protestant Reformation in October of 1917. One hardly needs to mention what a critical time this was both for the United States and for Germany; half a year earlier, in April of 1917, after the German navy had provoked the United States by declaring unlimited submarine warfare, Washington had decided to join the war effort of the Entente against Berlin. From there, I will proceed to discuss the preparations for the quincentennial commemoration of the Protestant Reformation in the United States and in Germany in 2017.

Let us first turn to 1817. As far as we know, the founding-fathers of the American Republic had no interest in the Protestant Reformation in general, nor in Martin Luther in particular. In their letters and papers, George Washington, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton never mentioned Luther at all, while Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and James Madison referred to him only in passing. In his large and impressive library, Jefferson possessed no book by Luther. When Congress dis-

cussed the First Amendment and affirmed the principle that no law establishing a particular religion or prohibiting the free exercise of any religion should ever be made, Luther's name was not evoked, his writings opposing the Pope's rule were not quoted, and his place in the history of religious liberty was not praised.¹ Luther's legacy, it seems, contained no arguments that could impress the founding-fathers of the American republic, his message did not affect their lives or offer arguments with which they could further their political aims. In short, the leaders of enlightened thought in America considered themselves as having advanced way beyond Luther.

It is not surprising, therefore, that no widespread public commemorations of the beginning of the Protestant Reformation were organized anywhere in the United States in 1817. What we can observe was much more modest. In 1817, only the pastors of a number of explicitly Lutheran congregations reminded their flock that they owed their existence, their educational goals, and their mission, to Martin Luther. For example, the Lutheran Synods from Pennsylvania and from North Carolina decided to celebrate together in 1817. Celebrations were also organized by the New York Ministerium and by the Special Conference of Evangelical Lutheran Preachers in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania.² But that was all. In order to understand this, we have to remember that in 1817, and in the years and decades to come, American Lutherans were split in many ways. They did not share a common church organization and, more importantly, quarrelled about the very meaning of Luther's heritage. While some congregations followed orthodox Lutheran doctrines, others were deeply influenced by the Second Great Awakening. While some Lutherans cherished the heritage of Pietism, others believed in the legacy of Enlightenment. We should also note that in 1817, none of the other Protestant denominations, such as Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and others, made any arrangements to celebrate Luther's memory.

In 1817, in Germany the tricentennial anniversary of the Protestant Reformation was commemorated quite differently, even though the territorial churches (the *Landeskirchen*) could not agree to organize a central event, for example, in Wittenberg. As in America, marked differences existed between those who understood their Lutheran faith in the tradition of Pietism, and others who believed in the supreme wisdom of the Enlightenment. For the first group, Luther was a religious prophet who had translated the New Testament into German within less than three months, thus making this most important text available to all those who could read. For the second group, he was the champion who had liberated the German people from medieval superstition and papal oppression. Both groups

1 Hartmut Lehmann, *Martin Luther in the American Imagination* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1988), 32–33.

2 *Ibid.*, 77–78.

believed that Luther had achieved a new beginning in German history. In their view, he was more than a learned theologian. Rather, they attributed true greatness to him: political, educational and cultural greatness.

Some rather special stories deserve to be remembered, perhaps most prominently the students who assembled at Wartburg Castle on October 18, 1817. They came together to celebrate the victory over Napoleon in 1813 on that very day four years earlier, as well as the anniversary of 1517.³ In both of these events they saw the triumph of German values over their enemies, as well as a protest against Metternich's authoritarian rule. For these students, Luther represented the ideal combination of a German patriot and a well-educated German citizen (*Bildungsbürger*). The message of these students moved many Protestant hearts and echoed throughout nineteenth-century Germany.

The Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III utilized the occasion of the tricentennial celebration for a unique political manoeuvre. Since the early seventeenth century, the Hohenzollern dynasty belonged to the Reformed Church while the inhabitants of their realm were Lutherans. In 1817, the Prussian king decided to proclaim the foundation of a so-called Union Church (*Unierte Kirche*), combining both the Reformed and the Lutheran churches. Within just a few years, what had been conceived by the king and his administration more or less as a relatively simple bureaucratic measure, became the cause for a series of bitter conflicts as many Lutherans objected vehemently to becoming members of the new church. In their view, the new church represented a monstrosity (a *Missgeburt*) which distorted the very meaning of Luther's theology. The controversies lasted more than two decades and reached a climax in the 1830s and 1840s when a sizable number of orthodox Lutheran pastors decided to leave Prussia rather than conform to the mandate of 1817. They emigrated together with their parishioners. Most of them found a new home in the Midwest of the United States where they established a confessional Lutheran church, which became the Missouri Synod, which still exists today. Another large group went to South Australia.

A notable episode that occurred in 1817 has to do with the German poet laureate Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Like the students at Wartburg Castle, Goethe wanted to remember the beginning of the Protestant Reformation together with the Battle of Leipzig (*Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig*), but unlike the rebellious youth, Goethe proposed local celebrations in an ecumenical spirit. In remembering 1517 and 1813 Protestants and Catholics were to rejoice in a humanistic spirit and overcome confessional differences.⁴ At that time, in 1817, no one paid any atten-

3 Lutz Winckler, *Martin Luther als Bürger und Patriot: Der Reformationsjubiläum von 1817 und der politische Protestantismus des Wartburgfestes* (Lübeck: Matthiesen, 1969).

4 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Zum Reformationsfest", Berliner Ausgabe vol. 17 (Berlin: Aufbau, 2nd ed. 1984), 503–504.

tion to Goethe's ideas. Rather, nineteenth century Germany was marked by renewed confessional strife, even hatred. In retrospect, however, seen from a current perspective, Goethe's vision appears to be a fascinating way to heal the wounds that were generated by the confessional divisions of the sixteenth century. It remains to be seen whether there will be any echo to Goethe's startling ecumenical call in 2017.

As I have already indicated, the quadricentenary of the Protestant Reformation in 1917 had to be celebrated in a most difficult political phase, and that applied to those wanting to commemorate Luther on both sides of the Atlantic. Let us begin with Germany. The German Protestant churches had begun to prepare the celebrations of 1917 as early as 1909, immediately following the commemoration of Calvin's four hundredth birthday. German Protestant leaders believed that Luther's achievements should be celebrated even more impressively than Calvin's. They recalled the festivities on the occasion of Luther's four hundredth birthday in 1883.⁵ Most of them were familiar with the heroic description of Luther given by the historian Heinrich von Treitschke in 1883. Treitschke had called Luther a giant, a person larger than life.⁶

After the beginning of the First World War, the preparations for 1917 had to be reassessed, and as the war continued, from year to year, and in 1917 almost from month to month. By October of 1917, following many military setbacks, a defeat for the German army no longer seemed impossible. In this situation, leading German Protestants decided to hail Luther as the ultimate savior of the German people, a people still struggling for victory, yet threatened by defeat. In retrospect, this seems a rather desperate interpretation of Luther's legacy, as some quotations reveal. For instance, the church historian Hans von Schubert wrote in his pamphlet "Luther and his dear Germans" (*Luther und seine lieben Deutschen*):

Can one imagine a character which represents the soul of the Germans with greater purity than Luther? This is why Luther not only belongs to Protestants but to all Germans. His victorious personality has become a national property, an integral part of our culture.⁷

In the *Festschrift* produced by the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche* in Berlin, a pastor wrote that because of the war

5 Hartmut Lehmann, "Das Lutherjubiläum 1883", in *Luthergedächtnis 1817 bis 2017*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 59–77.

6 Hartmut Lehmann, "'Er ist wir selber: der ewige Deutsche': Zur langanhaltenden Wirkung der Lutherdeutung von Heinrich von Treitschke", in *Luthergedächtnis*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 126–137.

7 Quoted by Martin Greschat, "Reformationsjubiläum 1917: Exempel einer fragwürdigen Symbiose von Politik und Theologie," *Wissenschaft und Praxis in Kirche und Gesellschaft* 61 (1972): 422–423.

our whole political and spiritual being is called into question. More than ever before, we have to recognize what the Reformation has given us and how the deepest, indeed the ultimate roots of our German character were shaped in those days which we now celebrate whole-heartedly. The challenge posed by this war concerns the German lifestyle and German morals, German scholarship and German conscience, our culture and German liberty, in short, the very essence of our fighting effort is the protection of our faith and our fatherland, of our gospel and our Germanness as the heritage of the Reformation.⁸

In 1917 Germany, Protestant preachers did not hesitate to link Luther's legacy with the leader of the German army, *Generalfeldmarschall* Hindenburg. Shrill slogans dictated by war propaganda had completely pushed aside theological arguments and historical considerations.⁹

Let us cross the Atlantic once again and look at how the quadricentennial commemoration of the Protestant Reformation was celebrated in the United States. As in Germany, many American universities and churches had praised Luther's achievements in 1883 on the occasion of his four hundredth birthday.¹⁰ With few exceptions, in 1883, all American commemoration speakers agreed that Martin Luther more than anyone else, had helped to lay the foundations of the modern world, and particularly, that he had succeeded in resurrecting those values on which America was subsequently built. To give just one quote: "If there had been no Luther in Germany, there would have been no Washington in America. For the invaluable blessings of our civil liberty and free institutions, we thank God for Luther". These are the words of a Lutheran pastor from Pennsylvania in 1883.¹¹ After 1883, however, Luther's star in the New World faded and began to fall.¹² Historians pointed to Luther's shortcomings, such as his controversial writings during the Peasants War. Catholic and Baptist writers reminded their readers of Luther's polemical nature; Calvinist authors reasserted Calvin's superior theological knowledge in contrast to Luther's theological deficiencies. In sum, well before 1914, Luther's career in the New World was declining. By 1917, as the United States decided to help the Entente in the war against imperial Germany, Martin Luther was no longer welcome as a hero in the pantheon of American democracy. Those who decided to write about Luther on the occasion of the quadricentenary of the Protestant Reformation, did not really know how much they should praise his achievements and how much they should criticize his influence on Ger-

8 Ibid., 421.

9 Ibid., 424–425. See also Gottfried Maron, "Luther 1917: Beobachtungen zur Literatur des 400. Reformationsjubiläums," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 93 (1982): 177–221.

10 Hartmut Lehmann, "Die Lutherjubiläen 1883 und 1917 in Amerika," in *Luthergedächtnis*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 78–93.

11 Lehmann, *Martin Luther in the American Imagination*, 183.

12 Cf. *ibid.*, 195–269.

man politics. In particular, American Lutherans, particularly those Lutherans in America who still spoke German, did not really know what to do in view of the rising tide of xenophobia with which they were confronted. It is noteworthy that a few American voices claimed Luther as key witness in the fight against what they called German despotism and Wilhemian militarism, while others believed that Luther belonged to the authoritarian political tradition in Germany that the war was supposed to overcome. Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish Lutherans in America were in an especially difficult position. On the one hand, they wanted to pay tribute to Luther as the father of their churches; on the other hand, they were keen to prove their loyalty to America as their political home.

Some examples: Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, editor of the *Lutheran Church Review* and chairman of the Lutheran Quadricentennial Committee came to the following conclusion:

The character of Luther in this Quadricentennial is treated with a freedom never heretofore known, and the traditional exaggerations and wonderful halos of glory, placed by a very worthy ancestral piety, on the heads of the reformers, are quietly being taken down and consigned, with other heirlooms, to the old cedar chests, [while] the real man (that is Luther) sometimes clothed in attire a little too scanty, is set forth with sufficient nakedness before the public eye.¹³

“Sufficient nakedness“ is the key term for our context. It reveals that by the fall of 1917, Luther was stripped of most of his cultural achievements in America. No one who bothered to write about him doubted that he was a *homo religiosus* of some significance. But no one was willing any longer to raise him to the heights of other heroes of the Western world, such as the discoverer Christopher Columbus or Johannes Gutenberg the inventor. To be sure, even under the influence of widespread and vehement American war propaganda against imperial Germany, Luther was not declared a villain. But most Americans no longer praised Luther as a champion of civil liberty and restricted his achievements to the sphere of religious renewal.

Let us now turn to the quinentennial commemoration of the Protestant Reformation in 2017, which is approaching rapidly. Again, the differences between the preparations on both sides of the Atlantic deserve special attention. On the American side, as far as I can tell, some interesting projects have been launched. In February 2014, Concordia Seminary in St. Louis opened a website “Reformation 500”. Readers of this website are informed about the North American Luther Forum, a series of lectures which began in 1999 and continues up to the present. Also, information is given about recent publications, for example a volume with the title *Harvesting Luther. Reflections on Theology, Ethics and the Church*, edited

13 Ibid., 272.

by Timothy Wengert in 2004,¹⁴ as well as the new *Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*,¹⁵ published in 2014. As 2017 approaches, much more can be expected.

Perhaps, in the light of recent discussions about Martin Luther, a conference organized by the American Society for Reformation Research, together with the German *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, and to be held in Nürnberg in 2017 on the topic “Jews, Muslims, and Christians” is most interesting. The topic was chosen well before the tragic events in Paris in January of 2015. The theme of this conference corresponds with a letter that I received some time ago from an American colleague. She wrote that for American Lutherans, Luther's most problematic writings about the Jews had already been of extreme importance in 1983, on the occasion of Luther's five-hundredth birthday. But today, she continues, and also in 2017, for Americans and American Lutherans in particular, Luther's equally problematic writings about the Turks ought to deserve even more attention. American and German Reformation scholars can therefore look forward to the Nürnberg conference.

Another most innovative project was developed within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. In November 2014, a group of professors at Lutheran Colleges and Lutheran pastors addressed a letter to the Presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Reverend Elizabeth Eaton, in which they asked her to put “Eco-justice”, that is ecological justice, at the center of all activities in 2017. I quote some passages from this letter. “A gospel call for ecological justice belongs to the heart of the 500th anniversary observance of the Reformation in 2017 by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA)”. The authors of this letter continue by referring to a statement from the Lutheran World Federation:

The Lutheran World Federation has already, with its three-fold theme, signaled its intention to include creation at the center of global commemoration: ‘Salvation: Not for sale. Human beings: Not for sale. Creation: Not for sale.’

Their conclusion: “To bring ecological justice into the on-going Reformation of the church testifies to the living nature of the Lutheran tradition and witnesses to the scope of God's redemption of the whole world.”

The Lutheran scholars and pastors who signed this letter commit themselves “to support and assist the ELCA in becoming even more faithfully a denomination that embraces creation care in and throughout its life and mission”. This includes,

14 Timothy Wengert, ed., *Harvesting Luther. Reflections on Theology, Ethics and the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004).

15 Irene Dingel, Robert Kolb, and L'Ubomir Batka, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

“ELCA activities leading up to and following the observance of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation”. Those who have signed this letter describe the most negative effects of climate change around the globe with arguments that are also familiar in the German discussion about global warming. In conclusion, they urge the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America “to include ecological justice in all planning of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation”.¹⁶The authors of this letter do not spell out, however, exactly how an Eco-justice Reformation in the spirit of a planetary care of creation can be celebrated. Nevertheless, their initiative moves the debate about how the quincentenary of the Reformation can be commemorated to a new level.

I am sure that more projects will become known by 2017. At present, however, one can observe that the quincentennial celebration of the Reformation is of interest almost exclusively to American Lutherans while the commemoration of the Lutheran Reformation seems to be no major concern to members of other established mainline Protestant denominations like the Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Congregationalists, nor is it a top priority for more recent Protestant revival movements like the flourishing group of Pentecostal churches. Therefore, one could assume, that in America, the upcoming celebrations will be much like those in 1817, when only Lutheran congregations remembered their origins, while other Protestants took no special interest in this matter. But such a conclusion would be somewhat premature and less than half the truth, because some of the Lutheran initiatives that we can already observe today move far beyond the traditional themes evoked on the occasion of former Reformation anniversaries.

Allow me to mention the planned discussion of the relationship between Jews, Muslims and Christians in the context of a Reformation anniversary. Those colleagues who have conceived this theme are well aware of the tensions in America and in Germany as multi-religious and multi-ethnic societies. If I am not mistaken, they plan to test how much the Reformers have to tell us today as we are confronted with new forms of xenophobia, a new level of fundamentalism, and new challenges of upholding and preserving social peace in a spirit of tolerance. Through this anniversary celebration, they seek to determine whether, and in what respect, we must distance ourselves from certain intolerant, short-sighted opinions of the Reformers.

Allow me also to recall the ambitious project of the so-called “Eco-Lutherans”. For them, remembering the plans to reform the Christian church in the sixteenth century implies the courage to undertake reforms now that address the one of the major problems our time, namely: the obvious damage done to the whole planet by industrialization without regard to ecological responsibility. Their aim is not to

¹⁶ Communication from an American colleague.

repeat the lessons of Luther and his fellow-Reformers. Rather, their aim is to draw conclusions that are relevant today.

Finally, as a last step, let us look at the preparations for the quincentenary of the Reformation in Germany. In contrast to America, preparations began early, already in 2008, and they began rather carefully, that is by setting up an organization responsible for the events in 2017. In this context, I can give only a brief overview. First, the Evangelical Church in Germany (*EKD*) and the state, including the Federal government, as well as the state governments and magistrates from those states and cities closely connected with the heritage of the Protestant Reformation, set up a board of trustees (*Kuratorium*) in charge of preparing the celebrations in 2017, along with a steering committee (*Lenkungsausschuss*) and an academic advisory board (*Wissenschaftlicher Beirat*). In addition, the Evangelical Church appointed an ambassador for the quincentennial. Both church and state set up offices in Wittenberg.

Since 2008, many activities have been undertaken. For example, the Federal government voted to provide substantial financial resources for restoring the original sites of the Reformation and for specific projects that highlight this event. Equally important were the activities of the academic advisory board. In one of its first meetings, this body designated specific themes for the individual years leading from 2008 to 2017. By doing so, they hoped to demonstrate the far-reaching effects of the Protestant Reformation in fields such as the arts, politics and religion. Also, members of the advisory council drafted a paper with twenty-three theses in which they outline the beneficial effects of the Protestant Reformation for the development of the Western world.

By now, that is by 2015, the program for the quincentenary commemoration has been spelled out in detail. It consists of the following six elements: First, a series of commemorative events in various European cities which have been affected by the Reformation; second, a large exhibition in Wittenberg with the title “Gateways to Liberty”; third, regional church assemblies (*Regionale Kirchentage*) in no less than six cities in Thuringia, Saxony and the state of Sachsen-Anhalt; fourth, the national Evangelical church assembly (*Evangelischer Kirchentag*) in Berlin and Wittenberg in May of 2017; fifth, camps for young Christians about to receive confirmation (*Konfirmanden*) in Wittenberg; sixth, a representative festive service (*Festgottesdienst*) to be held in Wittenberg May 28, 2017. As the ambassador for the quincentenary and other leading representatives of the Evangelical church have explained in recent months, the five-hundredth anniversary of their church should be celebrated with an international horizon in mind, comprising the whole world and with an ecumenical perspective.

If one takes a closer look, however, it is evident that the organizers of the quincentenary have not addressed all relevant problems, and that they have not solved others adequately.¹⁷ Let me give some examples.

For the politicians in favor of the 2017 celebrations, for example, the support of tourism seems to be the main argument. Their main concern is not the pilgrimage from people around the globe to the original sites of the Reformation, which would enable them to grasp some of the spirit which led the reformers as they attempted to build a better church. Rather, they are looking for tourists to fill beds in hotels and occupy tables in restaurants. In my view, such a pragmatic economic perspective is somewhat inappropriate, especially if one recalls the religious motives and theological arguments of Luther and his fellow-reformers.

What do the organizers mean when they speak of an international horizon comprising the whole world (*weltweiter Horizont*), and what do they mean when they speak of an ecumenical perspective (*ökumenische Perspektive*)? With regard to the international horizon one can observe a distinct lack of contact with Lutherans, and indeed with Protestants on other continents. The organizers do not take fully into account that Lutheranism has become a world religion by the beginning of the twenty-first century. Regrettably, what they plan is too self-centered, and too focused on Germany.

And what about a truly ecumenical perspective for 2017? Members of German Free churches, also legitimate children of the Reformation, have not been invited to join the bodies that plan the events in 2017. As of now, talks with the Catholic Church in Germany have not yielded clear results. In this context one can perceive remarkable inconsistencies. On the one hand, the Evangelical church officially invited the Pope to visit Germany in 2017. On the other hand, the official guidelines of the Evangelical church with the name *Rechtfertigung und Freiheit* (Justification and Liberty) does not mention the various ecumenical activities of recent years.¹⁸ The Evangelical church does not even make an effort to discuss and promote another publication, produced by the Lutheran World Federation and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity with the title *From Conflict to Communion. Lutheran-Catholic Common Commemoration of the Reformation in 2017*.¹⁹ On a local level, many neighboring Protestant and Catholic congregations look forward to commemorating the Reformation together in 2017. At the same time, leading members of the Evangelical church insist that 2017 should

17 See the issue of *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 28/1 (2011) with the title "Ratlos vor dem Reformationsjubiläum 2017?".

18 Rat der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), ed., *Rechtfertigung und Freiheit: 500 Jahre Reformation 2017* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014).

19 The Lutheran World Federation and the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, ed., *From Conflict to Communion: Lutheran-Catholic Common Commemoration of the Reformation in 2017* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014 and Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2013).

be a festive occasion, a jubilee, a *Jubiläum*, and not merely a commemoration, a *Gedenken*, a term that the Catholic side prefers considering the many victims of religious wars in the decades and indeed centuries after 1517.

From the beginning, the Evangelical Church in Germany has put Martin Luther at the very center of all of their commemorative activities. As a result, they have created some serious problems. Let us not forget that in addition to some of his inspiring theological treatises, Luther wrote a great deal that is, seen from today's perspective, hard to digest and certainly "politically incorrect".²⁰ Luther used his influence to suppress those of his followers who believed in adult baptism. He called them "irresponsible enthusiasts who should be eliminated". Also, Luther used strong language to criticize the Turks, as well as their religion, Islam, and their prophet, Mohammed. Luther was an enemy of religious tolerance and of interreligious dialogue. Finally – and in context of German history, this may be the heaviest debt that Luther left – Luther was extremely critical of Jews. In his early years, he invited the Jews to convert and join his cause. But as they hesitated to do so, he called for their persecution in terms that the National Socialists could use in their propaganda in the 1930s without changing a word. I am aware that Luther's anti-Semitism, some would say his anti-Judaism, is a difficult issue. But if one recalls the Holocaust, it is not enough to say that this part of his legacy is anachronistic. Rather, one has to distance oneself fairly and squarely without any reservations.

Another point that also troubles me is the date of the planned *Festgottesdienst*, May 28, that is the Sunday before Pentecost 2017. The reason for abandoning the traditional date for the celebration of the anniversary of the Reformation, namely the 31st of October, is the upcoming election for the federal parliament, the *Bundestagswahl*, scheduled for 2017. As of now, the earliest date for this election is mid-August, the latest early October. Obviously, the Evangelical church is afraid that the quincentennial activities may be overshadowed by the election campaign, that it may well marginalize them. In my view, this is utterly unconvincing. Since 1617, the Reformation anniversary has been October 31. For Christians around the globe, October 31 is the date when Luther proclaimed his 95 theses, thus starting a sequence of events which led to the schism of the old church, to the establishment of new Protestant ones, and, not to be forgotten, also to the renewal of the Catholic church. In my view, abandoning October 31 is a sign of remarkable faint-heartedness (in German: *Kleinmut*), for which there is no excuse.

In conclusion, as this exercise in comparative cultural history has demonstrated, Germans have not been and are not alone with their view of Luther. Luther, and

20 Hartmut Lehmann, "Die Deutschen und ihr Luther: Im Jahr 2017 jährt sich zum fünfhundertsten Mal der Beginn der Reformation: Jubiliert wurde schon oft", in *Reformationsgedächtnis 1817 bis 2017*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 297–304.

other figures in our history, are not exclusive German property. Therefore, it is highly instructive and well worth our while to examine how societies and churches other than the Lutherans have commemorated a figure like the reformer Martin Luther. And therefore, it is both important and rewarding to launch research projects of a comparative nature, such as those initiated at the Münster Center for German-American Educational History.

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Contributors

Johannes Bellmann is Professor and Chair of “Allgemeine Erziehungswissenschaft” (Foundations of Education, Philosophy of Education) at the University of Münster. His doctoral thesis is on the construction of economics in twentieth century educational theory and his second book (Habilitation) is on John Dewey’s naturalization of educational theory. His main areas of research are: frameworks and concepts of educational theory, particularly social-theoretical foundations of educational theory; history of educational theory and its methodology, particularly the history of pragmatism and its reception in educational theory; educational policies, particularly standards-based reforms and choice policies and the analysis of their theoretical premises and empirical consequences.

Heike Bungert is Professor of North American History at the University of Münster. She earned her M.A. at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, her Ph.D. from the University of Tübingen (Dissertation: *The National Committee and the West: The Free German Committees as Perceived by the Western Allies, 1943–1948*; *Das Nationalkomitee und der Westen: Das NKFD und die Freien Deutschen Bewegungen aus der Sicht der Westalliierten, 1943–1948*, Steiner, 1997), and her second book (Habilitation) (*Festive Culture and Memory: The Construction of a German-American Ethnicity, 1848–1914*; *Festkultur und Gedächtnis: Die Konstruktion einer deutschamerikanischen Ethnizität, 1848–1914*, Schöningh, 2016), at the University of Cologne. She has written and co-edited three books and numerous articles on German-American political and cultural relations, ethnic and migration history, ethnohistory, history and film, university history, and the history of religion. Currently, she is working on a survey of Native American history, on a book-length study of civil religion and U.S. presidential inaugurations, and on commencements at U.S. universities and colleges.

Patrick M. Erben is Professor of English at the University of West Georgia, where he teaches courses in early American literature and culture. He also serves as the graduate director in his department and as the Executive Coordinator of the Society of Early Americanists. Patrick Erben has published widely on the interaction between German and English-speaking immigrants in colonial North America, specifically on the linguistic and religious theories and practices that formed the basis of their contact. His book *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* was published by the University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture in 2012 and won the Dale Brown Book Award for Outstanding Scholarship in Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. He is currently completing the first

scholarly collection of the published and unpublished writings of the immigrant leader Francis Daniel Pastorius, and he is researching a new monograph on the impact of German Pietism on the development of American literature to the Civil War.

Hartmut Lehmann received his Dr. phil. at the University of Vienna in 1959 and became full professor of Modern History at the University of Kiel in 1969. From 1987 until 1993 he served as the founding Director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. From 1993 until 2004 he was Director at the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte in Göttingen.

He was awarded research fellowships at the University of Chicago, at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, at Princeton University, at the Australian National University in Canberra and at Harvard. He served as Visiting Professor of History at UCLA, Emory University, Dartmouth College, Berkeley, the Pennsylvania State University and Princeton Theological Seminary. He was awarded a Dr. theol. h.c. by the University of Basel in 1999. Current memberships in academic associations include the American Academy of Arts & Sciences and the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Among his main publications are *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg* (1969), *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (1980), *Martin Luther in the American Imagination* (1988), *Säkularisierung. Der europäische Sonderweg in Sachen Religion* (2004), *Transformationen der Religion in der Neuzeit* (2007), *Luthergedächtnis 1817–2017* (2012), *Das Christentum im 20. Jahrhundert. Fragen, Probleme, Perspektiven* (2012).

Charlotte A. Lerg teaches History at the Amerika Institut at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich. There she also serves as the managing director of the Lasky Center for Transatlantic Studies. Having studied at St. Andrews and at Tübingen University, her Ph.D. thesis on German-American intellectual ties before and during the 1848 Revolutions has since been published as *Amerika als Argument*. (Transcript, 2011). She has also written on the American Revolution (*Die Amerikanische Revolution*, UTB, 2010) and published articles on transatlantic relations in the 19th and early 20th century. She recently co-edited an issue of the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* dealing with *Diplomacy on Campus* (13/4. 2015), as well as the *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte* 18 (2015) (with Heike Bungert) entitled *Universität Transnational*. A former Bavarian-American fellow at the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, in her current book project (Habilitation) Lerg aims to understand the complexities of the academic world from a cultural history perspective by analyzing the connections between academic prestige and international relations.

Anne Overbeck is the former Deputy Head of the Center for German-American Educational History at the University of Münster. Since 2010, she has been working as a museum curator running her own curating agency, *dingedurchdenken – Projekte für Kultur und Wissenschaft*. Most recently she has curated an exhibit on the history of German migration to the US with the LWL-Industriemuseum Ziegelei Lage. She studied Modern History and American Studies at the University of Tübingen, Yale University and the University of Münster and will publish her dissertation on the concepts of African American motherhood in the 20th century in 2017. Her research interest includes German American history, migration history, and gender studies. Among her publications are *Eiskalte Leidenschaft: Italienische Eismacher im Ruhrgebiet* (Klartext, 2009) and “The Enemy Within: African American Motherhood and the Crack Baby Crisis,” in *Family Values and Social Change: The American Family in the 20th Century USA*, edited by Isabel Heinemann (Campus, 2012).

Jürgen Overhoff is Professor of the History of Education at the Institute of Education, University of Münster, where he is also the Director of the Center for German-American Educational History. He has published numerous monographs and articles on early modern political thought, constitutional history, and the theory and practice of education in the Age of Enlightenment. He earned wide acclaim for his books on Frederick the Great, George Washington and Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, all of which went into several editions: *Friedrich der Große und George Washington* (Klett-Cotta, 2011); *Montesquieu. Meine Reisen in Deutschland, 1728-1729* (Cotta, 2014) At present, he is at work on a commented German edition of the educational, political and philosophical writings of William Penn.

Simon Richter is a Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures and member of the Graduate Groups in Comparative Literature and Religious Studies at the University of Pennsylvania where he is also affiliated with the Programs in Cinema Studies and Women’s Studies. He specializes in gender studies, environmental studies and the history and theory of the body, especially in relation to the eighteenth century. He has also published widely on cultural studies, cinema studies, and Dutch literature and culture. Publications about the *Goethezeit* include: *Laocoon’s Body and the Aesthetics of Pain; Missing the Breast: Gender, Fantasy, and the Body in the German Enlightenment*; and three edited books: *The Literature of Weimar Classicism* (volume seven of the *Camden House History of German Literature*); *Unwrapping Goethe’s Weimar: Essays in Cultural Studies and Local Knowledge*; and *Goethe’s Ghosts: Reading and the Persistence of Literature*. He is a former president of the Goethe Society of North America and past editor of the *Goethe Yearbook*. He is currently focusing on the cultural history of sustainability in Germany and northwestern Europe and is at work on a monograph, *Goethe’s Wetlands: Soggy Texts and Permeable Selves*.

Ewald Terhart is Professor of School Pedagogy at the University of Münster. After his graduation in Education Science (Diplom Erziehungswissenschaft), he worked as a research assistant at the University of Osnabrück, where he earned his Ph.D. and his habilitation (second book). After that, he worked as a professor at the Universities of Lüneburg and Bochum, before he changed to the University of Münster in 2002. His research interest includes: theory and research in the field of classroom teaching, teachers and teacher education, professions and professional biographies in education. He has published numerous articles and books on these topics; most recently the *Handbuch der Forschung zum Lehrerberuf* (*Handbook of Research on the Teaching Profession*; Waxmann, 2011, 2nd edition 2014). Some of his work appeared in English, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Croatian, Hungarian, Japanese and Chinese. Ewald Terhart was a member of several national and international expert commissions on evaluation and reform of teacher education.

Frank Trommler is Professor em. of German and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. He taught at Harvard, Princeton and Johns Hopkins University and became full professor at Penn in 1974. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1984, in 1991/92 he served as President of the German Studies Association, and from 1995–2003 as Director of the Humanities Program of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington, DC. In 2014, he received an Honorary Doctor of Modern Languages, Middlebury Language School. Among his publications are *Sozialistische Literatur in Deutschland* (1976), *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (with Jost Hermand, 1978), *America and the Germans* (1985, *Amerika und die Deutschen*, 1986), *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures* (2001, *Deutsch-amerikanische Begegnungen*, 2001), *Weimars transatlantischer Mäzen: Die Lincoln-Stiftung 1927–1934* (with Malcolm M. Richardson and Jürgen Reulecke, 2008), *Kulturmacht ohne Kompass. Deutsche auswärtige Kulturbeziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (2014).

Bethany Wiggin is Associate Professor and Graduate Chair of German as well as Affiliate Faculty in English and Comparative Literature at the University of Pennsylvania where she is also the Founding Director of the Penn Program in Environmental Humanities. She has published books and essays on transnational and world literatures, the birth of fashion and commodity culture, and utopian pasts and futures. At present, she is the Topic Director of the Penn Humanities Forum on Translation and is also the recipient of a Whiting Public Engagement Fellowship for a series of collaborative public projects that aim to make a “hidden river’s” past and future visible. She is at work on the monograph *Germanopolis: Utopia Found, Lost, and Re-Imagined in Penn’s Woods*.

The history of education has always been an international enterprise. Within that field, the analysis of the remarkable influences of the educational systems of Germany and the United States of America on one another have played a particularly prominent role and have shaped the modern and distinctively Western understanding of education to a considerable degree. This volume seeks to sharpen the notion of an entangled and intertwined German-American educational history and aims at identifying new and interesting fields of research. Starting out in the German-American community of Pennsylvania in the 18th century, this volume traces the history of the German-American encounter in the realm of education through the height of the German migration in the 19th century, the period of admiration for the German university system around the turn of the century to the post-1945 era when the tides turned and the US became a model for German institutions of education.

Studien zur Deutsch-Amerikanischen Bildungsgeschichte / Studies in German-American Educational History



The editors

Dr. Jürgen Overhoff, born 1967, is Professor of the History of Education at the WWU Münster.



Anne Overbeck, born 1980, is the former Deputy Head of the Center for German-American Educational History at the WWU Münster.

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