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Bayard Taylor and his Transatlantic Representations of Germany: A Nineteenth- Century American Encounter

John Kemp

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**BAYARD TAYLOR AND HIS TRANSATLANTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF
GERMANY: A NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN ENCOUNTER**

BY

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B.A., History, University of New Mexico, 1987
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
History**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2014

DEDICATION

In memory of Chuck Preston, my UNM English 102 instructor, who passed away in 1985
- his confidence in my ability kept me in college when I considered dropping out

To

My parents, John and Hilde Kemp, without whose unwavering support and
encouragement I would have faltered long ago

To

My daughters, Josefa, Amy, and Emily, who are the lights of my life.

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I also acknowledge and thank the faculty, staff, administrators, and my history department colleagues at Truckee Meadows Community College for their friendship, support, and professional collaboration. There are far too many to list but I especially thank Dr. John Reid, Dr. Sharon Lowe, Dr. Joseph Gonzalez, Dr. Marie Murgolo-Poore, and Charlotte Lee for reading drafts, technical assistance, and their unshakable optimism and encouragement.

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Finally, I would like to thank my family for their support, inspiration, and love.

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**B.A., HISTORY
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ABSTRACT

Bayard Taylor was a nineteenth-century American writer, traveler, lecturer, and diplomat well-known in his lifetime. Although active in many areas, he acquired fame chiefly through his adventures as a globetrotting news correspondent to exotic non-western regions at a time in which the United States was becoming aware of itself as a nation in a global context. In the process, his travels and representations of foreign lands contributed to the formation of nineteenth-century American national identity. Taylor's American identity defined who he and his American readers were and also informed what and how he observed societies and cultures in his travel writings. His travel-related writings on and connection to German-speaking Central Europe from 1844-1878 are of particular interest in relation to his American identity. Although typical in his male Euro-American views, Taylor gained a reputation as a transatlantic figure through frequent contact with Europe as part of his American traveler image. This dissertation examines one prominent feature of Taylor's transatlantic persona – his place as an American everyman inside Germany who believed that the United States and Europe shared a common heritage and thereby recognized similarities and made connections with German activities and developments in his travel-related writings and representations in ways that illuminated layers of his American national identity. Taylor's individual American encounter with German society, culture, and politics at a time of momentous change for

both Germany and the United States is historically significant because it is inscribed within and, in a conspicuous way, touches many contact points of the broader German-American encounter during the nineteenth century. In the process, his representations reflected how Americans imagined themselves as a nation from a transatlantic perspective.

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List of Abbreviations

Taylor's Works

HA1.....*At Home and Abroad, 1st Series*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1859.

HA2.....*At Home and Abroad, 2nd Series*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1862.

Byways.....*Byways of Europe*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1889 [1st published 1869].

Views..... *Views Afoot*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1891 [1st published 1846].

Life and Letters.....Hansen-Taylor, Marie. *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884.

Selected Letters.....*Selected Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. Paul Wermuth. Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1997.

Unpublished Letters.....*Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. John Richie Schultz. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Publications, 1937.

BTC, CCHS.....Bayard Taylor Collection, Chester County Historical Society Archives

BTP, CUSC.....Bayard Taylor Papers #14/18/1169, Cornell University Special Collections, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections

BTC, PSUSC.....Bayard Taylor Collection Acc#1974-0199R-AS, Pennsylvania State University Special Collections Library

BT, UVA.....Bayard Taylor #SC-BARR-ST MSS 7071-b, University of Virginia Archives, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library

Chapter 1

Review of Scholarship

Introduction

The subject of this dissertation is Bayard Taylor, a nineteenth-century American traveler and writer, and his encounter with German-speaking Central Europe. A farmer's son of less than modest means, Taylor created a place for himself as a poet, globetrotting news correspondent, and public lecturer in nineteenth-century America. Although Taylor gained fame through his travel accounts of exotic places around the world, this study focuses specifically on his American representations of the German people and culture in his travel-related writings and correspondence over a thirty-four year period. The purpose of the study is to examine layers of a nineteenth-century American national identity (social, high cultural, and political) expressed in Taylor's perceptions of Germany and from there explore the transatlantic nature of his long personal and professional relationship with German-speaking Central Europe. Taylor was an American inside Germany who, as per his editorial advice to a prospective contributor to the *New York Tribune*, had a "familiarity with [German] lands, society, and politics."¹ His American identity and his insertion in German society and culture allowed him to recognize similarities, communicate images, and broker cultural achievements to establish transatlantic connections inscribed within the broader historical context of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter. Ultimately, though, Taylor's connection to and representations of German activities and achievements revealed a nineteenth-century American sense of national self in a transatlantic context.

¹ Bayard Taylor to unnamed addressee, 1860, in *Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. John Richie Schultz (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Publications, 1937), 52.

In his narratives and public lectures, Taylor portrayed himself as an American “everyman” who embodied American ideals, values, interests, and attitudes as he traveled the world. He was not an intellectual or trained scholar but he had an eye for detailed description, a propensity for close engagement with foreign lands in a lifetime of travel, and an appeal to American readers. His writings on Germany were especially extensive and intimate, writings which began with his Grand Tour in 1844 and continued until his death as American minister to the new German *Reich* in 1878. Taylor was not the first to introduce German culture and images to an American audience; he was preceded by a number of prominent early nineteenth-century American elites. His lifelong personal and professional bond with Germans and German culture and his authoritative insights, however, gave a singular American perspective on nineteenth-century German developments, activities, and achievements at a time when the German people were themselves defining national character and culture. Through his writings, Taylor’s American readers could “travel by their firesides” and encounter Germany through his well-informed American eyes.²

At the core of this study is how Taylor represented himself as an American through his writings on German-speaking Central Europe. Nineteenth-century American travel writing helped define a national identity for Americans by demarcating a distinctly American society and measuring American ways against the customs and cultures of other societies by those who were several generations removed from immigration and embracing what they considered to be ideals and values indicative of Americans.³

Taylor’s American-ness is the foundation of his encounter with and images of Germany.

² Bayard Taylor, preface to *Lands of the Saracen* (New York: Putnam, 1855), vi.

³ Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 7.

His descriptions, choice of topics, interests and attitudes were based upon and reflected his values and ideals as an American -- politically, socially, and culturally. How did Taylor define himself as an American through what he encountered in his travels in Germany? In what ways did his choices, perspectives, and representations reflect his American interests, attitudes, values and ideals? How did Taylor and his American audience conceive themselves nationally and globally in relation to his transatlantic representations?

Once establishing the centrality of his American identity and how that shaped his writings about and his representation of German-speaking Central Europe, this dissertation then fits Taylor's engagement with German society and culture into a broader context of the American-German encounter in the nineteenth century. Much has been written on the interaction between the United States and Germany that examines topics such as the German contribution to American educational reforms; the German influence on American identity and history through a pluralistic, not assimilationist, conception of immigration; travel as a form of transatlantic communication; and the influence of German literary and intellectual achievements on American high culture.⁴ Taylor was

⁴ *Traveling between Worlds: German American Encounters*, eds. Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776*, eds. David E. Barclay and Elizabeth Glaser-Schmidt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*, eds. Lynn Tatlock and Matt Erlin (Rochester: Camden House, 2005); *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents* vol. 1, eds. Philip Allison-Shelley, Arthur Lewis, and William Betts (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); W. Lamarr. Kopp, *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol. 3: *German Literature in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1967); *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (New York: Brooklyn College press, 1983); Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); Hans L. Trefousse, *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); *The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800-2000*, eds. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); *America and the Germans: an assessment of a three-hundred-year history*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); John

involved with those points of contact in the course of his professional and personal life. To date, though, no one has assessed Taylor's place in the encounter entirely.

Taylor's close and even intimate encounter with German-speaking Central Europe, along with his American-ness, defined the nature of his representation and his place as a transatlantic communicator, translator, and interpreter of German images to his American public. Through frequent contact, personal attachments, and careful description of people, pathways, symbols, and fixtures on the German landscape, he built a reputation as a recognized American authority on Germany. His writings included picturesque and historic scenery, high culture and popular everyday culture, the world of social elites and daily life among peasants, popular protests and political movements and the actions of powerful national politicians. His mastery of the German language allowed him access to many levels of German culture and society.⁵ Taylor's German wife, Marie, believed that his "familiarity with the people... gave him new insight into a nationality in which he became almost a son by adoption."⁶ He had, through his close association with Germany, "assimilated to himself the German mode of thinking and feeling."⁷

Taylor's affiliation with Germany is an important consideration for this study. Taylor had the unique perspective of an American outsider inside German society and culture, which gave added value to his images, perceptions, representations, comparisons, contrasts, critiques, and his overall packaging of ideas in the context of German-

A. Walz, *German Influence in American Education and Culture* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1936); Frederick H. Wilkins, *Early Influence of German Literature in America*. (New York: MacMillan, 1900).

⁵ *Sculius* 11/1879, Vol. XIX:7, 81-89 and Vol. XIX:20, 266-276, Folder 18, Bayard Taylor Collection Acc#1974-0199R-AS [hereafter cited as BTC], Pennsylvania State University Special Collections Library [hereafter cited as PSUSC].

⁶ Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace Scudder, *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1885), 379.

⁷ Robert Spiller, *Literary History of the United States* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1948), 822.

American interaction in the nineteenth century. Hermann Wellenreuther observes that the perceptions of early nineteenth-century American travelers varied depending upon the experience of the writer but they tended generally to look for what was different in “the other” in German-speaking Central Europe – a long and rich history, time-honored cultural traditions, non-democratic political and social structures, and a bucolic but friendly peasantry.⁸ Taylor expressed his American attitudes and noted differences between Germany and the United States in his writings but as his involvement and familiarity grew, his perceptions of Germany changed. He continued to interpret images as an American but recognized similarities more often than differences. How did Taylor’s American identity inform his representations of “the other” in German-speaking Central Europe?

Many recent studies on Taylor emphasize his typicality. Scholars assess Taylor’s capacity to mirror and even embody the national issues, feelings, qualities, and characteristics of all Americans and thus he is a good representative of the values, ideals, and attitudes that characterized Americans in the nineteenth century.⁹ This is relevant in his writings on German-speaking Central Europe. Taylor’s American typicality and his familiarity with Germany shaped his representations and facilitated recognition of transatlantic similarities and connections – shared ideas, values, capital, institutions, traditions, and people – through different levels of cross-cultural communication in relation to the nineteenth-century German-American encounter. Qualifying Taylor’s

⁸ Christof Mauch, “Oceans Apart? Paradigms in German-American History and Historiography,” in *Traveling Between Worlds*, 8; Hermann Wellenreuther, “‘Germans Make Cows and Women Work’: American Perceptions of Germans as Reported in American Travel Books, 1800-1840,” in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*, 42, 49-50.

⁹ Theresa Ellen Moran, “Bayard Taylor and American Orientalism: 19th Century Representations of National Character and the Other” (Ph.D. diss., Tufts University, 2005), 5, 29.

“typicality,” though, is necessary. He did not represent a large part of the population in nineteenth-century America. He was a white male middle-class northern Abolitionist and Republican with the values, attitudes, and ideals of that particular social group and his writings and lectures were directed primarily at them.

Studies on Taylor, which are discussed in detail in the following chapters, generally touch upon elements of his travels and writing but the full extent of Taylor’s encounter and relationship with and representation of Germany and his place as an American in Germany needs further examination. Furthermore, this study discusses the methods of representation that Taylor used in his role as a transatlantic communicator. The greater portion of scholarship on the German-American cultural exchange focuses on the influences of German high cultural achievement in literature and philosophy among American elites.¹⁰ Taylor’s expertise in German literature and his translation of Goethe’s *Faust* have received considerable attention in that context. The German-American encounter, though, and Taylor’s place in it, was a multi-layered and far-reaching process in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Taylor’s writings and representations covered an array of activities in Germany and took a variety of popular forms that reached a broad and expansive American audience that serve as important sources. For instance, Taylor became a news correspondent at the inception of a publishing revolution and the rise of newspapers, which allowed his writing to reach an audience that stretched even beyond America’s eastern metropolitan centers for the widest possible influence. Taylor also participated, although never comfortably, in the Lyceum movement and educational public lectures throughout the United States.

¹⁰ Op. cit. #4.

¹¹ Mauch, 6.

Bayard Taylor and Germany

Bayard Taylor became one of the most well-known people of his time in America and Europe, distinguishing himself through sheer determination, boundless energy, and ceaseless activity. He was renowned as a world traveler and published nineteen travel narratives and untold numbers of newspaper and magazine articles. He was a poet of some distinction within his circle of literary friends and wrote seventeen books of verse. In a long career, he gave public lectures on his travels and other related topics, which were attended by thousands of Americans from coast to coast. He wrote four novels, dabbled in stage drama and children's books, was a well-received essayist, literary critic, news editor, and served the United States government as a diplomat. Although he lacked a university education and training, he was a highly regarded scholar and translator of German literature with his self-taught mastery of the German language, and he was an enthusiastic communicator of German literary culture to the United States. In fact, his translation for the first time of both parts of Goethe's *Faust* into English, published in 1870-71, is a definitive work to this day. His name and accomplishments faded into obscurity soon after his death; however, as sources for this study, his narratives, lectures, and letters are a testament to his experiences from a lifetime of travel.

When he began his Grand Tour of Europe in 1844, Taylor's original purpose for travel was not simply adventure, although he certainly was bored with rural life in Pennsylvania and not content with mundane employment as a printer's apprentice. His desire was to "acquaint" himself "with other languages and other races,... to look upon renowned landscapes and feel the magic of grand historical associations" and, in the process, "educate [himself] more completely and variously than [his] situation and

circumstances enabled [him] to do at home.”¹² That initial purpose for travel in 1844 evolved into a philosophy of travel by the late 1850s. Taylor felt that travel brought “an enlightened capacity for acquiring knowledge” but also an appreciation for different cultures. In particular, he came to believe that travel could bring an understanding that the characteristics and faculties of people in other lands could be found within himself if he could overcome prejudices and the “moulds of custom.”¹³ Taylor certainly expressed national and racial biases but evidently felt that travel shaped attitudes and allowed for a cosmopolitan open-mindedness, which, in Taylor’s view, gave him an authoritative voice in his travel-related writings.

His philosophy and approach are clearly apparent in his representations of Germany. Taylor’s encounter with Germany suggests something deeper than that of the shallow impressions of a casual tourist. Eventually, though he traveled to many lands, he became personally, emotionally, and intellectually attracted to and involved with Germany. Taylor spent almost sixteen years traveling abroad – to Europe from Lapland to Greece and from the British Isles to the Russian Empire, to Egypt and central Africa, to Palestine, Syria, and Istanbul, and to India, China, and Japan - between 1844 and his death in 1878, primarily as a news correspondent. Eight of those years were spent in several professional tours of and a number of personal vacations in German-speaking Central Europe, and he died in Berlin serving as American minister to the Imperial German government.

The era in which Taylor was active is significant also. He lived during possibly the most transformative period in American history politically, economically, socially,

¹² *Views*, 18.

¹³ “Philosophy of Travel,” Lecture Box 7, Bayard Taylor Collection [hereafter cited as BTC], Chester County Historical Society Archives [hereafter cited as CCHS], 1-2.

and culturally, a synopsis of which is provided in the following chapter, and his American ideals and experiences texture the representations in his travel writings. The years in which he visited are notable ones in German history as well. His first stay in 1844-45 came immediately after a period of dynamic national cultural achievement and his subsequent frequent encounters occurred during a time of a dramatic political and national transformation. From the start, he established a connection with German culture and the people. There he acquired several close personal friends, married a German, Marie Hansen, and had a child, Lilian. He maintained contact throughout his life with prominent German cultural figures and associated himself with German literary achievements, especially those of the century that preceded his visit in 1844, which he conveyed to an American public. He was introduced to and was known well by members of the aristocracy and upper class social circles in the German states, particularly in Saxony and Thuringia, and owned a home in the duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. He was acquainted with a number of prominent nineteenth-century German politicians, including Prince Otto von Bismarck, and wrote frequently about political activity.

Before continuing, an explanation for and clarification of the use of the term “Germany” in this study is necessary. Germany as a modern geographically-bounded centralized nation-state with a uniformity of laws and leadership did not exist until late in the nineteenth century. Before that, German identity and a sense of shared heritage as a nation were styled traditionally along very different concepts of history and territory than other European states. It is more accurate to say “Germanies” than “Germany” because German identities through much of the nineteenth century were based upon a long tradition of separate and homogeneous regions in a heterogeneous German central

Europe.¹⁴ Until 1867, German-speaking Central Europe was a collection of sovereign states bound together loosely in a confederation that essentially preserved the independence of each state. Additionally, significant differences in religion, history, heritage, and economies existed throughout the region of central Europe that today is Germany.

With these qualifications in mind, the term Germany was not unfamiliar in the nineteenth century. Taylor traveled through most of the German states of central Europe and noted distinct regional differences. However, just as other early-mid nineteenth century travelers like William Howitt and Edmund Spencer did, he used the term “Germany” frequently to locate himself and his reader as he described social customs, cultural artifacts, picturesque scenes and even political developments that he identified specifically with central regions of Europe. In fact, Taylor acknowledged that regional diversity defined the “Germany” that he knew in the nineteenth century. In the late 1860s, he lamented the changes he had witnessed over decades of contact with German-speaking Central Europe:

...the pictures I saw made me keenly regret that progress has rendered mankind so commonplace in costume. When I first tramped through Germany, in 1845, every province had its distinctive dress, and the stamp of the country people was impressed upon the landscapes of their homes; but now a great leveling wave has swept over the country, washing out all these picturesque characteristics, and leaving the universal commonplace in their stead.¹⁵

Modern historians use the term Germany as well when referring to developments

¹⁴ Gerhard Sandner, "In Search of Identity: German Nationalism and Geography, 1871-1910," in *Geography and National Identity*, David Hooson, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.), 72; Hans-Dieter Schultz and Wolfgang Natter, "Imagining *Mitteleuropa*: Conceptualisation of 'Its' Space in and outside German Geography," *European Review of History* 10, no. 2 (2003), 273-292.

¹⁵ *ByWays*, 452

in central Europe in the nineteenth century, even though, as Brian Vick states, defining “Germany,” establishing borders, identifying citizenship, determining its international role and its relationship with neighbors were difficult problems in that period.¹⁶

Nonetheless, as David Blackbourn points out, the idea of Germany was a key issue and the process of creating a “Germany” was debated, discussed, fought over and hammered out in the course of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ All that said, for this study, “Germany” is a term of convenience, one recognizable to a modern reader but with the understanding that its meaning when applied to the nineteenth century is very different from that of the modern nation-state.

Taylor’s images and perceptions of Germany were those of a typical male Euro-American. His travel-related writings reflected his American identity as he witnessed changes over the decades, proffered his interpretations, reflections, and impressions in numerous venues, and expressed admiration for and criticism of Germans and their history within the broader context of German-American transatlantic relations in the nineteenth century. For the purposes of this study, “image” is defined herein as a mental observation and verbally expressed conception about an object, and “perception” as a process of converting images and sensory experience into a symbolic representation.¹⁸

Review of Scholarship on Bayard Taylor

Although Taylor was famous in his day, his work and legacy have received little critical attention. Several celebratory accounts of his life were written in the two decades

¹⁶ Brian Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 1.

¹⁷ David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), xv-xvi

¹⁸ Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 2.

after his death in 1878, but they do not represent serious analysis of his significance or accomplishment. They rode the wave of Taylor's popularity at the time and simply honored a man whom the biographers considered to be an important American figure with a lasting impact on American culture and society.

The first biographical account of Taylor's life was published in 1881 by Russell Conwell, a writer of a number of biographies on famous Americans.¹⁹ His biography of Taylor was an outline of his travels with "remarkable incidents" inserted as illustrations of the "unusual influence" Taylor had on American life and culture.²⁰ Conwell's account is best characterized as a sentimental farewell that lacked an actual critical or analytical discussion on Taylor's life. Taylor's death was so recent that Conwell was acutely sensitive to the loss experienced by the family, and thus believed a gentle and thoughtful treatment was the only acceptable approach. He recognized also that he was so close to the event of Taylor's life that objectivity was difficult, and he felt that simply presenting the facts of Taylor's life was the most valuable contribution he could make in memory of Taylor.

A second major biography was written over a decade later by Albert Henry Smyth, a university lecturer and high school teacher in Philadelphia, as part of the Notable American Writers series.²¹ Smyth steered away from too much emphasis on Taylor's travels and chose instead to focus on Taylor's place in American literary history. He acknowledged that he drew heavily from the relatively biased *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor* written several years earlier by Marie Taylor, Bayard's wife, but he had

¹⁹ Conwell was also a lecturer, pastor, attorney, founder and first president of Temple University in Philadelphia

²⁰ Russell Conwell, *The Life, Travels, and Literary Career of Bayard Taylor* (Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1881), 77.

²¹ Albert Smyth, *Bayard Taylor* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896).

more distance from Taylor's life and was therefore somewhat more objective, which allowed Smyth to recognize the weaknesses in Taylor's poetry. However, Smyth concluded that Taylor had significance as a symbol of American uniqueness. He may have lacked pure poetic genius and originality, but his determination and energy compensated for his weaknesses and made him, in Smyth's mind, the quintessential American success story. Only in America could someone of mediocre talent rise to fame through hard work as Taylor did.

Recognition of Taylor as an iconic American not for his genius but for his personal qualities was expressed as well in Sherwin Cody's *Four Famous American Writers: Washington Irving, Edgar Allen Poe, James Russell Lowell, and Bayard Taylor. A Book for Young Americans*.²² Cody outlined how each of the famous authors possessed distinctive talents and abilities that young Americans should emulate. Taylor was a model for American children not for his cultural achievements but for the values and admirable personal characteristics he exhibited in his life. Taylor may have aspired to become a poet, but Cody evidently felt that Taylor's life of world travel demonstrated what was most significant about his life – his gritty determination and hard work to make something of himself, his bold and adventurous nature, his self-education through life experience, his generosity, honesty, hospitality, and love of the outdoors. In Cody's view, Taylor should be admired not for genius or extraordinary accomplishment but for fame achieved despite averageness.

The biographies in the decades after his death tapped into a lingering memory of Taylor's popularity and made arguments for his importance in nineteenth-century

²² Sherwin Cody, *Four Famous American Writers: Washington Irving, Edgar Allen Poe, James Russell Lowell, and Bayard Taylor. A Book for Young Americans* (New York: Werner School Book Company, 1899), BTC, PSUSC.

American culture. It is interesting to note, though, that all of the writers of complimentary accounts of Taylor's life were themselves living in Pennsylvania, Taylor's home turf. This "favorite son" impulse would carry into the twentieth century with Henry Pleasants' *Four Great Artists of Chester County*, the last celebratory treatment of Taylor and the only one of the twentieth century.²³ Taylor had such an illustrative style when describing foreign landscapes in his travels that Pleasants included Taylor in his book on prominent artists who were born in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Taylor was somewhat accomplished as a sketch artist; however, as Pleasants notes, the pictures merely supplemented his "extraordinary" talent as a portrayer of beautiful landscapes in prose writing.²⁴ In his travels, he went to different lands, studied the habits of "strange" people, absorbed the beauties of varied human creations and distinctive natural phenomena, and expressed the images and experiences in a written art that was unique for its interpretative accuracy, not its imaginative creativity.²⁵ Pleasants acknowledges what earlier biographies recognized - Taylor's greatest weaknesses were lack of originality and creativity and his greatest strengths were boundless energy and descriptive accuracy.

The studies written closest to Taylor's lifetime sought to interpret the significance of his life and influence positively. Critical reception of Taylor's work in the twentieth century, however, has been less gentle. The attention his work and life received turned from apologizing for Taylor's mediocrity and compensating for it with praise for his energy and ambition to a criticism of his lack of natural literary ability, thereby

²³Henry Pleasants Jr., *Four Great Artists of Chester County* (West Chester, PA: H.F. Temple, Inc., 1936). A limited edition, BTC, PSUSC. The other artists were a poet/painter, a sculptor, and an architect/realist.

²⁴Ibid., 7.

²⁵Ibid., 7-9.

explaining why his fame was ephemeral and why, by the twentieth century, he became essentially unknown.

To that end, a common theme over the past seventy-five years is that Bayard Taylor was a man of his time. Many of the prejudices, biases, and values that defined an American world view in the mid-nineteenth century were expressed in Taylor's thinking, writing, and life experiences. His disappearance from the public mind so soon after his death reflects his close attachment to the social attitudes and aesthetic styles of his time. Even the notoriety gained as a traveler and travel writer is seen as contributing to his drifting out of public sight. As is the fate of explorers, their success diminishes their fame. What was previously new, fascinating, and unknown to the public eventually becomes commonplace and the reputation fades.²⁶

Richmond Croom Beatty fired the opening salvo of criticism aimed at Taylor in the twentieth century. He identified both Taylor's lack of talent and his frenetic energy as weaknesses and reasons for his literary failures. In his caustic 1936 biography of Taylor, Beatty targeted him as the embodiment of all that is ugly about the modern world, which was beginning to form precisely as Taylor became a public figure. Beatty associated the "modern" with rootless, godless restlessness and considered modern man to be a shallow superficial creature without moorings or tradition. Taylor, who embodied those repugnant qualities, was among the first "modernists" and, therefore, a symbol of his time. Beatty claimed that Taylor was distinguished most by his mediocrity, unlike the literary greats of the period like Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Washington Irving, who moved beyond or rose above the ugliness of modern influences and trends. Beatty

²⁶ Isaac Edwards Clarke, "A Tribute to Bayard Taylor" read before the Literary Society of Washington, March 8, 1879 (Washington DC: Mohun Bros. Publishers, 1879), Folder 18, BTC, PSUSC, 4.

saw Taylor as a man thoroughly immersed in modern culture who lived his life in a maelstrom, which made him the best representative of the common trends and attitudes of his age and explains his lack of durable and timeless cultural contribution.²⁷

More sympathetically, Richard Cary, in his 1952 study *The Genteel Circle: Bayard Taylor and his New York Friends* and Paul Wermuth's 1973 study of Taylor both place Taylor's activities, weaknesses, and subsequent fading into obscurity in the context of the Genteel tradition, the literary value system popular before the Civil War.²⁸ Cary described the Genteel tradition as a style that operated within a set of rules that defined acceptability. Genteel poetry was characterized by vacant idealism, sentimentality, and an obsession with the beautiful and spiritual. Cary elevated Taylor as "crown prince" over a circle of friends within the Genteel tradition who he met in New York that included George Boker, Thomas Aldrich, Edmund Stedman, and Richard Stoddard and generously stated that these men were among the "first rank" of poets before 1860.²⁹

Cary asserts that after the Civil War, the Genteel Circle's work became anachronistic and vapid as an age of hard realism emerged. Taylor and his cronies chose to cling to the Genteel style values rather than break new ground, therefore their poetry became irrelevant. They were not deterred by consistent failure, though. Cary calls it a type of "inbreeding" in which, despite being out of touch, the little circle could commiserate, sympathize, support, and feed each other's mediocrity to produce what

²⁷ Richmond Croom Beatty, *Bayard Taylor: Laureate of the Gilded Age*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), iv-vii. Beatty's vicious targeting of Taylor is evidently a reflection of his own reputation. In the biographical sketch prefacing his papers at Vanderbilt University, Beatty is described as irascible with no patience for mediocrity.

²⁸ Richard Cary, *Bayard Taylor and the Genteel Circle*, Cornell Studies in American History, Literature, and Folklore V (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952); Paul Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor*, Twayne's United States Author Series, ed. Sylvia Bowman, Indiana University (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973).

²⁹ Cary, 2

Cary called a “telepathic plagiarism.”³⁰ A letter from George Boker to Taylor in 1874 in which he shared a “despairing comment” from “Lizzie” illustrates Cary’s point:

George, you, Dick [Stoddard], Bayard, [Edmund] Stedman, [Thomas] Aldrich, [Whitelaw] Reid, the whole of you youngsters, have all been dreary failures as poets. Not one of you has won even a third class position as a poet.... The world is not appreciative of real genius, as you flatter yourselves is the case, only you are not up to the required standard. You are all failures, and the sooner you stop writing the things that no public will read, the better for your peace of mind.³¹

Along with stubborn adherence to an outmoded style, Cary notes that Taylor’s inadequacy as a poet was the result of persistent mediocrity and a hunger for fame that drained his energy in a whirlwind of activity. The result was a staggering amount of work that was of dubious and unimpressive quality. Taylor’s writings could not stand the test of time and he vanished. Cary does concede, though, that the best of his prose could be found in his travel books, which he considered to be “among the more satisfactory American volumes of the type.”³²

Paul Wermuth recognized that the Genteel tradition is critical to understand Taylor’s significance as well. However, unlike Cary who used it to explain Taylor’s failure and obscurity, Wermuth used it to explain his success, popularity and the ways in which it defined Taylor as a poet and as a man. For Wermuth, even though Taylor was all but completely forgotten soon after his death, his immense popularity as a “cultural phenomenon” during his lifetime was “little short of remarkable.”³³ A person with such stature in his time, Wermuth argues, demanded scholarly attention. Wermuth claimed

³⁰ Ibid., 11

³¹ George Boker to Bayard Taylor, 30 July 1874, Bayard Taylor Papers #14/18/1169 [hereafter cited as BTP], Cornell University Special Collections, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections [hereafter cited as CUSC]. “Lizzie” was Elizabeth Drew Stoddard, an accomplished nineteenth-century novelist, poet, and writer in her own right as well as Richard Henry Stoddard’s wife.

³² Cary, 18.

³³ Wermuth, preface to *Bayard Taylor*, 7.

that his account was not a biography of Taylor's life but rather a description and evaluation of his literary accomplishment in its vast variety and influence. Taylor, therefore, is more a figure of historical than literary interest. Thus, the best approach to understanding Taylor's place in nineteenth-century American culture was to examine Taylor's popularity and importance in his time. His success is attributed to his ambition, energy, and quest for fame, the "incestuous" nature of the literary world of his day, and the loyal support of his friends and publishers. Most importantly, his popularity rested upon how closely he adhered to the forms, subjects, and themes of the Genteel tradition that appealed to his bourgeois audience but ultimately doomed him to mediocrity. He wrote for his audience, not for posterity, and therefore a large part of his work was ephemeral.³⁴

The literature to this point, then, reveals a general consensus that Taylor was an interesting, popular, and even significant character in his day with big dreams but little talent who contributed nothing of lasting cultural significance. To paraphrase Shakespeare, he was a poor player who strutted and fretted his hour upon the stage and then was heard no more. Wermuth suggests that Taylor's significance, though, should be recognized in its historical place in the mid-nineteenth century and not upon his failure as a poet. This study will expand on that idea with a focus on the nature of his encounter with nineteenth-century Germany as an American and his representations for an American audience through his travel writing.

There is general agreement in the literature that Taylor's fame and popularity were derived primarily from his reputation and career as a world traveler. Pleasants, Cary, and Wermuth argue that Taylor's travel writings represent his best prose work.

³⁴ Ibid., 18-21.

That assertion is challenged, however, in some recent scholarship on travel writing by William Stowe and Larzer Ziff that positions travel writing in the corpus of literature.³⁵ Both contend that writing and travel are creative arts, ways of giving form and meaning to action and perceptions, of shaping experiences for comprehension, use, and pleasure. The importance of travel writing is not simply as a record of what is learned about the world; the travel narrative also is a creative act of self-discovery and self-knowledge, which is the most crucial element of travel writing as a literary genre. Stowe and Ziff argue that while the reader may be fascinated by the descriptions of foreign lands, peoples and cultures, literature is created when the travel writer's self-discovery moves the reader to examine himself more closely. In their view, Taylor fails this test.

Stowe and Ziff, therefore, are particularly harsh and negative in their analysis of Taylor's travel writing. They describe his travel books as rambling sets of simple observations without any transformative effect on his artistic or personal perspective and as verbal snapshots of scenes rather than a coherent personal narrative with modulated tone or emphasis, which made his writing shallow and meaningless. Although he was prolific and popular, his travel writing was the result of journalistic reports therefore both Stowe and Ziff conclude that Taylor was an opportunist and a traveling entrepreneur.³⁶ His travel writing was simply a means to make a living. Both Stowe and Ziff conclude that the absence of literary value and the superficiality of his writing explain how Taylor's popularity waned so soon after his death.

³⁵ William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Larzer Ziff, *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing 1780-1910* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

³⁶ This echoes the criticism of Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 64-65.

Taylor's travel writing is unappreciated in general non-literary interpretations as well. In a recent article, Alfred Bendixen gives Taylor only a cursory mention as he discusses prominent Americans who wrote on their experiences abroad.³⁷ In Bendixen's opinion, Taylor was, at best, superficial and conventional in his descriptions and added nothing of significance either to travel writing as a genre or to the activity of travel except to prove that one could tour Europe inexpensively. To support this, Bendixen references Alexander von Humboldt's apocryphal comment that nobody had ever traveled further but seen less than Bayard Taylor.³⁸ Bendixen does not qualify the reference - the comment was later revealed to be untrue and was published maliciously to discredit Taylor - but it supports his point that even though Taylor's travel activity demanded acknowledgement, he should be relegated to a very minor place in the history of American travel writing. To add insult to injury, Taylor is not mentioned at all in the subsequent related article in the same volume.³⁹

Thus, the literature indicates that in spite of his fame and popularity, scholars view Taylor's work negatively because of the absence of subjective, creative, analytical, interpretive, and aesthetic purpose in his writing. The criticisms are valid from a literary standpoint. His poetry, novels, and even his travel writing as literature do not reveal real talent. However, this study argues that the unadorned and very personal perspective in Taylor's accounts is precisely what makes Taylor's travel writings so vital and significant as a historical source, especially with regard to Germany. Although his writing may not

³⁷ Alfred Bendixen, "American travel books about Europe before the Civil War," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, eds. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³⁸ Bendixen, 118.

³⁹ William Merrill Decker, "Americans in Europe from Henry James to the Present," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, 127-144.

meet the creative standards and objectives of literature and lacks the careful analysis of science, his descriptive American perspectives inside German society and culture gives his travel writing historical value in terms of the finding the “core reality” that underlies preconceptions, perceptions, and assumptions.⁴⁰

Recently, several dissertations have discovered historical relevance and importance in Taylor’s travel writings and observations using new and different methodologies. Theresa Moran, in “Bayard Taylor and American Orientalism: 19th Century Representations of National Character and the Other,” places Taylor in a broader arena to demonstrate his significance in American history and travel writing. Like most scholars, Moran interprets Taylor as a typical middle-class Euro-American. She argues that Taylor both reflected and extended American perceptions of its national self and its place in the world in the mid-nineteenth century. His travel experiences and textual descriptions of numerous cultures and peoples, specifically the Arab Islamic regions, formed a particular way of looking at the world and illuminated the development of American national identity. He was instrumental in contributing to how the American people saw themselves in the world through his global encounters, and is significant because he exemplified his time. She sees the corpus of Taylor’s work as a “testimonial to typicality” because it mirrors his age and gives critical insight into the issues, values, and popular culture in antebellum America.⁴¹ Moran’s thesis and analysis of Taylor’s American identity and his construction of foreign images for his American audience provide an important model for a study of the relationship between Taylor’s American identity and his representations of Germany.

⁴⁰ Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 8.

⁴¹ Moran, 5.

Doctoral studies on Taylor's place in American literature written over the past decade have taken a revisionist approach to examining his significance in nineteenth-century American culture and society. Two themes stand out in these literary analyses. One is the detection of homosocial or homoerotic elements in Taylor's writings, which reveal a challenge to the traditional notions of gender and sexuality in nineteenth-century America. A second theme is how Taylor exemplified the dynamic tension between an egalitarian cosmopolitanism and an ethnocentric imperialism evident in nineteenth-century middle-class social identity.

William Corley, in his dissertation "Determined Dreamer: Bayard Taylor and the Millstone of Culture," and Kelvin Beleile, in "Beloved Savages and Other Outsiders: Genre and Gender Transgressions in the Travel Writings of Herman Melville, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Warren Stoddard," address the homosexual nuances in Taylor's work. Corley portrays Taylor as a pop culture celebrity who exploited an emotionally-invested public demand for sensual images of exotic regions by presenting himself as a well-traveled and sexual "object of desire." Through his enticing lecture performances and an encoded sensuality in his writings, especially his novels, Taylor "satisfied the desires of his audience textually and visually."⁴² Corley extends this line of analysis by exploring the impact of homophobia and homophilia on nineteenth-century American literature, and suggests that Taylor expressed his own homosexual proclivities through his writing. For example, Corley interprets the novel *Joseph and his Friend* in particular as a "paean to manly love" hidden in a Victorian closet.⁴³

Beleile interprets Taylor's writings as a challenge to traditional moral and

⁴² William Conrad Corley, Jr., "Determined Dreamer: Bayard Taylor and the Millstone of Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 2004), 174.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 211ff.

intellectual standards and a disregard for the boundaries of gender and genre prescribed by the Genteel tradition and nineteenth-century middle-class propriety.⁴⁴ He includes gender and sexuality in an analysis of Taylor's work but takes a different approach than Corley. As a part of his resistance to accepted norms, Taylor may have blurred the lines of gender and sexuality; however, Beliele asserts, his writings were not homosexual. Beliele's examination of Taylor's work focuses on his travel writings, which Beliele acknowledges were written in an objective journalistic style that left little room for personal interjection or preferences. Nonetheless, Beliele also argues that traveling abroad in the mid-nineteenth century was a homosocial activity – a manly enterprise in a world of men that lent itself to physical intimacy between men. Additionally, Beliele maintains that on occasion the journalistic filter slipped and sexual practices of exotic non-European cultures were displayed allowing for the “salacious suppositions” of his audience.⁴⁵ Taylor's novels, on the other hand, expressed his clearest, most personal, and most vocal rebellious statements about literature, society, and sexuality. Beliele argues that *Hannah Thurston*, for example, was thematically devoted to the women's movement for equality and the concept of male superiority.⁴⁶ *Joseph and His Friend* depicted a “blissful male relationship” but more as male camaraderie than sexual partnership.⁴⁷

The second theme in these recent dissertations, and one more relevant and valuable to this study, is cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism as forces in a nineteenth-century American middle-class social identity. Beliele argues that Taylor, as part of his

⁴⁴ Kelvin Beliele, “Beloved savages and other outsiders: Genre and gender transgressions in the travel writings of Herman Melville, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Warren Stoddard” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2009), 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 76-78.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

genre transgression to convey defiant social opinion, traversed a “continuum measuring the author’s imperial and anti-imperial attitudes” through “shifting ideas concerning alleged moral truth of American dominance and right to dominance.”⁴⁸ Exposure to world cultures pushed Taylor from a view of American superiority to one of equality of all cultures and ultimately to an acknowledgement of the superiority of other cultures, demonstrated particularly in Taylor’s appreciation for German literary achievement.

Corley interprets the travel experience in relation to cosmopolitanism and ethnocentrism differently. He compares nineteenth-century travel writing to modern multicultural education as a mechanism for potentially promoting cosmopolitan views. Although exposure to racial and cultural “others” through travel was touted as a viable path for cultural refinement, personal development, and enhanced international perspectives for the nineteenth-century middle class, the result, much like that of multicultural studies, was reinforcement of national identity and a reaffirmation of ethnocentric attitudes.⁴⁹ Corley asserts that, based upon the “most distinctive passages of his travel narratives” depicting egalitarian and personal relationships with local non-Europeans,

Taylor [casts] himself as a distinctly American traveler willing to relate to non-Europeans as a social equal. Yet embedded within his performance of multicultural adaptability is an equally strong commitment to a hierarchical valuation of the American over the non-European, firmly based on Taylor’s economic power as a USAmerican traveler.⁵⁰

A recent dissertation by James Uhlman, “Geographies of Desire: Bayard Taylor and the Romance of Travel in Bourgeois American Culture, 1820-1880,” also wrestles

⁴⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁹ Corley, 53-54.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 66.

with the cosmopolitan-ethnocentrism dichotomy in Taylor's work by examining Bayard Taylor's travel experience in the historical context of a developing middle-class culture and social identity in nineteenth-century America. Uhlman identifies transformative developments like colonialism, migrations, international trade, industrialization, print technology, and a cosmological mythology augmented by Enlightenment ideas that produced a transnationalist and even cosmopolitan consciousness. He argues that those developments influenced the emerging middle class in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century by creating a culture that was inherently cosmopolitan, because its values and ideology transcended political and geographical boundaries. The middle class, therefore, played a central role in globalization and a growing fascination with the world.⁵¹ An essential element of the global role that defined a bourgeois consciousness, identity, and ideology was the theme of movement and space, which involved interaction with foreign peoples. Mobility, possibility, and change were integral to middle class social life.⁵² World travel, therefore, was understood in middle class culture as a metaphor of change and symbolic of social and cultural renewal.⁵³

However, Uhlman also recognizes that "parochialism" emerged as a countertendency within the cosmopolitan cultural consciousness of nineteenth-century bourgeois identity:

The social and political ambiguities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries produced an emphasis upon the creation of new social borders, limits, and hierarchies in society. Dovetailing with these needs, the growth of economic competition and imperial expansion encouraged international rivalries and thus the evolution of nationalist

⁵¹ James Uhlman, "Geographies of Desire: Bayard Taylor and the Romance of Travel in Bourgeois American Culture, 1820-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2007), 8.

⁵² Ibid., 12-14.

⁵³ Ibid., 12-13.

ideologies.⁵⁴

Travel and travel writing played a significant role in the evolution of nationalist parochialism by “facilitating empire and comparative ideologies.” The new forms of historical, geographic, and ethnographic knowledge available through travel helped advance commercial interests and imperial control and contributed to the formation of distinct national identities.⁵⁵ Parochialism/ethnocentrism was not the failure of cosmopolitanism – it was part of the dual nature of bourgeois social identity in the United States and Europe.

Uhlman maintains that the life of Bayard Taylor best demonstrates the cosmopolitan and parochial impulses in nineteenth-century bourgeois identity and culture and the development of the key ideas of American society and culture in the nineteenth century. He embodied mobility, possibility, renewal, and cosmopolitanism and he established tight links to Europe, which was regarded as the “distant, long lost home and source of meaning” for the American bourgeoisie. He also encountered non-European peoples and cultures, expressed both respect and a parochial attitude toward them, and shared the images and his attitudes with his American middle class audience. Uhlman asserts also that the limits of Taylor’s intelligence and talent were factors that helped create his place in mid-nineteenth century America as well. His ordinariness allowed him to forge a strong relationship with a larger audience in the United States, connect them to the romance of travel, and feed their appetite for knowledge of foreign peoples.⁵⁶

These studies that define Taylor’s nineteenth-century American social identity, especially detecting a dynamic tension between nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism and

⁵⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 22.

ethnocentrism and placing America in a global context, provide useful models to frame an examination of Taylor's encounters with and representations of German-speaking Central Europe to his American audience. In the 1850s, Taylor rose above his rural roots through fame and wealth and placed himself firmly in an emerging urban middle class. At the same time, he was attached personally and professionally to the German middle class to become, in essence, a transatlantic figure – someone who bridged American and German society. The dueling forces of middle-class cosmopolitanism and imperialism in particular highlight his representation of European/German global geographic exploration.

Generally, Taylor's writings on Germany represent an American perspective with some distinctive perceptions and understandings of Germany in the nineteenth century. Christof Mauch notes that for decades, historians have focused on German perceptions of America. Little has been dedicated to American perceptions of Germany.⁵⁷ This study examines Taylor's American perception. His writing may lack the striking originality or scientific scrutiny that critics feel is essential, but it is personal, reflective of his American interests, extensive, and detailed. The combination of a journalistic eye, the evolution of a personal "insider" perspective, and a desire to describe rather than interpret what he experienced in his travels, either consciously or unconsciously, makes Taylor an excellent source for this study. His position on the inside allowed him to communicate German images and translate German culture for his American readership. With that in mind, Taylor's significance historically is found in the broader context of the American-German encounter of the nineteenth century.

Thus, this dissertation examines three aspects of Taylor's travel writing and

⁵⁷ Mauch, 7.

representations in the context of the German-American encounter of the nineteenth century that indicate his significance in his role as transatlantic bridge. The first of these is how his American national identity – his American ideals, values, attitudes, and interests - was defined and expressed in his representations of German political, social, and cultural activities. The second element is the transatlantic nature of his representations of German-speaking Central Europe in his travel writing over three decades. His American perspective from both outside and inside German society formed his representations and allowed him to recognize similarities between the United States and Germany to bridge the Atlantic Ocean and connect the Old and New Worlds. The third consideration is the methods of communication that he used to convey his impressions and descriptions. Taylor utilized a variety of social organs of communication to publicize his relationship to and association with German-speaking central Europe. He published numerous travel books, newspaper articles, and magazine articles throughout his adult life, and was involved in the Lyceum movement for almost two decades. These were a key part of his public exposure, popularity, and achievement, and thus his impact on nineteenth-century American society.

The German – American Encounter in the Nineteenth Century and Bayard Taylor

Serious scholarly consideration of the relationship between Germany and America - the institutional and demographic ties, continuities and discontinuities in the encounters, and their significance in many areas of activity - has become prominent since 1945. A study of the history of the engagement and connection between Germany and America seemed important after two world wars that pitted the United States against

Germany and resulted in the elevation of the United States to the status of world power with global interests and a growing partnership between America and Germany during the Cold War. Several topics in particular representing areas of contact have received attention, to all of which Taylor had some connection.

One area of scholarly interest in the German-American encounter is the impact of immigration on shaping American national identity. As a country is populated through waves of immigrants in a relatively short period of time, a national identity is ultimately based upon ethnic plurality. In its formation, American identity lacked traditions, ancient historical ties, and deep roots in the geographical place and thus, with the emergence of nationalism as both a political and cultural phenomenon in the nineteenth century, nation-builders in the United States faced daunting questions – what was “American” and who was an American? Essentially, American national identity was fashioned from Enlightenment political ideals expressed in documents like the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. If a sense of nation is defined by abstract ideals, not traditions, history, or ethnicity, then a multitude of ethnic identities may be possible within the national community.⁵⁸ The memory and consciousness of a homeland persisted among immigrants and remained a vital feature of their lives as they navigated through American society. A general notion of complete assimilation – the abandonment of one’s attachment to a region or people of origin and the thorough incorporation of an Anglo-American national identity - suggests an inaccurate and incomplete understanding of the immigrant experience.

The German immigrant population was the largest non-English group in the

⁵⁸ Rudolph J. Vecoli, “The Significance of Immigration in the Formation of an American Identity,” *The History Teacher* 30, no.1 (1996): 9-27.

United States during the nineteenth century, which resulted in strong German influence on American institutions and communities. Christoph Mauch states that although actual transatlantic contact was sporadic and inconsistent, the German immigrant subculture was the most visible of any group in nineteenth-century America and active in abolitionist movements, labor disputes, educational reform, and social development.⁵⁹ Manfred Jonas notes that Americans generally greeted German immigrants with considerable enthusiasm, particularly those who arrived between 1850 and 1870, because the liberal principles of post-Revolution German emigrants to the United States coincided remarkably well with those of native-born Americans. This led to a sustained belief that the German people were the Europeans most receptive to American political ideas. The similarities in political thought fostered a sense of German-American political kinship far more than diplomatic relations in the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Taylor recognized and wrote about the kinship, which is examined in Chapter 6.

German immigrants were an important segment of Taylor's audience and contributed to his popularity in the United States because of Taylor's association with Germany. In his travel writings while in Germany, he noted contact with Germans who were preparing to emigrate to the United States, evidently feeling that mention of it would interest his American audience.⁶¹ More significant, though, was his close relationship with the German-American population, which is evidenced by his acceptance into and public participation in the activities of their community. For example, his gradually-acquired taste for alcohol and tobacco, the "nobler indulgences" and

⁵⁹ Mauch, 6

⁶⁰ Manfred Jonas, *The United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 20.

⁶¹ *Views*, 123; *HAI*, 70-71.

recognizable social habits in Germany, were frequent entries in his travel writings.⁶² His reputation for immoderate enjoyment of those pleasures is lampooned in a *Pomeroy*

Democrat article in 1878:

Taylor, Hayes' minister-to-be, has already established a reputation as one of the most voracious eaters and insatiable drinkers of our time... . It is estimated that he drank two kegs of beer at a German festival in New York, and his exploits in the eating line give warrant for believing that we must henceforth export more breadstuffs and provisions to Europe than ever before.⁶³

He even used his connection to the German-American community to gain political leverage. One of his main arguments as he lobbied for the position of American Minister to the German *Reich* in 1877 was “that no other selection could give equal satisfaction to the entire body of German-born voters.”⁶⁴ Evidently, Taylor's appointment would give the Rutherford B. Hayes administration a political boost among an important segment of the voting population.

A clear indication of Taylor's close relationship with the German-American community is found in the response to his death. Taylor's remains were received and honored by the German immigrants in the United States when his body arrived at New York in early 1879. New York German singing societies composed a dirge specifically for Taylor in which the German-American community acknowledged that although a traveler “in foreign climes ..., not a stranger did he stand; ... Henceforth, the German

⁶² *HAI*, p.327ff; Bayard Taylor, “Wine a Few Centuries Old – Wretched Stuff,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, 28 September 1857, vol. IV, Issue 147, 1 in which he imbibed and lived to tell the tale. Bayard Taylor “Meershaum Pipes,” *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, 9 March 1868, vol. XVIII, Issue 3631, 1: “the pipe is the servant and friend of man.”

⁶³ “Bayard Taylor and Beer,” *Pomeroy Democrat*, 4 May 1878, 1. The same issue contains an article stating that, though it may seem surprising, the United States was exporting beer to Germany, keeping in mind that Bayard Taylor was lately sent to Germany.

⁶⁴ Bayard Taylor to William Evarts, 27 September 1877, Folder 13, BTC, PSUSC, listing his qualifications to serve as Minister to the German Empire.

nation's glory Shall be to tell the glowing story That he was their's"⁶⁵ Germans in America recognized that Taylor represented a link between America and their homeland and they accepted him as a German in America.

A second area of discussion in the context of German-American encounters is the study of the nineteenth-century American interest in and the transference of German cultural achievement and educational advances. The most comprehensive examinations of German culture in America were made by Henry Pochmann in his exhaustive 1957 study, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences*, and Philip Allison-Shelley in the decade-long Pennsylvania State Project on Anglo- and American-German Literary and Cultural Relations in *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, a series of studies by different scholars on German literary influence on British, Irish, and American writers.⁶⁶ Both addressed the considerable contribution and influence of German cultural achievement in American philosophy and literature.

Taylor's affinity for and involvement in German literary culture gained him considerable attention.⁶⁷ His well-received translation of Goethe's *Faust* and his

⁶⁵ "Honoring a Dead Poet. How Bayard Taylor's Remains will be Received and Honored by the Germans in this City" *New York Times*, 17 February 1879, 8.

⁶⁶ Henry A Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); Philip Allison-Shelley, Arthur Lewis, and William Betts, eds. *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents* vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Lamarr W. Kopp, *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol. 3: *German Literature in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1967).

⁶⁷ Philip Allison-Shelley, "Bayard Taylor and Schiller's *Don Carlos*," *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 34, 47; "A German Art of Life in America: The American Reception of the Goethian Doctrine of Self-Culture," *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents* vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1957); Russell Conwell, *Bayard Taylor*. (Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1881), 17-18; Albert Henry Smyth, *Bayard Taylor* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), 4-7, 13; Horst Frenz, "Bayard Taylor and the Reception of Goethe in America," *The Journal of English and German Philology* 41, no. 2 (1942), 125-139; John Krumpelmann, "The Genesis of Bayard Taylor's Translation of Goethe's *Faust*," *The Journal of English and German Philology* 42, no. 3 (1943), 551-562; Harry Pfund, "Bayard Taylor's Interest in Germany and German Literature" in *Bayard Taylor: Traveler, Journalist, Poet, Novelist, Linguist, Ambassador, Artist. January 11, 1825-December 19, 1878*. George Norman Highley, compiler. (Glen Loch, PA: Graphic Arts

honorary lecturer position at Cornell University in German studies evidence Taylor's reputation as a scholar on German literature. The most extensive examination of Taylor's connection to German literature was John Krumpelmann's *Bayard Taylor and German Letters* published in 1959. Most of the study explores how German literature influenced Taylor's own literary style to support the claim that German literature influenced American writing styles in general. Krumpelmann also recognized, however, that Taylor was the "foremost literary intermediary" between Germany and the United States and an important disseminator of German literature and culture to the United States in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

A third area of scholarship on the German-American encounter of the nineteenth century, and the most relevant to this study, involves the role of travel and travel writing as a means of transatlantic communication. This is an important element in this study on Taylor's writing and his American engagement with and representation of Germany to his American audience. Recent works on travel writing in the context of the German-American encounter help elucidate Taylor's importance in this regard. Christoph Mauch, in *Traveling between Worlds: German American Encounters*, sees travel writing as an integral part of the transatlantic ties and intercultural transfer between Germany and the United States in the nineteenth century. American travelers served as intermediaries, and their published travel books and guides were popular sources of information on Germany.⁶⁹ David Barclay and Elizabeth Glaser-Schmidt argue that the individual images and experiences described in American travel writings on Germany represented

Department of the Church Farm School, 1975), 7; Augustus J. Prahel "Bayard Taylor in Germany," *The German Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1945), 16-25.

⁶⁸ John T. Krumpelmann, *Bayard Taylor and German Letters* (Hamburg: Cram, deGruyter, 1959), 7-8.

⁶⁹ Mauch, 4-8.

patterns of communication that have shaped German-American relations and transatlantic perceptions. They provide substantial and original insights into modes of thought, cultural values, and mentalities of both the viewer and that which is viewed.⁷⁰ An examination of the quality and nature of Taylor's writings as an American in the context of transatlantic ties may yield some interesting insights and possibly reveal his historical place in relation to the nineteenth-century German-American encounter.

Another important aspect of Taylor's writing and representation that this dissertation examines is the methods by which he imparted the images to his American audience. Taylor's life pursuit was to become a member of the American cultural elite, but the vehicles of communication that he used were directed toward, and therefore more influential with, a broader American readership. His travel-related writings gained him his greatest popular exposure. This dissertation will examine three organs of communication that Taylor used – newspaper and magazine articles, published travel books, and the lecture circuit known generally as the Lyceum Movement.

America in the early to mid-nineteenth century was distinguished by a highly literate population, even in rural areas, although books were not readily available and Americans were not necessarily well-read. Basic skills, though, were considered to be valuable and by the 1830s, school reforms had significantly affected youth education. Print technology developed in the early nineteenth century meant cheaper books, periodicals, and newspapers for a much wider literate American audience.⁷¹ After 1860, even those living in the countryside had access to education and reading material as those

⁷⁰ Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 1-8.

⁷¹ Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 35-36.

in cities.⁷² Newspapers in particular were popular and valuable resources. Daniel Boorstin states that newspapers, as a cheap and ready source of information, spread rapidly in America, especially into the west as it opened up, and were often in place before communities organized and grew.⁷³

Bayard Taylor was a newspaper man out of financial necessity. He was closely affiliated with the *New York Tribune* throughout his life, beginning with his commissioned work during his 1844-46 Grand Tour and continuing through a long career in professional correspondence, editorial desk work, and stock investment. Taylor wrote that the “*Tribune* comes next to the Bible all through the west” and that through it his voice was heard by his readers hundreds of times across the country because “he gave a special interest to the narrative.”⁷⁴ His newspaper articles reached a wide audience across the country, especially when he returned to the United States in 1854 after two years of world travel. In *Life and Letters*, Marie Taylor noted that “his name [was] more widely known than he had imagined” and that Americans had taken an “interest... in his wanderings” through his newspaper articles, which kept him “in the minds of his countrymen in the most effectual way.”⁷⁵ Just as Taylor had, as a young farm boy in 1835, read Nathaniel Parker Willis’ “charming pictures of [Mediterranean] scenery and society” in newspaper articles on his European travels and became “filled with a thousand dreams and aspirations,” Taylor’s images and representations inspired “eager-eyed boys and girls in countless farmhouses” by reading his newspaper articles and

⁷² Daniel Sutherland, *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 54.

⁷³ Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), 124-125.

⁷⁴ *Life and Letters*, 69, 263.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 263.

columns and thinking about a broader world.⁷⁶ More significantly, though, they made him a well-known and very popular figure in his day.

The second method of communication was published travel books, in which he revised and polished his newspaper and magazine articles to present sophisticated images in book form. The journals he kept, articles he submitted, and letters he wrote to family and friends revealed his personal and even private perceptions of Germany, often as he was immediately exposed to events and scenes. After returning to the United States, he became absorbed in “entirely revising” the original material into chapters for the literary travel account. As he explained to his friend John Phillips while in the process of preparing to publish *Views A-foot* after returning from his Grand Tour in 1846:

I see much to strike out and much to alter, every time I review it, and although this is not a work about the reputation of which I care much, still I want to go before the world in a decent garb.... There is a great deal more art about it than persons suppose....⁷⁷

The images and representations in his travel books were carefully crafted to appeal to his American audience. This study uses the four published travel books in which Taylor’s encounters with German-speaking Central Europe were featured: *Views A-Foot* (1846), *At Home and Abroad, 1st Series* (1859), *At Home and Abroad, 2nd Series* (1862), and *By-Ways of Europe* (1869). Taylor’s travels in book form had a particular appeal to the general public, especially *Views A-Foot*, which remained so popular that, by 1855, it was in its 20th edition and demand for it had actually increased.⁷⁸ Taylor surmised that its

⁷⁶ *Views*, 17; Isaac Edwards Clarke, “A Tribute to Bayard Taylor: An Essay and a Poem.” Read before the Literary Society of Washington, March 8, 1879. Washington DC: Mohun Bros. Publishing, 1879.

⁷⁷ Bayard Taylor to John B. Phillips, New York, 16 October 1846, in *Selected Letters of Bayard Taylor*. ed. Paul Wermuth (Cranbury, NJ and London: Associated University Presses, 1997), 59-60.

⁷⁸ *Views*, preface to 1855 edition, vii-viii.

popularity lay with young Americans who aspired to experience Europe inexpensively.⁷⁹

Lecturing, in a public forum and later in a formal university program, was the third method of communication in which Taylor was actively involved throughout his life. The lecture circuit, known as the Lyceum Movement, reflected the general American appreciation for education. In the West, the pace of expansion outdistanced university growth, but there was considerable demand for educational opportunities that did not require buildings, classrooms, or teachers. The Lyceum lectures aspired to satisfy the educational needs of the new western populations and towns.⁸⁰ Angela Ray and Donald Scott argue that the Lyceum movement helped create a middle-class identity by validating common beliefs and values and fashioning a collective cultural consciousness.⁸¹ The opportunity to lecture eager audiences seemed a natural step for Taylor in the 1850s, once his world traveling and his newspaper accounts of his adventures made him a prominent national figure. Although tedious and exhausting, it became an important part of his income, was a significant organ of communication to a broad American audience and, for the purposes of this study, helped establish Taylor as a transatlantic man.

Thus, Taylor's involvement in different organs of nineteenth-century public communication gained him extensive exposure. In general, as Theresa Moran argues, Taylor's multi-media approach to transmitting his images and perspectives on foreign lands and omnipresence in American popular culture explain his popularity. That, combined with his reputation as a recognized authority on global travel, implies the

⁷⁹ *Life and Letters*, 70-71.

⁸⁰ Boorstin, 314-315.

⁸¹ Donald M. Scott, "The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in mid-nineteenth century America," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 4 (March 1990): 791-809; Angela Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005).

significant influence he had on his American readership in constructing an American identity and American perceptions of different peoples and cultures around the world.⁸²

Methodology

This dissertation relies on insights and ideas found in Theresa Moran's analysis of the relationship between Taylor's travel writings, his American identity, and his construction of the Arab and Asian worlds for an American audience hungry for information about the world is useful to frame Bayard Taylor's American encounter with Germany in the nineteenth century. Moran argues that Taylor's narratives and lectures on non-western cultures and peoples saturated the American public sphere and revealed what it meant to be an American and what role American identity played in coloring American perceptions of the world. In essence, Taylor, as a typical American, spurred the process of Americans imagining themselves as a national community and both reflected and reinforced American understanding of itself and its place in the world by addressing America's European roots, westward continental expansion, and its future global role.

Although Moran acknowledges the influence of Europe on a developing nineteenth-century American identity, her discussion is limited to a few paragraphs on Taylor's 1844-46 Grand Tour. For Moran, Taylor's American representations of Europe served two purposes. By encountering the historical past of Europe, he confirmed the greatness, both present and future, of the United States. His representations also highlighted the American egalitarian spirit by demonstrating that travel was not the exclusive preserve of the wealthy and aristocratic – any able-bodied, ambitious,

⁸² Moran, 5, 192.

determined American male could experience it.⁸³ This study expands and elaborates upon Taylor's representations of Europe, specifically German-speaking Central Europe, as an expression of his nineteenth-century American-ness, how his American identity informed his perceptions, and how his writings shaped America's relationship with foreign countries.

Moran's thesis, though, proceeds beyond how Taylor's writings revealed and confirmed an American identity. In addressing the role of national identity in representations of foreign peoples and cultures, she argues that Taylor's accounts also constructed an American image of the foreign regions he encountered in his travels. She uses Edward Said's *Orientalism* to explain the nature and value of Taylor's images of the Middle East and Asia in relation to the formation of American identity.⁸⁴ Said maintained that the ways in which "other" non-western places, people, and cultures were imaged and represented in western travel writing reflected the preconceptions and desires of their presenters and therefore reveal the culture of the author not that of the people described. For Moran, Taylor's writings exemplified biased, invented images and preconceived stereotypes of foreign lands and peoples that mirrored the issues and feelings typical of his time and fleshed out "inchoate notions" of the non-western world that the American public already possessed.⁸⁵

Said's Orientalist model is applied to studies on nineteenth-century American travel writings in Europe as well. Pere Gifra-Adroher, for example, argues that nineteenth-century American travelers in Spain saw what they wanted to see. Spain was preconceived as the country in Europe most defined by its Oriental, medieval, and

⁸³ Moran, 10, 57-59.

⁸⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978).

⁸⁵ Moran, viii.

Golden Age past. The constructed images in the American writings perpetuated unflattering and predetermined national stereotypes of Spain as a land of banditry, poverty, Moorish exoticism, and backward medievalism that produced a distorted representation and rewrote Spain as the “other.”⁸⁶ American perceptions of Spain in the nineteenth century therefore reflected the expectations and image of the writer, not the reality of what was observed.⁸⁷ Hermann Wellenreuther’s study of American perceptions of Germany in travel accounts written between 1800 and 1840 also follows this line of analysis.⁸⁸ Wellenreuther argues that American travelers’ images of and reactions to Germany were not so much descriptions of what Germans really were but reflections of American cultural and conceptual concerns. In general, he concludes that the frequently negative impressions of Germany reinforced an American sense of a national destiny with greater freedom, democracy, and decency.

In some respects, Taylor’s encounter with Germany and descriptions in his writings reflect his American awareness of “the other” in German social activities and customs. His American typicality unavoidably shaped his perceptions and the American travel books on Europe that he read as a youth, especially on the glory of the ancient Mediterranean civilizations, created preconceived notions and expectations that were expressed in his writing. However, Taylor had little exposure to written images of German-speaking Central Europe before his first encounter in 1844 therefore may not have had clear preconceptions. His representations, though, spotlight his American values and predilections. In some instances, he not only noted differences but was

⁸⁶Pere Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth-Century United States* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2000), 15-18.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁸⁸ Hermann Wellenreuther, “Germans Make Cows and Women Work: American perceptions of Germans as reported in American travel books, 1800-1840,” in *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*, 41-63.

appalled at what he saw, especially in his first visit during the 1840s. For example, like most American travelers to Germany in the early nineteenth century, he was critical in virtually all of his entries about German women. He wrote that the position of women in German society was “rather a strange one” without the social liberties American women enjoyed and that “women... labor like brutes, day after day” in ways that an American cannot witness “without pity and indignation.”⁸⁹

Taylor’s American critique of a few German social customs and habits notwithstanding, in most respects he was complimentary of German people, society, and culture in his representations during his lifelong attachment personally and publically to Germany. He wrote to his sister Hannah that the Germans “excel Americans in many ways,” especially in their social feeling.⁹⁰ In his travel accounts for his readers, he was impressed with the general happiness of the German people, in awe of German cultural achievement, and he raved about German social activities. He noted with pleasure in the 1850s, for example, that Americans had “gradually naturalized” the German Christmas celebration, an experience that had thrilled him in 1844.⁹¹ He was drawn to German democratic political developments that appealed to his American ideals, especially in the more liberal central and western German states of Hannover, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, and Taylor’s own German “home,” Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Taylor’s American perception of the German “other,” therefore, predominantly expressed admiration not condescension. Said’s *Orientalism*, though, starts a discussion on the nature of Taylor’s

⁸⁹ “Social Customs and Manners,” November 1845, Folder 17 MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC; *Views*, 152, 160; Travel journal entry March 30, 1845, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC; Hermann Wellenreuther demonstrates that many American travelers to Germany in the early nineteenth century noted the terrible treatment of women in “Germans make Cows and Women Work,” 56.

⁹⁰ Taylor to Hannah [Taylor] Darlington, [1845], in *Unpublished Letters*, 11.

⁹¹ *HAL*, 466.

encounters with and representation of the German “other.”

To that end, this study uses an interpretive approach based upon recent scholarship that examines American perspectives on Germany and consequent transatlantic ties as part of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter. John T. Walker’s essay on “John Lothrop Motley: Boston Brahmin and Transatlantic Man” in *Traveling between Worlds* is particularly useful. Motley was educated in a German university in the early nineteenth century, was fluent in German and an interpreter and promoter of German literature, and maintained lifelong friendships with prominent Germans, most notably Prince Otto von Bismarck. According to Walker, Motley was a “transatlantic man” because the core of his world view was a belief that the United States was a product of European historical development and influence. His American identity and his representation of Germany for Americans, therefore, included recognition of the connections with and an emphasis on the similarities between American and German social, cultural and political values and ideals.⁹²

Walker’s study of Motley’s transatlantic significance is a model applicable to a study of the role of national identity in representations through travel writings and Taylor’s American perceptions and representations of Germany for his audience. Taylor was a contemporary of Motley and his relationship with and images of Germany in his travel writing are strikingly comparable. In his writings, Taylor clearly recognized continuities and similarities between Germany and the United States, made ties between what he observed in Germany and his American identity, and sought to transmit German literary accomplishment in ways that benefited American culture. His tendency to

⁹² John T. Walker, “John Lothrop Motley: Boston Brahmin and Transatlantic Man,” in *Traveling Between Worlds*, 9-12, 51-78.

communicate connections between the United States and Germany in his American construction of German images for his reading audience supports an analytical approach that reveals Taylor's transatlantic persona.

From a transatlantic perspective, the Atlantic Ocean was a passageway that connected the Old and New Worlds, not a barrier that separated them. In that regard, studies on cultural brokerage amplify the significance and character of Taylor's transatlantic image. Margaret Connell-Szasz defines cultural brokers as bridges between disparate peoples, moving from one culture to another to forge bonds of understanding between the two. Although her studies focus on Native American-European contact, Connell-Szasz recognizes cultural borders as universal phenomena that emerge wherever cultures encounter one another. Moving across the boundaries and creating pathways between different cultures require skill and awareness, so cultural brokers become repositories of two or more cultures and change roles at will in accordance with circumstances.⁹³

The cultural broker model further informs Taylor's transatlantic role. As an American, Taylor was very conscious of being a link between Germany and his American audience. He wrote that his travel writings were personal in that he was the nexus between his American reading public and the scenes and subjects in Germany of interest to them.⁹⁴ He was a middle-class northern male Euro-American deeply imbedded and invested in German society and culture and became a key cultural broker in advancing German-American relations.

⁹³ Introduction to *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. Margaret Connell-Szasz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 3-20.

⁹⁴ HA2, 226.

The motivations behind Taylor's transatlantic brokerage, however, were complex. He was genuinely interested in and admired German society and culture. There was much about German society and culture that appealed to him as an American and he sought to identify social, cultural, and political bonds between the United States and Germany through his writings. Fame and fortune, though, were also powerful motivators. Wermuth claims that, although Taylor was generally well-liked, he had a "colossal ego" and "overweening ambition to succeed and make his mark," as well as a "desperate need for recognition."⁹⁵ His connection with Germany offered an opportunity, especially as his literary career sagged, to stay in the American public eye and establish a cultural and literary presence. Money was also a major issue for Taylor. He was a broker in a very materialistic sense. As Moran observes, Taylor was "adroitly entrepreneurial" and therefore keenly adept at reading and exploiting public tastes to fashion a brilliant and profitable marketing tool out of his travel experiences. Throughout his life, he managed and peddled his American experience with and representations of Germany into what proved to be a viable product for American consumption.⁹⁶ His reputation and name-recognition, familiarity with and expertise in German culture, access to German resources, the profit motive, and his popularity combined to position Taylor as a transatlantic middle-man to sell a commodity to his American audience.

Moran's interpretative approach to travel writing as the lens through which representation of "the other" takes place is useful as well for this study. Her analysis supports an "internalist view" - a focus on one actor and comprehending "the actor's idea

⁹⁵ Wermuth, introduction to *Selected Letters*, 24-25.

⁹⁶ Moran, 19.

of themselves and of the world.”⁹⁷ The actors for Moran were both the producer of the texts, Bayard Taylor, and the audience to the extent that they shared his American attitudes, beliefs, and values. However, although Moran includes the audience as actor, it had a subordinate role. Her focus relies extensively on Taylor’s writings and argues that he played the dominant “gatekeeping” role over the receptive audience. In that capacity, he was a potent force on mid-nineteenth century American development of national identity and in the construction of American perceptions and images of foreign peoples and cultures. Moran does not explain specifically the response to or influence of Taylor’s representations on his American audience and the resultant American perceptions of the Arab and Asian cultures. She concludes that his writings were impactful and significant considering his popularity, reputation, multi-media exposure, and his “typicality.”⁹⁸

Applying that methodology to this study, the historical significance of Taylor’s German-American encounter is found through his individual perspective as a typical American and an active participant in both cultures. As an American everyman embodying Euro-American values, ideals and attitudes, he engaged and made connections with Germany in ways relating directly to elements that broadly form the core of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter. Those elements include transnational middle class social values and cosmopolitanism, immigration and the German-American population, American interest in German literary culture, similarities in political ideals and activities, and travel writing as a means of communicating transatlantic images and perceptions. His public and personal experiences in Germany represent the German-American encounter in microcosm.

⁹⁷ Moran, 29.

⁹⁸ Moran, 5.

Chapter Emphases

Taylor's national identity defined him as an American in Germany and informed his travel-writings on and representations of German social, cultural, and political activities. Through his American identity, he recognized similarities between the United States and Germany and communicated, translated, interpreted, and brokered German life and culture to his American readers, thereby making a transatlantic connection in the context of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter.

Chapter 2 addresses Taylor's significance as a representative of his time and briefly outlines Taylor's life through his European Grand Tour from 1844-46, the influences on his thinking, and his aspirations. It also introduces the first of his travels to Germany. Taylor is the lens through which the images are captured and conveyed. Understanding his life and ambitions, his purposes, his prejudices, his approach to travel, and his attitude toward Germany in the course of his contact with the people and culture of central Europe is critical to interpreting the meaning and significance of his narrative images. It also establishes definitions of nation and the layers of identity that are explored in ensuing chapters in relation to Taylor's representations of Germany.

Chapter 3 explores elements of Taylor's middle-class social identity, specifically the cosmopolitan-ethnocentrism dichotomy expressed in his travel-related writings on the German natural scientist Alexander von Humboldt, and the transatlantic connections he makes between American and German geographical exploration in the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter 4 introduces and explains Taylor's cultural identity as a nineteenth-century American and its relation to German literary culture. Through his contact with

cultural figures and writings on German literature, Taylor acquired the language skills, access to sources, insertion in German society, and reputation as an authority on German culture to position himself as a transatlantic cultural broker for his American audience.

Chapter 5 extends the material and argument of Chapter 4 with a detailed analysis of Taylor's representations of the two most famous and popular German literary figures in Germany and the United States, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. Taylor's interest in Schiller and Goethe reflected general trends in American interest at the time and the fluidity of his cultural identity blurred the boundaries between Germany and America and thereby facilitated his transatlantic cultural brokerage.

Chapter 6 examines how Taylor defined himself as an American and transatlantic figure through his encounters with and descriptions of German political movements and developments in his frequent visits between 1844 and 1878 for his American audience. Taylor's sense of American-ness informed his engagement with German politics and is clearly indicated by his choices of subjects and his interpretations and expectations. His pride in American political ideals and his concerns over political developments in the United States stood out as he described and represented what he recognized and what he felt was important, familiar, and similar in German political development.

Chapter 2 Bayard Taylor and Germany: Early Life through 1846

Chapter Introduction

A biographical sketch of Bayard Taylor's early life leading up to his Grand Tour of Europe and first encounter with German-speaking Central Europe from 1844-45, during which he found "friends in a strange land" thus tying him to Germany for the rest of his life, is necessary to introduce Taylor as an American traveler and transatlantic figure.⁹⁹ This chapter and the biographical segments within subsequent chapters provide context for Taylor's engagement with Germany. The descriptions of developments and events that influenced his life and thoughts are very general and based largely upon Taylor's writings to narrate his own story. Consequently, the biographical sections are not deeply analytical or critical. As sketches, they simply place Taylor's life in the foreground to allow for examination and analysis of aspects of Taylor's encounters with Germany in the chapters to come, specifically his perceptions and experiences as well as the layers of his American social, gendered, cultural, and political identity.¹⁰⁰

Accounts of his life serve two purposes. First, they explain the influence of Taylor's American identity – his values, ideals, biases, attitudes, gendered behavior, and interests as an American. The images he drew depended not only on his adventures and experiences but upon his American-ness. Travel writings are the personal testament of an individual's thoughts about and responses to the country and culture observed; they are reflections on activities that were sought deliberately and therefore of interest to the

⁹⁹ *Views*, 172.

¹⁰⁰ Tatlock and Erlin, eds., introduction to *German Culture in Nineteenth-century America*, xiii.

writer.¹⁰¹ Taylor's American identity and early life experiences helped craft his viewpoint and areas of interest and are crucial to explaining the images of Germany that he captured in his writing as a nineteenth-century American perception of Germany.

His writings, however, were not just private day-to-day musings. The contents of every one of his published travel books were written with the intent of communicating his experiences to an audience through the lens of his values, ideals, and perspectives. They translate the foreign physical landscape and culture into a familiar dialect and articulate what is emoted into words and ideas that have meaning to American readers. That intent captures the essence of Taylor's significance as a transatlantic figure in the nineteenth century – he was an American everyman, typical of his time, encountering, describing, interpreting, and recognizing similarities and commonalities in aspects of German culture, society, and politics at many levels to appeal to an American public.

Taylor's American identity shaped his viewpoint but it is important also to understand that the places he described were not fictional. His assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, and values are the foundation of his representations but the impressions and descriptions were rooted in real experience.¹⁰² Taylor was an individual encountering the German landscape as both an actual geographical place and as a space of travel and representation.¹⁰³ James Duncan and Derek Gregory define "spaces of travel" as the environment of travel and an understanding that the production of travel writing is accomplished by living beings moving through material spaces. Consideration must be

¹⁰¹ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 1-5; Terry Caesar, *Forgiving the Boundaries: Home as Abroad in American Travel Writing* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Tim Youngs, ed., *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), 6-7; Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2-5.

¹⁰² Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 2-9.

¹⁰³ James S. Duncan and Derek Gregory, *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 3-5.

given not only to the authors and their strategies of representation but also to the geographic places these travelers confront and the physical means through which they engage them.¹⁰⁴ As William Stowe argues, “landscape” is physical space that is filtered through an individual’s mind and feelings. American travel writing historically, therefore, has been a creative act – an individual traveler’s perception of a foreign landscape that involves the organization and interpretation of a set of observed empirical givens.¹⁰⁵ Taylor’s images of Germany in his travel writings were verbal snapshots in place and time filtered through his mental lens. Considering his close personal and professional connection with German-speaking Central Europe sustained over three decades, Taylor’s representations did not only express his American identity - he interacted with Germany in ways that reinforced his transatlantic image within the broader German-American encounter in the nineteenth century.

Second, brief biographical sketches at the beginning of each chapter address the notion of the *evolution* of Taylor’s relationship with Germany that he presented to an American public in the nineteenth century. Taylor’s life and career changed in the course of his contact with Germany, a part of which included a growing comfort and familiarity that Taylor felt toward German-speaking Central Europe. The changes and life experiences influenced the levels of Taylor’s representations and recognition of transatlantic similarities and connections. His writing evolved from excited descriptions as a novice to informed communication as someone who moved comfortably in both

¹⁰⁴ Duncan and Gregory. “Spaces of Representation” and “Spaces of Travel” are discussed extensively in pages 3-5. The section on “Representation” in Derek Gregory, R.J. Johnston, et al, eds., *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000) provides a select list of recent scholarship on the topic.

¹⁰⁵ William Stowe, “‘Property in the horizon’: landscape and American travel writing,” in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, 26.

American and German societies. In the process, he gained a reputation as a cultural authority on Germany and brokered elements of German high culture to Americans.

Taylor's evolving levels of contact and connection are expressed in a changing attitude he acquired toward familiar scenes through decades of encounters. As Taylor wrote in 1867 on a vacation in Gotha and published in the "Random Notes" column in the *Tribune*:

I am more than ever convinced that the best pleasures and most lasting advantages of travel belong not to the first or second, but to the fourth or fifth visit to foreign lands. If one misses the enthusiasm, the exhilaration, the capacity for thoughtless enjoyment, and the delightful ignorance of youth, on the other hand, one has less of uncertainty, of perplexing questions to solve, a keener, closer, more intelligent appreciation; a far wider and more fruitful field of interest, and a cultivated perception of beauty, which is gratified at every turn. Let the years go by unlamented! They bring more than they take away. I prefer the tender, familiar interest which comes from old acquaintance, to the pleasant shock of love at first sight, in this matter of travel.¹⁰⁶

As Taylor matured and through frequent visits to Germany, his enjoyment and understanding grew exponentially. Adding to his evolving relationship, Europe was changing dramatically between 1844 and 1878, the period in which Taylor traveled. Both Germany and the United States were in critical transitional and formative periods in their respective histories, which is crucial in interpreting the evolution of his written sketches and images and add to the study of German-American encounters in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁶ *Life and Letters* vol. 2, 475-476: Bayard Taylor, "Random Notes," *New York Tribune*, 1867. No citation or specific date.

Bayard Taylor : A Nineteenth-Century American Everyman

Before introducing Taylor as an everyman, a concise survey of key developments and trajectories in nineteenth-century American history is necessary to provide some historical background for Taylor's typicality. The United States underwent profound change from the end of the War of 1812 through the Civil War and Reconstruction era. The middle part of the nineteenth century witnessed a strong egalitarian impulse as a step in a long evolution toward a more democratic political system. Economic modernization and industrialization accompanied the political changes at this transformative juncture and resulted in a shift from a rural society and agricultural economy to an increasingly urban society and a moneyed economy in the northern and northeastern regions. The growth of the nineteenth-century American economy encouraged increased world-wide commercial contact, which, in turn, stimulated interest in other cultures and peoples around the world and marked the advent of American participation in global travel for pleasure, personal interest, or educational/cultural purposes. Additionally, a revolution in transportation, communication, and print technology primarily in the northern states allowed for diffusion and accessibility of information that, along with an influx of European patterns of thought, restructured American culture.¹⁰⁷ Territorial aggrandizement in North America also characterized the nineteenth century as Americans surged west across Indian lands, while an increase in immigration from Europe replaced the populations leaving the east coast and became the northern urban industrial workers and mill-town laborers by mid-to-late century.

¹⁰⁷ Michell Snay, *Horace Greeley and the Politics of Reform in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Rowen and Littlefield, 2011), 1-3.

The combination of unprecedented expansion westward, a population explosion, immigration, political change, and a rapidly expanding industrial economy, though, brought social disorder. The problems were brought into focus through the influence of the Second Great Awakening between 1790 and 1830, a popularly-rooted Christian religious revival. Its special emphasis was the moral reconstruction of American society and the role of “Free Will” in which individuals could attain salvation through right action by targeting vices like drinking and smoking. More importantly, though, it intensified issues brewing in American society regarding rights and freedoms that were limited to males of European ancestry, designated in the Constitution as “the people.” The other two recognized populations in the Constitution, “other persons” (the phrase substituted for “black slaves”) and Native Americans did not enjoy the rights and privileges guaranteed to “the people.” The treatment of Native Americans, the abolition of slavery, the value of education, and women’s rights became focal points that emerged, therefore, from the moral enlightenment of the Second Great Awakening. During the reform movement of the 1830s and 1840s, the issue of slavery in particular exacerbated the already volatile sectional differences that led to the Civil War. These historical processes had a lasting effect on all levels of American society and lend an epic character to American history in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

The developments, political views, social attitudes, and cultural interests illustrative of his time influenced Taylor, so much so that his place as an American everyman is a theme of a number of studies on his life and work. Taylor typified Northern Republican values, attitudes, and impulses of the nineteenth century. He embraced the democratic ideals of the Jacksonian Era (limited to white males) in his

youth and expressed more moderate liberal political views as he became elevated socially. He took with him an American sense of morality in his earliest travels but his acquired middle-class social status and his world travels during the 1850s and after allowed for a broader cosmopolitan public persona. His interests culturally, both in his own writing style and in his connection with German achievement, reflected that of Americans of his region, economic and social status, ethnicity, and gender during the mid-nineteenth century. His typicality and the consistencies and changes in his American views and identity during his lifetime are represented in his encounters with Germany and discussed in the following chapters.

Taylor's typicality is also found in his ability, either deliberate or accidental, to become attached to or involved in virtually all of the significant developments, emerging technologies, processes, movements, and events of his age. He rode the wave of change and transformation in nineteenth-century American society. A glance at his life indicates that Taylor was in the right place at the right time in American history to make a name as a traveler in general and, in particular, as a transatlantic communicator of German culture and images to an American public. He was an American Grand Tourist in Europe while it was still an educational and challenging adventure. He became a correspondent at the inception of a publishing revolution and the rise of newspapers so that his views of the world, especially through the *New York Tribune*, were projected to a wide audience outside of the major metropolitan centers on America's northeast coast and therefore created the broadest possible base of popularity. He was friends with many of the most prominent literary figures of the nineteenth century in his lifetime, in the United States,

Germany, and Great Britain, and moved comfortably in literary and intellectual circles on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

He was a witness to and observer of the California Gold Rush in 1849. He traveled to the far reaches of the planet (Africa, the Middle East, India, China, Japan, Russia, the frozen north of Europe) to feed a nineteenth-century American appetite for adventure and images of non-Western peoples and cultures just as American society became more aware of an outside world.¹⁰⁸ He was in great demand as a lecturer, communicating experiences from his travels to Americans from coast to coast. He spoke against slavery and addressed women's rights in his writing.¹⁰⁹ He was a staunch supporter of the Union cause during the Civil War and eventually came to appreciate President Abraham Lincoln's leadership during the conflict. In one of his last professional travels, he toured Colorado on horseback in the summer of 1866 to report back to the *Tribune* and the American people on the Great Plains and even commented on Native American resistance, just as the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains opened up to settlement immediately after the Civil War.

He made a place for himself as a scholar on German culture and literature at the height of an American interest in German achievement. He forged a reputation as a diplomat, representing the United States government during the Civil War in an effort to keep the European powers neutral and in the 1870s serving as minister to the German Empire as the United States began to take an interest in international affairs. He was a poor American farm boy who, through determination and desire, benefited from

¹⁰⁸ Moran, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Kelvin Beliele, "Beloved savages and other outsiders: Genre and gender transgressions in the travel writings of Herman Melville, Bayard Taylor, and Charles Warren Stoddard" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2009), 110-111.

opportunities available to an ambitious man in nineteenth-century American society to become one of the most well-known people of his day. The changes in transportation, printing, education, economy, and politics at that particular time in history gave him the chance to find a place in American society and culture and prepared the way in which Taylor could play the role of an American everyman abroad as well as participate in the creation of what it meant to be a member of the Euro-American middle class.

Early Life, 1825-1843

Bayard Taylor was born on January 11, 1825, in Kennett Square, Chester County, Pennsylvania. The Taylor family had deep roots in the community that extended back to the Quaker emigration to Pennsylvania with William Penn in 1681. Bayard's grandfather was excommunicated for marrying a German Lutheran woman but evidently his grandmother and Taylor's mother, also a German Lutheran, adopted Quaker doctrine and taught Quaker speech and manners to their children.

Several biographers of Taylor have claimed that his German heritage through his mother and both grandmothers accounted for the seemingly strong affinity for and attraction to German central Europe and German culture that he displayed all his life.¹¹⁰ That assertion, though, suggests that one acquires a natural pre-disposition toward one's ethnic ancestry. Scholarship arguing that immigrants to America did not necessarily become "Americanized" and instead preserved their native cultural habits in ethnic

¹¹⁰ Smyth, 13: "Doubtless to his German stock was drawn the strong attraction that Teutonic studies had for him, and to it he was wont to trace his *lust zu fabuliren*." Pfund, 7: His "German antecedents lent important hereditary traits," including "his early interest in Germany, its people, their literature and history, and that uncommon affinity for their language." Taylor to 'Dear Sir,' 20 March 1869, in *Unpublished Letters*, 127: "I knew some little French, but went first to Germany, where I was ignorant of the language." Taylor's exposure to German culture or habits in his home before he went to Europe in 1844 was extremely limited, if not non-existent.

communities while simultaneously becoming more involved with American culture in general supports the position.¹¹¹ Pennsylvania was a preferred destination for German immigrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore Taylor, as a native Pennsylvanian, could have been regularly exposed to and comfortable with German culture. However, that argument is speculation and assumption. Taylor made no direct statement to that effect. In fact, any mention of contact with or interest in German culture before traveling to Europe in 1844 is conspicuously absent from his writing.¹¹² He stated outright in an 1863 autobiographical sketch that before 1844 “my life had little correspondence with the aspects of an ancestry of almost two centuries.”¹¹³ Even though his paternal grandmother spoke German to her children, there is no documented evidence that German was spoken in Bayard’s home or that he knew of it. He wrote that he studied only French, Spanish, and Latin (which he learned in the academy as a teenager) before his life of travel, and read American and British authors exclusively as a youth.¹¹⁴

Taylor grew up, however, in a period when interest in German literature and German philosophy was more widespread in the United States than at any other time.¹¹⁵ German literature was held up as a model for what American literature could become as the United States came of age. As Barton Beebe argues, embracing German achievement

¹¹¹ *German Culture in Nineteenth Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*, eds. Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin (New York: Camden House, 2005); Hans L. Trefousse, *Germany and America: essays on problems of international relations and immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); *The German-American Encounter: conflict and cooperation between two cultures, 1800-2000*, eds. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); *America and the Germans: an assessment of a three-hundred-year history*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

¹¹² *Life and Letters*, 7: Taylor mentions that, in his early teens, he came across a copy of Wieland’s “Oberon.” He “knew nothing of German” so it took him “several days to understand the first verse.” He wrote this, however, as an illustration of the attraction to foreign languages that would stay with him all his life, not as a suggestion that he had a natural affinity for German culture; Albert Smyth records that Taylor had read Herder, but he is the only biographer who mentions this, 29.

¹¹³ Box 7, BTP, CUSC.

¹¹⁴ *Life and Letters*, 14-15.

¹¹⁵ Pfund, 7.

in literature and philosophy became part of American emancipation culturally and independence politically from Britain.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, prior to 1844, Taylor did not participate in the American interest in German culture in the early nineteenth century. He did not attend a university and did not have contact with anyone who was exposed to, influenced by, or involved in the discussion of German literature.

According to his own accounts and his biographers, though, Taylor was a voracious reader. Farm life did not appeal to him, so he spent as much time as possible lost in books and magazines or scribbling poems in his diaries. He enjoyed the outdoors, but the village library became his refuge, especially in the winter.¹¹⁷ He retained the images from the books he read as a boy and recalled them as he traveled as an adult. His love of books was matched from an early age only by his desire to travel. That he would climb the highest hills to look as far across the horizon as possible was a clear indication of his restless desire to see new worlds.¹¹⁸ Travel books and poetry, therefore, were Taylor's "chief delight in reading," which further fueled the fire of his imagination.¹¹⁹ He was probably first introduced to Europe through his passion for reading. He recalled, in *Views A-Foot*, how an enthusiastic desire to visit the Old World had haunted him and fostered a positive belief that he would one day behold the scenes he had already beheld in his reading.¹²⁰ Images of Europe found their way into the American, and Taylor's, imagination through several personal travel books written by major American literary figures and published in the early nineteenth century. Washington Irving's *The Sketch*

¹¹⁶ Barton Carl Beebe, "The Search for a fatherland: James Fenimore Cooper in Germany" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1998), 26-30, 41.

¹¹⁷ *Life and Letters*, 8-9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10; *Views*, 17.

Book (1819-1820) was a peculiar medley of tales and deeply personal essays in which the fictional narrator sketches the “nooks, and corners, and by-places” of Europe but neglects the prominent cultural and historical landmarks.¹²¹ Irving rose to prominence as the first great American writer and his *Sketch Book* was an American favorite for decades. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s *Outre Mer* (1835) was also one of Taylor’s favorite books.

The most influential of the literary travel writings on young Bayard’s budding imagination, in his biographers’ estimation, was Nathaniel Parker Willis’s *Pencilings By The Way* (1835). Taylor was ten years old when he faithfully read Willis’s weekly newspaper articles on his travels, which became the source for fanciful notions as he contemplated a possible future tour of Europe.¹²² Taylor later imitated Willis’s financing of his travels in part through correspondence to newspapers. Richmond Beatty, one of Taylor’s biographers, uses Taylor’s strong connection to Willis as a weapon to attack Taylor’s intellectual capacity. Beatty claimed that although Taylor read Irving’s *Sketch Book* and Longfellow’s *Outre Mer*, they had little influence on him because their vision and genius were well beyond Taylor’s ability to engage or comprehend. Their books were efforts by great American spirits who sought to steep themselves in an older cultural tradition and search for something spiritually satisfying but impossible to achieve in the New World. They represent a deeper, finer inspiration and are reflections of a moving and thoughtful experience. They were, according to Beatty, too long and tedious for the impatient and none-too-bright Taylor. They required learning a country in depth and reflecting sympathetically on an environment steeped in rich associations with a finer inspiration, which were skills that Taylor never developed.

¹²¹ *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, Shorter 6th Edition, ed. Nina Baym (New York: Norton & Co., 2003), 427.

¹²² *Life and Letters*, 10-11.

Taylor's fascination for Willis's writing revealed his preference for what Beatty considers to be the glittering, shallow, colorful tourist diary, not the deep literature of Irving or Longfellow. To support his disdain for both Willis and Taylor, Beatty uses comments by a nineteenth-century critic who described *Pencillings* as a "goose of a book." It was a brainless, thoughtless piece written by a "beggarly skittler, ... a Nambypamby writer, ... a windy-gutted visitor."¹²³ Not all scholars are critical of Taylor's reading background, though. Ziff, for example, interprets Taylor's interests differently. Taylor read the newspaper installments avidly, but his longing to travel was intensified more by reading Longfellow and Irving than by the newspaper articles. They were the literary models for Taylor, presenting fascinating foreign scenes, nostalgia for the Old World, and creating the need for Taylor to visit Europe as part of his own aspiration to be a literary figure.¹²⁴

Literary travel books were not the only influence on Taylor before his first visit to Europe. He also read travel writings that were more factually descriptive of European travel in the months just prior to his departure in 1844. He mentions George Putnam's *The Tourist in Europe* and William Howitt's *Scenes of Rural Germany* specifically because, according to Taylor's early biographers, they fed his mind eager for scenes of Europe.¹²⁵ Howitt's work was especially influential in reassuring Taylor that he could make the journey in Europe by foot at much less expense than the estimates he had

¹²³ Beatty, 9-10.

¹²⁴ Ziff, 172. Willis would have an effect and influence well beyond shaping Taylor's young mind. Before Taylor left for Europe in 1844, he dropped in to see Willis, who gave him a letter of introduction to present to Willis's brother, who was studying music in Frankfurt. Taylor would lay down roots there in 1844-45 because of that contact. When Taylor returned to the US, Willis encouraged him to publish his correspondence, wrote a preface to *Views A-Foot*, and introduced him to the literary world in New York.

¹²⁵ *Views*, 18; Conwell, 34-35.

received from others.¹²⁶ Clearly, Taylor was not a blank slate when he traveled to Europe in 1844. How much his reading shaped his thinking and writing about Germany at this early stage, though, is difficult to say. As it played out, Taylor's attraction and eventual connection to German society and culture was a product of opportunity, exposure, experience, and even serendipity, not predilection, preparation, or personal desire initially.

At the age of 12, Bayard moved with his family to West Chester, Pennsylvania when his father was elected sheriff, and he spent his last five years of school in a nearby academy. He dreamed of being a poet from a very young age. He published his first poem in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1841 and was apprenticed to a printer in 1842, a practical field for aspiring writers. He may have hoped to get a leg up in his goal of becoming a literary figure through printing. In 1844, he published his first book, *Ximena, and Other Poems*, but the printer's trade was not to his taste. When his cousin Frank Taylor invited Bayard in the spring 1844 to accompany him to Heidelberg, where Frank was to attend the University, Taylor's life took a definitive turn. Using the proceeds from the sale of *Ximena*, he bought out his apprenticeship. By early summer, he was finally getting his affairs in order and was raising the money necessary for the trip. He exclaimed that, although he hesitated to leave his family and his betrothed, Mary Agnew, he was exhilarated by the prospect of fulfilling "the dream of my youth" to see Italy and "the Isles of Greece! Hallowed by Homer and Milton and Byron!"¹²⁷ He expressed envy in an 1843 letter to Rufus Griswold, who was on his way to Europe:

¹²⁶ *Life and Letters*, 33-34.

¹²⁷ Bayard Taylor to John B. Phillips, no date but before leaving for his Grand Tour in July 1844, in *Life and Letters*, 35.

You are going to perform what for years has been the earnest wish of my heart. From early childhood I have had a strong, and unconquerable desire to visit Greece and Italy – to wander amid the ruins of their primal glory, and learn wisdom and humility among the wrecks of their grandeur and pride. Such is still the goal for which I am struggling – but I cannot hope for a long time yet, to accomplish it.¹²⁸

Even after arriving in Germany, his thoughts were directed south, which is further evidence that Taylor’s real desire was to see the Mediterranean sites – his interest in Germany was at this time simply an opportunity to bring in revenue to support his Tour through newspaper articles, not a natural predisposition because of his Germanic heritage. He wrote in his journal “When I think that in a few months more, I may stand among the ruins of the Coliseum, or even by the Parthenon, it makes me feel almost wild, to think that the dream of my youth will soon be fulfilled.” In early 1845, he complained that he was growing “tired” of Germany as he thought about his real desire to see Italy, Greece, and Constantinople.¹²⁹ It was imperative for Taylor to experience firsthand the classical beauty of the ancient Mediterranean civilizations, associate with Western heritage, and follow the path of prominent American literary figures as the first step toward his own literary aspirations.

His daydreams of seeing Europe became reality in the late spring of 1844, but as it would turn out, it would not be to the Mediterranean destinations he had anticipated. To pay for passage across the Atlantic Ocean, Taylor obtained advance payments from Joseph Chandler, editor of the *United States Gazette*, and “Mr. Patterson,” publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*, for articles while he toured.¹³⁰ The most important patronage,

¹²⁸ Taylor to Rufus Griswold, West Chester, 7 April 1843, in *Selected Letters*, 48. Griswold had helped Taylor publish some early poems before his European Tour.

¹²⁹ Travel journal entry, 1 December 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC; Bayard Taylor to Frank [Taylor], 16 February 1845, Box 6, BTP, CUSC.

¹³⁰ *Life and Letters*, 37.

though, came from Horace Greeley of the newly-established *New York Tribune*. When Taylor called upon Greeley for financial support, Greeley told him bluntly that he was “sick of descriptive letters and will have no more of them. But I should like some sketches of German life and society, after you have been there and know something about it. If the letters are good, you shall be paid for them, but don’t write until you know something.”¹³¹ Taylor promised faithfully to do so.

Keeping that promise altered his path on his European Tour in 1844. Greeley’s charge to provide substantial images of German life in letters published in the *Tribune* augured a nineteenth-century American interest in Germany. Robert Williams asserts that Greeley, as “tribune of the people,” spoke the language of the American people and shaped the discourse on a variety of topics through his newspaper’s articles.¹³² The fact that by 1860 the *Tribune* had a larger circulation than any newspaper in the world clearly indicates how attuned Greeley was to the tastes and interests of his large readership.¹³³ He was savvy enough to recognize the appeal of well-informed articles on Germany, just as he knew later that Americans were eager for information about California in 1849 and Asia in the 1850s. *Tribune* employment gave Taylor a significant platform to advance his personal ambitions.

Most significantly, Greeley set the course of Taylor’s public life. Since reading of travel as a boy, Taylor had dreamed of a Tour of Italy and Greece. His cousin Frank’s destination of Heidelberg and Nathaniel Willis’s letter of introduction for Taylor to

¹³¹ *Views*, 22.

¹³² Robert C. Williams, *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), xi.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1.

Willis's brother in Frankfurt, however, initially directed Taylor to Germany.¹³⁴ Greeley's instructions to settle into Germany, learn the language, and study the German culture and people in his articles cemented his initial, unexpected, and enduring relationship with Germany. Greeley also exposed a market for writings on German society, culture, and politics that Taylor exploited for decades. His unintended but fortuitous connection to Germany in the 1840s, along with his reputation as a world traveler, became the cornerstone of his personal life and professional success. On July 1, 1844 the ship left New York bound for Liverpool, England. Bayard Taylor began his journey.

Bayard Taylor and His Grand Tour, 1844-46

Taylor's initial travel excursion into Europe from 1844 to 1846 set the stage for his life-long affiliation with Germany. Some discussion, therefore, is necessary to illustrate the significance of the specific quality at this point in his interaction with Germany and of his representations of German images in his travel writings. In 1844, Taylor was an ambitious young man with meager means and limited possibilities but very high hopes for public fame. His experiences in Europe in the mid-1840s, pedestrian in a number of ways, gained him a reputation and marked his first step toward public exposure. It was also, as already discussed, his initial foray into Germany and the beginning of the attachment of his personal and professional life to elements of German culture, politics, and society.

Taylor's first visit to Europe came at the tail end of what had been a predominantly British aristocratic Grand Tour tradition that stretched from the mid-seventeenth century through the middle of the nineteenth century. Jeremy Black asserts

¹³⁴ Ziff, 123.

that the Grand Tour was unique in travel history because, unlike previous types of travel for diplomacy or trade, it was intended for personal benefit, and it included an itinerary of specific destinations to facilitate and enhance cultural and intellectual pleasure. The most striking difference between the eighteenth-century Grand Tour and other types of travel before and after rests upon a conception or acquisition of a European heritage, a desire to rediscover the origins of European civilization and to experience what the British considered the greatest aspects and achievements of the past, which determined the objectives, purposes, and the specific and relatively fixed pattern in the travel itinerary.¹³⁵ Once on the Continent, the first stop usually was the Loire Valley in France where one was expected to master the French language. Armed with that valuable skill, the Grand Tourists then spent a significant amount of time in Paris, one of the two essential destinations of the Tour, to learn the styles, fashions, and refined manners and tastes necessary for members of the nobility to operate in elite circles.

The next and most important destination of the Grand Tour to achieve the objective of experiencing classical European civilization and heritage was Italy, with Turin, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples on the itinerary. Each city had its allure, however, for the classical education of the young noblemen, Rome and Florence were most important - the former as the home of classical civilization (evidently, Greece was ignored) and the latter as the source of the greatest samples of Renaissance artistic and architectural genius. The other Italian cities were more popular for social and

¹³⁵ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); James Buzzard, "The Grand Tour and After, 1660-1840," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

personal pleasures.¹³⁶ After a substantial tour of Italy, the route could then lead north through Vienna and finally Dresden and Berlin, the two most important urban centers in Germany, depending on time, money, and interest of the Grand Tourist.

The primary purpose of the Grand Tour until the advent of the French Revolution, therefore, was educational. Placed between formal university training and the assumption of social position as aristocratic elites, the Tour rounded out the education of young men of the English ruling class by exposing them to the cultural sites, historical remnants of ancient civilizations, and noble society situated on the Continent.

Travel in Europe after 1815, with the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, took dramatically new forms.¹³⁷ The Grand Tour was no longer the exclusive cultural practice and privilege of young aristocratic men; the floodgates had opened, and, in a new era of opportunity and entrepreneurship by the mid-nineteenth century, the vastly increased numbers of travelers with various social and educational backgrounds, tastes, and expectations set the new tourism apart from the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. The changes were facilitated by new technologies and a growing tourist industry that made travel easier, more convenient and enjoyable, and less expensive. Distinctions based upon wealth and social status remained, though, in luxury transportation and hotels, resorts that catered to wealthier classes, and in the distinction between those who were "travelers" and those who were "tourists."¹³⁸ For the most part, Grand Tour essentials (Paris, Florence, Rome) were still pre-eminent attractions on the travel itinerary; however

¹³⁶ Ian Littlewood, *Sultry Climates: Travel and Sex*. (New York: De Capo Press, 2002).

¹³⁷ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997); James Buzzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) and "The Grand Tour and After, 1660-1840."

¹³⁸ James Buzzard makes a very succinct definitive distinction between travel and tourism in *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*. Travel entails independence, individuality, originality, boldness and gritty endurance. A traveler leads the way. Tourism implies comfort and superficiality. It is a cliché, leisurely, pampered, mass activity. A tourist is a follower.

picturesque landscapes in Europe, such as the Rhine River with its medieval flavor, and the rugged scenery of the Swiss Alps, became equally popular.

The post-Napoleonic era also marked the advent of American participation in the European Tour, whether for pleasure, personal interest, or educational/cultural purposes. In general, American inclusion in European travel represents the tail end of the Grand Tour and in some respects ushered in changes in the nature of travel (toward mass tourism) and the purpose of European travel. According to Withey, Americans had different sensibilities: they toured as a pleasurable pastime, not as a social rite of passage, seeking an authentic experience and connection in a picturesque setting. They had an interest in the classical heritage of Europe but that was largely overshadowed by the medieval Gothic and they had a fascination for European literature that served as a guidebook in their travels.¹³⁹

Despite the commonalities and generalizations, though, the American travel experience in the nineteenth century was very diverse. Foster Rhea Dulles identifies and discusses prominent individuals in several categories of American travelers, including clergy, students, businessmen, and professional scholars, all of whom had their reasons for travel.¹⁴⁰ Business and diplomacy accounted for much of the contact between Europe and the United States in the late eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, middle-class Americans began to travel to Europe as a romantic return to the wellspring of western culture and a necessary exposure to define social status and enhance one's aesthetic and academic education. The most conspicuous group compelled by an appetite for culture was that of the literary pilgrims, whose literary journals and writings present a

¹³⁹ Withey, 60-61.

¹⁴⁰ Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964).

very illuminating picture of Americans abroad. Every major American writer, with the exception of Thoreau and Poe, and a variety of lesser known individuals made the trip across the Atlantic and each presented his or her impressions of Europe to an avid reading audience.¹⁴¹

Unlike their British counterparts, Americans also visited German-speaking Central Europe as a necessary part of the tour. By the 1840s, the American public was receiving a variety of images and impressions of Germany, although these were focused almost exclusively on the scenery along the Rhine River and largely in literary form.¹⁴² It is here that Bayard Taylor made his debut, traveling to Europe for the first time at the age of nineteen in 1844. Like many of his Grand Tour predecessors, his preferred destinations were the cradles of Mediterranean civilization; however, for financial reasons, his Grand Tour followed a different route than the traditional.

Taylor spent several weeks traveling through Scotland and northern England, where he devoted the entire time to sight-seeing but he made no personal acquaintances and offered no comment on the social life of England.¹⁴³ By August he had departed for the Continent with Germany in his sights. England was a quick tour of the famous landmarks, but Germany was a very different story. Of the forty-five chapters in *Views A-Foot*, almost half were on impressions of German-speaking Central Europe, which is a reflection of Taylor's commitment to Greeley as well as the developing a personal and sentimental attachment to Germany.

¹⁴¹ Dulles, 11-12.

¹⁴² *Picturesque in the Highest Degree... Americans on the Rhine*, eds. Karl Ortseifen, et al (Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, 1993), Introduction, xii-xiii.

¹⁴³ *Views*, 87.

He arrived in Heidelberg in September via the Rhine River, a favorite scenic route of tourists in the mid-nineteenth century, and traveled by virtually every nineteenth-century American Grand Tourist in German-speaking Central Europe.¹⁴⁴ Conwell states that, unlike his cousin, travel became Taylor's education because he lacked the patience for close study in cramped university lecture halls.¹⁴⁵ He would acquire knowledge through experience and observation, not through the authority of professors.¹⁴⁶ He spent his time walking about Heidelberg, observing the famous castle and mountains surrounding the city. In October, he left Heidelberg and made his way on foot to Frankfurt-am-Main, where he spent the winter of 1844-45 observing the people of the city, mastering the German language, and acquainting himself with German literature, music, and society.¹⁴⁷ By May 1845, he boasted that he spoke German so well that he was often mistaken as a native German. He then spent the next two months hiking along fairly well-worn Tour roads through the Brocken, visiting Leipzig, Dresden, and cities in the Austrian Empire, and finally he hiked through southern Germany in his return to Frankfurt.¹⁴⁸

In July 1845, after a long stay in German-speaking Central Europe, he crossed the Alps to Italy, spent several months learning Italian, then traveled by foot to Rome. The experience was disillusioning. Although he marveled at the history, art, ancient architecture, and representations of high culture he saw, he grumbled that “ Modern

¹⁴⁴ Ortseifen, xi-xiii. The editors claim that almost without exception American travelers in Germany were aware of the eminent place the Rhine River had in German history and culture. The passages on the Rhine in travel accounts were almost always positive; they provide both images of the Rhine and reflections of German-American encounters from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. Taylor undoubtedly was aware of the centrality of the Rhine in a tour of German-speaking central Europe.

¹⁴⁵ Conwell, 75.

¹⁴⁶ *Life and Letters*, 43.

¹⁴⁷ Conwell, 79.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix 1, Map of The German Confederation, 1815-1866.

Rome - ... is, in comparison [to the ancient glory], a den of filth, cheats, and beggars!”¹⁴⁹

His disappointment intensified with the realization that he could not make the trip to

Greece:

The thrilling hope I cherished during the whole pilgrimage – to climb Parnassus... under the blue heaven of Greece – to sigh for fallen Art, beneath the broken friezes of the Parthenon, and look with a pilgrim’s eye on the isles of Homer and Sappho – must be given up, unwillingly and sorrowfully though it be. These glorious anticipations – among the brightest that blessed my boyhood – are slowly wrung from me by stern necessity.¹⁵⁰

Taylor’s initial hopes for his Grand Tour were dashed, and his childhood dream to follow in the footsteps of other great literary figures was anti-climactic. His clothes tattered and his shoes worn, he bought passage across the Mediterranean to France, arriving there in February 1846. After three months in Paris and London, he returned to the United States in June 1846.

Although his path had been slightly altered, the purpose of Taylor’s first European experience seems to overlap with that of his British predecessors and American compatriots. He saw a Grand Tour at the beginning of his young adulthood as a necessary educational and experiential prerequisite to achieving his goals and finding his place in society. Soon after arriving in Frankfurt, he wrote in a small daily diary entry for November 5, 1844:

My heart is filled with thoughts of home – of the one dearest to me
.... Ah! It is a crown of thorns, too, the poet’s wreath – only won
through suffering.¹⁵¹

An entry dated December 1, 1844 in his travel journal also served to express his progress toward his goals through travel:

¹⁴⁹ *Views*, 327ff.

¹⁵⁰ *Views*, 429-430.

¹⁵¹ Small 1844 daily diary, Box 9, Item Tay41, BTP, CUSC.

But what have I not gained since leaving home? Really the wealth of knowledge and experience is above computation; it is something that will last my whole life, and be a never-ceasing source of pleasure and improvement. I have been early thrown upon the world, but perhaps it is better so, that I may be stronger for the struggle, bolder in the contest.¹⁵²

In a letter to his sister Hannah in 1845, he wrote:

I find all my expectations of the benefit to be derived from study and travel, more than realized. I am confident, I have learned more since leaving home, than in the previous two years: I have never seen anything like it to arouse and excite thought.¹⁵³

The above passages indicate that Taylor's Grand Tour was a rite of passage calculated to transform him from what he was – a poor farm boy with big ambitions - into what he aspired to become – an American cultural figure. He intended that his journey would help him merge into the growing stream of famous Americans who desired to experience the Old World and enhance their cultural sensibilities. European travel made them more effective writers by exposing them to a heritage and history that gave their art more depth and meaning. Taylor lacked a formal educational background, social contacts or status, and substantial wealth but, as Geoffrey Trease states, Bayard Taylor, more so than any other nineteenth-century American traveler from George Ticknor to James Fenimore Cooper and beyond, preserved the essential spirit of the early Grand Tour; he went not just to roam about but to improve himself by learning as much as he could of the people and cultures he encountered.¹⁵⁴

His trans-Atlantic crossing in the summer of 1844 on his first travel adventure, though, did not only attach Taylor to a traditional process of cultural education and thereby open the door to literary fame and social status; it began what became the

¹⁵² Travel journal entry, 1 December 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

¹⁵³ Taylor to Hannah [Taylor] Darlington, Frankfurt-am-Main [1845], in *Unpublished Letters*, 10.

¹⁵⁴ Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1967), 222.

unintended foundation of Taylor's public career. He made a name and created opportunities for himself through the image he projected as a self-reliant, rugged, tough adventurer. In the 1840s, crossing the ocean and touring of Europe was not necessarily a common or easy task. It was a display of masculinity and therefore a gendered activity.¹⁵⁵ Because of the dangers and difficulties, according to a recent dissertation, a European travel excursion in the first half of the nineteenth century was a manly enterprise in a world of men.¹⁵⁶ Taylor made the most of it by making it a part of his public image. His fame as a traveler rested primarily on writings of non-Western regions, but a part of that public image during his life centered on Germany.

Unfortunately, exploiting this masculine traveler image to gain fame and believing it was the first educational step toward his goal of becoming a poet would hamstring his literary ambitions. Isaac Clark wrote in an 1879 tribute that Taylor had become a "pleasant companion in so many strange lands" for American readers through his travel writings.¹⁵⁷ He went with the intent to enhance his poetic soul, but "the man who makes a reputation for doing any one thing exceptionally well will soon find himself hampered and hindered in any new work in other fields by that very reputation.... The impression prevails."¹⁵⁸ Because he was so adept at describing the scenes of foreign lands and since he lacked the poetic genius to break free from the globetrotting image, the popular conception of him as a traveler and only a traveler would stick indelibly in the minds of Americans.

¹⁵⁵ Susan Bassnet, "Travel Writing and Gender," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 225-241.

¹⁵⁶ Beliele, 76-78.

¹⁵⁷ Isaac Edwards Clark, "A Tribute to Bayard Taylor: An Essay and a Poem, read before the Literary Society of Washington, March 8, 1879" (Washington DC: Mohun Bros. Publishers, 1879), 2-3, BTC, PSUSC.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

Taylor's American identity was expressed definitively in his travel writings throughout his life. His budding public image and popularity as an adventurous traveler established in the 1840s augmented his American-ness and set the course of his life. In particular and for the purposes of this study, the success of his Grand Tour and his long stay in Germany, acquiring the language and becoming familiar with the political activity, cultural achievement, and social customs, laid a foundation for his evolving role as transatlantic figure and cultural broker in his encounters with Germany as viewed through the lens of his multi-faceted middle-class American identity.

Taylor's American identity and his Connection with Germany

To prepare for a discussion of the layers of Taylor's nineteenth-century American identity in relation to his transatlantic representations of Germany, it is necessary to define a modern concept of nation and identity. Taylor's writings on German-speaking central Europe reinforced an American national identity for his middle class audience who experienced German-speaking Central Europe vicariously through an American steeped in German society and culture. Through his American identity and his intimate encounter with Germany, Taylor recognized similarities between American and German social, cultural, and political activities to communicate transatlantic connections for his American readership.

A sense of nation is fashioned when a community becomes aware of itself as distinct from other communities, an awareness based upon shared principles, cultural images and symbols, and habits of thought, whether imagined, constructed, or residual. These mental horizons provide a common heritage that is structured and refined by the

histories, myths, legends, folklore, art and literature, artifacts and objects, political systems, geography, and social customs and traditions that unify the community, connect the past to the present, and offer a vision of the future.¹⁵⁹ National identity is therefore formed when recognition of belonging to the national community is evident.

Definitions of identity vary but, for the purposes of this study, Gwendolyn Wright offers a simple, efficient, and relevant definition of identity as “a public culture.”¹⁶⁰ Thomas Bender characterizes the “public” as an “inherently political collectivity” distinguished from social collectivities and cultural pastiches. Public culture, therefore, is a manifestation of power in society, an organizing or synthesizing principle that allows the historian to approach “the complex intermingling... of political, economic, social, and cultural life” of a community.¹⁶¹ Through the printed word, symbols, rituals, and collected artifacts, objects, and arts, the centrality of culture in nationalism was emphasized.¹⁶² When a national public recognizes and embraces a shared culture, it accepts a certain identity.

The importance of cultural roots to inspire national devotion is at the core of Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, the “emblematic text” on the formation of modern nationalism.¹⁶³ According to Anderson, “nation-ness” and nationalism are cultural artifacts (ideas of distinctly human construction) historically created and

¹⁵⁹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Introduction, 212; Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History; problems in method,” *AHR* 102, no.5 (Dec 1997): 1385-1403.

¹⁶⁰ Gwendolyn Wright, ed., introduction to *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1996), 6

¹⁶¹ Thomas Bender, “Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History,” *JAH* 73, no.1 (June, 1986):126.

¹⁶² Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., introduction to *Becoming National: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 21.

¹⁶³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1996); the reference to *Imagined Communities* as the “emblematic text” is from Eley and Suny, 24.

spontaneously distilled as new modes of understanding for the modern world. These artifacts appeared gradually toward the end of the eighteenth century and expanded with the rise of print capitalism during the nineteenth century, which made possible new ways of creating identity as individuals and groups. Through books and newspapers, members of a community imagined a shared experience in a familiar but fictional landscape. When that fiction became reality in the minds of the members, the “confidence of a community in anonymity, which is the hallmark of modern nations,” was created.¹⁶⁴ Anderson also argues that national communities are imagined with finite boundaries that define them as separate from “other nations.”¹⁶⁵

Theresa Moran uses Anderson to explain Taylor’s constructed representations of the Arab and Asian worlds in his travel writings and how those images contributed to a greater comprehension of nineteenth-century American national identity. She contends that Taylor’s writing reflects and reinforces a distinct style of being American and belonging to an imagined community in contrast to other peoples. In effect, through an accretion of impressions of foreign peoples and cultures, the American public was able to imagine itself as a community.¹⁶⁶ Moran defines American identity specifically through three “important characteristics of Taylor’s American middle-class representations” – the American as embodying futurity, the American approaching every situation as every man’s equal, and the American and Victorian gendered ideal of self-made man that he displays in his travels.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 24-36.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

¹⁶⁶ Moran, 4.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 9, 112.

Moran's points are accurate and relevant, but this study expands and extends the definition and layers of Taylor's identity in conjunction with his American perception of Germany and as a cultural history of elite discourses among primarily male middle-class Euro-Americans in the northern and western regions of the United States in the nineteenth century. Taylor's American image as embodying futurity through Manifest Destiny is expressed in his representations of German participation in global geographical exploration, his own global adventures, and his personal attachment to the transatlantic figure of Alexander von Humboldt. His American ideal of the self-made man is defined through Taylor's incessant drive to achieve success, fame, and fortune. It is displayed most significantly through his engagement with German culture and his hard-earned public image as an authority and scholar on German literary achievement despite his lack of formal education. His American egalitarian political values and attitudes and his concerns about American national issues were reflected and addressed in his descriptions of German populist democratic and constitutional movements and the quest for German unification in the nineteenth century. The following chapters examine the relationship between how Taylor imagined himself as an American through layers of identity and his representations of Germany. His American identity framed recognition of similarities between Germany and the United States in a transatlantic connection as part of the German-American encounter of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3

Cosmopolite and Imperialist: Middle Class Social Identity and Transatlantic Representations of German Geographic Exploration, 1851-1874

Chapter Introduction

In the 1850s, Bayard Taylor traveled to many exotic regions around the world and absorbed elements of various cultures in what he considered to be an educational experience. When he returned to the United States in late 1853, after two adventurous years and sharing his geographically-expansive but non-scientific “cosmoramaic views” with his American reading public in his first travel books on the Near East published in 1854, he quickly attained fame, popularity, and wealth.¹⁶⁸ That process also elevated Taylor from his modest farm boy roots into American bourgeois society. His adoption of a mid-nineteenth century middle class social identity and the associated “constellation of attitudes and ideas” that defined membership in the club framed his role as world traveler and interlocutor of images from around the globe.¹⁶⁹

As part of the array of signifying ideas, a core characteristic of nineteenth-century American identity was a broad application and unshakable belief in America’s manifest destiny. The revealed future of American greatness applied not only to spreading from coast to coast in North America but also to limitless possibilities through increased contact and participation globally.¹⁷⁰ A key expression of Taylor’s belief in American global futurity and of his American social identity was the confluence of cosmopolitanism and imperialism. His contact with diverse cultures and peoples and his

¹⁶⁸ Taylor, preface to *Lands of the Saracen* (New York: Putnam, 1855), vi-vii.

¹⁶⁹ Uhlman, 10.

¹⁷⁰ Moran, 9.

travel-related articles, published travel books, and lectures on his global experiences defined him as a middle class cosmopolite for his readers. At the same time he was creating his cosmopolitan image, however, he expressed his western ethnocentrism and imperialist attitudes in his writings specifically related to European/German geographic exploration as part of his transatlantic dialogue.

This chapter argues that Taylor's relationship with Germany illuminates his middle-class social identity as a layer of his American identity. With the understanding that social identity is very complex, the specific focus is on his anticipation of American futurity expressed through the cosmopolitan affectations and imperialist proclivities in his writings on Germany. By the end of the 1850s, he was at the height of his public exposure and popularity through his reputation as a world traveler. He was proclaimed "The Bayard Taylor Sensation," the "Greatest Traveler in the Known World," and Americans across the country read his articles and flocked to his lectures.¹⁷¹ His popularity and status facilitated professional opportunities, income possibilities, and contact with famous people in the United States and Europe. His experiences as an American bourgeois world traveler combined with a growing personal attachment to a German bourgeoisie through close friendships, marriage and genuine interest in German society and culture. As part of that process, he found a place as a transatlantic figure through his encounters with German culture and science in the 1850s and afterward.

Although the topic of this study is his engagement with Germany, this chapter begins with a brief review of Taylor's travels globally from 1851-1853, his personal aspirations and professional career, and his emergence as a public figure in the United

¹⁷¹ *New York Times*, 20 April 1859, 8. Quotes from an advertisement billing for the *New York Mercury* announcing the securing of Taylor's writing services.

States through his widely-read newspaper articles and his involvement in the Lyceum lecture circuit up to 1861. It also addresses the impact of his growing personal attachments to German society and culture in this period. The chapter argues that Taylor's acquired middle class social identity, his transatlantic relationship with Germany, and his belief in American futurity were expressed in his American representation of German scientific accomplishments – specifically in his writings on and relationship with Alexander von Humboldt and through his books and articles on European, most notably German, scientific travel and exploration of Africa from the 1850s through the early 1870s.

World Traveler, Noted Correspondent, and Lecturer 1846-1860

High culture was the path to middle class status in nineteenth-century America, therefore Bayard Taylor's dream from his youth was to become a poet.¹⁷² Taylor's Grand Tour travel experience opened the door to his dream. Uhlman asserts that the publication of *Views A-foot* in 1846 displayed Taylor's republicanism and liberal ideological attitudes, which marked his passage to American middle class gentility.¹⁷³ In 1847 Taylor moved to New York, which was fast becoming an urban commercial center and a hub of cultural activity. Nathaniel Willis, a supporter before Taylor's Grand Tour and mentor afterwards, introduced him to all of the major literary figures living in New York at the time. Meanwhile, for employment, he worked as a newspaper correspondent, first for the *Literary World* and soon after, in January 1848, as an editor and correspondent in the literary department of the *New York Tribune*. Many literary figures

¹⁷² Uhlman, 90-91.

¹⁷³ Uhlman, 90.

in the nineteenth century worked as editors or columnists in newspapers and magazines. Their positions helped them publish their work because making a living as a writer in nineteenth-century America was not easy.¹⁷⁴ As an editor at the *Tribune*, he made many “literary acquaintances” from which a “delightful circle of friends” formed, including Richard Stoddard, George Boker, and Whitelaw Reid. As his career progressed, he also corresponded and had friendly relations with some of the most prominent American literary and scholarly figures of the mid-nineteenth century, including Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Bancroft, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, and Herman Melville.¹⁷⁵ To Taylor, “the society of some of the greatest and best men and women in our country” was his “proper sphere.”¹⁷⁶

Horace Greeley sent Taylor to California in 1849 to cover the Gold Rush and report on the event for the *Tribune*. Greeley recognized the significance of the excitement generated by the gold fever that spread across the continent. The public appetite for news and gossip on the event was insatiable and he wanted to capitalize on it.¹⁷⁷ Greeley chose Taylor because of his popular acclaim as a traveler, his reputation for resolute toughness and willingness to endure hardship, and because of his skill in descriptive sketches. Taylor was sent to report on the travel conditions on the way to California, observe the Gold Rush activity carefully, and convey images of the birth of a new state to an eager American public.¹⁷⁸ In March 1850, he returned to New York and

¹⁷⁴ Norton *Anthology of American Literature*, 435.

¹⁷⁵ *Selected Letters*, 63, 67-68, 111, 114, 125, 166, 172, 175, 183, 238, 376-77, 449-50.

¹⁷⁶ Taylor to Franklin Taylor, 12 December 1847 letter, in *Unpublished Letters*, 15; Taylor to Martha Kimber, 6 February 1848, in *Unpublished Letters*, 17.

¹⁷⁷ Conwell, 118.

¹⁷⁸ Appendix 2, Map of the World Travels of Bayard Taylor.

published his letters in another travel book, *Eldorado*. His growing professional success, however, was offset by personal tragedy. In October 1850, soon after his return from California, he married Mary Agnew, to whom he had been long betrothed but who was extremely ill. She died two months later, which took a significant emotional toll on Taylor.

In many respects, Taylor's career resolved itself into clearly marked periods that corresponded with certain influences, necessities, and changes during his life. In the process he would create and recreate himself. Smyth states that until 1850, very little change had occurred in Taylor's character. His European Grand Tour, his introduction to a newspaper career, and his travels to California had not dampened his youthful outlook, enthusiasm, personal goals or faith.¹⁷⁹ The death of his new bride, however, evidently had an impact. Taylor acknowledged the change he experienced in letters he wrote to Boker in January 1851, one month after her death:

This, the beginning of the year, the turning point of the century, seems to me like the beginning of a new career.¹⁸⁰

Several months later, he shared similar feelings to James Fields:

I am getting into a different sphere of thought and feel that ...
I can never return to the themes of the past.¹⁸¹

Taylor's personal loss convinced him to rethink his professional career. The initial period of Taylor's professional life and aspirations ended with Mary Agnew's death and he set out on a new course – one that built and expressed his cosmopolitan and ethnocentric attitudes as part of his American middle-class identity.

¹⁷⁹ Smyth, 84.

¹⁸⁰ Taylor to George Boker, 1 January 1851, Box 5, BTP, CUSC; Smyth, 85.

¹⁸¹ Taylor to James T. Fields, 19 April 1851, in Smyth, 85.

In 1851, Taylor wrote to Greeley of a plan to take another Grand Tour as a traveling correspondent for the *Tribune*, but well beyond the boundaries of that traditional concept. His ambitious scheme was to venture into new, out-of-the-way, and “exotic” places, still on foot with knapsack, to send letters and keep an account of what he observed, and provide a report from the ground level on the different cultures and societies he encountered. He wanted “to see what is most worth describing and of the most interest to American and especially *Tribune* readers: to avoid all beaten tracks and omit from my letters everything that has been said before.”¹⁸² When the *Tribune* considered nixing his journey to Egypt, he wrote to George Boker that it was necessary to go because “[t]here is no use in continually walking in other people's tracks.”¹⁸³ In essence, he sought to build on the reputation he had already established and broaden the horizon of his personal knowledge and his public image.

In autumn 1851, Taylor began this new phase in his life. His formal career as a traveling correspondent had begun with his excursion to California in 1849, but this journey defined his image as a travel writer publically and professionally. He spent several months in Germany, traveling again on foot to places off the beaten path to report on scenes that were heretofore unknown to his growing reading public. He then traveled to Egypt and sailed up the Nile River into the Sudan heading for central Africa, “where no one from the New World has ever been before me. ... [I]n the savage heart of Africa” he was “on the threshold of that vast and mysterious realm which no white man has ever

¹⁸² Taylor to Horace Greeley, 30 July 1851, in *Selected Letters*, 91.

¹⁸³ Taylor to George Boker, 1 May 1851, in *Selected Letters*, 87.

traversed.”¹⁸⁴ Coming out of Egypt, he traveled and wrote articles describing the sights in Syria and Palestine and traveled on to Ottoman Turkey.¹⁸⁵

After arriving in Constantinople in the summer of 1852, Taylor heard a rumor of an American diplomatic and trade mission to open the ports of the mysterious islands of Japan planned for the summer of 1853. He requested that the *Tribune* obtain permission for him to join the expedition. As he awaited confirmation, he returned to Germany briefly to visit his Nile River companion and new friend, August Bufleb, in Gotha before going to London in October 1852, where he received his assignment to report to Commodore Matthew Perry in China. Taylor traveled via Spain, Gibraltar, the Suez region and the Red Sea to Hong Kong, where he joined the American fleet on its historic mission, crossing the Indian subcontinent and viewing the Himalayas with quick stops in Malaysia and Singapore on the way.¹⁸⁶ In March 1853, he was appointed master’s mate for Perry’s flagship, experienced the historic entrance into Tokyo Bay, and remained with the expedition until September, keeping official records on the negotiations and taking notes on what he observed of Japanese culture and society.

The need to define himself professionally as a writer and traveler drove Taylor’s decision to change the course of his life through global adventures in the early 1850s but it was also a result of the trauma of his personal life. After the death of his first wife, Taylor felt that changes of scenery and occupation were imperative to assuage his grief. Taylor referred to the East as the “Lotus-land. I came to bury myself in its heart, to escape from everything that could remind me of the toil and confusion of the bewildering

¹⁸⁴ Taylor to Martha Kimber, 24 January 1852, in *Unpublished Letters*, 30.

¹⁸⁵ Taylor to Greeley, 30 July 1851, in *Selected Letters*, 90-91. Appendix 2, Map of World Travels of Bayard Taylor.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix 2, Map of World Travels of Bayard Taylor.

world, and I have found rest and peace far more tranquil and enduring than I ever hoped.”¹⁸⁷ His travels and interests became more extreme as if to recuperate emotionally.

His need for emotional healing also influenced his approach to experiencing foreign cultures and portraying himself in his travels during the 1850s. He incorporated a distinctive element that defined his public image as a bourgeois cosmopolite by immersing himself more deliberately into foreign landscapes, superficially adopting non-western cultural habits and elements into his own character, all in an effort to cure himself.¹⁸⁸ He wrote that he was “determined to taste the Orient as it was, in reality, not as a mere outsider looker-on, and so picked up the Arabic tongue, put on the wide trousers, and adopted as many of the Eastern customs as was becoming to a good Christian.”¹⁸⁹ Assuming the costumes, learning the languages and customs of the lands he visited, and sampling the different and unfamiliar cuisines and behavior became his trademark. He boasted, for example, that he had “quite a smattering of Arabic [after only five months in the East], and can even swear by Allah with the true Moslem unction.”¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, as he defined his cosmopolitan American identity in his travels, his claims of rapid conquest of the language and customs of foreign lands also suggest an ethnocentric dominance.

He added portraits of himself in his different travel books, appearing as a German student, in Arab attire complete with turban and flowing robes, as a Russian Cossack and a Kaffir horseman, in an effort to portray a cosmopolitan image. In Constantinople, he

¹⁸⁷ Taylor to Grace Greenwood, Constantinople, 17 July 1852, in *Unpublished Letters*, 31; Smyth, 96ff; Ziff, 132.

¹⁸⁸ Smyth, 88-90.

¹⁸⁹ Taylor to James T. Fields, Constantinople, 14 July 1852, in *Life and Letters*, 232.

¹⁹⁰ Taylor to James T. Fields, Alexandria, 12 April 1852, in *Life and Letters*, 229.

claimed that he was so convincing a Muslim, he could enter “the holiest mosques with impunity.”¹⁹¹ He even suggested that, after wearing foreign garb, he was uncomfortable in western clothes: “Yesterday, alas! I crammed my unwilling legs into a pair of narrow pantaloons, elevated a straight collar around my neck (although no gibbet-rope could be more uncomfortable), and am now taking exercise in sitting bolt upright on a chair. What I suffer you cannot imagine.”¹⁹² He tried hashish in Turkey and opium in China and evidently gained a reputation as a connoisseur pothead. In a letter dated January 13, 1855, Taylor explained to a curious C.J. Du Pont Bird that there was a difference between “Hasheesh” [sic] and common hemp but that the intoxicating effects were similar.”¹⁹³ It seemed that any limitations or restraints were lifted and he plunged into his work, in many ways adopting the images he was describing in his written sketches and recreating himself to his public.

Taylor’s world travels, though, should be interpreted as more than just career enhancement or personal healing – they also mark his entrance into the American middle class. In general, according to Beckert and Rosenbaum, one of the most important factors in the self-definition of the nineteenth-century American middle class, beyond economic considerations, was the construction and articulation of a shared culture. Forging common preferences and habits, manners and ideals, networks and institutions was the means of overcoming conflicts and divisions and consolidating as a class.¹⁹⁴ As a participant in nineteenth-century middle class society and culture, Taylor exhibited the

¹⁹¹ Taylor to Grace Greenwood, 17 July 1852, in *Unpublished Letters*, 32.

¹⁹² Taylor to James T. Fields, Constantinople, 14 July 1852, in *Life and Letters*, 232.

¹⁹³ Taylor to C.J. DuPont Bird, 13 January 1855, in *Unpublished Letters*, 38-39.

¹⁹⁴ Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum, *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-2.

core values and ideals of that heterogeneous class – non-manual labor, social aspiration, self-reliance, sobriety, self-discipline, optimism, hard work, and determination.¹⁹⁵

Taylor's middle class identity and association with Europe was expressed also in his views of gender order. An important element in constructing a unified social identity and culture for the rising middle class in the nineteenth century involved a core belief in the centrality of the family and espousing separate spheres of domesticity.¹⁹⁶ Taylor was aligned with those middle class values and beliefs. His gendered opinion was articulated in his lecture "Ourselves and Our Relations," one of a series of lectures during the mid-1860s in which Taylor held Europe up as a mirror to Americans and compared American national values to those of Europe. As "one who has spent time enough in the Old World to become familiar with the common aspects of life there," he noted that one element of freedom was found, in his opinion, only in America – the "intercourse of the sexes." Taylor expounded upon a middle-class liberal contention that the liberties of American society could be detrimental to the family structure. "We have been too hasty to introduce democratic features into a relation which God designed to be a wise and beneficent monarchy."¹⁹⁷ Taylor's gendered nineteenth-century liberal middle-class views made him uncomfortable with "democracy within the family."¹⁹⁸ Too much freedom might convince women not to accept their subordinate status in the home and exercise some independence. In this regard, Taylor argued, the regulated Victorian European family life was superior to the potentially disruptive social freedoms inherent in American values.

¹⁹⁵ Uhlman, 10-11, 54.

¹⁹⁶ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2003); Rachel G. Fuchs and Victoria E. Thompson, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman* (London: Pearson Education, 2002).

¹⁹⁷ "Ourselves and Our Relations," 15-18, Lecture Box 8, BTC, CCHS.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

Prominent also in middle-class social identity was a cosmopolitan desire to travel or to incorporate vicariously that experience through the writings of those who did. Uhlman states that a growing popular fascination with the world was indicative of an emerging nineteenth-century middle class social identity.¹⁹⁹ Maureen Montgomery argues that by the second half of the nineteenth century, travel to Europe to secure social and cultural capital became the “quintessential bourgeois experience” for self-identification.²⁰⁰ Taylor’s life of travel, specifically excursions to Europe, helped secure his place as middle class.²⁰¹ However, an interest in travel to non-European regions was also a central component to the global perspectives of the bourgeoisie. Uhlman argues that the cosmopolitan transnational impulse of the nineteenth-century middle class was expressed in “hedonistic leisure” and indulgence in “the other” as an outlet for lavish and sensual impulses constrained by western social and moral expectations.²⁰² Moran asserts that the pursuit of the sensual, the exotic, and the sexual in the Orient released Taylor from his “American puritan prudery with its proscriptive social norms and behaviors.”²⁰³ Taylor’s global travel and immersion in foreign cultures allowed him and his bourgeois audience to break free from constraints and experience what westerners preconceived as erotic and extravagant practices and cultural habits of non-European peoples.

Taylor returned to the United States in December 1853 a well-known and very popular celebrity. His public acclaim as a world traveler and the interest generated by his newspaper articles made possible a career on the Lyceum lecture circuit. The Lyceum

¹⁹⁹ Uhlman, 1.

²⁰⁰ Maureen Montgomery, “‘Natural Distinction’: The American Bourgeois Search for Distinctive Signs in Europe,” in *The American Bourgeoisie*, 27-28.

²⁰¹ Uhlman, 10-12.

²⁰² Uhlman, 348-355.

²⁰³ Moran, 16.

movement was the brainchild of Josiah Holbrook in 1826 as a “means of popular education” that consisted of “lectures, debates, essays, conversations, or a mixture of all....”²⁰⁴ A national Lyceum movement was organized in 1831 and, combined with the early nineteenth century reform movement for broader public education, the public lecture circuit as an educational institution became a very prominent feature of American cultural life in the mid-nineteenth century to satisfy the public appetite for “useful information.”²⁰⁵ In the expanding American West especially, lectures on a wide variety of subjects from a large collection of experts forwarded educational opportunities considerably. Emphasis was put not only on an encyclopedic range of topics but on the involvement and intellectual improvement of all members of the community, regardless of wealth, status, or affiliation.²⁰⁶

Early scholarship on the Lyceum lecture circuit focused generally on its primary role as a form of public education in the nineteenth century.²⁰⁷ More recent scholarship positions the Lyceum lecture movement in broader contexts. Donald Scott interprets the Lyceum lecture movement as a public ritual sanctioned by a paying audience, which made it an institution for the consolidation of a collective cultural conscience – the

²⁰⁴ Alfred Wright, *Who's Who in the Lyceum* (Philadelphia: Pearson Bros., 1906), 18, 21.

²⁰⁵ Donald Scott, “The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth Century America,” *JAH* 66, no.4 (March 1980): 791-93.

²⁰⁶ Taylor expressed the intellectual and inspirational value of the public lecture in “An Impossible Story” Original Autographed Manuscript, Bayard Taylor #SC-BARR-ST MSS 7071-b [hereafter cited as BT], 3930481-1001-1, University of Virginia Archives, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library [hereafter cited as UVA]. Taylor all too frequently wrote how he detested the exhausting demands and rigor of the lecture circuit but in this article acknowledged the public lecture as a valuable, even critical educational agent and intellectual stimulus that was very democratic in nature and focus. As an institution, it was a positive force in American society – as an occupation, it was a necessary evil.

²⁰⁷ Leslie Meeks, “The Lyceum in the Early West,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 29, no. 2 (June 1933): 87-95; Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Dixon Wecter, “The Education of Everyman, 1870-1898,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (February 1947): 195-208.

emergence of a distinct American public.²⁰⁸ Angela Ray takes that argument a step further. She argues that the Lyceum movement was a culture-creating community practice through which Americans made sense of themselves and their world. In the process, it shaped and validated common beliefs and values as a signifying system that defined America as a national community.²⁰⁹ Along those lines, Tom Wright states that lecture performances fostered inventive and powerful views of American identity. The lecture hall was a space for Americans to think about national selfhood.²¹⁰

The scholarship marks Taylor's historical place and significance as a mid-nineteenth-century Lyceum lecturer. He was an average nineteenth-century middle-class Euro-American who experienced and described both foreign and familiar parts of the world in ways accessible and understandable to most literate Americans. His lectures and travel writings, therefore, gained him widespread popularity and helped Americans understand themselves from a global perspective as America was shaping values and beliefs and defining itself as a nation.

By the mid-1850s, Taylor's opportunity to become involved seemed tailor-made. Lecturing was "big business," with professional speakers traveling a wide circuit of cities in northeastern and western cities replacing local amateurs as main attractions.²¹¹ Taylor stepped onto the stage at precisely the right moment. In January 1854, almost immediately after his return, he began his lecturing career. Travel narratives were an immense attraction and Taylor was the most popular in this field.²¹² Taylor was more of

²⁰⁸ Scott, 806-809.

²⁰⁹ Angela Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005), 2, 6-8.

²¹⁰ Tom F. Wright "The results of locomotion: Bayard Taylor and the travel lecture in the mid-nineteenth-century United States," *Studies in Travel Writing* 14, no. 2 (2010): 130.

²¹¹ Meeks, 92; Tom F. Wright, 122.

²¹² Scott, 803-4; Bode, 230; Tom F. Wright, 121.

a novelty than a scholar or cultural luminary, but evidently he was an excellent speaker with an easy, fluid, conversational delivery as he told stories of absorbing interest to large receptive audiences. According to Smyth, he was a man who had experienced much, wrote well, and told fascinating stories on popular topics without affectation and in a manner of a man speaking with friends.²¹³

Taylor never enjoyed lecturing, although he participated in it throughout most of his life. He found it exhausting and distasteful from the start and that dislike only intensified as he grew older. However, lecturing became, along with his newspaper writing and published travel books, one of his most consistent sources of income and an important method of communication to his American audience. In 1854-55, he published travel books on his experiences in Egypt and Africa, Palestine, and India, China, and Japan as well as a slew of books of poetry in an ongoing effort to find a place for himself in the respectable literary world, although Tom Wright regards those books as dull prosaic renditions of the more stimulating and popular lectures.²¹⁴

Taylor's transatlantic attachment to Germany in the 1850s

As it turned out, his travels in the Near and Far East in the early 1850s, while earning him fame and popularity in the United States, also ultimately attached Taylor firmly to Germany professionally and personally for the rest of his life. This growing relationship with Germany was critical in his evolving transatlantic and cosmopolitan image. Taylor stopped briefly in Germany on his way to more distant locales in 1851. One year later, he was back. Taylor attributed this short junket to the Thuringian Forest

²¹³ Smyth, 100; *Life and Letters*, 264.

²¹⁴ Tom F. Wright, 121.

region of east-central Germany in the early autumn of 1852 to a “chance event” in Egypt; while on the Nile, he met August Bubleb, a wealthy German bourgeois land-owner from the city of Gotha who immediately became a “friend for life.”²¹⁵ Bubleb invited Taylor to his home in Saxe-Coburg as they parted ways after the Nile tour and Taylor accepted while he was awaiting confirmation to join Admiral Matthew Perry for the historic expedition to Japan.

The nature of the lifelong relationship between Taylor and Bubleb introduces scholarship on Taylor’s sexuality. Generally, studies along this line suggest that gay identity is mobilized historically in resistance to the normality of heterosexuality in western society. Literary works in particular were the ways in which homosexuality was culturally produced and a social identity created.²¹⁶ Suggestion of Taylor’s homosexuality is based primarily upon readings in his *Poems of the Orient* published in 1855 and his 1870 novel *Joseph and his Friend*. The sensuality of the poems, though, is better interpreted as meeting the expectation of a western reading audience for sensual images of the exotic East, not an expression of Taylor’s sexual desires, and the sexuality in *Joseph* is literary interpretation. William Corley, for example, detects a nuanced encoded subtext of homosexual desires and activities in *Joseph*. However, he admits that documented historical evidence of Taylor’s homosexual orientation has not been presented.²¹⁷ Without clear evidence of Taylor’s sexuality, therefore, this study adopts the position of George Haggerty, who queries: what does one really know about how

²¹⁵ *HAI*, 128-129.

²¹⁶ George E. Haggerty, “The Gay Canon,” *American Literary History* 12, no. 1-2 (2000): 284-297; *Glances Backward: an anthology of American homosexual writing, 1830-1920*, ed. James J. Gifford (Orchard Park: Broadview Press, 2007); *Pages Passed from Hand to Hand: the hidden tradition of homosexual literature in English from 1748 to 1914*, eds. Mark Mitchell and David Leavitt (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

²¹⁷ Corley, 211-232.

friendships were formed in the past? In essence, can one say that certain writing is homosexual without fastening meaning onto it artificially? How much that has been written in the past was the writer's effort to define a sexual identity and how much is read into the writings by those who wish to identify their own sexual identity with that of the past?²¹⁸

Kelvin Beliele better explains the nature of Taylor's relationship with Bufleb evidentially. Beliele asserts that although travel in the nineteenth century was homosocial in that it encouraged male intimacy, it was not necessarily homosexual. Travel, especially world travel, through the mid-nineteenth century was a dangerous undertaking and therefore a display of masculinity - a gendered activity skewed toward men. Few women participated, so men traveled in close exclusive company, which fostered personal and cozy relationships.²¹⁹ In letters written to family members, Taylor stated the closeness he felt for Bufleb as they journeyed down the Nile together although, as a wealthy, portly, and older gentleman accustomed to luxury and the exercise of authority, Bufleb was "in every respect the reverse of myself."²²⁰ His affection for Bufleb, expressed in a telling way, is captured best in a letter to George Boker in April 1852, four months after Taylor and Bufleb parted ways:

I think I spoke to you... of my German fellow-traveler, to whose sympathy and noble nature I owe the best part of my enjoyment of the Nile. I find here two letters from him – letters so full of devotion to me and care for my safety that I have been strangely affected by them. His wife also writes to me the most sweet and beautiful of letters, thanking me for my friendship towards her husband. It is a new phase of human affection, which I have never known before. As I said, he is a man of fifty, proud and self-willed, and accustomed all his life to wealth and authority. But he clung to

²¹⁸ Haggerty, 233.

²¹⁹ Beliele, 76-78.

²²⁰ *Life and Letters*, 221, 223, letters written 3 December 1851, 18 December 1851.

me with a love like that of a woman. ... He entered into my sorrow [over the loss of Taylor's wife] as if it had been his own, and wept, as a mother might have done, at the recital of my history.²²¹

Although suggestive of emotional intimacy, the passage better illustrates Bufleb's friendship with Taylor as one that transcended expected gendered behavior but in ways not sexual. Taylor emphasized that, in spite of Bufleb's manly nature, he displayed a maternal feminine sentimentality toward Taylor as part of a platonic personal closeness. Alongside the gendered intimations, recent scholarship on nineteenth-century male friendships supports Taylor's and Bufleb's expressions of a close companionship. Male bonding in that period occurred in the separate homosocial worlds of men and women. It involved intense relationships with deep feeling and sentimentality communicated through endearing language and physical affection as part of a nonsexual love for other men.²²² Bufleb shared those feelings about Taylor in letters home. While on the Nile, he wrote to his wife that "every evening finds my comrade [Taylor] and myself on deck, thinking with loving hearts of our absent dear ones, and the bonds of friendship are drawn closer and closer by the rare harmony of our habits of thought and action."²²³

The intimate but nonsexual homosocial connection between Taylor and Bufleb is clear as is Taylor's typical American middle-class identity. George Mosse argues that nineteenth-century nationalism and the need for the emerging middle class to define sexual respectability in both public and private life supported each other in a "nervous age" of modernization and industrialization. National identity included establishing

²²¹ Taylor to George Boker, Cairo, 4 April 1852, in *Selected Letters*, 96-97.

²²² E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Axel Nissen, *Manly Love: Romantic Friendships in American Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 24; Stefan-Ludwig Hoffman, "Civility, Male Friendship, and Masonic Sociability in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender and History* 13, no. 2 (August 2001): 224-248.

²²³ August Bufleb to his wife, 1 December 1851, in Marie Hansen Taylor, *On Two Continents*, 24.

manners and morals and keeping intact distinctions between the normal and the abnormal to maintain the health of the nation.²²⁴ Eve Sedgwick asserts as well that the nineteenth-century European liberal middle class viewed variant sexualities, religions, and races as “the Other,” which served as topoi in narratives related to the emergence of the modern state and nationalism and marked what was acceptable and unacceptable.²²⁵ Taylor’s self-conscious but reserved appreciation for Bubleb’s affection places him within middle-class respectability.

The real significance of Bubleb’s friendship for this study, however, lies in Taylor’s resultant involvement in German society and culture in the 1850s and after. Bubleb was an invaluable point of entry. Marie Hansen Taylor claimed that Bubleb “never tired of talking about his young American traveling companion” upon his return to Germany and went to great lengths to mention Taylor “in the narrow and wider [social] circles” in which he moved.²²⁶ Bubleb’s close friendship advanced Taylor’s career. Along with his growing international reputation as a traveler, it opened up opportunities for contacts with famous German individuals and offered insights into German culture and life. In a letter to his mother, he wrote that he was received “with kindness and friendship” like a “lost member of the family; every door was open for me....”²²⁷ To George Boker, Taylor wrote that Gotha was his home where “[he] knew everybody and everybody knew [him],” where he dined with political figures, danced with peasant girls, talked with scholars, and chatted with the “principal living authors of Germany” who

²²⁴ George Mosse, “Nationalism and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” *Culture and Society* 30, no. 5 (July/August 1983): 75, 84.

²²⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Nationalisms and Sexualities in the Age of Wilde,” in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, eds. Andrew Parker, et al (Routledge: New York and London, 1992), 238.

²²⁶ Marie Hansen Taylor, *On Two Continents*, 24, 46.

²²⁷ *Life and Letters*, 238.

resided in Gotha and Weimar.²²⁸ Taylor developed a growing fondness for German society and culture. His popularity in Germany increased with Bufleb's endorsement, facilitating access to resources, and his insider knowledge added greater authority to his writings for his American audience, all of which built Taylor's transatlantic position and image.

After two exhausting seasons of lecturing, Taylor put his affairs in order and, in July 1856 with siblings in tow, crossed the Atlantic to Europe for his final excursion as a travel correspondent. He traveled through Sweden and Norway to little-known Lapland, home of the Sámi people north of the Arctic Circle. Before leaving, Taylor spent the summer and fall of 1856 in Gotha, living in a small cottage given to him by Bufleb, where he met Bufleb's niece, Marie Hansen. When Taylor returned to Germany from his travels in September 1857, he wooed Marie and in October 1857, they were married. In August 1858, their daughter Lilian was born and in October, Taylor and his new family returned to the United States. In 1859, he published travel books on Greece and Russia as well as a collection of articles, arranged in *At Home and Abroad, First Series*.

Friendships and marriage in Germany introduced changes in Taylor's personal life and professional goals and in his American relationship with Germany. Taylor was no longer a casual tourist or even a foreign traveler. He became firmly anchored in German society and culture and tied much of his later career to that mooring. Through his friendship with the wealthy and influential Bufleb, he was already closely connected with Germany and the Germans. His intimate bond with Germany deepened with marriage. Taylor, through his new wife Marie, joined a family of scholars, was received as a son and brother, and forged a "fortunate alliance for the world of letters" and

²²⁸Taylor to George Boker, Stockholm, 7 December 1856, in *Life and Letters*, 329.

scholarship.²²⁹ In a significant way, Taylor established a domestic attachment to Germany. The marriage also brought Taylor into the closest possible association with the culture and sentiment, the intellect and heart of Germany.²³⁰ Marie's father, Peter Hansen, was a professor of astronomy and founder of the Erfurt observatory. Through him, Taylor gained even more contacts in the German academic world. Marie was a "constant aid" for him in the study and translation of German literature, which refocused Taylor's energy.²³¹ She is also credited with translating a number of Taylor's books into German for publication in Germany, including *Greece*, *Hannah Thurston*, *Story of Kennett*, *Tales of Home*, *Studies in German Literature*, and *Notes to Faust*.²³²

Taylor's social elevation was furthered by his personal connection to Germany. He became a member of both American and German bourgeois society and had embraced the values and attitudes of the middle class. In the United States, Taylor built "Cedarcroft" near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, in 1859 as a symbol of his elevated social position. Paul Wermuth claims that the stately but prosaic mansion represented "his tastes and desires, his dreams and his hopes, his values, his success..." and his attachment to "the Genteel Tradition."²³³ By 1857, he was a world-renowned traveler and lecturer and married into the German bourgeoisie with a home in a wealthy German neighborhood in Gotha – an American inside Germany with access to the most elite intellectual and cultural circles. Taylor's close personal connections to German society changed his perspective. He felt like he was being treated as a man of distinction in Germany and rather enjoyed the change in his German social status. In 1856, he wrote:

²²⁹ Conwell, 265.

²³⁰ Pfund, 9.

²³¹ *Sculius*, part 2, 269.

²³² "Who's Who" (1870), Folder 18, BTC, PSUSC.

²³³ Wermuth, 25.

The common people about Gotha have an idea that I am a very extraordinary man, and they treat me with the greatest respect. I should be almost sorry to have them undeceived.²³⁴

His American perceptions of Germany became personal and reflective well beyond the observationally descriptive that is evident in his travel accounts of other locations, and his engagement became more intellectually substantial. The significance of this development in Taylor's growing connection to Germany is well illustrated in the titles of a series of articles written on his visits to the region: "A Walk Through the Thuringian Forest" (1852), "Life in the Thuringian Forest" (1856), and "A Home in the Thuringian Forest" (1861).²³⁵ By the end of the 1850s, Taylor acknowledged that he was quickly becoming naturalized into Germany:

To me, many of those spots [in the Thuringian Forest and the valleys of the Saale and Ilm] are almost as familiar as the place of my nativity.²³⁶

The close familiarity, personally and publically, as an American inside Germany was expressed clearly in his writings on Germany, and enabled Taylor to recognize similarities and thus make transatlantic connections between Germany and the United States. By 1858, he ended his primary occupation as a professional world traveling news correspondent. He was ready to settle down and begin more demanding intellectual labors.

²³⁴ Taylor to his mother, Gotha, 20 October 1856, in *Life and Letters*, 324.

²³⁵ This last is an extended collection of detailed articles written while he lived in his cottage in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in the Thuringian region during the summer. Appendix 1, Map of The German Confederation, 1815-1866.

²³⁶ *HAI*, 374, written in September 1858.

Bayard Taylor: the American Middle-class Traveler and his Transatlantic Encounter with German Geographic Science

William Corley and James Uhlman have posited in recent studies the presence of a dual nature in nineteenth-century American middle class identity revolving around both a sense of cosmopolitanism, which connected western culture to elements of non-European cultures, and a clear ethnocentrism and an imperialistic attitude, which elevated western cultures and values above those of a more savage and unsophisticated non-western world. In short, that argument claims that both of those seemingly conflicting forces defined part of a middle class set of signifying values and ideals.²³⁷ Taylor expressed cosmopolitanism and imperialism in his travel writings as part of the passage into middle class gentility for an American rising socially during the 1850s. Those elements of his American middle class identity are especially prominent in his writings on German geographic science and exploration. His cosmopolitanism was expressed emphatically in his association with the great German geographer and scientist Alexander von Humboldt. Concurrently, Taylor's belief in America's progress and future greatness through Manifest Destiny, his interest in German geographic achievement, and his evident need to champion German exploration in Africa cemented a transatlantic tie between American and German expansion and revealed his ethnocentrism and imperialism.

Bayard Taylor and Alexander von Humboldt

Taylor's writings on Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) were an important part of his representation of the German learned tradition to Americans. Scholars

²³⁷ Corley, 53-67; Uhlman, 8-18, 90-91.

unanimously agree that Humboldt was the preeminent and influential naturalist of the nineteenth century and especially so in the United States. Taylor's interest in Humboldt reflected his American middle-class typicality in the 1850s because literate Americans embraced Humboldt and his writings in the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, Taylor's popular middle class image as a traveling cosmopolite to his American audience and his growing personal attachment to German society and culture made Humboldt a natural fit in Taylor's representations of German cultural figures. In short, his personal and public relationship with Humboldt was an easy transatlantic connection for his American audience and it encouraged further popularity.

Humboldt's scientific importance is largely forgotten or ignored today, but superlatives describing his accomplishments abound among historians of nineteenth-century Europe and the United States. Laura Dassow Walls declares that "Alexander von Humboldt was to nineteenth-century America rather like Albert Einstein was to the twentieth century: the iconic scientist, whose intellect was so far beyond the ordinary as to seem mystical, superhuman, fabulous, yet curiously benign."²³⁸ Furthermore, in Walls' estimation Humboldt was the catalyst for modern science. He shaped an entire universe of sciences (geography, biology, oceanography, ethnology, linguistics, and physics) and even recognized, in the early nineteenth century, the relationship between human activity and environmental change, suggesting the beginning of awareness of

²³⁸ Laura Dassow Walls, " 'Hero of Knowledge, Be Our Tribute Thine: ' Alexander von Humboldt in Victorian America," *Alexander von Humboldt's Natural History Legacy and Its Relevance for Today: A Symposium Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Beginning of Alexander von Humboldt's Five Year Pioneering Expedition in the American Tropics*. Held at Boston University, October 1999, published in *Northeastern Naturalist* 8, no. 1 (2001) Special Issue: 121. The sentiment is echoed by John Silber, "Alexander von Humboldt's Natural History Legacy and Its Relevance Today – Opening Remarks," *Northeastern Naturalist* 8, no. 1 (2001) Special Issue: 7.

global warming.²³⁹ Humboldt's stature in the nineteenth century and his general significance in the history of science can hardly be underestimated.

Alexander von Humboldt was born in Germany in 1769, the same year as Napoleon's birth. His early scientific training was in geology, mining engineering, and botany. In 1799, he began a scientific expedition to South America as the first European naturalist to penetrate into the interior of the continent, mapping and collecting specimens as he journeyed from Venezuela to Cuba and Mexico. In May of 1804, on his way back to Europe, he stopped in the United States for a six-week visit. He formed friendships with American naturalists and politicians, most notably Thomas Jefferson, and maintained a close attachment to the "young and still experimental American democracy."²⁴⁰ Humboldt never had a chance to return to the United States, even though he remained connected and interested. He lived in Paris until 1827, writing and publishing on his travel experiences and his analysis of scientific data from his exploration of the Americas. In 1827, Humboldt returned to Berlin where, with the exception of a brief scientific expedition into Russia and parts of central Asia in 1829, he spent the last years of his life writing and lecturing until his death in 1859.

During his later life and after his death, Humboldt was appropriated as a German national hero by German liberals and advocates of national unification.²⁴¹ Denise Phillips examines Humboldt's legacy in Germany after his death, commemorated by memorials built to honor him. Humboldt ranked with Schiller and Goethe as a defining

²³⁹ Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Introduction, viii-ix.

²⁴⁰ Laura Dassow Walls, "The Napoleon of Science: Alexander von Humboldt in Antebellum America," *The Nineteenth Century Contexts* 14, no.1 (1990): 73.

²⁴¹ Nicolaas A. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2005), 29.

figure for German national identity.²⁴² His scientific accomplishment also influenced German political and social development during the nineteenth century. As Andreas Daum argues, Humboldt understood science as a democratic exercise. Using Humboldt's ideas, German liberals believed that science as a force in human affairs could bring liberal political and social change in nineteenth-century Germany.²⁴³

Germany, though, could not lay exclusive claim to Humboldt. He was very much a transatlantic figure. Regions of both South and North America included Humboldt as part of their intellectual and even social heritage. For the purposes of this study, his significance lies in his prominence and influence in the United States throughout much of the nineteenth century. Humboldt stopped only briefly in America during his early travels but that visit established a strong and reciprocal relationship between Humboldt and some prominent Americans. It also marked the genesis of a positive and enduring reception of the man and his work in the United States through most of the nineteenth century.²⁴⁴ Throughout his life, Humboldt traveled extensively and earned international distinction through scientific research and writing. In America, his popularity was based upon not only his scientific stature and achievement but in an enthusiastic celebration by American intellectuals and the popularization of his work and life in American newspapers.²⁴⁵ Scholarship on Humboldt suggests that Americans saw him as one of their own, believing he was "almost an American" and that he "had a love for the people

²⁴² Denise Phillips, "Building Humboldt's Legacy: The Humboldt Memorials of 1869 in Germany," *Northeastern Naturalist* 8, no. 1 (2001) Special Issue: 22.

²⁴³ Andreas Daum, "Science, Politics, and Religion: Humboldtian Thinking and the Transformation of Civil Society in Germany, 1830-1870," *Osiris*, 2nd Series, vol. 17, Science and Civil Society: 107, 119-122, 137-140.

²⁴⁴ Kirsten Belgum, "Reading Alexander von Humboldt: Cosmopolitan Naturalist with an American Spirit," in *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, eds. Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, 107.

²⁴⁵ Belgum, 109-114.

of the United States.”²⁴⁶

In spite of his aristocratic heritage, Humboldt too expressed a strong transatlantic attachment to the United States and thought wistfully of a return to where “the people can really breathe with more freedom,” suggesting Humboldt’s attraction to political liberty and democracy and a comment on the lack of those features in Europe.²⁴⁷ American natural scientists, artists, authors, historians, and even politicians communicated regularly or visited with Humboldt in the decades after his brief stop in 1804, which maintained his close connection and kept him abreast of affairs in the United States.²⁴⁸ Humboldt became so fashionable that many features of the American landscape, regions, and places were named after him in the nineteenth century.²⁴⁹ Taylor noted a story of how Humboldt “expressed his delight” when he heard of a town in California named Humboldt and received a copy of *The Humboldt News*.²⁵⁰

Laura Dassow Walls, however, argues that Humboldt’s influence and attachment to the United States was more than just reciprocal or adoptive affection. In several studies, she examines specific connections, influences, and reasons for Humboldt’s

²⁴⁶ Lutz H. Görge, “Humboldt’s Example,” *Amerikanistudien / American Studies* 52, no. 1 (2006): 53. Quotes used in article from Peter Schoenwaldt, “Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,” in *Alexander von Humboldt, Werk und Weltgeltung*, ed. Heinrich Peiffer (Munich: Piper, 1969), 432, 435; Helmut De Terra, “Motives and Consequences of Alexander von Humboldt’s Visit to the United States (1804),” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 4, no. 3 (June 1960): 314; Herman Friis, “Baron Alexander von Humboldt’s Visit to Washington, D.C., June 1 through June 13, 1804,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington D.C.*, 60/62 (1960/1962): 30.

²⁴⁶ Ingo Schwarz, “Alexander von Humboldt’s Visit to Washington and Philadelphia, His Friendship with Jefferson, and his Fascination with the United States,” *Northeastern Naturalist* 8, no. 1 (2001) Special Issue: 50.

²⁴⁷ Schwarz, 50. Rupke notes that Humboldt, although born an aristocrat, had democratic inclinations, 121-122.

²⁴⁸ Friis, 52-53.

²⁴⁹ Belgum, 113-114.

²⁵⁰ “Humboldt” lecture (1859), 15-16, Lecture Box 7, BTC, CCHS.

popularity.²⁵¹ She claims that Americans saw Humboldt as a “second Columbus,” “the scientific discoverer of America” who literally put the Americas on the map. He was a contemporary of great American revolutionary leaders with whom he had personal friendships or sentimental ties. She also considers his idolization to be a part of a general American interest in German culture of the first half of the nineteenth century. His unconditional opposition to slavery gained him popularity in the Northern and Western American states as well.²⁵²

Taylor, identifying as an American northerner, shared Humboldt’s ideological commitment to American democracy and freedom, in particular the moral issues surrounding slavery prior to the Civil War.²⁵³ Helmut de Terra asserts that Humboldt saw slavery as “the greatest of all evils which have afflicted mankind.”²⁵⁴ Philip Foner points out that the bulk of Humboldt’s studies and comments on slavery were based on observations during his visit to Cuba but he watched developments in North America very closely.²⁵⁵ As Ingo Schwarz argues, the possible spread of slavery and its consequences in terms of maintaining the United States as a union was one of Humboldt’s key interests.²⁵⁶ Humboldt was a bitter foe not only of slavery but also of the concept of African-American racial inferiority, which was the feeble rationale for

²⁵¹ Dassow Walls, “The Napoleon of Science: Alexander von Humboldt in Antebellum America” (1990); *Seeing New Worlds: Henry David Thoreau and Nineteenth-Century Natural Science*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); “ ‘Hero of Knowledge, Be Our Tribute Thine:’ Alexander von Humboldt in Victorian America” (1999/2000); *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

²⁵² Dassow Walls, “Hero of Knowledge,” 126-127; Dassow Walls, “Napoleon of Science,” 76-78;

²⁵³ Helmut de Terra, 314. Taylor alluded to Humboldt’s religious morality and contempt for show and hypocrisy in religious matters, and its negative reception in Virginia in 1860, in a preface to a lecture on Humboldt he gave in New York, as reported in the *New York Times*, 5 March 1860, 8.

²⁵⁴ Philip S. Foner, “Alexander Von Humboldt on Slavery in America,” *Science and Society* 47, no. 3 (Fall, 1983): 330. Foner quotes Humboldt.

²⁵⁵ Foner, 335ff.

²⁵⁶ Schwarz, 43.

western slavery in the nineteenth century.²⁵⁷ This tied into the distinct nature of North American slavery.²⁵⁸

Taylor was particularly sensitive about the issue of slavery as an American abroad and was embarrassed when confronted with it. While he was riding the omnibus to Heidelberg soon after his arrival in Germany in 1844, a passenger asked him where he came from. Taylor wrote: “I shall not forget the expression of incredulity, as I mentioned America. ‘Why,’ he said, ‘you are white – the Americans are all black!’”²⁵⁹ The German passenger’s understanding of the racial composition of America was unsophisticated and inaccurate but evidently he had been exposed to some discussion of the topic in Germany, most likely in the censored newspapers of the Rhineland states through which Taylor was traveling. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the conservative German Confederation imposed censorship of the state newspapers to suppress dissent, control information, and maintain order as part of the reactionary response to political agitation.²⁶⁰ Accentuating the negative in representations of American politics and society was probably prevalent.

In an article on political conditions in Germany that he wrote in 1845, Taylor expressed dismay at the vulnerability he felt as an American and was angry that slavery could be used as a weapon to attack the American ideals he cherished. The censored German press, he complained, undermined the potential influence of American constitutional government by trumpeting the hypocrisy of claims to being the “freest

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 334.

²⁵⁸ Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956), 6-8.

²⁵⁹ *Views*, 102.

²⁶⁰ Christopher Clark, “Germany 1815-1848: Restoration or pre-March?” in *19th Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society*, ed. John Breuilly (London: Arnold, 2001), 44-45; David Blackbourne, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 122-25, 136.

nation on earth” while endorsing the institution of slavery. He believed that the images of America were false and exaggerated but because the autocratic governments censored the press in their respective states and many people read the papers, it “weakens the weight of influence, which the example of our country would otherwise have.”²⁶¹ His comments were an American indictment of both the lack of freedom of the German press and the existence of American slavery. That was especially distressing for Taylor, whose love for America and its democratic principles was as boundless as his revulsion toward slavery.

In his 1856 interview with Humboldt, Taylor noted Humboldt’s keen awareness of American political developments and alluded indirectly to his attitudes toward slavery, which Taylor shared. In the conversation, Humboldt expressed dismay over Buchanan’s victory in the recent presidential election and his 1854 Ostend Manifesto (a bid for US acquisition of Cuba that related, among other things, to the issue of slavery), which Humboldt described as “savage.” Humboldt also expressed regret about the loss of Colonel John Frémont, the first candidate of the anti-slavery Republican party, in the election but noted the strong American support of his anti-slavery stance as a “good omen.”²⁶²

The transatlantic connection between Humboldt and the United States was made, therefore, long before Taylor met the man. Taylor used that connection to enhance his image as a cosmopolitan traveler and build his growing reputation as an American inside Germany. Taylor befriended the renowned natural scientist at the height of Taylor’s own fame as a world traveler and when Humboldt enjoyed the peak of his popularity in the

²⁶¹ Essay No.12 “Political Conditions on Germany” (1845), Folder 17 MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC.

²⁶² *HAI*, 357.

United States, largely through the publication of several volumes of *Cosmos*. His writings and lectures about Humboldt at the end of the 1850s provided various personal perspectives. Because of the celebrated scientist's fame in the United States, Taylor reserved a chapter in *At Home and Abroad* specifically for his conversations with Humboldt. The account appeared in many newspapers, Taylor's lecture on the esteemed celebrity was received enthusiastically on the lecture circuit in 1860, and he wrote an introduction to his friend Richard Stoddard's biography of Humboldt, all of which are strong indications of the importance of Taylor's encounter with Humboldt for himself and his audience.²⁶³

Taylor also made a personal connection with Humboldt and publically trumpeted what he considered to be their friendship. Taylor's close tie to Humboldt was most evident in 1859, when he received the honor of writing an introduction endorsing a biography of Humboldt. He regarded the opportunity to express his personal impressions of Humboldt's character as a public acknowledgement of their friendship:

No task could have been pleasanter to me than that of attempting to bring home to the familiar acquaintance of the great reading public of the United States the history of the great man, with whose friendship I was honored.²⁶⁴

The image of Humboldt was what Taylor wanted his image to be – an accomplished figure admired because of extensive and extraordinary achievement. As evidence of how closely Taylor was tied to Humboldt in the mind of the American public, some detractors fabricated and published a story about how Humboldt held a very low opinion of Taylor and the quality of his writings as an American who “has traveled

²⁶³ “A Visit to the German Philosopher Humboldt” *San Francisco Bulletin*, vol. 5, Issue 135, March 17, 1858, p.1; Lecture “Alexander von Humboldt” 1859, Lecture Box, BTC, CCHS; Richard Stoddard, *The Life, travels, and books of Alexander von Humboldt* (New York: Rudd & Carlton, 1859), Introduction.

²⁶⁴ Folder 17, MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC, dated August 1859; *HA1*, 354, 362.

farther and seen less than any man of my acquaintance” to discredit Taylor and possibly besmirch his relationship with the popular natural scientist.²⁶⁵ The story was later retracted. Taylor refers to the slander in his preface to *By-Ways of Europe* (1869) and to the confession of the false statement by its author. Taylor then vindicated himself with a compliment from Humboldt during their last interview in 1857:

I remarked that he would find in my volumes nothing of the special knowledge which he needed... . . . he replied: ‘But you paint the world as we, explorers of science, cannot. Do not undervalue what you have done. It is a real service; and the unscientific traveler, who knows the use of his eyes, observes for us always without being aware of it’”²⁶⁶

Humboldt’s opinion of Taylor was of value to Taylor personally and publically.

Taylor did not contribute anything substantive to an understanding of Humboldt’s scientific achievements in spite of his personal and public attachment. Taylor’s writings were, at best, affectionate verbal portraits of the popular scientist for his American audience. Even the lecture Taylor delivered on Humboldt during the Lyceum circuit in 1859-60 was just a thin biography that was more a veiled disclosure of Taylor’s knowledge of German culture and close association with German achievement than an enlightened analysis of Humboldt’s life or accomplishments. Taylor was not equipped to provide much more than superficial descriptions.

However, Humboldt’s close affiliation with the United States, his reputation as the most famous scientist of his day, and his transnational cosmopolitan image endeared him to educated Americans. Acting as a transatlantic bridge between German culture and his American audience, Taylor simply latched onto a German of elevated interest in the

²⁶⁵ “The Great Traveler’s [Humboldt’s] opinion,” *The Daily Argus and Democrat*, Madison, Wisconsin, 9 May 1860, 2.

²⁶⁶ *By-Ways*, 13, 14.

United States and thereby attached his own image to that of Humboldt. His writings on Humboldt, therefore, largely exploited middle-class fascination with the world and a desire to experience vicariously his contact with the popular natural scientist, thus augmenting his place as an American authority on German society and culture.

Social Identity defining Transatlantic Representation: Humboldt and Cosmopolitanism

Taylor's links with Humboldt influenced his public image in ways beyond boosting Taylor's reputation as a traveler and as a conveyor of things German to the United States - they helped define his American social identity in his encounters with Germany. A strong trend in Humboldt scholarship that relates to Taylor's attachment to the renowned naturalist, and is relevant in a discussion of Taylor's American identity and transatlantic persona, focuses on Humboldt's cosmopolitan reputation. At precisely the time in which Taylor formed a personal and public bond with Humboldt, he also embraced and expressed the cosmopolitan element of his nineteenth-century middle class social identity. Humboldt's reputation reinforced Taylor's views and helped him formulate his cosmographic perspective.

Scholarly discussion on this topic is lively. Kirsten Belgum argues that part of Humboldt's popularity and an explanation for the ease in which Americans appropriated him in the nineteenth century indicates that he was not identified exclusively with Germany or any other particular nation. Although he was born, raised, and schooled in Germany and he died in Berlin as a pensioner of the Prussian king, he was not seen as "German" – he was cosmopolitan. From an American perspective, his "international

identity,” his impressive scientific resume, and how he embraced American ideals of liberty, and humanity made him a “man of the people” and therefore an America hero.²⁶⁷

Denise Phillips, while examining Humboldt memorials in Germany, noted that Germans also recognized his status as a “cosmopolitan national hero.”²⁶⁸ Friis, in his study of Humboldt’s visit to the United States, revealed that Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith not only regarded Humboldt as “American” in his thinking but also was “most truly a citizen of the world & wherever he went he felt himself perfectly at home.”²⁶⁹ Ottmar Ette picks up on that trait too, arguing that Humboldt was a “Weltbürger” [world citizen] through his ability to be “at home everywhere in a spatial and geographic sense as well as ...[in] intellectual attitude and ethical conviction.” Humboldt could than act, reflecting the concept of Goethe’s *Weltliteratur*, as a bridge between “the own” and “the other.”²⁷⁰ Vera Kutzinski places Humboldt’s cosmopolitanism within the scope of his geographic and scientific contact:

Clearly, Humboldt’s own work does not separate South America from the United States, or Mexico and Canada from the Caribbean islands, nor, for that matter, from Europe, Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. At a time when nations were but projections, he was well aware that borders are political fictions that too often conflict with both natural and cultural realities....²⁷¹

Humboldt’s transnational image stands out in scholarly studies on his life and work.

²⁶⁷ Kirsten Belgum, “Reading Alexander von Humboldt: Cosmopolitan Naturalist with an American” in *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*, 107-118.

²⁶⁸ Phillips, 26.

²⁶⁹ Friis, 34.

²⁷⁰ Ottmar Ette, “The Scientist as Weltbürger: Alexander von Humboldt and the Beginning of Cosmopolitics” in *Alexander von Humboldt’s Natural History Legacy and Its Relevance for Today: A Symposium Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Beginning of Alexander von Humboldt’s Five Year Pioneering Expedition in the American Tropics*. Held at Boston University, October 1999, published in *Northeastern Naturalist* 8, no. 1 (2001) Special Issue: 170, 173.

²⁷¹ *Alexander von Humboldt’s Transatlantic Personae*, ed. Vera M. Kutzinski (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 7.

Taylor's contact with Humboldt influenced his personal and public views, especially since Taylor embraced a middle class identity. His "cosmographic" way of thinking evidently evolved with his extensive world travels and cultural encounters and his elevation into the American and German bourgeoisie during the 1850s. While traveling through India in 1853, Taylor wrote "There is something in every form of religion worthy of general respect.... There is truth, however dim and eclipsed, behind all these outward symbols. Even the naked and savage Dinkas of Central Africa worship trees; and so do I."²⁷² Evidently in Taylor's opinion, the openness of his world view acquired through travel was more valuable than a narrow Christian view. His wife Marie observed later in life that the "cure" for Taylor's "false turn of mind,... prejudices... and the narrow views of life" that characterized his attitude as a youth in the United States and "hindered his free intellectual development" was "affected by his wandering into the world, by his contact with different people and countries."²⁷³ Travel became his enlightening educational process and through it he came to recognize a connectedness and wholeness – a "cosmos" – to physical existence and human experience.

Part of his cosmological thinking involved an adjustment or realignment of his purely American perspective, one which no doubt reflects his close personal attachment to German society. He expressed the need for broad-mindedness as he criticized the published impressions of other American travelers to Germany in his writings in the 1850s:

I have heard travelers speak of the bad manners of the Germans; of their heterogeneous meals; of their heaviness and awkwardness; and of their uncomfortable mode of life. Such persons generally belong to that class whose standard of judgment is: 'I don't do so

²⁷² *Life and Letters*, 247.

²⁷³ Marie Taylor, "Jottings" in Box 8, BTP, CUSC.

and so; therefore, the people are wrong.’...An American woman, traveling in Germany, *minus* the language, has recently published a volume entitled “Peasant Life in Germany,” which is filled with the grossest blunders. She measures everything she sees by an American standard, as if that were the only admitted test of excellence. There is this lesson to be derived from an intimate acquaintance with other lands and other races – that *no one country possesses the best.*²⁷⁴

The nature of Taylor’s middle-class cosmopolitanism (and, as discussed below, imperialism) in the second half of the decade is illustrated through several writings and lectures crafted between 1856 and 1861. In his essay/lecture “One of My Predecessors,” he embraced a personal, thoughtful, very unscientific style of travel writing indicative of the ancient past. He clearly identified more with the ancient travelers than with modern explorers and claimed a “kinship” with “the narratives of my predecessors.” He stated further that “the instinct of travel” of the ancients to “enlarge [one’s] prospects, cultivate [oneself], and acquire friends” had, “skipping over some centuries, reappeared, in my case, in its original form.” Quoting his “progenitor” and the subject of his lecture, Ibn Battuta, the fourteenth century Muslim traveler, Taylor also made a very cosmopolitan statement:

It is better to be dead than, like an insect, to remain always chained to the same spot of earth.²⁷⁵

Taylor developed those thoughts further in “Philosophy of Travel,” a lecture he began to give in 1856. He wrote that among the “nobler aims of travel” as a progressive educational process is the acquisition of an understanding that the

ignorant traveler cannot imagine that the habits and necessities of other races differ from his own; he has but one standard, and he applies it to all climates and all varieties of life.... The sympathetic traveler... is the true cosmopolite, shifting his habits according to his locality, and making himself equally at home in all parts of the world.

²⁷⁴ HA1, 467.

²⁷⁵ “One of my Predecessors,” 1-2, Folder 17 MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC.

He picks up languages with great readiness and knows more of a people in a month than the complaining traveler can learn in a year, or the ignorant traveler can learn in a lifetime.²⁷⁶

A comparison and analysis of the ideas expressed in those different sources suggest that the nature of Taylor's "cosmographic views" developed in the course of his travels and world encounters during the 1850s. Taylor, as a member of the nineteenth-century American bourgeoisie, saw himself as a cosmopolite. Through his travel experiences, he claimed to realize that an exclusively American perspective was too limiting; global encounters had given him the ability to recognize, appreciate, and be at home in different parts of the world. His core remained American, but it seems that exposure and maybe even acceptance of "other" cultures had broadened his expectations and perspective at least in his public image. Taylor's cosmopolitan views developed as he became educated in the world.

Taylor's encounters with Humboldt and his attachment to Humboldt's persona may have pushed Taylor's broader thinking even further. Exposure to the ideas and the image of the great scientific explorer certainly made Taylor acutely aware of his own lack of scientific knowledge and training.²⁷⁷ Taylor suggests in his 1859 lecture on Humboldt that he had studied Humboldt's works, but how much he understood about Humboldt's scientific thought is vague.²⁷⁸ However, as Smyth states, Humboldt's influence inspired Taylor "to construct a 'human cosmos'" in which he respected the differences, varieties, and complexities of all human races and aspired to an uninhibited range of all

²⁷⁶ "Philosophy of Travel" (1856), 11, 21, 30, Lecture Box 7, BTC, CCHS.

²⁷⁷ Smyth, 96; Wermuth, 52.

²⁷⁸ "Humboldt" lecture, 23

experiences.²⁷⁹ Taylor's middle-class cosmopolitan views and the influence of Humboldt were summarized in his 1862 publication of *At Home and Abroad, Second Series*:

Really, this is the ideal of Travel. ... With a little human flexibility, a catholic breadth of taste, and an entire freedom from the prejudices ... in which most men are born, we may, without sacrificing a jot of our individuality, without hazarding the loss of a single principle, live the life of other races and other climates and thus gather into our own the aggregate experience of Man. ... This is the Heimskringla, or World Circle – the completed sphere of life on our planet, which he must traverse who shall write the yet unwritten human Cosmos.²⁸⁰

Paul Wermuth sarcastically brushed off Taylor's notion of a human cosmos with the rejoinder "whatever that means."²⁸¹ However, it is clearly an important element of his American middle-class social identity. As an American, Taylor made a connection to Humboldt's science and cosmopolitanism for his reading audience.

How Taylor presented Humboldt to his audience in his writings and lectures is suggestive also of broader thinking in his representation. Belgum observes that Taylor never used "German" in connection with Humboldt in his 1859 introduction to Stoddard's biography. She concludes that Taylor depicted Humboldt to his fellow Americans as a "true cosmopolitan, a man who is at home in the world."²⁸² In his lecture, Taylor chose not to "speak of Humboldt... either as a man of science or an author – rather as a man in the world of men, exercising a steady and wide-spread influence upon the times in which he lived."²⁸³ According to Belgum, Taylor evidently saw Humboldt as someone who was not confined by boundaries. Taylor's "human cosmos" and "cosmographic" views, as discussed above, seem related to Taylor's admiration for

²⁷⁹ Smyth, 97-99.

²⁸⁰ HA2, 204-5.

²⁸¹ Wermuth, 52.

²⁸² Belgum, 117-118.

²⁸³ "Humboldt" lecture, 1.

Humboldt and Humboldt's cosmopolitanism. Humboldt's and (to a lesser extent intellectually) Taylor's interests, international relationships, attitudes and ideals suggest a transcending of national and geographical boundaries and facilitation of Taylor's transatlantic persona.

Social Identity defining Transatlantic Representation: Taylor's Imperialist Views and German Geographic Exploration

Alexander von Humboldt's influence, though, went beyond the advancement of Taylor's middle-class cosmopolitanism. The abutment of imperialism and cosmopolitanism as socially-signifying ideas is evident in interpretations of the influence of Humboldt's science in America and in Taylor's attitudes and writings. In her extensive studies of Humboldt's impact on American thinking, Laura Walls links Humboldt to Manifest Destiny, imperial ambitions, and the nineteenth-century belief in America's future greatness. She asserts that Humboldt's popularity was based not only upon his links with America but also upon his astounding intellectual achievements and how they related directly and essentially to an American conscience and national image. Specifically, Walls recognizes that Humboldt's magnum opus, *Cosmos*, along with an explosion of popular writings, accounts, biographies, and even a profusion of place names, especially in the West, brought the renowned natural scientist clearly into focus for a broader audience. This, to Walls, most clearly accounts for the "Humboldt Phenomenon" in the United States.

Scholars generally view *Cosmos* as a vast and ambitious fusion of Enlightenment rationalism and Romantic idealism typical of nineteenth-century German cultural expression but Walls interprets the universal meaning that Humboldt sought in the

cosmos as based entirely on empirical facts and data and argues that the beauty to that order was found perceptually through the human mind.²⁸⁴ She argues further that the publication of *Cosmos*, first volume in 1845 and quickly translated into English, with its connection of order and beauty had a profound impact on American identity:

America was made to glow with the penumbra of Providential national destiny, of prophetic vision, giving it a supernatural beauty that wove science, poetry, and art, religion and morality together as an exposition of the New World, God's most exceptional creation. Humboldt's *Cosmos* seemed made for America, and Americans adopted it into their founding mythology.²⁸⁵

In other words, Humboldt provided scientific inspiration for Manifest Destiny and America's future and inevitable greatness. He was therefore influential in the geographical exploration and expansion into the American West and beyond.²⁸⁶

Since, from an American perspective, Humboldt's influence was multi-faceted, Taylor's ethnocentric and imperialist attitudes and his Humboldtian cosmopolitanism as conjunctive elements of his American social identity were not necessarily contradictory. Corley and Uhlman explain the juxtaposition of nineteenth-century American egalitarian cosmopolitanism and ethnocentric imperialism, evident in Taylor's attitudes and writings, as the dynamic interplay of American democratic impulses and the self-serving proto-imperialism derived from extant racial ideologies as a perceived destiny to spread liberty across the globe.²⁸⁷ The combination of cosmopolitan connections and imperialist attitudes comprise Taylor's nineteenth-century middle class identity and, more broadly,

²⁸⁴ Dassow Walls, "Napoleon of Science," 75; *Passage to Cosmos*, 220.

²⁸⁵ Dassow Walls, *Passage to Cosmos*, 216.

²⁸⁶ Dassow Walls, "Hero of Knowledge," 126-127; Dassow Walls, "Napoleon of Science," 76-78; Kent Mathewson, "Alexander von Humboldt's Image and Influence in North American Geography, 1804-2004," *Geographical Review*, 96, no.3 'Humboldt in the Americas' (July 2006): 420: "Humboldt, at least in the minds of those who encountered him during one visit to the United States, provided a model and a benchmark for what advanced geographical knowledge and practice might entail."

²⁸⁷ Corley, 58.

define the belief in American futurity that is central to nineteenth-century American identity as expressed in Taylor's travel writing. Taylor understood, like many Euro-Americans and as demonstrated by westward expansion and Manifest Destiny, that continued expansion and the future of the United States were linked to a belief in Providence - it was God's plan that the United States not just rule the continent but become a global power. Uhlman claimed that one of the central themes visible in Taylor's travel writings was the global possibility of an American Empire. Expansion was a means to national enrichment, the realization of individual dreams, and thus the revitalization of liberty, which lay at the heart of mainstream American identity.²⁸⁸

Taylor's commitment to Manifest Destiny, westward expansion, and American future greatness was expressed in *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire* published in 1850. The title itself implies an expectation of imperial power. Imperialism was part of the American experience in the nineteenth century and it was demonstrated in the Louisiana Purchase, the Mexican-American War, westward expansion, wars with Native Americans, the purchase of Alaska, the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, the Spanish-American War and war in the Philippines, extended influence in the Pacific, and an interest in the Caribbean.²⁸⁹ Although it appears contradictory to espoused democratic principles, Edward Crapol asserts that American national destiny of republican territorial and commercial expansionism was intended to protect and sustain the Union and its democratic principles as well as assure human progress.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Uhlman, 260-263. See also Bruce Vandervort, *Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa, 1830-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Robert Zevin, "An Interpretation of American Imperialism," *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no.1 (1972): 316-360; Edward Crapol, "John Tyler and the Pursuit of National Destiny," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17, no. 3 (1997): 467-491.

²⁸⁹ Zevin, 316.

²⁹⁰ Crapol, 467-491.

Taylor's first public engagement with and apologia for global exploration was the *Cyclopedia of Modern Travel*, published in 1856. Taylor was not a trained scholar and certainly not a scientist but his fame as a world traveler evidently qualified him for the enterprise and boosted the chance for successful sales. Taylor was not one to miss an opportunity to capitalize on his reputation either. The project was "task work" designed to raise some money but it also gave him a chance to share his interests in developments of European exploration.²⁹¹ The possible objective of the publishers in producing the work was to add something of scholarly value that would also be of interest to a less educated mass public and therefore have the broadest base of appeal.²⁹² The selection of Taylor as author, with his experiences and his popularity in the 1850s, was a good choice. In Wermuth's estimation, it was made with good taste and good sense, and it demonstrated that Taylor was a good editor.²⁹³

In the opening statements of his *Cyclopedia*, Taylor regarded the vast exploration of the nineteenth century as a warlike storming of the "outposts of barbarism:"

...that magnificent system of colonization which is the leading feature of modern history, [allows the explorer/traveler to be] no longer obliged to masquerade in the disguises of other races than his own, but bears about him the distinguishing stamp of his own nationality. He is less a cosmopolite than his prototype of two centuries back, and while his delineations of nature are in most cases as exact and faithful as possible, he gives us less of that intrinsic human nature which lends such a charm to the story of the latter.²⁹⁴

That assertion seems contradictory, though, to his rather philosophical perambulations in lectures about the nature of travel and its cosmopolitan effect on the individual, which

²⁹¹ *Life and Letters*, 292; Wermuth, 51.

²⁹² *Cyclopedia of Modern Travel* (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, & Keys Co., 1856), Introduction, ix.

²⁹³ Wermuth, 51.

²⁹⁴ *Cyclopedia*, Introduction, vii-viii.

were given in the same year that the *Cyclopaedia* was published. The personal, thoughtful, very unscientific elements of travel writing in the ancient past that Taylor disparages in the *Cyclopaedia* were the very traits he embraced in his essay/lecture “One of My Predecessors.” It is, however, a clear expression of Taylor’s attachment to a nineteenth-century bourgeois social identity in which cosmopolitanism and imperialism co-existed. Taylor was a middle-class American. He may have played a cosmopolitan role by donning foreign dress, learning foreign languages and immersing himself in foreign cultures for his reading audience but he maintained attitudes and prejudices as an American and as a figure of the West. Part of that was pride in what he may have considered as the superiority of culture and heritage of the West. That he evidently viewed other cultures as “outposts of barbarism” that would benefit from European colonization was an expression of that pride.

The book was very detailed and extremely large (over 900 pages), despite Taylor’s best efforts to be selective in his choices of western geographical explorers. As a nod to cosmopolitanism and an unavoidable necessity, considering the popularity of the well-known natural scientist, the work was dedicated to Humboldt and the first section was devoted to Humboldt’s explorations in South America. Imperialism and Western scientific superiority, though, were the central themes. The opening paragraph declares “The present century is emphatically an age of exploration and discovery... as active and universal” as in the days of Columbus and Cortez. Taylor also states, self-consciously, that the narratives of modern travelers were very different from those of the past. The “old travelers” expressed the “wonder and credulity of children.” The “modern traveler, on the other hand, is characterized by skepticism rather than credulity. He is much more

interested in solving some problem of physical geography, or in illustrating some favorite scientific theory, than in tales of gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire... . Modern exploration is intelligent, and its results are therefore positive and permanent.”²⁹⁵ Taylor was certainly upbeat about the ramifications of Western scientific global exploration.

Although the book focused on Western excursions into non-western regions all over the world, Taylor included very notable sections on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804-06 and Frémont’s exploration of the Rocky Mountains and California in 1842 as preparatory steps toward nineteenth-century U.S. continental imperialism and prerequisites for American economic expansion into Asia. The sections were faithful renderings of the journals kept on the expeditions without commentary or analysis, however their inclusion set the stage for Taylor’s insertion of American adventurism in Asia in the *Cyclopedia* as an expression of the continued pursuit of Manifest Destiny beyond California into the Pacific.

One of the many motivations for the acquisition of California and its ports in the 1840s was access to Pacific trade. Americans had obtained trade agreements with China and, not long after the Perry expedition demonstrated American military and technological superiority in 1853, Japan too opened its ports. In the *Cyclopedia*, Taylor describes the “exploration” of Loo-Choo Island in earnest and dramatic detail as part of Commodore Perry’s excursion to Japan.²⁹⁶ However, compared to the long and dangerous explorations of Africa and central Asia by Europeans included in the *Cyclopedia*, his personal six day, 108 mile trek covering half the island is almost comical. Taylor was very serious, though. He did not assume the role of a cosmopolite immersing

²⁹⁵ *Cyclopedia*, vii-viii.

²⁹⁶ Loo-Choo Island is evidently Okinawa, a westernized term derived from the Mandarin *Liugiu* and Okinawan *RuuChuu*. Found in the *Shuri-Naha Dialect Dictionary*, ryukyu-lang@u-ryukyu.ac.jp.

himself in foreign cultures that he played in his travel writings on the Near East. The Loo-Choo expedition was a military exercise under Taylor's command, therefore he was formal, precise, official, and very American in his observations of the flora and fauna and his condescending attitude toward the Chinese agents and native peoples.²⁹⁷

Taylor's encounter with Loo-Choo Island was the only account of American exploration outside of the North American continent in the book and he placed it at the end. Although not an extraordinary event, evidently Taylor or the publishers felt that it was important to include an American expedition as part of a broader global scientific exploration by western powers. The account also establishes that, as an American, Taylor was as comfortable with imperialism as he was with cosmopolitanism. Both were important components of his public image and nineteenth-century American middle class identity. It also represents his effort at finding commonality between American and European exploration to make a transatlantic connection.

In particular, as an authority on German society and culture and as a transatlantic communicator noting similarities between the US and Germany, Taylor wrote extensively about German geographic science and exploration. He included many European nationalities involved in global exploration in the mid-nineteenth century in the *Cyclopedia* but, with the exception of the Loo-Choo episode, the last quarter of the work was devoted particularly to the contributions of German explorers in Africa during the early 1850s. Additionally, one of the benefits of Taylor's intimate access as an American inside German society was the opportunity to engage and interview prominent German cultural and intellectual figures in the 1850s. From that advantageous position,

²⁹⁷ *Cyclopedia*, 916-937; "An Autobiographical Sketch by Bayard Taylor" dated April 1863, Box 7 (loose in the box – no folder or other designation), BTP, CUSC.

Taylor recognized German contributions to geographical science as an important cultural area of activity to which he, as an American, could relate, and he made an effort to communicate what he encountered to his audience. His ethnocentrism and imperialism, a reflection of his American middle class social identity equal to that of his cosmopolitanism, were best expressed in his representations of German geographic exploration.

Taylor probably recognized that the emergence of geography as a science in the nineteenth century facilitated European global contact. The knowledge acquired about climate, peoples, cultures, and topography was indispensable to European exploration and global expansion. Voyages of exploration, as H.L. Wesseling observes, became the great passion of the nineteenth century and were connected to the rise of geographical science in Europe. The development of geography as a science in turn stimulated a desire to explore and was responsible for new and expanded voyages of discovery. Geographic exploration, though, was not simply intellectual curiosity – knowledge of a region was necessary for its conquest, occupation, organization, and exploitation that mark nineteenth-century European colonial imperialism.²⁹⁸

Taylor was not a geographer and his travel writings did not contribute anything of great scientific importance; however his interest in different peoples and knowledge of the world through travel suggests bourgeois imperial tendencies. In his mind, his detailed observations and astute perceptions on foreign cultures made him something of an ethnographer and amateur geographer:

My travels were, in my opinion, more a promoter of
my individual development than an addition to my general

²⁹⁸ H.L. Wesseling, *The European Colonial Empires, 1815-1919*, trans. Diane Webb (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2004), x, 52-54.

knowledge. The scientific basis was wanting, which would have qualified me for a thorough explorer; I have no right to the title of a scientific man – but I have at least a quick eye for nature and a great interest in mankind. My knowledge of almost all climes and races has given me a wide standard of comparison, by which to measure the different races with which I came in contact.²⁹⁹

In that respect, Taylor's writings were significant. According to Uhlman, travelers played a central role in facilitating empires as an expression of the strength of the nation state and the social and economic dominance of the middle class. They contributed to new forms of historical, geographic, and ethnographic knowledge, thereby advancing commercial interests, and reinforcing distinct national identities.³⁰⁰ The connection with these German geographers would be as natural to Taylor as his connection to German poets. It also gave him a unique perspective as an American and, since the United States was forming global imperialist intentions, it provided similar developments to connect the two.

Conversations with German geographers and explorers were evidently easy for him in the light of his reputation in America and Germany as a traveler with inside access. In his chapter on famous German authors in the 1859 *At Home and Abroad, 1st Series*, he made special mention of the German world travelers Alexander Ziegler and Frederick Gerstäcker and, most significantly, the “distinguished geographers” Karl Andre and Karl Ritter. In 1874, Taylor was visiting some aristocratic friends and had occasion to meet “the distinguished African traveler, Gerard Rohlfs, come to say good-bye before starting for the Libyan Desert. Rohlfs is a remarkable specimen of manly strength and beauty, tall, blond-haired, large-limbed, with an Achillean air of courage and

²⁹⁹ 1863 autobiographical sketch in Box 7, BTP, CUSC.

³⁰⁰ Uhlman, 17.

command.”³⁰¹ Taylor’s chance meeting with Rohlf’s was included in an 1875 article for the *Atlantic Monthly*. Evidently, he felt German exploration of Africa was laudable and should be of interest to his American readers. The attractive verbal portrait of Rohlf’s also illustrates his admiration for German achievement in geographical exploration.

A search for scholarship on the influence of German scientific accomplishment, in geography or any other field, or even a presence of their ideas in nineteenth-century America turns up virtually nothing, with the notable and sizeable exception of Alexander von Humboldt. Humboldt’s scientific achievement and great popularity in the United States dwarfed virtually everyone (except possibly Charles Darwin) in the nineteenth century. Conversely, the absence of translations of other German scientific writings in America is a clear indication of lack of knowledge or awareness of German science and scientists in general and of German geographic science in particular.³⁰² Therefore any impact, especially at a popular level or even as an indication of significant influence of individual German scientists in America, is difficult to ascertain. Taylor, it seems, was a key, albeit limited, source.

German involvement in global scientific exploration was prominent in Taylor’s writings on Germany from the 1850s through the 1870s; it was also important in his role as transatlantic communicator describing German achievements to his American audience. Humboldt took center stage in Taylor’s representations of German science but, very significantly in his portrayal of German geographic exploration, he also made

³⁰¹ “Autumn Days in Weimar,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 35, no. 214 (August 1875), 230. Taylor’s acquaintance with Rohlf’s was close enough to receive a letter of congratulations and an invitation to attend a meeting of the Berlin Geographic Society from the German explorer after Taylor’s appointment as American Minister to Germany in 1878. Rohlf’s handwritten letter to Taylor, 16 April 1878, Box 8, BTP, CUSC.

³⁰² Pochmann, 346-347.

special mention of contact with Dr. Augustus Petermann, an eminent and very influential German geographer.³⁰³ Petermann was a member of the British Royal Geographic Society who served as a recruiter, supporter, and promoter of German exploration of Africa as well as a point of contact in publicizing accounts of German explorers. According to Smyth, both Petermann and Heinrich Barth, the first German geographer-explorer of Africa, commented on Taylor's work.³⁰⁴ Whether Taylor obtained information from Petermann about German enterprise in Africa is not documented. However, Taylor was positioned as a recognized authority to an American audience through his contact with such a prominent figure like Petermann and his relatively tame exploits as a traveler in Africa and parts of Asia to make connections based on similar interests and attitudes.

In that capacity, Taylor published an article in the *New York Tribune* in 1874 lauding the activity and contribution of German scientific explorers involved in Africa.³⁰⁵ By that time, European imperial activity in Africa, spurred by geographical study in previously unknown regions of the continent, began to explode. German explorers in Africa from the 1840s through the 1870s no doubt contributed significantly to the growing popular enthusiasm. Several German geographic explorers stand out. Heinrich Barth was among the first Germans to explore the African continent in a British

³⁰³ HA2, 239. Taylor mentioned his initial chance meeting and conversation with Petermann while wandering through the crowds and enjoying the distinctly political Pan-Germanic festivities of a Convention of German Riflemen held in Gotha in July 1861. Augustus Petermann, "Journey of M. Gerhard Rohlfs through Marocco and Tuat, 1863-64" *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* vol. 9 no. 2 (1864-1865): 79-80; references to Petermann's activities are also made in Elisabeth deVeer and Ann O'Hear, "Gerhard Rohlfs in Yorubaland," *History of Africa* vol. 21 (1994): 251 and Jörg Adelberger, "Eduard Vogel and Eduard Robert Flegel: the Experiences of Two Nineteenth-Century German Explorers in Africa," *History of Africa* vol. 27 (2000): 5.

³⁰⁴ Smyth, 97-98.

³⁰⁵ Undated clipping, Box 10, Tay59, BTP, CUSC. Also, Taylor to Reid, 5 June 1874, mentioning the article in the *Tribune* entitled "Rohlfs' Exploration of the Libyan Desert and Dr. Nachtigal's Opening up of the unknown Kingdom of Waday," Box 10, #35, BTP, CUSC.

missionary-commercial expedition into the Niger basin/Western Sedan region in 1849.³⁰⁶ Eduard Vogel, a protégé of August Petermann, led an expedition into central Africa in 1851 and was the first European to explore the Muri Mountain range in northern Nigeria, adding to the geographical knowledge of the region.³⁰⁷ Gerhard Rohlfs traveled through North Africa from the Sahara to west Africa from 1863-64, becoming, according to Petermann, “the first educated and intelligent European who succeeded in crossing that highly interesting mountainous region [of the Atlas Mountain range] and penetrating beyond it.”³⁰⁸ Gustav Nachtigal was the most celebrated German geographer-explorer who, in a six year journey [1868-1874] explored “one of the least known and most interesting regions of Africa” from Lake Chad east to Darfur and into Egypt. He was “a type of the best class of scientific travelers and geographers” who was “well-qualified by scientific training,” and made contributions to the “fields of geography, topography, natural history, and ethnology of the regions...”³⁰⁹

In his article on these German scientific explorers, Taylor commented on what he felt were omissions in American scholarly presentations on German geographical discoveries. With his fame as an American traveler-explorer, his close association with Germany and reputation as an authority on German culture, and in his role as a transatlantic interpreter between Germany and his American audience, Taylor evidently sought to fill the void. In his 1856 *Cyclopaedia of Modern Travel*, Taylor wrote

³⁰⁶ E.W. Bovill, “Henry Barth,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* vol. 25 (July 1926): 311-320; R. Mansell Prothero, “Heinrich Barth and the Western Sudan,” *The Geographical Journal* 124, no. 3 (Sept. 1958): 326-337.

³⁰⁷ Jörg Adelberger, “Eduard Vogel and Eduard Robert Flegel: the Experiences of Two Nineteenth – Century German Explorers in Africa,” *History of Africa* vol. 27 (2000): 1-29.

³⁰⁸ Quote from August Petermann, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society of London* vol.9 (1864-65): 79-80; Elisabeth deVeer and Ann O’Hear, “Gerhard Rohlfs in Yorubaland,” *History of Africa* vol. 21 (1994): 251-268

³⁰⁹ *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* vol.7, no. 7(July 1885): 466; “Dr. Gustav Nachtigal,” *The British Medical Journal* vol. 1, no.799 (1876): 516, and no. 1271 (1885): 956-957.

extensively on German exploration in Africa, especially that of Barth and Vogel. The book was not successful, though, which suggests that Taylor's knowledge was not widely spread. Taylor reached a larger audience, though, through the newspaper article.

In the 1874 article, Taylor addressed German activities in Africa again. He acknowledged the conspicuous results of British involvement in Africa by men like Richard Burton, John Speck [sic; Speke], and Samuel Baker. He also deeply respected the medical-missionary work of Scot David Livingstone, describing it as "unapproachable" in its singular achievements. However, he took issue with H.M. Stanley's attempts to exalt Livingstone through "unjust disparagement of German explorers."³¹⁰ Taylor felt it necessary to come to their defense:

Since Barth's expedition, 20 years earlier, the Germans have specifically devoted themselves to the unknown portions of Africa north of the equator, leaving the south of that line to their English brethren. In endurance, courage, and self sacrifice, they have fully equaled the latter. Barth, Vogel, Rohlf, Schweinfurt, and Nachtigal have performed tasks fully as difficult and dangerous, if not so conspicuous in their results...³¹¹

Taylor then expounded upon the sustained efforts of German explorer-scientists to make contact with the Kingdom of Waday since the 1850s, "the only African kingdom between Abyssinia and Senegal which no European had entered." For Taylor, awareness of German scientific and imperial activity was as important for the American public as the more famous British imperial endeavors. His article also provides evidence of Taylor's

³¹⁰ Felix Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and his Critics: Geography, Exploration, and Empire," *Past and Present* no.133 (Nov. 1991): 134-166. Stanley was primarily a British imperialist. Although he was very much involved and even instrumental in the extension of the Belgian King Leopold's African empire, he also encouraged and promoted the expansion of British power and influence in East Africa during the 1880s. For Stanley, geographical science and discovery was simply a tool of imperialism. Also, in an effort to symbolically represent Africa as a field for European exploitation, he "popularized the influential myth of Livingstone as the patron saint of British imperialism in Africa." Quote and reference from 138-140.

³¹¹ Op. cit. #294.

bourgeois imperial tendencies. The European powers did not begin their aggressive intrusion into Africa to create colonial empires until after 1878 and, according to AJP Taylor, Imperial Germany did not participate in earnest until the mid-1880s.³¹² However, scientific and geographic exploration paved the way for future possessions and Taylor, as an American bourgeoisie, evidently embraced this exploration and communicated his enthusiasm to Americans. Germany and the United States were becoming nationally self-aware and globally active at the same time. Taylor recognized the connection as a transatlantic figure.

Chapter Conclusion

Fame as a world traveler and attachment personally and professionally to German society and culture in the 1850s contributed significantly to the quality of Taylor's encounter with Germany. His American-ness was still pre-eminent; his preferences and interests reflected those of most middle-class Americans. Elements of Taylor's acquired middle class ideals and values – individualism, propriety, hard work and determination to make his place in American society, Genteel living, travel and vicarious experience through travel writings, and middle class gendered attitudes - were displayed prominently in his writings and representations. Taylor's social identity as a member of an American bourgeoisie in the 1850s, his insertion in German society and culture, and his association as a world traveler with German geographers defined his representation of German scientific figures and global activities and in the process, noted similarities and made transatlantic connections for his audience as part of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter.

³¹² A.J.P. Taylor, *Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 1884-1885* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1970), 3.

One element of Taylor's American identity was adherence to America's manifest destiny continentally and globally and an unshakeable belief in the future greatness of America and its ideals that are expressed in his representations of foreign countries. This is evident in Taylor's writings on Germany. In particular, two core signifying ideas in the nineteenth-century transnational American and European middle class identity associated with Manifest Destiny that informed his American encounter with Germany were cosmopolitanism and imperialism, which Taylor embodied in his world travels and personal and professional relationship with Germany.³¹³ Central to Taylor's writings in relation to his middle class identity was the transatlantic figure of the renowned nineteenth-century natural scientist, Alexander von Humboldt. His personal and public attachment to Humboldt, coupled with Taylor's national fame as an international traveler and explorer, highlighted his cosmopolitan and ethnocentric proclivities.

³¹³ Uhlman, 8-9.

Chapter 4

Encounters with German Literature, 1844-1878: Cultural Identity and Levels of Transatlantic Communication

Chapter Introduction

German-speaking Central Europe had experienced a century of cultural achievement when Taylor first encountered German high literary culture in the 1840s and Americans, including Taylor, were attracted to those accomplishments. Taylor's most prominent achievements from 1861-78, in fact, were his scholarly studies on German high literary culture. Taylor's long and intimate encounter with German-speaking Central Europe in the nineteenth century convinced him of the cultural similarities in "thought and feeling" between the United States and Germany. This perceived transatlantic connection along with his interest in German cultural figures paid intellectual dividends and lent an air of authority to his representations of German culture. Though his career as a travel writer, news reporter, and lecturer brought him public acclaim, it was his translations and his representations of German high literary cultural achievement that were among the most durable, engaging, and significant contributions of Taylor's encounter with Germany.

This chapter examines the nature of Taylor's cultural identity as another layer in his encounter with German-speaking Central Europe, and how it related to his transatlantic role in communicating and brokering German literary achievement and activities. Defining cultural identity is not an easy task, though, because meanings and uses vary widely. Stuart Hall characterizes cultural identity in very general terms,

especially amid the complexities and changes of a modern global community.³¹⁴ Current studies like Hall's interpret cultural identity as the result of a composite of a vast array of factors and conditions that constitute the fabric of society. These factors include environment, location, history, family life, religion, gender, race, ancestry, social status, accepted social norms, and levels of education. Recognition and acceptance of the factors and conditions that mark a way of life allow the individual to "project" into the public culture, internalize the meanings and values, and identify with a certain community.³¹⁵ Hall's definition, though, is too broad for the purposes of this study.

For the sake of simplicity and relevance, therefore, the discussion on Taylor's cultural identity focuses on his encounters with German expressions of "high" culture - the indispensable artistic contributions and activities of particularly gifted and identifiable persons, "the best that has been thought and written in the world" embodied and represented through "skills in organized thought, writing, music, the visual arts, and architecture" that make visible the signifying set of certain ideals, values, and attitudes that defined a German public cultural identity.³¹⁶ It addresses also how Taylor's exposure and attachment to German literary culture influenced his American cultural identity and validated the connections he made.

Although interest in Bayard Taylor has ebbed and flowed since his death, it is important to note that the scholarship on nineteenth-century German-American cultural

³¹⁴ Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996); *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1996 PDF found at <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinen>), "The Question of Identity" by Stuart Hall, 596-632.

³¹⁵ Hall, *Modernity*, "The Question of Identity," 597-98.

³¹⁶ T.S. Eliot, *Notes Toward a Definition of Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1949), 120; Raymond Williams, "The Idea of a Common Culture" in *Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism* (London: Verso, 1989), 35; Williams, *A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 77-80; Williams, "On High and Popular Culture" *New Republic*, November 22, 1974, <http://www.newrepublic.com/book/review/high-and-popular-culture>; Michael Kammen, *American Culture, American Tastes* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999), 6-8.

exchange and on Taylor's contribution to American exposure to German literature is dated. The topic was especially popular in the 1950s and 1960s but has received little attention since. It is necessary, though, to cite and use the older scholarship to frame an examination of Taylor's cultural connections to Germany. Recent scholarship on transatlantic ties and Taylor's travels and their significance, however, illuminate his American encounter with German cultural achievement and enhance the arguments of this study.

Taylor devoted his adult life to establishing a place for himself in American literary society. As an American "self-made man," he was constantly creating and re-creating himself, especially as his American literary career faltered. He found his place ultimately through his scholarly contributions on German literary high culture. As a transatlantic figure, Taylor's American identity and his representation of Germany for Americans included recognition of the similarities between American and German cultural values and ideals. Bettina Cothran contends that American high culture was in the process of developing during much of the nineteenth century and therefore was characterized by eccentricity and the absence of a natural center. In the quest for cultural definition and legitimacy, Americans of European ancestry naturally looked to Europe.³¹⁷ As an extreme example, in his novels published in the 1870s, Henry James portrayed Americans in general as vulgar, ignorant, complacent, and bad-mannered in encounters with the "sophisticated society of Europe."³¹⁸ He recoiled from an American culture that

³¹⁷ Bettina Cothran, "The Reception of German Literature in South Carolina, 1795-1861" in *The Fortunes of German Writers in America: Studies in Literary Reception*, eds. Wolfgang Iffe, James Hardin, and Gunther Holst (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 1.

³¹⁸ Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1951), 522.

he felt was devoid of beauty and distinction and preferred to live and think as a European in America.³¹⁹

Taylor too sought validation through Europe but he searched for similarities between German and American culture. As an American bourgeoisie, he accepted that Europe and the United States shared a common heritage, that the United States was the product of European development and influence, and stressed connections with German culture in particular. He expressed this sentiment in a lecture on Friedrich Schiller:

There are few differences between the German and American character which we cannot comprehend without too much trouble. When our American, Anglo-Saxon race freed itself from English traditions, its character reverted towards that of the earlier German ancestry, and this change in the national temperament is bringing us more in accord with German thought and feeling. I think the educated American of to-day has quite as much resemblance to his German as to his English cousin.³²⁰

With his interest in German culture, Taylor centered American cultural identity upon recognition of sameness with German culture and he did so through his fascination with and American exposure to German literary achievement. Taylor believed that the “change in the national temperament” away from “English traditions” brought Americans “more in accord with German thought and feeling.”³²¹ His literary cultural ideals as an American poet were based on the Genteel tradition, but Taylor’s high cultural value system (his identity) was transatlantic; it included a belief in a shared cultural heritage

³¹⁹ Ibid., 523.

³²⁰ MSS Lecture “Schiller” (undated), 2-3, Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS. Taylor lectured on Schiller at Cornell in 1869-70 and included lectures on Schiller in his repertoire on the public lecture circuit throughout the 1870s.

³²¹ MSS Lecture “Schiller,” 3.

between Germans and Americans.³²² John Krumpelmann demonstrates that Taylor's interest in German literature influenced his American poetry by incorporating elements of German literary style into his work.³²³ Taylor's cultural identity rested on his American-ness and his embrace of German high literary culture.

Chapters 4 and 5 explore Taylor's immersion in German literary high culture and how his role as a transatlantic figure – communicating perceived similarities in German society and culture and making connections from the inside to Americans - evolved into that of a cultural broker. Using Margaret Connell-Szasz's model, the chapters assert that Taylor acted as a bridge between Germany and the United States, moving from one culture to another to forge bonds of understanding between the two. By traveling, physically and intellectually, across national boundaries and by creating pathways between the different cultures, Taylor used his knowledge and awareness as an American inside Germany to become a repository of both cultures.³²⁴ In becoming a cultural broker, Taylor moved fluidly between German and American cultures, blended his American cultural identity with that of Germany, positioned himself so that he had access to relevant material, and crafted his skills to become a recognized authority and specialist in German literature.

Taylor's cultural brokering was also a result of a marketing process. Taylor sold German literary achievement as a cultural product. His role as broker is also relevant in relation to Taylor's lifelong efforts to market himself through his travels and his poetry and to find a product through which he could attain the fame and wealth he desired. His

³²² Cary, *Bayard Taylor and the Genteel Circle*, 2; Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor*, 21-23

³²³ John T. Krumpelmann, *Bayard Taylor and German Letters* (Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1959), 7-8, 22, 78.

³²⁴ *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. Margaret Connell-Szasz, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), Introduction, 3-20.

association with Germany was a central feature of his public image and therefore a useful avenue. By the 1860s, as Taylor's American literary career failed to materialize and his means of income sagged, his translations of German literature and writings about literary icons became a significant product in his marketing strategy.

This chapter argues that Taylor's encounters with German literature and the ways in which he communicated German literary achievement to his American audience demonstrate the evolving nature of his transatlantic cultural mediation. It explores Taylor's representation of German culture in his role as a cultural middleman and examines whether Taylor's intimate exposure influenced his identity by blending his American cultural identity with elements of German high cultural thought and feelings. Paraphrasing Michael Fischer's thesis, culture is a form of knowledge grounded in self-understanding where meaning is woven and renewed in ways often beyond the conscious control of the individual.³²⁵

To establish a foundation for a study of Taylor's cultural identity and his place as cultural broker, Chapter 4 outlines the re-shaping of Taylor's professional life in the 1860s and 70s that brought him into closer association with German literary culture. It then reviews briefly the American reception of German literature in the nineteenth century to provide background for Taylor's contributions. The chapter also addresses the maturation of key components of Taylor's cultural brokerage in the course of his contact with German literary culture – specifically, his access to people and resources to conduct research with his mastery of the German language, thus making possible translations for an American reading audience, and his reputation as a specialist through his immersion

³²⁵ Michael M. J. Fischer, "Culture and Cultural Analysis as Experimental Systems," *Cultural Anthropology* 22, no. 1 (Feb, 2007): 1-65.

into German society and knowledge of German culture. The translatability in language and cross-cultural potential of ideals and values of the German high cultural expressions are essential to understanding his role as a transatlantic broker of German culture to America. Chapter 5 will continue the examination of the level and nature of Taylor's cultural identity and brokerage through a close study of Taylor's evolving encounters and intimate representations of the images and writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. They were the most identifiable, translatable, seminal, and representative figures of a German national literary culture for an American audience during the nineteenth century and best demonstrate Taylor's role as a conveyor of German literary achievement.

Bayard Taylor: Diplomat and Scholar, 1861-1878

Taylor's interest in German high culture and his eventual role as a transatlantic cultural broker were established from the moment he encountered German literature in 1844 and evolved further as his personal and professional relationship with Germany grew in the 1850s. After 1861, however, important changes occurred in Taylor's life that affected the nature and conveyance of his encounters with German literary culture. He had ended his career as a globe-trotting correspondent in 1858 and tried to distance himself from his career as a traveler. In his 1869 (and last) travel book, *By-Ways of Europe*, Taylor accepted with morose resignation that his fame was based almost entirely upon a life of travel and travel writing but confessed "that to be styled 'a great American traveller[sic]' has always touched me with a sense of humiliation"³²⁶ He was disappointed that his literary career continued to receive a lukewarm reception in spite of

³²⁶ *By-Ways* Introduction, 16.

his dogged determination to find a place in American literary culture. In addition, the lecture circuit had become decidedly tiresome. The fame and distinction he had earned through his travels in the 1850s had opened doors and created opportunities, but by the early 1860s, Taylor wanted to settle down and establish himself more professionally. To support his family and re-orient his career, Taylor sought diplomatic posts and, using his formidable reputation as an American expert in the German language and literature, to create a place as a scholar with extensive knowledge of German culture and society.

Unlike his Grand Tour in the 1840s and his occupational stopovers in the 1850s, Taylor's stays in Germany in this period were mostly leisurely personal interludes with occasional associated journalistic pursuits to maintain some measure of income and exposure. As suggested in previous chapters, Taylor's life resolved itself through changes in which he re-defined himself and his image. He was literally a middle-class self-made man. His determination to succeed and to gain recognition drove his need to recreate himself repeatedly. By the 1860s, he had recreated himself through German culture. When Taylor needed to escape domestic and financial problems or annoyances, he chose Germany as his refuge. He also used Germany as a home base from which he could conduct research for various projects and venture briefly to other parts of Europe. His growing attachment to German literature, though, redefined him as a cultural broker.

Two visits to Europe in this period also involved official business. At the same time Taylor was re-examining and refocusing his life during the 1860s, he was caught up in momentous transformations occurring in the United States. The Civil War gave Taylor an opportunity to play an international role for his country. Taylor went to Europe in May 1861 just after the American Civil War erupted and spent the summer months in

Gotha reflecting on divisions in his country, while he observed and wrote about unification movements and national sentiments in Germany at that time. When he returned to the United States in autumn of 1861, he went to Washington DC as war correspondent for the *Tribune*. With his contacts, he was appointed to the American Legation for the Russian Empire in St. Petersburg. He served at a very critical time during the war. The Union sought desperately to keep the European countries out of the war, which would be advantageous to the Confederacy, and Russia was pivotal in the diplomatic effort. Taylor served as secretary and then as *chargé d'affaires* until May 1863. His earnest desire to make a significant contribution to the Northern cause was expressed in his bitter disappointment that he was not appointed officially to the post of US Minister to Russia in 1863:

My case stands thus: the Government knows exactly what I want, is satisfied with all that I have done since the Legation fell into my hands, and has evidence of my fitness in the fact that I have safely carried our interests through the most critical period of our relations with Russia, that has occurred in the last fifty years: but I have not the least expectation of being appointed. On the other hand, a man [Cassius Clay] who (entre nous) made the Legation a laughing stock, whose incredible vanity and astonishing blunders are still the talk of St. Petersburg, and whose dispatches disgrace the State Department that allows them to be printed, will probably be allowed to come back to his ballet-girls (his reason for coming) by our soft-hearted Abraham.³²⁷

A.J. Prah1 notes that, although Taylor's contribution was not rewarded, his "conduct as an American diplomat during those critical months was admirable and ... deserves high praise."³²⁸ He played a major role in convincing the Russian Empire to maintain a "benevolent neutrality toward the North, while England and France were

³²⁷ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 25 February 1863, in *Unpublished Letters*, 63-64.

³²⁸ A.J. Prah1, "Bayard Taylor's Letters from Russia," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 9, no. 4 (August 1946): 411.

trying to persuade Russia to join them in intervention in favor of the South.”³²⁹ The Northern victory at Antietam in September 1862 also proved significant in the European shift toward neutrality at the time Taylor was in St. Petersburg. Taylor spent the summer of 1863 in Gotha Germany recuperating from the political snub by beginning his studies on Goethe in earnest. His disappointment with the political back-stabbing in Washington DC, however, soured him for any immediate aspirations for further diplomatic service:

I resigned two months ago, in case anybody but myself should be appointed Minister, but Clay’s model dispatches have proved too much for me. Ignorance of any European language, I knew, was a necessary qualification, with our Government, for a Diplomatic post: I have now learned that ignorance of English is still more necessary. I have made the Legation dignified and respectable, and no one has been able to lay any blunder or act of incapacity to my charge. Entrenous, it was the wrong policy! I see, too late, that political advancement is only attained by the opposite course. I fear I am too old to change, and therefore withdraw from the career.³³⁰

Taylor’s snippiness reflects his anger over the blow to his ego. He was, after all, an ambitious man who liked recognition and fame. Considering his reputation as a world traveler and as an American with sensitivity to European languages and culture, though, Taylor’s complaints over Clay’s appointment also suggest a cosmopolitan disdain for American boorishness abroad.

Taylor lingered in Germany vainly, hoping for a diplomatic post in Persia, but he returned to the United States in September when he heard the news of his brother Frederick’s death at Gettysburg. He was shocked by the tragedy but felt that Frederick’s blood was not wasted. Knowing firsthand how close Europe was to intervening and the need for the North to prove overseas that the Confederacy would not prevail, Gettysburg was a crucial battle that turned the tide of the Civil War, as was the fall of Vicksburg on

³²⁹ Ibid., 411-412.

³³⁰ Taylor to Alfred B. Street, 31 March 1863, in *Unpublished Letters*, 65.

the same day that the Army of Virginia retreated from Pennsylvania. His brother's death at Gettysburg, he believed, helped to "buy the victory that has saved our country!"³³¹ His national patriotic sentiment, though, did not lessen his dissatisfaction with the government. His brother became "another victim to that miserable incompetency in the Government which has so prolonged the war. I have no longer any heart to serve an administration which I cannot respect."³³² In another letter, he proclaimed "I have done with official life, and probably forever."³³³ Later in the year, in a letter to "Mr. Prince" dated November 2, 1863, Taylor's criticism softened. He noted "the government has learned something, after all its blunders, and we are better satisfied with it... . Have seen Lincoln and Seward – the former has profited by his experience and is really getting to be a tolerable President."³³⁴ Evidently that meeting smoothed Taylor's ruffled feathers. He spent the rest of the war years reluctantly lecturing and dabbling in various literary endeavors, making little progress with his career.

Taylor found himself once again at a turning point in his life after April 1865 when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse and the Civil War ended. He had never found a place in the American reading public's opinion as a poet and his novels simply did not sell very well. Lecturing, although a large part of his yearly income, was something he never truly enjoyed. As early as February 1854, within a month after he began, he commented that "lecturing is a most inexorable business," a negative attitude that was consistent until the late 1860s, when he stated emphatically that he would

³³¹ Taylor to Prince, 24 July 1863, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC. No full name is mentioned but evidently he was tied to the American delegation in Moscow since Taylor references him in that context.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Taylor to Alfred Street, 18 August 1863, in *Unpublished Letters*, 67.

³³⁴ Taylor to Prince, 2 November 1863, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

retire.³³⁵ By that time, Taylor was smarting from poor reception of his literary work and beginning to experience financial difficulty. His discouragement, attempts to rationalize his failure, and hope for acceptance as a poet were expressed frequently in personal letters. In an 1869 letter thanking Paul Hayne for his moral support, Taylor paralogized:

I place little value upon what is called ‘popularity,’ since it is generally based on the more obvious qualities of poetry. To estimate the soul and spirit requires a higher culture than the mass of one’s reader possesses.... I almost think that the real excellence of a poem is in inverse ratio to its popularity.³³⁶

Taylor consoled himself by believing that recognition “as a poet by a few friends rather than by the public voice, such testimonies are still rare enough to serve as necessary evidence that what I have written has not been wholly in vain.”³³⁷ He clung to a belief that he was a talented but under-appreciated writer and, unable to accept reality, had to salve his bruised ego.

By 1867, Taylor was convinced that he needed a vacation. He complained that he had had no holiday since 1858 and, since Germany was his place for “rest and recreation,” he decided to escape his troubles with a trip to Gotha.³³⁸ His retreat reflects an evident belief that his work had better reception in Europe than in America, and possibly his desire for vindication. Taylor grumbled that he did “not like to be compelled to look to England for almost the only intelligent criticism I receive; but there is no other alternative.”³³⁹ He wrote that the poem “‘The Picture of St. John’ [published in 1866] (which was cursorily and tardily mentioned in the *North Atlantic Review*) is accepted,

³³⁵ Taylor to Grace Greenwood, 5 February 1854, in *Unpublished Letters*, 37; Taylor to Alfred B. Street dated 18 August 1863, in *Unpublished Letters*, 67; MSS#7071-b-32, Letter 13 December 1869, BT, UVA; Taylor to no addressee, Sept. 20, 1870, in *Unpublished Letters*, 143-44.

³³⁶ Taylor to Paul H. Hayne, 6 March 1869, in *Unpublished Letters*, 125.

³³⁷ Taylor to George Rice, 16 April 1860, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

³³⁸ *Life and Letters*, 469.

³³⁹ Taylor to James Osgood, 3 April 1872, in *Unpublished Letters*, 154.

both in England and Germany, as one of the indications of our American culture.”³⁴⁰ A translation of his novel *Hannah Thurston* in translation was “considered by German critics to be a successful performance.”³⁴¹ He may have felt safe, respected, and appreciated in Europe, especially in Germany, and the visit in 1867 (and another in 1872) gave him a chance to heal and recover among friends and family. By this time he also became engrossed in research on Goethe and Schiller. He took time to visit some places off the regular tourist route that had historical and political significance, the accounts of which he used in the last of his published travel books, *By-Ways of Europe* (1869). Most of his relaxation time, though, was occupied with social pleasures and with the accumulation of materials for his study of *Faust*.³⁴² He took every opportunity to speak with German publishers and consult with scholars and poets who shared his interest in Goethe.

Taylor’s attention and his public image as well had clearly shifted to more scholarly pursuits by 1867. Marie Taylor noted that, after exposure to the world in the 1850s and “the opening of his mind,” after 1867, “there came the undisturbed reign of [Taylor’s] mind and intellect.”³⁴³ He evidently sought a more erudite reputation, to move beyond the superficial, ephemeral popularity he had enjoyed as a traveler, journalist, and lecturer into something more culturally substantive and enduring, especially because he always seemed to be a step behind in his literary endeavors. As noted earlier, he did not have a formal education and was never considered an intellectual, but as Smyth asserts,

³⁴⁰ Taylor to Osgood, 3 April 1872, in *Unpublished Letters*, 156.

³⁴¹ Taylor to F. Leypoldt, Esq., 24 May 1866, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

³⁴² *Life and Letters*, 493.

³⁴³ Marie Taylor, “Jottings,” Box 8, BTP, CUSC.

Taylor had knowledge of men and affairs beyond his written accomplishments, and he had lived and experienced much.³⁴⁴

Taylor's familiarity with Germany made it the logical choice as he re-directed his career into scholarly work. He had connections in Germany and a mastery of the German language. Additionally, he was completely at home in German literature and culture and associated in the American mind with Germany. In September 1869, he received academic recognition with an offer of election to non-resident professor of German literature at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. At the university, he delivered lectures on prominent eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German writers and thinkers, including Schiller, Goethe, and Humboldt, from April through May 1870, and, in 1871, he gave new lectures on German literature from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century. By March 1871, Taylor had completed his most notable work of scholarship – the translation into English of both parts of Goethe's *Faust*.

What became his final personal visit to Germany in 1872 was planned at the lowest point of his professional life. In spite of the critical success of *Faust* and a modicum of academic recognition, his books and poems failed to sell and his occasional lectures no longer drew large crowds. His novelty as a traveler had worn thin and an attempted lecture tour in California actually cost him money.³⁴⁵ Germany was an escape from the problems. He was forced to vacate and lease the home he had built in 1858 and accepted the fact that his success rested on his translation efforts and expertise in German and European affairs. In 1873, he wrote a letter to his boyhood friend, John Phillips:

You exaggerate what you consider my successes, and hence, very probably, the effect which you imagine them to have on

³⁴⁴ Smyth, 180-183.

³⁴⁵ *Life and Letters*, 527-530.

my nature. From 1852 to 1854, or thereabouts, I had a good deal of popularity of a cheap, ephemeral sort. It began to decline at the time when I began to see the better and truer work in store for me, and I let it go, feeling that I must begin anew and acquire a second reputation of a very different kind. For the past five years I have been engaged in this struggle, which is not yet over. I dare not pause to rest, for my own sake: the change in my nature gives me the energy of a new youth, and I know this cannot last many years more. I am giving the best blood of my life to my new labors, seeing them gradually recognized by the few and the best, it is true – My translation of *Faust* is at last accepted in England, Germany and America as much the best.³⁴⁶

Taylor seemed very aware of his apparent failure as an American cultural figure but evidently still felt he had ability. He attributed his declining popularity to the redirection of his energy toward greater work at a higher intellectual level for an elite audience, and therefore as yet unrecognized by the general American public. More significantly though, his statements indicate his dogged determination to make a name for himself in American culture through German literature.

Taylor's flight to Germany did allow him to regain some confidence and re-establish his reputation and popularity in the United States through his research and intellectual projects. He enhanced his growing scholarly reputation successfully with articles in the *Tribune* on Ancient Egypt and Heinrich Schliemann's narrative on his excavation of Troy. He put together, using German history books that he translated, a *School History of Germany* intended for American children, and he lectured in Germany on American literature. He had planned to remain in Gotha for an extended time but, when his good friend August Bubleb died in June 1874 after a long debilitating disease, Taylor felt homesick and returned to the United States in September of that year. His articles had paved the way for his return, though. Taylor's close friend George Boker

³⁴⁶ Taylor to John B. Phillips, 22 November 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 406.

informed him in late 1874, "...judging by the tone of the American newspapers, your reputation – your general reputation as a man of mark, I mean – is growing daily and I hope and believe that it will bring in its train the particular successes which have been the aim of your life."³⁴⁷ Upon his return, he enjoyed a good amount of popularity.

Taylor's final trip to Germany was not a retreat, but a triumphant return to international politics when Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him United States foreign minister to Germany in 1878. Although it was a political office, Taylor considered it a vindication of his place in American culture. He believed that "a diplomatic appointment is the only form of recognition... which our government ever gives to literary labor."³⁴⁸ His poignant response in a letter to Paul Hamilton Hayne expressed the deeper meaning of his appointment in his mind:

It is something so amazing for an *author* to receive, that I am more bewildered and embarrassed than proud of the honors. If you knew how many years I have steadily worked, devoted to a high ideal, which no one seemed to recognize, and sneered at by cheap critics as a mere interloper in Literature, you would understand how incredible this change seems to me. The great comfort is this – I was right in my instinct: the world *does* appreciate earnest endeavor, in the end. I have always had *faith*, and I have learned to overlook opposition, disparagement, misconception of my best work, believing that the day of justification would come. But what now comes to me seems too much: I can only accept it as a balance against me, to be met by still better work in the future.³⁴⁹

Heartfelt as it appears, there is a distinct hint of false modesty in this letter. Taylor had maneuvered for years to receive an overseas diplomatic post. In 1873, he unabashedly sought a post in Switzerland.³⁵⁰ He also seems very smug and self-congratulatory,

³⁴⁷ George Boker to Taylor, 31 October 1874, Box 1 Letters to Taylor #156, BTP, CUSC.

³⁴⁸ Taylor to Halstead, 8 January 1875, Folder 10 Correspondence (2), BTC, PSUSC.

³⁴⁹ Taylor to Paul Hamilton Hayne, 13 March 1878, in *Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne*, ed. Charles Duffy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1945), 104.

³⁵⁰ Taylor to A.R. Calhoun, 22 January 1873, in *Unpublished Letters*, 162.

although in his mind he felt justified. It was a chance to thumb his nose at his critics. Money was an important consideration as well. In 1875, Taylor heard rumors that he might get open diplomatic posts in either Turkey, Belgium, or the Russian Empire, but moved to prevent those appointments specifically because the salary was too meager. The German foreign minister post, which had become elevated to the same high level as that of Great Britain and France, was optimal in prestige, opportunity for research, and adequate pay.³⁵¹

Taylor believed that his literary labor and determination to succeed was finally rewarded. Even though Taylor preferred to emphasize his selection as appreciation for his literary contributions, his lifelong association with Germany and place in the American people's mind as an authority on Germany had made it possible. As Pfund states, he was the fittest representative in the finest diplomatic tradition. He was a scholar-poet of some renown and a friend of the German people in its newly-won unity. He was fluently conversant in the German language and completely familiar with German literature and history, and an experienced and honored diplomat.³⁵² Marie Hansen Taylor believed that "if ever a nomination was ratified by the people, it was this."³⁵³

In February 1878, when President Hayes finalized Taylor's appointment, the press voiced approval, there was no opposition in Congress, and the news was received enthusiastically in the German Empire. H. Kriessmann, Consul General of Germany,

³⁵¹ Taylor to Murat Halstead, 8 January 1875, Folder 10 "Correspondence" (2), BTC, PSUSC; Taylor to Halstead, 25 January 1875, in *Selected Letters*, 429 (Murat Halstead was a newspaper editor with political influence); Taylor to John Hay, 26 June 1877, in *Selected Letters*, 470-72; Taylor to President Rutherford B. Hayes, 24 December 1877, in *Selected Letters*, 472-473; Taylor to George Boker, 29 December, 1877 and Taylor to William Evarts, Secretary of State, 10 July 1877 and 27 September 1877, Folder 13 Correspondence relating to diplomatic service, BTC, PSUSC.

³⁵² Pfund, 14.

³⁵³ *Life and Letters*, 720.

praised the appointment of Taylor as a “compliment” to the German people and government.³⁵⁴ It was the capstone to a varied and adventurous career. Foreign Minister Bayard Taylor departed for Germany on April 11, 1878.

A review of Taylor’s life from 1861 to 1878 reveals that, in the midst of serious changes and difficulties, his success as an American cultural figure rested largely upon his American transatlantic connection to Germany and his reputation as a scholar on German literary culture. His representations of German literature tapped into American interests and established him as a transatlantic interpreter and cultural broker for his American readership.

German Literary Culture and America in the Nineteenth Century

German-speaking Central Europe had experienced a century of cultural achievement by the time Taylor first encountered German literature in the 1840s. Trends in literature in the second half of the eighteenth century in particular paralleled a growing confidence in Germany and the awakening among the intellectual elite to the need for self-exploration as a people and find a national cultural voice. One result was Weimar Classicism from 1788-1832, which gave life to the most brilliant period of modern German cultural expression. Although critical of Romanticism, Weimar Classicism sought to reconcile and synthesize the vivid feeling and inner dimension of Romanticism and the rational thought of the Enlightenment in the quest for a national cultural voice as a reflection of the diverse and conflicted nature of identity formation in a diverse and

³⁵⁴ Letter from United States Consulate General, Berlin, to Assistant Secretary of State, Washington DC, 27 February 1878, Folder 13 Correspondence relating to Diplomatic Service. BTC, PSUSC.

conflicted political and geographical region.³⁵⁵ In eighteenth-century German-speaking Central Europe, cultural identity was riveted on morality and aesthetics within the context of the classical ethos of order, balance, harmony, elegance, progress, and universal wholeness. The views and expressions of classicism of Johann von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller in particular developed a literary trend that valued organic harmony in which beauty was the aesthetic union of thought and feeling, contemplation and sensation, and reason and intuition.³⁵⁶

Like many Americans in the nineteenth century who either traveled to Europe or read about it, Taylor was attracted to the rich cultural heritage and historical legacy of German-speaking Central Europe. In the 1840s and early 1850s especially, images of the medieval past filled his travel writings. He described for his audience the “crumbling towers, haunted by the memories of a thousand years” and the persistence of the medieval past in isolated villages still wearing the “somber coloring of the Middle Age.” He observed that many German towns, “which occur at intervals of half a league, preserve entire the walls and towers of the Middle Ages, and, to all appearance, no new building has been erected in them for centuries.”³⁵⁷ He was giddy as he described the hoard of ancient artifacts and works of art in museums and the treasure troves of books in libraries. The most conspicuous element of German culture that attracted and engaged Taylor during his first visit and throughout his life, though, was German “thought and feeling” expressed in literature. When he first encountered the works of German writers in 1844, German literature was vibrant and active after a century of intense development.

³⁵⁵ Harold Mah, *Enlightenment Phantasies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 12.

³⁵⁶ W.H. Bruford, *Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 291-328; L. A. Willoughby, *The Classical Age of German Literature 1748-1805* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966).

³⁵⁷ *Views*, 97; *HAI*, 68. Also an entry in a diary dated October 1851, Box 9, Item Tay46, BTP, CUSC.

The iconic figures of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller claimed his attention in particular and he remained fascinated with German literary culture throughout his life.

Taylor's interest in German literature reflected the partiality toward German culture characteristic of educated Americans in the nineteenth century. Harry Pfund notes that Taylor was born and grew up in a period when excitement over German literature and German philosophy was more widespread in the United States than at any other time.³⁵⁸ A number of scholarly studies address the cultural connection between the United States and Germany in this century. Lamarr Kopp states that, although the influence of the British on the origins and development of the cultural heritage of the United States was by far the most pervasive, "the German-speaking peoples have played what may justifiably be called a major role." Based upon the number of translations and reviews in the nineteenth century, Kopp ranks German literature as "first among 'foreign' influences."³⁵⁹ Henry Pochmann, in his exhaustive study *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900*, examines in great detail not only the deep interest by Americans in German philosophical writings and literary achievement but also American indebtedness to German culture, especially the flowering of German literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁶⁰ John Krumpelmann goes so far as to refer to the American "enthusiasm for German literature and learning" in the early nineteenth century as a "mania."³⁶¹

³⁵⁸ Pfund, 7.

³⁵⁹ W. Lamarr Kopp, *German Literature in the United States, 1945-1960* in the series *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 1.

³⁶⁰ Henry Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957).

³⁶¹ John T. Krumpelmann, *Bayard Taylor and German Letters* (Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co, 1959), 11.

In the early nineteenth century, American students returning from German universities, like George Ticknor, who became an author and educator in modern languages and literature at Harvard, and George Bancroft, who became an historian and diplomat, brought with them not only new ideas about higher education adapted from German educational reforms but an enthusiasm for German literature and philosophy.³⁶² Bancroft, for example, published a series of articles on German literature in 1827-28 that represent “the first survey and evaluation of German literature to appear in an American periodical” and thus was a “pioneer in the introduction of German thought in the United States.”³⁶³ By the 1830s and 1840s, an essential part of the “cultural capital of the fashionably educated” was knowledge of German culture.³⁶⁴ New England especially succumbed to what Krumpelmann, a mid-twentieth century Taylor scholar, calls the “German epidemic.” He claims that few educated people in Boston “could not talk with glib delight about German philosophy, German literature, and German music.”³⁶⁵ German literature was held up as a model for what American literature could become and, as Kopp has argued, nineteenth-century American and English writers drew extensively upon the “rich legacy” of German writing and thought for inspiration and

³⁶² Harold Jantz, “German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820” *JEGP* 41 (1942): 1-45; *The German-American Encounter: conflict and cooperation between two cultures, 1800-2000*, eds. Frank Trommler and Elliott Shore (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001); *America and the Germans: an assessment of a three-hundred-year history*, eds. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

³⁶³ Russell B. Nye, “George Bancroft, Early Critic of German Literature,” *Modern Language Notes* 58, no.2 (February 1943): 128-130.

³⁶⁴ Barton Beebe. 1998. “The Search for a fatherland: James Fenimore Cooper in Germany.” Ph.D. diss. Princeton University; Thomas L. Buckley, “The Bostonian Cult of Classicism: The Reception of Goethe and Schiller in the Literary Reviews of the *North American Review*, *Christian Examiner*, and the *Dial*, 1817-1865” in *The Fortunes of German Writers in America*, Wolfgang Elfe, et al, eds. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 27-40.

³⁶⁵ Krumpelmann, 12.

direction.³⁶⁶ The works of Goethe and Schiller in particular were admired as pillars of writing power and style.³⁶⁷

In his study of German influences on the writing of James Fenimore Cooper, Barton Beebe argues that a growing American cultural nationalism necessitated distancing from and competition with England. French and Italian cultural achievements were unappealing to Americans as well because they were either too radical, too conservative, or too popish in character. However, communication and ties to Old World culture were still sought. In a search for a surrogate model, German culture presented itself by default, especially since it was so different from the well-known English tradition. Embracing German achievement in literature and philosophy therefore became part of American cultural emancipation and political independence.³⁶⁸ The German search for a cultural nation revealed in German literature written between 1750 and 1832 would have an appeal to a newly-born nation also searching for a cultural identity. The blend of folk culture and high culture, Classical rationalism and Romantic idealism that characterized German cultural achievement lent itself to a sense of shared literary nationalism and sentiment, which seemed more congenial to a young nation beginning to define itself.³⁶⁹

As noted in Chapter 2, a number of scholars claim that Taylor's interest in Germany and German culture and his affinity for the German language can be traced to his own German heritage. However, Taylor himself mentions little about those "natural"

³⁶⁶ W. Lamarr Kopp, *German Literature in the United States, 1945-1960* in the series *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents, Volume Three* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 64.

³⁶⁷ Buckley, 27-28.

³⁶⁸ Beebe, 26-30, 41.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 34, 41.

interests in his autobiographical writings prior to 1844 and evidently he was not familiar with German literature and culture before his Grand Tour.³⁷⁰ Additionally, he never attended a college or university and had no contact with anyone associated with the “German Craze” of the early-mid nineteenth century. His primary goal in his Grand Tour was to follow in the footsteps of his American literary predecessors by visiting Italy and Greece, the cradles of western culture and civilization. That goal, however, was not fully realized. The bulk of his early travels were in German-speaking Central Europe, where he learned the language, read the literature, and absorbed the culture. That happy accident set the course of his professional life and created the opportunity to become a transatlantic communicator and broker between Germany and the United States, one who could recognize similarities in “thought and feeling” between German and American culture and make a cultural contribution.

The Footing for Bayard Taylor’s Transatlantic Cultural Brokerage: Learning the Language and Translating Culture

Taylor acquired an interest in German literature quickly in 1844, and the German language was the doorway into this field. Taylor’s mastery of the German language early in his Grand Tour was a major reason why he remained connected to Germany. In general, Taylor’s interest in languages and his wanderlust were rooted in his experiences in Germany. He was excited about the prospect of learning to speak and read German soon after arriving in Heidelberg, and he moved to Frankfurt in part because he would have better tutelage in the language. He was proud when he reached a point where even the nuances were familiar to him and that he could understand and respond without

³⁷⁰ Box 7, BTP, CUSC.

having to translate. By December 1844, he boasted that the difficulties of the German language had been overcome completely and the “familiar phrases of the hearty German tongue come as naturally to my lips as the corresponding English ones.”³⁷¹

Taylor referred to this intuitive transformation as a “language birth... whereby the words sound as natural to you as their own, and not till then can you first understand or speak them rightly. And it is really astonishing to find how rapidly you advance, after having arrived at this stage of learning.”³⁷² He went on to state that he believed one felt an “agreeable sense of power in being acquainted with two languages” and he advised that those “persons wanting energy or confidence in themselves” should “study languages.”³⁷³ German became his second language and learning it opened his mind. He wrote to Sidney Pierce in October 1844, relating the transformative experience: “I am beginning now to get my German tongue in operation; that is, to feel and comprehend the German words without a mental translation. There is a great beauty in learning a language. It is like a double-nature.”³⁷⁴ That “double-nature” and acquaintance with two languages provided the foundation for his role as transatlantic agent and cultural broker. It became the gateway into German thought and writing and allowed him to move comfortably in both American and German cultures.

Prominent Americans like Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) acknowledged Taylor’s remarkable facility with the German language. Clemens, as Twain, wrote *A Tramp Abroad* in 1880, a satirical account of his European tour and noted in particular, in Appendix D “The Awful German Language”, the difficulty he had in learning and the

³⁷¹ *Views*, 126.

³⁷² Travel journal, September 14, 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

³⁷³ Travel journal, September 14, 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

³⁷⁴ Taylor to Sidney Pierce, 15 October 1844, Folder 9, Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

odd complexities inherent in the German language. He poked fun at his comical efforts to speak German and at German itself, claiming: “There is not another language that is so slipshod and systemless [sic], and so slippery and elusive to grasp.”³⁷⁵ His own experience prompted admiration for Taylor. In 1878 just a week before Taylor’s death, Clemens wrote “when teachers and dictionaries fail to unravel knotty paragraphs, we wish we could fly to you.... You are the only foreigner except God who can [read a German newspaper and understand it].... I would not rob you of your food or clothes or umbrella, but if I caught your German out, I would take it.”³⁷⁶ Clemens was apparently envious but his compliment seemed sincere. Virtually all of Taylor’s biographers make special note of his facility with languages and especially his mastery of German. Smyth was the most emphatic in declaring that Taylor’s German had an idiomatic style, and that he possessed an extensive vocabulary and a command of the harmonies of German verse.³⁷⁷

Mastering the language revealed the quality of German culture, which was something of a surprise to Taylor. Before and during his European tour from 1844-46, Classicism was the ideal of beauty to him. Italy and Greece were the cradles of western civilization and the epitome of western cultural achievement in his mind. In 1845, Taylor toured Dresden, which he noted was christened “the Florence of the Elbe” by the people of Saxony. He “gratified” his “love for the Beautiful ... in the highest degree” with visits to the “glorious galleries of art” filled with Italian Renaissance paintings and sculpture.³⁷⁸ Taylor found the romance of the medieval architecture, natural landscapes, and

³⁷⁵ Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1899), 600.

³⁷⁶ Samuel L. Clements to Taylor, 14 December 1878, Box 1 page 6, BTP, CUSC.

³⁷⁷ Smyth, 183-185.

³⁷⁸ Travel journal entry, 10 May 1845, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC; *Views*, 199.

collections of medieval armor and weapons in Germany quaint and exciting as he dutifully wrote about his stay in Germany, but the elegance, simplicity, and refinement associated with ancient and Italian Renaissance Classicism continued to have a greater aesthetic appeal to him. However, learning the German language as part of his charge to engage with German-speaking Central European society brought him into close association with German cultural life. It also gave him access to German literary achievement, and ultimately to the works of Goethe and Schiller.

Once he was back in the United States in 1846, Taylor's reputation as a traveler was established and the influence of his long stay in Germany was soon apparent. He had incorporated the German mind-set and language so much through his European tour, he evidently brought it back to the United States. In a letter to "Friend Pattie" dated June 22, 1847, German words are sprinkled throughout in metric rhyme:

I'm just *zurück* from Kennett Square, *und eile*, therefore, to declare
Ursachen why I did not write, when *dein Briefchen* met my sight. It
reached me *spät* on Thursday *Nacht*, And so, *ich habe gleich gedacht*,
Du würdest schon gegangen seyn, ere thou *erhalten* couldst a line!³⁷⁹

Although he was clearly showing off, it is also an indication of his facility with the language.

Taylor's eventual mastery of German and growing admiration for German culture added another significant and consistent element to his role as transatlantic cultural communicator and interpreter – they gave him the specialized tools and opportunities to gain access to notable literary figures and intellectuals. Taylor introduced them to Americans as individuals and personalities through interviews and verbal portraits in his travel-related writings. He thereby enhanced American knowledge of German literary

³⁷⁹ Taylor to "Friend Pattie," Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

culture and accomplishment, just as he had with Humboldt and German scientific accomplishment, and built on his reputation as an authority on German culture. Taylor did what he did best – he displayed his signature skill at painting colorful verbal portraits of individuals to complement impressions based upon their work without deep analysis or scholarly interpretation. He sketched a face and attached a personality to familiar names to add a layer of human interest to American perceptions of German culture through the images he provided in his writings.

The most important result of Taylor’s language acquisition, though, in terms of his developing role as a transatlantic cultural interpreter and broker, was his talent as a translator of German literature for his American audience. In their study of the relationship between translation and cultural anthropology, Paula Rubel and Abraham Rosman argue that comprehending a foreign culture inevitably involves translation of words, ideas, and meanings, and is central to writing about culture. In its broadest sense, translation means cross-cultural communication because translators “bring back the words” and become interpreters of peoples they encounter and engage.³⁸⁰ Raymond Williams notes that although high culture has no social structure, it does have a professional structure through which the skills and ideas are maintained and disseminated. Through travel, study, teaching, and translation, elements of national high cultures attract international interest and meaning.³⁸¹ The challenge of cultural analysis, according to Michael Fischer, is to develop translation tools to make visible the differences, similarities, interests, power, needs, values, ideals, and attitudes in culture.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Rubel and Rosman, 1.

³⁸¹ Raymond Williams, “On High and Popular Culture” in *New Republic*, November 22, 1974, article found at <http://www.newrepublic.com/book/review/high-and-popular-culture>.

³⁸² Fischer, 1.

Taylor's comfort with the German language allowed him to translate German literary culture effectively for his American audience.

According to John Krumpelmann, individuals who had only the barest acquaintance with the German language attempted translations of German literature in the mid-nineteenth century. Taylor, on the other hand, did not approach any translation until "he had obtained a living knowledge of the idioms during his stay in Germany."³⁸³ Smyth asserts that "it is doubtful if any foreigner ever obtained more complete mastery" of the German language "than Bayard Taylor...."³⁸⁴ The importance of his skill and knowledge of German was not lost on Taylor. He commented, as he labored on his translation of Goethe's *Faust* in 1869, that

A translator should have nearly equal knowledge of both languages, in order to get that spirit above and beyond the words which simple literalness will never give. The best condition is that in which one knows both languages so well that he does not need to break his head in the hunt for words, but keeps his best strength for that part of thought which subtly expresses itself in meter and harmony.³⁸⁵

Paul Wermuth states blandly that Taylor did not translate very much and did not wish to become a professional translator – his only motivation for translating *Faust* was "to be known as an American poet who, like Longfellow and Irving, had translated a great work to show his knowledge and skill."³⁸⁶ Krumpelmann's careful study on Taylor's interest in German literature, though, reveals the opposite. He details Taylor's frequent and varied translations of German works, although Krumpelmann rates the quality of Taylor's translations as ranging from excellent to less-than-mediocre. However, Taylor's extensive translations represented virtually every genre from

³⁸³ Krumpelmann, 22

³⁸⁴ Smyth, 183.

³⁸⁵ Taylor to W.H. Furness, 14 January 1869, *Life and Letters*, vol. 2, 506.

³⁸⁶ Wermuth, *Bayard Taylor*, 156-57.

philosophical musings to literary masterpieces to rollicking folk songs for his American audience and included a number of the most significant German poets like Uhland, Freiligrath, Rückert, Schiller, and Goethe. Additionally, with his linguistic talent, the original spirit and mood were so “faithfully preserved” in the translated lines that they “breathe music when read.”³⁸⁷ Smyth too lauds Taylor’s skills by noting that even German humor, which can “scarcely bear transport from [its] native country,” was conveyed admirably in Taylor’s translations.³⁸⁸ His knowledge of and feel for the German language ensured high quality and authenticity in his translations.

Taylor cast his net wide in his representation of German literature to his American audience. His main interest, though, and the foundation upon which his scholarly reputation developed during the 1860s and 1870s, was on the writings, character, and stature of the two most famous German literary figures – Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller. As discussed in the ensuing chapter, *Faust* in particular and Taylor’s lifelong interest in and engagement with the literary works and genius of Goethe received the most attention. It also defined his place as a transatlantic bridge between German and American culture. Krumpelmann notes the relevance of Taylor’s American translation of the German poetic masterpiece *Faust* as the best ever to that time:

It is significant that it should have been reserved for that country which produces presidents from plowboys and printer’s-devils to present to the world from the pen of one who had himself been both plowboy and printer’s-devil, the most excellent English translation of the most philosophical poem of modern times.³⁸⁹

Krumpelmann suggests in this passage that Bayard Taylor, the American “everyman” with limitless possibilities for an ambitious man in a democratic society as the core of

³⁸⁷ Krumpelmann, 22-25, 216-219.

³⁸⁸ Smyth, 185.

³⁸⁹ Krumpelmann, 35.

American identity, was best suited to translate the greatest work in German literature and make it accessible to Americans. The link between German literary culture and Taylor's American cultural identity was a combination of Taylor's claim to kinship with German "thought and feeling" and American ideals of freedom and opportunity. That link made Taylor's transatlantic cultural brokerage relevant to his American audience.

Chapter Conclusion

Taylor, as a part of his American middle-class values, worked doggedly to establish himself as a cultural figure in the United States. His most significant contribution came through an important contact point in the nineteenth-century German-American encounter – American reception of German literary achievement. Americans during the nineteenth century were interested in German literature and Taylor grew to appreciate and embrace German literary achievement. Early in his visits to German-speaking Central Europe, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language as well as a growing interest in German literature. Taylor built upon that over decades of contact. By the 1860s, his blended cultural identity established a transatlantic connection that he preserved and nourished in his long association with German literary achievement.

Significantly, in defining his American cultural identity, Taylor looked to the literary values and ideals of German literature. Taylor, as an American, related to the German cultural fusion of Classical rationalism and Romantic sentiment and defined his American cultural identity through German "thought and feeling." The foundation and context of Taylor's encounters culturally with Germany and how he related to German

literary achievement in general was based upon a belief that American and German culture shared values and ideals. That belief established Taylor as a cultural broker.

His cultural connection with German literature and his cultural identity are best articulated in his representation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, which is discussed in detail in the following chapter as a continuance of the examination of Taylor's American cultural identity and the elevation of his transnational image to that of cultural broker. He acquired the means of brokerage through mastery of the German language, access to resources, and a belief in shared cultural values and ideals. He became a recognized authority and a specialist in German literature, which gave him the cultural capital to invest in his project. Goethe's literary masterpiece, *Faust*, was the product in demand by an increasingly sophisticated American culture. Taylor was in an ideal position to act as a transatlantic middleman to meet the demand.

Chapter 5 Transatlantic Brokerage of Friedrich Schiller and Johann von Goethe: 1844-78

Chapter Introduction

The works and lives of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, the two most prominent German literary figures of the nineteenth century, dominated Taylor's American engagement with German literature throughout his life and became the cornerstones of his representations of and scholarship on German literary culture. Taylor's fascination for Goethe and Schiller remained consistent over decades - in essence, he saw the two as inseparable. His encounter was a reflection of his personal interests and the re-crafting of his public image. Through decades of writing and research, Taylor felt that Goethe and Schiller came "out of the limbo of shadows" and grew into "existences of flesh and blood" for him and, ultimately, his readers.³⁹⁰ This chapter extends the points made in the previous chapter on Taylor's attraction to and representations of German literary culture with the focus on his encounters with those two cultural giants in German cultural history as expressions of his American/transatlantic blended cultural identity. It argues that Taylor's representations of Goethe and Schiller in his translations of German culture displayed that blended cultural identity and defined his role as cultural broker.

Taylor's life-long encounters with the images and writings of Goethe and Schiller had varied aspects. At one level, his attraction to Schiller and Goethe reflected American interests generally in the nineteenth century; therefore, his audience was receptive to the

³⁹⁰ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 403, while visiting Weimar and researching for his dual-biography on Goethe and Schiller.

images and representations. Pochmann demonstrates that interest in the plays, poetry and journal reviews of those two German literary stalwarts dominated American cultural circles.³⁹¹ Second, Taylor's mastery of the German language and his access to resources suggest the acquisition of the tools, talents, and a placement in German cultural activity by which he could recognize similarities between American and German culture and cross the threshold into German high cultural achievement as a transatlantic interpreter. Third, although Taylor appreciated German literary works in general and befriended a number of German literary figures in his visits to Germany over the decades, his representations of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller were the most consistent and best illustrations of the nature of Taylor's engagement with German high culture, his blended cultural identity, and his contribution to American culture. These elements of his engagement mark the evolution of his role as transatlantic broker from his first tour of Germany in 1844 until his death in 1878 and the significance of his representations of German literary culture.

Nineteenth-century American Reception of Goethe and Schiller

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was one of the most recognizable cultural figures of the nineteenth century. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in a series of published lectures in 1850 on those he considered *Representative Men* in different fields of endeavor, observed that Goethe was "born with a free and controlling genius. ... He was

³⁹¹ Pochmann, 343-347, charts the top German literary figures whose works were translated and on whom the most journal articles were written in the United States during the nineteenth century. Goethe leads everyone else by a wide margin, with Schiller a relatively distant second. The exception is in poetry, where Uhland takes second place over Schiller. Schiller was known more for his dramatic plays than for his poetry in America.

the soul of his century.”³⁹² John Williams notes that Goethe so dominated literary achievement during his life, his historical period is known, somewhat arbitrarily, as the Age of Goethe.³⁹³

Goethe’s best work was accomplished in Weimar, “the humble home of German muses.”³⁹⁴ It is also where Goethe met and formed an interesting and mutually-beneficial friendship with the other great literary figure in German history: Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), who was in Glen Swiggett’s estimation, “Germany’s greatest dramatist and one of the world’s noblest thinkers.”³⁹⁵ The friendship endured and flourished despite Schiller’s hardships and failing health, and helped make possible the completion of Goethe’s crowning achievement - the dramatic play in verse, *Faust*, a life-work of over sixty years.³⁹⁶

Goethe and Schiller grew to be familiar names in American cultural circles in the early nineteenth century. Americans became acquainted with German literature and German literary figures through a number of sources, including translations of Madam de Staël’s *De l’Allemagne*, accounts by American travelers in Europe, and the interest in German letters among American students who attended German universities.³⁹⁷ With this limited exposure, American attitudes toward German literature tended to reflect the rather rigid American morals and ideals pre-eminent through the nineteenth century. In

³⁹² Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1890), 219-220.

³⁹³ John R. Williams, *The Life of Goethe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 1.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁹⁵ Wolf von Schierbrand, “The Centenary of Schiller’s Death,” *The North American Review* 180:581 (April 1905): 567; Glen Levin Swiggett, “The Message in Friedrich Schiller’s Life,” *The Sewanee Review* 13, no. 4 (October 1905): 413. The biographical segment is a brief synopsis of Claudia Pilling, Diana Schilling, and Mirjam Springer, *Schiller*, trans. Angus McGeogh (London: Hous Publishing, 2005).

³⁹⁶ Richard Friedenthal, *Goethe: His Life and Times* (New Brunswick (USA), London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2010), 494; Liselotte Dieckmann, ed. and transl., *Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, 1794-1805* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), series of letters, 194-200.

³⁹⁷ Pochmann, 330.

his study of American reception of Schiller and Goethe between 1817-1865, Thomas Buckley notes that because the reviews of their work in early nineteenth-century American journals were “marked by a paucity of knowledge” and “relied on secondary sources and their own incomplete knowledge of German literature,” the reviewers “betrayed a decided predilection for the personal qualities of Goethe and Schiller” so that the “criticism of both authors was often based upon personal attributes rather than upon their literary accomplishments.”³⁹⁸ Americans who had attended German universities, on the other hand, defended the two German writers on the basis of aesthetic achievements. The reviews, therefore, fluctuated between unsubstantiated condemnation (especially of Goethe) and uncritical praise.

Early in the century, interest in Goethe was slow in developing – the exacting moral standards imposed by Americans were too formidable. He was rarely criticized on aesthetic grounds but frequently scrutinized and condemned for his morality and personal life.³⁹⁹ Schiller, on the other hand, was popular; his genius was distinguished by his pure morality, “nobility, virtuousness, and ‘chaste character,’” which were values that Americans appreciated.⁴⁰⁰ In the early nineteenth century, when Schiller was most fashionable, little of Goethe’s work had been translated and introduced, therefore his writings were misinterpreted or misunderstood. Consequently, the American attitude toward Goethe was a mingling of some praise and much censure.⁴⁰¹ At best, a coolness was expressed toward his moral neutrality. At worst, his genius was denied and he was

³⁹⁸ Buckley, 30.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 31; Bettina Cothran, 18-19.

⁴⁰⁰ Buckley, 31-32.

⁴⁰¹ Pochmann, 330; Kopp, 30; Horst Frenz, “Bayard Taylor and the Reception of Goethe in America,” *The Journal of English and German Philology* 41:2 (1942).

accused of elitism, immoral sensuality, and political irresponsibility.⁴⁰² Goethe may have had superior literary talent but Americans admired Schiller. Buckley argues, though, that the preoccupation with Goethe and Schiller in the literary reviews was an important indication of a significant discourse on German high culture that was developing in nineteenth-century America, which established the reputations of Goethe and Schiller.⁴⁰³

Taylor's representation of Goethe and Schiller, 1844-45

Russell Conwell, Taylor's first biographer, claims that Taylor's interest in Goethe began in the first months of his stay in Germany in 1844, but Taylor did not mention reading Goethe as part of his language study program.⁴⁰⁴ In fact, Taylor's interest in Goethe was minimal in 1844-45. He had little if any exposure to Goethe's writings before he traveled or during his Grand Tour. Taylor kept a personal travel journal on his daily experiences in Europe from 1844-1846 from which he created his first travel book, *Views A-Foot*, published in 1846.⁴⁰⁵ References to and sites associated with Goethe are entirely absent in the personal travel journal, an indication that Taylor did not find them worthwhile. Any mention of Goethe was inserted well after Taylor's return to the United States in the published book to dignify certain places for his reading audience; for example, he mentions the unveiling of a statue to Goethe in 1844 and related a passage from *Faust* to his climb up the Brocken in 1845, but neither of those was written in the personal journal.⁴⁰⁶ Taylor's sprinkling of Goethe in his published writing was more

⁴⁰² Pochmann, 331; Kopp, 32.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 40.

⁴⁰⁴ Conwell, 308-9.

⁴⁰⁵ Travel journal MSS, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

⁴⁰⁶ *Views*, 128, 173, 188. He wrote to Sidney Pierce that he had seen Goethe's house in Frankfurt as he quickly listed the important cultural sites after he had arrived in the city in October, Folder 9

ornamental than anything else. The goal of his Grand Tour was to launch his literary career, therefore he added as many literary references as he could in his published travel writings, like quotes from poems and name-dropping. Taylor evidently recognized that Goethe was essential as a cultural figure of Germany and that his audience expected to see Goethe in travel accounts on Germany but his knowledge of Goethe was superficial and, quite possibly, he lacked interest.

Schiller was a different story. Taylor's perceptions and representations in the 1840s were consistent with the impressions and attitudes expressed in American reviews that Buckley identifies. Taylor did not mention reading literary reviews of Goethe and Schiller prior to his first encounter with Germany in 1844; however, his attitude toward Goethe and his attraction to Schiller matched those of the published opinions and is a reflection of his American reformist and moralistic sentiments. Taylor's interest in Schiller was multi-faceted in 1844-45. He identified himself with Schiller personally; soon after arriving in Germany in 1844, he related Schiller's loneliness while in exile to his own homesickness while he crossed a bridge in Frankfurt upon which Schiller himself had stood.⁴⁰⁷ Schiller was also a hero to Taylor. Taylor aspired to great things and Schiller was a model upon which he wished to pattern his life. In a letter to his friend John Phillips in 1845, Taylor wrote, "I tell you in confidence that I hope and will strive for a place like that of Schiller, not to imitate him, for that I will not do; but to be as pure in heart and lofty in soul, and to do as much for the spiritual elevation of my country as he has for his.... that I may do something for the good of man."⁴⁰⁸

Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC; Taylor also refers to an old MSS of *Faust* found in Auerbach's cellar, *Views*, 197.

⁴⁰⁷ Travel journal entry, 1 December 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

⁴⁰⁸ Taylor to John Phillips, 18 April 1845, Box 6, Item 13, BTP, CUSC.

Taylor's personal writings, as indicated above, reflect the importance of Schiller to Taylor himself. His published travel book, though, revealed the importance, at least in Taylor's mind, of Schiller as representative of German culture for his American audience. He found Stuttgart beautiful in its natural scenery but wanted only to see the monument of Schiller that was located there because he did not care to see much of anything else in the city:

Stuttgart has neither galleries, ruins, nor splendid buildings to interest the traveler; but it has Thorwaldsen's statue of Schiller calling up at the same time its shame and its glory. For the poet in his youth was obliged to fly from this same city – from home and friends, to escape the persecution of the government on account of the free sentiments expressed in his early works. We found the statue without much difficulty.

Upon viewing the statue, he felt it was improperly located among decrepit buildings:

It stands in the Schloss Platz, at the southern end of the city, in a rather unfavorable situation, surrounded by dark old buildings. It should rather be placed aloft on a mountain summit, in the pure, free air of heaven, braving the storm and the tempest.⁴⁰⁹

Taylor evidently believed in 1845 that Schiller was as significant and powerful an iconic image of German culture as any castle, ruin, work of art, or palace.

Taylor's attraction to Schiller, though, seems drawn from an image of Schiller as a German literary icon rather than the substance of Schiller's work. Evidently he was familiar with Schiller's life and was clearly aware of the German regard and respect for Schiller in the 1840s, but he does not mention sources or having read any of Schiller's writings. William Howitt's 1842 account of travels in Germany included visits to sites associated with Schiller (and Goethe), and Howitt praised Schiller as "the greatest writer

⁴⁰⁹ *Views*, 197, 287-290.

in Germany” with a “lofty, pure, and gentle humanity.”⁴¹⁰ Taylor read Howitt’s book and shared his admiration but his account does not indicate an influence from Howitt or of having encountered any of Schiller’s work. Upon his return to the United States, though, Taylor engaged Schiller more intently. He acquired a fifteen volume set of the works of Schiller and Goethe in the fall of 1847 and, in a letter to his fiancé Mary Agnew in 1847, he wrote that he had been “studying Schiller lately and [found] rich stores of encouragement in his life and poetry.”⁴¹¹ Taylor may have felt inspired by Schiller’s writings and reputation after 1846, but his knowledge of Schiller’s work was quite limited while on his Grand Tour.

Taylor’s representation of Goethe and Schiller, 1856-58

In his travel writings during the 1850s, as Taylor personally and professionally became immersed in German culture and society, he moved beyond inserting references to Schiller and Goethe in his travel writings into directly addressing the two German literary superstars and placing himself in Germany with them. He was familiar with their works and his representation reflected American admiration as well as German acknowledgement of the two prominent cultural icons.

After the Revolution of 1848 and the Frankfurt Parliament, German national unity became the most crucial issue in central Europe. The German national revitalization from the 1840s through the late 1850s included festivals and celebrations that commemorated inspiring German historical figures as national symbols. Occasions that

⁴¹⁰ William Howitt, *The Rural and Domestic Life of Europe and Characteristic sketches of its Cities and Scenery collected in a general tour and during residence in the country in the years 1840, 41, and 42.* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842), 271-272.

⁴¹¹ Taylor to Mary Agnew, 15 October 1847, in *Life and Letters*, 102; Krumpelmann, 29.

revered legendary heroes like Frederick Barbarossa and Hermann/Arminius, and more recent notables such as Johann Sebastian Bach, became rallying points for national agendas and movements and around whom a sense of nation and identity were formed.⁴¹² The most important national literary celebrity of the 1840s and 50s, though, was Friedrich Schiller. One of the vivid expressions of the desire for national unity came in 1859 with the celebrations surrounding the centenary of Schiller's birth, which was more a national cultural and political event than a literary tribute. Processions and celebrations honoring the renowned poet were organized all over Germany in which Schiller was hailed as a man of the people, "the embodiment of a vigorous German cultural identity."⁴¹³ It was an opportunity for the German public to celebrate a cultural hero whom it could claim as its own and to express a German cultural and national identity.⁴¹⁴ Wolf von Schierbrand's panegyric to Schiller celebrating the centenary of his death best captures his significance as a national icon in nineteenth-century Germany:

All through the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, Schiller stamped his impress on the national mind and heart... . It overtopped by far that of Goethe. Indeed, Goethe has never been 'popular' in Germany, though a few works have been. He [Goethe] has always been, and remains today, the poet of a select few. ... If ever a poet could be termed 'national,' in the broadest sense of that word, it is Schiller.⁴¹⁵

Taylor's perspectives reflect impressions and changes forming in America and Germany toward Schiller and Goethe in German literary history in the 1840s and 50s. His deep attachment to Schiller was evident in his travel writings in the 1840s and was

⁴¹² Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German Speaking Europe* (New York: Pearson Education, 2001), 33.

⁴¹³ John Brueilly, *Austria, Prussia, and Germany 1806-1871*, (New York: Pearson Education, 2002), 63.

⁴¹⁴ Peter Ewe Hohendahl, *Building a National Literature: The Case of Germany, 1830-1870*, trans. Renate Baron Franciscono (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 179-180.

⁴¹⁵ Wolf von Schierbrand, "The Centenary of Schiller's Death," *The North American Review* 180, no. 581 (1905): 569.

shared by Americans in general. In the first half of the nineteenth century up to the 1859 centennial of his birth, Schiller was among the most popular German writers in the United States. His overwhelmingly positive reception in the United States, largely due to his stature as a moralist and embodiment of idealism, is reflected in the numerous biographies, the absence of controversy in academic discussions, and the admiration and affection expressed by American readers.⁴¹⁶ Taylor's attraction to Schiller was clearly expressed in his travel writings on Germany in the 1840s and continued well afterwards. He even sought consolation in Schiller's works after the death of his wife in 1850. In a despondent letter to Boker in 1851, he wrote:

I have tried, by turns, "In Memoriam," Shelley, Wordsworth, and Schiller; but always close the book with a sickness of soul; Nothing, I am sure, will wholly cure this disturbance.⁴¹⁷

Taylor's attachment to Schiller was so firm and obvious in the 1850s that even German newspapers recognized it:

Frequently we have been surprised during our connection with foreigners ... at their appreciation of our literature and zealous striving after thorough understanding of our classics, as was the case recently with the great traveler, Bayard Taylor; who is as conversant with the German language as likewise with our literature, as if he were grown up in our midst. On all his travels, Schiller's works were his constant companion; he knows them almost literally by heart.⁴¹⁸

Taylor stood out as an admirer of Schiller in both Germany and the United States. He identified himself solidly with Schiller's work throughout his career as a traveler and a transatlantic communicator.

⁴¹⁶ W. Lamarr Kopp, *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol. 3: *German Literature in the United States* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1967), 50; Henry A. Pochmann, 332.

⁴¹⁷ Taylor to George Boker, 1 May 1851, in *Selected Letters*, 87.

⁴¹⁸ *Koelner Zeitung [Cologne Gazette]* translated into English for the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial* [no date but probably around 1858 based on references to completing travel books on Norway, Lapland and Russia, journeys made in 1856-57], Folder 17, BTC, PSUSC.

By the late 1850s, though, Goethe began to emerge as a recognized literary genius alongside and eventually surpassing that of Schiller in both Germany and the United States. Goethe's reputation in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century had not fared well, especially in the radically liberal climate and revolutionary tumult of the mid-to-late 1840s, when he was considered elitist and politically indifferent in his writings. Goethe's 100th birthday (1849) was virtually forgotten because of his public unpopularity and the political turmoil of the period, although some small circles of admirers still held him in high regard.⁴¹⁹ Significantly, however, the estimation of Goethe's literary achievement began to emerge as a source for German national pride. Schiller's Centennial in 1859, therefore, also became a celebration of Goethe. The two key cultural figures of the halcyon days of Weimar classicism became virtually inseparable, especially with regard to a German cultural identity.⁴²⁰

Americans had gained a greater appreciation for Goethe as well. Goethe was the antithesis of Schiller in terms of reception in the United States during the course of the nineteenth century. When interest in Schiller was high, regard for Goethe was low; as Goethe's popularity increased, attention to Schiller waned. By the late 1850s, a good proportion of Goethe's work had been translated and made accessible to an American audience and thus more positive attitudes were expressed. Although reviews of Goethe's works that focused entirely on literary merit were not written until 1865, by the early 1860s, the estimation of Goethe had improved dramatically and his artistic genius was recognized in the United States.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Peter Uwe Hohendahl I, *Building a National Literature: The Case of Germany, 1830-1870*, trans. Renate Baron Franciscono (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 183.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁴²¹ Pochmann, 333-334.

Taylor expressed both the German and American attitudes in his representations. He continued to admire Schiller in the 1850s but, when Taylor built upon his familiarity with German culture and wedded into German upper middle-class society in the 1850s, his interests began to shift. With home and family in the duchy that included Weimar, Taylor embraced the opportunity and attached himself to the image of the famous literary and intellectual figures of the Weimar area, both past and present, which he presented to his American audience in his 1859 travel book *At Home and Abroad, First Series*. In the chapter entitled “Weimar and its Dead,” he labeled the city “the Mecca of German Literature,” implying that it must be a pilgrimage site for any student of German culture. He was disappointed in what he saw of Weimar. He wrote that “after the death of Goethe, who was the last of the Men of Weimar,” the city became “the least literary, the least artistic, the most stupidly proud and aristocratic, the dullest and most ignorant town in Germany.”⁴²² However, that only served to fortify the images of genius that were once part of Weimar’s past.

Taylor described for his readers a city full of memories of the classic age of German writing and literature, with well-known individuals like Goethe, Schiller, Johann Herder, the Humboldt brothers, Madam de Staël, Christoph Wieland, Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis (Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg), and Theodor Körner. All were important figures in the German cultural identity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and therefore important as cultural representations in his role as transatlantic raconteur.⁴²³ Taylor did not explain or examine their writings but walking on the same streets and visiting the homes in which these

⁴²² *HAI*, “Weimar and its Dead” 387-388.

⁴²³ *HAI*, 387-397; references interspersed within the essay.

familiar figures once lived enhanced the American experience of German literary culture by making them real people not just writers of literature or philosophy. His accounts added a new dimension to American understanding of German culture. Taylor's representations at this point were still relatively shallow but his role as transatlantic persona was expanding with his insertion in German society through marriage and friends and access to people and places to share with his reading audience.

Taylor was most intent, though, on bringing Schiller and Goethe back to life as he toured and commented on their lingering images. His portraits of the immortal giants of German literature made them more accessible by ascribing normal human attributes and behaviors upon those whom Americans only knew sparingly. Taylor wrote that it was "a pleasure to walk in those alleys where the old gentleman [Goethe] was wont to pace in his dressing gown, with hands clasped behind his back, repeating perhaps his own couplet as his thoughts wandered over the wrecks, the passions, and the triumphs of the Past." While walking through Schiller's "plain" home, suggesting "quiet contentment and unpretentious simplicity," Taylor imagined Schiller sitting up most of the night with a bottle of champagne or Rhine wine and feet in a tub of cold water. "With such a double stimulus acting on the brain, it is not surprising that he should have written *Wallenstein* or *William Tell*, as that he should have lived to the age of 45."⁴²⁴

As Taylor placed Schiller and Goethe together in his images of Weimar, though, Schiller came out slightly worse for wear. While standing in Schiller's study, Taylor pictured him as "cold," "taciturn," "reserved and melancholy."⁴²⁵ Several pages later, Taylor recounts a friend's description of Goethe as "tall, massive and majestic... Ay,

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 390-391.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 391-392.

every inch a king. He had the grandest presence of any man I had ever seen.”⁴²⁶ The comparison indicates that his admiration for Goethe was beginning to exceed that of his love for Schiller as he became more familiar with German culture. Taylor also rose in defense of Goethe, which is a change in his attitude as well as a step toward cultural brokerage by possibly contributing to the growing appreciation for Goethe in the United States:

There has been a great deal of absurd talk about Goethe, ... and every other author who happens to violate, now and then, the sacred decencies of Society. The offense consists, not so much in what they may do as in the contemptuous candor with which they avow it. A little dissimulation would have made them proper men. They would have received a sort of canonization from public opinion and the world would have been none the wiser. Schiller, with a narrower grasp of intellect, a more undemonstrative, if not colder nature, is mounted on an immaculate moral pedestal, while Goethe (to those who are incapable of appreciating him) is smutched [sic] with the rankest faults and heresies.⁴²⁷

Taylor’s transatlantic representation of Goethe matured significantly as his relationship with Germany grew in the 1850s. His association with the Weimar region in particular convinced him that commonly-held opinions of Goethe in America were unfair. Taylor’s growing middle-class cosmopolitan broad-mindedness in the 1850s evidently dimmed the moral lens to reveal not only the literary genius of Goethe but also Goethe as an admirable man. Taylor’s attraction to Goethe was strong enough that it was at this time that he first contemplated a new translation of Goethe’s *Faust*.⁴²⁸

The rebound in the popularity of Goethe in Germany probably influenced Taylor and he transmitted that high regard for his American compatriots. The re-imagining of

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 395.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 390-91.

⁴²⁸ “The Evolution of Bayard Taylor’s *Faust* Translation,” Memoir of Marie Taylor MSS, Box 7, Tay17, BTP, CUSC, 1: Taylor “...contemplated the translation [of *Faust*] 20 years before its appearance.”

Goethe in Taylor's writings on Germany to his American audience was crucial in Taylor's developing relationship with German literature and his evolving role as transatlantic cultural broker. Taylor's acknowledged mastery of German, his poetic sensitivity, his deepening immersion in German culture and society, and the immediacy of his actual presence in Germany gave him a voice and place as a communicator of German cultural images. As an American, he recognized the appealing elements of their lives and works and provided for his American readers an informed perspective on the two most famous German writers. He especially gave the image of Goethe more personality, more approachability, and new dimension that translations of Goethe's works lacked in America during the 1850s. Taylor was in the enviable position to change the impressions of Goethe and he used that position effectively. His criticism of those who maintained a negative view of Goethe and the stout defense of him in the 1858 article "Weimar and its Dead" demonstrated that Taylor had taken a strong stance. Equivocation was no longer an option – Taylor had committed himself to Goethe's revamped image.

A review of Taylor's representations of Schiller and Goethe in his writings before 1860 demonstrates that his attitudes coincided with the changing fortunes of those two stellar figures in America and Germany. Schiller captured Taylor's interest in the 1840s but by the late 1850s, Goethe increasingly took center stage. Schiller did not necessarily decline in Taylor's estimation – he remained a focus of serious attention right alongside Goethe. Taylor's attention to Goethe simply emerged more prominently. From 1858 until his death, Taylor championed Goethe in his writings on German culture for his American audience. Taylor's representations, therefore, reflected his typical American-

ness and framed his future encounter. His fame as a scholar and role as a transatlantic cultural broker for German literature in the United States in the 1860s and 70s hinged on Goethe's most important work - *Faust*.

Taylor's representation of Goethe and Schiller, 1861-71 – Translation of *Faust*

Taylor's energy as a transatlantic cultural broker in German literature became more pronounced after 1861. His growing familiarity with German literature and his determined search for a place in American high culture were demonstrated in a broader scholarly study of German cultural achievement. Even though his consistent association with German literary achievement in general was the foundation of his public and professional image, his representation of Germany, Goethe and Schiller was the cornerstone of that image. In the 1860s and 70s, however, he moved beyond superficial descriptions of Goethe's and Schiller's images and homes; through scholarship, he became a translator and even a transatlantic interpreter of the two men as crucial exemplars of German literary culture. Goethe became especially prominent in Taylor's representation of German literature to his American audience and, through Goethe, Taylor positioned himself clearly as a bridge between the German and American cultures. Taylor's method of communication changed as well. Previously, a broad popular American audience had access to German cultural images through his published travel books, Lyceum lectures, and newspaper articles. Beginning in the mid-1860s, though, Taylor's translations, lectures, and scholarly research in German literature were directed at social and intellectual elites as he redefined himself and his role as a transatlantic bridge and, consequently, his place in American high culture.

The relationship between Goethe's writing and Taylor's translation and interpretation became multi-faceted in this last stage of contact. At one level, Goethe inspired Taylor's own image. The depth to which Goethe had an influence on Taylor personally was quite profound. Goethe was Taylor's "great hero," and he spent a lifetime cultivating a "Goethian Doctrine of Self-Culture."⁴²⁹ Taylor embraced Goethe's writings that emphasized the need for full, free, and harmonious individual intellectual development. Taylor's personal effort to incorporate Goethe's thought into his life complemented his public representation of Goethe's importance. In the middle of his laborious translation of *Faust*, Taylor found consolation in *Tasso*:

Goethe says... - Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille – "talent develops and forms itself in seclusion" – which I hope may be half-true in my case.⁴³⁰

That personal attachment and admiration for Goethe fueled his studies and helped define his American identity and, in turn, informed American middle class identity in relation to German literature as well as his evolution from descriptive communication to opening pathways of substantive contact as a cultural broker. His blending of German high literary thought and feeling in his own identity contributed to the bridge between American and German culture in his elevated and more complex transatlantic role.

A second level of engagement with Goethe and, to some extent, Schiller was academic. With his connections in Gotha and Weimar, he was determined to begin more scholarly pursuits and "give to man some masterpiece" by turning "at once toward his

⁴²⁹ George Boker to Taylor, 19 December 1873, Box 1, page #150, BTP, CUSC. Philip Allison Shelley explains in detail how Taylor's life largely illustrated Goethe's Doctrine of Self-Culture in "A German Art of Life in America: The American Reception of the Goethian Doctrine of Self-Culture," *Anglo-German and German-American Crosscurrents* vol.1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1957).

⁴³⁰ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 30 December 1868, in *Unpublished Letters*, 123.

beloved Germany.”⁴³¹ Krumpelmann notes a number of poems or passages from Goethe’s work that Taylor translated and either included in books of poems or published in different journals.⁴³² The “masterpiece,” though, was his proposed translation of Goethe’s *Faust*, a very intricate dramatic play in verse. It was an especially fascinating project for Taylor, the interest for which could be traced to his earlier professional years. The idea to do so came to him first in the early 1850s, after he had a chance to read Goethe’s works. He did not get started, though, until 1863 while in Gotha as he was beginning the transition to new occupations that would emancipate him from lecturing and supplement his faltering literary career.⁴³³ In 1867-68, he returned to Germany to resume his research on Goethe and Schiller and, after returning to the United States, devoted the next two years almost exclusively to a translation of Goethe’s *Faust*. He completed and published Part 1 of the poem in December 1870, and the far more difficult and complex Part 2, translated into English for the first time and in a way that captured the intended motive, allegory, logic, and grammatical meaning of the poem, in March 1871.

At the time and to this day, Taylor’s translation of the complete poem is his crowning achievement and his finest and most durable intellectual contribution to American culture.⁴³⁴ Taylor’s thorough knowledge of the German language and its many subtleties, and his feel as a poet for the oral and rhythmic patterns in the work, made it an admirable reproduction. Through the *Faust* translation, he gained international

⁴³¹ “The Evolution of Bayard Taylor’s *Faust* Translation” Memoir, Box 7, Tay17, BTP, CUSC, 9; Conwell, 278.

⁴³² Krumpelmann, 215-220.

⁴³³ Smythe, 181.

⁴³⁴ Pfund, 13.

recognition as a scholar and created an opportunity to broker a great work of German literature to Americans.

Taylor's choice of *Faust* as the foundation for his scholarly image and his reputation as an expert in German culture reflected the changing attitudes toward Goethe by the 1860s in Germany and, to some extent, in the United States. He also recognized that the translation of *Faust*, as a pinnacle of achievement in German literature, would have a market in the United States. Schiller's ideals and values were, as von Schierbrand argues, "part and parcel of the German soul" through most of the nineteenth century. The Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71 changed that. Through political unity, global power, and material prosperity, Germany "was intoxicated with its success and glory" and the "Schiller ideals vanished from the national consciousness." A "new creed of the sovereign virtue of military supremacy and of a narrow jingoism" replaced Schiller's notions of love, honor, duty, the brotherhood of man and the inherent goodness of the human heart and a younger generation of Germans sneered at Schiller's idealism.⁴³⁵

Taylor was attuned to German trends and evidently was influenced by them in his role as transatlantic cultural broker. He was also no doubt aware that Americans too viewed Goethe more positively by the late 1860s. According to Buckley, American reviewers began to "uncouple moral certitude from artistic merit," which allowed Americans to begin finally to appreciate Goethe's genius.⁴³⁶ Taylor seized the opportunity. With some exaggeration, he promoted Goethe as the "central figure of the great age of German Literature – the god, he might be called, who sits alone on the

⁴³⁵ Von Schierbrand, 570-571.

⁴³⁶ Buckley, 39-40.

summit of the German Parnassus.”⁴³⁷ In Taylor’s lecture on Goethe as one of the western literary “Titans” (which included Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare), Goethe’s poetry contained “a character of breadth as well as of height; there is achievement without the sense of effort; there is grandeur, and wisdom, and splendid imagination, uttering ... as unconsciously as the prattle of a child; there is genius poised as serenely as a planet in space, and shining not from acquired light but by its own luminous essence.”⁴³⁸

That serene genius, according to Taylor, elevates literature to an almost celestial level. Goethe, therefore, although “the dominant figure in German literature,” wrote works that were universal and transcendent.⁴³⁹ The universal and transcendent quality of Goethe’s work, though, especially *Faust*, the “dominant work” among Goethe’s poetic creations, raise an important question in the context of Taylor’s transatlantic role - how “German” was Goethe’s writing and therefore what role did Taylor play in his representations and translations of Goethe’s work as a transatlantic cultural broker and communicator of things “German” to his audience?⁴⁴⁰

For Taylor, Goethe was a transnational figure with a German national flair. In his lecture on Goethe, Taylor noted that Goethe mastered German, French, Italian, Greek and Latin and even Hebrew and could compose verse with any of them.⁴⁴¹ Later in life he learned Arabic and Persian and wrote a collection of poems entitled *West-österliche Divan* that Taylor claimed was “German in spirit and Oriental in character,” which sparked interest in the Oriental east among German writers.⁴⁴² In his lecture on *Faust*, in

⁴³⁷ “No.4 Goethe,” MSS Lecture, Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS, 1.

⁴³⁸ “Schiller” MSS Lecture, Lecture Box 5, 4.

⁴³⁹ “No. 5 *Faust*” MSS Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS, 23 ½ B, 23 ½ E.

⁴⁴⁰ “No. 5 *Faust*” MSS Lecture, BTC, CCHS, 23 ½ B.

⁴⁴¹ “No. 4 Goethe” MSS lecture, Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS, 3.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 24.

which Taylor grouped Goethe with Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Cervantes, he claimed that their works of literary creative power contain “a truth ... being of no time and no country.”⁴⁴³ Taylor considered *Faust* so “universally comprehensible that every reader finds in it reflections of his own faith and philosophies.”⁴⁴⁴ However, Goethe’s universal genius was not incompatible with or separate from German literary culture. In fact, Taylor interpreted it as the zenith of a century of German literary achievement. He concluded his lecture on *Faust* by stating:

Whoever studies Faust, in connection with the works of the other German authors, cannot but admit that the critic is not wholly mistaken, who asserts that the single elements which, separately, made his compeers great, have combined to make one man greatest; -that Klopstock’s enrichment of the language, Lessing’s boldness and clearness of vision, Wieland’s grace, Herder’s universality, and Schiller’s glory of rhythm and rhetoric, are all united in the immortal work of Goethe!⁴⁴⁵

Goethe, in Taylor’s estimation, stood above and apart as a genius but also represented the best elements of German literary achievement and was the logical culmination of German literary development.

Another relevant question to ask in terms of Taylor’s role as transatlantic cultural broker is why Taylor chose Goethe’s *Faust* in his representation of German literature and as his most significant cultural contribution. Pochmann and Wermuth both assert that Taylor’s primary motivation for translating *Faust* was personal ambition.⁴⁴⁶ His translation of Goethe elevated him to the first rank of American poets, alongside William Cullen Bryant, who translated Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who translated Dante Alighieri’s *Divine Comedy* contemporaneous to

⁴⁴³ “No. 5 *Faust*” MSS lecture, BTC, CCHS, 23 ½,

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 ½ E-F.

⁴⁴⁵ “Faust” lecture, 35.

⁴⁴⁶ Pochmann, 454; Wermuth, 157.

Taylor's translation of *Faust*. Taylor was certainly not above maneuvering and posturing to get recognition; as previously stated, his life ambition was to be accepted as a great poet. He mentions Bryant and Longfellow in some letters, acknowledging their work on Homer and Dante while peevishly griping about not receiving attention that he felt he deserved with his translation of *Faust*.⁴⁴⁷ Taylor also makes a point to include Homer and Dante as two "Titans" alongside Goethe in his lectures on Goethe and *Faust*, which was a nod toward the translations of Bryant and Longfellow, allowing Taylor to place himself with them. That explanation however, although probably not entirely untrue, is too simplistic and cynical.

Krumpelmann offers a broader and more complimentary explanation for Taylor's interest in Goethe and *Faust* that recognizes his attachment to Germany and attraction to German literature, specifically *Faust*. He ascribes Taylor's marriage with Marie Hansen as doing much to stimulate Taylor's study of Goethe in general and *Faust* in particular through an intimate and personal attachment to German society and culture. Taylor actually received a copy of *Faust* as a wedding present. Krumpelmann also argues that Goethe's cosmopolitanism tied into Taylor's notion of the "cosmical experience" acquired through exploration and new encounters. He contends further that Taylor attached himself to the notion of a Faustian thirst for knowledge that drove him into world travel and inspired him to seek higher intellectual aspirations.⁴⁴⁸ As with Alexander von Humboldt in the 1850s, Goethe's cosmopolitanism and Doctrine of Self-Culture, as Allison-Shelley labeled it, appealed to Taylor's American middle-class

⁴⁴⁷ Taylor to James R. Osgood, 1 February 1871, in *Unpublished Letters*, 146; Taylor to James R. Osgood, 3 April 1872, Box 5, BTP, CUSC.

⁴⁴⁸ Krumpelmann, 37-38.

identity and reinforced his concept of a “human cosmos” acquired through exploration and his aspiration to an uninhibited range of all experiences.

Even more, another element that relates to Taylor’s cultural brokerage is Goethe’s ideal of a world literature that signified the creation of a supranational cultural exchange. For Goethe, German literature was a transnational fabric woven from many heterogeneous and contradictory threads united only by a common language.⁴⁴⁹ The citizen of the world is grounded in his *own* while experiencing the *other*.⁴⁵⁰ The nature of Goethe’s literary accomplishment and Taylor’s attachment to it enhanced Taylor’s opportunity to position himself as a cultural broker for his American readers.

By the 1860s, Taylor’s insertion into German society gave him access to resources and acquisition of books so that his interest in Goethe and *Faust* became an obsession. Taylor expressed, mostly in personal letters, the reasons why he felt he needed to translate *Faust*, reasons that demonstrate how his role as transatlantic interpreter through Goethe’s masterpiece was evolving into cultural brokerage. He already had the language tools and access to resources. Now he had to establish a place in the market for his product. To that end, he considered all existing translations inadequate. In 1866, just as Taylor began the project in earnest, he wrote:

About one-third of the First Part is translated. It has been a terrible but most fascinating labor. I have nearly forty rivals in the field, but am determined to make a clean sweep. There are only three, however, who have any strength of muscle; and each day I am finding weak points in their armor.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Pizer, 215.

⁴⁵⁰ Ottmar Ette, “The Scientist as Weltbürger: Alexander von Humboldt and the Beginning of Cosmopolitics,” 164, 182. Op. cit. #270 in Chapter 4. Ette compares Goethe and Humboldt.

⁴⁵¹ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 19 May 1866, in *Unpublished Letters*, 87.

Taylor was evidently conducting his research and finding his place in the market for a superior translation of *Faust*. He was also convinced that his translation was critical considering what existed at that point. In 1868, he stated confidently:

Further examination of the previous translations shows me more vividly that they neither represent the poem nor the poet, and I therefore magnify the importance of my task.⁴⁵²

More notably, Taylor's interest gravitated toward *Faust* because of the transatlantic connection he saw between the German and American national cultural identities. He detected not only relevance but a distinctive value of German culture expressed in literature that would benefit American culture. Taylor believed that there was "kinship between the German and English" language and thought, as well as cultural similarities between the German and American character.⁴⁵³ He recognized that cross-cultural potential existed in German literature that he could broker to Americans.

Taylor was discriminating in his choices for translation while seeking that connection, though. Personally he was impressed with and enjoyed German literary culture, but, in his transatlantic mediating position, he was also very aware of American predilections and tailored his cultural representations accordingly. For example, Taylor balked at translating his good friend Berthold Auerbach's poems. He felt that Auerbach's book was "too specifically German – too slightly touched with a universal human interest – to make much of an impression on the American public."⁴⁵⁴ On the other hand, Taylor was confident that Freiligrath's poems would have been well-received; because the "particulars of his life alone would give interest to a volume; and his political poems are

⁴⁵² Taylor to William Dixon, 31 October 1868, in *Unpublished Letters*, 117.

⁴⁵³ Taylor to Mrs. Bloede, 6 March 1869, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC. Also in Taylor's Introduction to his translation of *Faust, Part I*, 1st Edition found in University of Virginia Special Collections, v.

⁴⁵⁴ Taylor to Mrs. Bloede, 5 April 1866, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

so strongly American in sentiment, that a good translation (a difficult task!) could not but be successful.”⁴⁵⁵

Goethe’s *Faust* was a German work that he felt especially suited American tastes and was therefore marketable culturally in the United States. Even though Taylor understood that the German language generally was rich, involved, and tolerant of new combinations and that German metrical foot tended toward trochaic, the poetry of and use of language in *Faust* was more in line with English – compact, direct, simple, and written in iambic meter. He intended to prove that “no great poem can be transferred with less loss than the German of *Faust* into the English language.”⁴⁵⁶

Preserving the original meaning and poetic feel of the German poem was not Taylor’s only goal, though. Krumpelmann states that Taylor’s primary motive was to prove that Goethe’s great poem could be translated into English without loss of the original meter.⁴⁵⁷ Taylor’s desire to translate *Faust* while preserving the original poetic meter also stemmed from the fact that the English translations that were available before Taylor’s translation were in prose.⁴⁵⁸ He disagreed with the English critics who claimed that the rhythmical expression of the poem was of secondary importance and, as a result, all previous translations “neither represent the poem nor the poet.”⁴⁵⁹ Taylor recognized that the only way for American readers to appreciate the “lyrical fire” of *Faust*, to represent that image of that German cultural achievement to his audience, was in its original poetic form.⁴⁶⁰ His mastery of the German language and his poetic sensitivities

⁴⁵⁵ Taylor to [no addressee], 13 April 1847, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

⁴⁵⁶ Taylor to Bloede, 6 March 1869, Folder 9 Correspondence(1), BTC, PSUSC.

⁴⁵⁷ Krumpelmann, 41-42.

⁴⁵⁸ Taylor, *Faust*, Introduction, iii. 1st Edition, BT, UVA.

⁴⁵⁹ Taylor to William H. Dixon, 31 October 1868, in *Unpublished Letters*, 117.

⁴⁶⁰ Taylor noted in his *Faust* Introduction, vi, that “poetry is not simply a fashion of expression; it is the form of expression absolutely required by a certain class of ideas.”

revealed that an accessible, metrical, poetic translation of Faust into English was not only possible – it was essential. Taylor emphatically believed in the importance of both language and a feel for poetry in effective translation:

Have you read or compared these poems? They are written by one who understands German better than English – a German by birth, I suspect. As poetry – English poetry – the translation will not do at all. It swarms with stiffness, awkwardness, inadequacies and inaccuracies.... Nobody who does not thoroughly understand the principles of English verse should dare to translate Goethe in verse.”⁴⁶¹

Taylor’s extensive knowledge of the German language and intimate familiarity with German literature made him an ideal translator. Pfund comments that when reading Taylor’s translation of *Faust*, “invariably one is struck by his skill, exemplifying an unusually poetic, subtle, and practiced command of English as well as a recognition of the affinity between German and English.”⁴⁶² Taylor may not have achieved the acclaim he sought through his own poetry, but his skill and facility with poetic form worked well in the translation. The feel for the language and spirit of the poem, coupled with intense research on Goethe’s life, resulted in a translation that was the “unfolding of the full significance of the drama from a study of Goethe’s mind itself.”⁴⁶³

That the language and poetry of *Faust* translated well into English were key factors in Taylor’s choice in terms of his position as transatlantic cultural broker of German literature to Americans. Taylor felt, with his knowledge of German literature and

⁴⁶¹ Taylor, in a “confidential” letter to William Holt, 4 October 1877, Folder 10 Correspondence (2), BTC, PSUSC. Taylor did not specify which poems or who the translator was.

⁴⁶² Pfund, 12.

⁴⁶³ “The Evolution of Bayard Taylor’s *Faust* Translation,” Memoir MSS, Box 7, BTP, CUSC, 34. Marie also lists the archives and scholars that Taylor used in his research from 1867-68, including Frietag, Auerbach, Fritz Reuter, the historian Professor Neumann, Dr. Edward Brockhaus in Leipzig, and the publisher “Hirzel in Leipzig, the famous collector of every specimen of literature connected with Goethe,” a library to which Taylor would return in his researches on the biographies of Goethe and Schiller, Memoir MSS, 7.

his recognition of Goethe's genius, that it was his responsibility to ensure that a true image of Goethe and an accurate and relevant translation of *Faust* must be available to English readers. He wrote "I am determined that English readers shall have the chance of knowing Goethe's greatness, which they never can through translations heretofore published."⁴⁶⁴ Additionally, Taylor saw other existing translations of *Faust* to be inadequate because not only were they inaccurate and in prose, but because Part II of the poetic drama was not fully appreciated and therefore deliberately omitted. For Taylor, the second part was integral to the work. He believed that "a knowledge of it is absolutely necessary to the comprehension of Goethe's place" in German and world literature.⁴⁶⁵

Goethe's German transnationalism and concept of *Weltliteratur* made Taylor's translation into English for his American audience possible as well. The transnational nature of Goethe's writing also made Taylor's place as transatlantic cultural broker possible. David Barry claims that *Weltliteratur* presupposes a concern for interlingual translation as part of Goethe's insistence upon the unity of the human mind in the variety of its forms. Translation was a medium of negotiation and communication between cultures as the hopeful starting point for future cosmopolitanism.⁴⁶⁶ Krumpelmann, quoting Goethe from the preface of *Faust*, shared "two maxims for translation, the one requires that the author, of a foreign nation, be brought before us in such a manner that we may regard him as our own; the other, on the contrary, demands of us that we transport ourselves over to him, and adopt his situation, his mode of speaking, and his

⁴⁶⁴ Taylor to Mrs, Bloede, 20 March 1869, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

⁴⁶⁵ "No. 5 Faust," Lecture, 23 ½ B, D.

⁴⁶⁶ David Barry, "Faustian Pursuits: The Political-Cultural Dimension of Goethe's *Weltliteratur* and the Tragedy of Translation," *The German Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (Spring, 2001): 167.

peculiarities.” Taylor, though, evidently felt that both maxims could be observed in the same translation.⁴⁶⁷ Goethe’s cosmopolitan ideals, expressed through Taylor’s expert knowledge of German culture and society and of Goethe, ensured that a translation of *Faust* was culturally beneficial to and would be well-received in America.

Taylor no doubt had many reasons, both personal and professional, to translate *Faust* – a passion for Goethe, a desire for fame, and opportunism. In his writings, he adheres to a belief in a greater purpose – to make a contribution culturally in America. He states in the introduction to his translation of *Faust* Part II:

I may at least have assisted in naturalizing the masterpiece of German literature among us, and to that extent have explained the supreme place which has been accorded to Goethe among the poets of the world.⁴⁶⁸

Whatever the reasons, Taylor’s translation of the dominant work of literature in the German language in its original meter with as little deviation as possible from the meaning defined the nature of Taylor’s role as transatlantic cultural broker in this period. Through his translation of *Faust*, Taylor demonstrated that he moved easily between the two cultures and could recognize the value of Goethe’s work for an American audience. With his place as an American poet (however minor) and his position inside Germany and expertise with the German language and German literature, his representations grasped the perspectives of both sides. Germans in Europe acknowledged Taylor’s success in transmitting *Faust* so accurately for Americans in a way that suggested a blended cultural identity as a cultural broker. Madam von Holtzendorff, a German noblewoman of Gotha, complimented him on

[how well he] entered into the spirit of the wonderful poet and

⁴⁶⁷ Krumpelmann, 43, quoting from the preface of *Faust* Part I (1882), viii.

⁴⁶⁸ 1st Edition (1871), x-xi, BT, UVA.

our language, made yourself one with it, that your translation is the perfect equal of the original. And this is what seems to me worthy of the highest gratitude. We Germans have reason to be proud that a man like you has assimilated to himself our nature, our mode of thinking and feeling, to such a degree as to understand us perfectly.⁴⁶⁹

Taylor's translation of *Faust* packaged an important German literary work for his American audience – a transaction facilitated by the similarities between Goethe's work, German thought and feeling, and American cultural tastes.

The ready reception of Goethe's *Faust* is explained as well in the broader historical context of American modernization in the 1860s and 70s. The Civil War and Reconstruction represent a critical transformative period in American history. After the trial by fire that preserved the Union, the United States emerged with a strong federal government, westward expansion across the continent proceeded, although it was impeded by Lakota, Cheyenne, Comanche, Apache, Nez Perce, and many other Native peoples defending their homelands, and the urban-industrial economy was expanding. In an age of realism, materialism, complexity, and growing power in the United States, Goethe was a modern poet for a modern world. Goethe's *Faust* would be appealing to Americans just as it was to Germans who experienced rapid modernization after unification and the creation of a powerful *Reich*. Americans outside the South had also developed a closer connection with Germany because of German support of the Union and the Lincoln administration during the American Civil War. That connection was expressed later with American moral support of Prussia and Germany during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.⁴⁷⁰ Pochmann argues that American respect and interest in

⁴⁶⁹ *Life and Letters*, 562-563.

⁴⁷⁰ Pochmann, 336; Taylor to Annie Carrie, 29 July 1870, in *Selected Letters*, 352.

German literature was enhanced by German unification. Americans were also impressed by the political progress and military power which created the new German *Reich*.⁴⁷¹

Ironically, the rapid growth of a modern industrial United States also witnessed a reaction to the acquisitive and materialistic values of the *nouveau riche*. It created an environment in which the German literary achievement that Taylor sold would enjoy eager reception. Elite and educated Americans of European ancestry recoiled from the vulgarity and shallowness of the emerging modern materialistic culture and looked instead to the sophistication of European culture. It is no coincidence then that some of the greatest masterpieces of the European literary tradition were translated in the late 1860s and early 1870s. As noted, Bryant translated Homer's poems and Longfellow translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* into English to meet the demand. Taylor's translation of *Faust* would "complete the triad" of the greatest works of European poetry in translation then available in America.⁴⁷²

Taylor targeted that educated audience and included himself among the great translators. He capitalized on his reputation as an authority on German literature and conveyed elements of German literary culture to Americans. His developing image as a cultural elite reflected also how Taylor's goals of transatlantic dialogue were changing in this period. His writings no longer painted colorful and engaging but superficial verbal pictures of exotic locales targeting a general audience. He wanted to establish himself, primarily through his reputation as a recognized and respected scholar on German literature, as a more elevated figure intellectually. Michael Kammen, in *American Culture, American Taste*, asserts that "high culture is expected to connect humankind to

⁴⁷¹ Pochmann, 336.

⁴⁷² Taylor to John B. Phillips, 26 October 1870, in *Selected Letters*, 355.

its finest past achievements, whereas popular culture provides more ephemeral access to amusement and experiences across class lines” in the present. Taylor expressed this distinction when he was invited to lecture on his travels in 1874:

None of my lectures, now, are mere narratives of travel; I gave that up many years ago. The new lecture on “Ancient Egypt” embodies studies, not personal adventure; it is intended to instruct, not simply amuse.⁴⁷³

To that end, Taylor tackled intellectually-weighty topics related to German cultural and scientific activities for a more educated audience.

Goethe and *Faust* also found an enthusiastic reception in the German-American population, whose numbers had swelled through emigration to the United States in the 1850s and 1860s. In a pluralistic model of immigration, the Germans in America maintained a memory and consciousness of their cultural roots and ties for generations after emigration. Ethnic plurality transcends boundaries, creates transatlantic connections, and allows intercultural transfer. Taylor, as an intermediary and cultural broker, played a role in a transnational pattern of cultural communication.⁴⁷⁴ He had a close relationship with the German-American population and they naturally represented a large part of his American audience. In a letter to J.M Hart, Taylor wrote that “the Germans here [in the United States] are those best satisfied with my work” on *Faust*.⁴⁷⁵ Educated Germans also attended his lectures on German literature in large numbers, as reflected in his 1875 lecture in New York on Schiller.⁴⁷⁶ According to Pochmann, “German-Americans ... looked with pride at German achievement” and “the emergence into prominence of so many German-American citizens of high cultural and social

⁴⁷³ Taylor letter 24 September 1874, Folder 10 Correspondence (2), BTC, PSUSC.

⁴⁷⁴ David Barclay and Elizabeth Glaser-Schmidt, 1-8.

⁴⁷⁵ Taylor to J. Hart, March 10, 1871, in *Selected Letters*, 366.

⁴⁷⁶ “Schiller’s True Place” *New York Times*, 13 February 1875, 5.

respectability” opened the door to “steady and easy access to German culture.”⁴⁷⁷

Taylor’s role as transatlantic cultural broker therefore was reinforced by a receptive and supportive Germanic population in the United States.

Taylor’s translation of *Faust* was exhausting but fulfilling for Taylor, and he hinted that it was actually personally rewarding, akin to spending his evening with the great writer. He wrote to his friend Edmund Stedman, “every evening I take a little of *Faust* as a self-reward for the morning’s industry.”⁴⁷⁸ Taylor’s accomplishment is all the more significant because he received no remuneration for his work. His research and writing were paid for from his own pocket. One can argue that monetary gain was the primary goal of every professional activity in which Taylor was involved. *Faust* can be understood as a labor of interest, not money, and his effort drained him financially.

Even so, Taylor complained that his “translation of *Faust* ... cost me years of the severest labor, and has not returned me \$500.”⁴⁷⁹ He lamented about how he had received no significant financial return for his personal investment in his translation of *Faust* was disheartening:

I have no reason to complain of the remuneration formerly derived from those works which I know to possess slight literary value. But the translation of “Faust,” to which I gave all my best and freshest leisure during a period of six or seven years, has only yielded me as much as a fortnight’s lecturing.⁴⁸⁰

The translation of *Faust* may have been for pleasure rather than for wealth; however, as with most of his work, he expected some financial gain. In essence, he fixed a price tag on his work and even published some projects, like his *School History of Germany* in

⁴⁷⁷ Pochmann, 337.

⁴⁷⁸ Taylor to Stedman, 30 December 1868, in *Unpublished Letters*, 123.

⁴⁷⁹ Taylor to John Phillips, 26 November 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 406.

⁴⁸⁰ Taylor to Murat Halstead, 16 April 1877, in *Selected Letters*, 468.

1872, for which the “sole reason for giving eight precious months to the work” was to be “handsomely paid.”⁴⁸¹ Insufficient income to support his genteel lifestyle plagued Taylor throughout his life. In a letter to Murat Halstead in 1877, he acknowledged that many great American writers failed to attain wealth through “the highest, purest, and most permanent form of literary labor,” so he was not alone in his financial hardship.⁴⁸²

Taylor’s immediate reward, though, was the acclaim and recognition he received in the United States and Europe and by scholars afterwards. Pfund, for example, states that Taylor’s translation of *Faust* is the “one great work of Bayard Taylor that has demonstrated undiminished vitality for over a century and promises to continue in favor with the public that prizes great literature even if it can ever be exceeded in quality or poetry of a very high order.”⁴⁸³ Just as *Faust* is Goethe’s *magnus opus*, so is Taylor’s translation in his legacy.⁴⁸⁴ The public reception, from friends and critics alike, was almost universally positive, a clear indication that Taylor’s assessment of Goethe’s importance, his recognition of the compatibility of languages, his belief in the value of preserving the poetry, and his metrical and linguistic skills were correct and admirable.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸¹ Taylor to Stedman, 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 401. The response to his *School History* was poor and he was paid very little.

⁴⁸² Taylor to Murat Halstead, 16 April 1877, in *Selected Letters*, 469.

⁴⁸³ Pfund, 11-12

⁴⁸⁴ Lamarr Kopp states that judging from the number of translations into English, *Faust* was Goethe’s greatest success and “an illustrious representation of human genius and worldly wisdom.” *German Literature in the United States, 1945-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina press, 1967), 42-48.

⁴⁸⁵ A sampling of comments: *Morning Star* (Dover, NH) [no date], Box 7, BTP, CUSC [no envelope or document number]: Taylor’s translation will have “no rival... for years to come.... Poetic genius and expressed tact.” George Bancroft to Taylor, 6 August 1871 (Berlin), Box 1, Bancroft 2, BTP, CUSC: “...scenes rendered faultlessly well.... You... clean up what is obscure, give a thread of continuity to what might seem fantastic and unorganized.” *Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne*, Paul Hamilton Hayne to Taylor, Jan.1, 1871, 38-40: translating *Faust* was “per se the labor of a lifetime.... The translation of *Faust*, I presume, you rank in importance below none of your purely original works”; and 23 February 1871, 45: “Well, my friend,...I think that you may now rest on your intellectual oars! – You have described in straight-forward, lucid prose the wonder and peculiarities of the four quarters of the globe; you have penned several instructive, interesting tales of American life and manners; you have given your century some of the sweetest and most genuine poetry of which it can boast; and, finally, Literature everywhere is indebted to your discrimination, tasks, genius, and patience for a version of Goethe...”

Krumpelmann noted that 45 of 47 reviews were positive, which by any standard was a “favorable verdict.”⁴⁸⁶

Although the financial return was minimal, the reputational capital turned out to be significant in his role as transatlantic cultural broker. Public acclaim over *Faust*, reinforced by his long lecturing resumé and combined with his reputation as an authority on German culture, made possible his appointment as non-resident professor of German Literature at Cornell University in 1869 as noted in Chapter 4. One might view this teaching opportunity as the capstone of his intellectual accomplishment and a clear recognition of his expertise in German culture in America. Taylor’s lectures, though, were not necessarily original scholarship or a critical analysis of the topics.

Krumpelmann states that the lectures were intended to be a guide for students interested in German literature to expand the knowledge of those already familiar with the topic and not as a profound commentary or literary dissection.⁴⁸⁷ On some topics, like Goethe’s literary achievement, he had conducted extensive research and was relatively proficient although he was not professionally schooled. In his Cornell lectures, however, Taylor relied heavily upon existing scholarship instead of his own interpretations because he lacked formal scholarly training and was compelled to make quick acquaintance with the material to prepare his presentations. He used the studies of Heinrich Kurz on pre-1700 German literature for those lectures and evidently drew from Hermann Grimm for

George Boker to Taylor 27 December 1870, Box 1 Letters to Taylor Folder, #132, BTP, CUSC: “Permit me to predict an immense literary success for your work. I do not mean to be understood to say that I think the “Faust” will explode like a shell before the eyes of the world, but that it will have a steady, growing success that will last forever.”

⁴⁸⁶ Krumpelmann, 53.

⁴⁸⁷ Krumpelmann, 141.

insights on Goethe and *Faust* to bolster his own thoughts on Goethe.⁴⁸⁸ Taylor had a habit of using existing scholarship in a pinch to write something up quickly. This tendency is best demonstrated by his *School History of Germany* in 1872, where instead of his own original research, he stitched together several German-language histories.⁴⁸⁹

The Goethe-Schiller Joint Biography Project, 1871-78

In preparation for his translation of *Faust*, Taylor devoted his 1867 visit to Germany to gathering as much valuable information as he could. He persistently questioned the most distinguished scholars on Goethe – Freitag, Auerbach, Fritz Reuter, and the historian Professor Neumann – for material. He specifically targeted the publisher Salomon Hirzel in Leipzig, the famous collector of every specimen of literature connected with Goethe “who knows more about Faust than any other man in the world,” to gain access to his vast library.⁴⁹⁰ That research provided the basis from which his translation could reveal “the full significance of the drama from a study of Goethe’s mind itself.”⁴⁹¹ It also laid the foundation for his most ambitious project in this scholarly

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 145-46; The introductory paragraph of Taylor’s lecture on *Faust* evidently was taken almost directly from Hermann Grimm’s *Goethe-Vorlesungen* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1903). Lecture *Goethe* from Chester County Historical Society Archives. For example, in the lecture on Goethe: “In considering the central figure of the great age of German Literature – the god, he might be called, who sits alone on the summit of the German Parnassus...” Grimm, p.6: “Einer Olympier, der über der Welt Throne...” Taylor seems to have become familiar with Grimm’s studies on Goethe through his research on *Faust*; in a letter to Mrs. Bloede, dated March 20, 1869, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC: “I will quote from Grimm in the introduction [of his *Faust* translation].”

⁴⁸⁹ There is a temptation to tie Taylor’s *School History of Germany* to the 1871 unification of Germany and possible interest/curiosity in the United States. Intuitively it makes sense but there is no evidence to support this argument. In every reference that Taylor made in his correspondence, he stated it was only for monetary purpose – a way to make money quickly to alleviate his financial hardship of 1872. Taylor to William Winter, 2 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 399: “I was compelled to undertake the History, for the sake of bread and butter.” Taylor to Stedman, 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 401: “... it is the only German History in existence as a connected, unbroken narrative. ... I am sure to be handsomely paid, which is my sole reason for giving eight precious months to the work.” Krumpelmann, 146, accepts that as well: “This task was assumed solely for the financial return it promised.”

⁴⁹⁰ Memoir of Marie Hansen Taylor, 7; Taylor to George Boker, 6 March 1868, Box 5, BTP, CUSC.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 34.

period of literary brokerage – a joint biography of Goethe and Schiller. The years spent researching *Faust* exposed what he noted as flaws in the scholarship on Goethe and convinced him that he needed to remedy that ailment.

The published biographies on Goethe in the nineteenth century in particular lacked accuracy and perspective in Taylor’s estimation. In an 1873 letter to Edmund Stedman, Taylor wrote elatedly that he had “carefully read all of the *German* biographies, and recently [George Henry] Lewes over again, with a most encouraging result. The man and poet, Goethe, is not clearly or fairly drawn in any of them.” He wrote James Osgood, Taylor’s publisher, in 1873 that he was “working in Weimar now. The more material I collect, the less I am satisfied with the previous lives of Goethe, and the more clearly I see that my own plan has a distinct *raison d’être*.”⁴⁹² To Taylor, the flaws misrepresented the image of Goethe and, as a broker of German culture to his American audience and a devotee of the German writer, he felt it was his responsibility to conduct extensive research at many levels to reform that image and propose a more accurate representation of Goethe, the man.

One of the obstacles Taylor faced as a transatlantic cultural broker in his goal of making Goethe, apart from his literary genius, acceptable to his elite American audience was the nagging and sensitive issue of Goethe’s questionable moral behavior. American moralists objected to Goethe’s glorification of suicide, his relationships with women, and

⁴⁹² Taylor to Edmund Stedman 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 402; Taylor to James Osgood, 14 October 1873, in *Unpublished Letters*, 168; Taylor to Edmund Stedman 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416: “Scholl, one of the best Goethe scholars in Germany,... is utterly dissatisfied with Lewes. He told L. many particulars, which L. distorted in the most ridiculous manner.”

his rejection of Christian principles.⁴⁹³ To address this, Taylor attempted to soften the image in his 1877 article “Weimar in June:”

No author has ever been so persistently misjudged in regard to his relations with women as Goethe. The world forgets that during the greater part of his life he was the object of the intensest [sic] literary jealousy and hostility, and that most of the stories now current had their origin therein. . . .The impression thus produced, combined with a false apprehension of Goethe’s true character as a man, have kept alive to this day the most unfounded slanders. . . .It is rather a sorry business to pry into the intimacies of an individual life, even for the sake of explanation or defense; but one who undertakes the study of Goethe has no alternative.⁴⁹⁴

By the 1860s, Americans were beginning to recognize and appreciate Goethe’s genius and Taylor was able to broker *Faust* as a part of that. It took much longer to forgive and forget the perception of Goethe’s dubious moral character. Pochmann noted how long the moral prejudice persisted:

The American consciousness attached high value to “purity,” moral elevation, and genteel propriety, and in those terms marked its difference with the catholicity, calm realism, and broad tolerance of the Goethean spirit. Only by 1900 had a gradual change of tone in the hostile criticism taken place. . . .⁴⁹⁵

Taylor argued that the accusations of Goethe’s immorality were false and based upon jealousy and hostility but it was a tough sell. Taylor, with a reputation attached to Goethe’s work, placed himself in the vanguard not only to defend but salvage Goethe’s personal image.

Taylor also addressed what he believed was a misconception of Goethe’s political elitism in an effort to make him more acceptable to Americans. In his lectures on

⁴⁹³ A.J. Prah, “The Goethe Club of the City of New York, 1873-78,” *Monatshefte* 44, no. 6 (October, 1952), 291.

⁴⁹⁴ “Weimar in June” *Atlantic Monthly* (vol. 39, no.231 (1877), 63, Box 10, BTC, CCHS.

⁴⁹⁵ Pochmann, 337.

Schiller, Taylor was emphatic that Goethe was more democratic in his political views than Schiller:

The Democracy of Germany celebrates [Schiller] as its special poet, and condemns Goethe for his aristocratic predilections. This impression is so fixed that it is impossible to change it; yet, if there was a difference the two poets, Goethe was certainly the more democratic.⁴⁹⁶

Taylor's use of the term "Democracy" to characterize the nature of the German Imperial government after 1871 is problematic but deliberate. He most likely knew that, although unified Germany had representative assemblies and universal male suffrage, the real power lay with the ministers of the German Emperor and that the Reichstag was, in the words of the socialist Karl Liebknecht, "a fig leaf covering the nakedness of absolutism."⁴⁹⁷ Taylor probably used the term purposefully to drive home Goethe's democratic proclivities to his American audience and thus improve appreciation for Goethe. In a display of his scholarly research, Taylor used an 1824 quote from Goethe to prove the point:

People seem not to be willing to see me as I am, and turn away their eyes from everything which might set me in a true light. On the other hand, Schiller, who was much more of an aristocrat than I, but who was also much more considerate in regard to what he said, had the remarkable fortune of being always looked upon as a friend of the people.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ "Schiller" MSS lecture, 26, Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS; "Schiller's True Place" in the *New York Times*, 13 February 1875, 5.

⁴⁹⁷ William Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990* (New York: Arnold, 1991), 120.

⁴⁹⁸ "Schiller" MSS Lecture, 27. Taylor did not cite the source but he did mention that the quote was from a conversation between Goethe and Eckermann. In the detailed notes that Taylor kept while researching Goethe during his visits in 1868, he spoke frequently with Friedrich Preller, a leading scholar and archivist of Goethe's work. In one visit, Taylor mentioned reading Johann Peter Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe* [from interviews of Goethe from 1822-1832] and asked Preller if "there was no coloring in E.'s mind in what he reports." Preller answered "Not a particle! It is Goethe, as he lived – as I knew him!" Notes on Goethe, Box 7, BTP, CUSC.

Taylor's work on Goethe dominated his efforts to "sell" German literature to his American audience as a transatlantic cultural broker. In the process, Goethe eclipsed Schiller in Taylor's cultural representations during the 1860s. Schiller re-appeared significantly, however, in Taylor's work on German literature in the 1870s through lectures and as a necessary component of the Goethe biography. Taylor's interest in Schiller, like that of Americans and Germans in general by the 1860s, became less enthusiastic as his fascination for Goethe increased.⁴⁹⁹ Taylor still applauded Schiller, though, and estimated his cultural value highly. In 1869-70, he included Schiller in his lectures on German literature at Cornell University. The representation of the life and work of Schiller, however, was not confined to a college classroom; he took another lecture out on the circuit to share with the general public.⁵⁰⁰ Although neither his university nor his public lectures were careful critical analyses of Schiller's work, they evidently were lively and informative biographies and summaries that were well received. One newspaper contributor in 1871 declared that the lecture was "certainly one of [Taylor's] best" and "a more interesting lecture has probably never been delivered in Cincinnati."⁵⁰¹ The American public was receptive to learning of Schiller and his life, and Taylor delivered.

Taylor, speaking as someone who understood the nuances of both cultures, began his lecture on Schiller as a transatlantic interpreter by comparing the elements of German and English language and literature:

⁴⁹⁹ Hohendahl, *Building a National Literature*, 187.

⁵⁰⁰ MSS Lectures, Boxes 4,5, BTC, CCHS. Goethe, Humboldt, and the "German Burns" (Johann Peter Hebel) also hold that distinction of having a lecture dedicated only to them. The rest of the German poets and writers in Taylor's lectures on German literature are clumped under general categories or historical periods.

⁵⁰¹ "Lecture by Bayard Taylor: An Evening with Germany's Great Poet," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 1 November 1871, 4.

The German tongue is subtle, rich, and involved in its structure; the English is realistic, simple, and direct. The German is better fitted to be the vehicle of thought; the English, of speech. The natural tendency of a German author is to express himself in accordance with certain intellectual laws; while the English author, if he is honest, is more concerned for the thing he expresses, and its immediate effect, than its fitness as part of an intellectual system.⁵⁰²

Once he established his credentials through his familiarity with the nuances of both literary traditions, he sought to convince his educated audience that the seemingly opaque German style was fathomable:

With the German, the tendency is inward – with the English-American, outward. Thus, whatever German literature may lack in brevity and force, as compared with the masterpieces of the English, it certainly gains in breadth and fullness. It is more frank, intimate and confidential, because the author does not care to conceal the operations of his mind; it touches the nature of man on many sides and endeavors to illustrate all the many aspects of life. If we, therefore, ... bring our American mind freely into contact with the German mind, we shall find that ideas are not obscure because they are profound, nor is the frank expression of emotion a silly sentimentalism.⁵⁰³

For Taylor, the personal, philosophical, and idealistic nature of German literature was as intelligible and relatable to Americans as the clear realism of British writing. American culture, therefore, shared the values and ideals of German culture. An American knowledge and comprehension of German literary achievement, which benefited Taylor's brokerage of German literature to Americans, was essential to make the transatlantic cultural connection. In establishing this connection, Taylor featured Schiller prominently. He acknowledged Schiller's place as an excellent representative of German literary values and ideals and elaborated upon Schiller's significance, both historically and in relation to the United States. In a different lecture in New York to "mainly

⁵⁰² "Schiller" MSS Lecture, 3.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

Germans, many of whom are prominent in literature and art” in 1875, Taylor extolled the virtue and importance of Schiller. He insisted that, although Schiller did not belong to the first rank of great natural geniuses, his “German” ideals of truth, feeling, sentiment, and passion were a beacon in the march of civilization and a remedy for what ails a cold and materialistic era.⁵⁰⁴ In Taylor’s opinion, modernity and industrialism had a chilling effect on middle-class culture, but ideals of truth and morality in German literature were the cure.

In spite of that estimation of value, though, Taylor translated only a handful of Schiller’s works for American public consumption. Krumpelmann lists a few translated lines from “Die Götter Griechenlands” as garnish for his travel book *Greece and Russia*, a smattering of translated poems, and the opening scene of *Wilhelm Tell* published in *Studies in German Literature* around 1870.⁵⁰⁵ The only major dramatic work by Schiller that Taylor translated in full was the play *Don Carlos* in 1877-1878, which he regarded very highly as a work of fine literature. He made a point to write to Mary Agnew, his fiancé, that he was reading it while rowing down a river in New York in 1847.⁵⁰⁶ He proclaimed in his Cornell University lecture that it was a “great advance from [Schiller’s] former works” and was especially “attractive to young men” because of its “eloquent and passionate dream of political liberty.”⁵⁰⁷

His motives, however, were different from those of his translation of *Faust* earlier in the decade. It was not a labor of love – it was a work for profit. According to Philip Allison Shelley, his predisposition for accepting the project was “purely impersonal and

⁵⁰⁴ “Schiller’s True Place,” *New York Times*, 13 February 1875, 5.

⁵⁰⁵ Krumpelmann, 216, 219.

⁵⁰⁶ Taylor to Mary Agnew, Phoenixville, 15 October, 1847, in *Life and Letters*, 102.

⁵⁰⁷ “Schiller” MSS public lecture, 14, lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS.

mercenary;” Taylor’s health and wealth were declining, so he was easily convinced to accept the task at the behest of an actor.⁵⁰⁸ However, according to Frederick Lieder, Taylor did not take the task lightly and applied his language translation and interpretation effectively. He shortened and simplified the work to make it an actable play but preserved the essence of the play by rearranging and combining scenes while expertly rendering Schiller’s iambic verse into English.⁵⁰⁹ Krumpelmann too argues that Taylor was able to render Schiller’s German play into English elegantly without a slavish devotion to the original.⁵¹⁰ Manuscripts of Taylor’s adaptation still exist but they were never made public and his translation of the play was never performed. This adaptation of one of Schiller’s dramatic works, therefore, cannot count as intermediation. Taylor may have found some pleasure in translating the play because of his enthusiasm for Schiller, as Krumpelmann claims, but it is safe to assume that at this point Schiller was primarily a way to make some easy money.

Schiller, therefore, was still a part of Taylor’s representation of German literary achievement in the 1860s and 1870s, but the light was fading. In Taylor’s lecture, he opines that although “of all German poets, Schiller’s name is most widely known throughout the world” and was therefore very popular, “there is a certain discrepancy between his fame and his achievement.”⁵¹¹ He accorded Schiller’s elevated reputation to an interest in the man and his life rather than his literary talent. Nonetheless, Taylor

⁵⁰⁸ Philip Allison Shelley, “Bayard Taylor and Schiller’s *Don Carlos*” in *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, vol.2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 34, 47.

⁵⁰⁹ Frederick Lieder, “Bayard Taylor’s Adaptation of Schiller’s *Don Carlos*,” *JEGP* 16, no. 1 (Jan., 1917): 28.

⁵¹⁰ Krumpelmann, 57.

⁵¹¹ “Schiller” public lecture, 4; “No. 3 Schiller” Cornell University lecture, 30, Lecture Box 5, BTC, CCHS.

recognized that Schiller was a significant German literary figure and would “forever retain a warmer place in the German heart.”⁵¹²

It is clear that Taylor continued to admire some of the qualities of Schiller’s work but relegated him to a “second rank of poets.”⁵¹³ Goethe, on the other hand, was one of the “four Titans who stand like isolated mountain-peaks in the air of poetry.”⁵¹⁴ Schiller was a national poet of Germany and Goethe was a transnational and universal German poet. As a cultural broker, Taylor probably realized that the best way to “sell” Schiller was in connection with Goethe. In fact, from Taylor’s perspective in the 1870s, Schiller’s greatest significance was in relation to Goethe – that Schiller helped reawaken Goethe’s lyrical genius, that Schiller’s period of greatest achievement owed much to his friendship with Goethe, and that he stimulated and encouraged Goethe’s work on *Faust*.⁵¹⁵ Liselotte Dieckmann describes the relationship more as an “intimate meeting of two minds who understand and admire each other not only on the level of poetry and writing but also of criticism and aesthetics in general.”⁵¹⁶ The different perspectives and styles of the two, however, created in their conversations a complementary and intellectually beneficial exchange that allowed a high level of creative productivity for both. Schiller no longer stood alone as a cultural figure in Taylor’s representations of German literary achievement but, through his friendship and collaboration, had “fixed his own true place at the side of [Goethe].”⁵¹⁷ Goethe became Taylor’s key interest, but Schiller was essential in a study of Goethe. That close association of the two German

⁵¹² *HAI*, 391-392.

⁵¹³ “No. 3 Schiller,” 37; “Schiller,” 4.

⁵¹⁴ “Schiller,” 4.

⁵¹⁵ “No. 3 Schiller,” 16ff.; “No. 4 Goethe” 18, 22; “No.5 Faust,” 6.

⁵¹⁶ Liselotte Dieckmann, ed. and transl., *Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, 1794-1805* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), xi-xii in Introduction.

⁵¹⁷ “No. 3 Schiller,” 33.

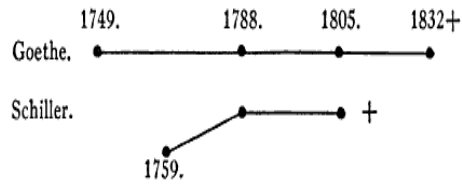
literary greats opened the door for a broad and scholarly study (but ultimately incomplete quest) to write a joint biography of Goethe and Schiller that Taylor was researching and preparing in the 1870s.

With the notable exception of Krumpelmann's extensive study of Taylor's interest in German literature, no serious scholarship exists on Taylor's joint biography of Goethe and Schiller. Nonetheless, it is important to include a discussion of the project in the context of Taylor's cultural brokerage and his transatlantic desire to convey a well-researched and detailed study of the lives of the two German literary figures to his American audience. Krumpelmann believed that Taylor's main goal was to defend Goethe's moral character.⁵¹⁸ Along with renovating Goethe's image, though, Taylor wanted his biography to make an original and unique contribution to knowledge and understanding of Goethe in the United States.

One innovation, as he crafted his conception of the biography, was to parallel the life and influence of Schiller to that of Goethe. The two were inseparable as German cultural icons in Taylor's mind and they complemented each other intellectually – any comprehensive representation of Goethe must have Schiller standing alongside. His plan for the "Goethe=biography" as outlined in a letter Edmund Stedman was to "combine the life of Schiller with that of Goethe, as they run together during the most important years of either's life, and throw both light and shadow on each other."⁵¹⁹ Taylor included a diagram tracing the connection between Goethe and Schiller in the letter to lay his thoughts out graphically where the two lives intersected in 1788:

⁵¹⁸ Krumpelmann, 136.

⁵¹⁹ Taylor to Stedman, 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 402. Frenz cites a letter to A.R. Macdonough, which Taylor alludes to this citation and who was the initial recipient of Taylor's plan for his Goethe biography, "Bayard Taylor and the Reception of Goethe in America," 134. The diagram pictured is found in the Oct. 14 letter to Stedman.



He was convinced that research and interpretation must include Schiller to illuminate Goethe's life and achievement thoroughly. Although Taylor did not rank Schiller among the handful of literary geniuses with Goethe, he respected Schiller's work and felt that a biography of Goethe was incomplete without Schiller as a tandem.

The innovation of including Schiller in the biography of Goethe received support from German intellectuals. Taylor claimed that when he told Gustav Freytag, a German expert on Goethe, of the plan to write a shared history of Goethe and Schiller from 1791-1805, Freytag "said it would give [Goethe's] biography an entirely new character." He informed Stedman that "Schöll, one of the best Goethe scholars in Germany, (now Chief Librarian at Weimar) is enthusiastically in favor of my biographical plan."⁵²⁰ The creative link between Schiller and Goethe is standard in modern scholarship. Hohendahl states that "Goethe's problematic relationship with Schiller is a collective concept within German history.... It establishes their great significance for all time." Liselotte Dieckmann too observes that "some of the most important works of both writers owe a great deal of stimulation and perfection to these years of intimate exchange."⁵²¹ Taylor's recognition of the friendship and collaboration of Goethe and Schiller in a way that was beneficial to both may have been original at the time.

⁵²⁰Taylor to Stedman, 14 October 1873, in *Selected Letters*, 402; Taylor to Stedman, 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416.

⁵²¹Hohendahl, referring to Grimm, 187; Dieckmann, xii.

Taylor publicly presented the dual image initially in an 1875 article published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the magazine nationally recognized for its commentary on literature and high culture in nineteenth-century America.⁵²² He described for his reading audience a walking tour of the “dull little town” of Weimar in which the only magic found was the lingering illustrious presence of the long-dead Goethe and Schiller. He carefully entwined the two in his narration, comparing the images and accomplishments of each as he encountered certain landmarks. At one point, he explained in detail a statue of Schiller and Goethe standing together in the town square in front of the theatre. Taylor stated that he had a “special interest in ascertaining the physical characteristics of both” and proceeded to compare and contrast the stature, features, and demeanor of both using personal accounts he had gathered as well as a variety of artistic representations. Despite their differences physically and intellectually – Schiller eliciting sympathy for his palpable struggle and suffering and Goethe impressively upright and “crowned by effortless achievement” – Taylor exclaimed:

But what a pair they are! Rietschel’s [the sculptor] great success in his statues lies in his subtle expression of their noble friendship. Goethe’s hand on Schiller’s shoulder, and the laurel wreath which the hands of both touch in such wise [sic] that you cannot be sure which gives or which takes, symbolize a reality far too rare in the annals of literature.⁵²³

Goethe and Schiller stood shoulder to shoulder as German literary figures and for Taylor’s purposes.

Taylor’s singular position in German society made possible a second new approach that made the project unique: the advantage of family contacts among the intellectual and social elite to help him gain access to sources that were closed to others,

⁵²² “Autumn Days in Weimar,” *Atlantic Monthly* vol. 35, no. 207, 26-36. Box 10, BTC, CCHS.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 33.

and his own reputation earned through the successful translation of *Faust*. He knew that earlier biographies had already exploited the available material on Goethe, but he intended to gain access to sources which nobody had investigated. During his 1867-68 visit, in addition to talking with scholars as he researched Goethe and *Faust*, he had traveled in the Thüringian region looking for the origins of the Goethe family, talking with people in villages and towns to discover Goethe's ancestry.⁵²⁴ The second personal visit in 1872 continued on that trajectory. Taylor wrote to Stedman in 1874 that "many days before I discovered that my translation was generally and favorably known; so I began to call, right and left, without ceremony, upon the people I wanted to know, and was received with open arms."⁵²⁵

With "immediate access to the best society," he designed his 1872-74 visit around meeting members of the Goethe and Schiller families in Weimar to enhance his research.⁵²⁶ Taylor especially took aim at the two grandsons of Goethe, who owned a number of important manuscripts and journals and had refused to make them public. Taylor's wife, Marie, was acquainted with a number of influential people in the extended families of Goethe and Schiller, and with those connections, Taylor felt that he could ingratiate himself and trump other scholars with the new sources. Those previously unused documents would make his project "sufficiently different from that of any existing biography to justify me in carrying it out, and also, I hope, to justify it to the readers and critics."⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ *ByWays*, 330-334.

⁵²⁵ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 16 January 1874, Folder 8 "Bayard Taylor to Literary Figures," BTC, PSUSC.

⁵²⁶ Taylor to Jarvis McEntee, 8 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 413.

⁵²⁷ Taylor to George Bancroft, 19 July 1872, Box 5, BTP, CUSC.

Taylor was successful in making contacts with those key individuals and was thereby successful in acquiring new material. Goethe's grandson, Wolfgang von Goethe, although "both eccentric and misanthropic, thawed towards me, and I assure you it was a great satisfaction to visit him in Goethe's house... ." ⁵²⁸ Taylor "established a hearty friendship" with Schiller's grandson, Baron Gleichen, and planned to "go with him to his father's castle in Bonnland... and examine all the MSS and relics of Schiller which the family possesses." ⁵²⁹ Taylor took full advantage of these contacts:

Walter [Wolfgang] Goethe at last opened all Goethe's rooms for me and allowed me to see the hidden relics, and Schiller's grandson gave me his mother's own copy of the biography of *her* mother, Lotte von Schiller. ⁵³⁰

The third technique Taylor used to make his biography of Goethe and Schiller original and new was actually a tactic that distinguished many of his portraits of German cultural icons throughout his writing life – the up-close-and-personal touch. Other scholars might dissect the documents; Taylor provided for his audience the human element that took his transatlantic representation of German culture to a new level. As a result, the images of Goethe and Schiller shared with his American audience through his study and writing were not stiff and scholarly; Goethe and Schiller were represented as real human beings. Through Taylor's unique style in research, the reader was introduced to the literary genius of Goethe and to the person.

Taylor accomplished this in two ways. The first method was to take the reader with him as he walked the paths and viewed the sights once known by Goethe and Schiller. In his January 1875 article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, Taylor described yet

⁵²⁸ Taylor to Edmund Stedman 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416.

⁵²⁹ Taylor to Edmund Stedman 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416.

⁵³⁰ Taylor to Martha Kimber, 7 July 1874, in *Unpublished Letters*, 178.

another visit to Weimar as drab, spiritless, and unimpressive but for the memory of Goethe and, to a lesser extent, Schiller. He toured the homes, gardens, studios, parks, and favorite paths of the two most famous of Weimar's past residents to display his intimacy with the writers and their location as he was publicly preparing his biographies of Goethe and Schiller and to provide a backdrop for a description of each in different phases of life as though it were happening before his reader's eyes. He even visited Goethe's death chamber and recreated the moment. He sensed, as he entered Goethe's study, that it was "almost like an intrusion upon some undying privacy which he has left behind him."

Taylor was undeterred, though:

A door on the eastern side of the study stood half open. I looked inquiringly at my host; he nodded silently, and I entered. It was a cell, rather than a room, lighted by one little window, and barely wide enough for the narrowest of German box-beds. The faded counterpane was spread over the pillow, and beside the head of the bed stood an old armchair with a hard footstool before it. Sitting there, in the same spot, with the counterpane over his knees, the March daylight grew faint to Goethe's eyes, and with the words, "More light!" this world passed away from him.⁵³¹

Physical descriptions of both Goethe and Schiller also, through sculpted busts, paintings, and the memories of those whom had known or seen them, were of "special interest" to Taylor.⁵³² It seems as up-close and personal as the private interviews he had conducted with individual German literary figures in the 1850s.

The second way to represent Goethe and Schiller as human was through interviews with those who had known Goethe and Schiller (or who knew those who had known them) to get a personal glimpse of the great men. Sharing the faded memories seems anecdotal and unsubstantial, but Taylor's purpose was not to spread gossip. He

⁵³¹ "Autumn Days in Weimar, Part II," 236-37.

⁵³² "Autumn Days in Weimar, Part I," 32.

just wanted an image that was more human and colorful for his audience as well as to make his biography different from other scholarship. This may have been a back-handed slap at Lewes, whose information and interpretation were considered questionable. Taylor wrote to his friend Edmund Stedman that “[Schöll] is utterly dissatisfied with Lewes. He told L. many particulars, which L. distorted in the most ridiculous manner. Several persons told me that Lewes pumped lackeys and old servants while in Weimar, and took no pains to get acquainted with the intelligent intimate friends of Goethe. I can’t say how much truth there is in this.”⁵³³

Taylor’s letters to friends were filled with his new acquaintances and the insights on Goethe and Schiller that he had gleaned, not only from key members of the Goethe and Schiller families but others who knew the two great writers well.⁵³⁴ From “the memories of those who had intimately known Goethe, I caught a multitude of reflected gleams of his own nature.”⁵³⁵ Taylor’s extensive accounts of the interviews with Alwine Frommann, and who stated eloquently “It was simply impossible to know Goethe without loving him,” provided an intimate and personal image of Goethe to share with his American audience⁵³⁶

Evidently, those with whom Taylor spoke felt that they could trust him to use the memories appropriately. In a letter to Edmund Stedman, Taylor boasted that “Fraulein Frommann, foster-sister of one of Goethe’s loves (Minna Herzlieb), though a woman of 75, knows and remembers everything, and she told me many interesting anecdotes.

⁵³³ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416. Taylor may demur but his smugness belies some delight in smearing dirt on Lewes, who evidently was seeking dirt on Goethe.

⁵³⁴ The following citations are examples of his extensive meetings: Taylor to Dan Howells, 30 November 1873; Taylor to Thomas Aldrich, 6 December 1873; Taylor to Jarvis McEntee, 8 January 1874; Taylor to Edmund Stedman 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 409-416; Taylor to Martha Kimber, 19 December 1873, in *Unpublished Letters*, 169.

⁵³⁵ “Autumn Days in Weimar, Part II,” 234.

⁵³⁶ “Weimar in June,” 64.

...when she said to me: 'I feel safe with you: I can tell you all, knowing that you will use it only as I would wish,' and repeated the same thing to others, I was at once placed in the very relation to all which I wished to have established."⁵³⁷ In terms of transatlantic communication, the personal image is what Taylor contributed most consistently throughout his writing career in his representations of German culture. By gaining the confidence of those who knew Goethe, Taylor could get access to some intimate information, more so than Lewes.

Taylor felt that his visit to Weimar, his contacts, his research and his intuition about how to approach a study of Goethe and Schiller was a success and his vision of a biography on Goethe was appropriate and acceptable.

My one great encouragement since coming here is the assurance that I have nothing to unlearn. My *Auflassung* [conveyance] of Goethe, as man and poet, in every important point, is confirmed by those who knew him personally.⁵³⁸

Taylor's choice of words is significant in suggesting his role as cultural broker. His concern was in how thoroughly and accurately he was conveying (*Auflassung* – conveyance) Goethe's image and accomplishments to his American audience. Even though it was never completed or published, Taylor's intense desire to demonstrate his knowledge of and contribute something new and unique to the scholarship on Goethe and Schiller probably would have represented a coup in the brokerage of German culture to America and added to his prestige and pocketbook.

In February 1878, Taylor was confirmed as the United States Minister to Germany. Taylor saw the office as "the *one* place I am fit to fill, and which would be of

⁵³⁷ Taylor to Edmund Stedman, 16 January 1874, in *Selected Letters*, 416.

⁵³⁸ Taylor to James M. Hart, 12 November 1873, Box 6 Professional, BTP, CUSC.

immense service to my labors.”⁵³⁹ His fame as a German scholar qualified him for the post, as did his direct personal relations with the German people and popularity in Germany and the United States. Most important to Taylor, it gave him adequate pay and an outstanding opportunity to gain access to all of the resources necessary to finish his dual biography of Goethe and Schiller. He exclaimed in a letter to Martha Kimber, “Now for the Life of Goethe! It is an amazing good fortune, and makes all my best literary work secure.”⁵⁴⁰ However, Taylor did not consider his writing project to be inconsistent with his commitment to serve the American people as minister in Germany. He would not only represent the American government abroad, he would also present the most important cultural figures in Germany to the American people.

Taylor recognized, though, that his scholarly ambitions would seem to interfere with his diplomatic service in the eyes of the American public. Replying to criticism to that effect, Taylor responded in a speech at a reception for him before the Goethe Club in New York City, an organization established to encourage appreciation for Goethe in the United States:

Is a minister to a foreign court to be appointed for such a [scholarly] purpose? I answer No! The minister’s duty to his government and to the interests of his fellow citizens is always paramount.⁵⁴¹

Because his audience of Goethe admirers was receptive, however, Taylor continued his speech by stating that he had a reputation for being a tireless worker and that he was not planning on working twenty-four hours a day in diplomatic activities. He would be allowed recreation time, and he found recreation in scholarly labors. He had every

⁵³⁹ Taylor to George P. Smith, 4 December 1877, in *Unpublished Letters*, 199-200.

⁵⁴⁰ Taylor to Martha Kimber, 22 February 1878 and Taylor to Smith, Dec., 1877, in *Unpublished Letters*, 200-205: “In Berlin... I could at any time, in 3 or 4 hours, go to Dresden, Leipzig, or Weimar to consult documents: two or three of the best Goethe-scholars in Germany are living there: the library has much material I need to see....”

⁵⁴¹ *Life and Letters*, 725.

confidence that he could perform his official duties and still apply himself to his research and writing.

Taylor died before the combined biography was completed and published. Therefore it cannot technically be considered a representation of German cultural achievement to an American audience other than bits and pieces shared in personal letters and magazine articles. However, the care and dedication to the research, including the effort to interview individuals, reveals the sincerity of Taylor's efforts to provide a unique, comprehensive, accurate and personal perception of the two stellar figures in German literature as well as represent German culture to an American audience. And, as indicated by references to his research on the joint biography as he was being considered for the post of American minister to Germany in 1878, knowledge of the project was widespread. The suggestion is that, with the excitement surrounding it and the support that was expressed, the biography would have been well-received and would have been an important representation of German literary culture to the American public. The best example of the anticipated reception is found in President Hayes's endorsement of the project as part of Taylor's responsibilities as Minister to Germany:

The Pres't said to me: 'I was determined to appoint you from the first. I want you to stay until your *Life of Goethe* is finished, and not allow your official duties to prevent you from working upon it. You must come back to us with the work complete.'⁵⁴²

Chapter Conclusion

Bayard Taylor's American encounter with the literary figures of Goethe and Schiller from 1844 through 1878 reflected typical nineteenth-century northern, educated, middle-class Euro-American interest in German literature as well as his recognition of

⁵⁴² Taylor to Willard Fiske, 10 March 1878, in *Unpublished Letters*, 205.

similarities and the blending of American and German cultural values and ideals. It also spotlights the evolution of Taylor's role as a transatlantic cultural broker. During the 1840s and 50s, his images of Goethe and Schiller were largely limited to shallow representations in his published travel books and newspaper articles to feed the American interest in German culture. Taylor's representations became more substantial as his attention and affection grew and intensified in the 1860s and 70s, culminating with his translation of both parts of Goethe's *Faust*, his academic and public lectures, and research and writing related to his final but incomplete project: a joint biography of Goethe and Schiller.

Through mastery of the language, his German social contacts, his careful scholarly research, and his reputation as an American expert on German culture, he became a recognized authority on the lives and works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller to his American audience and brokered elements of German culture to America in substantial and significant ways. Taylor's cultural representations extended beyond recognizing similarities as an American encountering Germany; through Goethe and Schiller, he facilitated a cultural connection between Germany and America. His scholarly approach to representations of Goethe and Schiller enhanced the transmission of German literary culture to his American audience and defined his place historically as a transatlantic cultural broker. In that role, Taylor positioned himself as a middleman between German literary culture and his American homeland to provide a cultural product that was in demand.

Faust, the play in verse in which a traditional German motif was given universal meaning through Goethe's genius, is central in Taylor's representation of German literary

culture to Americans and in his role as a transatlantic broker. It was a German literary masterpiece that established Taylor's scholarly reputation in American culture; through his effort and expertise, American readers were exposed to Goethe's most famous and arguably most important work. Taylor also believed, though, that *Faust* was a literary achievement that facilitated the blending of American and German cultural thought and feeling. Over decades of work and life experiences, Goethe integrated the real and the imaginary as well as Classical ideals of beauty with Romantic sentiment and emotion.⁵⁴³ Taylor believed that American culture identified with the Weimar culture of "thought and feeling," the German fusion of Enlightenment rational thought and Romantic sentiment and emotion, captured in the writings of Goethe and Schiller. Americans shared those values and could, therefore, identify with its genius. By establishing a transatlantic cultural connection between the United States and Germany, Taylor elevated American cultural values and ideals to the level of German cultural achievement.

⁵⁴³ Stuart Atkins, ed. and trans., *Faust I & II*, in *Goethe: The Collected Works*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1994), 307-308; Jane K. Brown, *Goethe's Faust: The German Tragedy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 254.

Chapter 6 **Transatlantic Encounters with German Political Developments, 1844-78**

Chapter Introduction

Bayard Taylor's strong political identity was at the core of his representations and perceptions and was the most conspicuous feature of his sense of American-ness that guided both his encounter with German politics and his role as a transatlantic communicator. His American political ideals and attitudes informed his choices and descriptions of German political events, ideas, movements, and personalities; through them, he recognized similarities in and made connections to German political ideals, activities, and developments. This chapter argues that his descriptions of Germany reflected Taylor's faith in the ascendancy of American political ideals and values. It further maintains that his descriptions of German political activities reflected a thirty-four year evolution of his political identity. Major developments and changes in the United States during the nineteenth century shaped Taylor's political views, which were expressed in his encounters with and representations of an equally dynamic German political landscape.

One constant in Taylor's thought during his travels was his confidence in specific characteristics of nineteenth-century American political identity: ideals of personal freedom, democratic equality, national unity, and constitutional government. He sincerely believed that American ideals were superior to the traditions of Europe and would outlast them. An entry in his personal journal soon after arriving in Europe in 1844 reveals his attitude, albeit that of a naïve nineteen-year-old:

I have come from a new world, where the spirit of man is
untrammelled by the mouldering shackles of the Past, but in

its youthful and joyful freedom, goes on to make itself a noble memory for the ages that are to come.⁵⁴⁴

Taylor was convinced that his American ideals would influence the future.

Consequently, his political identity measured and filtered what he encountered and how he engaged nineteenth-century German political developments as he searched for those ideals in his representations.

A chronological approach structures the argument to examine and analyze the evolution of what changed and what remained consistent in his representations over decades of contact. Gordon Wood suggests that the United States, more than any other nation in the world, began as an idea. Therefore, lacking a long rich history or universally shared heritage, its identity as a nation has remained more fluid than that of other nations, especially in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴⁵ Certain concepts and institutions were constants but America was changing dramatically in the course of the century. Taylor's American perceptions of and interest in German political activity, therefore, reflected both uniformity and evolution.

It is important to note also that Taylor was not a politician, and his travel writings do not discuss or even examine government institutions, policies, or instruments of power in any significant detail. Taylor did serve as a US diplomat to the Russian Empire during the American Civil War and to the German Empire in 1878 but evidently he did not hold career politicians in high regard. For example, Taylor considered Simon Cameron, the US Minister to Russia appointed in 1862 for whom he served as Secretary, to be a sincere

⁵⁴⁴ Travel journal entry, 5 September 1844, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

⁵⁴⁵ Gordon S. Woods, *The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011).

friend with “many excellent qualities” even “though he is a politician.”⁵⁴⁶ Generally, Taylor took pride in his diplomatic accomplishments and understood his role as a representative of the United States, but he did not see his main purpose as political. For Taylor, his diplomatic responsibilities were secondary to his role as a conveyor of foreign cultures and societies to his fellow Americans. His qualifications as a diplomat were based upon his capacity for language and his thorough knowledge of cultures, “peoples, social and political activities” that made foreign service “very congenial to [his] mental habits.”⁵⁴⁷ Effective diplomatic service entailed not only representing the United States in a foreign country, but presenting the foreign country to the United States – writing a “standard work about this great [Russian] Empire” in 1863, for example, or finishing his dual biography of Goethe and Schiller in 1878 after his appointment as American Minister to Germany.⁵⁴⁸

However, although Taylor was not a politician, he was interested in political activities and trajectories. To examine Taylor’s role as a transatlantic communicator in his American representation of nineteenth-century German political developments and events in his travel writings from 1844-1878, this chapter first defines Taylor’s American political identity. If his American identity influenced his transatlantic encounter with German political ideas and activities, then understanding the formation and evolution of that identity is crucial. His encounter with nineteenth-century German political activity is divided into three roughly chronological periods: first, Taylor’s representations of the

⁵⁴⁶ Taylor to George P. Smith, 12 November 1862, in *Unpublished Letters*, 62.

⁵⁴⁷ Taylor to Wm. M. Evarts, Sect. of State, 10 July 1877, Folder 13 Correspondence relating to diplomatic service, BTC, PSUSC; Taylor private letter to George P. Smith, 18 August 1862, in *Unpublished Letters*, 55-56.

⁵⁴⁸ Taylor to Alfred Street, 31 March 1863, in *Unpublished Letters*, 66; Taylor to Smith, December 1877, *Ibid.*, 200-205.

Burschenschaften, the German university student organizations and their national activity on the German political landscape in his published writings from 1844-1858; next, Taylor's representations of German liberal constitutional development and the issue of German unification from 1858-1861 and the impact of these on Taylor's involvement in the American Civil War; finally, Taylor's representation of the unification of Germany under Prussian auspices from 1862-1878.

Bayard Taylor and a Nineteenth-Century American Political Identity

Understanding how Taylor's American political identity influenced his transatlantic communication of German political activity to his American audience requires first a definition. How did Taylor imagine himself as an American politically? What was the public culture, the signifying system of shared beliefs, values, ideals, and habits of thought that defined American political identity?

Key political documents written in the late eighteenth century as the United States emerged as a nation contain the most immediate and evident elements of a public culture that formed an American political identity. Angela Miller asserts "a common vernacular language, a dynastic legacy of great antiquity, and shared ethnic roots" as bases of national identity were absent in the "peculiar circumstances" surrounding the formation of the United States.⁵⁴⁹ Early nineteenth-century American national political identity, therefore, was distinguished by an appeal to a set of founding principles and institutions outlined in the Declaration of Independence, written in 1776, and the United States Constitution, written in 1787. Affirmations like "all men are created equal" and

⁵⁴⁹ Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 6.

“inalienable rights imbued by their Creator of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” and a workable representative structure of government based upon popular sovereignty gave Americans a distinctive set of political principles and concepts that singularized them as a nation apart from others. In an 1843 essay entitled “America”, Taylor noted proudly that the “Constitution, though not absolutely perfect, was the best form of government that had ever been devised, and embodies, with one or two exceptions, the highest principles of liberty and equality.”⁵⁵⁰

Those eighteenth-century principles and ideals of a budding republic were advanced further in the nineteenth century. The contentious expatriation that marked American political activity represented a continuing effort to define an American identity during the Federalist, Jeffersonian-Republican, and Jacksonian periods. Taylor grew up during the Jacksonian Era, which was characterized by broader political involvement and the development of a more clearly democratic political system – a government that represented the great free laboring men as the constituency.⁵⁵¹ According to Arthur Schlesinger, the political transformations of the Age of Jackson drew inspiration from Jeffersonian Republicanism, which envisioned a nation characterized by limited government presiding over a rural nation of freeholding property owners with agrarian virtues.⁵⁵² Schlesinger asserts that it was so pervasive and fundamental to later democratic developments that Jacksonian political activity can be properly regarded as a somewhat more realistic and determined version of Jefferson’s revolutionary creed of

⁵⁵⁰ Bayard Taylor, “America”, Essay Box 6, BTC, CCHS.

⁵⁵¹ Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845* Volume III (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1984), xv.

⁵⁵² Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 1971), 308-309.

liberty, equality, and popular government, although Jackson had to expand the economic paradigm to include rising industry.⁵⁵³

Robert Remini, in his revisionist interpretation of the Jacksonian Era, agreed that the ideological strains of American democratic freedom and liberty could be traced to the American Revolution and Thomas Jefferson, but contends that, by the 1820s, corruption and political patronage had brought American democracy to the brink of disaster. For Remini, the definitive program of change and renewal that was “Jacksonian Democracy” was implemented by Jackson to preserve for the people their rightful sovereignty, restore the practice of checks and balances in American constitutional government, and free the executive branch from the persistently corrupting influence of the monied aristocracy. His goal was to recreate and restore a national character of virtue, honesty, freedom and democracy with the ultimate and final interpretation of government power and action resting with the electorate.⁵⁵⁴ In practice, though, Jackson saw his power residing in the Executive and wielded to remove Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River, destroy the national bank, and defeat South Carolina in the Tariff War.

These nineteenth-century democratic developments and ideals structured Taylor’s political identity as an American and influenced how he encountered the German political ideals, values, developments, and events. Nineteenth-century American national identity, however, was not just a product of abstract democratic political principles alone. As both Angela Miller and Beth Lueck contend, the political ideals were given place and substance in the unique natural beauty of the American landscape captured in mid-

⁵⁵³ This argument is supported by Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), ix.

⁵⁵⁴ Remini, Volume II, 116-129; Volume III, xiv-xv.

nineteenth century art and descriptions of the picturesque in travel writing.⁵⁵⁵ The young French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville recognized the unique and stunning variety of the American natural landscape as an element of American national identity in 1831-32. He observed astutely that Americans were lucky to have had a paternal inheritance “of equality and of freedom” for “the establishment and continuance of the democratic republic of the United States” but that republic remains “free and equal by [God’s] gift of this boundless continent.”⁵⁵⁶ Bayard Taylor, too, attached a great deal of importance to the natural environment as central to national character. In an essay written as an eighteen-year-old in 1843, he stated outright a belief, as an American, that American political and social principles were influenced by the unique physical environment of North America:

The original settlers, coming to a land where the works of nature are on the grandest scale,... it is improbable but that they began to entertain wider views of the principles of liberty and Humanity.⁵⁵⁷

Westward expansion and Manifest Destiny in the 1840s were also strong influences on an American sense of national self in the mid-nineteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 3, enthusiasm for Alexander von Humboldt in the mid-nineteenth century relates to the American physical environment and national conscience.

Americans embraced Humboldt’s *Cosmos* of order and beauty as an affirmation of the North American continent as God’s greatest creation and American future greatness.⁵⁵⁸

According to Daniel Boorstin, the American nation flourished not in discovery but in

⁵⁵⁵ Angela Miller, 6-8; Beth Lueck, *American Writers and the Picturesque Tour: The Search for a National Identity, 1790-1860* (New York: Garland, 1997).

⁵⁵⁶ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Gerald E. Bevan (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 326.

⁵⁵⁷ Bayard Taylor, “America,” 2-3.

⁵⁵⁸ Laura Dassow Walls, “Napoleon of Science,” 75; *Passage to Cosmos*, 216-220; “Hero of Knowledge,” 126-27.

search of the unique, distinctive, and varied landscapes of the North American continent with its lack of clear boundaries, although the Indian nations defended tribal boundaries that Euro-Americans did not recognize as valid. In the process, a gendered American identity of manly ruggedness, adventurousness, self-reliance, independence, limitless possibility, a willingness to endure hardships, and an optimistic competitive spirit was fostered.⁵⁵⁹ Frederick Jackson Turner set in concrete a nineteenth-century recognition of the American West as the creator of an American identity in his influential 1893 treatise *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*.⁵⁶⁰ For Turner, distinctive American ideals of rugged independence, self-reliance, and freedom were constructed and reinforced through the “perennial rebirth” of ongoing westward expansion throughout the nineteenth century. The challenges of the frontier transformed the European into the American.

National character through landscapes in general and the uniqueness of American identity in particular are prominent in Taylor’s writings on German-speaking Central Europe. Through those images, Taylor embodied and expressed the pervasive ideas in the American political culture of rugged individualism and limitless possibilities associated with the vibrant American landscape and ignored the rights of Native peoples on those lands, which was typical of the era. Taylor’s interest in, descriptions of, and decision to include picturesque landscapes in Germany were not atypical of travel writing in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁶¹ As a young American in 1844-45, though, Taylor seemed attracted to the rougher and more wildly scenic regions of Germany in his

⁵⁵⁹ Daniel Boorstin, *The American Experience*, 1, 222-223.

⁵⁶⁰ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*. (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd., 2008), 2.

⁵⁶¹ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours*, 38-45; James Buzzard, “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840).”

writing. He deliberately sought the “gloom and grandeur of the Hartz” mountains and other challenging regions off the beaten tourist path throughout his travel-writing career.⁵⁶² Taylor’s attachment to and love for the American natural environment as a part of his American identity is expressed also in comparisons he made while traveling in Europe. Upon viewing the Alps for the first time in 1845 and noting the productivity and prosperity of the region, he stated that he had “never been reminded so strongly and constantly of America as during this journey.”⁵⁶³

More important, however, is Taylor’s expression of American political ideals, not his descriptions of physical landscapes, that defined him as an American in Germany. An appeal to the ideals and principles of individual freedom, political equality, democracy, national unity, and constitutional government formed the image of a uniquely American identity and character. Taylor carried those with him and applied them in his position as an American transatlantic figure in his encounters with German central Europe through his travel writings. The conversion of verbal descriptions into symbolic representations of German political activity in Taylor’s newspaper and magazine articles, travel books, and lectures reflected and reinforced an iconic Americanism. In the process, through his Euro-American political ideals and values and his recognition of similar political ideals and developments in Germany, Taylor communicated a transatlantic connection between Germany and America to his American audience.

⁵⁶² *Views*, 173.

⁵⁶³ *Views*, 252; Travel journal entry, 3 June 1845, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

American Encounters with German Political Developments

The United States and the German-speaking Central Europe had little official contact during the nineteenth century.⁵⁶⁴ Manfred Jonas, in his study on diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, recognizes ties of amity, commerce, and immigration between the newly formed American government and Prussia from the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Prussian lack of interest in maritime commerce or colonies and American avoidance of involvement in European affairs, however, created few points of contact.⁵⁶⁵ Throughout the nineteenth century, political relations between German-speaking Central Europe and the United States had little relevance to American history, even after President Grant elevated the American minister to Germany to the status of those to England and France in 1871 and the personal and political relations between the United States and the new German *Reich* grew closer.

Americans in the early nineteenth century, although interested in German cultural achievement, had a limited knowledge of German politics, and it appears that American constitutional ideas and structures before 1848 had no influence on German governments when Taylor first visited Germany from 1844-45. European Conservatism, in fact, regarded the successful experiment of American republicanism and equalitarian principles as a danger to established authority in Europe, a negative attitude that was evident as late as the Civil War.⁵⁶⁶ Reaction and retrenchment characterized the political situation in early nineteenth-century Germany. Some change had occurred after 1815, though. The French Revolution and French Empire had reshaped German-speaking

⁵⁶⁴ Trommler, xi; Mauch, *Traveling Between Worlds*, eds. Thomas Adam and Ruth Gross, 5.

⁵⁶⁵ Manfred Jonas, *The United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 15-19.

⁵⁶⁶ Merle Curti, "The Reputation of America Overseas (1776-1860)," *American Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1949): 59.

Central Europe permanently. Napoleon's more rational territorial reconfiguration was retained in the newly formed German Confederation of 1815, and a vocabulary of liberal constitutionalism became part of the political discourse on government authority.

However, the changes only went so far. The German *Bund* (Confederation) was essentially a revised and modified version of the old Holy Roman Empire that loosely associated the various German states but preserved their sovereignty.

The post-Revolution reforms did not resolve other long-standing issues either. Many pre-revolution problems still existed in German-speaking Central Europe after 1815. As Hans Hahn argues, The Holy Roman Empire had suffered many of the social, political, and economic ailments that existed in France and caused the revolution there. German-speaking Central Europe did not erupt in violence as France did in 1789 but the tension was building, all the more so after 1815 with the precedent of the French Revolution now fixed in European minds. The German Confederation, though, with its conservative tendencies, was the enemy and suppressor of "revolutionary" national and democratic movements even as modern nationalism and popular sovereignty were beginning to seethe in European society. Without political structure or authority to direct it, though, a reactionary wind snuffed out the flame of national feeling in Germany that was instrumental in defeating Napoleon soon after 1815. In the post-Revolutionary period, national and democratic development in Germany languished in romantic dreaming, liberal hoping, and a lingering fear of external threats that caused only occasional ripples.⁵⁶⁷

An American traveler in the early nineteenth century would have encountered

⁵⁶⁷ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 1.

conservative, oppressive, and restrictive aristocratic government systems. Beneath the surface, though, were nascent political ideologies with origins in the French Revolution, as German-speaking Central Europe stepped tentatively into the modern world. Liberal intellectuals were critical of the existing political institutions and practices and sought moderate constitutional reform, as expressed in the literary works of the exiled Ferdinand Freiligrath, Heinrich Heine, and Georg Herwegh. Radical democrats demanded republican governments based on popular sovereignty. Romantic nationalists looked to the past to find a future Germany; and bourgeois industrialists wanted government recognition of current and future economic growth and a uniform economic system to sustain it.⁵⁶⁸

Taylor and the Politics of the German University Student Organizations

In the 1840s and to some extent the 1850s, Taylor was most attracted to popular grassroots movements and voices of political protest. The political sentiments and movements beneath the surface of the established aristocratic government structure appealed to his American political ideals and values, and would be of interest to his American audience. By recognizing similarities and communicating connections between German political developments expressing the need for freedom and liberty and his American ideals, Taylor established his transatlantic position quickly.

Generally, scholars assert that travel writing was a medium through which American travelers defined themselves as Americans in confronting foreign lands and cultures. Mauch states that Americans expressed and affirmed American ideals of

⁵⁶⁸ General overview based upon William H. Carr, *A History of Germany*; Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*; Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Hagen Schulze, *The Course of German Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

democracy, freedom, and equality by seeking out everything that was not “American” and criticizing “the other” European aristocratic and authoritarian political structures. Wellenreuther on the other hand, suggests that perceptions of Germany in nineteenth-century travel writings were not expressions of an American identity but rather were an imperative in a larger search for an American identity in comparison to “the other.”⁵⁶⁹ Americans, therefore, did not bring an American identity with them to Germany – they found it in their German encounters.

This does not hold true for Taylor, especially in his earliest contacts with Germany. His writings suggest that he brought a strong American political identity with him. He was most attracted to and described political activities in Germany that reflected his American ideals and interests, especially those relating to political freedom, democratic equality, national unity, and constitutionalism. He defined himself as an American by gravitating toward what he found familiar and comfortable and in the process communicated a transatlantic connection between American and German political ideas and developments. He acknowledged the temptation to insert his political thoughts into a study of politics, and how difficult it was to avoid it. He wrote that it was easy to “be led astray by false representations or preconceived prejudices” and that “it is only [through] an intimate acquaintance with the people that one can learn their real sentiments.” If the observer is well-versed in the politics then he may “with less hesitation express an opinion.”⁵⁷⁰ Despite his good intentions, though, Taylor’s political

⁵⁶⁹ Mauch, 8; Judith Hamera and Alfred Bendixson, “Introduction: New worlds and old lands – the travel book and the construction of American identity,” in *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing*, 1; Wellenreuther, “Germans Make Women and Cows Work,” *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions*, eds. Barclay and Glaser-Schmidt, 62.

⁵⁷⁰ Essay No.12 “Political Conditions on Germany,” November, 1845, Folder 17 MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC.

prejudices and preferences do stand out in his travel writings.

For the most part, Taylor never clearly addressed German government institutions and policies in his early writings except in broad and very general strokes. He was, though, openly dismissive of the ruling aristocracy. In Taylor's democratic way of thinking, the nobility was not important when seeking to understanding the real nature of German political activity. In an article written in 1845, he stated "Of the higher classes of nobility, I can say nothing, having had no intercourse with them; but it is not to these that one looks for the characteristics of a people."⁵⁷¹ Taylor mentioned the aristocracy only once in *Views A-Foot*, when he described an ugly scene involving a drunken Austrian aristocrat with a "face [that] was disgustingly brutal and repulsive," who was kicked out of an inn for refusing to pay.⁵⁷² Evidently, as an American, he had little regard for the aristocratic traditions in Europe. Taylor understandably preferred the democratic company of common people in the 1840s – *handworkers* [journeyman laborers], university students, peasant farmers, and townspeople.

The political scene in Germany was complex and stratified during the nineteenth century, a condition that Taylor noted and described as a "mingled web of despotism and democracy that covers Germany," although he did not elaborate on the nature of either.⁵⁷³ In that environment, despite the complexities and his acknowledgement of checks to political freedom and suppression of political ideas, Taylor observed that within the general condition of Germany was prosperity and happiness:

The wars and invasions which in the beginning of this century desolated the country, have all passed away, and the people enjoy the blessings of peace. The laws are milder

⁵⁷¹ Essay on "German Social Customs," November, 1845, Folder 17 MSS Essays, BTC, PSUSC.

⁵⁷² *Views*, 229.

⁵⁷³ Essay No.12 "Political Condition of Germany."

and juster [sic] than they formerly were and the advantages of education more widely dispersed. The warm social qualities of the Germans render them capable of enjoying life in almost any situation, and there are few nations who would be happier under the same circumstances.⁵⁷⁴

One group that was not happy, and one over which the governments of the German states kept a wary eye, was the German student organizations, the *Burschenschaften*, to which Taylor was instantly drawn.

The *Burschenschaften* were an example of a marginally-nationalistic movement established in the early nineteenth century in the wake of the War of Liberation against Napoleon. They were a synthesis of the traditional *Landmannschaften* dating back to the seventeenth century, which were provincial in organization and rowdy by reputation, and the more contemporary *Turnerschaften*, formed immediately after the humiliating defeats at Jena and Auerstadt in 1806 to revitalize the German nation and condition German youth physically and morally in preparation for war and victory.⁵⁷⁵ They emerged in the nineteenth century as a distinct group and culture and were active politically.

After the Napoleonic wars, the rowdy students expressed a boisterous nationalism that evidently was interpreted as demands for political change that made the *Bund* governments nervous.⁵⁷⁶ The German Diet suppressed the student associations in the Carlsbad Decrees in 1819, labeling the *Burschenschaften* as secret and unauthorized societies and severely hamstrung the academic freedoms and independence of universities. The reactionary restrictions did little to curtail the activities of the students,

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ William Carr, *History of Germany*, 15-17; Karin Breuer, "The Limits of Inclusivity; student constructions of Germanness in the wake of the War of Liberation," *Women and Language* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 59-65.

⁵⁷⁶ Principles expressed by Franz Hegewisch in October 1817 and recorded by Heinrich von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* vol. 3, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: McBride and Nast, 1917), 611-612, 613-618.

though. The inability of governments to control or respond adequately to student activity underscores the weak political nature of the *Burschenschaft* movement. Political measures were ineffectual because defiance of authority and youthful idealism were the extent of their politics. When the government cracked down, the students went underground.

Generally, scholars marginalize the activities of the university students and their role in the early nineteenth-century desire for national unity. Christopher Clark, for example, sees the students as romantic nationalists who sought to create a pan-German student movement to overcome political regionalism but the national political implications were unclear. They were “more emotional and theatrical in character” than political and were essentially invalidated with the Carlsbad Decree in 1819.⁵⁷⁷ Hans Hahn also regards the student movement as a strange mixture of enlightened attitudes and romantic sentiments that was dreamy and reactionary, and therefore ineffective, in its nationalist aspirations.⁵⁷⁸ Karin Breuer, on the other hand, argues that the university became one of the centers of German national movement before 1848; the students were active in shaping a sense of Germanness by emphasizing universal over regional and defining a national identity that was behavioral, not biological.⁵⁷⁹ The first priority of the fraternities, though, was to define themselves as a distinctive culture and society therefore their national and political impact was minimal. Coupled with the desire for national unity by transcending regional boundaries, though, the combination represents an attempt to create a national culture of students that involved rituals, ceremonies, songs, drinking,

⁵⁷⁷ Christopher Clark, “Germany 1815-1848: Restoration or pre-March?” in *19th Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society, 1780-1918*, John Breuilly, ed. (London: Arnold, 2001), 52-53.

⁵⁷⁸ Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 27

⁵⁷⁹ Breuer, 59.

and dueling under the umbrella of a solemn reverence to the concept of nation.⁵⁸⁰ By defining themselves as a distinct national group, however, their actions were more exclusive than inclusive.

Foreign travel accounts that mentioned German students were mixed in their assessment. In the 1830s, an Englishman named Edmund Spencer encountered German university students while he toured Germany. He evidently held them in low regard, referring to them as “refractory school boys” whose appearance was “effeminate” and behavior “sophomoric.”⁵⁸¹ William Howitt, an Englishman who wrote on German life in general but specifically on students in *Student Life in Germany* published first in 1841, had a very different opinion about the significance of the *Burschenschaft*.⁵⁸² He perceived the student culture and activity as dynamic and admirable. He claimed to have “penetrated the depths of Burschen-life” to provide a “complete and faithful account of it.”⁵⁸³ As an Englishman, Howitt found the Beer-duel and Sword-duel “repugnant;” however in general he viewed the social life and political ideals expressed so exuberantly by the German students to be superior to the English university experience. He described English students as “low, gross, unimaginative, and vulgar,” especially compared to the “poetry” of “high and beautiful sentiment” in German student life, which was expressed in “a profound love of nature and the glorious love of country.” In the life of a German

⁵⁸⁰ Heinrich Heine, in his description of a rather impromptu student meeting at the Brockenhaus on the Blockberg in 1824, paints a picture of rowdiness, drunkenness, and noisiness. No ritual or ceremony was performed until later in the evening, when they all sang patriotic songs that stirred the soul. *Pictures of Travel*, trans. Charles Leland (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1904), 37-46.

⁵⁸¹ Edmund Spencer, *Sketches of Germany and the Germans in 1834, 1835, and 1836*, vol.1 (London: Whittaker & Co., 1836), 316-316, 362; vol.2, 31-32.

⁵⁸² William Howitt, *Life in Germany; including the Popular Songs, Sports, and Habits of the Students of the Universities* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1849).

⁵⁸³ Howitt, v-vi.

student, he claimed that “there is a feeling and a sentiment to which our student-life is a stranger.”⁵⁸⁴

Taylor as a young American was instantly attracted to and captivated by the student movement. He was not convinced that they had a serious political impact but clearly categorized them as political in nature and purpose because they expressed ideals like liberty and unity that were important to him. He certainly felt that they were the group most sensitive to the state of German political affairs even if their political significance as a force for change was minimal. In his essay on the general condition of German politics, however, Taylor was somewhat casual about the impact university students had on the German political situation during the first half of the nineteenth century. “This boisterous freedom-loving class must be allowed their societies and their processions – their speeches for German union and their songs for German liberty. Knowing very well their character and that these flights of enthusiasm will subside as quickly as they arose, the governments permit them with safety.”⁵⁸⁵

The nineteen-year old Taylor went to great lengths to associate himself with German students during his European tour in 1844-45. His first contact and conversation with a German student, while walking on foot from Frankfurt to Heidelberg in September 1844, introduced him to the image he would have of the *Burschenschaften*. Taylor described the student as “a fine specimen of that free-spirited class, a man whose smothered aspiration was betrayed in the flashing of his eye, as he spoke of the present

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., viii-ix. Taylor read Howitt’s *Rural Life in Germany*, in 1842 (*Views*, 18). He does not mention *Student Life in Germany*. It is difficult to prove empirically but Taylor’s attitude toward and descriptions of German student life are remarkably similar to those of Howitt. Taylor’s ideas on Germany therefore seem generally shaped by his reading of Howitt.

⁵⁸⁵ Essay No.12 “The Political Condition of Germany.”

painful and oppressed condition of Germany.”⁵⁸⁶ On his treks through the countryside he sought out the company of traveling students and, as a reflection of how much he identified with them as a political and social group, felt that he could pass as a student.⁵⁸⁷

The experience that most firmly connected the image of the students in Taylor’s descriptions of German political activities in 1844-45 to American political ideals and values, was sitting in on a general *comers*, or secret meeting of the societies among the university students. It was one of the highlights of Taylor’s stay in Heidelberg; he would not miss an opportunity to witness what he considered to be one of the most interesting and characteristic features of student life.⁵⁸⁸ As a result, he gave an outsider’s view from the inside, much like Howitt had for his English and American audiences. In December 1844, he was escorted, in disguise, to a meeting in Heidelberg.

Taylor’s description of the proceedings was quite similar to Howitt’s account in *Student Life in Germany*. The meeting opened with a song described as a hymn of triumph, after which everyone drank to their Fatherland, to health and blessing to the patriot, and to honor those who struggle in the cause of freedom. As the meeting progressed, several speeches were given; Taylor noted one in particular about how all the dissensions in Germany would be overcome and she would rise like a phoenix among the nations of Europe. The closing to the speech was “strong, united, regenerated Germany!” which was toasted vehemently by all the students. “This enthusiasm for their country is one of the strongest characteristics of the German students: they have always been first in the field for her freedom, and on them mainly depends her future redemption.” Taylor

⁵⁸⁶ *Views*, 115.

⁵⁸⁷ Travel journal entry, 23 April [1845]; 26 April entry; 29 April entry, Box 2 Tay42, BTP, CUSC; *Views*, 177-178.

⁵⁸⁸ *Views*, 135-142; Travel journal entry, 5 December 1844, Box 2. Tay42, BTP, CUSC.

did not elaborate as to why he believed that to be; it was probably just an observation while he was caught up in the emotion and passion of the moment. The students then sang the *Landsfather*, or consecration song, the most important and solemn of the ceremonies which made new students *burschen* so that the fraternities were kept continually new and sacred. From Taylor's description, it was a ritual of brotherhood drawing inspiration and strength from a sense of national pride.

Taylor's experience improved his understanding German student life. Like Howitt, he was uncomfortable with the excessive drinking and dueling, but he felt the peculiar customs were better tolerated when considered in terms of their patriotism and their stand on German liberty. Taylor stated that the spirit of freedom was kept alive by the students, and they stood first in Germany's defense. Although their behavior was ridiculed by many, Taylor felt that no other group in German society had "warmer, truer, or braver hearts."⁵⁸⁹ Unlike Howitt, who highlighted the social and personal features of German student life, Taylor, as an American, identified immediately with the notions of unity, freedom and liberty – they were national political ideals he possessed and recognized and that he communicated to his American readers.

This image of German ideals of democracy and unity personified by the German students carried into Taylor's travel writings during the 1850s. Generally, Taylor steered away from German politics in his articles published in *At Home and Abroad, 1st Series* (1859). The only representation of an event in Germany with suggested political undertones was his article on the three-hundredth anniversary in 1858 of the founding of the University of Jena, which, in the gathering of the alumni, brought together the most

⁵⁸⁹ *Views*, 142.

prominent members of the politically-motivated *Burschenschaft*.⁵⁹⁰ Taylor's fascination with the student movement in the 1840s became reverent in the late 1850s. He embraced the University as "the seat of liberal principles, in religion as well as in politics," often "assailed as revolutionary and heterodox, yet has always steadily maintained its character. In song, in the traditions of the *Burschenschaft*, and in German history, it holds a proud pre-eminence; and this magnetism continues to draw into its fold... the best minds, the most active, free, and daring characters of each generation."⁵⁹¹ His account was a continuation of the admiration and political connection he expressed for university students in Germany and what they represented politically in his Grand Tour writings but with more substance.

Taylor acknowledged that the student organizations were wild and violent in their early development. The influence of the French Revolution and the national pride elicited during the Napoleonic Wars, however, coupled with "the birth and rapid growth of a grand national literature" supplied by Ephraim Lessing, Johann Herder, Friedrich Klopstock, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller brought a remarkable change in the behavior and attitudes of the students of dedication, diligence, and refinement, and an enthusiasm for republican political ideals. From this period on, the "German students have exhibited a steady enthusiasm for whatever is best and noblest in the national character. They have kept alive that spirit of enlightened progress, which has broken many a rusty shackle of the past... made the treacherous princes tremble in their boots," and caused "waves of sudden excitement which followed the Revolutions of 1830

⁵⁹⁰ *HAI*, 410: "In Germany, the great event of the year was the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the University of Jena – a festival which possesses more than local importance, through the peculiar history of this University, and that part which its students have taken in the political movements of the last half century."

⁵⁹¹ *HAI*, 411.

and 1848.”⁵⁹² The lasting image and appeal of the German university students for Taylor and his audience was the same as in 1844 – national unity, political freedom and democracy, so idealistically expressed in the sentiment “One Parliament for Germany, and above the German princes!”⁵⁹³ The theme of Taylor’s representation was the same as in 1844 but he transitioned from youthful and shallow exuberance to recognition of changes in ideology and political activity.

Taylor’s descriptions of German politics took a different tone and shape for a number of reasons by the late 1850s. He was beginning to enjoy fame and fortune in the United States, and had married into the German elite class so that his familiarity, confidence, and access to German society and culture increased. Also, the critical political situation in America plummeting toward Civil War heightened his sensitivity to national unity. Taylor’s representation of German political activity after 1858 reflected real political issues and developments that were of interest to him and, as an American, to his audience.

Taylor and German Liberal Constitutional Reform and Unification, 1848-59

Taylor observed and described the German desire for national unity and liberty and the political oppression and repression that prevented their realization while on his Grand Tour in the 1840s. They were topics about which he was very passionate and through which he expressed his American prejudices most vehemently. He wrote that, although the Germans “enjoy life more than we do, they have far less political

⁵⁹² Ibid., 418-419.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 428.

freedom.”⁵⁹⁴ Taylor was struck by what he saw as the oppressiveness of German state governments and the methods used to keep populations under control, citing specifically heavy-handed techniques like imprisonment, exile, intimidation, spying, a state-censored press, and encouraging “excessive beer-drinking.”⁵⁹⁵ Nonetheless, in spite of restrictions, Taylor insisted that political change was in the air and opposition still grew in Germany. He felt that Germans could draw inspiration from the existence of constitutional governments in Great Britain and the United States as the “tendency of the age” and “successful examples of political freedom,” although he was embarrassed by the American institution of slavery.⁵⁹⁶

Taylor was convinced in 1845 that, if all of the obnoxious laws and regulations were not removed, there would be revolution. The “spirit of the age tends undoubtedly towards a greater state of religious and civil liberty, and this spirit works more by a general and gradual change in the minds and instincts of the people.”⁵⁹⁷ Howitt, too, recognized in 1842 that both caution and a love of freedom were inherent in Germans. Caution maintained the existing order and meant little change for generations despite “sighing for freedom[s]... without advancing nearer to them, unless some great conflict of the nations should rouse them one day to a pitch of mighty enthusiasm.... A war... not of kings against kings, but of people against governments.... is probable. If ever the Germans realize their favorite vision of constitutional freedom and national unity, it will be in such a moment.”⁵⁹⁸ Evidently, Germans were inspired by ideas and the spirit of political change in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁹⁴ Taylor to John Phillips, 22 December 1844, Box 6 Item 11, BTP, CUSC.

⁵⁹⁵ Essay No.12 “The Political Condition of Germany.”

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Howitt, *Rural Life in Germany*, 519.

Taylor's conviction that trouble was brewing and his interest in suppressed democratic voices of protest are reflected in his interest in one of the most prominent poets and spokesman for the people in the 1840s, Ferdinand Freiligrath. As an American, Taylor was immediately drawn to Freiligrath for his political ideas, as a symbolic figure of resistance, and as a fellow poet.⁵⁹⁹ Soon after arriving in Frankfurt in the fall of 1844, Taylor recorded "an event" that had occurred, which showed "very distinctly the principles at work in Germany, and gives us some foreboding of the future." Freiligrath, "one of the most popular living poets," had recently published *My Confessions of Faith, or Poems for the Times*. "It contains some thrilling appeals to the free spirit of the German people, setting forth the injustice under which they labor, in simple but powerful language, and with the most forcible illustrations, adapted to the comprehension of everyone."⁶⁰⁰ Taylor noted that *My Confessions* was considered a work of genius but the effect it produced interested Taylor as well. He felt that it would add to the rising tide of opposition against tyranny in Germany and help bring political change. "The free spirit which characterizes these men, who come from among the people, shows plainly the tendency of the times: and it is only the strength with which the tyranny here has environed itself, combined with the proverbial apathy of the Germans, which has prevented a change ere this."⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ Professionally, Freiligrath from an early age was trained in retail sales and worked in banks through much of his life, but in 1839, at the age of 29, he devoted himself to writing poetry. He was granted a pension by the Prussian king in 1842 but soon after he became too political. In 1844, his radical liberal sentiments were expressed in a collection of poems entitled *A Confession of Faith*, and he was forced to resign his pension in Prussia and flee into exile. He returned to Germany in 1848, but his political poetry that was critical of the brutal methods used to suppress the nationalist uprising in 1848-49 landed him in trouble with the authorities and he was forced into exile again in 1851. He returned to Germany in 1868 after he was granted amnesty and became a fervent nationalist, publishing patriotic poems that supported the Prussian-led unification of Germany.

⁶⁰⁰ *Views*, 132.

⁶⁰¹ *Views*, 132-133.

Howitt's and Taylor's dire predictions proved prophetic with the Revolution of 1848, the most significant political event occurring soon after Taylor left Germany at the end of his Grand Tour and just prior to his 1851 return. The uprising in 1848 was the first national political movement in German history that did not involve a foreign threat or aggressor but instead was an expression of internal pressure and the need for political change.⁶⁰² By 1848, the efforts by the aristocratic *Bund* governments to repress liberal and national movements only served to demonstrate the need for constitutional and national reform and forced different political and social groups into each other's arms. Economic dislocation caused by accelerating industrialism and crop failures in the "Hungry '40s" expanded and intensified the discontent. The Revolution in German-speaking Central Europe began in early March 1848 in Baden and Hesse and spread rapidly, toppling the aristocratic governments in the west-central German states. Once the sovereign governments of the German states were dissolved, the leaders of the revolutionary movement realized that the biggest obstacles to unification of Germany had been removed. From May 1848-May 1849, the Frankfurt Parliament tried but failed to hammer out and implement a constitution that would create a unified Germany. The unified effort collapsed and the German Confederation was re-established.

The 1848 Revolution in Germany is characterized as a jumble of every early nineteenth-century national movement that coalesced in idealistic excitement. Virtually every social level became involved as well.⁶⁰³ It represented the struggle to attain

⁶⁰² Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 110ff; Hahn, 18, 32-39; Carr, 32-34; Brueilly, *Austria, Prussia, and Germany*, 34.

⁶⁰³ Brian Vick, *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); P.H. Noyes, *Organization and Revolution: Working class associations in the German Revolutions of 1848-49* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); Rudolph Stadelmann, *Social and Political History of the German 1848 Revolution*, James Chastain, transl. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970). Political pamphlets appealed specifically to the *deutsche Volk* and songs

political and personal rights and freedoms as well as finding a sense of German national identity and attaining national unity. However, it also reflected the economic and social problems of a European, and specifically German, society in transition. Middle-class progressive agendas clashed with the reactionary impulse that stirred the victims of modern economic and social change - the displaced artisans, tradesmen, and peasants of an older traditional society - suggesting that a sense of nation at a conservative popular level resisted modernity just as a modern liberal concept of nation was emerging.⁶⁰⁴ It became a revolution in conflict with itself. The varied and often contradictory expectations doomed the movement from its inception.

The complexity of the event as a multi-faceted combination of pent-up frustration, conflict, and fear in the nineteenth-century process of German nation-building dominates the historiography on the Revolution.⁶⁰⁵ The analytical approach most relevant to this study looks for connections between the Revolution of 1848 and American political ideals. In the context of the German-American encounter of the nineteenth century, scholars recognize the influence of American democratic constitutionalism on German

written included the involvement of workers and peasants. Hans Blum includes many pamphlets, newspaper pages, decrees, and assorted documents ["256 *authentischen Faksimilebeilagen, Karikaturen, Porträts, und Illustrationen*"] in his study *Die deutsche Revolution 1848-49: eine Jubiläumsgabe für das deutsche Volk* (Leipzig: Verlegt bei Eugen Diedrichs, 1898) that make a direct appeal to a German national public. Alexander Lipping and Björn Grabendorff *1848: Die deutsche Macht in Güte die Revolution* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982) collected songs of the Revolution that sang of a freedom enjoyed by everyone in German society; 80: "Die Frieheit ist die Nation, Ist aller gleich Gebieten...."; 111: Die Frieheit und die Äppelwein "Alle Völker sollen leben, Die vom Freiheitsdrange glühn,"; 116: Das Hanauer-Lied "Wenn Bürger sich und Bauer Zu frischer Tat erhebt, Dann muß die Knechtschaft enden, Dann hat sie ausgelebt!...."

⁶⁰⁴ Albert Boime, "Alfred Rethel's Counterrevolutionary Death Dance," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 4 (1991): 577-598; Peter Paret, "The German Revolution of 1848 and Rethel's Dance of Death," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no.1 (1986): 233-255.

⁶⁰⁵ Hans Boldt, "Federalism and an Issue in German Constitutionalism, 1849-1871," in *German and American Constitutional Thought*, ed. Hermann Wellenreuther (New York: Berg, 1990), 259; Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 233; Wolfram Seimann, "The Revolutions of 1848-1849 and the persistence of the old regime in Germany (1848-1850)," in *19th Century Germany*, 118; Steven Ozment, *A Mighty Fortress*, (New York: Harper-Collins, 2005), 176.

⁶⁰⁵ Blackbourn, 233

political development in the nineteenth century. Walter Wellenreuther, in *German and American Constitutional Thought*, contends that a German desire for national unification shaped German interest in the US Constitution. The middle-class leaders of the Frankfurt Parliament studied the process by which Americans had succeeded in creating a stable yet flexible centralized and unified structure. Despite the complexity of the exchange of political and constitutional thought, it was generally felt that the two countries were not too far off.⁶⁰⁶

The work within the Frankfurt Parliament especially demonstrates a close connection. The effort at German constitutional development in 1848-49, according to Hans Boldt, is one in which the “ideal of the United States of America... cannot be overrated.” German liberals saw the United States as “the marvel of the time” with its successful “example of individual states forming a firm union without abolishing the autonomy and independence of the member states.” Boldt asserts that the Constitution of the United States was the main topic of discussion among the delegates at the Frankfurt Parliament and the earliest drafts of the 1848 German Constitution stuck close to the American model.⁶⁰⁷

Nonetheless, the constitutional process in Frankfurt was distinctly German. German tradition could not be ignored and specific German problems had to be resolved. Congleton states that constitutional change occurred through both revolutionary impulses that produced democratic governments and pre-existing ideas, traditions, and institutions common to many European countries.⁶⁰⁸ Boldt’s study concurs, arguing that the question

⁶⁰⁶ Wellenreuther, *German and American Constitutional Thought*, Introduction, 1-23.

⁶⁰⁷ Hans Boldt, “Federalism as an Issue in the German Constitutions of 1849 and 1871,” in *German and American Constitutional Thought*, ed. Hermann Wellenreuther, 261-262.

⁶⁰⁸ Congleton, 2.

of nation-building in Germany in 1848-49 was posited differently than that of the United States because it had to unite well-established sovereign states with long and complex histories, ancient aristocracies, and large populations. Additionally, it had to overcome problems in a political environment in central Europe that involved polarized positions of the two most powerful German states – Prussia and Austria – and the opposition of other European countries that did not want the formation of a united Germany. The Germans in 1848-49 followed an American model but could not cling slavishly to the American “Revolutionary” example or to the American constitutional experience.⁶⁰⁹

Taylor had recognized and noted in his writings in 1844-45 that Germany was building toward some violent political upheaval, and therefore he was probably not surprised when the event occurred in 1848. He also claimed to have been selected to write on the Revolutions for the *New York Tribune*, so he was certainly aware of the developments in Germany. Horace Greeley, as a “transatlantic republican,” took a keen interest in the wave of revolutions that swept across Europe. The *Tribune* became a “critical switching station” that brought the “political rhetoric of Europe into the lives of his American readers.”⁶¹⁰ Greeley hired European revolutionaries to write columns and sent foreign correspondents to report on the events. Taylor was not among those selected but he was interested in the ripples of the Revolutions that washed over into the immigrant populations in New York and he was in the thick of it:

For the last three or four weeks, I have attended French, Italian, German, and Swiss Revolutionary meetings to report speeches, etc for the paper [*New York Tribune*].

⁶⁰⁹ Boldt, 263-264.

⁶¹⁰ Robert C. Williams, *Horace Greeley: Champion of American Freedom* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 125-126.

There is no lack of the tallest excitement here.⁶¹¹

In spite of his evident awareness of events and developments at the time and the expressed ideals of liberal constitutionalism and national unity that were core concepts in his American identity, Taylor was mute about the German Revolution of 1848 and the Constitution of the Frankfurt Parliament in his travel writings in the early 1850s. He wrote in 1845 that the constitutional example of both the United States and Great Britain should inspire democratic change in Germany. When it happened, though, Taylor did not comment. He was in the midst of establishing his reputation as a travel writer and attempting to break into the elite literary circles in the United States. Given his earlier writings on the possibilities for German constitutionalism, he was probably disappointed in the failure of German liberals to create a constitutional government, unify Germany, and implement the democratic freedoms and liberties he held so dear. Additionally, Taylor may have been sensitive to the tension and growing violence in the United States during the 1850s over sectional differences and the burning issue of the spread of slavery into new territories like Kansas. He therefore recoiled from the revolutionary violence that caused political and social instability in Europe as an indication of his discomfort with events in America.

Uhlman argues that the failure of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe convinced Taylor that it was the destiny of the United States to carry liberty to the rest of the world.⁶¹² Taylor did not express that, though, in his travel writings on Germany. Just as the increased violence of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe eventually gave Greeley pause,

⁶¹¹ Taylor to "Dear Doctor," 8 April 1848, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC. Finding his published newspaper articles covering the Revolutions is difficult. No names were assigned to columns at this time therefore it is hard to say with certainty that the published reports of the Revolutions in the United States appearing in the *Tribune* or borrowed by other newspapers were the work of Taylor.

⁶¹² Uhlman, 262.

Taylor too distanced himself from the violence and devastation it caused.⁶¹³ Taylor witnessed the disruptive effects of revolutionary violence first hand. In his article on Germany written in 1851, immediately after the Revolution had been suppressed and the German *Bund* re-established, he made only a few oblique references about the hardships caused by the uprising as he traveled through portions of western and southern Germany. Many Germans in the places he visited in 1851 “had left or were about to leave.” He was told “There is no confidence, ... no money” and a “fear of more troubles.” He also wrote that Germans complained that the Revolution brought no improvement – in fact, “the laws are harder upon us than they were; everything goes badly and nobody is satisfied.”⁶¹⁴ From the point of view of an idealistic and naïve young American prior to the Revolution of 1848, political and social change was needed. He applauded boisterous and confrontational German national impulses and ideas espousing democratic ideals against oppressive governments in his writings during his Grand Tour; however, by the 1850s, he seemed more aware of the inherent dangers.

The American Civil War and Taylor’s changing political perspectives on Germany, 1860-61

By the early 1860s, the tone of Taylor’s descriptions of encounters with German politics changed – political confrontation and growing violence in the United States opened his eyes. In April 1861, after a decade of increased sectional tension and resistance to federal authority by the southern states, South Carolina fired the opening shots of the American Civil War. The outbreak of the Civil War galvanized Taylor to political involvement. He embraced a Union sense of American national identity – a

⁶¹³ Williams, 128.

⁶¹⁴ *HAI*, 72, 74.

belief, as Roy Nichols outlines, in a righteous struggle to preserve the Union and destroy the curse of slavery.⁶¹⁵ Although Taylor did not present himself in his writings as an actively political person, the events in 1860-61 stirred him into action and he turned his thought and attention to supporting the Union cause.

With roots in Pennsylvania, Taylor was clearly a Northern unionist and nationalist and he was vocal about some issues concerning the southern slave states, which raised the ire of southerners or southern sympathizers. His abolitionist stance actually lost him lecture engagements. R.R. Harrison, of the Young Christians Society of [Richmond] Virginia, informed Taylor of the withdrawal of an invitation to lecture in early 1860, in part because of his long association with the *New York Tribune*, which promulgated abolitionist sentiments that led to John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859.⁶¹⁶ Taylor, in his response, accused the members of the society of being ignorant, unfair, and narrow-minded but did not deny his personal loathing of the institution of slavery. It was an aversion, Taylor stated, that was shared by Washington and Jefferson, both of whom were from the "State that gave those great men to our common country" and was at that time denying Taylor audience.⁶¹⁷

Taylor also fervently supported the Lincoln administration as it sought to stop the seceding states from seizing federal arsenals and forts in the South in the step that precipitated the war. In a letter dated April 12, 1861, just at the beginning of hostilities, Taylor wrote enthusiastically in favor of President Lincoln's aggressive action against the rebellious southern states:

⁶¹⁵ Roy Nichols, "American Democracy and the Civil War," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 91, no. 2 (April 1947): 143.

⁶¹⁶ Taylor to R.R. Harrison, 10 February 1860, Box 12, Tay54, 50, BTP, CUSC.

⁶¹⁷ The letter from R.R. Harrison and Taylor's response are both in Folder 7, BTC, PSUSC.

I don't like going abroad just now, when God be thanked! we have, at last, a Government worth supporting, but my parents-in-law would be almost broken-hearted if we did not visit them this summer.⁶¹⁸

Taylor went to Europe in May 1861 and spent the summer months in Gotha, reflecting on events in his country while he observed and wrote about contemporary political movements and sentiments in Germany. His dedication to the preservation of the Union and the success of the northern cause led him to become involved in international diplomacy. He served from 1862-63 as Secretary and then as interim *Chargé D'affaires* for the Lincoln administration to the Russian Empire and contributed to Lincoln's goal of keeping the European powers out of the American Civil War.

Along with the Civil War, Taylor's perspective changed with his growing fame in the United States and his social elevation. By the end of the 1850s, Taylor had gained recognition as a world traveler and a noted American literary figure. Through friendships and marriage, he had also become intimately involved in German bourgeois society. As a result, his encounters with Germany and his transatlantic persona changed, as did his representation of German political activities in his travel writing. In the 1860s, he was much more aware of liberal political movements in Germany and paid special attention in his travel writing to liberally-inclined aristocracy who supported constitutional change and German unification, which appealed to his American political sensibilities and which enabled him to make transatlantic connections, especially as the United States was desperately fighting to save the union.

Political liberalism was on the rise again in Germany when Taylor returned in 1861. Woodruff Smith argues that after their failure in the Revolutions of 1848, German

⁶¹⁸ Taylor to James T. Fields, 12 April 1861, in *Unpublished Letters*, 53.

liberals developed a scientific approach to political change that focused primarily on rational individualism and the goal of promoting sound political opinions.⁶¹⁹ Congleton states that political liberalism in the nineteenth century was grounded in normative theories that stressed the implicit contract basis of the state, a government's duty to ordinary citizens, and the importance of written constitutional documents and representative institutions as methods of encouraging governments to advance shared interests. Generally, Congleton argues that nineteenth-century European liberals favored written constitutions with a wider electorate as well as reforms that increased civic equality by reducing traditional hereditary privileges and opened political and economic life to a broader base.⁶²⁰ The European middle class aspired to greater access to political and social power, economic change, and individual freedom and self-realization, which in turn would lead to the progress of European civilization. For middle-class German liberals, the aspirations included a goal of national unity.⁶²¹

Liberal change, though, was stifled initially after 1850 in Germany and it was slow to have an impact. In fact, the failure of the Frankfurt Parliament to institute liberal political ideas and unify Germany brought even greater repression in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, as Taylor observed in his travel writings. The German Confederation was restored and Austria reasserted itself as the leader of the various sovereign states, which meant the defeat of the liberal cause, a return to ultra-conservative and repressive policies, and temporarily stifling of the cause for national

⁶¹⁹ Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany, 1840-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 9-11, 13.

⁶²⁰ Congleton, 228-230.

⁶²¹ *In Search of A Liberal Germany*, eds. Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones (New York: Berg, 1990), Introduction, 13; R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World*, 6th Ed. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984), 438.

unity.⁶²² However, the forces for change were also pressing forward. The years 1851-1858 marked the rise of economic liberalism. Eventually industrial growth and social change challenged traditional structures and the conservative policies of the German state governments.⁶²³

By the end of the 1850s and into the early 1860s, controls had relaxed and political changes began. Congleton notes that reforms in the 1850s and 1860s came through negotiation, not revolution, and were accomplished by aristocratic rulers and their cabinets rather than large scale public demonstrations.⁶²⁴ In studies of west-central German states of Hannover, Saxony, and Württemberg (key states in “Third Germany” historically subordinate to Austria and Prussia) as well as smaller states like Baden and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, monarchical governments innovated and adapted to protect their legitimacy in the face of new domestic changes and nationalist pressures.⁶²⁵ Cooperation and conciliation replaced suppression, states experimented constitutionally, and liberal middle-class politicians with majorities in parliaments gained greater access to decision-making in government.⁶²⁶

The “Third Germany” monarchies also appropriated nationalist celebrations as

⁶²² Hans Joachim Hahn; William Carr; John Gillis, *The Development of European Society 1770-1870* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1977); Gordon Craig, *The Germans* (New York: Meridian/Plume, 1991); Geoffrey Bruun, *Europe and the French Imperium* (New York, Harper & Row, 1965); David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*; David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁶²³ Brueilly, *Austria, Prussia, and Germany*, 58-59; Hahn, 180; Carr, 66; Blackbourn, *Long Nineteenth Century*, 233.

⁶²⁴ Congleton, 254.

⁶²⁵ Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: Statebuilding and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 94-96; Richard J. Bazillion, “Liberalism, Modernization, and the Social Question in the Kingdom of Saxony, 1830-90,” in *In Search of A Liberal Germany*, eds. Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones (New York: Berg, 1990), 87-110, and Michael John, “Association Life and the Development of Liberalism in Hannover, 1848-66,” in *In Search of A Liberal Germany*, eds. Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones (New York: Berg, 1990), 161-186; Tuska Benes, “Review of Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany*,” H-German, H-Net Reviews. October, 2003.

⁶²⁶ Blackbourn, 239.

they reworked the principle of regional dynastic loyalty. In the process, they encouraged the formation of German national identity.⁶²⁷ Associations like choral societies and riflemen's clubs with national unification commitments and designs therefore spread geographically and grew in membership.⁶²⁸ While vacationing in the Thuringian Forest, Taylor attended a Pan-Germanic festival organized by the National Convention of German Riflemen in 1861 and gave a detailed account in *At Home and Abroad*, 2nd Series. Taylor noted that this competitive shooting match, part of a great popular movement gaining momentum throughout the central states of Germany, reflected a sincere desire to transcend millennia-old hostilities and regional differences in custom, character, dialect, ideas, and institutions. Pan-Germanism seemed to kindle a spirit of patriotism that would erase the narrow distinctions, and lay the foundation for a unified Germany, relying on safer and sounder methods than those used in 1848.⁶²⁹ A regional approach, according to Abigail Green, in *Fatherlands*, contributed to the formation of German national identity between the Revolution of 1848 and the Prussian unification process. To enhance local power, individual states fostered the development of national identity, in a sense creating the German nation regionally. National identity was therefore established before unification in 1871, and it was based upon the regional state.⁶³⁰ Green's point seems well-illustrated by Taylor's description of this event in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

Taylor wrote after the competition that apart from the acclaim that the competitors received for their efforts lay

⁶²⁷ Green, 4

⁶²⁸ Brueilly, "Revolution to Unification" in *19th Century Germany*, 142.

⁶²⁹ HA2, 227.

⁶³⁰ Green, 4.

...the idea of making the German people strong for their own defense, of bringing them together from the remotest states, and promoting a spirit of unity, a harmony of interests and aims, in spite of political divisions. ...The people at last understand that they must be A PEOPLE, divided by no provincial jealousies, animated by no narrow aims, before Germany can be the one powerful consolidated Empire, which is their political dream.⁶³¹

National unity was a sensitive personal issue for Taylor in the summer of 1861 and also for his American audience, so the images and the sentiments in this German national event would be particularly poignant. Taylor included comments and concerns expressed by the German people about the early battles of the American Civil War. At a dinner after the competition, a toast was offered to America: “ ‘Let us not forget, on this occasion, our brethren across the Atlantic, who are also proving their fidelity to the sentiment of Unity, who are engaged in upholding the cause of Law and Order. Success to the Germans who are fighting the battles of the Union, in America!’ This was received with a storm of applause, the whole company rising to their feet.”⁶³² Taylor’s representation suggests a kinship through immigration between the United States and the German states over the issue of political unity in 1861.

Duke Ernest II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha presided over the shooting competition.

Taylor’s description of him and his ideas provide an interesting image of Germany at this time in their political development - and of Taylor’s American sentiments in relation to

⁶³¹ HA2, 243-44.

⁶³² HA2, 239, 242. Although over a half million German-Americans fought in the American Civil War, until very recently historians have all but ignored the topic. Most studies are either regional or focus on individuals. A sampling of recent scholarship: William Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union’s Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998); James Pula, *The Sigel Regiment: A History of the Twenty-sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865* (Campbell, CA: Savas Publishing Co., 1998); Stephen Engle, *The Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana States University Press, 1998); Christian Keller, “Pennsylvania and Virginia Germans during the Civil War: A Brief History and Comparative Analysis,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 109, no. 1 (2001): 37-86. No study examines pluralism and the relationship between German-American participation in preserving the American union and the desire for German unity.

Germany's path to national unity. The Duke evidently cut a liberal non-aristocratic and very democratic figure. Taylor noted in his writing some overheard remarks by some participants as the duke passed by. The Duke was described as not "surrounded by rigid ceremonies" like other nobles, "manly [in his] simplicity," and that he wore plain clothes like any "citizen," which made him "the right sort of prince!"⁶³³ He was the right sort of prince for Germans and for Taylor as an American because the Duke was an outspoken proponent of the liberal constitutional movement. Taylor's German family connections also contributed to his representations of Ernest II. Marie Hansen regarded the duke as "a true representative of his time. With the prevision of a statesman, he recognized the political drift of affairs and was an adherent of the liberal tendencies."⁶³⁴ Taylor's personal attachments and position as an American inside German society probably contributed to his transatlantic views.

Taylor also portrayed Duke Ernest as a leader in the German unification process. He quoted the Duke's admonitions in his speech on the last day of the Convention for his American audience to promote that leadership stature:

The time to create sensation by words alone is past. The people demand action, for the sake of their strength and unity. I hear of dangers which threaten our Fatherland; but a people is beyond danger as soon as it is truly united, truly strong.⁶³⁵

Taylor bolstered the Duke's image with a quote from him that expressed his populist democratic inclinations in conjunction with the German unification movement:

The popular mind resembles the swelling, swift-advancing current of a river. To dam it, to delay it in its course, is a fruitless undertaking. The waves rise foaming aloft, and sweep every barrier away with them. Patriots and princes should be

⁶³³ HA2, 237.

⁶³⁴ Marie Hansen Taylor, *On Two Continents*, 20.

⁶³⁵ HA2, 246.

inspired by the same endeavor, to keep the flood pure in its forward movement, and restrain it within its proper banks.⁶³⁶

With this comment, Taylor's American identity – shaped by the inflammatory rhetoric of Jacksonianism, his acquired middle-class liberal values, and the furnace of the Civil War – was the lens through which he represented political events in Germany during the 1850s and early 1860s and communicated transatlantic images.

Taylor, Prussian Unification of Germany, and Prince Otto von Bismarck, 1862-78

Militarism replaced liberalism in the 1860s as the impetus behind German unification when the powerful Prussian state took the lead. Nationalist movements, like the Rifleman's Association that Taylor encountered and recorded, were relatively small in numbers and had difficulty translating their nationalist message into political action.⁶³⁷ Changes during the 1850s and early 1860s had, on the other hand, placed Prussia in a strategically advantageous position to tap into the growing national spirit and elevate itself, through a united Germany, as a major power in Europe. As indicated by the popularity of national associations in the late 1850s, German sentiment turned to patriotic nationalism and recognition of Prussia as a force for unification gained momentum. One of the national organizations of this period was the *Nationaler Verein*, which pursued the objective of national unification under Prussian leadership and control. This association of influential men in universities, law, business, and the press was founded in 1859 and

⁶³⁶ HA2, 252. Taylor's exclusive interview with Duke Ernest II was included in *At Home and Abroad*, 2nd Series and was also available to an even larger reading public as an article in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 23, no. 138 (November 1861): 810-815, Box 10, BTC, CCHS.

⁶³⁷ Brueilly, *19th Century Germany*, 143.

pronounced Prussia as the trustee of German culture and the best solution to the problem of unity.⁶³⁸

The Prussian economy had expanded significantly in the 1850s as well, thrusting it in a position of greater power and influence. The Russian and Austrian Empires, both staunch defenders of the status quo, were weakened through a series of events from 1853-1861, most notably the Crimean War (1853-56), that drained their resources and removed them as formidable obstacles to German national unification.⁶³⁹ These changes on the European stage made possible what became the most salient political development in modern German and European history, the unification of Germany through Prussian military initiative from 1864-1871.

The unification process began in earnest with the appointment of Otto von Bismarck as Prussian Chancellor in 1862, initially to resolve a growing parliamentary crisis in the Prussian government. Bismarck was an adroit, subtle, and unscrupulous politician of realism and a dedicated monarchist who had spent his life in the foreign service of the Prussian king. His agenda of weakening the credibility of Austria in the Confederation and building the power of Prussia defined his policy decisions. With the leadership of Bismarck and Prussia, therefore, German unification ceased to be political or ideological – it became simply the naked exercise of Prussian military strength in asserting its dominance over the German states, as expressed in Bismarck’s 1862 “Iron and Blood” speech to resolve the national crisis: “The great questions of the time will not

⁶³⁸ Blackbourn, 238; Brueilly, *Austria, Prussia, and Germany*, 62-63.

⁶³⁹ The conditions and events, like the Crimean War and Italian Unification, are outlined in Brueilly, *19th Century German*, 140-41.

be resolved by speeches and majority decisions... but by iron and blood.”⁶⁴⁰ In less than a decade, his aggressive solution proved successful.

Through clever political manipulation and military strength, Prussia defeated Denmark in 1864 and overwhelmed Austria in 1866. Prussia’s surprisingly fast victory removed Austrian influence in German central Europe and resulted in the formation of the North German Confederacy in 1867, attaching the northern German states to Prussia. The North German Confederacy then absorbed the southern German states after the Prussian success in the Franco-Prussian War.⁶⁴¹ The Second *Reich* was created in April 1871, uniting the German states as a constitutional federation. Bismarck rightly calculated that successful wars against traditional enemies would forge the German states into a united empire.

Unlike the German Constitution of 1849, the German Constitution of 1871 had little relation to the United States Constitution. The constitution of the Second Reich did not find legitimacy through popular sovereignty but through aristocratic election, which established a monarchical/democratic federation.⁶⁴² That model was evidently not repellent to Americans, though. As Manfred Jonas contends, American political leaders were always well-disposed toward national unity in general and the unification of Germany in particular. Despite the circumstances under which the unification of Germany was achieved (militaristic, monarchical/aristocratic authority), American good will persisted. Officially, the U.S. government, during and after the American Civil War

⁶⁴⁰ Bismarck’s speech to the Budget Committee of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, September 30, 1862, in *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck*, ed. H. Kohl (Stuttgart, 1892); Frederick Hollyday, ed. and trans., *Bismarck* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970), 28-30.

⁶⁴¹ Blackbourn, 243-244.

⁶⁴² Michael Dreyer, “American Federalism – Blueprint for Nineteenth-Century Germany?” in *German and American Constitutional Thought*, ed. Wellenreuther, 328-330; Boldt, 260, 291.

especially, were sympathetic to movements of unification, which was precisely when Bismarck laid the groundwork for the establishment of the German Empire. He could hardly be called a “liberal hero,” but both Americans and Germans came to believe that unification under any auspices was highly desirable, especially after the Americans survived their test of unity under President Lincoln’s leadership.⁶⁴³

The sympathy of the Prussian government to the Union cause also facilitated good will. Prussia, in anticipation of wars against neighbors to accomplish unification, cultivated and received American friendship. Even though the United States was officially neutral, it clearly favored Prussian initiative. The US government was displeased with Austria and France over their support of Maximilian’s bid to establish a monarchy in Mexico while the United States was embroiled in Civil War and therefore not opposed to Prussian military action against them. The German-American population also was a factor as were the glowing reports of the influential historian George Bancroft, American minister to Prussia.⁶⁴⁴ After unification was achieved, Bismarck, the astute diplomat, continued to nurture American goodwill toward Prussia and the German Empire, even though the United States played a very minor role in his foreign policy calculations.⁶⁴⁵

The issue of German unity had been a persistent concern as well as a long-sought and much debated objective in Germany since the eighteenth century, and it was of particular interest to Taylor. It appealed to his political ideals throughout his long contact with German-speaking Central Europe. In his articles on Germany in the mid-1860s, though, Taylor hesitated to embrace the most important political development in

⁶⁴³ Jonas, 21.

⁶⁴⁴ Jonas, 23-31.

⁶⁴⁵ Jonas, 31.

nineteenth-century German history. As Prussia was uniting the German states through its military might, Taylor shied away from describing or endorsing the events of the Prussian “iron and blood” *Machtstaat* approach. He commented in his 1877 essay on Bismarck that, while visiting in Germany in 1867, he “learned, through the best sources, of a suggested finale to the Prusso-Austrian War.”⁶⁴⁶ Evidently he was very aware of unfolding events. Taylor chose instead to focus on national symbols as a central part of his consistent theme of German unification. The images of Hermann and Frederick Barbarossa stood out significantly in Taylor’s writings as traditional symbols of mythical-historical leaders associated in the German mind with German national unification in this period. In his 1862 and 1869 travel books, the motif of the messianic return of the medieval hero-king of Barbarossa especially, expressed as early as the fourteenth century and reincarnated in the nineteenth century, was evidently more comfortable for Taylor than the contemporary militarism of Prussia⁶⁴⁷

Taylor first introduced this national image to his audience when he attended the 1861 riflemen’s convention in *At Home and Abroad, Second Series*. Milling about with friends and acquaintances, he noticed that one of the stone pediments attached to the shooting hall depicted the popular legend of the twelfth-century German emperor Frederick Barbarossa slumbering in the nearby Kyffhäuser Mountain. The emperor sits, red beard growing, with ravens flying around his head. As long as the ravens fly, legend has it, the sleeping enchantment remains in force. However, in the painting, mountain-gnomes are busy preparing for the awakening of the emperor by forging swords, casting

⁶⁴⁶ “Prince Bismarck” MSS Lecture, 8, New York, 17 March 1877, Lecture Box 9, BTC, CCHS.

⁶⁴⁷ Roger Sherman Loomis, “Arthurian Tradition and Folklore,” *Folklore* 69:1 (1958): 1-25. Loomis compares Arthur with the myth tradition that emerged in Germany around Barbarossa. The Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV had used the symbol of Barbarossa as blessing his military intervention to suppress the Revolutions of 1848. Evidently, it was a potent national symbol.

bullets, and assembling firearms, suggesting that the time for awakening and unification is near at hand. Barbarossa, in the legend and in the nineteenth century, symbolized German unity. The three ravens represented forces at work that impede that goal – Austria, religion (specifically Catholicism), and ultra-conservative German (specifically Prussian) militarism.⁶⁴⁸ As Breuilly and Blackbourn argue, the German states that comprised “Third Germany” feared and distrusted Austria and Prussia, and the German liberal middle-class associated itself closely with Protestantism against Catholicism in the late 1850s and early 1860s.⁶⁴⁹ Taylor’s regional political connections and his American political identity translated into an attraction for the legendary image of unification, and into a backhanded criticism of obstacles to a united Germany, including Prussia.

Taylor re-introduced the Barbarossa image in his visit and writings of 1867-68. By this time, the last and ultimately successful distillation of the push for German unification through Prussian militarism was in motion. Taylor was still interested in German unification when he returned to Germany and wanted to relay the image to his audience, but he did not write specifically about battles or even about Prussia. Instead, the only two chapters on Germany that he included in his 1869 travel book *By Ways of Europe* focused on distinct images related to the general idea of German national unification.

The topic of the first of the two articles continued Taylor’s presentation of Barbarossa with an account of his trek to the Kyffhäuser, where the legendary German Emperor sleeps in “a crypt of the mountain, waiting for the day when the whole land,

⁶⁴⁸ HAI, 240. In the national symbolism, historical “fact” is abandoned. Frederick died in June 1190 in southern Anatolia in a drowning accident in the Saleph River while leading his army on the Third Crusade. His body was dismembered for preservation purposes and the parts were interred in different locations in the Near East. He never returned to Germany.

⁶⁴⁹ Breuilly, 138-143; Blackbourn, 236-239.

from the Baltic to the Alps, shall be ready to receive a single ruler.”⁶⁵⁰ Taylor’s omission of the Prussian-led unification movement seems deliberate; his silence may have been an expression of coolness toward the process and, like many in Germany, a distrust of Prussia. The article suggests that he preferred the broader, more idealistic, and more erudite images of German unification. The only hint in his article referring to the recent wars involving Prussia and Austria came in the context of the devastating effects of the Thirty Years War on German central Europe as a casual indictment, which suggests that Taylor did not approve of the militaristic approach:

Germany ... has ever since been obliged to struggle from decadence into new power. We must never lose sight of these facts when we speak of the Germany of the present day. Well for us that we have only felt the shock and struggle, the first awakening of the manly element, not the later poison of war!⁶⁵¹

Evidently, the memory of over 600,000 deaths and massive destruction during the American Civil War was still fresh in Taylor’s (and America’s) memory. Taylor recoiled from the bloody violence of the Civil War but he did not seem averse to war as a way to preserve the American union. War to create union, however, made him uncomfortable. As a middle-class American, reliance on political ideals like democracy and constitutionalism for unity had more appeal than militarism. In 1861, his descriptions of German developments toward liberal constitutionalism and unification for his American audience expressed excitement. As an American liberal republican, he was encouraged by what he witnessed. His silence in 1867-68 may reflect his disappointment that liberal ideals were compromised in the Prussian unification. He no doubt sympathized with opposition nationalist groups, who sought a more popular basis for unification, with the

⁶⁵⁰ *By Ways*, 309-10.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 313.

subordination of smaller states to the powerful central authority of Prussia only if it liberalized so that its dominance would be progressive, non-oppressive, and acceptable. Successful unification would then be accomplished peacefully through economic growth, constitutional reform and national institutions.⁶⁵² Also, as a broker of things German to Americans, he may have been disappointed with the political developments as they unfolded and was reluctant to describe them.

The second article published in 1869 related Taylor's experiences while journeying to see a recently begun but still unfinished monument built to honor the ancient German hero Hermann, a project that "appealed to that longing for German unity, and a visit to the conjectured battlefield in which Hermann and his German warriors annihilated Varus and his three legions of Roman soldiers" at the battle of Teutoberg Forest in AD9.⁶⁵³ Taylor described Hermann as "the liberator of Germany" who "might have formed a nation" but, because he only staved off temporarily the influence of Rome, his heroics did not mark the beginning of Germany. Taylor assigned that honor to Charlemagne, "the true avenger of Varus," who completed the work of Germanicus and subjugated the northern Germanic peoples under the "laws and arts and ideas of Rome."⁶⁵⁴

Taylor's choice of Hermann and Barbarossa in 1867-8 as images on a German political landscape in the process of unification reflects his interest in and knowledge of the history of a German people and nation. However, the representation of the images in

⁶⁵² Blackbourn, 238; Brueilly, *Austria, Prussia, and Germany*, 62-63.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, 457. Hahn, 33, includes the planned monument to Hermann in 1840 as part of a celebration of national heroes or heroic events expressing a resurgence of nationalist sentiment that preceded the Revolution of 1848. Modern scholarship and archaeology places the battle about 80 km north-west of Cassel, near Osnabrück, but in the nineteenth century, Detmold, near Bielefeld, was the popular site, which is about 40 km NW of Cassel.

⁶⁵⁴ *By Ways*, 461-62.

connection with German unification for his American audience without mention of Prussia is significant. Just as Prussia was uniting the north and central German states through the North German Confederacy, Taylor pointedly made no comment. It indicates a combination of American liberal discomfort and a lingering “Third Germany” mistrust of Prussian militarism and power. His silence and his deliberate choice of recognizable historical symbols associated with German (as opposed to Prussian) national unity were clear statements that he did not like the aggression involved in the concurrent unification process, despite the official acceptance and support by the United States government.⁶⁵⁵

Taylor’s attitude was modified as events unfolded. He took notice, somewhat apprehensively, when war was declared between France and Prussia in July 1870:

Of course we follow the news (what little there is!) from day to day, with the greatest interest. There is no fighting yet but it must soon come. The American people [with the exception of ‘Southern Rebels’] are overwhelmingly on the side of Prussia in their sympathies But *we* look at Prussia as our friend during the [American Civil] war, and France as the best friend the South had in Europe. ... Still, it is a wicked, unnecessary war, and will damage all Europe immensely. My great hope is that it will not last longer than winter.⁶⁵⁶

Taylor’s attitude toward Prussian-led German unification changed as he included himself with the “American people” in support of the Franco-Prussian War, with a back-handed slap to “Southern Rebels” as an indication of lingering resentment. After the Prussian-German victory over the French at the Battle of Sedan on September 1, 1870, Taylor became publicly exuberant over German unification all but accomplished so quickly. He wrote and subsequently published *Jubel-lied Eines Amerikaners: Bayard Taylor’s*

⁶⁵⁵ Jonas, 21; Frank Lorenz Müller, “The Spectre of a People in Arms: The Prussian Government and the Militarisation of German Nationalism,” *The English Historical Review* 122 (2007): 82-104, discusses the political aggressiveness and military build-up of Prussia in the years before the series of battles that would ultimately unify Germany under the Prussians.

⁶⁵⁶ Taylor to Annie Carey, 29 July 1870, in *Selected Letters*, 352.

Ansprach an das Deutsche Volk in the *New York Tribune*, a poem celebrating the imminent defeat of France and inevitable unification of Germany:

Triumph! Das Schwert in tapf'rer Hand
Hat hohe That vollbracht!
Vereint ist nun das deutsche Land
Zum Sieg und Ruhm erwacht!⁶⁵⁷

His choice of opening words was clearly militant; exultation with success replaced his discomfort over the *Machtstaat* method. It was initially written and published only in German, which suggests that he intended it primarily for a German and German-American audience. Evidently, that audience was receptive. La Vern Rippley reveals that, although many German-Americans had been liberal political refugees who emigrated after the Revolution of 1848, most German-Americans overlooked the “sins of autocracy” and were proud and impressed by the effectiveness of the Prussian military and its swift success. The German-American celebration of German unification after 1871 actually slowed the process of immigrant assimilation and perpetuated the German culture in America with German-language newspapers and German-language schools.⁶⁵⁸

Taylor’s poem became immediately popular in Germany. It was set to music and was included in a number of German song books by the late 1870s. A friend reported to Taylor that he had “found *Jubel-Lied* in a pamphlet of songs and that it was sung on four

⁶⁵⁷ Box 5, BTP, CUSC, signed copy of the poem. Translation: “Celebratory Song from an American: Bayard Taylor’s Salutation to the German people: Success! The sword in the bold hand has achieved great heights! United now is the German land awakened by victory and fame.”

⁶⁵⁸ La Vern Rippley, “German Assimilation: The Effect of the 1871 victory in Americana-Germanica,” in *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration*, Hans Trefousse, ed. (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1981), 126-130. Another work that demonstrates how German-Americans maintained close ties to Germany and took special pride in the successful unification in 1871 is Hans L. Trefousse, “German-American Immigrants and the Newly Founded Reich,” in *America and the Germans* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 161-175. G.A. Dobbert in “German-Americans between New and Old Fatherland, 1870-1914,” *American Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1967), 663-680, interpreted the response differently. He stated that the German-American enthusiasm over unification in 1871 was shallow and short-lived. Although the founding of the German Empire was extremely important in European affairs, German Americans tended to be indifferent.

special occasions” in the summer of 1877.⁶⁵⁹ However, because he published it in a nationally distributed newspaper in the United States, Taylor may also have intended it as a message to his American audience in general, an effort to share with them the excitement experienced by the German people and by himself as someone closely connected to and serving as a communicator of German sentiments and experiences.

Once he was onboard, Taylor seemed determined to defend German unification to his American audience. In late September 1870, Taylor commented negatively on published editorials and articles that wavered in sympathy with the German cause and favored French republicanism, and he criticized an article censuring Bismarck for not immediately offering peace after the Battle of Sedan.⁶⁶⁰ He wrote in a lecture delivered in 1877 that the “enormous triumph” of Prussian unification avenged “the bitter years from 1806 to 1813,” restored “the ancient boundaries of race,” and constructed “the new and vital... German nationality.”⁶⁶¹ By 1874, he expressed reservations about how the war, no matter how much it was supported by popular will, was “demoralizing” and possibly “a curse to Germany,” and he also expressed concerns over the rampant inflation, wild speculation, the negative impact on the school system “which was once the strength of Germany,” forced emigration and diminishing of the labor class.⁶⁶² Taylor was consistent in his aversion to war but overall he seemed positive about the unification.

⁶⁵⁹ F. Blied to Taylor, 10 June 1878, Box 2, BTP, CUSC: in Bruhl on July 29, 1877 when the banner of the Liederkrantz of Bruhl was consecrated; on Aug. 14, 1877, sung by 100 students of Normal School of Bruhl on closing examinations; on Sept. 8, 1877, when the Liederkrantz serenaded the Kaiser in a visit to Bruhl; and on May 28, 1878 in a celebration of the Kaiser’s escape from an assassination attempt.

⁶⁶⁰ Taylor to Whitelaw Reid, 25 September, 1870, Box 10 #35, BTP, CUSC.

⁶⁶¹ “Prince Bismarck” MSS Lecture, 12, New York, 17 March 1877, Lecture Box 9, BTC, CCHS. Also George Hesekeiel, *Bismarck: His Authentic Biography* (New York: J.B. Ford & Co., 1877), Introduction, xiii, with slight changes in wording.

⁶⁶² *San Francisco Bulletin* vol.38: 2, 9 April 1874, 2.

Most notably, Bismarck emerged as a heroic figure in both Germany and America. He became the face of German unification and the German Empire. The twenty years from the founding of the German Empire in 1871 to Bismarck's dismissal as minister in 1890 are known as the Age of Bismarck, clear recognition of his impact on European history. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Bismarck, the great statesman, was the center of attention in Germany and European politics in general. The German people admired him as the hero of national unity and the leaders of the other countries considered him to be a master of the political craft.⁶⁶³

Bismarck became a popular German figure in the United States and remained so until just prior to World War One. An article in the *New York Times* in 1878 noted in particular his physical impressiveness and mental acuity despite advancing age.⁶⁶⁴ John Kasson in 1886 characterized Bismarck as the "heroic soul" who "reconstituted German unity" and humiliated the French in revenge for the occupation of Berlin by Napoleon to become "the most illustrious figure of the 19th Century."⁶⁶⁵ B.J. Ramage asserted that strength and force were necessary for Bismarck to be the "unifier and emancipator of his people," and that history "will do him justice, ... whether it approves or condemns his methods and purposes, Bismarck will be regarded as one of the most colossal figures of the nineteenth century and one of the supremely great men of the world."⁶⁶⁶ As late as 1908, an article by Gustaf Karsten published in the United States expressed admiration for Bismarck as the "new ideal of [German] manhood" embodying strength and power as

⁶⁶³ Frank Eyck, *The Frankfurt Parliament 1848-1849* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 187.

⁶⁶⁴ "Prince Bismarck" [no author] *New York Times*, 18 August 1878, 4

⁶⁶⁵ John A. Kasson, "Otto von Bismarck, Man and Minister," *The North American Review* 143, no. 357 (1886): 118.

⁶⁶⁶ B.J. Ramage, "Prince Bismarck and German Unity," *The Sewanee Review* 7, no. 4 (1899): 468.

a “wholesome reaction against the dreamy, introspective type which has so far been common in the fatherland.”

With his newly-acquired interest in German unification and expressed respect and admiration for Otto von Bismarck and in his role as transatlantic communicator, Taylor shared and tapped into American fascination with Bismarck. The impressive image of Bismarck may have lessened Taylor’s apprehensions about the Prussian-led unification of Germany. Even though he had not yet met the man, Taylor felt that his close connection with Germany supported any comments he would make on the subject to Americans. In March, 1877, Taylor wrote a lecture in which he presented a stern but very flattering image of “Prince Bismarck.”⁶⁶⁷ Taylor saw Bismarck as the consummate statesman, a leader who thinks beyond himself and his time, discovers true power, and builds political edifices that will last long after he is gone. He was, in Taylor’s estimation, a combination of genius and action, a man remarkable for his success and his character. Taylor did not shrink from describing less appealing features of Bismarck’s realistic politics and diplomacy, specifically his reactionary conservatism and militarism, but claimed that Bismarck was justified because his vision was greater than that of his critics.⁶⁶⁸

Taylor’s positive valuation of Bismarck’s political acumen matches that of John Lothrop Motley, a contemporary of Taylor who had strong ties to Germany. Although Motley and Bismarck were lifelong friends, Motley was initially critical of Prussian military despotism and wary of Bismarck’s political motives and actions during unification. Once unification was achieved, however, Motley modified his views. As an American liberal republican, he believed that human progress was inevitable and that

⁶⁶⁷ “Prince Bismarck” MSS Lecture, CCHS.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

individual freedom and political liberty would triumph in Germany as it had in the United States. Motley hoped that Prussian unification would open the door to democracy in Germany.⁶⁶⁹ Taylor, as an American middle-class liberal republican, probably shared Motley's optimistic views, although he did not articulate them as well. His belief that Bismarck had great "vision" as a political leader, though, suggests that there was no reason to doubt that progress and political freedoms were inevitable after German unification.

Taylor also included the personal angle in his representation of Bismarck. Bismarck had been minister in Russia just prior to Taylor's arrival in 1862, so he included the stories he had gathered on Bismarck while there. When Taylor returned to Germany briefly in 1863, he had the opportunity to see Bismarck for the first time, just as Conservatives, led by Bismarck, clashed with Liberals over political and civil rights and freedoms for the people. Although Taylor, as an American, sympathized with the more democratic political sentiments of liberals, he "could not withhold the respect and admiration which attend the recognition of grand individual power."⁶⁷⁰ As La Vern Rippley quips astutely in his explanation for Bismarck's popularity among German-American liberals, "Nothing succeeds like success."⁶⁷¹ Democratic and liberal ideals be damned – Bismarck cut too impressive a figure of respect and admiration. As an individual, Taylor painted a verbal picture of Bismarck as likeable, scholarly, eloquent, intelligent, and magnanimous.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁹ John Walker, "John Lothrop Motley," *Traveling Between Worlds*, 66-71.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁷¹ Rippley, 128.

⁶⁷² "Bismarck" MSS Lecture.

Taylor concluded with the assertion that, in recognition of his extraordinary achievement, Bismarck earned the title of the “first statesman of his time.” Like most Americans, Taylor seemed mesmerized by the charisma and strength of personality of the most important political figure on the German landscape. At the time Taylor was observing, Bismarck’s policies can be described as a careful and subtle balancing act between agrarian conservatism and liberal industrialism. Bismarck, the pragmatic and manipulative politician, sought to generate patriotism and achieve unity using a combination of autocracy and parliamentarianism based upon universal suffrage.⁶⁷³ His liberalism was more an expression of political expediency than sincere dedication. Bismarck himself acknowledged that his decision in 1866 to accept universal suffrage, the “powerful ingredient” in arguments by “liberty mongers” was part of “the necessity... to use even revolutionary means... as a weapon in the war against Austria... in the war for German Unity.”⁶⁷⁴ His true colors as an authoritarian conservative, ant-socialist, counter-revolutionary, and imperialist were not revealed until after 1879.⁶⁷⁵

Taylor had not yet personally met Bismarck when wrote his essay/lecture. His admiring impressions and positive representation, therefore, were based upon the German statesman’s reputation more than anything else. Nonetheless, it matches well with nineteenth-century American interest in Bismarck in general. Taylor’s appreciation for German unification under Prussian auspices and his admiration for Bismarck were fully expressed when he received the appointment as U.S. Minister to Germany in 1878. He

⁶⁷³ Michael Stürmer, “Bismarck in Perspective,” *Central European History* 4, no. 4 (1971): 291-331.

⁶⁷⁴ Bismarck, Otto, Fürst von, *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, ed. Theodore S. Hamerow (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 93.

⁶⁷⁵ Stürmer, 308: A quote from Freytag expressing discomfort over Bismarck’s imperious image: “the soul and life of a nation should not depend so long on the temper and conscience of one person, and in their substance be guided by the autocracy of one man.”

was rewarded with the knowledge that “Bismarck was very desirous that [he] should be appointed.”⁶⁷⁶

When he did meet the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck’s charismatic presence impressed Taylor as it did many. Steinberg writes that he commanded by the sheer imperiousness of his personality, not through institutions or mass support. Bismarck’s power rested on “the sovereignty of a gigantic extraordinary self – a combination of physical presence, style in thought and actions, virtue and vices, will and ambition.” All who knew him testified “to a kind of magnetic pull or attraction which even those who hated him could not deny.”⁶⁷⁷ Taylor expressed those sentiments as he developed a close relationship with Bismarck in 1878. Shortly after arriving in Berlin, Taylor wrote of “the rich and rare experience... of seeing and talking to Bismarck” and that he was “on the most cordial footing with Bismarck, who is an amazing man.”⁶⁷⁸ The letters were not publicly presented but they certainly support at a personal level what Taylor represented publicly about German political activities and his admiration of Bismarck in his lecture.

Chapter Conclusion

Although different in history and traditions than America, regions and social groups in nineteenth-century German-speaking Central Europe, influenced by political ideas introduced and nationalist sentiments inspired by the French Revolution, shared ideals and experienced developments similar to those of the United States. German political activity was not as pronounced a point of contact in the German-American

⁶⁷⁶ Taylor to Willard Fiske, 10 March 1878, in *Unpublished Letters*, 204-5, after he learned of his appointment as Minister to Germany.

⁶⁷⁷ Jonathan Steinberg, *Bismarck: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5.

⁶⁷⁸ Taylor to Jarvis McEntee, 23 August 1878, in *Selected Letters*, 492-93; Taylor to Whitelaw Reid, 10 September 1878, *Ibid.*, 495: “I have gotten well acquainted with Bismarck, who is a truly great man....”

encounter as Alexander von Humboldt or German literary achievement, however Americans evidently were aware of a transatlantic connection. Jonas notes that Americans recognized kinship with the political ideals and values of liberal Germans who emigrated to the United States after the 1848 Revolution and that the United States government had friendly relations with Prussia during the nineteenth century.

Bayard Taylor had an insider's perspective and offered eyewitness accounts of those political ideals and developments that he observed and expressed in his travel writing. Significantly, his strong political identity as an American informed and defined his encounter with German political developments and personages between 1844 and 1878. Even though his identity evolved in the course of his visits, his American-ness dominated his representation. In the process, his representations drew parallels between ideals of American politics and German political aspirations in the nineteenth century and between developments happening concurrently in the United States and Germany, thereby making a transatlantic connection – the demand for political freedom, constitutional government, and national unification. Americans who read Taylor's accounts of German politics through his articles and books saw images of German political activities similar to the American experience through an American's eyes from an American perspective. And through Taylor's pride in his American political identity expressed through his representations of Germany, Americans shared in Taylor's view of the superiority of American political ideals, values, and institutions as they saw themselves in a global perspective.

Chapter 7

Bayard Taylor's American Encounter with Germany: Conclusion

Bayard Taylor died in Berlin on December 19, 1878, as United States Minister to the German Empire. The attention his death received attested to his popularity and fame. Funerals were held and eulogies given in both Germany and the United States. German-American societies paid heart-felt tribute to him and lengthy obituaries filled with praise were printed in many newspapers, spreading the sad news across the country.

Biographies were written on Taylor in the decade and a half after his death and he was included as an inspirational model in a book for young men.⁶⁷⁹ Taylor spent his life in self-promotion and self-creation in an effort to establish himself as a cultural figure and to earn a comfortable living. As part of that process, through his encounters and close relationship with Germany over several decades, he positioned himself as a transatlantic figure and cultural broker and gained a reputation as an American authority on German political developments, social activities, and cultural achievement.

Berthold Auerbach, a prominent German nineteenth-century poet and good friend of Taylor, delivered a particularly poignant and revealing eulogy in December 1878. He opened with a comparison of Taylor to the iconic figure of Benjamin Franklin, thereby elevating Taylor as a famous American in Germany:

Thou wast born in the fatherland of Benjamin Franklin;
and like him, thou didst work thy way upward from lowly
labor to be an apostle of the spirit of purity and freedom,
and a representative of thy people among a foreign people.
No! not among a foreign people; thou art as one of ourselves;
thou hast died in the country of Goethe, to whose lofty spirit

⁶⁷⁹ Sherwin Cody, *A Book for Young Americans* (New York: Werner School Book Company, 1899), BTC, PSUSC.

thou didst ever turn with devotion;.... You are one of those whom
he foretold, a disciple of a universal literature, in which high
above all bounds of nationality,.... the purely human soars....
Born in the New World, ripened in the Old....⁶⁸⁰

Auerbach's estimation captures the significance of Taylor's image as an American everyman; he identified Taylor as a nineteenth-century American who, through hard work and determination, lifted himself from "lowly labor" to become an "apostle" of American values and a "representative" American among the German people.

Auerbach's lionization went a step further, though, by recognizing Taylor also as a German – that Taylor was "one of ourselves" and that his writing, like that of Goethe, "soared above the bounds of nationalism."

Auerbach's lofty praise of Taylor suggests that Taylor's lifelong encounters with Germany produced a transnational identity. That implication corresponds, at least on the surface, with recent scholarship that interprets travel as a way of promoting the formation of identity in ways that transcended geopolitical conceptions of nation. David Gerber, for example, states that transnationalism posits the existence of modes of understanding and of behavior that span homelands and destinations and defy conventional boundaries of time and space, especially those considered to be national.⁶⁸¹ Mary Baine Campbell argues that the most useful methods for the study and analysis of travel writing moves beyond concerns for locatable and distinct cultures, boundaried nations, and imperial pasts.⁶⁸²

⁶⁸⁰ *In Memoriam: Life and Character of Bayard Taylor, January 27, 1879. Addresses delivered at the Funeral of Bayard Taylor.* J.P. Thompson, D.D. and Berthold Auerbach, December 22, 1878. Berlin, Box 8, BTC, PSUSC; also used by Augustus Prah, "Bayard Taylor in Germany," *The German Quarterly* 18, no.1 (1945): 16-25.

⁶⁸¹ David A. Gerber, "Forming a Transnational Narrative: New Perspectives on European Migrations to the United States," *The History Teacher* 35, no. 1 (2001): 262.

⁶⁸² Mary Baine Campbell, "Travel Writing and theory," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Hulme and Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 262.

Taylor's travel experience related to Germany seems to reflect both the transnational theoretical models and Auerbach's assertions. It is tempting, therefore, to construe Taylor's relationship with Germany as one that blurs the concept of nationally-bounded limitations and prejudices and expands the interpretation and examination of his writing and life experience as trans-cultural and transnational. His long contact, personal connections through marriage and friendships, mastery of the language, and incorporation of German cultural thought and feeling suggest a blended cultural and social identity. It is safe to assert that Taylor's long and intimate encounter with Germany and the variety and depth of his images and representation placed him in a unique position to convey German ideas and images through his travel books and with his translations of German poetry to Americans. However, a study of the evidence also reveals limitations to interpreting Taylor's attitude and perspective as transnational.

Taylor's only achievement that relates somewhat to a transnational cultural exchange is his translation of *Faust*. His translation of *Faust* as his greatest achievement and an important cultural contribution in the United States also accentuates an argument that he blurred boundaries and enabled a cultural crossing of borders. He did clean up Goethe's image to "sell" him to an American audience as an apologist by dismissing criticisms of Goethe's morality and repackaging him as a democratic sympathizer to "Americanize" him.⁶⁸³ However, he did not refashion *Faust*, Goethe, or German culture for Americans: he chose elements of German culture that fit in American cultural thinking with minimal change or reshaping and in many ways created a mirror for Americans to see their own values and ideals reflected back. Taylor represented German culture in ways that sought to preserve the original, while making them accessible to

⁶⁸³Tatlock and Erlin, eds., introduction to *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, xi, xii.

Americans. If anything, he re-signified American cultural values for his American audience in order to claim that the German and American cultures were linked in thought and feeling, thereby facilitating and justifying his place as a bridge between the two.

Also, the transnational process includes cultural reciprocation through which each culture influences the other in a two-way interchange. Germans recognized and appreciated Taylor's efforts to transmit elements of German culture, especially the translation of *Faust*, and his reputation as an American who embraced German culture. However, he did not contribute to an intercultural exchange by transferring American culture to Germany. His wife, Marie, translated some of his American work for a German audience and he was, according to Wermuth, popular in Germany.⁶⁸⁴ He also lectured on American literature occasionally to elite German audiences in the late 1870s.⁶⁸⁵ However, his cultural role was not reciprocal; he brokered German culture to Americans but made no substantial contribution of anything American to Germany.

In short, when examining the nature of Taylor's relationship with Europe in general and with Germany in particular in his travels, he was not transnational. His identity did not transcend national boundaries. Taylor was resolutely American in all of his travels. His persona, both personal and public, expressed through travel writing was the exemplar of nineteenth-century middle-class Euro-American and western attitudes that include national prejudice, a belief in white racial superiority, and the inevitability of white colonial dominance globally. He did not become a German in spite of Auerbach's insinuation. His encounters with Germany are characterized most accurately as an American inside Germany not as an American-German.

⁶⁸⁴ Wermuth, 156.

⁶⁸⁵ Krumpelmann, 154ff.

Taylor's American encounters with and relationship to German society and culture, therefore, are better described as transatlantic. In his position within Germany, Taylor recognized similarities and communicated connections between Germany and the United States in ways that ultimately illuminated his American identity. However, as part of his traveling cosmopolitan public image, he shied away from overt proclamations of his American-ness to his audience in order to sell his representations more convincingly. His travel journals and his subsequent published writings contain few overt nationalistic statements or sentiments of American superiority.⁶⁸⁶ In fact, the comments he made on German life and culture in his writing were generally positive even in comparison to American life. He wrote, for example, that the "German style of living ... is very different from our own" but "we thrive on ... a [German] diet" of a variety of soups, barley pudding, and rye bread and the "coffin-like beds, uncomfortable as they seem," provided for "sound and refreshing sleep."⁶⁸⁷ After enjoying a walk in the mountains outside Heidelberg and in the company of German friends, he wrote: "How happily we pass our September afternoons, warmed by such true social feeling... . If a return like this to the simple joys of the child's heart be but obtained by the mature age of a nation, I could almost wish our own country might grow old speedily."⁶⁸⁸ It appears that he did not wish to be another foreigner criticizing a different culture to his reading audience.

He also seemed uncomfortable with the attention he received as a foreigner while in another country and sought, at least as he presented himself to his readers, to blend in to the foreign culture. This is evident in all of his global travels but conspicuous also in

⁶⁸⁶ *Views*, 102, 122, 176-77, 181, 227, 282, 286.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

his representations of Germany. He wrote in *Views A-Foot* that he had “so completely adopted the German nature that [he] totally lost the consciousness of being a foreigner.”⁶⁸⁹ His public image, through published writings from the beginning and consistently in all of his travels to Germany as he gradually adopted German habits and established ties, was relatively free of an openly superior “American” identity.

Privately, however, he did not hide the fact that he was an American abroad throughout his life of travel. In fact, he was on occasion emphatically an American, and his letters to friends and family are replete with references to the superiority of American character and politics and reveal his national pride. He wrote to his sister in 1845 that “... with us, as with all Americans who go abroad, every day but proves that the free States are far, far beyond any other nation in the world.”⁶⁹⁰ His contact with other people and cultures convinced him that, although it had flaws, the American political system was superior, which reinforced his pride as an American abroad:

I begin to feel, on seeing the sluggish state of the European bipeds, how great a people we really are. The American minister here told me that every one of our people who goes abroad, returns much more in love with his country than when he left, and I know we will. You should hear the cheers that we sometimes give for our glorious land. Covered with sin and shame as one part of it is [slavery in the south], it still stands far, far above every other country in the world.⁶⁹¹

From his first contact with the world outside the northeast coast of the United States, Taylor confidently asserted that American values and ideals were superior to that of other nations. His rock-solid belief and pride in the virtuosity of the United States and its inevitable influence globally was expressed also in a poem he wrote in Frankfurt in 1844:

We meet, the sons of pilgrim sires, Unchanged, where-er we roam,

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid, 153.

⁶⁹⁰ Taylor to Hannah Taylor Darlington, date torn off, in *Unpublished Letters*, 11. Schulz estimates 1845.

⁶⁹¹ Taylor to Hannah Taylor, Florence, 17 December 1845, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

While gathered round the household fires, The happy bonds of home....
The spirits of our fatherland, Their sacred trust still hold, The freedom,
from a tyrant's hand, wrenched by the men of old. That lesson to the
broad earth given, We pledge, beyond the sea; The land from dark
oppression riven! A blessing to the free!"⁶⁹²

Even as late as 1877, while angling for the diplomatic post of American Foreign Minister to Germany, he revealed his national sentiments and rejected transnationalism:

An American who has any interest whatever in his country makes a fatal mistake when he gives up his residence here, and stays in Europe, where he can never be wholly at home. I have tested the two Continents pretty thoroughly, and am satisfied that one is always happiest where he is best known, where he knows most, and where his interests are kept alive and active.⁶⁹³

Taylor's public image was cosmopolitan and superficially transnational, but he identified personally as an American unwaveringly throughout his life.

Although Taylor did not express his American-ness outright in published writings, his values, ideals, prejudices, attitudes and interests as an American are clearly evident in his representations of Germany. A distinctly American perspective directed and structured his choices of topics and his style of presentation, and the conscious or unconscious imposition of his American thoughts and interpretations gave a national coloration to his narrative sketches. Taylor was the American lens through which his reading audience engaged and understood his images and representations of Germany.

However, Taylor was also personally and professionally attached to German society and culture. His American relationship with Germany, therefore, established him as a transatlantic figure. He was an American observing German activities and filtering what he saw through layers of his American identity for his American readers in his influential role as transatlantic interpreter, communicator, and cultural broker. His thirty-

⁶⁹² Dated 29 November 1844, Folder 12, BTC, PSUSC.

⁶⁹³ Taylor to George Boker, 29 December 1877, in *Selected Letters*, 472-474.

four contact with Germany also reveals how his America values and German representations evolved. In his American representations of “the other” in German-speaking Central Europe, Taylor understood that the United States and Germany shared a common heritage. He was thereby able to recognize similarities and create ties between the two countries.

At one level, therefore, Taylor’s historical significance lies in the transatlantic nature of his American representations of Germany, which adds to the scholarship on the nineteenth-century German-American encounter. He was a significant part of the German-American discourse and became a key figure in advancing German-American relations through his travel-related writings. Taylor’s representations of Alexander von Humboldt and German geographic science and exploration in general reflect his American interests and the co-existence of cosmopolitanism and imperialism as core elements of the array of American and European middle-class values and ideals. Thereby, as a transatlantic communicator, Taylor established American ties to German global activities. He also highlighted areas of commonality in national political developments occurring in both Germany and the United States. He recognized in his writings that Germany was progressing politically toward constitutional government, political freedoms and liberties, and national unification, all of which were salient in the American national experience. Taylor, therefore, was able to make transatlantic connections between political activities on both sides of the Atlantic.

With respect to German literary achievement, Taylor’s transatlantic role fell into the category of cultural broker – his access to resources, expertise, a reputation as an authority, and America’s interest in German literature made possible a substantive

exchange of cultural ideas and achievement. Taylor's contribution to American engagement with German culture is best demonstrated in his translation of Goethe's *Faust*. His mastery of the German language and his comfortable understanding of the mechanics and purpose of poetry enabled him to capture the essence of Goethe's genius in a way that preserved what was "German" while making it accessible to an American audience. His translation was based upon a conviction that "no great poem can be transferred with less loss than the German of *Faust* into the English language."⁶⁹⁴ Even more, he completed a translation that was the "unfolding of the full significance of the drama from a study of Goethe's mind itself."⁶⁹⁵ One could argue, then, that Taylor's accomplishment in cultural brokerage was a dialogue with the American reading public rooted in the voice and thoughts of Goethe.⁶⁹⁶ Isaac Edwards Clarke recognized the significance of Taylor's translation of Goethe in his 1879 tribute. Clarke compared the lives and accomplishments of Geoffrey Chaucer and Bayard Taylor and stated "To Chaucer, we owe the enrichment of the English language. In like manner, Taylor has given us the gift of Goethe, the Great German."⁶⁹⁷ In his role as broker of German culture and ideas, Taylor made it accessible and palatable for his American audience in a manner that preserved what was distinctive and valuable from a German perspective thereby blending the two cultures.

⁶⁹⁴ Taylor to Mrs. Bloede, 6 March 1869, Folder 9 Correspondence (1), BTC, PSUSC.

⁶⁹⁵ "The Evolution of Bayard Taylor's *Faust* Translation," Memoir of Marie Taylor MSS, Box 7, Tay17, 34, BTP, CUSC.

⁶⁹⁶ *In Memoriam: Life and Character of Bayard Taylor, January 27, 1879. Addresses delivered at the Funeral of Bayard Taylor.* J.P. Thompson, D.D. and Berthold Auerbach, December 22, 1878. Berlin. Box 8, BTP, CUSC. The translation was evidently considered to be a triumphal success in cultural transfer. Auerbach, as he eulogized on Taylor's life, noted that "thou hast erected a monument to [Goethe] to thy people; and wouldst erect before all peoples another – which, alas, is lost with thee."

⁶⁹⁷ *A Tribute to Bayard Taylor: An Essay and a Poem: Read Before the Literary Society of Washington* by Isaac Edwards Clarke, March 8, 1879 (Washington DC: Mohun Bros. Publishers, 1879), 2-3, Folder 18, BTC, PSUSC.

Taylor's encounters with Germany, therefore, are historically significant. He was an American everyman who, through his popularity, reputation, multi-media exposure, and his northern middle-class Euro-American "typicality," communicated American images and ideas from inside Germany in ways that reflected generally the broader elements of the German-American encounter of the nineteenth century – the influence of immigration and the German-American population, an American interest in German cultural achievement, and the role travel writing played in creating transatlantic connections. Taylor's transatlantic persona in relation to his American identity is evident in his travel writings on Germany; his American values, ideals, and interests informed and guided his representations from inside Germany, facilitated transatlantic ties between the United States and Germany, and characterized his American encounter.

The historical significance of Taylor's American identity and his transatlantic role, however, moves beyond making connections as an American in Germany. This study adds also to recent scholarship on how Taylor's travel narratives and lectures had an impact on the American public sphere. Taylor's encounter with Germany reveals the role American identity played in coloring American perceptions of the world. It also revealed what it meant to be an American in the nineteenth century as well. In essence, Taylor, as a typical Euro-American, spurred the process of fellow Euro-Americans imagining themselves as a national community; his representations of Germany both illuminated Taylor's American identity and reinforced American understanding of itself and its place in the world. In this regard, his observations on German activities and achievements were a measuring stick for his and his audience's American national

identity. Through connections and similarities with Germany, Taylor confirmed American national values and ideals.

As an individual, Taylor embodied what it meant to be an American. Through hard work, boundless ambition, and determination, he rose from humble origins to become a person of note in American society and culture worthy of emulation. As a public figure, Taylor affirmed a distinct American identity through his travel-related writings on elements of Germany society, culture and politics; in the same areas in which he established transatlantic connections, he displayed key features of his American identity. He linked German geographic science and exploration to his firm belief in America's future global power, influence, and participation. His cosmopolitan image, built partially on Taylor's close relationship with Germany, contributed to American global contact and knowledge of foreign people and cultures, and his imperial insinuations presaged American power in the world. Taylor shared the nineteenth-century American admiration for German cultural achievement and, through his transatlantic brokerage of German literature, was a key source in American access to the best of German literary accomplishment. His belief that Americans and Germans shared values and ideals in "thought and feeling" elevated American culture to the level of the much-admired German high culture. Through his descriptions of German political activity, he voiced the precedence of American political ideals and institutions. As an American in Germany, Taylor expressed an unshakeable confidence in the prepotency of American values of freedom, liberty, and constitutional government, and believed that the American example would inspire the ascendancy of democracy in the world. Americans could look with pride at how political developments in Germany reflected the freedoms

and liberties that Americans embraced. In short, Taylor was a window through which Americans could glimpse Germany and see themselves.

During his thirty-four year long engagement with German-speaking Central Europe, Taylor communicated images and perceptions to Americans at a time in which both the United States and Germany resolved national unification issues and were taking initial steps toward economic expansion and global participation. His appointment as American Minister to the German Empire in 1878 is an important event in this regard. It marked the pinnacle of that part of Taylor's public career involving Germany, and was as well the high point of amicable German-American relations in the nineteenth century.⁶⁹⁸ The *National Zeitung*, a widely-circulated newspaper in Germany, wrote that Taylor's appointment as Minister to the German Empire would "strengthen the already strong ties between the two countries."⁶⁹⁹

After 1878, however, Germany and the United States emerged quickly as industrial and commercial powers. The good will fostered between the two countries in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, therefore, slowly disintegrated as they became economic competitors and imperial antagonists. By the end of the nineteenth century, the notion that Germany was a militaristic state led by an imperious autocrat (with the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II) replaced the optimistic belief that Prussian unification of Germany would lead to political freedom and liberty. The growing contrariety between the United States and Germany set the stage for eventual confrontation in World War

⁶⁹⁸ Jonas, 34.

⁶⁹⁹ "The Berlin Mission: Hon. Bayard Taylor's Nomination Acceptable to the Germans," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 28 February 1878, 1.

One.⁷⁰⁰ Until his death in 1878, though, Bayard Taylor played a significant role in fostering understanding and good relations between the United States and Germany as a transatlantic figure.

Bayard Taylor's travel-related writings on Germany are a potentially rich source for further research and analysis of his role in the German-American encounter during the nineteenth century. This study relies heavily on Taylor's writings to suggest his impact on American society. Another study on Taylor's representations could focus on how the American reading public responded to his representations. Did Taylor's transatlantic relationship and his intimate descriptions of Germany over three decades create a channel through which German ideas, national images, and national experiences enhanced American ideas and perceptions of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter? Did his representations of Germany contribute to a broader transatlantic perception and cultural dialogue at many levels and with different component parts? Through a study of his writings, one could make a strong case that Taylor's authoritative voice on Germany shaped impressions of Germany for his American audience. In this capacity and considering the unique relationship that Taylor developed with Germany over decades, he was an instrument of transatlantic communication. If so, what were those impressions? Did Americans respond to his images and representations of Germany? Did Taylor's writing impact American tourism?

As an example of his impact, Taylor's contribution to American knowledge of German culture was recognized during his lifetime. His very intimate relationship with

⁷⁰⁰ Jonas, 35-64. It is important to note here that, although the United States and the German Empire were becoming global and economic competitors, the United States was neutral when World War One broke out and the American population was divided in support of the European countries involved in the conflict. German strategies, operations, and provocations during the war convinced the United States government to declare war on Germany, not pre-war competition.

German cultural achievement provided for his audience unique and valuable insights. A newspaper article published in 1878 promoting a primer in German literature reflected the growing American attachment to German literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. After listing Carlyle, Sarah Austin, and Macauley as key figures who introduced German literature to English speakers, in “the present time, Bayard Taylor, now occupying the post of United States Minister to the Court in Berlin, has contributed much toward familiarizing English-speaking people, especially Americans, with the great minds of Germany. Those who have dipped at all into German literature will bear us out, that it is an inviting field – one where a slight acquaintance inspires a desire for intimate companionship.” The article went on to note the significance of Goethe, whose works had “obtained as firm a hold upon English literature as the writings of Shakespeare or Milton. The translations of Goethe’s *Faust* and his *Sorrows of Young Werther* are as much standard English classics as any poems written in the English tongue. Schiller’s poems and his histories translated into English are also to be found in every library of importance either in England or America.”⁷⁰¹ That is only one example, though. Was the response to Taylor’s transatlantic representations extensive?

The reception of Taylor’s representations of Germany in the German-American community might be a particularly interesting study as well. Germans constituted the largest non-English European population in the United States during the nineteenth century and, based on the pluralist model of immigration, maintained traditions and ties to their European homeland. The infrastructure of the German-Americans through German-language newspapers and school systems preserved German culture in America. Taylor evidently had a close relationship with the German-American community –

⁷⁰¹ “A Primer for German Literature,” *San Francisco Bulletin*, Vol. 46, Issue 112, 17 August 1878.

Germans formed a large part of his fan base and, according to some scholars, they were the main impulse behind “American” interest in Germany during the nineteenth century. How were Taylor’s representations of Germany received in the German-American community? Did they reinforce their identity as Germans in America? What was the significance of Taylor’s place as a transatlantic man on that particular demographic? Did the similarities and connections to German society and culture that he drew contribute to German acceptance of an American identity? How influential was Taylor in the “German-American” element of the German-American encounter?

During his lifetime, Bayard Taylor was a well-known but relatively minor figure in nineteenth-century American literature and faded from public view soon after his death. However, he traveled the world and wrote at a time of change and transformation in American society, a time in which the United States was expanding and Americans were defining identity and placing themselves in a global context. Taylor’s involvement in and writings in relation to those changes make him historically significant, especially since he advocated a “more sophisticated, cosmopolitan form of patriotism.”⁷⁰² For the purposes of this study, Taylor’s personal and professional relationship with German-speaking Central Europe reveals aspects of his historical relevance. He was an American inside German society who embodied middle-class Euro-American ideals and values while communicating, translating, interpreting, and brokering German society and culture to a receptive American reading audience. Consequently, he made connections between Germany and the United States as a transatlantic man in the context of the nineteenth-century German-American encounter and helped Americans imagine themselves and their future as a nation.

⁷⁰² Tom F. Wright, “The results of locomotion,” 125.

Appendix 1

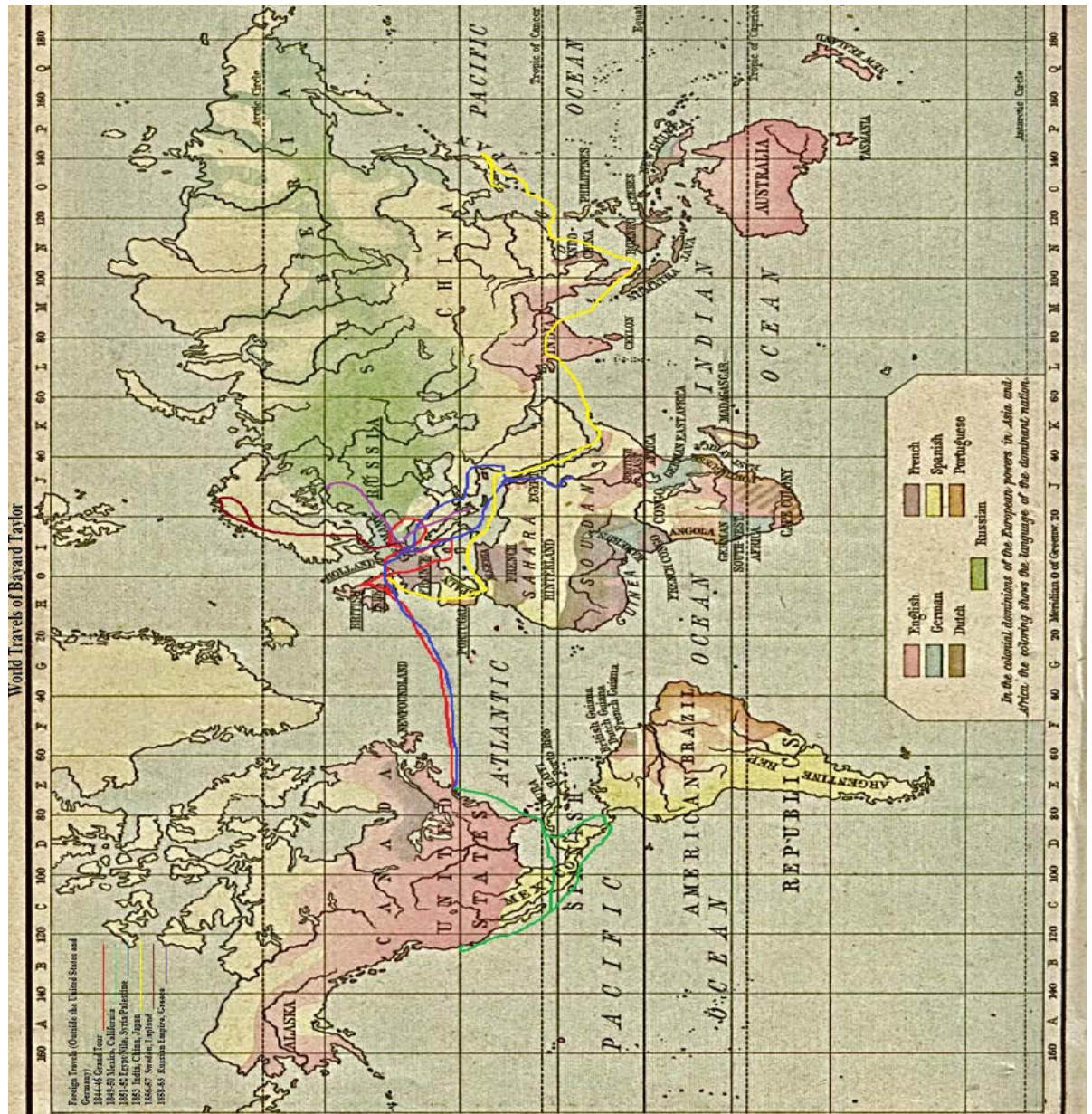
Map of the German Confederation, 1815-1866⁷⁰³



⁷⁰³ *GroßeAtlas zur Weltgeschichte* (Braunschweig: George Westermann Verlag, 1997) in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_Confederation.

Appendix 2

World Travels of Bayard Taylor⁷⁰⁴



⁷⁰⁴ William R. Shepherd, *The Historical Atlas*, "European languages in the World 1914," 1923, in <http://www.zonu.com/fullsize-en/2009-11-05-10836/European-languages-in-the-World-1914.html>. The title "World Travels of Bayard Taylor" and the color-coded travel routes added.

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