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America as Seen Through German Eyes, or American Social History from the German Viewpoint, 1865-1900

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AMERICA
AS SEEN THROUGH GERMAN EYES

or

American Social History from the German Viewpoint
1865 - 1900

by
Sister M. Ann Joachim O.P.

"A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Loyola University."

-- February 1933 --
Dedicated to the Memory

of

Mother Mary Augustine Walsh O.P.

Mother General of the
Dominican Sisters

Adrian - Michigan

Born February 17, 1874
Professed August 22, 1896
Died January 8, 1933
VITA

Sister M. Ann Joachim O.P. (Petronilla M. Joachim) was born at Cologne, Germany on October 15, 1901 and emigrated to the United States with other members of her family in 1905. After graduating from St. Anthony's School in Detroit she attended the Detroit College of Law where she received the Bachelor of Law Degree in June 1923 and successfully passed the Michigan State Bar Examinations. In the following September she enrolled in the University of Detroit and received the Master of Law Degree in June 1924. While practicing law she continued her studies. On January 6, 1928 she entered the Dominican Order at Adrian, Michigan, attending St. Joseph's College from that date until June, 1931 when she received the Bachelor of Arts Degree. She has attended Loyola University continuously since that date.
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INTRODUCTION

As soon as the Homestead measure was placed before Congress and during the fifteen or more subsequent years until its passage as the Homestead Act of 1862, the wave of Teutonic immigration rose. This brought the second great tide of foreigners to American shores just as the Irish wave receded. The practically free grant of a hundred and sixty acres of public land, on condition of settlement and cultivation, was an inducement to the land hungry German who had hitherto eked out an uncertain living by intensive cultivation and the practice of rigid economy. Legislative proceedings, relative to the Homestead Act, were watched by many a German citizen across the Atlantic as closely as by ambitious Americans.

Up until 1850, Irish immigrants outnumbered German immigrants but in every decade thereafter until the close of the century the latter was the more numerous. There was, however, a considerable falling off from 1858 to 1864, but when war between Austria and Prussia loomed, German immigration increased. In the intervening years from 1866 to 1870, (probably in consequence of the strained relations between France and the North German Confederation,) very large figures were set forth. Even the year 1870 had the large number of 91,770 emigrants. After the close of the Franco-German war, when the Empire had been created, a prosperity seemed to have come over Germany and wages
were almost doubled. Even then, when everything appeared in the bristest array, an emigration fever raged in all parts of Germany. The years 1871, 1872 and 1873 showed a steady tendency to quit the Fatherland. This movement would no doubt have continued, for the natural check it received through hard times in the United States. Besides in 1872 and 1873 the German government issued more than twenty-thousand warrants for the arrest of evaders of military duty. Germans re-visiting their homeland were detained, even after they had become naturalized American citizens. This continued until a treaty between the two countries adjusted the difficulty.

In 1882, the record year, 250,630 German emigrants entered the United States. Thereafter the number rapidly subsided. In 1898, only 17,111 emigrated, but after that time the number of annual arrivals fluctuated between 25,000 and 40,000. The majority of the arrivals prior to 1850 were peasants and artisans, but many were small merchants and farmers. Every class, however, was represented, even broken-down members of the nobility. After the Civil War a great change came over German emigration. More industrial workers but fewer peasants and rarely a man of intellect or one of wealth left Germany for our shores.

Three causes underlay this wave of immigration. These were financial stringency, over population, and the growing rigor of the military service in Germany. Emigration would
probably have been much greater except for the fact that the government endeavored to keep the people at home by increasing the stringency of laws controlling emigration and diverting emigrants to German colonies.

Reports came to Germany from America in the form of letters from immigrants, greatly exaggerating the pleasant facts. Books written under the auspices of states and societies, advertisements of steamship companies; all were certain to induce many to sell their holdings and embark for the "Land of the Dollar." In 1872 ten thousand copies of a "Special Report on Immigration" consisting of over two hundred pages of information about prices and rentals of land, staple products, access to market, kinds of labor in demand in Western and Southern states and many other items "was printed in the German language at the expense of the United States Federal Government and circulated in Europe."¹

Why did German immigrants outnumber those of any other nationality? They were first of all desirous of bettering their living conditions and then perhaps they were in greater demand. Their sturdy character, law-abiding instincts, habits of industry, pains-taking zeal, honesty and intelligence

¹ House Executive Documents, 42 Cong. 2nd Sess. No. 1 and 43 Cong. 1st Sess. No. 287, quoted in George M. Stephenson History of American Immigration, 1820-1924, New York. 50
helped make them desirable additions to any community.

In the early nineties, in reply to a questionnaire sent to the Governors of States by the Immigration Restriction League, 14 states expressed a desire for Germans; 12 Scandinavians, 7 English or Scotch; 6 Irish or other English speaking peoples; 3 French; 2 Swiss; 1 Hollander and Belgian. 2

More probably has been written about the German element in our population than any other non-English element. They were eager for land, they were reliable, philosophical, took things as they came, but had no desire to command or to mix with other peoples, met trials with patience, clung obstinately to a few cherished convictions, and sought impetuously to possess a home and family, to master a trade and to amuse themselves in their own way. Until the hectic years of the Great War, the opinion was widely held that the German, on the whole represented a high type.

Social, industrial, economic and political conditions of the United States have been exaggerated in order to increase immigration. Other writings, journals of travelers, who toured the States (on pleasure trips, not to judge or speak in favor or against, but just to explain the facts as they saw them,) were perhaps the most authentic and reliable.

The critic, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, has several remarks to make about such travelers:

2 Senate Reports, 54 Congress, 1st Sess. No. 290 quoted in Stephenson, History of American Immigration. 51
Their political sympathies, extensive information, and patient tone of mind, alike fit them for the task of investigating and reporting physical and social facts.

The record may lack sprightliness, and be tinged with a curious vein of speculation but is nevertheless likely to convey solid and valuable knowledge and suggest comprehensive inferences. 3

Impressions have been generously recorded and some of the most just views and candid delineations have emanated from German writers. 4

The impressions of these writers as to our social life and customs from 1865 to the close of the century has been chosen for this paper.

We have resorted to quotations at length because they were taken from source material and translated. The books are not available to the general reader.

3 Henry Theodore Tuckerman, America and her Commentators. Charles Scribner, New York, 1864. 302
4 Ibid.
CHAPTER I

PEOPLE IN AMERICA

Travelers were numerous during the thirty-five year period immediately following the Civil War. The Germans were well represented among them. The German traveler, acquainted with the homogeneous character of his countrymen, was most surprised at the heterogeneous character of the people in America. He was inquisitive and anxious to ascertain the history of the races which make up the inhabitants of our country. Undoubtedly he was struck by their different natures, peculiarities, mannerisms, life and customs.

Americans in New England have often been called "Yankees". They emigrated from Old England and their American colonies were in time given the name of the "New England States." Foreigners have misused the term "Yankees" and the German visitor has not been an exception. Most Americans resent being so called.

The growth of the real American in the United States increased with the Yankee and still no one wants to be a Yankee.

If one comes from Europe to see New Orleans and asks for a Yankee, all shake their head and direct one to the North. One gets on a train or a steamer and goes to St. Louis which is more than eight hundred miles north of New Orleans. Arriving there he asks for the Yankees. Again the people shake "No" with their heads and direct one with their fingers to the North. So he uses the train a second time and flies three days and three nights without getting out of his clothes or out of the car, 1200 miles to Philadelphia or New York. Here he thinks the Yankee will be at Home.
But praise God, neither the New Yorker nor the Philadelphian wish to be called Yankees. The residents of Ohio, Indiana or Illinois do not wish to be even thought Yankees. "Yankees are only those in the New England States" is the answer we receive upon inquiry. The next day he travels in God's name to the New England States. These are Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine, and are in the most northeasterly part of the Union. Of the name New England they are proud, which is perhaps a sign that they are English. No German, French or other blood runs through their veins. (2) But they do not want to know anything about the Yankees. He travels to Hartford, Springfield, Providence, Portland, New Haven or other cities of New England, whatever they are named. Even here the residents answered that in their country there is no such person as a Yankee to be found. "Formerly", as one man made answer, "there were Yankees with us, but they have moved to the West and Southwest of the Union." (3) That is true. There is no section of the Union which has been settled by the Yankees and in which they are still located." (4) This definition has been given to the inquiry "What is a Yankee?"

Theodore Griesinger is certainly mistaken as to the time it took to travel from St. Louis to either Philadelphia or New York. Even in 1865 it could be made in less than 72 hours. If "No German, French or other blood" ran through their veins they must have been English. The truth is, however, that long before 1865 they had scattered, some in Ohio, Western New York, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. Many finally settled in Kansas where they are still found.

This is contradictory. If they had no German, French or other blood in their veins they must be English, and then Griesinger states the Yankees had been with them formerly but had now moved. What were the people who still lived there?

It is true that the Yankees moved West and Southwest and part of them grouped in Kansas, but the author is mistaken when he says that there is no territory in which they are still located.
A Yankee is a person of middle size with thin legs and extreme inferior body, with a narrow sharp featured face and above all a wise eye, a great deal of energy and agility of limbs and little color in his cheeks. 5

This visitor as well as the continental Europeans seemed to regard America as a distant land to which many of their countrymen had gone and from whence they never had come back except as visitors, and it is said to be an American trait that every adopted citizen, after having once fairly made the acquaintance of Americans, strongly disclaimed the idea of living in any other country.

The Americans have been visited, lauded and criticized, spoken of and written about, by the just and fair-minded traveler and by the prejudiced. Representatives from many countries have recorded their impressions and the purpose of this paper is to compile and evaluate the German viewpoints. It is only natural that the majority of the German travelers would laud their own Fatherland and their fellow citizens. Adolf Douai concluded: "The story of a people is just that which the people permit to be done to them." 7

5 We can probably agree with this definition except that the typical Yankee after frontier life certainly had a very strong body. He was tall and lanky but not middle sized. Theodor Griesinger, Land und Leute in Amerika. Kroener, Stuttgart, second edition, 1865. I, 1-3


7 Adolf Douai, Land und Leute in der Union. Otto Zanke, Berlin 1864. 31
Fodenstedt states:

The immigrant, who leaves his old cultured land brings with him into this new and young nation, his experience and knowledge, has an opportunity here to develop it more than in his Fatherland. The Americans deserve a great deal of credit for their ingenuity, their speed and endurance and ability as laborers. 8

And Douai says that with reference to activity, "the English are the most conservative people in all Europe excepting the Dutch. Therefore one should not be surprised at the conservativeness of the Anglo-Americans but at their quick change of opinions."

Some of this generation, sons of the aristocratic familites, which John Smith - 1608 - led to Virginia and others later to Maryland and Carolina, were talented enough but shiftless, unable to or afraid to work, but were anxious for war against the Indians to obtain more land without compensation. 10

Such was the opinion of this often quoted writer, but to say the least, he was misinformed. John Smith was not an aristocrat nor did he lead the first families to our shores.

Many of the old Americans were employed by others, but none would become a footman or hotel waiter. Our railroads were not built by them. In the North, all the lower kinds of labor, (but which though they rank low as employments are still necessary to the well being, even to the existence of society,) have

8 Friedrich Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. F. U. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1882. 38
9 Douai, Land und Leute. 32
10 Ibid., 19-20
hitherto fallen to the lot of the Irish, English and German immigrants. Their places have been taken in the South by the blacks and in the Pacific states by the Chinese.

Most of the immigrants during our thirty-five year period (1865-1900) were Irish, German and Scandinavian workers, who very quickly became used to new ways and means. It was quite noticeable, even to a traveler, that the second generation of the Irish accustomed itself to American ways which still tended though slightly, to follow the English.

Not such a favorable report is given by Charlotte Niese, a writer of anti-Irish and even anti-American prejudices, during her travels here in 1887:

The Irish-American, who became Alderman and even Mayor, treasurer or other city official, in New York, is too practical to spend the fascinating "Gold" which passes through his hands, for pavements, street-cleaning and gas illumination. He thinks of himself and family first of all. He must take advantage while the opportunity is at hand....At any rate every official, whether he has a common or an exalted position, practices the same methods. Is it then a wonder that of the million inhabitants of this great city, only a few thousand help in beautifying and bettering the city? 

11 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 45
Rudolf Kunz, Bilder aus Amerika nach eigener achtjährigen anschauung gezeichnet. Printed for the author, Zurich, 1882. 144-153
Friedrich Oetkin, Die Landwirtschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika...Paul Parey, Berlin, 1893, Chap 22.

12 Douai, Land und Leute. 1-2

And is it different in Philadelphia, Baltimore or in the cities of the West?

Wherever the Irish element is in command or in office, the conditions are the same. No wonder that the German is not interested in what one calls "politics" in the Union. He (the German) came to earn an honest living, and not (with talk and other means) to gain an influence over the voters so that later, in a political office he might become rich, without further effort. 14

Just what Charlotte Niese (who used the Pseudonym, L. Burger,) means when she says that the German was not interested in politics is hard to understand. It is true they were not office seekers in the beginning but they used their vote as soon as they obtained it.

"Very few scholars" declared Ernest Bruncken, "seem to be aware that the German immigration has had, an interesting development and that it is quite impossible to understand the social and political history of those portions of our country where German settlers have been numerous and influential without acquainting oneself with the successive stages of that development."

Bremen and Hamburg sent merchants to the United States to establish business houses or agencies. They "imbibed the money craze as well as the amusement craze." They worked to make a fortune so as to be able to return to Germany and enjoy it.

14 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. The Irish in America, Chap XI.
15 Ernest Bruncken, "Germans in America" American Historical Association Report for 1898. 345
16 Douai, Land und Leute. 56
The majority of the newcomers remained and made the interests of the United States their interest.

The Civil War was a signal for the immigrants to help the cause of their newly chosen home. One hundred thousand Germans helped in the struggle. They were bitter opponents of slavery. While immigration continued a writer estimated that:

If the population of the United States increases in the future as it has in the past, there will be a hundred million people here in 1900 of which one-fifth will be German, and in 1960 there will be three hundred and fifty million and one-half will be German. 18

He asks: "Will Germany then have its own colony here?" and concluded: "If Germany continues at its present rate of increase it will have a hundred and fifty million residents here in 1960, and there will be more Germans in the United States than in Germany." Many Americans feared, in the late sixties and until the eighties, that the number of German immigrants and their descendants would outnumber all others. The question whether they would congregate and have their own state or at least parts of states was often discussed. Of course they continued to come but land workers spread to perhaps every state in the Union.

17  Douai, Land und Leute. 352
18  Ibid., 349
19  There were 23,000,000 Germans in Germany in 1800,
   44,000,000 in 1879
   56,000,000 in 1900
   67,000,000 in 1914
   65,000,000 in 1932.
Max Jordan, "Back to the Land in Germany". Commonweal.
New York, August 24, 1932. 404
E. V. Smalley, explaining the German element in the United States in 1883, wrote:

We have been content with the general notion that they are industrious, orderly people, who add to our national wealth and keep out of our poor-houses and jails. We wish that they would pay more regard to our American Sabbath and not drink so much beer.

Two things they insist upon as a class which are contrary to the dominant opinion among the native American element--the right to drink beer and wine in public places at all times--the right to amuse themselves on Sundays in the ways they were accustomed to in their own country.

When Smalley said that he wished they would regard our American Sunday more than they did, he probably did not mean "American" in the strict sense of the word, he probably meant "Puritan".

He continues describing a typical German:

The Germans take an active part in our politics but they are much less clannish than the Irish and rarely vote in a body, unless it be to defeat a party or a party-leader responsible for some measure of legislation affecting their personal liberty.

Whether the Germans took an active part in our politics seems to be disputed between Smalley and Niese, the latter claims that they were not interested in our politics. I believe Smalley, who made a study of the German element in the United States, can be relied upon. Charlotte Niese was a biased traveler, and not

21 Ibid., 357
sufficiently observant to come to such a conclusion.

Professor Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard University, has written in German papers some very sensible articles on America. The article "The German and the Americans" is a splendid psychological diagnosis of the rising antipathy between the two nations.

The common interests between German culture and American civilization are so great that we would deem it a great misfortune for the development of both nationalities if the estrangement were perpetuated, and we hope for a free ventilation of its cause to nip the growing hostility in the bud. 22

Professor Münsterberg was a German and remained a German in this country. He was not naturalized, but being engaged at Harvard he lived in an American atmosphere. He knows a great deal about American life and conditions, perhaps more than many who have spent the greater part of their lives on this side of the ocean. His judgment accordingly rests upon an immediate observation of facts, which he presents with

22
Hugo Münsterberg, "The German and the Americans". Atlantic Monthly. Sept 1899. 402

23
Douai, Land und Leute. 56-57
Griesinger, Land und Leute. Chap VIII, 236-310
Herman Grüning, Hamburg, 1874. Chap 10, Future of the German Element; Chap 11, Continuance of the German Language.
P. Girard, "German Element in the United States", Catholic World. Vol 26, Oct. 1877, 381
impartiality and fairness.

Münsterberg and hundreds of others have written about the American people, what they do and how they do it. Is there a distinction between the people in this land of liberty?

America is a "Free Land", position and noble birth make no difference. An office boy can become superintendent. A newsboy can become a millionaire. A simple official can become the President of the United States, "but it is not possible that a negro can become white." In America everyone feels that he is a citizen of a large and powerful nation. He is proud of it, that is, if his skin is white and not some other color.

There were and still are many of color in our country. In 1880 Dr. Schüller estimated 9,007,187 white people in the south and 5,631,749 black; by 1890 the whites had increased to 11,361,796 and the black only to 6,194,924. In the north the blacks decreased from 949,251 in 1880 to 801,076 in 1890. This shows that the colored people did not scatter around the

24 Dr. Paul Carus, **Open Court Monthly Magazine**, Oct. 1899 Chicago, Vol 13, 626-630
25 Münsterberg, in addition to newspaper and magazine articles wrote many books, but all deal with a later period.
26 Georg Asmussen, **Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam; Bilder aus Amerika** O. V. Boehmert, Dresden, 1905. 96
27 Ibid.
states, at least not in that decade. But what was the negro doing and what had he done since the war? The emancipation of the negro made him politically equal to the white man and gave him the right to vote and hold public office. The 1890 census shows that they built 7 colleges, 17 academies and 49 high schools in the United States. They boasted of 842 lawyers, 465 physicians, 1420 merchants, 995 trained preachers and 248 professors. The majority of them however were servants, waiters, porters or laborers of one kind or another.

As waiters they are clean and orderly, they serve in some of the largest hotels with a great deal of pride. They are friendly and helpful.

When a traveler comes to our country he is interested in the original Americans, the Indians, more perhaps than the much talked of negro.

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28

29
Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Curiosa aus der Neuen Welt*. Carl Reissner, Leipzig, 1893. 212
Griesinger, *Land und Leute*, Chap 6, 164-207; Chap 13, 395-436; Chap 27, 840-862

30
Oetkin, *Die Landwirtschaft*. 593

31
Schüller, *Südstaaten Nordamerikas*. 43
By the end of the Civil War the Indians, as a rule, were confined to particular parts of the country. One traveler says that anyone interested in the study of Ethnology in North America should go to Denison, Texas.

Denison is a town about 20 years old, located on the Red River, which separates it from the Indian Territory. This territory is open to all red skins but closed to the white people. That is, white people may not settle or carry on trade in this Indian territory. However the Indian needs clothing, guns and ammunition, whisky or fire-water, thus affording a good market for the white men. The sale of fire-arms, ammunition and liquor to Indians was forbidden, but the white traders settled on the boundary line in order to smuggle their wares into forbidden territory, this developed into a very profitable business. 32

Thus was founded the town of Denison. From this town it was quite convenient for travelers or smugglers to undertake trips along the Red River into the neighboring territory, which is the hunting ground of several tribes.

However it has been a long time since they hunted buffaloes with bow and arrow, clothed in furs with eagle feathers in their hair. Until a decade or two ago their race was only slightly affected by the intermarriage with Chinese and negroes. At that time, however, Indian tribes at other locations consisted of fifty percent halfbreeds, since then practically no pure blooded Indian children were born in this territory. 33

Hesse-Wartegg should not have classed the Chinese with the negroes in this intermarriage question. There were very few

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32 Hesse-Wartegg, Curiosa. 223-4
33 Ibid.
Chinese in this territory and consequently very few married the Indians. The Indians intermarried with the whites, some blacks but rarely a Chinaman.

An Indian woman, after her marriage, retains her tribal affiliation by virtue of Indian law; whereas the man loses his and becomes a member of the tribe of his squaw. In view of large sums of money paid the red-skins by the United States government, for the acquisition of their hunting grounds, it was deemed good business to marry an Indian girl. As a result traders, trappers, hunters and other whites evaded the law (prohibiting entrance into the Indian territory) by marrying into the tribes. Old maide were not to be found, whether beautiful or homely, old or young, all found suitors under these conditions. It was not necessary for her to be a full blooded Indian, as long as her grandfather or great-grandfather was an Indian, this was sufficient to retain the tribal affiliation and to make her blond, Swedish or Saxon, husband a member of the tribe.

Not only the Caucasians but also the Mongolians and Negroes married into the Indian tribe. A small portion of the thousands of Chinese who came to America, located in the border towns of Caldwell, Wichita, Fort Smith and Denison, to follow their laundry trade. Mongolians as husbands were well liked by the women but not by the tribes. In these border cities the Indian squaws at times lowered themselves, (that is, in the estimation of their tribe members) in
marrying Chinese, thereby making them members of their tribe. Negroes and Negresses intermarried with the Indian also. The Civil War ending slavery, the free negroes in the Indian territories settled in No Man's Land which was deserted by the Witchitas.

The visitor traveling to the Pacific coast finds a larger representation of the yellow race immigrating from China. This immigration, so to speak, begins at China, stretches to the Pacific coast of America and returns again to its starting point for every Chinaman expects to return to his native land. He comes to America to make a little money, leaving his family behind him, and satisfied with a very modest competence, returns to China.

34 Hesse-Wartegg, *Curiosa*. 224

35 "In the heart of the United States is a land called "No Man's Land." It has neither cities nor railroads, it is marked off with two rivers, Cimarron and Beaver. There are about ten thousand people in ranches and farms. They are citizens of the United States but the government has no control over them in that it has no law-enforcing agencies established in that territory. (Because this territory was not in 1893 part of any state or territory under the jurisdiction of the United States.) There is no other law than public opinion, no restraint of crime other than conscience, no enforcement other than the gun. The people trade with each other, buying and selling houses, paying their debts etc, without a legal basis. They built schools, roads, without paying a tax, yet each one contributes his share toward it. Honorable and respectable people live peacefully with criminals and the United States exercises no authority to apprehend these criminals." Ibid., 136 When this territory was taken into the Union conditions changed.
Most of the Chinese in San Francisco are poor, or at least they appear so. They wish to be let alone. They work from early to late, they are satisfied but they steal and lie and quarrel with each other constantly. They live cheaply, about ten cents a day. 36

Julius Hirschberg, the author of the above statement was a professor at the University of Berlin, and as such should have perhaps qualified his statements. When he wrote his book (1888) there were many rich and influential Chinamen in San Francisco. Not all of them desired to be let-alone, neither did all of them steal and lie and quarrel with each other. Certainly if they were satisfied they would have no reason to quarrel. They conducted diversified businesses, some were bankers, jewelers, lauderers, vegetable merchants, waiters and cooks, but they were best at light work. They helped in the building of the Pacific Railroad.

At a station in Coles, California, I met a German machinist who told us that there are a thousand Chinamen and fifteen hundred whites working in the excavation of a railroad tunnel. The Chinese get $1.00 a day and the whites $2.00. The Chinese can live on from five to fifteen cents a day. Every day there are fatalities in this tunnel, but the railroad company pays the newspapers to keep reports of accidents out of the paper. 37

Every day some member of this working gang was sent to the hospital, hurt because of falling rocks in the building of


37 Ibid., 141
The employees paid fifty cents a month out of their wages for medical care and hospital expenses.

The Chinamen earn little and spend less, they hoard it in order to return to China with it. Necessarily their living conditions are of the worst. The district or section in San Francisco, from Kearney Street to Stockton Street accommodated 7000 white people, in 1887 it held 35,000 Chinese. "They live in cellars and attics. The rooms are partitioned and two floors are made out of one. It is always crowded. In some beds, three people take turns sleeping in the twenty-four hours of the day."

Of the 215,000 Chinese immigrants (1855-1880) half of them returned to China before the end of 1887.

In addition to the observations and impressions of the different races and nationalities, the American Woman, has been given a prominent part in almost every traveler's account.

"Women in America are placed on a pedestal, they are considered more than just a companion," is the usual impression.

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38 Hirschberg, Von New York nach San Francisco. 141
39 Ibid., 170
41 Emil Deckert, Der Neue Welt, Reiseskizzen aus dem Norden und Süden der Vereinigten Staaten sowie aus Kanada und Mexico. Gebrüder Paetel, Berlin, 1892. 99
Women in America are not amiable or charming, except in a few cases. They are in general prettier than their European sisters who come from finer and nobler parents, but they lack feeling and warmth of heart. 42

Although Douai traveled early in the sixties he certainly is mistaken about the women. To say that only a few are amiable or charming is erroneous.

Another one writes:

The American woman has come to look upon her husband as a useful but rather inferior being, whose place in life is to work hard all day to get the money for her comfortable maintenance and devote himself to her entertainment in his leisure hours. She must have servants and nurses to relieve her from household and maternal cares, so that she may have time for calls and shopping, and if her husband does not think she has a right to enjoy herself while he is toiling for her support, she looks upon him as a brute. 43

There are extreme cases described in the above assertion. The author does describe some, but very few, of the women of the better classes in 1883. Smalley continues and compares the American woman with the German woman. He has not chosen two of the same standing, however, as can readily be noted:

The German husband is the bread-winner, and she gives him reverence and service as well as affection, expecting in return fidelity and devotion, but no sacrifices to her shims, her love of dress or her fondness for socleity. She takes her full share of the burden of life and in a hundred little ways shows that it is her pleasure to aid him in the struggle for existence. 44

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42 Douai, Land und Leute. 43-44
43 Smalley, "German Element". 359
44 Ibid.
He does not show whether her conduct is the same after he has obtained a fortune and secured a better place in society. Intermarriages between Germans or descendants of Germans and Americans of other descent were not regarded with favor by the older Germans and such marriages were of rare occurrence until the third generation.

Girard, in his compilation of the German element in the United States, gives us another viewpoint:

The German husband does not regard his wife as a pretty plaything, a fragile and expensive doll to be dressed in gay raiment and paraded for the gratification of his vanity. On the contrary, the German husband, if at fault at all in this respect, looks upon his wife too much in the light not merely as a helpmate, but a servant in whose zeal, industry and faithfulness he can repose the utmost confidence. Americans too often make useless idols of their wives; the German husband may seem to regard his spouse from too utilitarian a point of view, but in the German household, here as in the Fatherland, there is not, as there is too often in American homes, one bread-winner and one or more spenders. The wife, whenever it is needful or expedient, not only manages the domestic affairs of the family with economy, prudence and good sense, but takes a full share of the burden of providing its income.

The German mother kept the family together. The German family was usually seen together either at work or at play. Sunday afternoon walks, at theatres or beer gardens, the family was united at all times. What about the American woman? One very conspicuous characteristic of American women is their inde-

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45 Girard, "German Element". 376
46 Ibid.
pendence. As soon as a girl grows up she is allowed to do what she pleases, without her parents' interference.

Some of these girls or women are employed as cooks or maids but they do not constitute a servant class, they enjoy the same privileges as a housewife. They are paid for the work they do.

It seems true, that the housewife, whether she is of American or German descent, has more difficulties than foreigners think she has. With a large family one wonders how the wife and mother could find time to do all that is required of her. And when one meets her in the evening, one is astonished to hear that this interesting, elegant lady is the busy housewife as well. 47

"There are few travelers who had more opportunities to observe family life in America than I did," continues Bodenstedt, "I must say that the total impression which I took home of the housewives was preponderantly favorable. Sentimentality is rarely found among them, but an abundance of ability and endurance, happy, lively endeavor for a higher culture and refinement, and energetic character above all is theirs." 48

Many of these women, in addition to the care of their home, find time to attend lectures and concerts. If she must make time to attend such, surely she will get the most out of them.

47 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 70-71
48 Ibid., 71; Ladies in Free America, Griesinger, Land und Leute, Chap 22.
In all my travels I found that the women have a good knowledge of present day news and even of English literature. 49

One can readily see that Bodenstedt and Griesinger were better able to judge women in their homes than Charlotte Niese or even Adolf Douai. Let us look again at what this woman traveler has to say about her American sister:

One looks at every American woman as a spoiled, untraining creature, whose most important task is to amuse and clothe herself. This is not true of the Northern women. In Florida, Virginia and in South Carolina, where they have Spanish or French blood, the women, before the Civil War had the privilege of refraining from work. They left all the work to the slaves. But even there conditions have changed, and the woman, who has not charge of a great plantation must begin to help herself. 50

The Southern woman before the Civil War might have had the privilege of refraining from work, but the woman of the souther household had sole charge of the domestic duties and the supervision of clothing and feeding the slaves, true she just supervised the work, but that is not play. There were and still are many who live a useless life and for pastime rush from one amusement into another.

Their God is dress. They find pleasure in diamonds and costly surroundings. 51

49 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 71
50 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 41-42
51 Ibid.
This is found perhaps more in the United States than in Germany because wealth is greater here. It is however wrong to judge them all by a few.

But the weakness in the character of an American woman lies in her inability to settle herself in her own home. She wants to work, but not within the four walls of her home, but outside in the middle of the machinery of the world. She can be a good wife and a tender mother, but she will not find peace in her family circle. 52

It seems quite improbable that a good wife and a tender mother would find her home unpeaceful.

Charlotte Niese points out that some of the American women were so dissatisfied with their homes and surroundings that they often purchased entirely new furniture, others moved frequently in order to change the surroundings. It seems the Americans are fond of changes—constant change from one thing to another.

"Perhaps that is why there are so many divorces in America. It has become a calamity."

State laws differ as to divorce. In New York one person is necessary to witness the marriage of two. In California one word is almost sufficient to break the tie. How much sorrow and tears, how much crime has been committed with divorce proceedings. Here again the woman, the American Mother could avoid a great deal of unhappiness if she repressed her daughter’s anticipated separation, but the entire course of education of the Americans is based on FREEDOM. 54

Women are usually blamed for the condition of society,

52 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 49
53 Ibid., 50
54 Ibid., 51
but what about Youth? Boys and girls in their early youth attend school together. Even in the so-called High schools they sit together on one bench. They treat each other as comrades. They amuse themselves and often attend the theatre together.

If the girl has completed school, which sometimes she attends until she is 18 or 19 years of age, she goes out with a young man. In the evening she receives young men with whom her parents are acquainted. With this friend she attends balls, visits friends etc. Whoever invites such a young lady in the evening, also invites her "escort", because the conditions and surroundings at times make it impossible for a young lady to go out in the evening alone.

Occasionally a sixteen or an eighteen year old child marries, later to be separated. This happens in the best of society. Today it is a sensation, tomorrow a forgotten fact. Here and there one finds an agitated father disinheriting his daughter, who married against his will, but the American law is that a twenty-one year old girl is of age and has her own rights.

The establishment of a home is said to be easier in America than in Germany, because many couples are satisfied to spend their whole lives in the unpleasant, lonesome boarding houses, where they have one or at most two rooms in which to live.

How many children die young in this atmosphere?
How many women have nothing more to do than to

55 On account of the crowded condition in the classrooms, benches were made for two thus saving extra aisle space.
56 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 52
57 Ibid., 53
go to the dining room at mealtime and spend the balance of the day reading novels and eating candy.  

This accounts for the dissatisfaction of many a wife. She tires of the monotony of such a life. She sees her own husband only evenings, when he returns tired from his business. At times he is unable to keep her interested.

She then starts a friendship with another, perhaps a man, whom she thinks she loves. The end of it is she wants her freedom.

Many divorced women in America have become teachers, others are in various employments. Many of them realized that they were lonesome while married and are now happy in being able to accomplish something of themselves.

 Poor American women never are maids or servants. They prefer working in factories or stores, and therefore never make good housekeepers. Often the whole family gives up its home and moves to a boarding house because of trouble with servants.

Charlotte Niese predicts:

In a few years there will be more women in the professional life. Perhaps in Congress or they will explore the North pole and travel into the interior of Africa. As missionaries they might christianize

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58 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 53  59 Ibid., 54
60 This writer, in addition to being biased and ill-informed has a fondness for Pindaris leaps from the particular to the Universal.
61 Ibid. Many American women did prefer to work in factories or stores, they were more independent, shorter working hours and more pay were the inducements. Servants became scarce and demanded more money, and some families were better off and happier without the troubles of employment. These shop-workers, who ate their meals in lunch rooms, did not learn to cook and keep house.
the black heathens. They will write romances and novels but not a cook book. They will look up at the Germans because in their opinion we are more industrious, more careful in little things, more homelike and economical than they are. 62

Many of the American women were happy in their employment and did not marry. In the New England states there were in 1865 300,000 more women of marriageable age than men. Among the various employment for women, teaching was very popular. Women teachers worked for a third or a half of the wages asked for by men. American women are ambitious and can readily apply themselves to any task. They are also engaged in different professions. As early as 1865 there were several hundred women physicians "who formerly in New York, now in Boston, receive their training at the Academy and Hospital owned and conducted by Doctor Maria Zakrzewska, a Berliner." There are also many women writers who earn large sums of money writing novels and newspaper articles. A few women operate printshops, others are post-mistresses. There are many trained singers, some schooled in Europe; hundreds of paid choir members, thousands teaching piano and singing. There are artists and actresses who have

62 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 54
63 Douai, Land und Leute, 144
64 Ibid., 144-145
65 Ibid., 146
66 Ibid., 146
67 Ibid.
become famous. Women have followed many occupations formerly held by men. They have furthered the movement that they are entitled to the same rights as the men in passing laws and voting, and have succeeded.

The opinion of Charlotte Niess, as to the employment of women in America, is entertaining:

The American woman has a different outlook on life than her German sister. She is cooler, more calculating. She would never work unless it were necessary, but when it become a necessity she lowers herself to it without complaint. Wherever we go we meet the women working. In the smallest stores, women play an important part. They work in the telephone and telegraph offices with capability. In the offices of attorneys and big business men, we find a girl at the typewriter. By all important court cases, women are the stenographers and reporters. Every large newspaper has on its staff at least one woman reporter. At a wonderful reception or social affair, one need not be surprised if, among the invited guests we see a young lady, dressed plain but neatly, rush in, look around at the people and their style of dress, have the maid show her the dining hall and the decorations, make a few notations and hurry out again.

This young lady is the society editor, who ascertains from caterers and chefs where entertainments are to be held, and the next day a glowing account of the affair is seen in the columns of the paper she represents.

We complain in Germany because the women wish to practice the teaching profession. In most of the public schools in America there are more women than men. Sometimes the principal is a man but often a woman. 69

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68 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 42-44
69 Ibid., 44-45
In the public schools of Brooklyn most of the teachers are women. In New York a woman school inspector has been appointed. (1887)

She has the supervision of all the New York schools. We read in newspapers that women have more influence over the wild American boy, who will be governed only by the "noble female." Three-fourths of the teachers in the United States are women. Men just use teaching as a stepping stone to something higher. Former President Cleveland was a teacher. The present General Postmaster, John Wanamaker, also taught for a while. A good portion of the politicians and statesmen have been teachers at one time or another. 70

Such were the impressions of the travelers in 1887. Is it a wonder that the American woman has caused so much comment from all parts of the globe? She is difficult to understand, and according to some, impossible.

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70 Purger, Bilder und Skizzen. 44-45
Ibid. Also:
Oetkin. Die Landwirthschaft. Chap 18. 638-652
CHAPTER II
MATERIAL EQUIPMENT

Most, if not all of the observations made by visitors to the United States on the people of this country--observations which have been narrated in the previous chapter--were the resultant of actual contact between foreigner and native. Yet before the visitor from abroad could begin his study of the American people he had first to acquire an experience of the mechanisms of American life. As his first stopping place in this country the traveler usually sought a hotel. Thus hotels played an important part in the experience of foreigners as they did in the lives of natives.

With few exceptions, in some of the larger eastern cities, American hotels, as compared with those of Europe, were on the monster scale and conducted according to what was known as the American plan. Others were called European hotels and their specialty was, that you only paid for what you received. On the American plan you paid so much per day for board and lodging; liquors and washings considered extras. They were perhaps the outgrowth of the small boarding house and would only be utilized at the time when food stuffs were cheap and people lived near to their places of business. They were in perfect

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Baron von Hüblner, "A Ramble round the World". Translated by Lady Herbert of Lea, London. Quarterly Review. Vol. 143 London, 1877. Trip was taken in 1871. 251
concord with American wants and ideas, and were all alike. They are very uncommon now except at summer resorts et cetera. We shall now describe a few, to give the reader an idea of what they were from the years 1865 to 1900.

The average German traveler had sufficient funds to enable him to reside at a medial hotel, after landing, and just a short distance from the wharf loomed "St. Nicholas Hotel." With its five floors and 250 feet of marble frontage and its location on Broadway, which is to New York as a popular and beautiful boulevard is to Paris, the above mentioned hotel appeared inviting. While debating, the traveler noticed at least twenty elegant carriages stop at its doors; he decided that the ladies and gentlemen who entered the vehicles belonged to the better class, at least as far as clothes indicated.

The immigrant proceeded up the steps, which were of marble. A wide interior corridor led him to the bar room or to the gentleman's drinking saloon where he was served with alacrity. Upon leaving this room he walked a little further and entered the billiard room where the same luxurious furnishings were seen. Next to this was the reading room. Newspapers of every kind and description were filed for the benefit of anyone who wished to read. Many comfortable armchairs invited one to rest or study. Adjacent to this was the writing room. In reality this room appeared more elegant than the others, with
its many little marble tables upon which were to be found writing materials of the best grade. These tables were frequently in use and it must have been a pleasure to make use of them.

He then entered a hall, whose richness and beauty almost dazzled him. To the right and to the left of him everything was of velvet and silk, gold and the value of gold. Heavy rugs decorated the floor; the furniture was of red-wood; the drapes were heavily embroidered and the ottomans had exceptionally fine springs. This was the Ladies' Room. According to Griesinger, the ladies are less human than angels and therefore much time and consideration had to be expended to satisfy the American vanity.

Afterward, he was shown the dining room, whose splendid furnishings were unnoticed by him because he was eager to find a place at the table. Breakfast consisted of tea, coffee or chocolate, and with this was served eggs, beefsteak, cutlets, ham, fish and chicken. If one wished to taste a little of each, he would really have to have a Herculean appetite. I shall not describe the foot because that will lead us too far.

If one had the desire to take a bath after his voyage, a whole row of rooms were arranged for that purpose. If he wished to be shaved, he descended the stairs where the barber and his helpers attended him. A person would not find in all Germany a barber shop like those in America.
An American barber shop was not a poorly furnished room as in Germany, but a sunny room with red, white and blue barber pole at the door. Many mirrors and highly colored pictures in gold frames bedecked the walls. Horse-races and boxing matches were advertised. Drapes hung from the windows; chandeliers hung from the ceiling and fine carpets of linoleum covered the floor. Marble basins, mahogany furniture, plush or velvet covered seats and head rests were part of the furnishings.

One can stretch out full length in one of these comfortable barber chairs and rest. The American barber is considered a member of a distinct class.

Adjoining this salon he had a very elegant bathroom.

He often did other work; even extracted teeth. The customers received service in the order in which they entered. The common laborer had the same right to receive service in turn as even the President of the United States, and he need not pass up his turn for anyone. In Germany it is different, i.e. the lower class gives up for the higher, a soldier must wait until his superior officer has finished.

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3 Ibid., 23-26

4 Ibid., 23
To return to the St. Nicholas Hotel, we find it to be illuminated and in appearance likened to a gas sea at night. A thousand persons could be accommodated daily at this hotel. There were four hundred employees in the different rooms, halls, kitchen and basement to take care of the guests. Yes, five hundred strangers had to stay there if the hotel was to maintain itself. The prices ranged from $3.50 to $7.00 a day for room and meals.

First class hotels in all the large cities offered like luxurious accommodations. Therefore it should not have surprised the Germans when the Americans found European situations so small and inadequate. Hotels in America were, without the slightest doubt, much better. The best hotels were made of very costly material, interiorly as well as exteriorly and were more comfortable and convenient than those in Germany.

What has been said about the St. Nicholas Hotel might be duplicated in many large cities. Not every hotel even in New York was like the St. Nicholas.

This same traveler, Theodor Griesinger, had another experience. He stood in front of a wooden barrack, entitled "European Hotel." Believing that in a house bearing such a grand title nothing could be amiss, he entered. But what a disappointment! The waiting room was full of disorder; the

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5 Griesinger, Land und Leute, 438-461
6 Paul Lindau, Altes und Neues aus der Neuen Welt. Carl Dunker, Berlin, 1893, 15
waitress's appearance was slovenly; the clerk who received him had blood-shot eyes and heavy drunkard's knees. He asked for a room and the reply was, "A room?" "There are only two for guests in the whole house and they have to be sufficient for all strangers." The clerk lead him up the narrow steps and truly, there were the two rooms. In each room there were three beds, perhaps four. They were very large for two people, three if it were necessary. One could choose his bed, and he was told that he must take a companion, but what kind would he be? One who might forget to take off his boots or one who perhaps had worse habits than that. The mattress and pillow were of seagrass; a woolen blanket and a linen cloth, that was not of linen but made of juslin covered the bed. The bed would be neither soft nor warm, but then that wouldn't matter if it were clean. But Heaven help! The linen cloth had perhaps not been changed for six weeks, and the millions of bed-bugs which made their home there had spattered it with blood.

Who wouldn't become nauseated viewing this scene? He turned and in three jumps he was out of the house. The owner of this "European Hotel" called him a stubborn German raga-muffin, who would never learn how to get along in the world. True, that such misnamed flop-houses were in existence but they were scarce.

Griesinger, Land und Leute, 438-461
The American people spend a great portion of time in clubs. Hence every city has such organizations or societies. The Lotus Club was established in New York in 1870 for the benefit of those persons endowed with literary or artistic inclinations who desired social intercourse. It was famous for its hospitality, good taste, good speeches and good dinners. There was another club in New York, i.e., The Goethe Club, the only one in the seventies in which there were German as well as American members, and whose purpose was to acquaint them with one another. It was here that a speech was delivered in English at a reception given in honor of Friedrich Bodenstedt. He remarked: "I understand that the German women have no trouble understanding and speaking English in a short time, and the Americans do not learn German in as short a time, so for this reason the English speaking language is preferable." Hotel life and club life had a great deal in common. The latter comprised perhaps a more picked group, interested in a particular undertaking, nevertheless, the intent was the same.

The street on which the hotel or club house was situated was worthy of note to the traveler who was readily and easily impressed. Broadway was perhaps the best known street to all, its being the greatest business street in the world. Many

8 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 67
9 Ibid.
of its edifices, some of marble, some of red brick and others of steel were palatial in appearance. Friedrich Bodenstedt, in his description of his short trip through our country said, "Most of the buildings were very high." "I didn't count the stories of them, because with the coming and going of so many people it was difficult to stand in one place. But I can make an estimate of their being at least from four to nine stories high." Just imagine the appearance of five miles of such buildings. "Even with the crowds of people everywhere, everyone had room on the sidewalks or on the streets, or as the Americans say, "Elbow room for all."

Continuing the walk along the streets of New York, we saw at the next corner an elevated chair, where a negro was in the show shining business. "The High chair was popular because one could see and greet his friends and acquaintances." A good business was carried on here, but a traveler, fearing the inclement weather, preferred entering an enclosed place. A little farther down the street a better bargain could have been struck, for the sign read "Every shave includes a shine."

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10 Bodenstedt, *Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean*. 44
11 Ibid., This trip was taken from October 1879 to July 1880.
12 Ibid., 67
13 Ibid., 49
14 Ibid.
George Asmus, a prominent visitor to the United States, observed acutely and caught picturesque details of American life and was impressed by the edifices of the Empire City. He suggested that "someone portray New York after the manner of painting a wave. There was constant floating, roaring and driving. Even the streets didn't seem to stand still."  

When Emil Deckert arrived in 1891, he was disappointed in the frame buildings at the wharfs and steamship lines' offices but was greatly impressed with the structural development of tall buildings.  

Who in Germany wouldn't shake his head when he heard of houses that were more than twenty stories high? Not only in New York but in most of the large American cities we can see these skyscrapers. He explains to the mis-informed, the many conveniences contained within the tall buildings.  

Naturally one does not climb up the steps, but he just steps into an elevator on the ground floor and permits himself to be lifted up in comfort. In some of the high buildings there were local and express elevators. The former stopped at every floor, the latter stopped only at the upper floors, which proved to be a great time-saver because "Time is money."

15 Georg Asmus, Amerikanisches Skizzenbüchelche, Leipzig and Cologne, 1885. 6  
16 Deckert, Die Neue Welt. 18
Deckert took an elevator in one of these tall buildings and at the top floor he could walk up a winding stairway several more flights to see the city from the balcony of the tower.

The hurry of American life in cities impressed the visiting Germans. Baron von Hübner, traveling around the world in the seventies, wrote his experiences while in Chicago:

It was the hour of closing the shops and factories. Streams of working-men, women and children, shop-boys, commerical men of all kinds, passed me on foot, in omnibuses, in tramways—many going the same direction, but all making their way to their homes in the various quarters in and out of the town. All looked sad, preoccupied and worn out with fatigue.

I mixed with the crowd, which dragged me with it. I strove to read the faces of those I passed and everywhere met with the same expression. Everyone was in a hurry, if it was only to get home a few minutes sooner, and thus economize on his short hours of rest, after having done the largest possible amount of work during the long hours of labour. Everyone seemed to dread a rival in his neighbor. This crowd was a very type of isolation. The moral atmosphere was not charity but rivalry. 17

The tired, wearied business man and laborer rushed to their homes. Some lived in hotels, some in boarding houses; others had their own little home away from the noise and rush of the city streets.

17 Hübner, "Ramble round the World," 249
"In America each man strives to build his own home. But he finds room in which to build it and materials with which to build it, two essentials which are not to be had in Europe by the majority of mankind." According to another writer, "the homes are arranged in about the same manner as in Germany, except those details which are luxurious in a middle class home in Germany are common to every home here; such as bathroom, rugs in all the rooms and a chimney. Homes are connected with stores as they are in Germany, but occupy a different section of the town." Every little home has enough ground around it for a small garden.

The residential section of some cities impressed travelers favorably as was Schüller in regard to Philadelphia. In front of every house was an iron post, half the size of a man, on which there was an iron ring, enabling one to fasten his horse. The houses were separated by gardens. These were clean and neat and were built about half a yard above the ground. In the centre was a wide steps, leading to a wide veranda which had a projecting roof. Very few had a second story. The windows were large and reached the ground. They were similar to those in Italy with Venetian blinds. If there were a second story there would be usually a wide and long balcony. "Around the house there was either a garden or trees and shrubs. They were not in bloom yet, (January 1892) but buds were beginning to

18 Kirkland, "American Traits". 298
Such were the characteristics of some of the eastern residential districts. Theodor Kirchoff traveled extensively in California, and while there said:

Many private homes were made of redwood because wooden structures seemed to keep the changeable temperature of this hot climate more evenly than those of stone.

San Francisco had been called the "wooden city" in the residential district, but it had been forbidden to build wooden structures in the business section.

As to the ordinary home, standardization had set in which had made an impression on the visitor. Whole streets were built up with identical houses. Foreign visitors remarked that one could only find the house sought for by its number. The houses were all of the same material, same decorations and the same size. Where wooden houses were forbidden in some of the large, closely built-up cities, or sections of cities, brick and brown sand-stone were then used. These homes usually had three windows in the front. One traveler concluded that if a home had more than three windows facing the street, one could be sure that it was owned by a wealthy man. Many wealthy Americans had servants, even if only a negro or a chinaman and

19 Podenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 69
20 Schüller, Südstaaten Nordamerikas. 22-23
21 Theodor Kirchoff, Californische Kulturbilder. Fisher, Cassel, 1886. 23
22 Hopp, Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Leben. 14
while others of the well-to-do or middle class did their own
work. This however was in 1887 before the scarcity of servants.
Later many moved into hotels and boarding houses and thus
settled the servant problem.

What had been a luxury in the previous decade was in 1900
a necessity in the home. Late in the seventies a new floor
covering, linoleum, was being extensively advertised. The
great majority of homes were, of course, still heated by stoves
or fireplaces and even Franklin stoves were in use here and
there. In the cities most of the better homes were heated by
hot-air furnaces, with pipes leading to large iron registers in
the floor. Even in small towns, many newly built houses were
being supplies with gas and running water. The style of furni-
ture ran to heavy decorations; marble top tables and plush
albums were universal; painted china and iron statuary were
used as decorations in the better homes.

The German traveler showed eagerness to learn all about
the American table customs. The French believed that their

23
Theodor Barth, Amerikanisches Wirthshaftsleben. Leonhard
Simion, Berlin, 1887. 21
Excellent description of a typical Philadelphia home.
Friedrich Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. F.A. Brockhaus,
Leipzig, 1876. 206
Homes in general according to periods.
1874 - Pachmayrs, Leben und Treiben. 18
1877 - Jacques Offenbach, Offenbach in America. Notes of a
traveling musician. G.W. Carleton & Co. New York. 61-67
1882 - Rudolph Kunz, Bilder aus Amerika nach eigener achtjährigen
anschauung gezeichnet. Printed for the author. Zurich. 67
1886 - Kirchhoff, Californishe Kulturbilder. 71-73
1892 - Deckert, Die Neue Welt. 201-210; 244-245
peculiarities were common to every country. Both the French and German people were surprised to learn that every nation had its own habits and customs which would not easily be given place to customs from abroad. In the traveler's homeland it was customary to invite a friend over for a "bowl of soup" which really meant he was invited to dinner. Griesinger writes, "When one used this expression in the United States, he was not understood because soups were almost unknown." Further he states: "an ordinary housewife, even in the rich private homes, cannot understand how such a dish could be prepared." He does admit that "there are a few large hotels which have soups on the menu." One may conclude from the above statement that this traveler either never asked for soup or asked in one place and former a conclusion, that the hotels listed soups on the menu but did not serve them.

"As soups were foreign to American menus, so too, were vegetables," continues Griesinger. "Americans were not fond of either. What did an American know about spinach, carrots, asparagus, cabbage, beets, beans, peas and sauerkraut?" It was true that lentils were all imported. If an American saw cabbage in a garden or even purchased it, he still knew little about the vegetable. He cleaned it, brewed the whole head in salt water and brought it on the table. Every guest then took

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Griesinger, Land und Leute. 311-313
Potatoes, beans, asparagus and cauliflower were all prepared in that way. Just because the American chose to prepare vegetables differently than the German prepared his is no criterion that it didn't satisfy the American palate. The American really did not prepare foods to satisfy the wishes of every traveler. There really were too many nationalities that visited him. They had, of course, individual hotels and restaurants which catered to guests of certain nationalities and prepared the foods such guests relished most. The Americans considered beef as the choice meat. It was cut for beefsteaks, cornbeef, or roastbeef. A German was often astonished when having ordered a "beefsteak", it was prepared and served in two minutes for that is how the Americans enjoyed their beef. But it was not contrary to etiquette for either the American or the foreigner to enjoy it just the way he wanted it.

The food content of an ordinary meal was set forth in the quotation taken from Oetkin.

The meal constituted of meats, potatoes, bread and butter, cake or pie and fruit in some form or another. Sometimes an egg dish was added. Vegetables were served at least once a day. Some alternated eggs and meat. Vegetables were not eaten a great deal, at least not in the same proportion as meat, bread and baked goods. Puddings were well liked, either with milk, cream or fruit sauces.

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25 Griesinger, Land und Leute, 317; Other dishes described in detail, Ibid., 317-335

26 Oetkin, Die Landwirthschaft, 549 Also gives chart showing the foods prepared and preferred for certain meals and at certain seasons.
Oetkin was contradictory in his above paragraph for he stated that vegetables were eaten at least once a day and later inferred that they were usually eaten more frequently. He seemed to fail in placing credit where it was due, in so far as to neglect to write that such vegetables as tomatoes, corn, celery, cucumbers and lettuce were more plentiful in the United States than in foreign countries. Preserves and fruits have always been important in an American meal. "Ice-Cream, a favorite dessert with the American, is not stressed in the above account." Some foreigners often claimed that an American could be determined in a group by his manner of eating. Would it be less difficult to tell an American by what he wore?

In Germany one can tell a gentleman from a man servant, a lady or her daughter from a maid, the employer from an employee; but that was not the case in the United States. The worker was dressed in his white linens on Sunday just as was his "boss". The maid dressed fashionable on Sunday and in civilian dress certain afternoons during the week.

Clothing was worn on the occasion for which it was purchased and frequently set aside in a short time for another,

27 Other descriptions and viewpoints of American food.
Asmussen, Ein Besuch. 43-44; Pachmayr, Leben und Treiben 61;
Offenbach, America. Chap 7, 85-94; Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 115-119; Bodenstedt. Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 61-62

28 Oetkin, Die Landwirthschaft. 562
a more modern style. For this reason clothing was not made as durable as it was in Europe and consequently sold for less. The durability of productions, together with the attitude of saving, was therefore greatly reduced.

"Women were so extravagant in their dress and artistic in their toilette, that one could hardly find better, either in London or Paris."

At St. Augustine, Florida, the women knew well how to kill time. They spent a great deal of time on themselves, changing their outfits twice and sometimes three times a day. Men also, who wore light flannels on their walks, changed before dinner.

Visiting St. Augustine, Florida, Paul Lindau took notice of a particular young lady who sat at an adjoining table in the Ponce de Leon Hotel dining room.

When breakfasting she wore a Sarah Bernhardt model with a long train. She appeared for a second breakfast wearing a light colored summer dress with a very extravagant hat. Dinner found her wearing a white gown trimmed in fur, and flowers in her hair. Lindau had seen the same young lady for five days with three changes of gowns a day. She had worn ten different hats and carried parasols to match which were dressy and costly.

I was anxious to see her trunks, because I had heard that she had spent four weeks here. My

29 Douai, Land und Leute. 45
30 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 46
31 Lindau, Altes und Neues in der neuen Welt. 81
32 Ibid., 81-82
companion, who also noticed this young lady, said that he had not seen the same dress on her the fourteen days he had spent here. 33

Another traveler, Theodor Kirchhoff, wrote that the women in San Francisco were beautiful. "One saw them at the theatres in other cities, but here they walked in front of everyone's eyes where one never tired looking at them. Expensive novelties, diamonds and other jewelry were worn by the San Francisco women even on the public streets." In summer, continues this traveler, "the women wore velvets and silks; others had expensive jackets and robes of seal. Changeable weather here accounted for some of these extremes." 34

Transportation facilities were as unique to the foreign traveler as the extremes in women's dress. As a rule the streets in America were sixty-feet wide, and thus exceeded those in Germany, but the roads on the outskirts of the city were terrible especially in rainy weather. Elevated railroads were quite a sensation. The constant rattle of cars was indescribable when the overhead lines passed close to the first floor windows, bringing darkness and inevitable noise. Under this elevated system in 1879 were four rails for the horse cars, which passed

33 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 46
34 Kirchhoff, Californisches Kulturbilder. 23
35 Ibid.
36 Oetkin, Die Landwirtschaft. 528-536
37 Lindau. Altes und Neues aus der neuen Welt. 23-25
almost continuously until midnight. There was sufficient room still for other means of travel. This, then, with the crowded masses of people on the sidewalks, apparently always in a hurry, was quite a picture," according to Friedrich Bodenstedt, "and although it seemed strange and exciting to see the cars pass over your head, it really was not dangerous. Very few accidents results." There were also horse-drawn cars, street-cars, omnibuses in New York and other cities. The overhead trolley electric traction system, perhaps first tried in Richmond, Virginia in 1888, proved successful on a small scale, and was seen installed in Boston, where previous discussion had favored a cable system. Other cities followed in substitution of the trolley for the horse-car. In 1890 the ratio of animal to electric power on street railways in all the cities of the United States was perhaps four to one.

As urban transit increased, transportation between cities improved. In the late eighties the United States had a population of about fifty million and Germany had almost fifty-six million while all of Europe had about three hundred and thirty million people. Yet the network of American rails had five times the mileage of rails had by Germany, and a little more

38 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 50
39 Pachmayr, Leben und Treiben. 14
40 Hirschberg, Tagebuchblätter. 64
41 Pachmayr, supra., 16
than was had by the entire Europe. The very location of railways in America struck the traveler's notice since in Europe a railroad was built through a settled district but in the new world, a railroad was constructed in sparsely settled country to attract home-seekers and thus people a wilderness. Abroad, a railroad company must purchase every foot of land it wished to use. In the United States, between the years of 1850 and 1878, a hundred and ninety-one million acres were given for railroad purpose, although since then a railroad has generally been compelled to purchase its right of way. Impressed by the tempo of American life and the speed with which business was dispatched, the German traveler was perhaps taken aback to discover that the speed of American railroads was not greater than that on many European runs. Thus Hirschberg, visiting the United States in 1884, made a comparison between the speed of a well known route in America with some he knew in Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Speed (km/h)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London to Edinburgh</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris to Bordeaux</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin to Cologne</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York to Chicago</td>
<td>60.8 or approximately 38 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This can be understood, however, due to his comparing short runs in three different countries with a twenty-eight hour run in the United States. In Germany the cars were divided into private

42 Hirschberg, Tagebuchblätter. 2-3
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 5
45 Ibid., 30-31
coupe' or compartments which afforded great conveniences to its occupants. For example one could open or close the windows and turn on or off the lights. Paul Lindau wrote, "such comfort could not be had in the American cars because there were too many fellow passengers." He did not state under what circumstances he would be deprived of the privilege of opening or closing a window if he were sitting next to it. As far as light was concerned the porter or conductor would see to it that there was sufficient for reading purposes. If one traveled at night, the lights were dimmed, but even in Germany one would not occupy such a compartment alone and the thoughtful traveler would take his companion into consideration.

One feature of American travel discomfort, the overcrowding and bad ventilation in smoking cars, moved Paul Lindau (who traveled in the United States in 1893) to scorn and resentment. This is his opinion:

The smoking cars of the trains were a grave discomfort even to one having a strong constitution. The ventilation was insufficient and the temperature was such that one almost lost his sight and hearing. In addition to this was the strong penetrating odor of the American cigarette. The bad habit of spitting was beyond any sense of refinement. The six or eight spittoons, which stand in the aisle form a firm target for those sitting around. 47

46 Lindau, Altes und Neues aus der neuen Welt. 38-39
47 Ibid., 38
Schüller on the contrary painted a different picture of American railroads. Most distinguished of passenger cars was the Pullman. It would be considered first class if there were classes in America. A dining car was attached to many trains. Passengers could walk from one car to another and thus the entire length of the train, a convenience that impressed more than one foreigner favorably. A train of vestibuled Pullmans consisted of drawing room, dining, sleeping and buffet, smoking, library and observation cars. Such completely furnished trains struck Schüller as being moving hotels.

Paul Lindau had another complaint to make, "There wasn't enough space for baggage in the Pullman cars" he wrote; "A German traveler always had about three pieces of luggage while the American usually carried only one." Insinuating perhaps that the American had less clothing, but in reality he had the good sense to put excess baggage in a trunk and check it through.

The railroad fare included the transfer by bus of a passenger and his baggage from one station to the other, if the journey continued over different railroad lines. In the railroad depots in Germany there were no porters to help with baggage; in the United States negroes carried luggage from the carriage to the waiting room. Trunks could also be checked at any

48 Schuller, Südstaaten Nordamerikas. 9-12
49 Lindau, Altes und Neues aus der neuen Welt. 38
American station, the traveler receiving a check therefore and at the end of a journey such luggage would be waiting in the baggage room almost as soon as the traveler alighted from the train. A trunk could be sent to a hotel or a residence for a quarter or half a dollar. Prices in 1888 were less than in our own day. Progress of civilization is measured by achievement in transportation facilities.

From these descriptions of a traveler, left by well and ill disposed visitors to the United States, the inference is allowable that such elements of social life, America was at least abreast of Europe. And, as the philosophers of the machine allege, America, by 1900, had left frontier conditions far behind.
CHAPTER III

SPIRITUAL EQUIPMENT

In a paper of this kind no attempt can be made to explain dogmas of the thousand and one sects prevalent throughout America. Even to enumerate such beliefs would require a special study. New religious groups appear almost every day; change, appear, unite, separate, break into smaller divisions; their only stable characteristic being instability. All shades of belief are found in the United States and every religious opinion has its followers.

That America, a country without a State Church, has nevertheless a religious spirit is a fact almost unbelievable to the German people. They read of crimes and punishments, but forget the heterogeneous character of the American people, out of which condition develop problems unknown in some European countries where the population is made up of people from one race stock.

It hardly comes within the province of a traveler, who is no more than a casual observer, to speak of the religious aspect of American society. Foreigners however all agreed that the Americans as a whole are more religious than any other people, and J. Ludwig Neve said it is because of the freedom of religion.

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Neve, Charakterzüge der Amerikanischen Volkes, 78-80
in the United States that the Americans are religious.

This religious life is represented by a multitude of societies and denominations, that run the whole gamut of man's ideas and emotions. Among these divers groups there exist contrasts and contradictions but their very number is a sign of religious interest no matter how severely the religious philosopher may decry the intellectual absurdities and moral vagaries of perhaps the majority of these petty sects.

These processes of division and subdivision are the inevitable result of the Protestant reliance on private judgment and carried by American Protestants to a logical conclusion. The process proceeds along these lines: a small group of one denomination disagrees with that denomination's dogma, or a leader makes a change not agreeable to his entire followers. The small group secedes and forms another religion, either more radical or more conservative than the one it left. This shows religious interest even if not religious wisdom. Douai said that freedom of religious worship exerted a great influence in attracting immigrants to America. It is undeniable that it had some influence but the greater advantage no doubt was the opportunity the immigrant had of bettering his social condition.

Church members maintain their worship at their own expense

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2 Neve, Charakterzüge des Amerikanischen Volkes, 78-80

3 Douai, Land und Leute. 94
in the United States and organize it as they wish. In an atmosphere of general freedom, everybody respects his neighbour, (or is popularly supposed to do so though the extent of anti-Catholic bigotry is tremendous) and for one church to openly preach against another is contrary to American traditions. Each does its own work as best it can and leaves its neighbour unmolested, although the working of anti-Catholic propaganda is so subtle and secret as oftentimes to escape the foreigner, if indeed, because he has like opinions, the activity does not commend itself to his favor. Entire liberty of religious belief and practice is a boon enjoyed by all churches in America. No distinction is made by the federal government in favor or detriment of any one of them although many religious groups wield influence in government out of all proportion to their numbers. The Church is not maintained by the government as in Europe. The American people support their churches and are not illiberal in this regard.

Religion exerts a stimulating influence on the thought and imagination of a nation. There has never been a civilized nation without a religion, yet many persons who consider themselves highly civilized deny this belief and are content existing in their own convictions.

Georg Gronheid, Rathschläge für auswandere nach den Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerika. Adolf Russell, Münster, 1872. 21
Women are the strongest supporters of the church, of convention and of social forces. They are a powerful influence regulating and controlling American life. They have retained the privileged position they occupied, as a matter of course, during the first decade of American development.

The churches in America are organized social centers, performing a vital function in the community and what is more important, they were and still are in many cases the only social centers tending to develop a higher moral consciousness in the youth of America.

"The Yankee goes to church, more to occupy his restless mind than to build up his soul. The preacher must have more than ordinary ability, education and experience. Pathetic discourses alone do not suffice." Such might by the impression of a casual observer or of a hurried traveler but even such a critic might as a matter of charity give Americans the benefit of a doubt and not record hasty conclusions without some proof.

Those who make their religion a matter of conscience contribute a great deal of money to missions, and many others who do not believe in religion for themselves contribute generously...

5 "Yankee" was a nickname for the New Englanders; later it was given to all the residents of the Northern states and now used among the foreign born (generally only by foreign visitors) to designate a native born. Armin Tenner, Amerika. Definition of terms used in America.

6 Douai, Land und Leute, 128
to further it among their fellow citizens. Many preach the Bible, as they understand it, on street corners. One traveler remarked: "I have often heard preaching in the parks and public places." The preacher usually found listeners; sometimes a few at other times great throngs who crowded around him.

Wealthy classes often have an exclusive church where they practice their piety and devotion. In several (though not all) of the great cities, the Episcopal Church is very distinctly the fashionable church. To be merely a fashionable church is perhaps the worst things that could happen to any religious body. For that which is built on sand is apt to crumble. More solid motives for church-going must be instilled.

One of the most striking characteristic of American religious life is the institutional church; one namely with a complete social and educational organization. The large basements of an institutional church, as well as adjacent buildings, are used for gathering of children and young people; also for the use of reading circles, sewing classes and various entertainments. Singing is one of the chief attractions at these social gatherings. Both vocal and instrumental music received

7 Douai, Land und Leute. 128-129
8 Ibid., 130
9 Ibid., 129-130
great attention, and the selection of hymns were very well made and suited to the time, and gave expression to religious feeling in a multitude of stirring and modern ways.

Some churches are owned by the preacher himself. Usually the upkeep or such churches requires large sums of money but the expenses are paid by willing donations from parishioners or by charging pew-rent. The latter is usually a fixed amount for a definite period of time. Few churches were without an organ, an organist and a mixed choir, either paid or gratuitous. They were carpeted and well heated in winter. Church attendance was much greater and religion was taken more seriously in America than in Europe.

In American cities, on Sunday morning, the avenues leading to the churches present a spectacle at once of peculiar animation and of calm. All the passers-by seemed to be in meditation; seemed to be conscious of the purpose that took them to church, and were already thinking of what they were about to hear. On their way home they still appeared to be in a meditative mood. In a word, they had the air of taking very seriously the matter that was occupying them.

Metropolitan centers of the States, though showing many worldly and debasing influences were characterized by a certain

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10 Dousai, Land und Leute. 126-128
11 I. id., 129
12 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 144
13 Ibid.
degree of piety which astonished the foreigner. In describing New York, Baron von Hübnner, wrote:

Seen from the river or from Jersey City at the moment of disembarkation, this huge metropolis unrolls itself before one in great masses of red, grey or yellowish brick. One or two steeple's at most rise above the roofs, which in the distance, seem all of the same heighth, and to form one vast horizontal line stretching towards the plain beyond. Europeans who have just landed for the first time, cannot help wondering how these two or three churches can possibly suffice for upwards of a million of Christians. They are speedily undeceived for it would be difficult to name a community in which the genuine spirit of religion is more abounding. 14

True there were only a few steeple's to be seen; some were obstructed by higher buildings, but in 1871, the date of von Hübnner's visit, the majority of churches and meeting places were built without steeple's.

These little buildings, each consecrated to a different form of worship are but accessories to the whole. They are open only during their respective services and these services are performed only on Sundays. But there they are, and however poor they may be, they prove the existence of a religion in the hearts of these rich people, who had perhaps little or no time to think of their souls when they were making their fortunes, but now that they are millionaires, begin to believe that there is a future state. 15

Baron von Hübnner is to be commended for giving credit to

14 Hübnner, "Ramble round the World." 246-7
15 Ibid., 247
the millionaires. Usually they do not fare so well. This traveler was perhaps misinformed when he said that the churches were open only on Sunday. Many of the churches had devotions in the evening. Perhaps the visitor meant, rich in the spiritual sense, when he said the churches, "however poor they may be, prove the existence of a religion in the hearts of these rich people." Without a doubt the new churches grew with the wealth of the parishioners. Many travelers have remarked that the Americans were "not illiberal" in the support of their churches. It is unbelievable then that the parishioners after becoming millionaires still attended "these little buildings."

Evening services are shorter than the morning (services) and the preacher speaks of other themes than the biblical. Card playing, dancing and novel reading are often the subject of his talks. A musical solo usually precedes the sermon. If the church is not too crowded, it is pleasant. The American preacher is known for his gift of easy speech. He is not bashful in the use of common sayings or slang. He is happy when his audience laughs, applauds and at times cries. Strange "words" or "doctrines" are altered from the platform by these gentlemen, but they know their audience and are sure it will return the next week to pass its lonesome Sunday with him. 16

And so the church with its singing, laughing, crying and worldly thoughts can be considered another American amusement.

16 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 28-29
Boston, one of the larger American cities, had no less than 233 churches in 1883. Most of these churches were in the residential section of the city. The business section, owing to the strict laws regarding Sunday observance, was almost deserted. This again was typical of New England as it is of the city of London. Certainly Boston stood in no lack of churches, and if one were simply to judge by the number of such temples of worship, one would come to the conclusion that Boston was fifteen times more religious than Berlin. But as a German visitor pointed out this would be an error of inference as it was of fact.

The largest and most pretentious church in Boston of the eighties was the Roman Catholic Cathedral, built in English Gothic style. It covered an area greater than that of St. Stephen's in Vienna and even than that of the Cathedral at Münster. The visitor we have quoted denied, however, that it could compare in beauty with either of these European churches. Besides this Roman Catholics had twenty-nine other churches, and among these the Redemptorist Church of the Boston Highland and the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Harrison Avenue were the most stately.

While thirty churches were dedicated to use by Catholics, Methodists claimed 32, Unitarians 30, Trinitarians 29,

17 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 228-9
18 Ibid.
Baptists 27, Episcopalians 23, Universalists 11, Unionists 9, Jews 8, Lutherans 5. Here are certainly enough "isms" and there are many more in Boston than those mentioned here."

"The New Old South Church (a contradiction in adjectives, which one must get used to in the Yankee land and Yankee speech) is another of Boston's attractive churches. It presents an unusual mixture of Gothic Byzantine and Romanesque styles and who knows what else. The American churches seem to us so crude and severe in structure. Yet in making such comments we must never forget that we come from the 'pedantic Old World' and grew up in its prejudice and outlook."

Sunday morning in the western city of Chicago presented a slightly different view:

In Chicago, the streets are very busy, even on Sunday morning. After a chicken breakfast we visited two churches of the three hundred in the city. One was a Methodist and the other a Baptist. Hymns were sung in these churches following the German melodies.

In 1892 a very critical observer remarked:

The most beautiful churches in Chicago are perhaps the Roman Catholic Cathedral at State and Superior Streets and the Jesuit Church at May and 12th Streets. These edifices are befitting the true religious attitude of the Catholics.

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19 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 230-231
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., 144
22 Ibid.
Almost every traveler felt that he didn't see America until he saw Chicago and so every phase of life in Chicago has been amply described.

When Emil Deckert was in Chicago, observing the Community's religious life and notably the progress of the Catholic Church, he recorded the existence of ten convents and wrote: "It appears as if Chicago's ambition were to be another Rome at Lake Michigan." Of course he meant the ambition of Catholics in Chicago. Deckert continued: "It (Catholic progress) shows that Catholics are anxious to surpass Methodists, Episcopalians and Baptists in America." This critic was not a Catholic and his opinion is only quoted to indicate how the Church's growth impressed foreign visitors.

At one point in the record of his travels through the United States during 1897, Dr. Otto Zardetti, gives a very interesting description of what he thought Chicago's oldest church--St. Mary's on Wabash Avenue--and its story from Marquette's time in 1673 to 1833. It is too lengthy to be here repeated, and the worthy Doctor confusing a parish with its parish home did not realize that the church occupied

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The author remarked that he had no religion and was therefore not biased.

24
Deckert, Die neue Welt. 144

25
Dr. Otto Zardetti, Westlich oder Durch den fernen Westen Nord Amerikas. Franz Kirchheim, Mainz, 1897. 209
by the old-time parish had originally been built to house a group of Congregationalists. At the time of his visit there were three hundred churches in Chicago and eighty of them served a Catholic membership that made up about a third of the population.

America was commonly considered a Protestant country. But religious jealousies scarcely existed and a kindly feeling pervaded all denominations, Roman Catholic included, so that a great readiness to work together for common charitable aims was noted by visitors. Such at least was the impression of passing guests from Germany. In the brief time of their visits they could hardly penetrate below the surface and so the ever-present though latent anti-Catholic hostility prevalent among non-Catholic Americans was perhaps hidden from their gaze.

Failing also to realize that if not the Catholic Church at least Catholics, lay and clerical, in European countries have national characteristics, visitors to the United States were struck with that they called the "Americanism" of American Catholics. Thus they believed that the atmosphere of freedom developed upon American soil a Catholicism which was emphatically sympathetic, liberal and inclined to live in harmony with other

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26 Zardetti, Westlich oder Durch den fernen Westen. 209
27 Ibid., 213
religious bodies. More striking perhaps was the patent fact that the Catholic Church was the Church of the poorer folk. "It has made more progress since the emancipation of the negro than any other religion." Protestants had become so fearful of the tremendous growth of Catholicism that they held Camp-meeting and Revivals often than previously. Yet by 1890 German visitors were recording for the information of their compatriots at home such statistics as these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Body</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>4,300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterians</td>
<td>1,280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>1,240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
<td>640,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalians</td>
<td>550,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalists</td>
<td>520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Brethren</td>
<td>225,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Evangelical</td>
<td>190,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormons</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventists</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonites</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The balance of the 120 American sects all had smaller following.

Since we are treating social history from the German viewpoint it may not be out of place to mention the growth in

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30 Ibid., 295
31 Erbach-Érbach, *Reisebriefe*, 77-87
32 Ibid., 201-215
33 Oetkin, *Die Landwirthschaft*. 569
numbers of German speaking Catholics as compared with English-speaking Catholics. Thus in 1877 there were 1,237,563 German Catholics in America. Their religious wants were ministered to by 1,373 German priests, while they had 930 church edifices and 173 little congregations regularly visited by priests but as yet without church buildings. The total number of Catholic priests at that date was 5,297; so German priests comprised one-fourth of the Catholic clergy in the United States.

Distinctive of localities where Germans congregated was the Lutheran Church, for all the German-speaking Protestant churches the Evangelical-Lutheran was the strongest. Half the number of Lutherans in America during the period we have studied were German. Because of the prominence and size of the Lutheran group, a more detailed account of Lutheranism and its history in the United States may be in place.

Chiefly owing to the lack of regularly ordained pastors, comparatively little effort was made during the first two decades of the 18th century by German settlers to propagate in the New World the Lutheran and Reformed faiths of the Father-

34 Girard, "German Element in the United States." 379
36 George von Bosse, "German Element in the United States." 449
37 Ibid.
land, one exception being the Lutheran congregation at Falkner's Swamp, New York. Unfortunate was the condition of the children of these settlers, who thus grew up without any religious instruction, except such little as was imparted to them at home. It must be remembered that the German population was scattered over a wide stretch of primitive country without either schools or churches where German was taught. Lutheranism had small beginnings in two localities: New York and Pennsylvania. Later scattered settlements along the Atlantic coast extended as far south as Georgia.

Since German immigration was largely directed to Pennsylvania, this state has ever recorded the strongest growth of Lutheran churches. In the beginning of the 19th century the stream of immigration, crossing the mountains, flowed toward the West, and resulted in strong Lutheran settlements, especially in Indiana and Ohio, where the descendents of Eastern Lutherans (New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia) established themselves. 38

Thus in the course of time a strong Lutheran Church spread out over the United States.

It has been shown that Lutherans ranked fifth in the number of religious adherents in the year 1890. Figures yield an unsatisfactory and inadequate exhibit of a church's strength. Numbers are no proper expression of moral and spiritual forces.

38 History of the Lutheran Church in America, by Dr. J. L. Neve
39 German Literary Publication, Burlington, Va. 1916.
The same author who wrote "Charakterzüge des Amerikansichen Volkes."
Page 67.
Statistics may include clergy, communicants and congregations that weaken rather than strengthen a church. One earnest soul may count for more than multitudes who have the form but not the power of godliness.

At times, however, Lutheran congregations enjoyed the strongest leaders the Church has ever known in this country. Among such outstanding figures may be notes, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who supplied Trinity Church, New York City, and preached in the German, Dutch and English languages; his won Frederick A. C. Muhlenberg, who became the pastor of the Old Swamp Church, and later the first speaker of the National House of Representaties; Dr. John Christopher Kunze, who was a scholar, a writer and an administrator of distinction and professor of Oriental languages at Columbia University. These helped to make New York City and its environs the strongest Lutheran center in the New World. Every Sunday the gospel was preached in the English, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Estonian, Lithuanian, Lettish, Finnish, Yiddish, Slovak, Italian and Spanish languages. Occasionally as well there were services in the Bohemian language.

An exalted and spiritual feature of Lutheran strength was the instruction of the young. This church was the only

Neelmeyer, Die Vereinigten Staaten. 402-423
Protestant communion that had retained the Catechism as an indispensable feature of religious training and was also the only one that had to any extent retained in her hands general education. At the close of 1890 the Lutheran Sect has 21 Theological Seminaries, 20 colleges and many institutions of primary learning. To this were yet to be added her publishing houses which issued a great mass of literature edited in several languages. The total number of periodicals was at least 131. Of these 42 were English and 53 were German.

Lutheranism and Americanism did not conflict.

Very few Germans belonged to the Shakers or Tremblers. It was interesting to the German traveler to hear the song which usually opened the religious exercises of the Shakers. Griesinger translated a part of the song and it is as follows:

"I love to sing; I love to pray,
    I love to praise my maker.
I love the glorious Sabbath day,
    I love to be a Shaker."

Another sect which interested the traveler as well as the native American during this period was the Mormon. Its ideals, or lack of them, struck all German visitors and they gave that church a disproportionate treatment in their books.

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41 Bosse, "German Element in the United States." 448-459
42 Griesinger, Land und Leute. 592
   History of the American Sect of Tremblers, Ibid., 98-127
More from external than from internal causes, Mormonism was already tottering when Baron von Hübnner reached Salt Lake City on June 4, 1871, but he was able to note its most characteristic features on the spot, and a more interesting subject for philosophic speculation would be difficult to assign.

Erigham Young's reconnoitering journey to the Valley of Salt Lake was undertaken in the spring of 1847. The place was then unknown, except to hunters and trappers who described it as an arid desert, hemmed in by rocks; the water brackish and unfit for drink, and the vegetation confined to wild sage and sunflowers devoured by locusts almost before they could spring up. An old trapper offered to give a thousand dollars for every head of corn raised in the valley. Emigration was nevertheless resolved upon by the Mormons and:

They started in the depth of winter (from Nauvoo, Illinois) in a multitude of caravans, men, women and children in wagons, on mules, in wheel-barrowes, on foot, and the distance was upwards of 1500 miles, and that through a country almost entirely deprived of all resources. Misery, privations and mortality cruelly tried them without subduing their courage, perseverance and fertility in expedients of the Prophet, or the resignation, patience and blind faith of his followers. 43

Baron von Hübnner, came later into the field, and taught scepticism by experience, lifting a corner of the veil and to a

43 Hübnner, "Ramble round the World." 254
great extent disillusioning us, although fully admitting, as he did, that marvellous influences had been at work, marvellous effects produced, and that the grand director, the worker of all these wonders, was Brigham Young.

The chief point of the Baron's theory, on the remarkable growth of Mormonism, was that what led the immense majority of the converts was not faith, but material inducements urged by Brigham Young's recruiting sergeants.

Relying on the unanimous testimony of the best informed persons on the grounds, Baron von Hübner, stated that these missionaries never attempted to preach to the rich or even to those who were tolerably well off or moderately educated. The wants of the emigrants were provided for, till they were able to provide for themselves. They were at once allotted land to cultivate or build upon, and supplied with tools and materials. But they were held accountable for the price or value to the community, i.e. to the Prophet and duly inscribed on the debtor's side of the books. Any recalcitrant or troublesome member was put out of the pale of the law, and his goods were confiscated.

Synonymous almost with the term Mormonism, at least in foreign minds, was polygamy. Von Hübner learned that while Mormon men might marry often, it was distinctly understood that no one was to marry more wives than he could maintain, and no one was to marry at all without the license from Brigham Young.
The higher a man advanced in the ranks of hierarchy the more his duty compels him to use the privilege of plurality. Brigham Young at this moment possessed 16 wives, without counting 16 others who are what is called sealed. Some of these latter live with him in a conjugal fashion, but the greater part are treated as widows or old maids, who by this means, hope to become in the future state, what they are not here below—the real wives of the Prophet. 44

A sealed wife was a spiritual wife; she was not married in the flesh; and she might be sealed to two husbands, one for this world and the other for the next.

Despite the practice of polygamy, travelers agreed that the relations of the sexes were far from standing on a loose or immodest footing amongst the Mormonites.

Speaking publicly before a group of Mormons and in the presence of Brigham Young himself, Baron von Hüben, after recognizing the claims to distinction of one "who made his will a law to his disciples and taught them how to transform a desert into a garden," referred to the Mormonite practice of polygamy, and declared the general opinion of Europe to be, that it was a shame to woman and a disgrace to the United States:

Here the audience gave an ominous growl of dissent. The President started; but contained himself. After a few moments of silence, he said, speaking in a low

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It must be remembered that Baron von Hüben was just a traveler and that his information is based almost entirely on hearsay evidence.
voice and with a slightly disdainful smile:
"Prejudice, prejudice, prejudice. We have the
greatest of all examples—the examples of the
patriarchs. What was pleasing to God in their day,
why should it be proscribed now?" He then went
into a long explanation of a theory which was new
to me, regretting that men did not imitate the
animals, and treating the subject of the relations of
the sexes in so confused and at the same time so am-
biguous a manner that it was next to impossible to
understand his meaning, but he arrived finally at the
conclusion that polygamy was the only effectual
remedy for the great social evil of prostitution.
Then he interrupted himself by exclaiming, "as for
the rest, what I do, and what I teach, I do and teach
by the special command of God." When I got up to
take my leave, he took my hand, drew me towards him
and murmured, closing his eyes, "Blessing, Blessing,
Luck!" 45

Religion and education are welded together. While the
Church in her interior life and in the execution of her
mission, gave proof of her vitality and of her ability of
teaching mankind, she came in contact with influences and
practices of the world in general. She then realized that
it was necessary to teach the youth of the world, and had
for her purpose the spread of religious truth along with
secular knowledge among all classes. An education which
united the intellectual, moral and religious elements was con-
sidered a safeguard to the home, family and to the nation.

45 Hübner, "Ramble round the World." 254-260
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1883 - Meyer, Ursachen. 512-548
1888 - Hirschberg, Von New York nach San Francisco. 232-245
1893 - Dernberg, Aus der Weisen Stadt. Chap 28

Religion in General.

1864 - Douai, Land und Leute. 318-320
1867 - Häcker, Amerikanische Reise-skizzen. 10-18
1873 - Erbach-Erbach, Reisebriefe, 130-132; 315-340
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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

The function of education is to prepare the individual for complete living. As long as men have different endowments and tastes there will be different grades of education for different classes. School education has not always been as widespread as it is now. In the beginning of the United States and even up through the Civil War period, the mass of the people enjoyed very meager school opportunities. Since then there has been a pronounced revival of American interest in schools, and the added influence of new ideas from Europe, together with the restoration and expansion program of the States have left marked improvements in the methods of school instruction.

Educational facilities throughout the United States were not and could not be uniform in quality and standards, because in the United States one section differs so widely from another and because even within a single state marked dissimilarities are not seldom to be found. Yet the absence of a national standard, qualitative rather than quantitative, does not indicate a national indifference to the need of education. Quite the contrary is the fact. Indeed foreign visitors, before the end of the last century, were sometimes nettled by persistent and (more rarely) offensive questions on the subject of education.
Very often such offensive questions as these were put to a German visitor: "Have you, in your country, schools as good as we have?" It required a great deal of patience to answer the same question about twenty times, complains Charlotte Niese who visited our country in 1887. "We explained the 'gymnasium', 'daughter school' and (seminars' to them." "That's all wonderful" said the American, "but the system of our public schools is not known in Germany, and it is the only one of its kind."

Adolf Douai, the German teacher who founded the first kindergarten in Boston during the Civil War, was convinced that the Americans did more for schools and other institutions of learning than any other country. They had more schools and teachers, in proportion to the population, than any other nation in the world. Public schools were free to every child. They even furnished the necessary books gratis. Private schools, however, charged higher sums for tuition than did European schools. The distinguishing feature of the public school system was that it was cheap and comprehensive. There was no excuse for even the poorest in America being an illiterate.

1 Douai, Land und Leute. 42
2 Ibid.
A laborer who earned $700.00 a year did not consider himself a spendthrift, Douai reported, if he spent $200.00 of it for his education and the education of his children. This attitude prevailed throughout the nation except in the slave states where only the children of the aristocracy or of the Master received an education. "Therefore" declared Douai, "the general education of the masses in America is higher than in most countries, but only equal to that of Germany, where religious education is more in honor than in America. As the American people are known to be anxious for wealth so, too, are they anxious to obtain an education, and they think they are at the apex of knowledge and understanding when they have hardly begun the race."

One very important conclusion of this observer was that "the unsound and superficial education which one receives in America will confirm in no small degree the unstable and frivolous character of the Nation." He thus praised our school system, but later, this praise notwithstanding, he stated that it added to our frivolous character. Perhaps his favorable opinion of our public schools was based on the fact that they charged no tuition and not on the excellence of their

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3 Douai, Land und Leute. 42-3; The southern conditions changed after the Civil War.
4 Ibid., 43
5 Ibid., 43-44
teaching. He adduced no proof that our education system was unsound and superficial at the time of his writing, (and his judgment is a curious inference from unrelated premises). Douai was of the opinion that:

The injurious effect of the superficial education will increase with the speed that is prevalent in every undertaking especially civilizing new territory.

This seems to be a hasty conclusion and a rather peculiar inference to draw from the premises of American ambition, the spirit of American adventure and the occupation by Americans of a large share in a whole continent. Yet such critics also thought it impossible that in a period of ten years an entire wilderness could vanish, two or three new States could be formed, a dozen large and hundreds of small cities could be built, and hundreds of thousand new farms could be tilled.

"While the American school system diffuses knowledge it fails to achieve depth of learning." was the opinion of a certain well known Dr. Ludwig Richard Klemm, who had taught at Düsseldorf, Germany. Coming to America in 1866 he accepted an appointment first in Indianapolis and later in the Detroit school system, later (in 1870) heading the German department of Central High School, Cleveland. "One must not infer from that, that everything is supervicially studied, but on the contrary what is better and more necessary for the furtherance

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6 Douai, Land und Leute. 44
7 Ibid.
of practical life, is more diligently studied." In America the level or average education is higher than in Germany. To give schools the entire credit for this, however, is not expected "because the peculiar living conditions have contributed. Both of these combined have had great influence in the raising of this American standard of education.

Of all the educational systems in America, the public school system was unique. By the end of the 80's it had had a brilliant if brief history. As it existed at that time it had enjoyed a life of less than half a century and did not extend back in the colonial period as is often asserted. However, since the 40's, in this land of freedom and equality, everyone rich or poor could sit on the same bench and learn the same problems. Opportunities were there for everyone. They did not discriminate. Whatever was good enough for the child of the millionaire was sufficient for the son of the poorest. So it was in theory, but what was the practice? True, the children of the wealthy were permitted to attend the

8 Dr. Ludwig Richard Klemm, "Das Schulwesen in den Vereinigten Staaten" published in "Amerika", Berlin, 1885. 80-81
1867 - Ludwig Haecker, Amerikanische reise-skizzen aus dem gebiete der technik landwirthschaft und des socialen Leben. Friedrich Vieweg, Braunschweig. 20-22
1876 - Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. Chap 6
1883 - Dr. Rudolf Herman Meyer, Ursachen der Amerikanischen Concurrenz. Ergebnisse einer Studienreise. Berlin 648,
9 Klemm, "Das Schwanesen". 69
10 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 99
public schools, but they were usually found in private ones.

By 1865, the "school house had become an emblem of American life." A federal law provided that a certain section of every township should be school land. State legislatures often gave land to public schools, donated money and what was more important provided local taxation for their support. By the close of the Civil War the policy of supporting elementary schools by local taxation had passed the experimental state, and had become an established fact. Thus the growth of the common school system and the development of American democracy went hand in hand. Democracy strove through the public schools to equalize opportunity; its very existence depended on free education.

Charlotte Niese, whose uncritical, if interesting, opinions have been noted before, wrote copiously and provocatively about American education. Sometimes her statements are amazing, as for instance, her convictions about private schools.

Regardless of the praises of the outstanding features of the public schools, America is the land of private schools.

Her proof is that "there is no city or ordinary size in the United States where at least one or more private schools is seen." She wasn't clear, nor did she give an example of a "city of ordinary size." "Many private teachers of all

Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 103
nationalities seek a livelihood in that employment. In New York there are so many private schools and private teachers that their number is inestimable. We wonder if Miss Niese really tried to obtain statistics. "The public school is not good enough for the child of a rich American. He wants to be able to say that his offspring has learned everything and knows everything." She really infers that private schools not only taught everything but that the student really learned and knew everything. In conclusion Miss Niese gives us a picture which she evidently had seen with her own eyes.

Let us glance back to the public school, where the elementary school was downstairs and the high school was upstairs. It was Friday, the last day of the school week, according to the American custom. All the rooms were quiet. A bell rang and all the children rose quickly. Two by two, slowly and orderly, they marked to the assembly. Here a song was sung by all the children. A snappy march was played on the old piano. Slowly, orderly, without an uproar, hundreds of children left the school building to the beat of the music. There was no pushing, shoving, no careless crowding. The same system was observed throughout the entire week. Only at the door did jubilant shouting indicate that the strict discipline was relaxed. "We can honestly assure the hospitable teachers that we have never seen such well-trained children in Germany." It is difficult to understand whether the conduct of

12 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 103
13 Ibid., 114
14 Ibid.
well-trained children in Germany was meant or the well-trained conduct of the children in America.

As has been pointed out, the time element and the location of the school, play an important part with schools and education in America. All schools do not obtain the same result. The New Englander sought spiritual and moral education. This seeking was characteristic of him and the New Englander could thereby be distinguished from other Americans. Not that his education was higher because he was educated in that section the country, but because religion was an essential part of his education. Sound moral instruction is impossible apart from religious education. In the New England states a girl went to school longer than a boy, usually until seventeen or nineteen years of age. A boy was generally learning a trade at that age. These New England States were known for their educational institutions and they supplied almost all the needs of other states--teachers and principals. Massachusetts had some of the finest institutions in the country, not only for preparing prospective teachers, but for the education of children, blind, deaf, dumb and backward children not excepted. Massachusetts educational institutions could compete with any in Europe. By its example it encouraged other states to develop similar

15 Douai, Land und Leute. 44
16 Ibid., 148
17 Ibid., 126
This same state was also among the first to organize debating clubs where young men of the town met and discussed leading questions, an experience in expressing one's thoughts and in thinking on one's feet that is so helpful in practical life.

Boston of the 80's and 90's impressed German visitors as possessing greater educational facilities than any other American city. It boasted of the first American kindergarten of German inspiration. Another conspicuous institution was the (then) new English High and Latin school, a sort of German "real gymnasium". The Chauncey Hall School; a High School for girls and the New England Conservatory of Music were still others. Deckert estimated the English High and Latin School to be the largest and best equipped school building in the new world. Perhaps one reason for his favorable judgment was its construction on professedly German lines. To say that this was the largest and best equipped school in America, for dispensing culture to its growing generation, was saying something to this display-loving country. The Conservatory of Music,

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18 Douai, Land und Leute, 126-127
19 Ibid., 128
20 Ibid., 127. It has been noted above that Adolf Douai, the author quoted organized the first kindergarten in America at Boston.
21 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 225-6
with its more than a hundred teachers, was also a gigantic building, a former hotel, that could not rent as such. Of this too, Deckert, without hesitation, wrote and affirmed that it was the first institution of its kind in America.

No feature of American education inspired the traveler with wide-eyed amazement than the multiplicity of Colleges and Universities. In the one State of Ohio alone, it was asserted there were thirty-two institutions granting degrees. "We can hardly be wrong in inferring", said the stranger, "that the degrees granted by some of these institutions cannot be worth very much. It is quite certain that some of them are at quite a variation from the acknowledge seats of learning like Harvard and Yale. And perhaps we might infer that it would be a gain if some of these degree-giving bodies were abolished or merged in others."

The systems of the two most famous colleges differed a great deal. Yale, the younger institution of the two, boasted specially of standing fast in the old parths, and of chalking out definite roads for both teachers and learners. The pride of Harvard was to give its students the widest freedom in the choice of subjects and its professors the widest freedom in the way of dealing with them. The curriculum of instruction at

22 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 225-6
23 1881
Harvard was said to be much the same as at Oxford. (Although the Oxford may have refused to accept the comparison.) There was also a separate school attached to the University called the Lawrence Scientific School for the more special pursuit of mixed mathematics and the applied sciences, for instruction in chemistry, natural history, philosophy and engineering, though these subjects at least in survey courses were to a certain extent embraced in the general University curriculum. The New Haven College, subsequently Yale, had a foundation quite independent of Harvard due mainly to the distance of Connecticut points from Cambridge, Massachusetts. Only as a secondary and merely contributory extent did the question of heterodoxy at Harvard exert an influence on Yale and that mainly in promoting Yale’s growth after it was founded.

One obvious and repugnant feature of American academic life was the spirit of rivalry between various colleges. Hugo Münsterberg, who was a member of the Harvard faculty and an authority on both American and German education wrote:

In America, the university work is mostly a continuation of the college work, without any essential qualitative difference. The post-graduate work is more difficult than the under-graduate work. The teachers are expected to know more, the subjects are

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Deckert, Die neue Welt. 223-5; 234-241
Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 166-178; student life 189pp
more advanced and specialized; but all the changes are of quantitative character, and there is nothing new in principle. The university is a more difficult college,--a college which presupposes a greater amount of information, and where the best informed teachers of the country are teaching; but its spirit is one the whole the college spirit, merely on a more elaborate scale of instruction. 25

One traveler in 1897 reported that there were 472 colleges in the United States, not counting those exclusively for women; another states "of the 336 colleges in the United States in 1900, only 11 were exclusively for women." Many German travelers visited the two great women colleges of Vassar and Wellesley, rival institutions, so said their enthusiastic scholars, and the female counterparts of Harvard and Yale. Wellesley boasted that it carried out its principles and rigidly shut out the ruder sex from its rule and teaching. One thing at least was plain, as a German critic phrased it, "both colleges are set down in most pleasant and healthy spots, with every opportunity present of training the body as well as the mind."

These women colleges, as well as all others, sent representatives of every nationality into the teaching profession in

25 Hugo Münsterberg, American Traits from a viewpoint of a German. Houghton Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1901. 88
27 Neve, Charakterzüge. 71
28 Karl Knortz, Aus der transatlantischen Gesellschaft. Bernhard Schlices, Leipzig. 1882. 66
the United States. Larger institutions had many foreign speaking teachers on their faculty. As early as 1869 German-American teachers formed an organization to discuss mutual needs.

At the 13th Annual meeting of this association, held at Buffalo, in 1882, these statistics were published.

In the 35 states there were 877 German-American schools, 4031 teachers and 291,842 pupils.

Public schools, 1011 teachers, 110,414 pupils,
Church schools, 2870 teachers, 174,133 pupils,
Private schools, 150 teachers, 7,295 pupils. 29

They reported that there were however 600,000 children of school age in the United States of German heritage, and that less than half were attending schools in which German was taught. There were some schools, according to Charlotte Niese, where the teaching of German in the schools was forbidden, although two-thirds of the school children were of German descent. English was the language of the United States and this traveler had little cause to complain that all of our schools did not teach the academic branches in a foreign language.

Considered as the development of the character, education bears an intimate relation to the work of the Church, the home, and those institutions which exert a civilizing and refining

29 Klemm, "Das Schulwesen." 80-81
30 Ibid.
31 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 13
influence on life. Home education within the family circle is much more effective in the opinion of some students of education than mere school learning, and this with adults as well as with children. In a home where parents surround children with the material means of inspiration and culture, good books, choice pictures, uplifting music; the children, other influences being equal, will assuredly be better educated.

Of these means of culture perhaps the greatest, or at least the most widely diffused, is the use of books, newspapers and magazines. Of these gain, books always have been the most influential, since books have existed and have served as a mechanism of education even before the invention of printing. Nevertheless, magazines and newspapers are not to be slighted since they give currency to contemporary thought and contemporary thought oftentimes results in activity of prime historical importance.

Claus Harms wrote in his book "The Gronen", "Who doesn't read, doesn't live. He is not in this world and if he will ever get to heaven in another question." This, of course, is an exaggerated judgment which few will accept without wide qualification. But if his opinion were true, Americans could count with certainty on a high place in heaven. They read as

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Quoted in Asmussen, Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam. 70
diligently between their four walls as they did in trains and street cars, in the lobbies of hotels, on park benches and in all places where business permitted.

By establishing numerous libraries, cities and states have helped the American to read. Boston had two large ones, one with 700,000 volumes and the other with 150,000, for the use of every resident or visitor and free from all charges. The principal weakness from which the public library at Boston suffered, at the time Deckert visited that city, was lack of room. However, a new building was then in process of construction. Like other institutions in America, the State Library of Boston grew so surprisingly fast, that the old house on the Common became almost too small to house the rapidly mounting collection. In 1891 this library possessed almost as many volumes as the Congressional library at Washington. Many a German librarian, as German students of American life observed, prided himself on musty books that were seldom used. Mr. Chamberlain, the librarian of the Boston library, considered that the collection under his charge should, before all else, contain every modern work, from which, so to speak, the utmost

33 Asmussen, *Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam*. 70
34 Douai, *Land und Leute*. 126
35 Deckert, *Die neue Welt*. 226
of human research could be secured.

Those who visited the Athenaeum Library, which with its 150,000 volumes, was the second in size at Boston, seemed to be of a higher class intellectually than those who visited the public library. This library was the property of the Athenaeum Club and was managed as institutions founded on shares. Only when one had the permission of a club-member or share-holder, had one the right to enter this aristocratic building and take out what one wished.

The two large libraries in Philadelphia, at that time, were the Mercantile and the Philadelphia Library, could not be compared with similar institutions in New York or Boston. The first was at one time a market hall; a wide well-lighted room which impressed one most favorably until one saw that readers could roam around the book-cases, take whatever book he wished and later return it. One could, however, never find the book wanted because so many were misplaced by the previous reader. There was a great deal of light reading materials there, but it was difficult to find just what one was looking for, so the "Help Yourself" method was not as practical as one would think. The Philadelphia Library possessed a collection of higher grade and more learned books. Friedrich Ratzel asked for two certain

36 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 226-7
37 Ibid.
38 Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 200
books and received them immediately without his trying to locate them. Also in Philadelphia there was a German library containing about ten thousand volumes.

The Chicago Public Library had perhaps more volumes than any other library in the west. It had many German books and much German literature. Visitors have been surprised at the throng of people who spent their free time in its beautiful rooms. Although Emil Deckert said:

Most of the readers wore dirty shirts and didn't think it necessary to remove their hats. it can be asserted that this library was used by every class even by laborers, as his description implies.

No city in the United States had to be of metropolitan proportions to possess a fairly adequate library for even many little townships boasted a library sufficient to take care of their needs. There were hundreds of such libraries in the New England States alone, totaling several million volumes.

39 Ratzel, *Bilder aus Nord Amerika*. 200
40 Ibid.
41 Until the late 90's the Chicago Public Library was housed on an upper floor of the old City Hall, now torn down.
42 Deckert, *Die neue Welt*. 157
43 Ibid.
44 Douai, *Land und Leute*. 126
For description of the Library of Congress at Washington, see Asmussen, *Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam*. 73-77
Freedom seemed to reign in America. At least the schools were called free, the libraries were called free and even the press was a free press. Free schools and free libraries meant that no direct charge was made on students or readers for the use of either schools or libraries. Of course such advantages were really not free. For they were supported out of taxation by the governing body that controlled the school or library, and many a user of the facilities so freely enjoyed, paid in reality, though indirectly, as a tax-payer. The term "free press" meant the free expression of ideas without interference by those who were of a contrary opinion. The "American Press" according to Theodor Barth, had a very low reputation in Germany. It was too sensational, scandalous and superficial for the Germans. This may appear to be a harsh judgment but evidently it was one to which Barth did not give unqualified assent since we find him a little later praising the responsiveness to public opinion of American journalism and writing.

It is irreproachable in matters concerning public and private affairs. It publishes what is interesting to all. It is a free press. It is as important in the life of an American as the school, hotel, bank, church and the livery stable.

Early in the morning the newsboys screamed the first edition

45 Barth, Amerikanisches Wirtschaftsleben. 12
46 Ibid.
of their paper. At railroad stations and at many business intersections papers were sold. Business was good. On the way from homes to offices politicians and merchants studied their papers. Young girls looked hurriedly over the style advertisements and perhaps searched for ugly details of the scandals and disagreements of life in high society. Older women studied the illustrations and pored over the latest scandal. Everything was read by some one or another. Fellow passengers were not noticed. Everyone had in front of him, nothing but a wall of printed paper.

In 1860 there were about 2500 newspapers printed in the Union, with an annual circulation of about five hundred million. The press of the South did not compare with the North. By 1873, for instance, Philadelphia had about ten daily newspapers printed in English, two of which had a circulation of 85,000; 3 between 20,000 and 23,000; 5 over 10,000. The "Saturday Night", a weekly paper, of rather low and lurid character, had a circulation of about 200,000. At the same time there were four German dailies in Philadelphia and in the foreign language field of American journalism, 614 newspapers were printed in German, 49 in Scandinavian languages and

47 Asmussen, Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam 70-71
48 Douai, Land und Leute. 234
49 Ibid., 321. Travelers neglected detailed reports about the press in the South.
in French. All of these papers published practically the same news but edited differently so that one who read them all even, was not bored.

Most of the daily papers sold for two cents. Cheap enough these seemed to visitors from abroad and easily within the reach of the educated, but not as cheap as the one-cent papers which the less cultured devoured. Similar to the "Cologne paper with from four to six pages, eight columns to a side, half of which was advertising" was the "Public Ledger", the most popular two-cent paper in Philadelphia at that time. Published daily except Sunday, the Ledger was one of the most influential papers of the East and exercised a powerful influence in moulding public opinion.

Despite what appeared to the foreigner, newspaper reading so voracious as to lack all sense of discrimination, Americans were not satisfied with just any newspaper. There were no small local papers, all aimed to be big and all tried to

50 Udo Brachvogel, "Die Deutsche Presse in den Vereinigten Staaten" article in Armin Tenner's Amerika. 165-166; 166-183.
51 Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 220
52 Ibid., 221
choose startling names. In 1891 there were 550 papers well
named "News" of which 39 were published in the state of New
York; 38 in Illinois and 34 in Ohio. The others were scattered
among the other states and territories.

The field of American magazine literature was not so
thoroughly inspected nor so frequently remarked by German
visitors as was that of the newspapers. Yet travelers remarked
that magazines in the United States, as well as newspapers,
were numerous and of great variety. As a rule they promoted
national unity and opposed every stratigem of sectionalism.
And in their pages the worthy achievements of man and govern-
ment found generous record.

After the "News" came the "Times" of which there were 489.
Other names were "Journal" 415; "Democrat" 406; "Gazette"
297; "Republican" 272; "Enterprise" 198; "Independent" 180;
"Tribune" 180; "Record" 179; "Courier" 177; "Sentinel" 173;
"Presse" German and English 149; "Register" 137; "Chronicle"
128; "Reporter" 126; "Star" 119; "Review" 117; "Sun" 108;
"Leader" 107; "Advertiser" 99; "Argus" 98; "Standard" 90;
"Free Press" 89; "Post" 83; "Bulletin" 74; "Express" 62;
"Banner" 71; "Observer" 70; "Union" 63; "Citizen" 61;
"Messenger" 59; "Eagle" 54. Names of the papers did not
mean much. Those with the name of "Democrat" or "Republican"
are not and were not necessarily that. Neither were all the
"Independents" such.

Hesse-Wartegg, Tausend und ein Tag in Occident. 113
Pachmayr, Leben und Treiben. 23-24
Offenbach in America, Chap 14, 132-140
Neelmeyer, Die Vereinigten Staaten, 299-307
Deckert, Die neue Welt. 165
CHAPTER V

MANNERS AND MORALS

The term "manners" has at least two meanings: a way of personal conduct: deportment or behaviour in society; and a way of doing things: habit, usual practice or characteristics. Much has been written and more said about American manners, or rather the lack of manners. And German like British or French visitors to the shores of the United States were not slow to notice and comment unfavorably upon American peculiarities of personal behaviour.

Among Europeans, Americans were famous for their craft and smartness though in such qualities they were probably only more successful than the peoples of whom their critics were fellows. This was more the case in what they hid than in what they showed. Gloomy and reserved features would create suspicion; so such tactics were taboo. Americans, the same writer asserted, act easily with humor, but when the chosen opportunity arrives they grasp and hold. Without doubt Americans do great things in grand style. Twenty times a day, one hesitates whether to admire or abuse them, whether to imitate them or to inveigh against them. Their country is characterized by an element of 1

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1 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 195
roughness. A mad intoxication of speculation, an irrepressible elasticity elevates them again and again after every downfall. Whoever fails here is not lost forever. "Go ahead and try again" is called to him from all sides. Such encouragement and inspiration to those temporarily depressed by failure indicates that in America "friendship" is not an empty word. When one considers the German character, regiments, drilled, exposed to an age-old culture of Europe and contrasts it with the American individualistic, loose and stamped with all the virtues and all the vices of the frontier, one can readily understand that German visitors were often unfavorably impressed. One German writer, after criticizing the low manners of Americans, went so far as to write:

I wish everybody in America had to serve three years in the German army to learn orderliness and better manners. 3

Thus, the general consensus of German, as also of British and French, opinion was that Americans were rude. Similarly, Paul Lindau, in his "Old and New from the New World" selects some specific counts against good manners.

I shall just give a few examples of their impolite form. The American does not stand up from his chair when a stranger comes into his office. He does not remove the cigar from his mouth or take

2 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 195
3 Asmus, Amerikanisches Skizzenbüchelche. 27
off his hat, but just calls you by a wave of his hand, and fails to invite you to be seated. It never enters his mind to excuse himself if on a hot day he receives you in his shirt sleeves. 4

It may be that Lindau met so many instances of discourtesy such as he here describes that he felt justified in arguing from his experiences to the existence of a national habit. The native-born American, however, would merely reply that he had been singularly unfortunate in his experiences. For that matter even Lindau must on occasions have met with kindness since he wrote:

The Americans really see to it that strangers view everything of importance and beauty in their cities. 5

Other criticisms assail American characteristics against which Charles Dickens in his "American Notes" hurled such devastating scorn. One such German critic remarked that in public places many an American had his legs in almost impossible elevation; that he swallowed his words and spoke through his nose. Most men chewed tobacco, a habit which necessitated the high and large spittoons in bar rooms, on trains and in public buildings.

4 Lindau, Altes und Neues. 108-109
5 Ibid., 109
6 Bodenstedt does not state whether or not he noticed a difference in the nasal quality of the voices of the southerns and northerners.
"One can see a gentleman, sitting very comfortably nearby, aiming at the spittoon with a sense of true aim, but at times without success. This show is continuous, with few interruptions, this recalls to my mind" continued the critic we are quoting, "other peculiarities: the constant whistling of young men wherever they are and no matter what they are doing; the unbelievably shrill yells of newsboys as they advertise their papers; the bootblack who follows you, and reminds you of your dirty shoes, with the purpose of earning five cents by shining them again. In some of the side-streets many other boys, not so industrious, are making and standing around bonfires, which give off a great deal of black smoke that blows into the faces of passers-by. Such experiences are met with not only in New York but in all large cities. So that after one has lived in town for a short while, all this becomes familiar and normal."

Even this same disgusted stranger softened up a bit when he wrote:

Those who are prejudiced must admit that Americans deserve a great deal of credit, because they are such a young people, made up of all races, who have found the old world too crowded, or who, as many Germans have felt a strong desire for adventure across the ocean.

Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 36

Ibid.

Ibid., 37
Having delivered this faint praise, Bodenstedt returns to a more critical appraisal of American manners and to enforce his structures on the youth of the United States, he reports the opinion of an old friend of his who had for several years resided in America.

He remarked how much safer it was in America to associate with older than with younger people. The behaviour of the younder folks often was forward even if they really did not mean to act so. They showed little tact as well as a fine sense of honor, and that is why they just as easily took a blow as gave one. This would have had different consequences in Germany. 10

But is not youth the same the world over? And can any one believe that even fifty years ago young men in America just as easily took a blow as gave one? Such criticisms seem to cast doubt on others since they imply an ignorance of a prevailing American spirit.

A common criticism of foreigners during the period we are studying was the failure of American educational machinery really to educate. When school education fails, family education must supply and yet to many foreigners family life in America seemed such as to preclude the possibility or at

Bodenstedt, *Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean*. 37
least the practicability of educating the young. Apropos of this condition Bodenstedt wrote:

It does not happen in school and cannot be done at home, because every father of a family is at the same time a business man. He is away from home all day long, while the mother has work enough to take care of the house. If the daughters follow their mother's example, the sons seldom follow her example. Their whole life is directed mainly to earning a living as soon as possible. Necessity demands that the boy become self-supporting very early. A boy of fourteen here is often as independent as a young man of twenty-four in Germany. The willingness to work, the energy and daring spirit of enterprise are found wherever profit is in view. One does not regard good behaviour to be of paramount importance, this is not needed to earn money. 11

In rejoinder an American might object that the father of a family, who even in other countries than America, must be a bread winner and consequently can be only a part-time educator of his children. While as for mothers of families, (whereas one traveler wrote that the women in America spent most of their time shopping and visiting) Bodenstedt gave them so much to do in the home that they were unable to find time to correct and educate their offspring. Evidently our critics have not considered all the elements of the institution they wrote about and, at least in many instances, have rashly generalized from

11 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 94-5
inadequate date.

Concluding this study of deportment as narrated by German travelers we should not pass over a point of American behavior that was referred to by all foreigners and most unfavorably, although an American might retort that the quality was not distinctively American. That was a tendency to brag, a universal tendency wherever human beings achieve success but exaggerated in America by the spirit of the frontier. One such German visitor, while agreeing that Americans have learned a great deal but wrote that they had forgotten one thing:

Telling something quietly and without exaggeration. They always spoke with the big drum and this was a particular thing with these Americans at the end of the nineteenth century. First one is angry at them, then one laughs at them and finally imitates them. 12

Yet even this quality, as the critic himself pointed out, is noticeable only before one has lived some time in America. Then the spirit of achievement seizes even upon the foreigner and his language, like the talk of a native, takes on the note of self-satisfaction in success that otherwise men are inclined to denominate brag or boasting.

Material success that first inspired boasting eventually led to a display which often seemed garish and in bad taste.

12 Dernburg, *Aus der Weissen Stadt*. 48
Such bad taste was especially notable in eastern cities after the Civil War, where Civil War profiteers flaunted their swollen wealth. Of this condition one visitor wrote:

Formerly when millionaires were comparatively rare, they shrank from making an ostentatious display of their wealth, which simply offended against the common feeling of equality without conferring any compensating advantage in the shape of social influence or respect. Since the war, that which most attracts the gaze in the beautiful Fifth Avenue, at the fashionable hour of evening, is the excessive luxury of the innumerable carriages, with their immense coat-of-arms, emblazoned on every panel, the over-smart liveries, the almost priceless carriage-horses and "the somewhat extravagant dresses of the ladies, to whom Nature has been kinder than their dressmakers." 12

Not the least notable American characteristic (as distinguished from department) was, in the eyes of newcomers to the United States, an almost universal sameness of institutions throughout the nation. The Civil War accelerated mass movement and mass production. All this made for standardization and the extreme nationalism of politics during Reconstruction days no doubt exerted a nationalizing influence on other elements of American life than the purely political. Thus foreigners reported that Americans stamped a character uniformity and sameness on all their institutions. Knowing one hotel meant to

12 Hübner, "Ramble round the World". 244
to know them all. One bill of fare was just like another; one newspaper was almost the same as another. Even the cities looked alike. "We are here in the country of squares; the states are paid out into squares, the counties and even single 13 farms. All was uniform and after one style. Just as if someone had ordered fifty coats of the same style, only a little different in color." Standardization of American life was less noticeable in material things than in certain characteristics of the people themselves. The tendency to his objective had become an American mannerism and critics noticed that Americans were direct not only in what they said but in the way they said it. They came directly to the point without much preface or introduction. Neither was their any circumlocution or "beating about the bush." "When they come to see you they say what they have to say and then take their departure. Moreover what they say is said in the most terse, concise and unambiguous manner. Members of other nationalities approach each other with preliminary greetings; they talk of the wealthier, of friends and politics, and after these introductory remarks they approach the subject uppermost in their minds. Not so the Americans." 15

13 Dernburg could not have been very familiar with our geographical conditions because he neglected to add the most striking square, the township. He was also mistaken as to the states.

14 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 179

15 Ibid., 48
Akin to this directness of approach was a certain imperviousness and impetuosity of manner which Europeans noted. Thus they asserted that Americans were not sensitive in small matters. They were either broad-minded enough to rise above unworthy trifles, or else true to their profession of democracy, they did not, for instance, squabble over questions of precedent at the dinner table or elsewhere. America moreover was the land of extremes. "Europe has contributed her people and this contribution makes extremes greater." Visitors, it is true, did not admit that their emigrates were extreme but the gathering of different types from each country in the United States was what in their opinion, produced or at least helped to produce extremes in nature and character. One visitor noted that "even the weather changes from one extreme to the other without warning."

Frontier influences on American civilization had many results even on people not directly affected by frontier life and visitors accurately pointed out another American characteristic, unrest, as well as its cause, "the settlers viewpoint in a new country." Restlessness was not the disease of republicanism but the malady of ambition—of hopeful indigence—suddenly confronted with opportunities for amassing great wealth.

16 Douai, Land und Leute. 259
17 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 55
Another traveler tried to classify and describe Americans in three geographical groups: Yankees, the middle states class and southern aristocrats. By Yankees he meant the native American of American ancestry. He thought that the ambition or strongest passion of the Yankee was "through his soul to govern and to civilize." The strongest ambition of the middle states class was to govern through the almighty dollar, and the strongest of the southern aristocrat was through ancestry and birth to govern the rough and ill-mannered common folk.

"The American is eager to make money quickly, and is not stingy in spending it," writes another, "while the German is slower, more thoughtful, never so restless in making money, but more close-fisted, more frugal too, and more economical with which he has made.

The American is stiff in his manner and cold; the German is more frank and hearty. If the one holds tenaciously to his inherited traits; the other is yielding, and readily adapts himself to new conditions and circumstances. If the former is painfully jealous of his rights and conscientious in the discharge of his duties, the latter is less anxious and worried as to both.

For these reasons, as well as many others, the German was admirably suited to a participation in the settlement of America and,

Douai, Land und Leute. 247
as has been admitted, had had no small share in effecting the 
prosperity of the Union.

American manners in the opinion of some were only the re- 
sultant of two predominant characteristics,—a love of indepen- 
dence and equality, early inculcated, and thrift or a keen ab- 
horrence of waste of time, engendered by the conditions and 
circumstances of a new country. Even the familiar spectacle 
of men walking with their hands deep in their trouser pockets, 
or sitting with their limbs crossed needs no other explanation, 
and to suggest that because Americans have some habits pecu- 
liarly their own, they are either inferior or unmanly, would 
be to do them a grave injustice.

According to G. Pollack, in his article in the Nation, 
November 3, 1898:

Germans have been misinformed about the Americans 
and their character. German newspapers have 
printed letters, mailed from the United States. 
Most of these were sensational and untrue to a 
degree that has no parallel in the letters from 
Europe published in our papers. "In fact it may be

Dr. Edmund Spiess, "Ueber Aufgabe und Zukunft der Deutschen 
in der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika." Article in 
the Lutheran Quarterly, V, July 1875.

A German named Platenius commented on the American habit of 
sitting with feet elevated on railings and tables but 
diagnosed the habit as "imperfect indigestion or circulation."
John Graham Brooks, As Others See Us. McMillan Co., 
New York. 235
said that the German public, so far as we are concerned, is treated to hardly anything but highly-spiced accounts of American corruption, folly and eccentricity."21

Pollack praised Professor Hugo Munsterberg for his articles in the Berlin Zukunft: "He has rendered both his native country and our own a noteworthy service." "The American whom he depicts is refreshingly different from what is presented to the European readers by those of our journals which exhibit in themselves the worst failings of the American character. On the other hand by those who laudably desire to correct these failings speak of them in unmeasurable terms of denunciation. They obscure thereby to the foreign eye what is essentially sound and valuable in American life."

The American mania for titles contrasted amusingly enough with the popular doctrine of equality; Baron von Hübner, in relating his American experience, made it a point to procure introductions, not only to persons of consideration, but to agents and guards at the different stations, to captains and stewards of steamers and to managers and housekeepers of hotels.

On the railroads I found my letter of introduction invaluable, especially when traveling alone. The station agent begins by shaking my hand, calling me

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21 G. Pollack, "German Ignorance of America", Nation, Nov. 3, 1898, Vol 67, 330
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., 331
"Baron" half a dozen times, and introducing me to the conductor of the train. Then comes a fresh exchange of civilities. The conductor gives me my title and I call him "Mister". That's the custom in the Far West. They don't call one another "Sir" but "Mister" without adding the name; for no one has time to inquire or it is forgotten as soon as told. 24

To insure proper attention there was another formality, an introduction by the conductor to the porter. Here there was no shaking of hands, "which would involve too close a contact with the skin." 25

In his "The Hundred Year Old Republic", John H. Becker has an excellent chapter on impressions of the Americans. He was of the opinion that the Americans desired entertainment and change constantly; women in the style of clothing and in shopping; men in saloons, gambling or associations with women, other than their wives. Von Hübner thought that Americans were constantly struggling, secretly, openly, and even brutally now and then for admission into the circles for which they were hopelessly unfit. Another thought "the Yankees are understanding, quick, efficient, honest and independent, well able to take care of themselves, to a degree one rarely finds in

24 Hübner, "Ramble round the World". 248
25 It perhaps never came to the Baron's attention that this was not an American practice but an attempt by Americans to act in the European manner.
26 Ibid. The porter was a colored man.
27 John H. Becker, Die Hundredjahrige Republick. Lampart & Co. Augsburg, 1876, 284
28 Hübner, "Ramble round the World". 245
Again, "the Yankees differ from other Americans in that they have more will-power and more endurance." "There is no nation more conservative and more changeable than the Americans." But he adds, "conservative in religious and political ideals, and changeable in material things."

Bodenstedt, traveling in 1882, said, "In no other country that I know of, do the first impressions of the social life of the people seem so excitingly strange, so curious, so repulsive, so bewildering as in America."

One cannot walk down the street of New York and find one face in ten that would be pleasant. One cannot pick up the newspaper of a large city without being startled by the news of crimes. Yes, one could spend ten years in a large city and still couldn't understand the roughness of their character. One reason is that we wouldn't mix with those classes, and without mingling with them one cannot thoroughly understand their language, living conditions and their ideals.

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29 Douai, Land und Leute. 123
30 Douai, in his comparisons of Yankees and Americans, treats the former as a New England native born citizen, distinguished from an American of foreign descent.
31 Douai, Land und Leute. 122
32 Ibid., 59-60
33 Ibid., 60
34 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 35
35 Douai, Land und Leute. 259-260. He also gives a good part of Chapter IV to the uncultured side of American culture. In substantiation of quotation-Bodenstedt, supra.
From observing what went on in hotels foreigners often drew their conclusions as to what constituted American life. In hotels people of a lower class could mix with higher classes, better educated than themselves, learn their mannerisms and their etiquette and before long feel at home in all the luxury hotel life provided. They took with them the customs they had learned and adopted them for use around their own little homes.

"An American is not naturally bashful, awkward or clumsy, but handy, able and intelligent. In new surroundings he often finds something useful to learn."

For a European, the morning pleasures offered in an American hotel were exhausted with the breakfast and the morning edition of a newspaper. But for the American there was still another thing that was interesting and it was to stare into the world.

For this occupation, comfortable benches and chairs are provided for in the lower hall. The main scene however is the parlor alongside the big entrance. There, about a dozen chairs are standing, with the front towards the street. These chairs are occupied all day long by a dozen men, but very seldom is a chair vacant. Sometimes one man makes a short remark to another; sometimes they look into their papers, but regularly they stare through the big window. There is not much to see on the quiet streets, but nevertheless they go on staring.

36 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 34
37 Ibid., 34-5
38 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 47
How opinions of a foreigner might change after more frequent contact with the native may be inferred from the writings of a German correspondent of one of the ablest continental papers, the Cologne Gazette, who made four trips to the United States before 1889. After the first visit he wrote that the Americans "were sharp vizaged, nervous, lank and restless." At the second trip he abandoned this group of adjectives. After the third trip he believed "Americans were resourceful, inventive and supreme in the pursuit of material ends." After the fourth trip he wrote "I have thrown them all over like a lot of rubbish" (meaning his previous opinions.) "I now don't know what the American is and I don't believe any one else knows." But he still thought Americans hurried more than folks of other countries.

If, after four visits, this stranger, really believed Americans were still in a hurry, the impression of the first visit was probably correct. The impressions he formed during the third visit were along another line. Yet people can still be nervous and yet resourceful and inventive. When he returned from the fourth trip in 1889 and inferred that he had been wrong in his previous impressions of American resourcefulness, inventiveness, and leadership in the pursuit of material things,

39 Brooks, As Others See Us. 45-6
he registered merely a growing doubt in his former assurance. It may be too, as few foreigners ever realized from one even lengthy visit, that he had begun to sense the existence of a soul beneath the more obvious hardness of American materialism.

Europeans who have never visited the United States but who have at home come in contact with American tourists are aware that "ice-water" is as distinctively American as "roastbeef" is British. Accordingly we might expect German tourists in the United States to comment on this national habit. Foreign travelers decided that we were a population of very thirty souls, who often during the day in winter as in summer drank water with ice floating in it. Many, it was even stated, finished their breakfast with a large tumbler of ice-water. Wherever men congregated, whether in the drawing rooms of the hotels or of private houses or even in railway cars, there was to be found the ever-present and ever-needed ice-water.

Georg Asmussen was under the impression that the heat of the summer or as he states "damp heat" had something to do with it.

In summer it is very warm here, the damp heat makes one ill at times. The drug stores are kept busy filling prescriptions and selling medicines, lemonades, ice, sodawater et cetera. Milk pavilions are crowded

Griesinger, Land und Leute, II, 708-733
on summer days. 41

Drinking was not confined to ice-water. Most of the men, it seemed to some visitors, sought a bar to satisfy their thirst with drinks stronger than ice-water. They stood while drinking and did not tarry long. Because of this hurry, strangers arrived at the conclusion that not much was drunk in America, because bar-rooms were never as crowded as in Europe. One writer however was of a different opinion. "The American does not want to be seen drinking in public. It is considered more mannerly not to drink spirits. On the quiet (in a hurry) a great deal is done. Gin is about the most popular..." Gin was however considered an almost exclusive drink of the negro before prohibition, and what Friedrich Ratzel called gin was likely brandy or whisky.

The "Liquor Shops" had doorways that seemed to visitors as odd. There were double outer doors just as in Germany. But a little farther in were two wing doors, so that outsiders could not see who was standing at the bar inside. They were high enough to prevent one's looking over but if one stooped

41 Asmussen, Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam. 21
It must have been a very warm summer when Asmussen was in America because he asserts that the drug stores were kept busy filling prescriptions et cetera. The heat must have been so intense that the residents of New York needed medical attention.

42 Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 122
a little one could see the legs of the drinkers. In such "saloons" strangers met strangers and were invited to have a "drink". This might continue as long as a group remained at the bar with all taking turns at treating and paying for the drinks consumed. In this way one could be served with a different drink every few minutes, and no one refused such an invitation. At first this custom seemed very strange and unrefined to Friedrich Ratzel, but soon "I became accustomed to it and saw that it was deep in the character of the people." It was a distinctive American habit.

Saloons were not mere drinking places. They were besides the poor man's club and even for those not unacquainted with real club life, congenial places for lounging and reading. The way Americans read a newspaper in such places stimulated many a visitor's interest and one such visitor contrasted the American with the German conduct under similar conditions.

The German walks to a table, removed his hat and puts it away with his cane. Then he dusts his chair with a handkerchief, sits down slowly and comfortably in a straight posture. After observing that the table is clean, he takes his newspaper. This he unfolds, places on the table and starts reading at the upper left hand corner.

Asmussen, Ein Besuch bei Uncle Sam 21
Ratzel, Bilder aus Nord Amerika. 122
The American does none of this. He snatches his paper, looks at the front page and taking his chair at the same time. He stretches his limbs either under the table or on it and then balances himself on his chair. He begins to rock himself and almost tears the paper looking at every page in a hurry, glancing here and there and reading just a little. In a moment he is finished and throws the paper on the table. All this is accomplished by the American before the German has really started to read.

If the German orders a glass of beer, he drinks it slowly. The American drinks it all at once. 45

The drinking habits of America were not less strange to Germans than the whole subject of opposition to the use of intoxicants. This was strikingly the case when opposition to liquor took the form of prohibition. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg discussed the curiosities of American temperance in his book published in 1893.

Travelers to America will find in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia and other large cities, thousands of saloons doing an excellent business, but should they arrive in a prohibition state, they will find it impossible to secure liquor of any kind, even in the hotels. (Perhaps this was true of the traveler who was a total stranger.) The only drinks available are breakfast drinks or water, milk and lemonade.

Even in Cosmopolitan New York no liquor is available on Sundays, as all saloons and bar rooms are closed. How different this is from our homeland.

45 Becker, Die hundertjährige Republik. 285
In the city of New York the sale of intoxicating liquors is prohibited on Sunday. Even the bar rooms in the hotels are closed and the tourist cannot find a cool drink anywhere. (Presumably the tourist is a perfect stranger.) If he is acquainted and knows the right knock at the back door he can get all he wants. Laws are made to be evaded. 46

If an American of older stock deprecated drinking and the corner saloon as being an abuse, he was even more opposed to a class of men whose laziness he considered foreign to the spirit of American thrift and industry. Men of that class were popularly known as loafers and to them the respects of more than one German visitor were paid.

The street corners, grocery stores, post-offices, and other public places or buildings are usually a meeting place or hand-out of the loafers. Any hour of the day and even far into the night you can see them. 47

According to Ernst Otto Hopp, in 1876, the question is asked, who are they?

The people seem to know their names but nothing more. They just use a surname such as Jimmy, Freddie, Johnny, Charlie or Henry. No other name is ever heard.

They usually appear well-fed and fat, and their clothes are usually in good condition, but what do they do?

They drink, swear, spit, start quarrels, chew and smoke, play billiards or cards and are ready at any hour to do anything shameful. 48

46 Hesse-Wartegg, Curiosa aus der neuen Welt. 197-200
47 Hopp, Federzeichnungen. 133-4
48 Ibid.
There are a few Germans who belong to these rowdies and loafers. They just call the Germans "Dutchie". Such idle members of society evidently belonged to that class we denominate today as hoodlum. Many of them lived from the proceeds of petty crime; perhaps of crime not so petty but so frequent as to give their country an unenviable reputation abroad. After every war the world over, lawbreaking increases but during the Civil War, when Theodor Griesinger visited America, Europeans were "rightly astounded that in a country of less than thirty million people, more collisions with the laws were noticeable than in England, France and Germany with their total of a hundred million people." The figures of his report on crime in the United States are almost grotesque.

Baltimore with 160,000 more crimes than Berlin, New Orleans with 180,000 more than Paris, San Francisco 90,000 more than Naples.

Boston and Philadelphia were still worse according to the same critic, but cosmopolitan New York led all. Out of every 16 or 17 in that city one was a criminal. Griesinger does not define his idea of crime or a criminal. He might mean the

49 Hopp, Federzeichnungen, 133-4
50 Griesinger, Land und Leute, 150-151
51 Ibid., 151
violation of any law or ordinance, such as drinking on Sunday. He gives no illustration or proof of his assertions and they are of no value except to show how erroneous opinions are formed and spread by unenlightened strangers.

Closely connected with the prevalence of crime was the punishment or lack of punishment for crime-doers. Indeed America had the reputation of not punishing offenders to the full extent of the law. Often a criminal might be sent to prison but a pardon or parole was shortly forthcoming. Many other criminals possessed influential political friends and then could go about the practices of their profession reasonably secure that, even if detected in the act, some or other legal chicane would enable them to avoid the consequences of their criminality.

The prevalence of crime was not due to an ineffective police system at least. Boston had one, according to an early traveler, which he thought more efficient than the English police. The activity of the police was assisted by electrical devices, many buildings, as an observer pointed out, having an apparatus on the wall by which the police could be summoned

52 Becker, Die hundredjährige Republik. 234
53 Douai, Land und Leute. 126
Some members of the Chicago police force pursued their thief-catching activity in a way that might annoy the civilian. They hid in the alleys after eight o'clock at night and waited for something to happen. In this way, so it was said at least, they caught many a burglar. Ludwig Hevesi tells of an experience of a friend of his in Chicago:

One evening a friend of mine was on the way to his home. He took the key to the back door because he planned to walk through the alley instead of all around the block. A few seconds after he entered the alley he heard steps. He ran and the steps quickened. Then he heard a shot. He knew a policeman had mistaken him for a thief. One can tell a Chicago policeman by the shot from his gun. Our army revolvers sound like pop-guns compared with theirs.

Almost as disquieting was an experience met with in Chicago by Hevesi himself.

One evening I was returning from the home of Mr. Pullman, the sleeping car king, and crossed Wabash Avenue to find a carriage. I was in evening clothes, patent leather shoes and a black theatre cape thrown across my shoulders. "Stop" was yelled and I saw, close to my nose, a "club" covered with leather, and in front of me stood a policeman. He asked:

"What are you doing so late on the streets?"
"I was with friends" I replied.
"Whom?"

54 Kirchhoff, Californische Kulturbilder. 69-70
55 Hevesi, Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen. 172
"Mr. Pullman"
"Where are you going?"
"Home"
"Where do you live?"
"Auditorium Hotel"
"Oh!"

All this was asked and answered abruptly. I then asked: How did you happen to stop and ask me?"
The policeman let me know that he knew his duty. He said that he would call a carriage and that I wasn't to move from the spot. He went to the corner and after he shistled, a carriage drove up. He informed the driver to take me to the Auditorium Hotel. He then told me that my evening dress or theatre cape didn't make any difference to him, that he had arrested many a criminal who was dressed as I was. With this compliment he left. 56

The restraint of criminals in jails or penitentiaries interested German visitors in the United States. Every large city, they commented, had its jail. "Sing-Sing" prison, the construction of which cost six million dollars, was perhaps the largest and most talked of. The "Tombs" and "Ludlow Street Jail" both in New York were also notable. Columbus, Ohio, had a famous state prison which accommodated fifteen hundred prisoners in private cells. This building has been a model for many European institutions of the kind.

Friedrich Bodenstedt visited the Detroit House of Correction in the spring of 1880, and recorded his impressions:

I also visited the palace-like House of Correction. All the inmates looked well-fed and I was able to

56 Hevesi, Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen. 174-5; See chapter on "Police in America," Neelmeyer, Die Vereinigten Staaten. 423pp
57 Hopp, Federzeichnungen. 122-132
58 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 229-230
assure myself that their meals were good. Their sleeping rooms were clean. With the same amount of work the inmates scarcely could have done better for themselves in freedom. I watched them, for a half an hour, at their work in a large room where chairs were made. I thought that the inmates, by getting accustomed to work, would be influenced to go straight after their release, but one of my associates, who had more experience in that respect, assured me that the best workers often become the cleverest burglars when released. No prisoner could be taken better care of than they are in American jails. 59

Early in the nineteenth century the fame of the American reformed penitentiary system crossed the seas. Several governments sent agents to report on the system for possible European adoption. Many institutions established during that period are still in use.

The revolution of manners and morals, the prohibition problem and the crime problem: all remained unsolved at the close of the nineteenth century. They continued in existence to challenge the citizenship and the statesmanship of the twentieth century.

59 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 201-203
1865 - Griesinger, Land und Leute. 373-394
1873 - Erbach-Erbach, Reisebriefe, 31-37; 80-83
1876 - Hopp, Federzeichnungen. 107-132
1882 - Knortz, Aus der transatlantischen Gesellschaft. 168
1884 - Neelmeyer, Die Vereinigten Staaten. 444-453
1902 - Neve, Charakterzüge des Amerikanischen Volkes. 23
CHAPTER VI
AMUSEMENTS

In the previous chapter evidence was adduced to show that American manners were a subject of much discussion and criticism by foreign travelers. National manners are illustrated to a high degree by national amusements, and since the great American public, during the post-Civil War period was keenly interested in all forms of amusement, it is well to note just what those amusements were.

Cricket was still very popular in the late sixties especially in New York and Philadelphia. Interest in that sport waned as a liking for baseball developed. Baseball soon became so popular that laborers in the mills passed the time of their noon period playing ball. In 1867 American baseball clubs met in convention. Rugby was imported from Canada to Harvard in the mid-seventies and soon became a distinctive college sport while prize-fighting was enlisting the favor of the non-academic population. Yachting was a pastime for the rich. Lawn Tennis was quite the fashionable sport as the seventies came to a close. While all this time horse-racing with its inevitable betting on the outcome held the fast favor of thousands. There were race-

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1 Hirschberg, Von New York nach San Francisco. 64
2 Gрисingers, Land und Leute. Chap 4, 106-149
3 Deckert, Die neue Welt. 211
4 Offenbach in America. 128-131
courses in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Orleans, and in many places in Tennessee and Kentucky. In New England, among Church people of the evangelical type, and generally throughout the United States, horse-racing was supposed to have been prohibited by the decalogue.

The list of American amusements does not end here. There were cock-fights in New Jersey, swimming at the sea-shores, receptions and music-hall entertainments in town, boat-races, rowing and running. Several volumes could be written about these and other sports.

Newcomers, did not, as a rule, follow these sports on Sundays. They preferred to go for long walks during the day and to spend Sunday evening at a theatre, opera, concert or ballroom, since for such diversions, during the week they had little time. That was why Americans of foreign birth opposed all laws restricting amusements on Sunday. The East and rural sections of the Middle West, where Puritan Sunday ideals were recognized, forbade these diversions in the evening of the Sunday. Western cities and all sections where frontier conditions still held

5 Hirschberg, Von New York nach San Francisco. 64
6 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 34
Offenbach in America, 69-78
Wilhelm Müller, "Die Bühne in den Vereinigten Staaten". article in Armin Tenner's Amerika. 84-131
7 Douai, Land und Leute. 136-7
influence preferred what the Puritans called "a Continental Sunday."

Sunday was a quiet day, at least in those sections of the country where Puritan ideals were still strong. Factories were closed. No work was thought of, no school boy was punished. Maids and servants were not asked to do more than what was absolutely necessary. Business streets thronged on week days were deserted. Even in the residential district, quiet and stillness prevailed. Only in the early morning could be heard the unavoidable noise of milk and ice wagons. Then only the barber carried on his regular business and several other necessary establishments were open. But all was quiet near and far. Even the Reformed Israelite adjourned his Sabbath to Sunday.

There was one Sunday institution in America that was not tiresome: the newspapers. Strangers remarked their many pages, almost book size. The New York Tribune was a well edited paper in Charlotte Niese's estimation. "It is Republican in politics and is religious, but the Eighth Commandment does not seem to be in its catechism," she wrote. "The other New York papers,

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8 Other amusements; Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 21-38
Diercks, Kulturbilder. 346-352
Oetkin, Die Landwirthschaft. 572-580

9 Dr. H. Liebhart, "Die Amerikanische Sonntag und die Temperenz Frage." Article in Armin Tenner's Amerika. 331-2
"World", "Sun" and "Star" are about the same, the only difference being that they do not expect to be believed while the "Tribune" wants to be taken seriously.

A religious American could do little on Sunday. "His wife and daughter had been made to believe that they would land in hell if they so much as sewed a button on a glove," was one writer's opinion. But they do not think it sinful to spend the whole day of rest reading scandal stories in the Sunday press. It was understood however, so we are gravely told though perhaps even the critic was amusing herself, that the editors of such papers really did not believe all they printed; they wanted to amuse the public as well as themselves.

After the milk and ice wagons have made their deliveries the quietness was broken only when the people went to church or the children made their way to Sunday School. The American Sunday, as it was known in the East, was really not American born but an imported growth of English puritanism.

Church bells called the people to praise God in the many churches, or the children and teachers to congregate in Sunday schools. Church goers were about the only people seen on the

10 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 34-36
11 Ibid., 36-7
12 Ibid., 38
13 Liebhart, "Der Amerikanische Sonntag." 332
14 Ibid.
city streets or even in the country. Walking or strolling in
the country and in parks was not the custom as it was in Germany.
Church attendance for many took up a large part of the day, but
since even before the end of the century religious indifference
was growing in the United States, an increasing number abstained
themselves from the Sunday services in Protestant churches.
Visitors commented on the fact that, as in other matters, the
American people were free to practice a religion or not, and
this they thought admirable since the individual was thus free
to follow his own conscience.

The German or French amusements and pastimes found no place
in the American Sunday, according to Dr. Liebhart in an article
"The American Sunday and the Temperance Question." Obviously he
referred to the Atlantic seaboard or perhaps to Sunday in New
England where Puritanism was still strong. Yet he does admit
such amusements were enjoyed occasionally as forbidden fruit,
his conclusion being that "the real American doesn't seem to
want things other than they are." The critic then proceeds to
answer a question he feels his German readers would ask. "It
(Sunday) is not half as dull as it might appear from my state-
ments" he assured the stay-at home German. After the American

15 Liebhart, "Der Amerikanische Sonntag". 332
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid., 333
has attended Church services he remains at home with his family. "We have often repreached the American people with the accusation of not knowing real family life." "But" continued Dr. Liebhart, "those who are familiar with conditions know that such a reprimand or accusation is unfounded. During business or working hours, the hurried American worker might not spend as much time at home, as for instance, a comfort seeking German. But there is no country in which the father of a family stays home as much, in the evening and on Sunday, as in the United States."

Unmarried men with no family responsibilities were not so inclined to be domestic on their single free day of the week and it was from this class mainly that recruits for the Sunday patronage of saloons were gathered. At least that was the case wherever saloons were open on Sunday, or where, though the front door must remain locked, entrance might be had by a convenient side or rear entrance.

Agitation against saloons in America began before the Civil War. The movement gathered headway and during the period of this study, saloons in many places could not be open on Sundays and on weekdays only at designated hours. In 1874 the women decided to wage warfare against the rum evil through an organization of their own, the Women's Christian Temperance Union. By

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18 Liebhart, "Der Amerikanische Sonntag." 333
19 Ibid.
1893 the Anti-Saloon League had been established to coordinate the efforts of all existing agencies. Despite these agencies there was no place in the world, according to Miss Niese, where excessive drinking prevailed as in America. The American thought and still thinks it an achievement if he can drink at forbidden times and places. He picked Sunday as a fit day. And if as Miss Niese states, in her superior way, one were acquainted with the old American Sunday one would not judge the American too harshly for his failure to observe the Sunday laws.

Continuing her pungent and provocative, if often ludicious inferences, Miss Niese expressed the opinion that church services in America, unlike the custom in several European countries, were regarded as amusements. Second only to church going as an amusement was the theatre. Yet the two were often combined since in many churches entertainments were given several times during the Winter. Pictures, musicals, declamations and speeches were given. The organ played cheerful melodies. Costumes of the women suggested a ballroom rather than a church. The profits of such entertainments, as well as of bazaars and fairs, went

20 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 27-28
1873 - Strict Sundays-Erbach-Erbach, Reisebriefe, 44-63
1877 - Drinking on Sunday - Offenbach in America, 109-120
1884 - Karl Knortz, Amerikanischen Lebensbilder. 186-189
1885 - Liebhart, "Der Amerikanische Sonntag." 333
1893 - Drinking on Sunday - Lindau, Altes und Neues. 48
1894 - Sundays in Kansas City - Below, Bilder aus den Westen, 165-178

21 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 27-28
to expand church funds.

On Sunday, as were saloons, theatres in the eastern part of the United States were all closed. In New York one could occasionally discover that a concert was being given, although as a disguise it was sometimes characterized as "sacred". These concerts were not for religious people, who usually had opportunities enough during the week to attend theatres and music halls.

The American amusement seekers did not realize that the plays they witnessed were trashy, at least in the opinion of foreign visitors. "A couple in love, who are going to be separated, a villain, one or two murderers, a hero and a very elegantly dressed lady must inevitably be chosen by the playwright" was the opinion of Miss Niese, who proceeds to generalize from the performance of some cheap theatre she may have attended.

If a quarrel ensues in the play, the audience becomes excited and by the stamping of feet, by whistling and yelling, expresses its feelings. The villain is hated by all. If he is murdered in the second act, so much the better for his own well-being. "Serves him right" and "I am glad of it", "the rascal" are yelled at him from the gallery. The creaming continues and sometimes rotten apples and pieces of bananas are thrown to the stage. Even then the actors can still consider themselves fortunate.

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22 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 30 History of the German-American theatre from 1832-1885, Müller, "Die Bühne in den Vereinigten Staaten." Article in Armin Tenner's Amerika. 84-131

23 Burger, supra. 30
that they are not in the West where at times the actors are shot by excited onlookers. After reading such trash one can only wonder that a supposedly intelligent and honest woman was so stupid or so malicious. The critic may indeed have witnessed what she described. But if so, she consorted mainly with the very vulgar while touring the United States.

When in the spring of 1880, Friedrich Bodenstedt first visited a New York theatre, he was inclined to find fault with what he considered useless and undignified theatre advertising. Fortunately he was accompanied by a young lade who could enlighten him as to the why and wherefore. Bodenstedt related the incident in his book "Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean".

The most striking feature of the theatre's exterior was a group of large placards giving the name of the performance and pictures of the hero and of some of the other characters. They are not only on the exterior but all along the corridors inside. Why should it be necessary to put up these posters to encourage attendance when the same placards appear in the daily papers and are seen by almost everyone?

My companion tells me, that newspaper readers quickly forget everything they have read in the papers. But why have then inside where they cannot increase attendance because you have already paid your admission before you came into this corridor?

She explained to me, that duplicates of these placards were posted generally throughout the city and what one missed reading there might be looked at, at one's leisure, here. 25

24 Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 31-33
25 Bodenstedt, Vom Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 56-57
Strolling down Fifth Avenue, New York, is another pastime. Whoever walked along that roadway on a beautiful afternoon, we are told, saw here and there a canopy and beneath it a strip of carpet extending from the house door to the curb. All this indicated a reception was going on within and a caustic German lady has described the function for the edification no doubt of socially inclined matrons or the Fatherland. The lade of the house, dressed in a brocaded gown and glimmering with diamonds, stood in her parlor. Throngs of ladies and gentlemen, young and old, in formal dress or street costume, as they preferred, streamed through the front door. Each visitor approached the hostess and said, "How do you do?" left a calling card on the table and hurried to another room in the rear where lunch was being served. Coffee, ice cream, sandwiches made up the collation. Refreshment having been nibbled at the caller strolled out. When the last guest had departed the social duty of the hostess was accomplished for the season.

After the reception, if the hostess had a daughter, a dance was often given in the latter's honor. The dance might continue as late as one o'clock in the morning, an intermission for dinner at eight o'clock being a standing custom.

Some members of high society spent their winders in a warmer climate and sought relief from the rigors of a northern

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Burger, Bilder und Skizzen. 24-25
climate or winter by going to Florida. Answering a presumed question as to what occupied their time in the southland, one student of American society wrote:

They go to St. Augustine so that they won't be in New York, Chicago or Philadelphia. 27 The people, whom I met here, belong to the very wealthy class. That can be easily understood when one computes the railroad fare and other expenses. They do very little. 28 When they are not eating or drinking, they are sitting or standing the whole day in the garden. They sit in the rocking chairs, read newspapers and novels, smoke, gossip and enjoy themselves in the warm air of the golden sunshine. Here and there we meet a group of friends. Most of them are however strangers. 29

At the Ponce de Leon Hotel at St. Augustine, Florida, (1893) there was a wonderful swimming pool for men and women, swimming being one of the most popular amusements of the guests. Two galleries surrounded this pool, built entirely of marble. Its transparent water was constantly changed. Here, between meals, men and women enjoyed themselves, playing different games such as tossing a ball about and engaging in swimming and diving stunts. From time to time swimming races were held and at stated hours a band played. It was interesting to sit in the

27 The author evidently means that the climate in New York, Chicago or Philadelphia was such that many avoided it for the warmer winter in Florida.

28 Perhaps the author meant they did little business, since from the description that follows it is quite evident these northern visitors were busy enough.

29 It is obvious that most of the people visiting Florida, coming from widely separated northern and eastern cities, would meet few friends. Lindau, Altes und Neues. 80-81
gallery to listen to the music, to watch the antics of the swimmers in the usually crowded pool. German readers were told, Americans generally excell in whatever they attempt, and most Americans were excellent swimmers. Among the young folk, there were experts, who could stay under water for several minutes, dive from dangerous heights, and perform different acrobatic feats on rings swinging above the water.

As in swimming, shooting, gymnastics and riding, Americans, our German guests believed, were accomplished dancers. They danced well and rapidly. At the Ponde de Leon two formal dances were held each week. The orchestra played with vim. Between dances couples promenaded beneath the palm and orange trees of the garden.

Well-to-do Americans could take the summer off for a vacation and go to the seashore. Wealthier Americans might go to Florida for the winter, but the majority had to be satisfied with briefer holidays, often one day at a time. American holidays offer such a diversion. Christmas, New Years, Thanksgiving Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Fourth of July and in some places Valentine's Day were some of the holidays cele-

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30 Lindau, Altes und Neues, 82-83
31 Ibid., 83
32 Ibid.
33 Griesinger, Land und Leute, 834-6
brated during the year. These holidays released the bulk of the population from their round of work to free days of recreation. The harder and more confining the daily round, the more significant was the day of freedom. Yet oftentimes the less prepared was the worker for its wise use.

Holidays naturally bring an outburst of the amusement spirit. The form of that outburst, the degree to which it is shaped by the traditions of the day, or utilized by amusement promoters, is highly significant.

"As far as my personal experience goes" relates one traveler, "no other country outside of Germany celebrates Christmas in such a genuine German manner as America. The Germans brought the Christmas tree over to America where it became very popular, and is found nowadays in almost every American family." Bodenstedt asserted that the Germans brought the Christmas tree to America but does not say when or under what circumstances.

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34 Griesinger, Land und Leute. 837-838
35 Bodenstedt, Von Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 157
Kirchhoff, Reisebilder, II, 127
Christmas and New Years in New York-Häcker, Amerikanische Reise-skizzen. 4-7; Erbach-Erbach, Reisebriefe, 243-245
"The Christmas tree which has become an almost universal symbol, and is by most persons supposed to have originated in Germany, had its origin in Egypt at a period long before the Christian Era. The palm-tree is known to put forth a branch every month, and a spray of this tree, with 12 shoots on it, was used in Egypt at the time of the winter solstice, as a symbol of the year completed."

The Volume Library, Abram Royer Brubacher, PH.D. Educators Association, New York, N.Y. 996
To discuss a New Year's Day with all its variety of entertainment, especially in New York, would be to tell several pages. This traveler we have just quoted on Yuletide festivities continued his theme when writing of New Years:

I found the inside of every house I visited simply adorned. The lady of the house invited every guest to try some of the many good things offered for eating and drinking. After the custom of the country, it would have been unbecoming to refuse. As the whole day is used for receptions, there are usually some guests present and the departing is as easy as the coming. Mere courtesy phrases are not the custom of the land and to whom a courteous word is said, that one can be assured that it is meant. This makes social associations more sincere and reliable than in other countries. 36

New Year's Eve frequently brought special problems in the larger cities where such celebrations resulted in the massing together of enormous crowds. A carnival spirit was manifested in the hurling of confetti, the blowing of horns and the use of every conceivable device for noise-making by the celebrators. A commendable feature of American life, so we are told, was the custom practiced by several hotels in New York on New Year's day of giving free meals to every person who was decently dressed.

It is unfortunate that Bodenstedt was not more specific. We would like to know, on the authority of a respectable eye-witness, if on New Year's day the manager of even a single New York

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36 Bodenstedt, Von Atlantischen zum Stillen Ocean. 163
37 Griesinger, Land und Leute, 828-838
38 Bodenstedt, supra. 163
hotel invited the public in for meals gratis. Our suspicion is that the author here means merely that a selected few of the city's needy were fed, perhaps after paying guests had completed their dinner.

The greatest of all American holidays was Independence Day or the Fourth of July. "That is one day in the year, the anniversary of national independence, when the Americans are allowed absolutely unrestricted liberty" stated a writer in 1877. "Everything is permitted on this day, and Heaven knows what use and abuse are made of this license." When penning such statements Offenbach may have been animated by holidays spirits. For while ordinances against the disturbance of the peace were on such occasions not enforced, the malicious destruction of property, and the violation of other laws, were certainly not left unpunished by the municipal authorities.

The general public usually celebrated the Fourth of July morning by witnessing and parade in which soldiers and ex-soldiers took part. In the afternoon bands played in many public places, and in the evening fireworks were displayed. The character of the Fourth, still prevalent in many communities together with the casualties that occur on that day, are too

39 Offenbach in America, 115; see also 114-120
40 Pachmayr, Leben und Treiben, 145-6
familiar to need statement here. Special amusement events require extraordinary alertness on the part of the police and other restrictive agencies of government. Special provision is sometimes made in laws to regulate dangers or evils likely to emerge. For example, the recently increased limitation put upon the manufacture and sale of firecrackers, fireworks, tended to regulate and supervise their use on the Fourth of July.

Of all the varieties of amusement offered during this period, city, state and national fairs and exhibitions held an important place. They were usually held annually, and were exhibitions chiefly of the products of the farm and the factory. Exhibitions of this kind attracted great numbers of spectators and by bringing inventions and machinery of all kinds into close contrast and competition, undoubtedly exerted a stimulating and beneficial influence on the material development of American life.

Of all exhibitions during the period under discussion, the most important was the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. Some might ask how Chicago, a young city of the middle west,

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41 For further information and descriptions of the Fourth of July celebrations see:
Griesinger, Land und Leute, 821-828
Kirchhoff, Reisebilder, II, 127-8

42 Douai, Land und Leute, 181
got the honor of entertaining representatives of the World and of displaying world products and works of art. Friedrich Dernburg reported one answer which must have secured acceptance in the Fatherland. Since it was the one Europeans would have expected.

Ten Million Dollars were bid for the Columbia's World Fair.
No one bid more than ten million dollars for the largest Fair in the world.
Ten million dollars, once, twice and for the third time. Awarded to Chicago. 43

Chicago bid and got it. Ten million dollars to have the Fair in the city of Chicago. Five millions were raised by the city and the balance by a company hurriedly organized for that purpose. No other city thought it could raise that amount. There were other and more influential reasons why Chicago secured the World's Fair, but these probably escaped the notice of a passing guest.

Friedrich Dernburg came to America in 1893 just for the World's Fair and upon his return to Berlin he wrote a book entitled "Out of the White City, Walks in the Chicago World's Fair and further travel". He gave eighteen chapters to the

43 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 26
Fair and described what he thought was both good and bad. His final judgment seems to have been unfavorable for after discussing every excellence he concluded with the remark: "But even with the best of intentions they cannot change the fact that Chicago just remains Chicago."

On May 1, 1893 the Administration Building of the World's Columbian Exposition presented a scene never to be forgotten. As far around the building, down the avenue and beside the lagoon as one could see, was a dense mass of people. Behind the grandstand, the east side of the building itself was black with spectators, on the balconies and window ledges and even the roof, anywhere and everywhere, if only they could look down on the platform holding the chief magistrates and distinguished guests. The stand itself was a glittering spectacle, and when the beams of the sun broke through cloud drifts they glinted and glanced upon the brass buttons of the military men on the platform. Fifty thousand school children dressed in red, white and blue intoned "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle." At 12:20 o'clock President Cleveland touched the electric button which set in motion the machinery and signalized the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition.

44 Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 28
45 Hopp, Federzeichnungen. Chap 19 (Pages are not numbered in the book used.)
Approximately 115,000 people witnessed the opening ceremony. Peoples of the world were thus enabled to estimate the progress effected in the application of science to the useful arts.

Influenced by all they have heard and read, Europeans who never journeyed to the United States were convinced, at least before the end of the nineteenth century, that Americans were a wholly serious people who never relaxed. This conviction was manifested in the questions asked of Germans who returned to the Fatherland after visiting America.

Have Americans any time for play? Have they even a desire for recreation?

Owing to the universal impression that they "hustle" from morning to night, that their pursuit of the dollar never ceased and that they are supposed to count every minute lost which does not produce some financial gain, many were disposed to answer both questions in the negative. It must be confessed that Americans are themselves largely responsible for this all but universal tradition. Nevertheless, as has been shown, there were plenty of Americans who found time for recreation. Sports of every description engaged in by Americans, vary according to the season of the year, according to the location and other physical surroundings and circum-

Dernburg, Aus der Weissen Stadt. 36; 44-50
stances, all of which are too numerous to mention within the limits of this paper. It is obvious, however, that the general conception of the American character, as presented by more than one student from abroad, needs considerable correction.

In conclusion, the writer of this study of American social history from the German viewpoint, 1865-1900, would express the opinion that the task of collating and translating reminiscences of American life has been a most interesting one. To read what foreigners have written about us may not flatter our national vanity. Their words at times may affront our knowledge of the realistic because no foreigner, save after long residence, can ever penetrate the disguise with which most people mask their national soul. And some foreigners will ever leap from a single observation to belief in a similar general condition. Yet one aspect of various glimpses of social life which panorama-like have passed before us in these pages, can only give satisfaction to the candid historian. It is that whether bitter or laudatory, whether by competent or jaundiced observers, the impressions here recorded, have been recorded in books, no one of which, the probability was, would ever be studied by the average reader. Hence the writers were expressing themselves neither to irritate nor to flatter the American public and so they afford as a candid
picture of American life as they saw it. That they sometimes failed in the accuracy with which they reported facts, and even more seriously in the correctness of their generalizations is something that we may regret. But by collating what different writers have recorded about the same fact, we may arrive at a moral certainty as to the objective truth or untruth of their statements and to that degree their writings form valuable data for the student of social history.
EXPLANATION OF KEY LETTERS.

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<td>WRH</td>
<td>Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.</td>
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6. Barth, Theodor, Amerikanisches Wirtschaftsleben. Leonhard Simion, Berlin, 1887. JCL Only 31 pages, no index. Author was a member of Reichstag. Favorable and stresses economical conditions.

7. Becker, John H., Die hundertjährige Republik. Lampart and Company, Augsburg, 1876. JCL Valuable for social and political history. Vivid pictures of labor conditions in the South; four chapters on home life and the rearing of children.


12. Cronau, Rudolf, *Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung*. Leipzig, 1892. 2 v. "A richly illustrated work of a popular character by a German artist and newspaper correspondent. It begins with a sketch of prehistoric America, then follows an account, uncritical in character, of the pre-columbus voyages. He has personally traveled over a large part of the western hemisphere and most of the illustrations of scenery are from his own drawings. A final chapter reviews the literature of American travel. These volumes are the product of critical historical scholarship but the author's extensive travels and readiness with pen and pencil have enabled him to write an attractive work for the general reader." Literature of American History by J.N.Larned, 713.

13. Cronau, Rudolf, *Im Wilden Westen. Eine Künstlerfahrt durch die Prairien und Felsenengebrige der Union*. Oscar Loebbecke, Braunschweig, 1890. CPL Title descriptive and includes a favorable account of Indian life and burial.


18. Douai, Adolf, *Land und Leute in der Union.* Otto Zanke, Berlin, 1864. CLP NLC Karl Daniel Adolf Douai was born in Altenburg in 1819, first studied in Leipzig and came to America in 1852. He first went to Texas and during the Civil War to Boston where he started a German-American school and also a Kindergarten. A very trustworthy and important source for social history.


22. Erbach-Erbach, Ernst, *Reisebriefe aus Amerika.* Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1873. UML Very observant traveler. Excellent account of all social topics. Some of the chapter headings are: Broadway in the afternoon;
General impressions of New York; strict Sundays; Emancipation of women; One class trains; Separation of church and state; Private room in a hotel; Visit with President Grant; Pullman; Tobacco chewing; Homes; Stockyards; Breweries; gypsies, Chinese; Theatres; Social condition of the negro; Social differences between the whites and the blacks; Character of the people etc. The Mormon problem receives much attention.

23. Friesach, K., Das westliche Nordamerika zwischen dem 42 und 55 Breitengrade. Geitler, Wien, 1865. UML
Good account of the West during and immediately after the Civil War.

24. Gerstaecker, Friedrich, Neue Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten... Hermann Costenoble, Jena, 1876. MPL
The first two hundred pages treats the United States and gives an excellent account of the Indians, their manners, customs and language. Balance of the book from page 200 to 665 deals with Mexico, Equador, West Indies and Venezuela.


Hotel life in New York, Christmas, New Year, theatres, living conditions, waterworks, residences, streets, public buildings, churches, fire departments, railroads, farm life and sickness are interestingly discussed. Other subjects are purely economical.

27. Haurowitz, Dr. Harry Valetin von, Das Militarsanitats-wesen der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika während des letzten krieges nebst schilderungen von Land und Leuten. Gustav Weiser, Stuttgart, 1866. UML Covers unusual topics as: Ambulance and hospital organizations, care of the sick, transportation, sick and death rate, sanitary commission, pensions. All pertaining to the Civil War. The second part of the book contains other social topics, education, newspapers, women and
their emancipation, health, religion, fire department, police, immigration, especially in New York. Gives an excellent account of a trip to Niagara. The writer evidently had much military experience.


29. Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von, Prairie Fahrten, Weigel, Leipzig, 1878. CPL The rare powers of observation and literary genius enabled this author to produce a justly famous book. Interesting accounts especially of the West.

30. Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von, Nord-Amerika, seine Stadte und Naturwunder, meine Leute. Weigel, Leipzig, 1880. CPL 3 v. Volume 1 covers accounts of the Eastern cities of the United States and the coal regions of Pennsylvania. Volume II takes one through Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, Chicago and some of the Western Cities. Volume III deals with the Indians; Indian women as wives and mothers; amusements, religion, sickness and death; the South and its plantations; Canada, St. Lawrence River, Montreal etc.

31. Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von, Tausend und ein tag in Occident. Leipzig, 1891. 2v in 1. CPL UML Author chose this title to let readers know that it was not a description of a hurried trip to the United States. Contains an interesting chapter on American advertising methods. Churches and religions are given a prominent part in this work.

32. Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst von, Curiosa aus der Neuen Welt. Carl Reissner, Leipzig, 1893. CPL Author mentions in his Preface that the book was written so that the many people who are not able to travel to America might enjoy the description of it. Curiosities of the American theory of temperance is one of the interesting topics discussed.

33. Hevesi, Ludwig, Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopole und San Francisco. Adolf Bonz & Co., Stuttgart, 1901. CPL Mac Eck is Fritz Eckstein. Writes of his visit with the Mormons and other interesting personal experiences.

35. Hopp, Ernst Otto, *Federzeichnungen aus dem amerikanischen Leben.* Otto Janke, Berlin, 1876. CPL Excellent Table of Contents but of little value because in rebinding this particular volume page numbers and many top lines were cut off. Hopp was a careful observer of men and affairs. His book is an interesting study on architecture in New York, monuments in the public places and gardens, amalgamation and nationalization, boarding house joy and sadness, spiritualism, rowdies, loafers and gamblers.

36. Jannet, Claudio and Dr. Walter Kämpfe, *Die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerika in der Gegenwart, Sitten, Institutionen und Ideen seit dem Seckessionskriege.* E. Herder, Freiburg, 1893. NLC Trip from 1873 to 1877. Treats social conditions, changes in family life and the religious conditions in 1775 and 1875, the race question and the future American Democracy.

37. Kapp, Friedrich, *Aus und Über Amerika, Thatsachen und Erlebnisse.* J. Springer, Berlin, 1876, 2v. CPL NLC UCL Author born April 13, 1824 at Hamm Westfalen Studied law at Heidelberg and Berlin. During the Revolution he went to Paris. He was forced out in 1849 and came to New York in 1850, practiced law, wrote several histories and then returned to Germany. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1871. His works are often quoted.


39. Kirchoff, Theodor, *Reisebilder und Skizzen aus Amerika.* Carl Theo. Schluter, Altona, 1875-6. 2v. JCL MPL First volume written in 1874, the second volume was not written until after a second trip to America. Excellent view of the South and the West. The Mormon and the Chinese problems receive much attention.


42. Knortz, Karl, *Aus der transatlantischen Gesellschaft*. Bernhard Schlicke, Leipzig, 1882. CPL UML CLP Author born on August 28, 1841 in Rheinpreussen. He came to America in 1863, was a teacher and a writer. He stresses religion and education in this volume. It is reliable and easily read.


44. Kunz, Rudolph, *Bilder aus Amerika nach eigener achtjährigen anschauung gezeichnet*. Printed for the author, Zurich, 1882. Author was Pastor in Ottenbach. UML Written after an eight year observation. He carefully describes the people in North America, their work and wages, the American home and the immigration and colonization question.


46. Lauterburg, Anna, *Ein Jahr in Amerika*. R. F. Haller-Goldschack, Bern, 1885. 2v. NLG Trip in March 1882. Notes on social life are very brief but interesting. She brings in farm life and concludes with a description of her trip through Germany.


51. Meyer, Dr. Rudolf Herman, 1839–1899 *Ursachen der Amerikanischen Concurrenz. Ergebnisse einer Studienreise*. Hermann Bahr, Berlin, 1883. *UML* UCL Audience Day in Washington, End of Garfield, Mormons, and Education in the Union are some of the chapter headings and are given a great deal of space.

52. Mohr, H., *Ein Streifzug durch den Nordwesten Amerika*. Robert Oppenheim, Berlin, 1884. *CPL* CLP Trip taken in the Fall of 1883. Author was invited by Henry Willard, President of the Northern Railroad Company, to attend the ceremony of the opening of the Main Line from Lake Superior to Portland Oregon and Puget Sound. Very judicious and straight-forward.

53. Müller, Johann W. von, *Reisen in den Vereinigten Staaten, Canada und Mexico*. F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1864-5. *3v.* Only volume one refers to United States. Starts with trip from Stuttgart to Havre and then to New York. Describes the Empire City, the German theatre, aristocrat libraries, patent office at Washington. Useful but very little of it is social. Several excellent illustrations.


55. Neelmeyer, Vuskassowitsch Heinrich, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika nach eigenen beobachtungen geschildert*. F. Duncker, Leipzig, 1884. *JCL* CLP Contains many tables showing the population of each state from 1790 to 1880, except 10 years. Chapter five on the means of communication, railroads, carriages, streets, highways, canals, mail and telegraph is useful and informative. Institutions, different classes and how they live, religions, police, courts, and prisons, family life and the rearing of children are all excellent accounts. Gives instructive historical background from 1774 to 1881.
| 56. | Neve, Juergen Ludwig, **Charakterzüge des Amerikanischen Volkes**, H.G. Wallman, Leipzig, 1902. JCL The Land of the dollar is described, also democratic regulations as an explanation of American social life. The author taught German in the Western Theology Seminary, Atchison, Kansas. |
| 57. | Oberländer, Richard, **Von Ozean zu Ozean. Kulturbilder und Naturschilderungen aus dem Fernen Westen von Amerika; nach eigenen Beobachtungen und Reisestudien**, Otto Spamer, Leipzig-Berlin, 1885. MPL Good table of contents and Index. Description of rivers, railroads, ships etc. Author invited by Henry Willard, President of the Northern Railroad to attend ceremonies here. See also Ibid., No.17. |
| 58. | Oetkin, Friedrich, **Die Landwirthschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika...**, Paul Parey, Berlin, 1893. JCL Much information may be gathered from this volume concerning the means of travel, social life, the race elements and the state of religion in America. |
| 60. | Pachmayr, Joseph, **Leben und Treiben der Stadt New York, mit hinweis auf die Einwanderung und das deutsche Element Kulturhistorische Bilder**, Herman Grünig, Hamburg 1874. NLC His opportunities for first hand observation were excellent, and no other book of the period is more accurate in respect to New York topography. |
| 62. | Ratzel, Friedrich, **Bilder aus Nord Amerika. F.A.Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1876.** MPL CPL The accounts are written in a clear pleasant style that combines qualities of natural description and historical narrative. Of great value in social history. Author visited us in 1873-1874. |
| 63. | Ratzel, Friedrich, **Städte und Kulturbilder aus Amerika. F.A.Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1876.** 2vol. MPL Compares |
Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chicago, the three leading cities of the West.

64. Ratzel, Friedrich, Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. R. Oldenbourg, München, 1878-1880. CPL JCL UML UCL Not a travel book, just a history, but author was well equipped to write this book. Ibid. 62, 63. Much space is devoted to description of the Indians and other races, their manners and customs, and the effect upon them of their civilized neighbors. Often quoted.


66. Schleiden, Dr. Rudolf, Reise-Erinnerungen aus den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. C. Steiger, New York, 1873. UML This volume achieves a very faithful general impression of the American people.

67. Schüller, Dr. Max, In den Südstaaten Nordamerikas. Erinnerung und Eindrücke. Fred. Dümmler, Berlin, 1893-1892. Claims so much has been written about the northern states that he decided to describe the southern.


69. Tenner, Armen, Ed. Amerika. Der heutige Standpunkt der Kultur in den Vereinigten Staaten. Stuhrsche, Berlin, 1886. Westerman & Co., New York, 1886 2nd ed. UML CPL MPL Roman print, good index, description of terms and people in appendix. Contains eleven excellent articles on important social questions, written and contributed by men of experience, such as: "Education in the United States" by Dr. Ludwig Richard Klemm; "Theatres in the United States" by William Müller; "The American Sunday and the Temperance Question" by Dr. H. Leibhard, etc. (See other titles under secondary sources.)

70. Wohltmann, Dr. F. Landwirtschaftliche Reisestudien über Chicago und Nord-Amerika. Schletter'sche Buchhandlung,
Ereslau, 1894. CPL Author was a professor at the University of Ereslau. In addition to some hundred and twenty pages written by Dr. Wohltmann on farm life etc., articles written by Paul Hillmann of Leipzig, Fritz Teichmann of Ereslau, Heinrich Müller, Georg Garrels and Max Heumann are included in this work.

71. Zardetti, Dr. Otto, Westlich oder Durch den fernen Westen Nord Amerikas. Franz Kirchheim, Mainz, 1897. CPL Author was in the United States from 1880 to 1894, and this volume was written at Easter time in 1896. He presents a complete and trustworthy picture of the West. He concludes with a birdseye view of Chicago and America.


Secondary Sources


3. Kargan, E.D., St. Louis in früheren Jahren. Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschthum. August Wiebusch, St. Louis, 1893. MPL CCV The writer traveled extensively in Missouri and tells at length the history of St. Louis and neighboring towns.

4. Klemm, Dr. Ludwig Richard, "Das Schulwesen in den Vereinigten Staaten." in Armen Tenner's Amerika, Berlin, 1886. 33-84. Author was well known in German-American school affairs and as a writer. He was born on December 8, 1845 in Düsseldorf, Rheinpreussen. Taught in his home town. Sailed for America in 1866. He taught in Indianapolis and Detroit for a short time. In 1870 he was invited to head the German department, language and literature at the Central High School in Cleveland. He accepted and remained there for ten years.
He then went to Cincinnati as Principal of the City Teacher's Seminary. In 1883 he received an honorary PH.D. degree from Indiana Asbury University.


6. Müller, Wilhelm, "Die Bühne in den Vereinigten Staaten." in Armen Tenner's Amerika. Berlin, 1886. 84-131. Müller was born in 1845 at Heppenheim im Hessischen. As a teacher he came to America in 1866, stayed in Indianapolis until 1869, later he became principal. He contributed articles to "Puck" and to the New York "Journal". He also wrote several plays.

8. Rothe, Emil, "Das deutsche Element in Amerika." in Armen Tenner's Amerika. Berlin, 1886. 184-229. Author born in 1826 in Freuss-Schlesien. Studied in Breslau and Berlin, came to the United States in 1849, settled at Wartburg, Wisconsin as an attorney. Elected to the State House of Representatives several times. Moved to Cincinnati to take over the editorial management of the "Cincinnati Volksfreund." He also practiced law there. He was considered one of the most able and popular German speaker in the United States.

9. Rümelin, Karl Gustav, "Das Eisenbahnwesen in den Vereinigten Staaten." in Armen Tenner's Amerika. Berlin, 1886. 380-400. Born May 19, 1814 in Heilbronn. Came to America in 1832, first to Philadelphia and in 1833 to Cincinnati. Was a merchant and later organized the "Deutsche Gesellschaft von Cincinnati." He was elected to the House of Representatives of the State on the Democratic ticket several times.


Articles in Periodicals and Historical Records.


2. Carus, Dr. Paul, "Germans in America." Open Court, October 1899, Vol. XIII. Chicago. CPL NLG


The thesis "America As Seen Through German Eyes," written by Sister Ann Joachim, has been accepted by the Graduate School of Loyola University with reference to form, and by the readers whose names appear below with reference to content. It is, therefore, accepted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree conferred.

Samuel K. Wilson, S. J. 

Dr. Paul Kiniry 

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