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### **Thomas Jefferson and Germany: His Travel Experience, Scientific and Philosophical Influences<sup>1</sup>**

Thomas Jefferson's European experience was primarily marked by his five year stay in France as American Minister from 1784-89, and scholarship on his intellectual relationship to Europe has also focused mostly on that country. Nevertheless, his travel experiences in other regions of the Old World, his contact and correspondence with people from these places as well as the influences obtained from these countries, deserve closer study. In view of the important role of Jefferson in the scholarship of the trans-Atlantic relationship as well as the history of ideas exchanged between the Old and the New World in the late 18th and early 19th century, this article seeks to shed light on an aspect of his European experience that has not yet been sufficiently taken into account—the role German culture, philosophy, technology and science played in his thinking and acting throughout his life.<sup>2</sup> It examines in-depth Jefferson's experience from his first contact with Hessian prisoners of war interned in Virginia during the American Revolution, through his observations regarding the German states taken during his travels there in April 1788, along with later impressions created by different groups of people he personally met or corresponded with following his return to the United States, such as immigrants, scholars, merchants or visitors to Monticello in later years. It furthermore analyzes the ways and the extent to which the consequences of German politics have had an impact on his ideas regarding the new society he envisioned to create in the United States as well as the possible influence of these foreign pedagogic ideas on the creation of the University of Virginia towards the end of his life.

## **First encounter with German culture during the Revolutionary War**

Jefferson's first contact to German culture, years before he went to Europe, was the wartime experience he had with Hessian prisoners of war as governor of Virginia. These were mercenary soldiers, most of them from the landgrave Hessen-Kassel, who fought on the British side and for whom already in the year 1776 Jefferson and Franklin had developed a plan to cause desertion among them.<sup>3</sup> After having been interned at several other places, in January 1779 around 4,000 men of the Convention Troops had been quartered in Charlottesville, Albemarle County. Jefferson quickly became acquainted with General Friedrich Adolf Riedesel as well as with the younger officers in his staff, particularly Jean Louis de Unger and Baron von Geismar, who commanded a brigade enlisted from his hometown, the district of Hanau in Hessen-Kassel. Jefferson developed a very cordial and hospitable relationship with these men, making them intimates of his own home and introducing them to his circles of friends. Especially Geismar had become a close friend of Thomas and Martha Jefferson; he rented a house in the vicinity of Monticello and they thus were able to regularly exchange visits and enjoy social gatherings with amateur theatricals or musical evenings.<sup>4</sup> We can assume that these officers had not expected to find a man as cultivated as Jefferson and with such a refined life style living near the American frontier. On the other hand, they served for him as an early introduction to German thinking and way of life—a world that was still rather unknown to him in those years. In this sense, they provided Jefferson with the opportunity to get in contact with European culture and ideas, and through them he also might have already caught a glimpse of those aspects of the Old World that he later would appreciate very much and bring to Virginia: Europe's architecture, art and wine culture.

The intellectual closeness between these men also led to a deeper understandings of and empathy for their respective personal situation. As a consequence, it was with Jefferson's help that in November 1780 Geismar was able to leave Virginia, claiming the necessity to return to his homeland as the only son of sick father with his patrimony in danger. The same year, Jefferson's encounter with the Prussian Major General Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730-94) who served to the Continental Army and is credited for teaching Washington's army the essential military tactics and disciplines, was of a more complex nature. During the general's stay in Virginia, to a certain extent disagreement arose between Steuben, the state government and its governor Jefferson. The former was dissatisfied with Virginia's failure to comply with his requests at building a fort and supplying military provisions in a timely fashion and corresponded with Jefferson about

this topic. Nevertheless, as Paul Lockhart describes, the “heated exchange between Steuben and Jefferson, jarring as it was, had no lasting significance. Whatever his faults as a war leader, Jefferson was still a great man, and did not take Steuben’s fulminations personally.”<sup>5</sup> Also Friedrich Knapp manifests a rather positive view with respect to the development of the relationship between both personalities in spite of the political complication:

. . . no matter how often they varied in their respective plans and pretensions, they esteemed each other highly. Steuben did not hold the governor responsible for the delays and faults of the State; but found that the slow movements of the Legislature, and the want of enthusiasm in the people, produced them. Jefferson, on the other hand, did not look upon Steuben as an obstinate gambler, but as a general ever ready and anxious to promote the interests of the country.<sup>6</sup>

Hence, out of this period of time it was mainly the contact to Geismar that proved to have a lasting impact on Jefferson in the years to come.

### **Travels through Germany**

Years later, from 1785 onwards, while Jefferson was living in Paris, he started to correspond again with Geismar, and the baron suggested that he take the opportunity to make a visit to his hometown Hanau. The idea to meet with his friend, this time under completely different circumstances, and to get to know better the culture that Geismar had transmitted him during their common time in Virginia, might have been a considerable motivation to undertake a journey through different German regions. Other reasons for his visit to this country were his interest in viniculture and in politics—to observe the impact of different political systems on society, on the character and the living condition of its population. Finally, the painter John Trumball’s trip down the Rhine in 1786 and the enthusiastic letters concerning this travels he had sent Jefferson, also contributed to increase his interest for this land and inspired him to acquire maps of the Rhine.<sup>7</sup>

It was in spring of 1788 when he was finally able to undertake this journey, and coming from Holland and crossing the Rhine at Essenberg, his itinerary took him from 2–16 April to Duisburg and Düsseldorf, Cologne, Bonn, Koblenz, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Hanau, Rüdesheim, Worms, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Schwetzingen, Speyer, Karlsruhe and Kehl, before returning to France via Strasbourg.

Through his personal annotations taken during his journey<sup>8</sup> we learn

more about his particular curiosities during this visit and the comments he made regarding the different regions he was able to see. Jefferson seemed to observe and comment on everything—the climate, prices, situation of the roads, political systems and their impact on society, differences between the states, architecture, landscape and everything related to the growing of wine grapes. We thus know that at Duisburg he saw a gallery of paintings, and that he was searching for a site where in 9 A.D. the German tribes under Arminius, such as the Cheruskans, Bructeri, Marsi and the Chatti, defeated the legions of Quinctilius Varus and arrested the expansions of the Roman Empire East of the Rhine.<sup>9</sup> At Coblenz he saw the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein and the palace just completed for the Elector of Trier, particularly noting its system of central heating. In Frankfurt and the surroundings he was able to satisfy his interest for German viniculture: While staying at the large and magnificent Red House in Frankfurt, Jefferson sampled some of the fine local wines from the cellars of his landlord, John Adam Dick. It was in this town where he finally met Baron Geismar and on 8 April they went together to Hanau, where Jefferson saw other Hessian officers he had known in Charlottesville during the Revolution. Accompanied by Geismar, he visited the vineyards in the villages of Johannisberg, Rüdesheim, and Hochheim—where he spent his 45th birthday with Geismar—compiling extensive notes on the grape varieties and the production of wine. He concluded that the wines of first quality were made between Rüdesheim and Hochheim and elaborated lists of no less than a dozen properties in each village that produced outstanding wine. According to his “Memorandum on wine,” between the three regions mentioned above, for some years past the Johannesberg had acquired the highest reputation and the best Moselle wine was made by Baron Breidbach Burrenheim on the mountain of Brauneberg.<sup>10</sup> The vines he flourished later in his garden at the Hôtel Langeac, and to Geismar he wrote that he looked forward to offering him “a glass of Hock or Rudesheim of my own making” should he ever revisit Monticello,<sup>11</sup> though there is no record that he succeeded in making wine from these German stocks.

Unfortunately, since he did not know German, only limited interaction with the population was possible, a fact that he regretted, thus in a letter to Cosway he mentioned that his inquiries became frustrated by the language barrier.<sup>12</sup> As a result, except for the time he spent with Geismar, the conversations he was able to have during his travels were mainly confined to innkeepers, wine merchants, or his valet in Frankfurt. Another place he visited was Wilhelmsbad, the pleasure ground near Hanau recently laid out in the English style for the landgrave of Hesse-Kassel. Having suffered from the bad roads between Bonn and Frankfurt, the Virginian more cheerfully paid the turnpike tolls on the more comfortable country roads to the South.<sup>13</sup>

To understand the differences he had observed, we have to keep in mind that in the late 18th century Germany was a collection of small electorates, principalities and free cities with customs barriers at every border, so the quality of the roads varied from good to bad depending on the political subdivision through which one travelled.

Regarding Jefferson's visit to Mannheim he mentioned the observatory and the palace of the Palatinate Elector, which then had a very large gallery as well as cabinets of antiquities and natural history and at Käfertal, today belonging to Mannheim, he saw wild boars and a rhubarb plantation. The itinerary took him next to Heidelberg, where Jefferson visited the famous castle, "the most magnificent ruin after those left to us by the antients [*sic*]"<sup>14</sup>, taking time to measure the Grosse Fass, the huge wine barrel which is still an attraction at the site. Afterwards he went to the gardens of Schwetzingen, and concerning the sights he was able to see in Karlsruhe, he mentioned only the palace and the gardens of the Margrave of Baden. Nevertheless, the structure of the city layout had inspired Jefferson: A map of Karlsruhe, then being developed according to a comprehensive plan by Friedrich Weinbrenner, was one of several plans Jefferson later sent to Pierre L'Enfant to aid in the creation of the city of Washington.<sup>15</sup>

### **Interest in German culture, politics, character and technology**

Besides the description of his travels and respective activities in each place, in his "Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," as well as some letters, Jefferson also provides us his reflections on and analysis of the circumstances he had found in the different regions visited. Within the category "Objects of attention for an American" he points to the importance to observe the politics of each country:

Examine their influence on the happiness of the people: take every possible occasion of entering into the hovels of the labourers, and especially at the moments of their repast, see what they eat, how they are clothed, whether they are obliged to labour too hard; whether the government or their landlord takes from them an unjust proportion of their labour; on what footing stands the property they call their own, their personal liberty &c.<sup>16</sup>

This was indeed an issue he analyzed in detail during his travels and on political matters Jefferson was clearly more outspoken in Germany than he had permitted himself to be the year before in France.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the differences he noticed between the Dutch and the Prussian territory for

instance he says:

The transition from ease and opulence to extreme poverty is remarkable [*sic*] on crossing the line between the Dutch and Prussian territory. The soil and climate are the same. The governments alone differ. With the poverty, the fear also of slaves is visible in the faces of the Prussian subjects. There is an improvement however in the physiognomy, especially could it be a little brightened up.<sup>18</sup>

Another interesting comment in the same context can be found in his travel narrative, where he offered the following explanation for the contrast found within different German states. According to Jefferson the roads were well cultivated until one enters the territory of Hesse; there the consequences of the different governments were immediately visible:

. . . notwithstanding the tendency which the neighborhood of such a commercial town as Francfort has to counteract the effects of tyranny in it's vicinities, and to animate them in spite of oppression. In Francfort all is life, bustle and motion. In Hanau the silence and quiet of the mansions of the dead. Nobody is seen moving in the streets; every door is shut; no sound of the saw, the hammer, or other utensil of industry. The drum and fife is all that is heard. The streets are cleaner than a German floor, because nobody passes them.<sup>19</sup>

Many years after these travels, in his autobiography, Jefferson reflects again on the fact that Germany was divided into many states, something that he considered to be a considerable disadvantage: "The Germanic body is a burlesque on government; and their practice on any point is a sufficient authority & proof that it is wrong."<sup>20</sup> In contrast to his political inspired observations, in a letter to his personal secretary William Short we can find a rather positive comment regarding the landscape as well as the nature of the people he had encountered during his visit: "I have seen much good country on the Rhine, and bad whenever I got a little off of it. But what I have met with the most wonderful in nature is a set of men absolutely incorruptible by money, by fair words or by foul: and that this should, of all others, be the class of postilions. This however is the real character of German postilions whom nothing on earth can induce to go out of a walk."<sup>21</sup>

In the same letter he argues that in a way Germany could be called their "second mother country," since it was the people from this nation who "form the greatest body of our people." Much of what he had observed reminded him of upper Maryland and Pennsylvania, and as he added, "I have been

continually amused by seeing the origins of whatever is not English among us.”

Finally, in his description we can also detect a particular interest for any useful tool or invention that could possibly improve the living conditions of his fellow countrymen. In fact, two of his most noted inventions, a folding ladder that he used at Monticello and a moldboard for plows to raise the soil after it had been cut, derived from observations and sketches he made on his journey through Germany.<sup>22</sup>

### **Germans as immigrants in the United States**

Another encounter with German culture after his return to the United States in 1789 was through the immigrants, and particularly the religious groups trying to settle in the new territories, that he had to deal with while he was in office. In general, probably inspired by his visit to this country and what he had seen there, Jefferson did manifest a particular interest in establishing German settlements in Virginia. Among several pieces of correspondence relating to German immigration are Jefferson's letters of 1792 in which he negotiated the procurement of settlers from the Palatinate for Virginia. In 1806, in his position as president, Jefferson received a petition from Johann Georg Rapp, immigrated to the United States in 1803 from Württemberg, a religious leader and founder of the *Harmony Society*<sup>23</sup> in which he referred his request for special terms in purchasing lands in Indiana for his followers.<sup>24</sup> Previously, in December 1804 Rapp and two other men had already purchased 4,500 acres of land in Butler County, Pennsylvania, and later acquired additional land to expand their landholdings in order to build here the town of Harmony for their small community. Due to several reasons—one of them being that the climate did not offer good conditions for the growth of grapes—in 1806 the Harmonists submitted a petition to the U.S. government for assistance in purchasing land in the Indiana Territory. In January 1806 this case was discussed in Washington, but while the Senate passed the petition, it was defeated in the House of Representatives and thus the Harmonists had to find other financial means to support their plans for future expansion. From various comments Jefferson made in this specific context, but also based on the ideas he had in general in mind for his agriculturally oriented new nation, we can see that—without sharing their religious belief—he seemed to appreciate successful settlements such as the one established by the Harmonists. They were economically autonomous and self-supporting, and this was something Jefferson much aspired to for the United States—to become independent from the supplies from foreign nations and create manufactures sufficient for their own consumption:

We have experienced what we did not [before] believe: that there exists both profligacy and power enough to exclude us from the field of interchange with other nations; that to be independent for the comforts of life we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist . . . Shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation?<sup>25</sup>

It is likely that he saw the Harmonists as useful to obtain that goal, and he was able to observe their rapid progress in wealth and prosperity: In spite of their initial difficulties, in 1814 the society sold their first town in Pennsylvania to Mennonites with a considerable profit and then the commune was able to move west to Indiana and establish their new town, called New Harmony.

In general, Jefferson manifested a positive attitude toward German settlers. He envisioned using their craftsmanship skills in the United States, a plan that has to be seen in connection with his experience and observation in his native country. In fact, while he was still in Germany he developed an idea that aimed to find a solution to one of the large moral dilemmas in his life—the institution of slavery. In a letter to Edward Bancroft written in 1788, Jefferson suggested that the organized import of German labor might potentially substitute African slaves:

I shall endeavor to import as many Germans as I have grown slaves. I will settle them and my slaves, on farms of 50 acres each, intermingled, and place all on the footing of the Metayers<sup>26</sup> . . . of Europe. Their children shall be brought up, as others are, in habits of property and foresight, and I have no doubt but that they will be good citizens. Some of their fathers will be so: others I suppose will need government.<sup>27</sup>

### **Jefferson as reference for German Americanists**

Although Jefferson professed to have bought all the important foreign publications on America, he owned only few works of the German historians and geographers who produced the best ones on America of the period. On their side, they were aware of him as an expert on North America and, as a consequence, he was contacted by several scholars who sought his advice. This shows that in the Old World Jefferson was not only perceived as a politician but as a distinguished scholar and expert on all topics related to America. It is quite likely that the German edition of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* that



had appeared in the *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde* in the years 1788-89 had contributed to make him known in Germany as an expert on this part of the United States.<sup>28</sup>

Among the German authors of books on America that contacted Jefferson, the most outstanding of them was Christoph Daniel Ebeling (1741-1817).<sup>29</sup> Immersed in writing a multivolume study of the United States and impressed by Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in 1795 Ebeling wrote from Hamburg about his research on the general historic, geographical and topographical description of America<sup>30</sup> for which he tried to obtain Jefferson's assistance.<sup>31</sup> This magisterial work praised the United States as an example of republican liberty and dealt with ten states from New Hampshire to Virginia. For the last volume on Virginia Ebeling relied on Jefferson's publication, which he knew from the abridgement published by Prof. Sprengel in Halle.<sup>32</sup> Sometime after receiving that letter, Jefferson started to write his thoughts in response, elaborating an extended document with detailed information, although it is not evident that he ever actually sent them to the German historian.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, a copy of the Virginia volume—inscribed by Ebeling "To His Excellency Thomas Jefferson most respectfully offered by the Author" with the initials by which Jefferson marked his books—was once part of his library.

Another very distinguished German who established contact with Jefferson was the theologian and philologist Johann Severin Vater (1771-1826). In 1809 he sent him his work *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente*, which he had dedicated to Alexander von Humboldt, in order to obtain Jefferson's opinion. He also suggested considering to translate it into English, in case he thought that it deserved this attention.<sup>34</sup> As Vater expressed it, he had always felt high veneration, "for the wise ruler of a great people" and "more particularly for the philosopher, who instituted and still pursues profound inquiries into the history of the native American tribes and their languages."<sup>35</sup> Jefferson replied in a very respectful way, telling him that his research should indeed receive every aid and encouragement.<sup>36</sup> Previously he had forwarded the book to Benjamin Smith Barton, since "not understanding a word of German," as he said in his letter, "the *book* is lost on me"; nevertheless he expressed his strong interest in having it translated, though he would not be able to provide the means for it.<sup>37</sup>

A different aspect that reveals the recognition Jefferson's broad scholarly work had received in Germany is the fact that in 1812 he obtained the distinction of having been elected Member of the Academy of Sciences and Agronomic Society of Bavaria, just founded two years earlier. As Baron Karl von Moll, a mineralogist and public official states in his letter to the newly elected member, the Society normally accepted neither foreign members nor

correspondents; however in this case they decided to give homage “to men who devote themselves abroad, in a distinguished manner, to the theory or practice of the art of agriculture” and it would please the society “to see in its annals some illustrious names that are revered in the history of agriculture.” Therefore electing him as a honorary member they sought to recognize publicly the important service Jefferson had rendered to the “most useful of the arts.”<sup>38</sup>

Jefferson replied two years later, explaining that he had just received Moll’s letter due to the interruption of correspondence during the war, and expressing much gratification for being named an honorary member of the society:

. . . sincerely devoted to this art, the basis of the subsistence, the comforts, and the happiness of man, & and sensible to the interest which all nations have in communicating freely to each other discoveries of new and useful processes and implements in it, I shall with zeal at all times meet the wishes of the society, & especially rejoice in every opportunity which their commands may present of being useful to them.<sup>39</sup>

Previously to that distinction, Jefferson had received similar honors in other European nations: In 1797 he was elected Member of the Board of Agriculture in London as well as Member of the Linnaean Society of Paris, and in 1809 he was honored as Member of the Dutch Institute of Sciences, of Literature and of Fine Arts.

### **German correspondents and visitors**

Though the group of Germans in Jefferson’s international communication network was a rather small one, in comparison to his correspondence with France and England for instance, it nevertheless developed over many decades and touched upon very diverse topics: Beginning with his early contact with the Hessians officers Geismar, Riedesel or the Prussian general von Steuben, extending into the scholarly sector through his correspondence with experts on America such as Ebeling and Vater or those people who belonged to the growing group of German immigrants: recently immigrated persons as George Rapp, trying to settle down in their new lives and seeking Jefferson’s support, but also already established entrepreneurs and merchants such as John Jacob Astor, for instance, focusing on extending their business into new fields. Furthermore, also among his correspondents were inventors like George Frederick Augustus Hauto, who sent Jefferson the description of

a Hydrostatic Engine, the Lutheran pastor Henry Muhlenberg or Marten Wanscher, a native German plasterer who worked at Monticello from 1801 until 1804.

Another visitor of much greater importance that Jefferson met in Washington was the Prussian traveler and scientist Alexander von Humboldt, who after his five year long expedition through the Spanish colonies in America (1799-1804) visited the United States in spring 1804. Being in possession of important geographical and statistical data regarding the newly acquired Louisiana territory, he had received an invitation from Jefferson's administration.<sup>40</sup> From this visit onwards, over the next 21 years Jefferson and Humboldt maintained a transatlantic epistolary communication that lasted until shortly before Jefferson's death, in which they discussed the events of their period of time and informed each other about their respective work. For Jefferson this was another means to maintain the contact to Europe in general and the scholarly world of Paris in particular, but it was also a way to disseminate and promote through Humboldt certain positive ideas about his young nation in the Old World. It was only in 1827 that Humboldt returned to his native Berlin after living for two decades in the French capital, so that the importance of Jefferson's connection to him is more defined by Humboldt's role as an internationally renowned scholar and less as a connector to German science in particular.

Over the years Jefferson also received some guests of this nationality in his residence at Monticello. As mentioned initially, among the first visitors to Monticello were the English and German officers of the Convention Army. The first announcement of Monticello's existence in Europe might have been in a letter of one of these Teutonic officers.<sup>41</sup> Many years later there was another German visitor to Monticello: Karl Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, who toured the United States in 1825-26, and made his crossing of the Blue Ridge Mountains some miles north of Charlottesville. In his publication<sup>42</sup> he reflected his travels and his personal impressions regarding Monticello as well as the newly established University of Virginia and also offered to the reader parts of Jefferson's *Notes* translated into Goeth's language.<sup>43</sup>

### **German literature in Jefferson's library**

It was through these persons, through their personal or epistolary communication, that Jefferson was in contact with German thoughts, science and philosophy. Nevertheless, the world of his books also offered an important access to this culture and its achievements in the broadest sense. Regarding Jefferson's ability to read or understand the language we can assume that also in later years they remained rather limited. In his *Notes of a Tour through Holland*

*and the Rhine Valley* he regretted that “there was not a person to be found in Duysberg who could understand either English, French, Italian or Latin. So I could make no enquiry.” Also in his *Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe* he points to the difficulties he encountered during his travels in Germany to find someone to converse in the languages he spoke or to make the people understand what he wished to see. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Jefferson was trying to learn German: He had dictionaries, vocabularies, and grammars in a number of other languages in his library, among them also German ones. We also know that at some time during the Virginian’s youth or young manhood, he came close to learning this language, since a small piece of cardboard with the German of some song stanzas survives. However, apparently he did not get very far with his attempts, thus several times later in his life, he stated simply and without regret that he was not in possession of these language skills.

In spite of these limitations a search through his library—the one sold by Jefferson to the Library of Congress in 1815, but also the library he had built up again afterwards—shows numerous entries for publication by German authors or German topics. Let’s have a closer look on the different types of books present in his library and through them define Jefferson’s interest for Germany. Not surprisingly, we can find several publications by or on important philosophers, on political philosophy as well as juristic questions, such as the works by Wolff, von Pufendorf, Schlegel or Kant.<sup>44</sup> There are also several contributions of renowned authors to the field of natural sciences like Blumenbach or Burkhard in their English translations,<sup>45</sup> and some books in his library focused on the field of chemistry or geography.<sup>46</sup> Jefferson was furthermore interested in descriptions of travels through the Holy Roman Empire, written by Germans but also authors of other nations,<sup>47</sup> or any type of historic or political treaties concerning this country,<sup>48</sup> including a book on the state of music.<sup>49</sup> Prussia and its history seems to have held a particular interest for him, as several publications on this subject reveal.<sup>50</sup> On the other side, there were also studies on other countries by German authors in his library, such as Kaempfer’s work on Japan<sup>51</sup> or Ebeling’s and Vater’s work on America.<sup>52</sup> In spite of his lack of knowledge of this European language we do find a German grammar book in the list of publications owned by Jefferson<sup>53</sup> as well as some books on gardening, written in the same language.<sup>54</sup> Finally, in his later years, probably through the influence of George Ticknor, as we will see, he seemed to become interested in German literature as well, later owning a translation of Goethe’s *Faust*.<sup>55</sup>

## Influence of German political philosophy

Let's now turn the focus on the German scholarly sources Jefferson worked with and referred to in his writings. In emphasizing the influence of English philosophers in his political thinking, scholars have usually overlooked German contributions. Among political philosophers Jefferson was familiar with are the works of the German jurist and historian Samuel Pufendorf (1632–94), whose writings on natural law were widely influential among Americans. In several occasions he cited his works *Introduction à l'histoire générale et politique de l'univers* (1721) or *Les devoirs de l'homme* (1707), making references to its content that show that he had intensively studied them in a way, or recommended its reading.<sup>56</sup> There are no existing records about when exactly Jefferson acquired the works of Pufendorf, but it is obvious that he was acquainted with the philosopher's main arguments before 1770, when in the case of Howard versus Netherland he argued that "under the law of nature all men are born free." This was Jefferson's first pronouncement of this statement and it can be traced back to Pufendorf, who held that all men were born free when he occupied the chair of "the law of nature and nations" at the University of Heidelberg, the first professorship of this sort in the world. His independent ideas thus were of great influence upon subsequent writers, both in the New and in the Old World.<sup>57</sup>

There is also a strong visible influence of the eminent philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754) on Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence.<sup>58</sup> Jefferson owned Wolff's "Institutiones Juris Naturae" before 1783 in the Latin edition of 1772. His conception of certain inalienable Rights, especially the right of freedom, can also be understood as inspired by Wolff. Out of the three Rights listed by John Locke (life, liberty, property), the Declaration of Independence added the pursuit of happiness in place of property; this appears among the objects for which, according to Wolff, the state had been constituted.<sup>59</sup> Wolff had more to offer than Locke in terms of argumentation for the separation from England and the establishment of a new form of society: he declares that the body of people as a whole was entitled to disobey and give resistance whenever its constitutional rights are infringed—an idea that gets manifest in the Declaration of Independence in the "right and duty of the people to throw off a government."<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, whereas the metaphysical foundation was lacking in Locke, Wolff included a spirit of Deism, which dictated his explanation of the origin of the law of nature. For him God himself was the author of the laws of nature and he obliged man to conform his actions to it, so that natural obligations had to be understood as divine, just as natural laws.<sup>61</sup> This seemed appealing to Jefferson and again saw its incorporation in the Declaration of Independence, in the wording

that the citizens were endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

### **German University model—an inspiration for the University of Virginia?**

While the influence of German political philosophers on the drafting of the Declaration of Independence can be traced through Jefferson's reading of these two scholars, it is more difficult to assess if and to what extent the university model of this country had been an inspiration as well for him in the creation of the University of Virginia. The 19th century German concept of higher education, with its emphasis on the unity of teaching and research and graduate education, was the model emulated by several of what were to become the most prestigious universities in other countries. This model has its origins in the philosophy of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexander von Humboldt's brother, and was based upon Friedrich Schleiermacher's liberal ideas. Freedom was an important concept, and the professorate system was based on competition: although professors served as state functionaries, they had the freedom to choose between several states, and their identity and prestige arose from the specialization of scientific disciplines. The German research based university system became a model to follow also in the United States, with a strong impact noticeable particularly from 1850 onward. The creation of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 is regarded as the beginning of American graduate education based on European university models. Nevertheless, the temporal coincidence between the creation of the university of Berlin, founded in 1810 inspired by Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the creation of the University of Virginia just a few years later, with classes starting in the year 1819, raises the question whether an influence of the German research model can be detected there. In order to analyze a possible connection a closer look at the sources of Jefferson's ideas about education is required.<sup>62</sup> Already the bill of 1779 and his work *Notes on the State of Virginia* reflected radical ideas on education as an instrument of republican policy. How did Jefferson happen to get these ideas in America of the 1770s? Free elementary education had been introduced in Prussia as early as 1716 by Frederick William I and had been made thoroughgoing by a regulation of Frederick the Great in 1763. News of this might have reached Virginia and had influenced his ideas on universal free elementary education. Concerned throughout his whole life with education, as in the first years of the Revolution with education for everyone irrespective of family wealth or status, his plan was part of his revolutionary political thinking, where he saw Virginia as a model republic: He envisioned free elementary school for all future citizens, free advanced education for a selected group of poor children, university education at public expenses for a selected few who would be ready

to serve the state and a true university for those who could afford to pay.<sup>63</sup> From 1825–60 the University of Virginia was one of the few that endeavored with some success to be a university in a European sense; it set the tone for other universities to follow, “based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind” as Jefferson expressed it in two letters in 1820.<sup>64</sup>

In this context Jefferson’s extended correspondence with George Ticknor (1791–1871), the scholar and Harvard professor of modern languages and the first American Hispanist, is very revealing. Before Ticknor went to study at the university in Göttingen for two years together with Edward Everett,<sup>65</sup> he visited Jefferson at Monticello in 1815, and that same year his long letters to Jefferson were filled with information about and praise of German university education, scholarship and intellectual achievements, but also about its significance in the field of literature.<sup>66</sup>

While Americans were sufficiently familiar with the political organization of Germany, Ticknor argues, its literature “is a kind of terra in cognita to us.” He considers it “interesting literature,” since it “has all the freshness and faithfulness of poetry of the early ages,” pointing in this context to the works of Goethe, Klopstock, Lessing, Voss and Schiller.<sup>67</sup> He foresaw a brilliant future for German literature: “But no man can go far into the body of German literature . . . without feeling that there is an enthusiasm among them, which has brought them forward in forty years as far as other nations have been three centuries in advancing and which will carry them much farther.”<sup>68</sup>

Ticknor attributed the supposed superiority of that nation in the intellectual world to a spirit of liberality and philosophy in their learning, which made only slow progress in England. Not just the literature, also the sciences in Germany he found worth following, since in “mineralogy, botany and entomology . . . they lead the rest of Europe.” In this context he pointed to the mathematician Gauss who had “recently acquired extraordinary reputation by his astronomical calculations.”<sup>69</sup> In the same letter he continues arguing that a reason for the progress in this field he saw the liberty and a universal toleration in all matters of opinion: “No matter what a man thinks, he may teach it and print it, not only without molestation from the government but also without molestation from publick opinion which is so often more oppressive then the arms of authority. I know not that anything like this exists in any other country.” Books appear every day that would be suppressed in other countries, whereas in Germany the same books might just get a severe review or answer. According to Ticknor, “everything in Germany seems to me to be measured by the genius or acuteness or learning it discovers without reference to previous opinions or future consequences to an astonishing and sometimes to an alarming degree.”<sup>70</sup> He sees a direct impact on the universities of the pedagogic model based on liberty: “If truth

is to be attained by freedom of inquiry, as I Doubt not it is, the German professors and literati are certainly in the high road, and we have the way quietly open before them.<sup>71</sup>

Also in the field of Classic studies Ticknor considered that within the last forty years Germany advanced farther than any other nation now leaves even England at least twenty years behind:

This has been chiefly affected by the constitution of their universities, where the professors are kept perpetually in a grinding state of excitement and emulation, and by the constitution of their literary society generally, which admits no man to its honors, who has not written a good book.<sup>72</sup>

Jefferson had requested Ticknor to buy him classical texts in English editions, but Ticknor, preferring German scholarship and editions, suggested that Jefferson buy them instead: "the longer I remain here, the more I learn to value the German modes of study and the enlarged and liberal spirit of German scholarship and, for the same reason I think the more you see German editions of the classicks, the more you will be disposed to admit them into your library."<sup>73</sup>

Jefferson followed the younger man's advice, and recommended German texts from then on, as several references in his letters to his correspondents prove. As he mentions in another letter to Jefferson, Ticknor found his stay in this part of Europe so inspiring and enriching, so "suited to his purposes" that he decided to prolong his studies and enjoy it a year longer.<sup>74</sup> Thus it was Ticknor who initiated the trail of American scholars to German universities, writing such inspiring letters to Jefferson about the University of Göttingen library, the quality of teaching and the ample atmosphere of academic freedom that Americans soon went to this country for higher education. At the same time in his correspondence with Ticknor, Jefferson tells him about his ideas regarding the creation of the University of Virginia. Thus it seems probable that the Virginian established a connection between these observations and his plans for his own university. Another result of Ticknor's appraisal of German literature, science and educational system was that Jefferson was now willing to hire a German language professor, instead of recruiting them exclusively among the Scottish academic world. In the same year Ticknor declined Jefferson's offer of the professorship of modern languages (French, Italian, Spanish, German) in Charlottesville, the young New Englander recommended the Göttingen-trained Georg Blaettermann, with whom he had met three times in London before his return to the U.S. In 1823, Blaettermann applied by letter to Jefferson for the appointment,



for which he had, in the interval, prepared himself by collecting, during a tour of France, Germany, and Holland, materials for a series of lectures to be delivered at the University. He obtained the position and arrived at the in Charlottesville in 1825, being one of only two German-trained professors appointed under Jefferson.<sup>75</sup>

By 1818, Jefferson had ample testimony from Ticknor of the value of the German language and education. This can also be seen in the "Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia" from 4 August 1818:

And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is too of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us.

A few years later, in 1825, there was a long list of books in German shipped from Hamburg to Jefferson intended for the University of Virginia, treating such diverse subjects as, for instance, grammar, history, education, philosophy, politics, literature, gardening, collected works of German writers, poems, but also travel narratives on other countries.<sup>76</sup> This leads to my hypothesis that there had likely been an influence of the Humboldtian pedagogic model also on the creation of the University of Virginia, given the many parallels in time and objectives, besides the close personal relationship of Jefferson with his brother. Other arguments in favor of an influence of the German university model was the focus on a combination of research and teaching at this university as well as the academic liberty provided, or the strong collaboration between professors and students, favored for instance by the building of the university with its pavilions for professors among the units for the students. Jefferson was probably also aware of the discussion around 1820 between George Bancroft, Edward Everett and George Ticknor evaluating possibilities to import the German school and university system to the United States, which included discussions with Wilhelm von Humboldt, who recommended sending American students to Germany instead of sending German professors to the U.S.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless, a review of documents related to Jefferson or Joseph Carrington Cabell, a member of the Virginia Senate, who years after his extended tour of Europe (1802–6) was recruited by Jefferson for the creation of the University of Virginia, including the board of visitors minutes, fails to uncover any direct indication of a connection. The only proof of a contact between Wilhelm von Humboldt and Cabell is a little note written by the Prussian to Cabell and Washington Irving, telling them that he had "the

honor of informing them that he will take the liberty of coming to get them this evening between 8 and 9 o'clock at their homes in order to accompany them to the home of the Imperial Minister where there will be an assembly."<sup>78</sup>

### **Final considerations**

As is evident from this overview of the different connections Jefferson had established and maintained with Germany in different eras, German culture, science, technology, politics and philosophy played a considerable role and served as an important fundament in the process creating a new nation in which he was deeply involved. His personal experience as well as his intellectual relationship with this nation and its citizens served as interesting contrast to the other European nations that Jefferson had become acquainted with during his life.

The encounter with this foreign culture had different layers; it provided him access to a broad range of insights. Over the years Jefferson became more and more knowledgeable about things German, and like a puzzle, these different pieces of the German world he had been able to encounter, provided him a broader picture and deeper understanding over the time. The new information he was able to gather built upon his previous experience or understanding, acquired through his personal contacts, his personal encounters, or his reading. The impact of his early German experience was still visible in his later years when he was always on the lookout for products or practices which would benefit America's inhabitants, such as wine cultivation, agricultural techniques, or music, literature, or their contribution to the different fields of science. Within this rather complex image of Germany he seemed to distinguish clearly what he liked or thought to be of advantage for the young nation he was helping to form, and those aspects that helped him to develop opposing strategies. Whereas its pedagogy, science, and technology provided him inspirations, German politics seemed to be rather an example about what to avoid in the United States. In these cultural encounters he seemed to have maintained clear view of his interests as well as his moral convictions.

Jefferson's network with correspondents of this part of Europe was of considerable importance in this process and had a significant impact on his thinking and actions. Though statistically only a small part of his epistolary contacts was related to Germany, it is nevertheless relevant due to the people he corresponded with at different moments of his life. The relevance of these networks is also shown by the fact that they were active in both directions and thus they contributed actively to his transatlantic exchange of knowledge and ideas. Last but not least, they also led to the fact that in the German-speaking

world, Jefferson was not only perceived as an enlightened statesman, but also as a distinguished scholar.

As we have seen, not only did his German contacts provide him with insights into the intellectual world of this country, he also seemed to be considerably influenced by the information he received from Americans regarding things German, especially the impressions and descriptions sent by George Ticknor regarding the progress in science, technology, and literature in that country.

In conclusion we can say that the 19th century was an extremely fruitful period for the advancement of science and technology, in which Germany had a leading position, until, towards the end of that century, American science started to enter the world stage in this broad field. News on the progress of German scientific developments, research results or pedagogic models also found their way to Virginia and contributed to the development of the scientific-academic relationship between these two nations. It is thus interesting to see the beginning of the process of the launching of modern American science with one of the key persons in American intellectual life during this period of time—Thomas Jefferson.

*The Huntington Library  
San Marino, California*

### Notes

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<sup>2</sup>Prior research on this topic was undertaken by Madison Brown, "Thomas Jefferson and things German: Preliminary findings," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History*, 37 (1978): 29–33.

<sup>3</sup>"Report of a Plan to Invite Foreign Officers in the British Service to Desert," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, ed. by Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008), <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-01-02-0212> [accessed 05 May 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 1 (1760–1776). See also: Lyman H. Butterfield, "Psychological Warfare in 1776: The Jefferson-Franklin Plan to Cause Hessian Desertions," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94, no. 3, Studies of Historical Documents in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (1950): 233–41.

<sup>4</sup>Peter Nicolaisen, "Thomas Jefferson and Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar: A Transatlantic Friendship," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 64 (2006): 1–27; George Green Shackelford, *Thomas Jefferson's travels in Europe, 1784–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 144–45; Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson, War and Peace, 1776 to*

1784 (New York: Coward-McCann, 1947), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 246–47.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army*. (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859), 351.

<sup>7</sup> In the Special Collection at University of Virginia there are three maps of Germany, presumably from the Hermann von Moll's *Atlas Minor* (1729) that supposedly belonged to Thomas Jefferson.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding Jefferson's travels in Europe see: Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe, 1784 to 1789* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1950); James McGrath Morris and Persephone Weene, eds., *Thomas Jefferson's European Travel Diaries* (Ithaca, NY: I. Stephanus Sons, 1987). Jefferson's personal account of these travels can be found in his writings "Notes of a tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 13 (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 8–35. See also the letters he had written during his visit to Germany as well as his "Hints to Americans travelling in Europe, 19 June 1788," Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-13-02-0173>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 13: 264–76.

<sup>9</sup> The general consensus today holds that the battlefield site was at Kalkriese in Lower Saxony around 70 km from Detmold. See: Tony Clunn, *The Quest for the Lost Roman Legions: Discovering the Varus Battlefield* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2005); <http://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de/index/getlang/en>.

<sup>10</sup> See Jefferson's "Memorandum on Wine," written after 23 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-27-02-0701> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 27 (1 September–31 December 1793), 23. See also: John R Hailman, *Thomas Jefferson on wine* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Jefferson to Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar, 13 July 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-13-02-0259> [accessed 28 Aug 2014], Original source: Main Series, Volume 13 (March–7 October 1788).

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 24 April 1788. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-13-02-0027> [accessed 28 Aug 2014]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 13 (March–7 October 1788).

<sup>13</sup> Jefferson to to William Short, 9 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 24 April, 1788, *ibid*.

<sup>15</sup> Jefferson to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, 10 April 1791, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-20-02-0001-0015> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 20 (1 April–4 August 1791).

<sup>16</sup> "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>17</sup> For more information see: Herbert Dittgen, "Despotismus und Armut. Thomas Jeffersons Rheinreise am Vorabend der Französischen Revolution," in *Thomas Jefferson: Historische Bedeutung und Politische Aktualität*, ed. Hartmut Wasser (Paderborn u. a.: Ferdinand Schöningh 1995), 238–54.

<sup>18</sup> "Notes of a Tour through Holland and the Rhine Valley," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Leicester Ford, *The Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson, 1743–1790*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

<sup>21</sup> Jefferson to William Short, 9 April 1788, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, vol. 13.

<sup>22</sup> McGrath Morris and Weene, eds., *Jefferson's European Travel Diaries*, 26.

<sup>23</sup> The Harmony Society was a Christian theosophy and pietist society founded in Iptingen, Germany, in 1785. Due to religious persecution by the Lutheran Church and the government in Württemberg, the group decided to immigrate in the United States.

<sup>24</sup> To Jefferson from George Rapp, 7 January 1806, Early access document, *The American Founding Era*. See also Karl John Richard Arndt, "George Rapp's Petition to Thomas Jefferson," *American-German Review*, 7, no. 1 (1940): 5–9.

<sup>25</sup> Jefferson to Benjamin Austin, 9 January 1816, Library of Congress, Washington.

<sup>26</sup> The term *métayage* refers to a type of land tenure whereby the cultivator uses land without owning it and pays rent in kind to the owner.

<sup>27</sup> Jefferson to Edward Bancroft, 26 January 1788, Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-14-02-0266>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 14, 492–94.

<sup>28</sup> *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, ed. Matthias C. Sprengel (Leipzig: Mayganische Buchhandlung, 1788) 8: 173–277 and (1789) 9: 3–130. See also: Homer Gilmer Richey, *Memorandum on the German edition of Jefferson's Notes on Virginia* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1952).

<sup>29</sup> Ebeling became a teacher at the Hamburg Commercial Academy in 1769 and its co-director in the following year, a post he held for more than two decades. It was during this time when Alexander von Humboldt studied at the same Academy and was introduced through Ebeling to studies related to America. For more information on Ebeling see: Gordon M. Stewart, "Christoph Daniel Ebeling: America's Friend in Eighteenth Century Germany," *Monatshefte*, 68, no. 2 (1976): 151–61.

<sup>30</sup> Christoph Daniel Ebeling, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die Vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika*, 7 vols (Hamburg: Bohn, 1793–1816).

<sup>31</sup> Christoph Daniel Ebeling to Jefferson, 30 July 1795, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-28-02-0331> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 28 (1 January 1794–29 February 1796).

<sup>32</sup> *Beiträge zur Völker- und Länderkunde*, *ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> "Notes on the Letter of Christoph Daniel Ebeling," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-28-02-0391> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Main Series, Volume 28 (1 January 1794–29 February 1796)

<sup>34</sup> Johann Severin Vater, *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung aus dem alten Kontinente. Dem Herrn Kammerherrn Alexander von Humboldt gewidmet* (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1810).

<sup>35</sup> Johann Severin Vater to Jefferson, 4 Nov. 1809, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-01-02-0510> [accessed 25 Apr 2013]. Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 1 (4 March 1809 to 15 November 1809).

<sup>36</sup> Jefferson to Johann Severin Vater, 11 May 1811, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-03-02-0492> [accessed 26 Apr 2013] Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 3 (12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811).

<sup>37</sup> Jefferson to Benjamin Smith Barton 6 October 1810. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-03-02-0091> [accessed 26 Apr 2013] Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 3 (12 August 1810 to 17 June 1811).

<sup>38</sup> Letter Karl von Moll to Jefferson, 22 July 1812. Original text in French, see translation provided in: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-05-02-0211-0001> [accessed 28 Aug 2014] Original source: Retirement Series, Volume 5 (1 May 1812–10 March 1813).

<sup>39</sup> Jefferson to Karl von Moll, 31 July 1814, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-03-07-02-0375> [accessed 28 Aug 2014]

Retirement Series, Volume 7 (28 November 1813–30 September 1814).

<sup>40</sup> Several articles have been written about Humboldt's visit to the United States and his encounter with Jefferson, among them: Schöenwaldt, Peter, "Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika." In *Alexander von Humboldt: Werk und Weltgeltung*, edited by Heinrich Pfeiffer, 431–482. (München: R. Piper & Co, 1969); Schwarz, Ingo, "Alexander von Humboldt's visit to Washington and Philadelphia, His Friendship with Jefferson, and His Fascination with the United States." *Proceedings: Alexander von Humboldt's Natural History Legacy and Its Relevance for Today*, Northeastern Naturalist, Special Issue 1 (2001): 43–56. Recently the first book has been published on the importance of their transatlantic connections: Rebok, Sandra, *Jefferson and Humboldt: A Transatlantic Friendship of the Enlightenment*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014).

<sup>41</sup> To Jefferson from Jacob Rubsamen, 1 December 1780, Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-04-02-0207>, ver. 2014-05-09). Source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 4, 174. See also: Merrill D. Peterson, *Visitors to Monticello* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989) 8–9.

<sup>42</sup> Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*. Ed. by Heinrich Luden (Weimar: W. Hoffmann, 1828).

<sup>43</sup> Peterson, *Visitors to Monticello*, 104–8.

<sup>44</sup> Schlegel, Johan Frederik Wilhelm, *Neutral Rights*, 1801; Croke, Sir Alexander, *Remarks on Mr. Schlegel's work*, 1801; Wolff, Christian, *Institutions du Droit de la Nature et des Gens*, 1772; Karl Friedrich Necker, *The constitution and government of the Germanic body*, 1745. Villers, Charles François Dominique de, *Philosophie de Kant. Ou Principes fondamentaux de la Philosophie transcendente*, 1801; Gros, Johann Daniel, *Natural Principles of Rectitude, for the Conduct of Man in all states and situations of Life*, 1795; von Pufendorf, Samuel, *Introduction à l'histoire générale de l'univers*, 1732; von Pufendorf, Samuel, *Le Droit de la nature et des gens*, 1740, which he owned also in its English translation (*The Law of Nature and Nations*, 1749); von Pufendorf, Samuel, *De Officio hominis et civis juxta legem naturalem*, 1715.

<sup>45</sup> Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich, *A Short System of Comparative Anatomy*, 1807; Burkhard, Johann Gottlieb, *Elementary or Fundamental Principles of the Philosophy of Natural History*, 1804.

<sup>46</sup> Scheele, Karl Wilhelm, *Mémoires de chymie de M. C. W. Schéele*, 1785; Cramer, Johann Andreas, *Elements of the Art of Assaying Metals*, 1741 (English translation); Neumann, Caspar, *The Chemical Works of Caspar Neumann*, 1759; Buesching, Anton Friedrich, *New System of Geography*, 1762.

<sup>47</sup> Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary*, 1760; Bishop Burnet's *travels through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, 1752; Joseph Marshall, *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark . . .*, 1773.

<sup>48</sup> Pfeffel, Chretien Frédéric, *Nouvel Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit public d'Allemagne*, 1777; Israel Mauduit, *Considerations on the present German war*, 1761.

<sup>49</sup> Charles Burney, *The present state of music in Germany*, 1773.

<sup>50</sup> *Correspondence secrète, concernant la Constitution de la Prusse*, 1788, Louis Philippe comte de Ségur, *History of the principal events of the reign of Frederic William II. king of Prussia*, 1801.

<sup>51</sup> Kaempfer, Engelbert, *The History of Japan*, 1727.

<sup>52</sup> Vater, Johann Severin, *Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung*, 1810; Christoph Daniel Ebelings, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika. Die Vereinten Staaten von Nordamerika*. vol. 7, 1816.

<sup>53</sup> Bachmair, John James, *Complete German Grammar*, 1772.

<sup>54</sup> Becker, Wilhelm Gottlieb, *Neue Garten und Landschafts-Gebäude*, 1798; Meinert, Friedrich, *Schöne Landbaukunst*, 1798.

## Thomas Jefferson and Germany

<sup>55</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faustus: from the German of Goethe*, 1821.

<sup>56</sup> "A Course of Reading for Joseph C. Cabell. A course of English History—recommended by Mr. Jefferson. September 1800," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-32-02-0110> [accessed 29 Apr 2013] Original source: Main Series, Volume 32 (1 June 1800–16 February 1801).

<sup>57</sup> Marie Goebel Kimball, *Jefferson, the road to glory, 1743 to 1776* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1943) 215.

<sup>58</sup> Julius Goebel, "Christian Wolff and the Declaration of Independence," in *A Casebook on the Declaration of the Independence*, ed. by Robert Ginsberg (New York: Crowell Company, 1967) 136.

<sup>59</sup> Christian von Wolff, *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* (Halae Magdeburgicae: Renger, 1750), § 972.

<sup>60</sup> Goebel, "Christian Wolff and the Declaration of Independence," 137.

<sup>61</sup> Wolff, *Institutiones juris naturae et gentium* § 41.

<sup>62</sup> James Conant, *Thomas Jefferson and the development of American Public Education* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962), 17.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>64</sup> Jefferson to William Roscoe, 27 December 1820, Jefferson to Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy, 26 December 1820, manuscript division, Library of Congress.

<sup>65</sup> Everett is known for having been the first American who obtained his doctoral degree in philosophy at a German university.

<sup>66</sup> Long, Orie William, *Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor, a chapter in American scholarship* (Williamstown, MA: McClelland Press, 1933). Testimonials of other American travellers to Europe in this period of time can be found in: Long, Orie William, *Literary pioneers: early American explorers of European culture* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963).

<sup>67</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, Oct. 14, 1815, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series: Volume 9: 1 September 1815 to 30 April 1816, ed. by J. Jefferson Looney (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 2012), 82–84.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>72</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 15 March 1816, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 9, 559–62.

<sup>73</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 23 April 1816, *ibid.*, 696–99.

<sup>74</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 15 March 1816, *ibid.*, 559–62.

<sup>75</sup> George Ticknor to Jefferson, 27 May 1819. Unfortunately, Blaettermann was not only the first German professor being hired by the University of Virginia, but also the first to leave the university under pressure of extreme disapproval. For more information on his case see: Wayne Lee Stith, *On the origins of post-secondary German instruction in the United States: the Rezenion of George W. Blaettermann, first professor of modern languages at the University of Virginia*. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 2008.

<sup>76</sup> See Invoice: "Bill of Lading for Books shipped from Hamboro' for the University of Virginia, 24 Mar. 1825, 24 March 1825," Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5072>, ver. 2014-05-09)

<sup>77</sup> Long, *Literary pioneers*, 134.

<sup>78</sup> Baron Humboldt, March 1805 For Mr. Cabell, Place d'Espagne, m. 86 (original in French, Cabell Family Papers, MSS 2529, box 3, 1803 May–1806 May).

