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### **Late Nineteenth-Century Industrialization and the Forces of Assimilation on German Immigrants: The Views of Economist August Sartorius von Waltershausen**

The observations of European visitors to America in the nineteenth century changed significantly in the decades following the Civil War. For earlier writers such as de Tocqueville, the political institutions and patterns of the then novel republican form of government marked by universal manhood suffrage fixed their attention and caused them to speculate on what the American experiment portended for Old World politics. Assessing the trend, for example, Alexander von Humboldt wrote, "The New World . . . has exercised an important influence on the political institutions, the ideas and the feelings of those nations who occupy the eastern shores of the Atlantic, the boundaries of which appear to be constantly brought nearer and nearer to one another." But as democratic political reforms were extended in Great Britain, France and, to a lesser extent, Germany in the middle decades of the century, the light of America as a political beacon dimmed. What replaced the earlier focus in the writings of visitors was America's impressive economic surge to the status of great power during the Gilded Age. By 1900 the United States produced thirty percent of the world's manufacturing output, far surpassing any rival nation. Corresponding to America's new economic might, the competition for markets, resources and, later, colonies altered American foreign relations during the era, especially with the German Reich. America's economic prowess inspired foreign visitors to witness for themselves the growth of a new world leader. Among the best qualified of these observers, and among the most interesting, was the German economist, August Sartorius von Waltershausen. Trained in the discipline of empirical social science—and German graduate training was renowned worldwide for its high caliber—he had an analytical rigor and keen eye that few others could match. Nonetheless, Sartorius von Waltershausen's view of America was that of a subject of the Second Reich, so much so that his objectivity must be called into question. The task of presenting his observations,



and sorting out his prejudices, should begin by examining his study of the German-American community in the 1880s.<sup>1</sup>

Born in 1853, Sartorius von Waltershausen descended from a distinguished family of German Lutheran ministers and academicians. He studied economics at Göttingen in the 1870s and embarked on a career as professor of economics primarily at the universities of Zurich and Strasbourg. He toured extensively in the United States in 1880 and 1881, taking notes, developing a network of correspondents and gathering literature on topics relating especially to American labor and economic questions. For the next two decades virtually his entire published output dealt with American themes. His prodigious scholarly activity in this period included three major books, at least a dozen articles and three longer publications of fifty to one hundred pages. After 1900 he turned his attention to German and general European economic history, and published several works in the 1920s and 1930s that are still occasionally cited today. Judging by articles and reviews in the leading German economics journal of the late nineteenth century, *Das Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, Sartorius von Waltershausen was perhaps Germany's foremost expert on the American economy. His works dealt with issues of contemporary German-American economic relations such as the tariff, immigration, the prohibition on American pork imports to Germany, currency issues and general commercial regulations and restrictions.<sup>2</sup>

The attention he paid to current issues in his work reflected the influence of the so-called national school of German economics, also known as the historical or institutional school. Known for its critique of the English Manchester school of laissez-faire economists, the national school rejected deductive formulations in favor of empirical methods and data gathering. National school economists sought limited generalizations and embraced the comparative method; they also rejected theories of economics which purported to be valid for all societies and all times, and insisted that Germany must develop its own economic science corresponding to the nation's historical and cultural development. The national school embraced such eminent names in German economic thought as Gustav Schmoller, Lujo Brentano, Wilhelm Roscher and Karl Knies. The inspiration for their work derived from two mid-nineteenth-century protectionist theoreticians, Friedrich List, who had spent time in the United States, and Henry C. Carey, an American economist whose influence was greater in Germany than in his native land.<sup>3</sup>

Opposed to the free trade notions of the Manchester school, protectionist concepts attracted widespread interest in Germany after 1871 as a cornerstone of the new German Reich's drive for "a place in the sun." Hans-Ulrich Wehler has coined the phrase "Sammlungspolitik" to describe the negative integration of conservative economic interests as "friends of the Empire" in this era. As a part of this development, the national school, in effect, provided the intellectual framework for Bismarck's change in German commercial policy from free trade to protectionism in 1879. Schmoller, Brentano and others from the



"younger" branch of the school formed the mainstay of an organization of academics, politicians and civil servants, the Verein für Sozialpolitik, a group devoted to protection of German industry and agriculture, social reforms for the working class and imperialism abroad. The Verein, founded in 1872, eventually attracted the allegiance of such eminent academics as Max Weber and Friedrich Naumann; these men are often grouped together under the heading "Kathedersozialisten." Their program of social and economic reforms at home and colonies abroad might better be described as liberal or social imperialist. The Verein lent academic respectability to Bismarck's drive for German overseas possessions after 1884. In another example of German-American cross-fertilization of economic concepts, Richard Ely and other German-trained academic economists patterned the American Economics Association in 1886 after the Verein für Sozialpolitik, though stripped of the imperialist baggage.<sup>4</sup>

The national school, the Verein and the intellectual services they performed for the Iron Chancellor's state policies provide the necessary framework for understanding the observations of American life by Sartorius von Waltershausen. They reveal why the United States would draw the attention of a young academician embarking on a research career. The national school sanctioned comparative studies for the light they shed on the process of economic change and the insights they lent to German developments.

In important respects, the United States and Germany were traveling parallel paths after 1870 toward contesting the industrial supremacy of Great Britain. Both governments enacted tariffs to encourage domestic manufacturing and keep out foreign competitors; both pursued hard-money policies fairly consistently to insure the value of their currencies in international exchange; as a consequence, both economies were hard hit by deflation in the late nineteenth century and turned to cartels and trusts to maintain price levels. Furthermore, the United States was a potential rival which drained Germany of hundreds of thousands of subjects yearly; in this context it is significant that the period from the 1870s to the 1890s, a time of persistent economic difficulties and downturns in European economic history, witnessed the highpoint of German emigration. These decades also witnessed the flooding of Germany's domestic market with American grain and meat imports; Bismarck remedied this threat to German agriculture and to the *Junker* class of East Prussia by resorting to protective tariffs, a leading example of Wehler's "Sammlungspolitik." Finally, concerning America's future economic might, the 1880s marked the beginning of European warnings about the "American peril," perhaps best exemplified by Alexander von Peez's 1881 work, *Die amerikanische Konkurrenz*. Sartorius von Waltershausen shared this concern to a degree, but the concern was tempered by a certain optimism about the New World. In political rights for all citizens, in manufacturing output, in engineering achievements, in the wide spread of the entrepreneurial impulse and in a variety of measures related to economics, America represented the future or, as the English journalist W. T. Stead's widely read pamphlet predicted,



*The Americanization of the World, or the Trend of the Twentieth Century.* European visitors who desired a glimpse of their own development in the new century came to the United States to behold the future with awe, disbelief and not a little consternation. These mixed emotions permeated the writings of Sartorius von Waltershausen, especially his study on the future of the German community in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

The essay, written in 1884, explored the fate of the millions of Germans who had come to the New World since the previous century. Sartorius von Waltershausen noted that earlier authors held widely divergent views. Some claimed that Germans were immediately assimilated into the American melting pot, a term he himself employed; others asserted that they retained their cultural and linguistic heritage virtually intact. Sartorius von Waltershausen developed a conceptual scheme which avoided the either/or dualism implicit in earlier models of assimilation or cultural persistence. Instead, he argued, German-Americans were contributing valuable characteristics to the emerging North American culture and national identity of the future. "Die Deutschen, welche nach Amerika auswandern, verlieren ihr Deutschthum . . . aber sie werden nicht Anglo-Amerikaner, sondern sie nehmen ein nationales amerikanisches Wesen an, zu dessen Erzeugung sie selbst viel beigetragen haben und noch täglich beitragen." German-Americans, then, were not becoming Yankees, a term he used disparagingly, but they were compelled to surrender a large portion of their national and cultural inheritance by the relentless pressures of American life. In any event, they were lost to the fatherland and could never be reclaimed. A portion of the nation's most precious resource, its people, were being lost in a permanent diaspora, he declared, and the benefits redounded only to a nation that was Germany's current competitor and potential future threat.<sup>6</sup> Having discounted the possibility that German immigrants in America possessed any value for Germany, Sartorius von Waltershausen proposed a remedy for the problem in the future.

What, then, were the factors which effected this radical transformation of immigrants from being Germans to becoming Americans? Or, put another way, what pressures did immigrants endure to cause them to abandon the patterns of a lifetime and adopt new ones? To these questions Sartorius von Waltershausen offered a variety of answers ranging from the influence of climate to the moral narrowmindedness of the descendants of the Puritans. Three major forces stand out in his litany of baneful American influences: first, the social status of women in New World society; second, the corrupting influence of the English language; and third and most important, the pervasive and all-consuming pressures of American economic life.

If anything truly shocked Sartorius von Waltershausen during his stay in the United States, it was the role that women played in American society. There was no doubt in his mind that American women had abdicated their traditional roles as wives and mothers, guardians of the hearth and home, and had assumed radically different and profoundly disturbing functions. He attributed this transformation to the population imbalance which favored women. Unlike the sex ratios in European



societies, women were outnumbered, primarily due to the immigration of males. As a result, men had to compete for single women and the women, in turn, had parlayed that position into privilege. American women knew what rights were but had no notion of duties. Sartorius von Waltershausen quoted approvingly an article in *Die Kölnische Zeitung* which claimed that American women were not partners for their husbands, but rather served as high-class furniture, half toy, half substitute for everything else lacking in American life. American women were dreadful cooks, were insufficiently interested in properly educating their children or undertaking any hard labor to help their husbands. He did concede that the availability of opportunities for men mitigated the necessity of women working, but the results were negative just the same.<sup>7</sup>

If they were not cooking, helping their husbands or properly raising their children, how were American women occupying their time? Why, he noted sarcastically, busying themselves with literature and religion, entertaining guests and agitating over voting rights and temperance. Apparently the women's rights movement in America was sufficiently well known in Germany, and deemed sufficiently scandalous, that he could simply dismiss it as against the laws of nature, and hence doomed to failure. But he regaled his readers with what must have seemed barely credible tales of women temperance agitators:

Mehrere hundert Frauen unter der Führung eines Reverend durchziehen, geistliche Lieder singend, die Städte, belagern die Bier- und Schnapssalons oder dringen in sie ein und singen und beten dort so lange, bis nach ihrer Meinung der Trunk- und Spielteufel ausgetrieben ist.<sup>8</sup>

By German standards, the temperance movement represented the worst of American hypocrisy, stupidity and Yankee moral rigidity. He cited the example of prohibition in Kansas which had driven out moderate beer drinking by closing the saloons and encouraged illicit consumption of hard liquor instead. Participation in such obviously wrong-headed campaigns did American women no good, he believed.

The distorted role of American women had little impact on the first generation of German immigrant women. They continued to function as *Hausfrauen* and helpmates for their husbands. But the generation born on American soil, or single German males who took American wives, conformed to American experience. If the naturally mandated folkways and customs which regulated relationships between the sexes could be swept aside within a single generation, what hope could remain for preserving less fundamental German patterns?

The pressure to conform to the usage of English, he maintained, was a second, critical force in wiping out German culture and traditions. He estimated the number of Germans and their descendants on American soil at ten million. Of that number, half did not speak German at all, a quarter still spoke the language reasonably well, but fewer than ten percent paid any attention to the literature of the homeland. In his words, "Die erste Generation spricht und versteht Deutsch, die zweite versteht



es noch, die dritte hat beides verlernt." This was not proof, as was sometimes maintained, that German-Americans were becoming like Yankees. Quite the contrary, he insisted. All immigrants were made to feel sensitive to the charge that they spoke English badly, with a heavy accent or barely at all. Experiencing firsthand what a stigma and handicap imperfect command of English really meant, the first generation felt bound and determined that their children would speak English well, perhaps at the cost of not learning the language of the parents. This pattern did not constitute voluntary assimilation, but rather a coerced conformity on both first and second generations. Oftentimes German immigrants, especially those drawn from the lower classes, did not speak proper German anyway, Sartorius von Waltershausen observed. It was less of a linguistic sacrifice, then, to abandon whatever dialect form they spoke and resort to English as a common language for all, immigrant and native alike.<sup>9</sup>

Sartorius von Waltershausen cited linguistic authorities in the 1880s who claimed that 600 words were all that was necessary to get by in English; bare competence in German, in contrast, required the knowledge of 2,000 words. The grammar and syntax, in comparison with German, was primitive, and it required less thought and effort to express oneself in English. On the other hand, though not a beautiful language, English was convenient, practical and powerful. It worked especially well in business, law and for practical, everyday affairs. And it was absolutely necessary for anyone who wanted to prosper economically and claim a share of the country's fabled wealth. Railroads and telegraph lines had had the effect of binding the distant corners of a vast land together, wiping out regional differences, obliterating the isolation of non-English speaking colonies of immigrants such as the Russian-Germans of Kansas, or the indigenous Spanish-speaking settlements of Florida or the Southwest. The use of English amounted to an irresistible force in producing a homogenous American culture. Despite the presence of 640 German-language newspapers and magazines, German instruction in the public schools in some states, German spoken from the pulpit, the growth of German language sections in public libraries, all was to no avail. The voice foretelling the extinction of the German community in America spoke the English language, the single most significant inheritance from the original colonizing power, the British.<sup>10</sup>

The most important involuntary and irresistible force, his third influence on German-Americans, was the compulsion of economic life. For Sartorius von Waltershausen America was the land of "economic man" where capitalist industrialization was unfettered by resistance from traditional sectors or by a culture hostile to change. "In Amerika ist alles durch und durch modern," he explained, where economic principles governed society to a far greater degree than in Germany or the rest of Europe. A few miles outside Paris, Lisbon or Berlin, people practiced traditional agriculture and followed ancient crafts by techniques little changed since the Middle Ages. None of these ways survived in the New World. In economic matters Great Britain was no longer the model



for Western Europe, for the label "Made in America" was beginning to show up in European markets. Indeed the entire fabric of European rural society was being disrupted by the flood of cheap American grain and meat imports.<sup>11</sup> As an economist, Sartorius von Waltershausen could admire the economic progress he saw in the United States; but as an educated and patriotic German he could only be dismayed by America's progress as an economic rival and by the prospect of the future upheavals that economic change was bringing to Germany as well.

In a very direct way he could witness the impact of untrammelled industrialization on German immigrants. In simple matters of food and clothing, German-Americans had adopted New World ways. Hand-made clothing was the mark of wealth in America; everyone else made do with the ready-made article produced by increased division of labor in major garment centers like New York and Chicago. The regional and stylistic variety which prevailed in Germany was obliterated by a standardized and boring American national costume. Only in the brewing of beer would German immigrants find a product similar to what they had enjoyed in the fatherland. Indeed beer was one example of the Germans' contribution to an emerging national American taste. Immigrants faced the most powerful of transforming processes when they faced their first critical need in the New World, employment. "Es wird schnell und tüchtig gemacht" in America. A man devoted body and soul to his work. The impact on immigrants was clear:

Kauft der Deutsche eine Farm, so muß er mit derselben Energie ans Werk gehen, wie die bereits Angesessenen, falls er seine Producte preiswürdig verwerthen will. Nimmt er Stellung in einer Fabrik, so muß er die Maschine ebenso schnell besorgen können als die vor ihm schon angestellten Arbeiter, wenn er auf denselben Lohn wie diese rechnen will. Da nun das ganze amerikanische Volk energisch arbeitet, so bleibt dem Ankömmling nichts übrig, als sich darin zu fügen.

Long breaks for mid-morning breakfasts, as in Germany, were unheard of in America, and the boss allowed no extra time for workers to light up pipes and socialize. The extended conversations of German craft workers about how things might best be done were unknown in the New World. Economic survival dictated to German immigrants the necessity of incorporating the virtues of hard work, American style.<sup>12</sup>

There were, in fact, admirable American traits which Germans at home might well emulate, Sartorius von Waltershausen reflected. In addition to working hard, Americans were practical, disciplined, realistic and motivated. They sought the most efficient means of performing tasks, pressed the division of labor to its utmost extent and substituted machinery for hand labor whenever possible. The net result was an output of goods and mass production at low per unit cost that should win the envy of Germany and other Western nations. The entrepreneurial spirit in America wandered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Red River Valley of the Dakotas to the Gulf of Mexico encountering no restrictive national borders or natural enemies. The Yankees' restless



talent for speculation had astounded the world by rebuilding Chicago from the ashes since 1871, crisscrossing a continent with endless miles of railroad lines and constructing the giant Eads Bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. The enormous expanse of territory and abundant natural resources combined with a comparatively small population and low population density had provided a wide arena for the entrepreneurial spirit to make itself manifest and bring ample opportunity for the masses. Parenthetically, he believed that the closing of the frontier and taking up of fertile farm land might lead to an age of fewer opportunities than were present in the 1880s.<sup>13</sup>

Of course the reverse side of the coin could be considerably less attractive, and it was this side that pressed all newcomers. The work was so intense that little time remained for leisure, for self-improvement or for attention to family life. The neglect of American children's education stemmed in part from the father's exhaustion after work; at an early age young men and boys gave up the preoccupations of youth to thrust themselves into the competitive world. Even the Sunday blue laws, so despised by German immigrants, could be justified by the need for at least one day of total rest. In its exaggerated form, the incessant demands of efficiency and hard work were downright unhealthful, leading to nervous breakdowns, premature aging and a variety of physical disorders. Americans became so used to the stimulation of unceasing activity that they could seldom enjoy much-deserved retirement. Among many Americans, there was little to distinguish between what he termed "the energetic and heedless pursuit of wealth" and sheer greed. Simple pleasures gave way to provide more time to think about more ways of making money. For singing, dancing, art and poetry, he lamented, there was nothing left over from the money, talent and attention devoted to starting up new businesses.<sup>14</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen wished to warn potential emigrants against this dark side of American life. But to the extent that the dark side was a consequence of industrialization as a general process, his warnings were directed to his fellow Germans at home and were consistent with the social reform message of the Verein für Sozialpolitik.

Finally his warnings touched on another concern of the Verein, colonization. Sartorius von Waltershausen applauded Bismarck's quest for German colonies abroad in the 1880s, in part because of the fate of German-Americans. If the German population was indeed so large that it required emigration, then let it be to German colonies, not the United States. The German colonists could retain language, customs and, most important, continue to serve the fatherland. Irrationally and wastefully, imperial Germany was frittering away its most valuable possession, its people, for the benefit of the United States and other countries. Not coincidentally an earlier version of his essay, "The Future of the German Community in the United States," had been delivered as a talk in Göttingen in 1884 to the Kolonialverein, a small but influential organization of colonial promoters, academicians and businessmen.<sup>15</sup>

As a commentator on American life the views of Sartorius von Waltershausen were enlightened by rigorous social scientific training



but also constrained by the limitations of the national school's perspectives, by his loyalty to the German Reich and by his own class background. Like the vast majority of the German professoriat then, his family had served in the upper reaches of the civil service and had been ennobled for its efforts. American egalitarianism and the absence of an officially acknowledged intelligentsia or permanent civil service class aroused European apprehensions about the leveling tendencies at work in this "model" industrial society; the apprehension, in turn, often lent an air of condescension to the remarks of European visitors. Clearly his remarks on American women betray a concern that German women, as well, might follow in the footsteps of their American sisters and depart from traditional norms. Regarding his other observations, the cultural relativism that has matured in the century since he wrote would dismiss as unfounded his claims of superiority for German language, family life or culture. On the other hand, he foresaw clearly that German-Americans would lose their linguistic tradition despite German-language newspapers and a host of institutions which attempted to protect and preserve it. Most important, he grasped the power of the forces which were propelling the United States headlong into the twentieth century and toward economic superiority in the Western world. From the standpoint of an economic analyst, that emerging strength fascinated him; as a citizen of the German Reich who was alert to great power competition in the decades before World War I, he viewed that strength with misgivings. If the competition was, in economic terms, a zero-sum game, only one contender could emerge as the winner.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to acknowledge Walter Struve, Mitchell Ash, Reinhard Flessner, Rolf Breuer and especially Stephen Bailey for reading and commenting on the manuscript. Henry T. Tuckerman, *America and Her Commentators* (New York, 1864) 302-03 for Alexander von Humboldt's comment. Shepard B. Clough and Theodore F. Marburg, *The Economic Basis of American Civilization* (New York, 1968) 262. On the change from political to economic commentary in the post-Civil War era see John G. Brooks, *As Others See Us: A Study of Progress in the U.S.* (New York, 1909) 129-33, and R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York, 1970) 25-81. Manfred Jonas, *The United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History* (Ithaca, NY, 1984) discusses how commercial, economic and imperial rivalry altered German-American relations in the late 19th century in ch. 2, "The Great Transformation." On the prestige of German academic training, see Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1965) 1-52.

<sup>2</sup> On the family background of August Sartorius von Waltershausen, see entries on his father and grandfather in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 30 (Berlin, 1890) 389-95. For his career and academic output, see *Kürschners deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* (Berlin, 1926) 1643, *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums, 1700-1910* (Munich, 1984) and the bibliography in his *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815-1914* (Jena, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> On the historical school, see Howard D. Marshall, *The Great Economists: A History of Economic Thought* (New York, 1967), ch. 8, and Herbst 129-53.

<sup>4</sup> Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918* (Dover, NH, 1985) is the latest synthesis of critical themes for this era. For discussions of the Verein, see Heinz Gollwitzer, *Europe in the Age of Imperialism, 1880-1914* (London, 1969) 134, and James J.



Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966), chs. 3-4. On the concept of social imperialism, see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1984) 68-90. On the founding of the American Economic Association, see Benjamin Rader, *The Academic Mind and Reform: The Influence of Richard Ely in American Life* (Lexington, KY, 1966), chs. 1-2, and *The American Economic Review* 75.4 (Dec. 1985).

<sup>5</sup> On American economic development in the Gilded Age, see Carl N. Degler, *The Age of Economic Revolution, 1876-1900* (Glenview, IL, 1975), Peter Temin, *Causal Factors in American Growth in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), and Barry W. Poulson, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1981) chs. 9-17 for a sampling of the literature on this subject. German economic development during the late 19th century has received, if anything, even more attention among historians recently. In English, in addition to the works cited above by Wehler and Mommsen, see Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichroeder and the Building of the German Empire* (New York, 1977), ch. 7 and Karl Erich Born, "Structural Changes in German Social and Economic Development at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in James J. Sheehan, ed., *Imperial Germany* (New York, 1976) 16-38. In German, two seminal works are by Hans Rosenberg, *Große Depression und Bismarckzeit* (Berlin, 1967), and Helmut Boehme, *Deutschlands Weg zur Großmacht* (Cologne, 1966), while Hermann Kellenbenz, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Munich, 1981) draws on much of the older literature. The work by von Peez is cited in Sheehan, *The Career* 108 and Stead's work is discussed briefly in Geoffrey Barraclough, *Introduction to Contemporary History* (London, 1967) 99.

<sup>6</sup> August Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft des Deutschthums in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1885) 6-8. For the literature on emigration as a German social problem, see David Luebke, "German Exodus: Historical Perspectives on the Nineteenth-Century Emigration," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 20 (1985): 1-17.

<sup>7</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen 11, 13-18. The characteristics of American women fairly frequently attracted the notice of European visitors. See, for example, Brooks, *As Others See Us* 36-37, 51-53, 175, 209, 258.

<sup>8</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen 19-23. For a more sympathetic view of the women's movement in America in the late 19th century, see William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America* (Chicago, 1971) 3-106. The German women's movement in the 1880s was just beginning to have its influence felt and had not yet begun to demand suffrage rights. See, for example, Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany, 1894-1933* (London, 1976) 1-71, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., "Frauen in der Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 7 (1981).

<sup>9</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen 33-35.

<sup>10</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen 33-38.

<sup>11</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen 25. For a fuller statement of his views, see *Die nordamerikanischen Gewerkschaften unter dem Einfluß der fortschreitenden Productionstechnik* (Berlin, 1886) 3-10. On the threat of American grain imports to German, especially East Elbian, agriculture, see Gustav Stolper, *The German Economy: 1870 to the Present* (New York, 1967) 20-24, 35-37.

<sup>12</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 8-10, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 25-28. Apparently, it was not uncommon for German visitors to remark perhaps wistfully or enviously on the geographic advantages of the U.S. which gave the nation most of a continent to conquer with no powerful neighbors to contend with. See, for instance, Max Weber's speech in St. Louis at the 1904 Exposition, quoted in Mommsen, *Weber* 79.

<sup>14</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 15-16, 27, 29-31. The reputation of Americans as hard workers was widespread in the 19th century. See Brooks, *As Others See Us* 137-38.

<sup>15</sup> Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 3-4, 39-40. On the connections between German emigration and the drive for colonies in the mid-1880s, see Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), chs. 8-9. It should be pointed out that the race for colonial possessions was a general European phenomenon in the late 19th century, and the U.S. as well engaged in its own colonial pursuits especially after 1898. For an assessment of emigration, colonialism and the quest for overseas markets in Bismarck's Germany, see Dirk Hoerder, "Bedingungsfaktoren der Auslandsstudien im Deutschen Reich: Imperialismus, Auslandsdeutsche, Wirtschaft," *Gulliver* 11 (1982): 118-39.