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A Hero of Two Worlds: The 1910/11 Steuben Statues in Washington and Potsdam and German American Memory Politics

Introduction

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was one of the most significant foreign generals of the Continental Army and a hero of the American Revolution – perhaps the most unlikely one. Born into a Prussian military family in 1730, Steuben quickly rose in the ranks of the Prussian army during the Seven Years' War and even briefly served as an aide-de-camp to King Friedrich II. After a largely unsuccessful employment as the court chamberlain of the financially struggling Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen in Southwestern Germany, Steuben crossed the Atlantic in 1777 to join the American rebels fighting for independence from Great Britain. Although Steuben did not speak English at the time, George Washington soon appointed him as inspector general of the Continental Army. During the winter camp at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1777/78, Steuben was instrumental in drilling and training the American troops. In 1779, he published a drill manual entitled *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, which remained in use until the War of 1812. In addition, he successfully participated in the battles of Monmouth in 1778 and Yorktown in 1781. After the war, Steuben became an American citizen, was honorably discharged from the army, and retired to Oneida County in upstate New York where he died in 1794.¹

As with other central figures of the American Revolution, a retrospective mythification and a utilization as a political icon have been defining features of the public commemoration of Steuben since the nineteenth century. His German-Prussian roots predestined Steuben to become a symbol of German-

American friendship, which is frequently invoked by politicians on both sides of the Atlantic to this day. Perhaps even more importantly, Steuben also emerged as the preeminent historical patron of German Americans. The Steuben Society of America, founded in 1919, has served as an advocacy group of German American interests for decades. Since 1957, German Americans have held the famous Steuben Parade in New York City, which draws thousands of visitors every year.² However, in contrast to the extensive scholarship dedicated to Steuben and his role in the Revolutionary War, historians have largely neglected the history of this Steuben commemoration.³ Jürgen Brüstle has recently called attention to this gap in historiography.⁴ Apart from an older overview article by Hartmut Lehmann, little has been written on the commemoration, heroization, mythification, and political use of Steuben after his death in 1794.⁵

By investigating the history of the two bronze statues of Steuben erected in Washington, D.C. and Potsdam, this article seeks to broaden our understanding of Steuben's public afterlife and its intersection with German American demands for political recognition and inclusion. The statue in Washington, unveiled on December 7, 1910, in close proximity to the White House, arguably represents the most visible and prestigious manifestation of German Americans' admiration for Steuben. The unveiling ceremony was among the largest German American political gatherings of the early twentieth century. The original idea went back to a German American congressional initiative from 1902. An exact replica of the Washington statue was later erected in Potsdam and unveiled on September 2, 1911, with the German Emperor Wilhelm II in attendance. It was the first public monument to Steuben in Germany and was presented as an official diplomatic gift from the United States to the German Empire – again initiated by German Americans in Congress.

Through the two statues, German Americans did not just express their admiration for Steuben and his achievements during the Revolutionary War. The statues were inextricably linked to a political demand for public representation and official recognition of the German American ethnic community. Perceiving the German American community as facing crisis and decline in the early twentieth century, German American ethnic leaders utilized the Steuben statues to publicly assert the social status of German Americans and to gain broader political and social recognition – in the United States but also in Germany. The initiative for the Washington statue was rooted in the belief that publicly honoring Steuben also served as a recognition of and tribute to the German American community as a whole. By inscribing Steuben, and by extension German Americans, into national American history and by claiming the prestigious space of the national capital, German

American ethnic leaders sought to secure their status within American society, but also to strengthen German American group identity. As an official and lasting recognition of German Americans through the United States government, the Washington Steuben statue was arguably the highpoint of the German American Steuben myth. With the gift of a replica to Germany, this venture in ethnic memory politics moved onto the diplomatic stage, shifting the German American recognition demand toward their ancestral homeland. In Washington, German Americans sought to affirm their status within American society. In Potsdam, the Steuben statue served to remind their old fatherland of German Americans' achievements abroad.

In describing the common admiration of Steuben and the popular narrative constructed around him as a myth, the article builds on two conceptualizations of myths. On the one hand, it refers to Heike Bungert's understanding of myths as collectively remembered forms of expression that narratively connect the present with the past to reduce complexities, to legitimize actions in the present, and to create and reinforce contemporary group identities.⁶ More specifically the article builds on the concept of homemaking myths as developed by Orm Øverland. He discusses how European immigrant groups used historical narratives, homemaking myths, to justify their own presence in the United States and to claim equal status within American society. According to Øverland, American society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries functioned as a hierarchy of different ethnic groups. Through the strong assimilation pressure exerted by Anglo-Saxons, who were at the top of that hierarchy, other ethnic groups were forced to compete for status and acceptance. In this competition, European immigrant communities attempted to prove their Americanness by demonstrating their contributions to the American nation. To Øverland, history was the central battle ground on which this competition was carried out. As almost all European immigrant groups developed such narrative strategies to gain and secure acceptance in American society, homemaking myths are, according to Øverland, an "essential feature of American ethnicity in this period."⁷

Prominent historical individuals, called ethnic heroes by Øverland, were an integral part of most homemaking myths. The achievements and successes of these figures, also called "Kulturheroen" by other scholars, were projected - *pars pro toto* - onto the entire group.⁸ Furthermore, Øverland identifies three distinct types of homemaking myths. Claims to status and recognition could be based on a long-standing presence in North America, exceptional achievements or significant suffering endured for the United States, typically in the context of war, or cultural contributions to the American nation.⁹ The history of Steuben, the quintessential German American ethnic hero, could be

told in all three varieties of homemaking myths described by Øverland. Since he participated in the American Revolution, references to Steuben could serve as a reminder of the long-lasting presence of Germans in the United States. As a war hero, Steuben could symbolize the suffering for and commitment to the United States that German Americans had demonstrated. And, as the Drillmaster General of Valley Forge, Steuben could be connected to values like discipline or perseverance, which many German Americans claimed as their contribution to the American national character.

Øverland further argues that historians have tended to dismiss many of these ethnic history narratives as one-sided, romanticized historical fabrications. However, he maintains that these narratives should themselves be historicized and understood as expressions of an intrinsically political demand for inclusion in American society.¹⁰ In other words, Øverland calls on historians not to dismiss these narratives as mere folklore or curiosities but to recognize the profound cultural desire and political demand of belonging to the American nation that ethnic minorities expressed through them. Building on Øverland's argument, this article analyzes the role that German American demands for acceptance and belonging to the American nation played in the erection of the Steuben statues, which can be understood as the physical manifestation of the German American homemaking myth constructed around Steuben. Furthermore, the article seeks to broaden the analytical scope of Øverland's concept of homemaking myths. The intertwined history of the two Steuben statues in Washington and Potsdam demonstrates that the identity constructions and recognition demands, which these myths entailed, could also encompass a transnational dimension. While primarily aimed at American society, the German American Steuben myth also travelled to German Americans' ancestral homeland. In this process, the myth was subject to a complex process of rearrangement and reinterpretation through different actors. German Americans did not just extend their recognition demand or redirect it towards Germany, the Imperial German government simultaneously co-opted the German American homemaking myth and converted Steuben from a symbol of German American achievements in the United States to a general symbol of German-American friendship that served the diplomatic interests of the Empire.

Like the history of the commemoration of Steuben in general, the events surrounding the Steuben statues have so far only been a marginal topic in historical research. The statues are mentioned in passing in several works on the history of German Americans and German-American diplomatic relations, or in compilations of historical monuments.¹¹ In a National Park Service brochure, William Richards takes an art historical perspective and focuses primarily on the selection of the statue model and sculptor.¹² In addition,

Rainer Lambrecht has authored a detailed but largely descriptive brochure.¹³ What is lacking is a careful reconstruction of the political processes that led to the erection of the two statues and a thorough analysis of the motives of the main political actors, especially German American ethnic leaders. Moreover, the history of the statues needs to be integrated into the longer history of the public commemoration of Steuben. To achieve this, the article first examines the longer history of Steuben's public commemoration among German Americans, providing the historical context for the Washington Steuben statue. The following sections deal with the political processes that produced the two statues in Washington and Potsdam.

As outlined, this essay is specifically concerned with the political interpretation of the meaning of these statues for German Americans. To approach these interpretations, the essay focuses on the German American ethnic leaders who were the driving forces of the two statue projects. The perspectives of political and diplomatic actors from the American and German governments at the time are also considered but are not at the center of analysis. While not necessarily representative of the entire German American ethnic community, the formulation and dissemination of the political and social demands of any ethnic community usually fell to community leaders like journalists, pastors, businessmen, or politicians. They formed an elite of ethnic brokers who acted as intermediaries between the perceptual worlds of the majority society and their ethnic community.¹⁴ In the case of the Steuben statues, Richard Bartholdt, the Republican congressman from St. Louis who initiated the legislative processes, and the leadership of the National German American Alliance (NGAA) were the central actors.

Bartholdt was born in Thuringia in 1855 and emigrated to the United States in 1872. He was editor in chief of the St. Louis Tribune before his election to Congress in 1892. Apart from international peace and arbitration politics, his main political concerns revolved around German Americans. Bartholdt understood himself as the congressional voice of German America. A large German American voting bloc that began to form mainly in the heavily German-populated Midwest in the late nineteenth century formed a core part of the constituency of Bartholdt and other Republicans. In his advocacy of German American interests, Bartholdt cooperated closely with the NGAA.¹⁵ The Alliance was founded in October 1901 with a twofold aim. On the one hand it sought to foster cohesion within the German American community by providing a unifying roof to the varied landscape of German American social clubs and associations. On the other hand, the NGAA acted as a political lobby organization for common German American demands. Greatly aided by the political support organized by figures like Bartholdt, the NGAA could secure official congressional recognition in 1907.¹⁶ Despite

its large membership of over two million in 1909, the NGAA was mostly an organization of the German American middle class. Cultural and economic elites, but also the German American working class were underrepresented in the organization.¹⁷



Fig. 1: Richard Bartholdt in 1913 (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, photograph by Harris & Ewing, [reproduction number LC-DIG-hec-02075]).

The Steuben Myth and the Crisis of German America

To understand why German American ethnic leaders came to advocate for the erection of a Steuben statue in Washington in the early twentieth century, three interrelated historical contexts must be considered: the longer history of the German American Steuben myth, the broader turn to ethnic history in the late nineteenth century, and the perceived crisis facing German America. From its origins in the mid-nineteenth century, the public commemoration of Steuben and his achievements during the Revolutionary War was heavily intertwined with German American attempts to improve and secure the status of the German American community within American society at large. This entanglement of historiography, mythification, and ethnic politics was already evident in the first Steuben biography, published by Friedrich Kapp in German in 1858 and in English the following year.¹⁸ He rediscovered Steuben as a topic of historical interest and laid the groundwork for the subsequent Steuben myth. Kapp, a liberal Forty-Eighter, who emigrated to the United States after the failed revolution in Europe, explicitly pursued political aims with his historical biographies of German American figures like Steuben and later Johann de Kalb.¹⁹ Like other Forty-Eighters, he intended to raise historical consciousness among his fellow German Americans and to equip them with a historical defense argument against the aggressive Know-Nothing nativism of the 1850s.²⁰ In the introduction of his Steuben biography, Kapp wrote:

Durch Umstände und Ereignisse, deren Bestimmung nicht von meinem guten Willen abhing, gezwungen, vorläufig im Auslande zu leben, habe ich, seit ich mich in den Vereinigten Staaten aufhalte, mit besonderer Vorliebe in der Geschichte dieses Landes die direkten und indirekten Einwirkungen Europa's auf die Gestaltung der hiesigen Republik studiert. Die nativistische Bewegung, die vor einigen Jahren mit ungezogener Heftigkeit als früher sich wieder an die Oberfläche des öffentlichen Lebens drängte, führte mich unwillkürlich zu jenen Fremden, welche die Unabhängigkeit der Vereinigten Staaten begründen halfen und durch ihre uneigennütigen Thaten den Nachkommen jener Unabhängig gewordenen einen beschämenden Spiegel vorhalten. Steuben ist Einer der hervorragendsten unter diesen Fremden ...²¹

As a result of his hagiographic intent, his political aims, and the limited collection of sources that Kapp consulted, the book reproduced many legends and half-truths, some of which Steuben had invented himself. For example, Kapp significantly overplayed Steuben's achievements in the Prussian army during the Seven Years' War. Kapp had little information about Steuben's life in Europe and thus followed the account that Steuben had himself propagated after his arrival in the United States. Similarly, Kapp's assessment of Steuben as Washington's most important general and advisor was overstated.²² Nevertheless, he achieved his goal of rescuing "den braven Steuben ... vom Scheintode," and his book remained the authoritative Steuben biography well into the twentieth century.²³

The influence of Kapp's book also ensured that the hagiographic focus and historical inaccuracy of his Steuben narrative heavily featured in the following wave of German American Steuben admiration. Whereas attempts to erect a monument at Steuben's burial place in Oneida County, New York found only sluggish support among German Americans in the 1850s and 1860s, Steuben soon rose to the status of the most beloved German American ethnic hero.²⁴ German American writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century competed with each other in their exuberant praises of Steuben and canonized him as the ideal German American. Hardly any of the many compendia amassing German contributions and achievements in American history failed to assign a prominent position to Steuben. And almost all of them adopted Kapp's assessment that, after Washington, Steuben had been the most important general of the Continental Army.²⁵ As Hartmut Lehmann summarized, "Kein nach Amerika ausgewanderter Deutscher wurde im späten 19. und im 20. Jahrhundert in ähnlicher Weise heroisiert und zu einer Symbolfigur für gute deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen hochstilisiert wie er."²⁶

The establishment of Steuben as a historical patron of German Americans was part of a larger trend. In the late nineteenth century, a new, ethnically centered historical consciousness developed among many immigrant groups in the United States – not just among German Americans. This renewed emphasis on ethnic history was a reaction to the Whiggish narratives centered around Anglo-Saxonism that dominated most accounts of American national history in the wake of the American centennial celebrations of 1876. As a counterreaction, many ethnic historians felt prompted to highlight the historical contributions of non-Anglo-Saxons to the American nation.²⁷ The movement was mostly sustained by amateur historians and chroniclers who gathered in newly founded ethnic historical societies.²⁸ In the German American case, the bicentennial of the founding of Germantown in Pennsylvania, celebrated in 1883, was a key event for the consolidation of

German American historical consciousness. Often adhering to the motto “Germania’s contribution to the land of Columbia,” annual German Day celebrations became a fixture in the German American celebratory calendar afterwards and frequently included tributes to Steuben.²⁹ In this sense, the homemaking myth constructed around Steuben was only one part – albeit a crucial one – of a larger turn to German American ethnic history as a political tool to foster group cohesion and to improve the political and social status of the German American ethnic community.

The NGAA was especially active in this field. Many later leaders of the Alliance participated in the foundation of the Philadelphia-based German American Historical Society in 1901. Its journal *German American Annals* later also functioned as the Alliance’s official organ. To reach a broader readership, the NGAA also printed and distributed popular books and pamphlets on German American history.³⁰ Statues and monuments were another crucial element in the NGAA’s endeavor to popularize German American history. They allowed German Americans to create lasting spaces of memory as physical manifestations of their historical narratives that would address both the German American community and American society at large.³¹ Mirroring Kapp’s assessment of Steuben’s military prowess, NGAA-President Charles Hexamer summarized in 1907,

Ferner muss durch Monumente in Erinnerung gebracht werden, was der Deutsche in der amerikanischen Geschichte bedeutet, und dass es neben einem Barry und einem Lafayette auch einen Steuben, einen De Kalb, einen Mühlenberg und einen Herchheimer gegeben hat, denn nichts wirkt so wie öffentlicher Anschauungsunterricht.³²

Lastly, a widespread perception of crisis and decline among German American community leaders, such as Bartholdt and the NGAA leadership, provided another context for the Steuben statue initiative in the early twentieth century. This crisis notion among German American ethnic leaders was caused by three fundamental changes that occurred at the time. First, a dramatic drop in the number of newly arriving immigrants had interrupted the fairly steady influx that had sustained and enlarged the German American community for decades. According to the census, 1,445,181 individuals migrated from Germany to the United States between 1880 and 1889 (27.5% of total immigration). Around the turn of the century, this figure fell to 579,072 (15.7%, 1890-1899) and to 328,722 (4.0%, 1900-1909).³³ Second, the assimilation pressure on all ethnic minorities increased as suspicion against so-called “hyphenated Americans” grew in the wake of a strong nativist resurgence. Third, the increasing assimilation of second- and third-generation

German Americans and the gradual dissolution of many urban ethnic enclaves, so-called “little Germanies,” reinforced the feeling of decline among German American community leaders.³⁴

In the wake of this widespread perception of crisis, many German Americans discussed questions of individual and collective identity with increased urgency. German American community leaders sought internal and external affirmation for the German American community by strongly underlining their ethnic identity. German American ethnic identity has historically been composed of three interrelated, yet sometimes competing elements: German, American, and German American identity constructions. At the turn of the century, the complex relationship between these three components was readjusted. Simultaneously, expressions of German patriotism, American patriotism, and references to independent German Americanism became more frequent among German Americans. Bungert characterizes this process as a “dreifache Nationalisierung.”³⁵

In several respects, Steuben was well suited to serve as the historical icon of this threefold readjustment of German American ethnic identity. Following Kapp's narrative, Steuben appeared as a military disciple of Friedrich II and could thus be integrated into existing forms of German group identity like Prussian-German militarism, monarchism, and German nationalism. As the Drillmaster General of Washington's Continental Army, his status as a hero of the American Revolution was indisputable and allowed German Americans to express their patriotism and loyalty to the United States through their admiration of Steuben. Lastly, Steuben was himself a German who had become an American citizen and could thus serve as an exemplary patron of German Americans in general. In this light, it is unsurprising that Bartholdt and the NGAA focused on Steuben as a figure through which to strengthen German American historical consciousness, particularly as a response to the perceived crisis of German America.

Homemaking: The Washington Steuben Statue

Since 1834, the open rectangular space north of the White House in Washington, D.C. has been known as Lafayette Square, named to honor the Marquis de Lafayette, who died in Paris that same year. After a statue of Andrew Jackson had been added to the square's center in 1853, a bronze statue of Lafayette followed in the southeastern corner in 1891. In the early twentieth century, the remaining corners were filled with statues of Lafayette's foreign comrades in arms, gradually transforming Lafayette Square into a pantheon of European heroes of the Revolutionary War. A statue of the Comte de Rochambeau was unveiled in the southwest corner on May 24,

1902, followed by a statue of Tadeusz Kościuszko in the northeast corner on May 11, 1910. Finally, on December 7, 1910, the statue of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was unveiled in the northwest corner.³⁶

The political processes of erecting the last three statues were intricately entangled. Preparations for the unveiling of the Rochambeau statue, a gift from the French government, were in full swing by the spring of 1902. The statue was intended to celebrate both Rochambeau and the traditional French-American friendship.³⁷ The involvement of France, however, brought Germany to the scene. Envious of its rival neighbor and in dire need to broaden its diplomatic margin of maneuver, the German Empire applied a policy known as *Schmeichelpolitik* in German scholarship: a policy of flattery that aimed at winning the United States as an ally. As a first measure of *Schmeichelpolitik*, Prince Heinrich, Emperor Wilhelm's younger brother, had paid an official visit to the United States early in 1902. As a second step, a statue of King Friedrich II of Prussia was announced as a gift to the United States on May 14, 1902 – only days before the unveiling of the Rochambeau statue. The German announcement and especially the gift itself – the statue of a European monarch – caused considerable uproar and met with reservation and hostility in Congress and among the American public. Eventually, President Roosevelt decided to accept the gift but ensured that the statue was placed out of public view on the campus of the newly constructed War Academy in 1904.³⁸ By early 1902, the first steps towards erecting the Kościuszko statue had also been initiated. Republican Congressmen James H. Southard and Abraham Lincoln Brick had introduced a bill to the House of Representatives proposing the erection of an equestrian statue of Kazimierz Pułaski. The bill was backed by the Polish National Alliance (PNA) and later coupled with a proposal for the Kościuszko statue, also sponsored by the Alliance.³⁹

Amid this series of statue proposals, announcements, and unveilings, Richard Bartholdt introduced “A bill for the erection of an equestrian statue to the memory of Baron Steuben at Washington, D.C.” to the House of Representatives on May 22, 1902.⁴⁰ As Bartholdt explained retrospectively, the idea was inspired by the other statues:

When in 1893 I first came to Washington as a Representative I looked around for some visible sign of official recognition of the German element and its history on American soil. There was nothing to be found. One day, standing in front of the White House and looking over to Lafayette Square I noticed that the two nearest corners of that beautiful little park were occupied by statues of Lafayette and Rochambeau. France being doubly honored I asked myself, why should

not future generations also be reminded of what men of German blood had contributed to the cause of American independence?⁴¹

Bartholdt claims that he wrote and introduced the Steuben bill immediately after reading Kapp's biography of the Prussian general.⁴² However, this retrospective account is likely inaccurate, as the Rochambeau statue was unveiled only two days after Bartholdt introduced his bill, and nearly a decade after he first arrived in Congress in 1893. The role that the German statue announcement, made about a week earlier, played in Bartholdt's decision remains unclear. Given the poor reception of the German statue announcement in the American public, the other statue projects carried out in 1902, and the general context of German American ethnic memory politics, it is plausible that Bartholdt felt compelled to introduce a German American initiative into the competition – one that he believed stood a higher chance of success than the Friedrich statue proposed by Germany. German officials, on the other hand, were initially very skeptical of Bartholdt's project. Ambassador Theodor von Holleben reported to Berlin: "Natürlich wird daraus auch bis auf Weiteres nichts."⁴³

Bartholdt's bill was referred to the Committee on the Library, which produced a favorable report on the proposal:

As Baron Steuben rendered such great services to our Nation and received for them such small reward, the committee feels confident that Congress and the country will esteem it a privilege at this late day to rear to him this monument of its gratitude.⁴⁴

The report cited Kapp as its primary source of historical information and acknowledged that

a century and a quarter have passed since Frederick William Augustus Henry Ferdinand Von Steuben, or Baron Steuben, as he is more commonly called, came to America to offer his services to the young Republic struggling for existence, and yet the Nation that he served so well has done practically nothing to indicate that it appreciates those services.⁴⁵

Bartholdt attributed this "failure of history" to the fact that Steuben had worked "behind the scenes" of the Revolutionary War and therefore had fallen behind "Washington and the dash and daring of other leaders" in

public memory – a thinly veiled contempt of the Rochambeau, Kościuszko, and Pułaski statue projects, but also a clear allusion to Kapp.⁴⁶

Immediately after the bill regarding the Pułaski statue was read in the House on June 1, 1902, Democrat William Sulzer of New York proposed merging it with the pending Steuben proposal. Bartholdt supported this motion, asserting, “They were both great Revolutionary heroes, and France has been recognized in statues for Lafayette and Rochambeau, and the Poles are to be recognized in a monument for Pulaski, and I ask that these two bills be passed together.”⁴⁷ As his wording reveals, Bartholdt understood the statue primarily as a tribute to German Americans and their achievements, just as a Pułaski statue would be a recognition of Polish Americans. This interpretation of the two statues as recognition of ethnic minority groups and their contributions to the United States was not limited to German American or Polish American representatives but was widely shared during the House debates. Republican James Hemenway of Indiana, for example, offered a similar interpretation:

Baron Steuben was only one of that sturdy, honest type of Germans who left the Fatherland to become American citizens. And loyal citizens they have been both in time of war and in time of peace. ... To the German-American citizens this country of ours is greatly indebted for its wonderful progress and for the fact that this day our beloved flag floats over the most prosperous and happy people on earth.⁴⁸

With unanimous consent, Congress passed the combined Steuben-Pułaski Bill allocating \$50,000 to each statue project. It was signed by President Roosevelt in February 1903.⁴⁹ Despite this apparently swift and smooth legislative process, Bartholdt lamented considerable reservation among his colleagues even years later:

I soon discovered that not more than one out of a dozen Congressmen knew anything about this man “Stu-ben,” but it was not long before they knew all about him and even learned to pronounce his name right. Don’t think for a moment that there was no opposition for there was. You couldn’t see or hear it, but you could feel it. In the Senate committee they tried to kill the bill by procrastination, but I gave them no rest, and so the measure was finally reported out.⁵⁰

Like Bartholdt, the NGAA was concerned about the bill's prospects and sent petitions to all senators and the president asking for their support.⁵¹ Bartholdt's recollection of the legislative process and the NGAA's petitions illustrate that, despite Steuben's status as a hero of the Revolutionary War, the passage of the statue bill was not considered to be assured by German American leaders and required considerable political effort.

Bartholdt later described the lengthy period between Roosevelt's signature and the eventual unveiling of the statue in 1910 as "a delay of 7 long years which is unaccountable to me to this day."⁵² However, this delay was not due to political reasons but rather stemmed from the protracted process of selecting a suitable sculptor and statue model. After Roosevelt's signature, a so-called Steuben Commission was formed in the Department of War. It was chaired by the Secretary, first Elihu Root, later William Howard Taft. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the preeminent American sculptor of the time, was originally commissioned but resigned in December 1904. As a result, the commission, with the advice of Saint-Gaudens, invited proposals from selected sculptors in July 1905. All six participating artists were of German descent. The three finalists all came from Saint-Gaudens's circle. In May 1906, the commission selected the model submitted by Albert Jaegers. Born in Elberfeld in 1868, Jaegers had come to the United States at a young age. He grew up in Ohio and became a self-taught sculptor before joining Saint Gaudens' school.⁵³ In May 1907, the commission approved his draft model. The approximately three-and-a-half-meter high bronze statue showed Steuben in a relaxed pose with a stern, concentrated gaze while his left hand rested on his saber. The pose, in combination with the heavy winter coat, clearly revealed that the statue showed Steuben inspecting the troops at Valley Forge. Around the base, 13 stars representing the original states were added. The House Order of Fidelity was an indication of Steuben's German origins. In addition to the statue itself, a plaque commemorating his adjutants North and Walker was placed on the back of the pedestal. Jaegers added two further bronze sculptures to be placed to the side of the pedestal depicting "military instruction" and "commemoration."⁵⁴

Before the unveiling of the Steuben statue, the statues of Kościuszko and Pułaski were unveiled in Washington, D.C. on May 11, 1910. The equestrian statue of Pułaski, located on Pennsylvania Avenue, had been approved by Congress alongside the Steuben statue. The Kościuszko statue in Lafayette Square was financed directly by the PNA. Orchestrated by the PNA, thousands of Polish Americans travelled to Washington to celebrate the unveiling of the statues.⁵⁵ Bartholdt took the Polish American celebrations as an occasion to bring another motion to the House floor. Pointing to the extraordinary size of the planned German American celebration of the Steuben statue unveiling,

he asked for an increase in the sum of \$2,500, which had been allocated in the original bill to cover the costs of the unveiling ceremonies.⁵⁶ The same amount had been approved for the Polish American celebration. Now, Bartholdt insisted that the number of German Americans expected to arrive for the Steuben celebration would clearly exceed that of the Polish Americans and thus justify an increase in the funds granted:

[I]t is proposed to make this the greatest demonstration of German-Americans that has ever taken place in the United States. I am informed that at least 50,000 people will be here as compared, perhaps, with 5,000 or 6,000 who attended when the Pulaski and Kosciuszko statues were unveiled.⁵⁷

Although Bartholdt's motion was ultimately rejected, his justification reveals not only his confidence in the number of German Americans expected at the celebrations, but it also highlights the ambiguity that German American leaders demonstrated toward both the Polish American statue project and Polish Americans in general. On the one hand, the two groups were political allies due to the merger of their statue bills in Congress, which made their respective successes mutually dependent. On the other hand, Bartholdt exhibited a keen ethnic rivalry toward the Polish American project, viewing the size and grandeur of the celebrations as a measure of the respective ethnic groups' status.⁵⁸

This sense of rivalry toward the Polish twin project was repeated by Bartholdt in an appeal to German Americans published in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* in August 1910. He declared it a

Ehrensache des amerikanischen Deutschthums, die Enthüllung des Steuben-Denkmal's zur größten Demonstration zu machen, die jemals auf amerikanischen Boden stattgefunden hat. ... Die kürzlich erfolgte Enthüllung der Denkmäler für Pulaski und Kosciuszko hatte wohl über 20,000 Polen nach der Bundeshauptstadt gebracht ... Bewußlich sollten die Deutsch-Amerikaner nicht hinter den Polen zurückbleiben, sondern womöglich in noch viel großartigerer Weise ihre Macht und Bedeutung sowohl als ihr amerikanisches Bürgerthum betonen.

Once again, Bartholdt emphasized that he understood the statue as "eine vom amerikanischen Kongreß dem deutschen Element gezollte Anerkennung." The celebrations should represent "ein Ehrenblatt in der Geschichte des Deutschthums der Ver[einigten] Staaten."⁵⁹

In preparation for the celebrations, the Steuben Commission had sent out 3,000 invitations to selected guests. In addition, numerous German American



Fig. 2: President William Howard Taft speaks at the unveiling of the Washington Steuben statue (Library of Congress [U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing: Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben]).

associations promoted the event and attempted to attract German Americans to it. At the convention of the NGAA's Pennsylvania branch in June 1910, President Hexamer underlined the overriding importance of the nearing Steuben celebrations: "An dieser nationalen Feier muss sich jeder Deutsch-Amerikaner und jede Deutsch-Amerikanerin, die es möglich machen kann, betheiligen."⁶⁰ The local NGAA branch in Washington produced a special souvenir program to serve as a guide to the festivities. It featured touristic information, brief introductions and pictures of the speakers, but above all exuberant praises of Steuben's historical achievements.⁶¹

On December 7, 1910, the day of the unveiling, snow covered the streets of Washington.⁶² A crowd of around 10,000 people, most of them German Americans, had gathered on Lafayette Square. Bartholdt was the first of the four acclaimed speakers. In his 1930 memoir, he recalled receiving several minutes of ovations before he could begin to speak.⁶³ He opened his speech with a historical tribute to Steuben calling him "one of the military godfathers of this nation" who allegedly had surpassed all other foreign generals:

History tells us that among the men who came from foreign lands there was none who rendered more valuable service to the cause of American independence than did that brave Prussian soldier whose memory a grateful country honors to-day, Baron Steuben.⁶⁴



Fig. 3: Unveiling of the Washington Steuben statue (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-08859]).

Following Kapp in his assessment of Steuben's crucial importance for the success of the Continental Army, Bartholdt again demonstrated that his sense of rivalry towards other ethnic groups, such as Polish Americans, also extended to the field of history. For the most part though, Bartholdt focused on Steuben's importance for the German American community and presented him as a German American ethnic hero:

The thousands of American citizens of German birth or descent whose presence makes this a national German-American day are not here simply because the hero we honor was of their flesh and blood. They have come because Baron Steuben has shed luster on the German name by the display of qualities and virtues which they admire, and among those none has more powerfully thrilled their hearts than his example of unswerving loyalty to America.⁶⁵ Bartholdt thus projected Steuben's unquestionable loyalty to the emerging American nation onto German Americans in general and interpreted the statue as a manifestation of German American patriotism.



Fig. 4: Helen Taft unveils the Washington Steuben statue. Bartholdt and Hexamer stand at the left (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [reproduction number LC-DIG-ggbain-08856]).

NGAA President Hexamer, like Bartholdt, praised Steuben as the most skilled foreign general of the Revolutionary War, referring to him as the “Father of the American Army.”⁶⁶ However, unlike Bartholdt, Hexamer confined his remarks to Steuben’s historical contributions, avoiding direct associations with the German American community.

Following the Northeastern Singers’ Association’s performance of the “German song,” German Ambassador Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff took the stage. Although the German Empire had not been involved in the political process leading to the statue’s erection, the fact that Bernstorff had been invited to speak underscores that the Washington Steuben statue project was also perceived as having diplomatic significance, rather than being solely a domestic American matter. Bernstorff’s speech clearly mirrored the diplomatic interests of the Empire. He highlighted Steuben’s Prussian-German origins and placed him in a direct, seemingly unbroken tradition of German American friendship reaching back to Friedrich II:

This monument will all the more be a token of the old friendship existing between the two great nations, as the United States Congress besides munificently providing for the erection of this statue, has decided to present a copy of it to the Emperor. Here and in Germany whoever regards one of the two monuments will be reminded of the ancient ties of friendship uniting him with his cousins beyond the ocean.⁶⁷

In Bernstorff’s telling, Steuben’s outstanding military abilities appear as a direct consequence of his training in the Prussian army. In this way, the ambassador linked Steuben to Prussian and thus German military traditions. The reference to Friedrich II may also be understood as an attempt at retrospective rectification of the controversy surrounding the German statue gift of 1904.

After Bernstorff’s speech, Helen Taft, the president’s daughter, unveiled the statue to the tunes of the “Star-Spangled Banner.” Bartholdt later remembered the emotionality of the moment: “few eyes remained dry.”⁶⁸ In his following speech, President Taft praised Lafayette Square as a place of remembrance not only for Steuben but for all European generals of the Revolutionary War:

We dedicate to-day the last of the monuments which fill the four corners of this beautiful square and which testify to the gratitude of the American people to those from France, from Poland, and from Prussia who aided them in their struggle for national independence and existence. Lafayette,

Rochambeau, Kosciuszko, and Von Steuben contributed much to the success of American arms in the Revolution.⁶⁹

Unlike Bartholdt and Hexamer, who had stressed Steuben's superiority, Taft made no distinction between the foreign generals of the Revolutionary War, equally honoring their contributions. The president also seized the opportunity to address German Americans and confessed that he, too, regarded the statue not only as a tribute to Steuben but also to German Americans:

When Baron Steuben came to this country he found Germans who had preceded him, and who, like him, had elected to make this their permanent home. Since this day millions of his countrymen have come to be Americans, and it adds great interest to our celebration and emphasizes the propriety of the action of Congress in erecting this statue to know that the German race since the Revolution has made so large a part of our population and played so prominent a part in the great growth and development of our country. ... The Germans who have become American citizens and their descendants may well take pride in this occasion and in this work of art, modeled by the hand of an American of German descent, which commemorates the valued contribution made by a German soldier to the cause of American freedom at the time of its birth.⁷⁰

Taft's remarks closely mirrored the interpretation of the statue put forward by German American leaders such as Bartholdt, who regarded the statue as a general recognition of German Americans. With the statue of their ethnic hero erected by Congress and lauded by the president of the United States, the status of German Americans was publicly manifested in the prestigious space of the national capitol and must have seemed secured and elevated to German American community leaders.

In the afternoon, a parade marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, comprising approximately 3,000 American soldiers, 6,000 members of German American clubs and associations, along with German veterans of the American Civil War and some German American veterans of the Franco-German War of 1870/71. In the evening, various dinners and gatherings, most of them hosted by German American associations, concluded the festivities. Bernstorff's report to Berlin mentioned "annähernd ein halbes Dutzend Festessen und Kommerse der Deutschen."⁷¹ The NGAA dinner,

attended by around 1,500 guests, was the largest of these gatherings. In short, solemn speeches in German, Bernstorff and Bartholdt celebrated Steuben and German America. While the ambassador praised the loyalty of German Americans, with whom German virtue had come to the United States, Bartholdt described the celebration as a “Triumph des Deutschthums in den Ver[einigten] Staaten.” Later, the guests sang both “Die Wacht am Rhein” and the “Star-Spangled Banner.”⁷²

Homecoming: The Potsdam Steuben Statue

When the Washington Steuben statue was unveiled in December 1910, the initiative for the Potsdam replica had already begun. Roughly a year earlier, on December 21, 1909, Bartholdt had introduced a bill to provide \$5,000 “for the erection of a bronze replica of the statue of General von Steuben ... to be presented to His Majesty the German Emperor and the German Nation in return for the statue of Frederick the Great, presented by the Emperor to the people of the United States.”⁷³ Bartholdt had gained the approval of President Taft and Secretary of State Philander C. Knox in advance. He also consulted with Bernstorff, who welcomed the proposal and ensured German approval, while emphasizing that unanimous congressional consent would be desirable.⁷⁴ Bernstorff’s report to Berlin was skeptical of the bill’s prospects although “Bartholdt behauptet, seiner Sache sicher zu sein.”⁷⁵ The ambassador’s skepticism reflected his concern that the German Empire’s official involvement might backfire, much like the earlier German statue gift of 1904, which Bartholdt now sought to follow up with the Steuben statue gift to Germany.

In his memoirs, Bartholdt wrote about his motivations behind this second Steuben statue initiative, describing the statue gift as an attempt at an American-German rapprochement:

Assured of the approbation of my constituents, I wanted to take into my grave the satisfaction of having contributed, while in official station, my little mite towards making Americans and Germans think well of each other. And in pursuing that object, I believe, I had good American ground under my feet.⁷⁶

The unanswered German statue gift thus provided Bartholdt with an opportunity to act upon broader diplomatic aspirations. Given the “dreifache Nationalisierung” of German American identity constructions that Bungert observes during this period, the prospect of delivering a statue of the German

American ethnic hero Steuben as a diplomatic gift to the German government also offered the chance to duplicate the recognition effort of the Washington statue project and gain the recognition of their ancestral homeland for German Americans.

When the bill was discussed in the House of Representatives in February 1910, Bartholdt argued that the statue gift would serve as a manifestation of a “traditional friendship” between Germany and the United States.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the American State Department inquired with Bernstorff in May, 1910 whether a possible gift would meet with German approval. As he had responded to Bartholdt, Bernstorff indicated German willingness to accept the statue but insisted on a “glatt[e] Erledigung der Frage durch den Kongreß.”⁷⁸ The bill was passed by Congress without much delay. President Taft signed it on June 23, 1910, and directed Knox to hand over the gift to Germany.⁷⁹

With the American statue gift, Germany was to receive its first public monument of Steuben. Even though Kapp had published the original German version of his 1858 biography in Berlin, Steuben had found little reception in his homeland prior to 1911, except for an extensive historical novel that was largely based on Kapp's narrative.⁸⁰ Now, a combination of German American recognition demands and Germany's objective of fostering amicable diplomatic relations with the United States brought Steuben onto the political agenda. In this way, the American gift of the Steuben statue became the first instance in which Steuben was used as a diplomatic symbol of German-American friendship: A pattern that was to become characteristic of German-American diplomatic relations during the twentieth century – at least during periods of diplomatic goodwill. Moreover, the unveiling of the Potsdam Steuben statue marked the beginning of Steuben's public commemoration in Germany, which continued to develop from then on.⁸¹

With the completion of the legislative process in the United States, the preparations for the unveiling in Germany began. While the United States government cast the replica and shipped it to Germany, all decisions relating to the statue's eventual location and the unveiling ceremonies were left to German authorities. Most of these decisions were taken personally by the emperor, who showed an unusually keen interest. Wilhelm requested photographs of the Washington statue and commissioned his court architect Ernst von Ihne to design the pedestal and redesign the surrounding area. Before making a final decision, he visited the designated site and even had a statue imitation installed to get a rough impression. Moreover, the emperor covered the costs for the rearrangements and the ceremonies, amounting to 4,760 marks, from his personal funds.⁸² Besides Potsdam, no other location seems to have been considered by German authorities. A note reading

“Potsdam?” – most likely written by a member of the emperor’s staff – can be found as early as December 14, 1910, in the German files.⁸³ Bartholdt’s later assumed that Potsdam must have seemed the most appropriate site for the Steuben statue. This is probably correct, given the city’s strong association with Friedrich II. After all, the gift of the statue of Steuben’s supposed patron had provided the occasion for the reciprocal gift.⁸⁴

The Kommandanturgarten, a small green area centrally located between the city palace, the Kommandatur and the so-called Ringerkolonnade, quickly emerged as the preferred site. Sometime during the summer of 1911, Wilhelm decided on September 2 as the unveiling date. September 2 was a national day of remembrance in the German Empire: Sedantag. It commemorated the decisive victory over France at Sedan in 1870 and thus carried strong anti-French implications. Under Wilhelm II, the celebrations underwent a strong military renaissance. So-called Kaisermanöver, large military exercises in the presence of the emperor, and parades in Berlin became regular features of the annual celebrations. Additionally, Wilhelm frequently attended monument unveilings on September 2.⁸⁵ Given the emperor’s keen sense for dramaturgic symbolism, the choice of Sedantag for the Steuben statue’s unveiling was hardly coincidental.⁸⁶ This is particularly evident given that the Agadir Crisis, a tense confrontation between Germany and its European rivals France and Britain, was ongoing throughout the summer of 1911. Celebrating a Prussian general, who had fought against Britain, on the anti-French Sedantag in the midst of this mutual saber-rattling

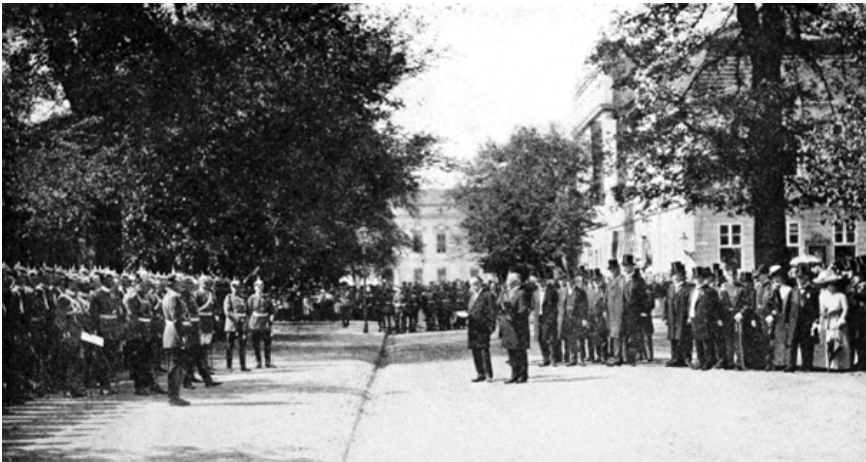


Fig. 5: Wilhelm II and his entourage (left) and the American delegation (right) at the unveiling of the Potsdam Steuben statue (Library of Congress [U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing: Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben]).

was precisely the kind of symbolism Wilhelm appreciated. Thus, the emperor's interest in the statue was primarily driven by its potential for diplomatic symbolism vis-à-vis Germany's European rivals and only to a lesser extent by the German American dimension of the gift. When Wilhelm received a draft version of Bartholdt's planned address, he ignored Bartholdt's remarks on German-American friendship and commented at the end of the document: "Sehr gut! London wird darob schmollen!"⁸⁷

In early summer 1911, the American State Department obtained German approval of the two special envoys chosen to deliver the statue: Richard Bartholdt and Charles B. Wolffram.⁸⁸ Bartholdt, the father of the initiative and a fellow Republican, represented a logical choice to Taft. The choice of Wolffram, the editor and founder of the German-language newspaper *New Yorker Herold*, on the other hand, indicates that the president had a domestic political gesture to German Americans in mind.⁸⁹ The absence of a high-ranking government representative in Potsdam, however, suggests that Taft attached little diplomatic importance to the matter. Before departing for Europe on August 19, 1911, Bartholdt and Wolffram were given a pompous send-off by the German Americans of New York City. A dinner was held

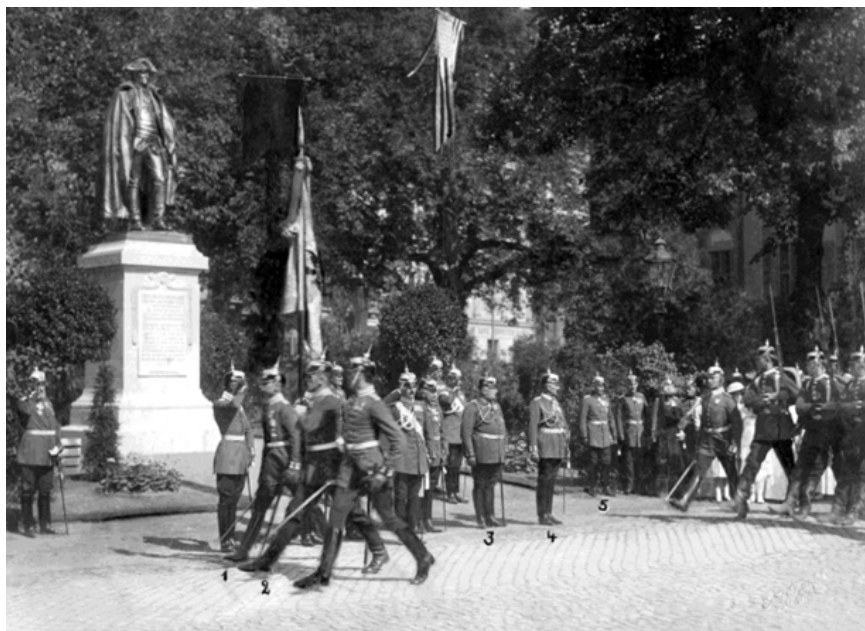


Fig. 6: Wilhelm II (4) inspects German troops parading past the Potsdam Steuben statue right after its unveiling, with his sons Wilhelm (1) and Joachim (2) marching in the front (© SZ Photo).

onboard their steamer the day before the departure, featuring numerous speeches from prominent local German Americans. Until shortly before the departure, the Allied German Singers of New York delighted a sizable crowd of German-Americans, who had gathered to bid farewell to 'their' delegates to Europe.⁹⁰ These impromptu send-off ceremonies in New York suggest that the enthusiasm for the Steuben statue gift to Germany was not limited to German American leaders but also extended to ordinary German Americans.

The unveiling ceremony in Potsdam on September 2, 1911 was not open to the general public. The American delegation consisted of the two presidential envoys, the sculptor Albert Jaegers, and Ambassador David Hill alongside the embassy staff. On the German side, the celebrations were attended not only by the emperor, but also by the royal family, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, Secretary of State Alfred von Kiderlen-Waechter, and Prussian War Minister Josias von Heeringen. Additionally, senior military officers, including Chief of the General Staff Helmuth von Moltke, as well as members of the Steuben family, the district president, the mayor, and the chairman of the Potsdam city council, were present. In contrast to the celebrations in Washington, the Potsdam ceremony was more military in character. Following Imperial German traditions, the emperor and his entourage appeared in uniform, creating a notable contrast to the predominantly civilian attire of the American delegation.⁹¹

Bartholdt was the first to address the audience. Speaking in his native German, he assumed for himself the role of the "Dolmetsch der Gedanken und Gefühle des amerikanischen Volkes" towards Germany. For him, paying tribute to Steuben equally meant paying tribute to German Americans in general. He declared that the monument was reminiscent of the achievements of Steuben, whom he called a "Helden zweier Welten," but that it also symbolized "den rühmlichen Antheil der Deutschen an der grossen 'Unabhängigkeitsbewegung.'" Bartholdt also interpreted the Potsdam statue as a sign of German-American friendship, noting

dass das dargebotene Geschenk ein Unterpfand des Friedens und der Freundschaft sein soll und zugleich eine eherne Bürgschaft für die Aufrichtigkeit des von uns Amerikanern gehegten heiligen Wunsches, dass die Bande traditioneller Freundschaft, welche, gefestigt durch den Kitt der Blutverwandschaft, das grosse Deutschland stets so innig mit den Vereinigten Staaten verknüpft haben, sich immer enger um die beiden Kulturvölker schlingen mögen.

Not shy of lofty expressions, Bartholdt announced, "Der Friedens-Präsident reicht dem Friedens-Kaiser . . . die Freundeshand zu gemeinsamer friedlicher



Fig. 7: The Potsdam Steuben statue sometime between 1933 and 1945 (© Bildarchiv Foto Marburg).

Lösung der grossen Kulturaufgaben.” The emperor responded by reading out a brief reply thanking Bartholdt, Wolfram, and the American nation for the statue. Alluding to Bartholdt’s earlier formulation, Wilhelm asked Bartholdt and Wolfram “daß Sie Sich auch bei dem Herrn Präsidenten und dem amerikanischen Volk zum Dolmetsch dieser unserer Gefühle machen wollen.”⁹²

With the emperor's final words, the monument was unveiled to the sound of marching music played by a military band. Wilhelm then inspected the guard regiment as it paraded past the statue. Afterward, the emperor invited around 80 guests to a luncheon at the city palace, where Bartholdt and Wolffram sat beside him. In high spirits, Wilhelm raised a toast to the health of the American president, with whom he exchanged brief telegrams during the luncheon.⁹³ After the emperor had bid farewell to his guests, a dinner followed, which was hosted by Kiderlen-Waechter. In the evening, a third dinner, hosted by Wolffram in honor of Bartholdt at the Adlon hotel in Berlin, concluded the celebrations.⁹⁴

This second Steuben celebration was also interpreted positively by German Americans. Immediately after his return to the United States, Wolffram gave an enthusiastic summary to the press on September 12, 1911:

Our mission has been a success in every respect. The Steuben monument ... has evidently been instrumental in recalling to the memory of both nations the many other bonds of friendship which have existed between them ever since Frederick the Great first recognized our struggling States as a nation. ... My impression was that the Emperor for the time being had dropped "his Majesty" and conversed with us like one gentleman would with another.⁹⁵

Unlike Wolffram, Bartholdt only returned to the United States in mid-October 1911. Around 300 mostly German American guests attended a banquet held in honor of the two envoys at the Astor hotel in New York City.⁹⁶ In his speech, Bartholdt described the long road to the establishment of the two monuments "die noch späteren Geschlechtern von dem rühmlichen Anteil der Deutschen am amerikanischen Befreiungskriege erzählen werden," before Wolffram reported his experience. He suggested that the president had chosen to send two German Americans as special envoys to honor the "Deutschamerikanertum, das zu den besten Bürgern dieses Landes gerechnet wird und dennoch die Liebe zum alten Vaterlande sich im Herzen bewahrt hat und immer bewahren wird."⁹⁷ Writing to Kiderlen-Waechter, whom he had met in Potsdam, Wolffram gave a similar assessment:

Die Deutschen New York's haben in der verflossenen Woche den beiden Sonderbotschaftern für die Steubenfeier in Potsdam, in einem unserer vornehmsten Hotels ein Festmahl gegeben, welches, als eine völlig spontane Demonstration, dem Gefühl der Veranstalter, dass unsere Entsendung nach

Berlin eine besondere und vom Präsidenten beabsichtigte Ehrung des amerikanischen Deutschthums bedeutet, beredten Ausdruck gab. Ich bin in aller Bescheidenheit stolz darauf, dadurch wieder ein neues Glied der Kette freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Ländern angefügt zu sehen.⁹⁸

Conclusion

Unlike the monument itself, the cultural and political meaning of any public statue is not fixed in stone. Rather, it is subject to a multifaceted process of continuous interpretation and reinterpretation. The intertwined histories of the Washington and Potsdam Steuben statues illustrate this dynamic. For the American government and probably most Congressmen, honoring Steuben meant paying homage to a previously somewhat neglected hero of the American Revolution. Given the sheer size of the German American community and its electoral power, granting an official recognition to German Americans was certainly also regarded as expedient by many political decision makers. This perception of the statues as an official recognition of German Americans is evident in several congressional speeches and remarks made at the Washington unveiling ceremony. It was also demonstrated by the choice of a German American sculptor and two German American envoys to Potsdam.

In contrast, the Imperial German government framed the statues in a manner that aligned with its diplomatic objectives. For Emperor Wilhelm and other high-ranking officials, the Steuben statues primarily served as an opportunity to rectify the rather clumsy affair of the Friedrich statue gift, to reinforce ties with the German American community, and to affirm amicable relations with the United States, especially vis-à-vis Germany's European rivals. In doing so, German officials appropriated and rearranged the German American homemaking narrative for their own diplomatic purposes. By emphasizing Steuben's service in both the Prussian and American armies, they recast him from a German American ethnic hero into a broader emblem of German-American friendship.

German American leaders like Bartholdt and Hexamer interpreted the Washington statue first and foremost as an official recognition of the German American community by the American government. Their admiration of Steuben and his historical achievements was pronounced and sincere, but it was not detached from their considerations of contemporary ethnic politics. Bartholdt's memoirs still mirrored that interpretation even years after the Washington celebration:

The German element had never been thus honored. It had of its own accord paid homage to many of its great men, but here it basked in the sunshine of national recognition, the government of the United States, on behalf of the nation paying official tribute to one of their own flesh and blood.⁹⁹

To Bartholdt, honoring Steuben and his memory was intrinsically linked to an official recognition of the German American community in general. Moreover, the Washington statue established a permanent site of remembrance for German Americans. The statue was intended both to reinforce a sense of community and belonging among German Americans and to convey to the broader American public that German Americans were an honorable, deserving, and lasting part of the American nation. That this interpretation was, in fact, widespread among many German Americans, was demonstrated by the roughly 10,000 German Americans who gathered in Washington on a cold, snowy Wednesday to transform the 1910 Steuben statue unveiling into one of the largest political gatherings of German American history.

To German American leaders, the Potsdam statue again served to symbolize an official recognition of their ethnic group, as the United States government allowed two German American envoys to represent the nation vis-à-vis the German Empire – at least ceremonially. This time, however, German Americans also sought official recognition from their ancestral homeland. By placing the statue of the leading German American historical icon in Potsdam, the city of Friedrich II, the Imperial German government symbolically inscribed German Americans into Prussian-German national history, acknowledging both their connection to the German nation and their achievements in the United States. This recognition, paired with the official diplomatic character of the mission, enormously boosted the confidence of German American ethnic leaders. Bartholdt's self-characterization as the "Dolmetsch der Gedanken und Gefühle des amerikanischen Volkes"¹⁰⁰ toward Germany, along with Wilhelm's request for Bartholdt and Wolfram to fulfill this role in reverse, must have come close to the ideal position that German American ethnic leaders envisioned for themselves: secured and recognized in their status as a respected part of the American nation while also maintaining their distinct identity as American citizens of German descent. From this unique hinge position between their two fatherlands, German American leaders like Bartholdt aspired to promote amicable and peaceful diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. Just as these ethnic brokers acted as intermediaries between their own ethnic community and the larger American society, Bartholdt thus also aspired to act as a transnational diplomatic broker.

Obviously, the German American aspirations of effectuating friendly German-American relations were shattered when the two countries went to war with each other not even six years after the Potsdam celebration. The Steuben statues remained in place in Washington's Lafayette Square and in Potsdam's Kommandanturgarten throughout the conflict. Yet, their meaning soon underwent major reinterpretations. In Weimar Germany, right-wing militarists appropriated Steuben, attempting to position him as an icon of Prussian military genius, with the Potsdam statue serving as a popular site for speeches and rallies. In the United States, Steuben's role as the preeminent historical patron of German Americans was reinforced by the widespread repudiation German Americans faced after the First World War. Besides Steuben, few symbols of belonging remained that German Americans could confidently point to.¹⁰¹ Like the original history of the Steuben statues, then, these developments indicate that the history of the Steuben myth and its various political applications still holds valuable insights for future research.

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Notes

¹ Within the extensive scholarship dealing with Steuben, the biographies by Lockhart and Brüstle best reflect the current state of the field: Paul Douglas Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron De Steuben and the Making of the American Army* (New York: Harper, 2008); Jürgen Brüstle, *Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Eine Biographie* (Marburg: Tectum, 2006); Kapp and McAuley represent important older works: Friedrich Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1858); John McAuley Palmer, *General Von Steuben* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937). For Steuben's drill manual, see Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States, Part I* (Philadelphia, PA: Styner and Cist, 1779).

² Brüstle, *Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, 461–63.

³ For an overview of the Steuben historiography see Don H. Tolzmann, "Baron Von Steuben: From Prussian Soldier of Fortune to Inspector General," *The Palatine Immigrant*

36, no. 1 (2010); Margrit B. Krewson, *Von Steuben and the German Contribution to the American Revolution: A Selective Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1987).

⁴ Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 463–64.

⁵ Hartmut Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” in *Alte und neue Welt in wechselseitiger Sicht: Studien zu den transatlantischen Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hartmut Lehmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 106–26.

⁶ Heike Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis: Die Konstruktion einer deutschamerikanischen Ethnizität 1848-1914*, *Studien zur historischen Migrationsforschung*, no. 32 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 18–20.

⁷ Orm Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870-1930* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 17–24.

⁸ Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 9–10, 91–92; Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 99–101, 411–12; Willi P. Adams, “Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner,” in *Amerika und die Deutschen: Bestandsaufnahme einer 300jährigen Geschichte*, ed. Frank Trommler (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986), 165–73.

⁹ Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 54–86, 87–119, 120–43.

¹⁰ Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 17–24, 29–36.

¹¹ Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 411–12; Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience* (Amherst, MA: Humanity Books, 2000), 269–70; Charles T. Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918*, *New German-American Studies = Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, no. 20 (New York: P. Lang, 1999), 71–73; Christine M. Totten, “Affinität auf Widerruf: Amerikas willkommene und unwillkommene Deutsche,” in *Trommler, Amerika und die Deutschen*, 537; Hans A. Pohlsander, *German Monuments in the Americas: Bonds Across the Atlantic*, *New German-American Studies = Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, no. 33 (Oxford: P. Lang, 2010), 25–37; Frank Bauer, Hartmut Knitter, and Heinz Ruppert, *Vernichtet, Vergessen, Verdrängt: Militärbauten und Militärische Denkmäler in Potsdam* (Herford: Mittler & Sohn, 1993), 181.

¹² William Richards, *General Baron von Steuben Statue: Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., President's Park Notes: Statues*, no. 5 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2007).

¹³ Rainer Lambrecht, *Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Verdienste und Nachruhm – eine Denkmaltopografie*, 2nd ed. (Potsdam: Knotenpunkt, 2012).

¹⁴ Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 28–29; Kathleen N. Conzen et al., “The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (1992): 15–16; Victor R. Greene, *American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 5–13; Adams, “Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner,” 170–74.

¹⁵ Richards, *General Baron von Steuben Statue*, 4; Kathleen N. Conzen, “Germans,” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, 5th ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 421–22; Frederick C. Luebke, “German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties, and Issues,” in *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration*, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 85–87.

¹⁶ Johnson, *Culture at Twilight*, 37–41.

¹⁷ Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 380–85; Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 130–36; Johnson, *Culture at Twilight*, 15–17; Conzen, “Germans,” 422; Reinhard R. Doerries,

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¹⁸ Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*; Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major General in the Revolutionary Army* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1859).

¹⁹ Friedrich Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb* (Stuttgart: Cotta'scher Verlag, 1862).

²⁰ Edith Lenel, Friedrich Kapp 1824-1884: Ein Lebensbild aus den deutschen und nordamerikanischen Freiheitskämpfen (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1935), 83–87, 109–16; Frank Trommler, “The Use of History in German American Politics,” in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 283–85.

²¹ Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, II.

²² Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” 112–13.

²³ Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, XI.

²⁴ Heike Bungert, “The German Forty-Eighters in American Society and Politics,” in *Yearbook of Transnational History* 4, ed. Thomas Adam (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2021), 82.

²⁵ See for example Nikolaus Schmitt, *Leben und Wirken von Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben* (Philadelphia, PA: John Weik, 1858); Hermann Julius Ruetenik, *Berühmte deutsche Vorkämpfer für Fortschritt, Freiheit und Friede in Nord-Amerika, von 1626 bis 1888: Einhundert und fünfzig Biographien, mit sechzehn Portraits* (Cleveland, OH: Forest City Bookbinding, 1891), 70–87; Georg von Bosse, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethnischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses* (New York: E. Steiger, 1908), 90–95; Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909), 226–41; Max Heinrici, ed., *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia, PA: Walther's Buchdruckerei, 1909), 105–18; See also Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” 115–16.

²⁶ Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” 106.

²⁷ Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 18–19; Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895-1904* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 22–25.

²⁸ Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 257–60; Frank Trommler, “Inventing the Enemy: German-American Cultural Relations, 1900-1917,” in *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900-1924*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Schröder (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), 110–11; Trommler, “The Use of History in German American Politics,” 289–91; Adams, “Ethnische Führungsrollen und die Deutschamerikaner,” 165–66.

²⁹ Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 342–62, 380–97; Trommler, “The Use of History in German American Politics,” 287–91.

³⁰ Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 134–35.

³¹ Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 385–410; Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 263.

³² “Protokoll der vierten Konvention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen National-Bundes der Ver. Staaten von Amerika: Abgehalten vom 4. bis 7. Oktober 1907,” accessed Oct. 24, 2024, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74230056/>, 11.

³³ Conzen, “Germans,” 409–10.

³⁴ Katja Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen*, *Transatlantische Historische Studien*, no. 29 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), 40–49; Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 79–84; Bergquist, “German Communities in American Cities,” 17–19.

³⁵ Bungert, *Festkultur und Gedächtnis*, 379.

³⁶ Lina Mann, “The History of Lafayette Square,” The White House Historical Association, accessed July 19, 2024, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-history-of-lafayette-park>; George J. Olszewski, *Lafayette Park: Washington, D.C., National Capital Region Historical Research*, no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1964).

³⁷ Curtis A. LaFrance, “History of the Rochambeau Statue,” *Journal of Newport History* 68, no. 237 (1998); U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Rochambeau: A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of America of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of Independence* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), 15–30.

³⁸ Fritz Kusch, *Forthcoming*, “Ein Preußenkönig in Washington: Schmeichelpolitik, Statuendiplomatie und deutsche auswärtige Kulturpolitik in den USA im frühen 20. Jahrhundert,” *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 34 (2024).

³⁹ Adriana Ercolano, *General Thaddeus Kosciuszko Statue: Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C., President’s Park Notes: Statues*, no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2011).

⁴⁰ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, *Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben: Major General and Inspector General in the Continental Army During the Revolutionary War in Washington D.C., December 7, 1910 and Upon the Presentation of the Replica to His Majesty the German Emperor and the German Nation in Potsdam, September 2, 1911. Erected by the Congress of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 136.

⁴¹ Richard Bartholdt, “Steuben: An Address by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Delivered at Chicago, December 3, 1927,” in *Jahrbuch Der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft Von Illinois*, ed. Julius Goebel (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 21.

⁴² In his memoirs, Bartholdt published a similar version of this event a few years later: Richard Bartholdt, *From Steerage to Congress: Reminiscences and Reflections* (Philadelphia, PA: Dorrance, 1930), 303–5; Lehmann follows Bartholdt’s account in claiming that the idea dated back to Bartholdt’s early days in Congress: Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” 116–17.

⁴³ Holleben to Bülow, May 26, 1902, RZ 201/17333, A8868, *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes* (PA AA), Berlin.

⁴⁴ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, *Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben*, 149.

⁴⁵ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, *Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben*, 137.

⁴⁶ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, *Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben*, 137–38; Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, 1.

⁴⁷ Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 35 (July 1, 1902): H 7770.

⁴⁸ Representative Hemenway, speaking on S. 3057, 57th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 35 (June 13, 1902): Appendix 456.

⁴⁹ Senator George Wetmore submitted a corresponding report, which no longer spoke of “equestrian statues” but, in Steuben’s case, simply of “statues.” U.S. Congress, Joint Committee

on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 164–65, 169–70; Senator Wetmore, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 36 (Feb. 6, 1903): S 1775.

⁵⁰ Bartholdt, “Steuben,” 22. In fact, this incorrect spelling can even be found in the official Congressional Record: Representative Wachter, speaking on H.R. 16, 57th Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 36 (Feb. 24, 1903): H 2580.

⁵¹ “Protokoll der vierten Konvention Des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Zentral-Bundes von Pennsylvanien: Abgehalten zu Johnstown, Pa., am Samstag, den 27, und Sonntag, den 28. Juni 1903,” accessed Oct. 24, 2024, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433019536923>, 8.

⁵² Bartholdt, “Steuben,” 22–23.

⁵³ Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 4–9.

⁵⁴ Pohlsander, German Monuments in the Americas, 29–30; Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 8–10;

U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 11; Rudolf Cronau, “Deutschamerikanische Maler, Bildhauer und Architekten,” in *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*, ed. Max Heinrici (Philadelphia, PA: Walther’s Buchdruckerei, 1909), 350–51.

⁵⁵ Ercolano, General Thaddeus Kosciuszko Statue.

⁵⁶ Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 25552, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (May 27, 1910): H 6987–8.

⁵⁷ Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 25552, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (May 27, 1910): H 6988.

⁵⁸ On the rivalry between different homemaking myths, see Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities*, 9–10.

⁵⁹ *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, “Enthüllung des Steuben-Denkmal,” Aug. 1, 1910.

⁶⁰ Hexamer, Charles, J., “Jahres-Bericht des Bundes-Präsidenten Dr. C. J. Hexamer,” *German American Annals* 8, (1910): 102.

⁶¹ Richards, General Baron von Steuben Statue, 10; Souvenir Program: Unveiling of the Steuben Monument, Washington D.C., December 7, 1910 (Washington, D.C.: Carnahan Press, 1910).

⁶² Unless otherwise indicated, all information on the course of the celebrations stems from the following sources: U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 55–62; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, “General Steuben’s Monument in Washington Enthüllt,” Dec. 8, 1910; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, “Glänzende Feier im ‘New Willard Hotel,’” Dec. 8, 1910; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, “In höflicher Runde. Festlichkeiten in Vereinskreisen der Bundes-Hauptstadt,” Dec. 8, 1910; *The Evening Star*, “Praised by Taft. President Eulogizes von Steuben’s Services to America,” Dec. 8, 1910.

⁶³ Bartholdt, *From Steerage to Congress*, 309–10.

⁶⁴ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 19.

⁶⁵ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 27–28.

⁶⁶ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 32.

⁶⁷ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 43–44.

⁶⁸ Bartholdt, "Steuben," 22–23.

⁶⁹ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 49.

⁷⁰ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 51.

⁷¹ Bernstorff to Bethmann Hollweg, Dec. 10, 1910, RZ 201/17351, A21147, PA AA.

⁷² New Yorker Staatszeitung, "Glänzende Feier im 'New Willard Hotel.'"

⁷³ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 171.

⁷⁴ Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 315–16.

⁷⁵ Bernstorff to Bethmann Hollweg, Dec. 28, 1909, RZ 201/17349, A197, PA AA.

⁷⁶ Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 315.

⁷⁷ Representative Bartholdt, speaking on H.R. 16222, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., Congressional Record 45 (Feb. 9, 1910): H 1654.

⁷⁸ Knox to Hill, Nov. 23, 1910, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, With the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 7, 1911 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), accessed Oct. 24, 2024, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1911/d287>, Document 287; Bernstorff to Foreign Office, May 11, 1910, RZ 201/17349, A8155, PA AA.

⁷⁹ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 186–89.

⁸⁰ Albert Emil Brachvogel, *Des großen Friedrich Adjutant* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1875).

⁸¹ Lehmann, "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld," 120–21; Brüstle, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, 3–4.

⁸² I. HA Rep. 89, Nr. 20816, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), Berlin.

⁸³ I. HA Rep. 89, Nr. 20816, GStA PK.

⁸⁴ Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 334; U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 71–72.

⁸⁵ Ute Schneider, "Nationalfeste ohne politisches Zeremoniell? Der Sedantag (2. September) und die Erinnerung an die Befreiungskriege (18. Oktober) im Kaiserreich," in *Das politische Zeremoniell im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918: Konferenz vom 16. bis 18. Februar 2006 am Institut für Soziale Bewegungen der Ruhr-Universität Bochum*, ed. Andreas Biefang, Michael Epkenhans and Klaus Tenfelde (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2008); Fritz Schellack, "Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste," in *Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum 1. Weltkrieg*, ed. Dieter Düding (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1988), 278–86.

⁸⁶ For an opposing view, see Reiner Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung 1890–1917* (Köln: Böhlau, 1986), 289.

⁸⁷ Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA.

⁸⁸ Knox to Hill, May 6, 1911; Hill to Knox, May 31, 1911; Hill to Knox, June 20, 1911, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, With the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 7, 1911 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), accessed Oct. 24, 2024, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1911/ch60>, Documents 288, 290, 292.

⁸⁹ On the role of journalists as leaders of the German American ethnic community, see Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics," 80–84.

⁹⁰ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 70–71; Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 326–27.

⁹¹ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 71–73; Chronik der Stadt Potsdam von 1891–1919, Chr/10: Chroniken, 174, Stadtarchiv Potsdam.

⁹² Both speeches quoted from Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA. The two speeches are preserved in several slightly differing versions in the files of the German Foreign Office. The versions quoted here correspond to the latest versions there and are, therefore, probably closest to the speeches actually given. They also correspond to the English translations recorded in the congressional documentation: U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 73–75.

⁹³ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 75–76; See also Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 338–46.

⁹⁴ U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on Printing, Proceedings Upon the Unveiling of the Statue of Baron von Steuben, 76–78; Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 346–50.

⁹⁵ New York Evening Post, “Statue Pleased Kaiser: Wolfram, Special Steuben Ambassador Returns,” Sep. 12, 1911.

⁹⁶ New Yorker Revue, “Nachklänge vom Festbankett: Zu Ehren der Sonderbotschafter Bartholdt und Wolfram,” Oct. 19, 1911.

⁹⁷ Quoted from Arnold Fueredi, Deutschland und Amerika Hand in Hand: Eine Verständigungsschrift für die zwei größten Nationen der Welt, eine Kampfschrift gegen Hetzer und Unwissende (Berlin: Concordia. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1914), 185.

⁹⁸ Wolfram to Kiderlen-Waechter, Oct. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17163, A18055, PA AA.

⁹⁹ Bartholdt, From Steerage to Congress, 307.

¹⁰⁰ Immediatbericht, Aug. 30, 1911, RZ 201/17352, A13752, PA AA.

¹⁰¹ Lehmann, “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben als amerikanischer Nationalheld,” 119–21; Regarding the ongoing commemoration of Steuben and the Steuben statue in Washington, see Don H. Tolzmann, “Centennial Celebration of Steuben Monument,” Steuben News, Nov./Dec. (2010).