

Taming Travel and Disciplining Reason:
Enlightenment and Pedagogy in the Work of Joachim Heinrich Campe

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Germanic Languages.

Chapel Hill
2008

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ABSTRACT

RICHARD B. APGAR: Taming Travel and Disciplining Reason: Enlightenment and Pedagogy in the Work of Joachim Heinrich Campe
(Under the direction of Jonathan M. Hess)

In an examination of three incredibly popular works by Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), the eighteenth century's most prolific and successful children's author, this dissertation explores the relationship between the explosion in published travel accounts and the birth of children's literature in Germany during the final three decades of the eighteenth century. *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-80), *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (1781-82) and the *Sammlung interessanter und zweckmäßig abgefasster Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend* (1785-93) were conceived by Campe as a series that would use travel-adventure texts to improve the reader's knowledge and understanding of the world. This dissertation explores the dialectic interplay between the two spheres of these narratives. In exploring the fine connections these works display between the domestic and the foreign, or more broadly put, the familiar and the exotic, this dissertation argues that an understanding of Enlightenment culture requires coming to terms with the dynamic nature of these relationships. In examining how this series of texts draws on, utilizes, and constructs this wealth of material for a pedagogy that places the creation of citizens as its primary goal, I demonstrate the fundamental importance of exotic imagery for identity formation in the late 18th century. In probing the nexus of pedagogy, Enlightenment ideology, and travel narratives in Campe's work, this dissertation makes a contribution to scholarship on each of these areas and contends that all three are, in their essence, deeply intertwined.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A project such as this requires the help of many people and I would like to acknowledge my advisor, Jonathan Hess, for his support and helpful guidance throughout the course of my graduate studies, my colleagues in the German Department for their good cheer and camaraderie, and Sara for her constant encouragement and willingness to accept the burdens such a project imposes.

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Chapter One

Introduction: Children's Literature and the Expanding World

On the 23rd of July 1789, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), the renowned linguist, philosopher and eventual Prussian education minister, took a moment to record some thoughts about his one-time *Hauslehrer* and current travel companion, Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818). After nearly a week bouncing across Germany together, Humboldt paused from his routine journaling to enter a series of observations about the, for the moment, much more famous author and pedagogue he was accompanying. As they approached Aachen for a brief visit with Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751-1820), Humboldt crystallized the impressions that had formed during their time together. Dohm, co-founder of the *Deutsches Musuem*, a leading Enlightenment political and cultural journal, and coincidentally, another of Humboldt's former teachers, was at the time a Prussian envoy in Aachen, and it is clear from his diary that Humboldt eagerly anticipated their brief reunion. After a series of less fulfilling waystations, this stop certainly looked to be a highlight as he and Campe made their way toward Paris to witness the tumultuous early days of the French revolution. In writing about Campe, Humboldt underscored the fundamental difference in their perspectives:

Ich kann mich nicht in die art finden, wie er die dinge ansieht. Seine und meine gesichtspunkte liegen immer himmelweit auseinander. Ewig hat er vor augen, und führt er im munde das, was nützlich ist, was die menschen glücklicher macht, und wenn es nun darauf ankommt zu bestimmen was das ist, so ist diese

bestimmung immer so eingeschränkt. Für das schöne, selbst für das wahre, tiefe, feine, scharfsinnige im intellectuellen, für das grosse, in sich edle in moralischen dingen scheint er äusserst wenig gefühl zu haben, wenn nicht mit diesem zugleich eigen ein unmittelbarer nutzen verbunden ist.¹

Like his brother Alexander, the globe-trotting scientist, Wilhelm von Humboldt was an astute, sharp and critical observer. Humboldt's rather biting formulation of Campe's unwavering attention to utilitarian and practical concerns contrasts with the broader aesthetic, intellectual pursuits that interested him. For the founder of the modern German university, Campe's manner of seeing the world is narrow, is restrictive and overlooks subtler connections. What Humboldt bemoans as an absolute lack of aesthetic sensibility is precisely what defines Campe's worldview. Throughout his work, almost to the point of obsession, Campe privileges information, facts and useful knowledge. He maintains a clear focus on achievements and deeds that led to the improvement of social conditions. The turn to the aesthetic is, at least in Campe's mind, illusory and clouds judgments that can be made through the steady application of reasoned criticism. Whereas Wilhelm von Humboldt had lofty aims for the education of the individual as *Mensch*, for the development of all human faculties in the liberal tradition, Campe conceived of *Bildung* in very concrete terms, namely the acquisition of specific skills, training for professions, and ultimately the formation of *Bürger*. It is not necessary to read these traits into his oeuvre for they are plainly stated in the titles of his major works: *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder* (1779-80); *Die Entdeckung von Amerika. Ein angenehmes und nützliches Lesebuch* (1781-82); *Sammlung interessanter und zweckmässig abgefasster Reisebeschreibungen* (1785-93); *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und*

¹ Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Tagebücher*, Ed. Albert Leitzmann, 2 vols. (Berlin: B. Behr, 1916) 85-6.

Erziehungswesens von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher (1785-92). The first three titles will form the body of this dissertation, an article from the last will be discussed below.

Wilhelm von Humboldt concludes his *Tagebuch* reflection on Campe with a less critical moment, noting “uebrigens aber reis’ ich doch gern mit ihm; er ist lustig, nicht an viele bequemlichkeiten gewöhnt, und fordert beinah gar kein gespräch von mir. Führeransehn giebt er sich gar nicht.”² Campe might be blind to nuanced aesthetic impressions and closed off to the soul-nourishing beauty of the world, yet he remains an agreeable travel companion. Nearly two years later in January 1791, Alexander von Humboldt, who corresponded fairly regularly with Campe from 1789-1792, would write his friend, Samuel Thomas von Sömmerring (1755-1830) that he expected to receive a letter inviting him to accompany Campe on a trip across the Atlantic.³ Alexander von Humboldt satirizes Campe’s plan to gain a better understanding of the new American Republic and upon his return share this knowledge with Europe, as a sort of German Benjamin Franklin.⁴ Rather mockingly, Humboldt speculates on Campe’s motives, his letter expresses an element of anticipation and excitement that can only be read as insincere. This joint trip would never take place. Campe’s only overseas voyage would take him to England in 1802, at which point Alexander had been exploring South America for three years.

From the perspective of the 21st century, it is easy to look at the opinions the Humboldt brothers held and think of Campe as an example of Enlightenment ideals pushed to their extreme—reason triumphing over emotion, cold utility trumping warm affect, logic

² Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Tagebücher* 86.

³ Alexander von Humboldt, *Die Jugendbriefe Alexander von Humboldts: 1787-1799*, Ed. Ilse Jahn and Fritz G. Lange (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 121-123. This volume has eight letters from Humboldt to Campe.

⁴ Cedric Hentschel, "Campe and the Discovery of America," *German Life and Letters* 26 (1973): 10.

subjugating passions. This is without a doubt true, but Campe was not an outlier in his time. Certainly in contrast with the Humboldt brothers, Campe's accomplishments have not weathered the centuries as successfully. This is not to say that his work has gone unexplored and uncommented by scholars, nor is it to say that his achievements have been forgotten, but if you were to mention the names Campe and Humboldt on the street of any German city, clearly the latter would evoke greater responses. In spite of his minor position within the contemporary public, Campe is a figure who is exceedingly relevant and necessary for our understanding of Enlightenment culture. His work stands at the crossroads of two significant shifts in the literature of the 18th century: the birth of an "intentional" children's literature and the explosion in reports from overseas about foreign cultures.⁵

In his major literary works, Campe set the standard for German children's literature. His works ushered in a didactic style and narrative form that would be mimicked in adventure tales throughout the remainder of the century, not to mention the tremendous number of *Robinsonaden* that would pay homage to his text.⁶ Secondly, the material he chose to adapt and edit for young readers picked up on the rising tide of interest in the overseas world. In choosing to rewrite the Robinson legend, the histories of the Spanish conquistadors, and a number of popular travel reports, Campe capitalized on the growing fascination with foreign places and peoples.

This dissertation will examine the function of exotic images within the German colonial imaginary, arguing that Campe's structuring of the source material neutralizes the

⁵ Reiner Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter: zur Psychographie von Bürgerlichkeit und Aufklärung in Deutschland am Beispiel ihrer Literatur für Kinder* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987) 22-25. Wild's use of "intentional" draws attention to the fact that there were works which children read prior to the 1770s, but only in this era did writers deliberately and purposefully formulate works for a youth audience.

⁶ Reiner Wild, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002) 84.

adventure, taming the desire for travel through the insertion of a pedagogy focused on the production of model citizens. These texts discipline their readers by subtly combining the autonomy modeled within their pages with a highly prescriptive set of behaviors and beliefs. In reading about Robinson's adventures, Columbus's exploits in the Caribbean, or descriptions of Native American culture, the texts insert values that are congruent with Enlightenment thought, hollowing out the other, starving it of its position as subject, effectively making it the object of and in a European lesson.⁷ The texts link narratives set in newly discovered worlds to an Enlightenment pedagogical mission, which at its most ambivalent moments blurs the lines between the two. Children, who are clearly the object of the texts' pedagogy, and the foreign cultures portrayed become objects of the texts' lessons. In this sense, the pedagogy of the texts and the colonial project become indistinguishable.

In exploring the fine connections these works display between the domestic and the foreign, or more broadly put, the familiar and the exotic, this dissertation argues that an understanding of Enlightenment culture requires coming to terms with the dynamic nature of these relationships. In examining how this series of texts draws on, utilizes, and constructs this wealth of material for a pedagogy that places the creation of citizens as its primary goal, I demonstrate the fundamental importance of exotic imagery for identity formation in the late 18th century. In probing the nexus of pedagogy, Enlightenment ideology, and travel narratives in Campe's work, this dissertation makes a distinct contribution to scholarship on each of these areas and contends that all three are, in their essence, deeply intertwined.

Campe's work is deeply embedded in the 18th century's fascination with travelogues. German participation in the discoveries and explorations of the century was clearly mediated

⁷ See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). I will engage his work more fully below.

through the experiences of the states actively sending expeditions around the globe. The success of Campe's works throughout the continent points to a pan-European, cosmopolitan interest in narratives from distant locales. Campe's work is congruent with broader trends in travel writing from the 18th century. To cite a single example: in a move reminiscent of countless contemporaries, Campe casts foreign cultures as primitive and naturally structured, so that they can serve as foils for the artificiality of European society. What is unique and novel about Campe's work is the rewriting of these narratives in a manner that was seen as appropriate for the edification and education of young readers. In creating works that served the pedagogical purposes of his era, Campe constructed his version of these narratives with extreme care, inserting a series of frames that restrict and guide interaction with the text. An analysis of the content of these works necessitates an examination of the role these frames play in bringing the foreign world of the narrative and the European home together. The two are inextricably linked. Pedagogical authority and the world of exploration are involved in a dialectic relationship.

Campe's work is definitive of an era that set big goals and announced grand plans. It incorporates and seeks to provide order to a world undergoing tremendous expansion and change. European exploration of the world demanded new systems for classifying botanical, zoological and cultural discoveries. Changes in society, already having seen one expression in the American Revolution, were placing strains on existing structures of power. The rise of the bourgeois middle class and the beginnings of industrialization and urbanization required new forms of knowledge and education that were appropriate for this emergent social order. Campe's texts provide an example of ways to meet these challenges. His work is representative of the era's efforts to confront these shifts while at the same time preserving

the established order of society. While he supported the ideals of the American and French Revolutions, Campe himself was not a revolutionary, preferring to work incrementally for changes without the violent rupture in social order that seems inherent to revolt. On a certain level, his work is decidedly conformist and conservative, proposing the restructuring of society not through violence, but through education. Yet on another, his work is radically new and establishes trends for didactic children's literature that had incredible endurance.

Campe's position in the history of children's literature and more generally within the 18th-century culture of letters will be the subject of the first section of this chapter. In the second, I will detail the rise and importance of travel writing for the era. The final section of this chapter will present particular ideas about *Bildung* that were formed by Campe and his contemporaries in Enlightenment pedagogy.

I

The Birth of Children's Literature

The changing nature of society brought with it changes in the function of childhood. Changes in perceptions of the child and childhood were first given scholarly attention through the work of Philippe Ariès, who asserted that the medieval era did not imbue childhood with a distinct or special status.⁸ While the details of his claims have been the subject of considerable amendment and correction, the central feature of his work – that childhood is socially constructed – has served to alert “researchers to the diverse, rather than universal, nature of conceptions of childhood.”⁹ Following his work, children's literature became the subject of scholarship around the globe. In Germany during the 1970s and 80s, numerous scholars undertook the investigation of the history of children's literature.¹⁰ The results of this work point to several factors essential in the creation of German children's literature: universal schooling, which created a captive audience of new readers; new anthropological assumptions about human nature and the inherent improvability of mankind; and the widespread acceptance of Rousseau's belief in the individuality and autonomy of the

⁸ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Knopf, 1962) 125.

⁹ Allison James and Adrian L. James, *Constructing Childhood: Theory, Policy and Social Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 13.

¹⁰ See, Alfred Clemens Baumgärtner and Carl Kühner, eds., *Ansätze historischer Kinder- und Jugendbuchforschung*, (Baltmannsweiler: Burgbücherei Schneider, 1979); Hans-Heino Ewers, ed., *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung. Eine Textsammlung* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980); Dagmar Grenz, *Aufklärung und Kinderbuch. Studien zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Pinneberg: Raecke, 1984); Hermann Leopold Köster, *Geschichte der deutschen Jugendliteratur* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1971); Walter Pape, *Das literarische Kinderbuch: Studien zur Entstehung und Typologie*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981); Katharina Rutschky, *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1977); Rüdiger Steinlein, *Die domestizierte Phantasie: Studien zur Kinderliteratur, Kinderlektüre und Literaturpädagogik des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987); Reiner Wild, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*.

child.¹¹ These changes required a new form of pedagogy. Children suddenly required literary products suited to these emergent needs. Children were no longer simply an extra pair of hands at harvest, an economic security blanket; they were the future of society, a future which needed to be nurtured, emboldened and educated. The bourgeois child, spared from many chores of daily existence, became the object of increased, even intense, interest. Along with the increasing intensity of interest in the individual child came an increased interest in the production of the next generation of citizens. The educational aims that Campe and others in the Philanthropic school focused on were tied to the demands of a society in transition. As the dominant mode of pedagogical theory in the German Enlightenment, the Philanthropic school sought to educate by means that were largely invisible. Educational activities should be game-like and conversely games should be educative. Pedagogy, they argued, can take place equally as well on a walk through the countryside or a visit to a shipyard. Education was seen as a way of providing children with the skills and abilities needed for society, pedagogical literature focused on, to use Campe's words, "künftige Bürger."

This focus on the creation of citizens clearly has a dark side. This dissertation will explore the ways in which Enlightenment pedagogy was inherently coercive, the ways in which autonomy was granted to the child at the same time as the child was placed within a framework that clearly defined behaviors both proper and improper. In this way, Campe's texts discipline the use of reason, confining it within the limits of what is ordained by the text as legitimate. His pedagogy is, as Katharina Rutschky notes in *Schwarze Pädagogik*, largely concerned with preventing the child from falling into criminal behavior. The eighteenth-

¹¹ Alfred Clemens Baumgärtner, "Jugendbuch und Literatur. Überlegungen zu einem umstrittenen literarischen Phänomen," ed. M. Gorschenek and A. Rucktäschel, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (München: Juventa, 1979) 12.

century pedagogue, she explains, sees only the worst of all possibilities, and without restriction the child “wird Verbrecher und befriedigt hemmungslos seinen Egoismus und seine Aggression.”¹² Education is necessary to prevent the loss of civic order. Education prevents violence at home and abroad. For those children who strayed from these guidelines, punishment came in the form of assertions of emotional pain that misdeeds would have on parents and friends.

The norms that were being formed in this era came with the assignment of specific gender roles. Mothers were primarily responsible for the care of boys and girls up to roughly the age of six. After this point, fathers, or male substitutes, assumed the role of teacher and mentor. Mothers were still responsible for the private, intimate sphere and girls were under their purview, particularly within the area of domestic chores and household leadership. Boys, on the other hand, were subjected to, as the title of Reiner Wild’s book notes, “die Vernunft der Väter.” This does not mean that pedagogical theorists, Campe included, did not have a whole raft of ideas about the structure of and conduct within the household. If anything can be said about the educational theories of the *Aufklärer*, it is that they were invested in a startlingly exhaustive review of all aspects of child-rearing, familial practices, and social order. The *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesen* features a dizzying array of ideas for a number of rather esoteric topics that were given great consideration. One area of concern that has of late received some scholarly attention is the debate about *Onanie*, *Selbstbefleckung*, and the control of sexual desires, but other areas of interest were “Seelenerziehung,” “gymnastische Leibesübungen,” how to educate with images, and specific ideas for the *Erziehung* “des Landmanns,” “des Soldaten,” “der Prinzen

¹² Rutschky, *Schwarze Pädagogik* LXII.

und Prinzessinnen.”¹³ In the encyclopedic spirit of the era, this project had a theory and a plan for everything.

Campe and his Contemporaries

In his lifetime, Campe belonged to the avant-garde of Enlightenment pedagogy, an equal to Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724-1790), author of the *Elementarwerk* (1770-1774), which first enumerated the principles of *Philanthropismus* and founder of a model school, the *Philanthropin* in Dessau. As an author, Campe is often placed in the triumvirate of leading writers with Christian Felix Weiße (1726-1804), editor of the moral weekly, *Der Kinderfreund*, and Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744-1811), author of, among other works, the *Reisen der Salzmannschen Zöglinge* (1784). Placing Campe in this group, however, reduces his unique claim to the crown of best-selling German children’s author of, if not all time, certainly the 18th and 19th centuries. Campe is the single most important figure of 18th-century letters if we seek to understand the beginnings of writing for children. In fact, Horst Kunze states that “Kinderliteratur erst im 18. Jahrhundert und mit Campe beginnt:” while this might be hyperbole, it nevertheless remains impossible to overstate Campe’s influence in the 18th century and the long-lasting popularity of his works beyond the turn of the century.¹⁴ His work was frequently republished in the 19th and 20th century. Placing aside the significant number of unauthorized reprintings by *Nachdrucker* and considering only the information available about authorized editions released by the *Schulbuchhandlung*, the press Campe founded in 1786, we see that the *Sammlung interessanter Reisebeschreibungen* was in

¹³ See, Joachim Heinrich Campe, ed., *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher*, 1785-92, 16 vols. (Vaduz: Topos, 1979) 1:XXV-XLIX.

¹⁴ Horst Kunze, *Schatzbehälter: Vom besten aus der älteren deutschen Kinderliteratur* (Hanau/Main: Dausien, 1965) 25.

its 7th edition by 1831, the *Entdeckung von Amerika* was in its 26th edition by 1882, and *Robinson der Jüngere* reached 122 authorized editions in 1923.¹⁵ Among his readership in the 19th century can be counted figures as disparate as Friedrich Gerstäcker, Fanny Lewald, and Karl Marx.¹⁶

Within the 18th century and among his contemporaries, Campe cast an even greater shadow. Of the nearly 400 authors discussed in Samuel Baur's *Charakteristik der Erziehungsschriftsteller* (1790), Campe's image was chosen for the *Titelkupfer*. In the wake of his early publishing success, his bust was featured on the frontispiece of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* in 1781. Edited by the Berlin publisher Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811), this periodical was the central organ for reviews of new literary, scientific, and political works. Looking more closely at the publication data from the *Schulbuchhandlung*, we see that in the years 1790-97, a full decade after the release of these works, 5800 copies of *Robinson der Jüngere* and 7650 copies of *Entdeckung von Amerika* were printed.¹⁷ The *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*, a sixteen-volume review and reconsideration of education and child-rearing practices, began with a subscriber list of

¹⁵ Hanno Schmitt, "Philanthropismus und Volksaufklärung im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Das Volk als Objekt obrigkeitlichen Handelns*, ed. Rudolf Vierhaus (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992) 183. For a detailed list of editions released by the publishing house run by Campe's son-in-law, see Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn, *Verlagskatalog von Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn in Braunschweig, 1786-1911* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg & Sohn, 1911) 57-65. In 1799, Campe stepped down from the leadership of the *Schulbuchhandlung*, the publishing house he founded in 1786, ceding it to his son-in-law Vieweg. After this the *Schulbuchhandlung* became an imprint in Vieweg's catalog and Campe's works would continue to be released with this label.

¹⁶ Matt Erlin points out that in *Das Kapital* Marx discusses llamas on Robinson's island, which alludes to Campe's text, since Defoe's Robinson tended goats. Matt Erlin, "Book Fetish: Joachim Heinrich Campe and the Commodification of Literature," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42.4 (2006): 357. While talking about her childhood reading, Fanny Lewald wrote in her autobiography, "[f]rom the suspense with which I followed the deeds of Columbus and Cortez, from the empathy I felt for the suffering of Montezuma . . ." This is a clear reference to Campe's *Entdeckung von Amerika*. Fanny Lewald, *The Education of Fanny Lewald: An Autobiography*, trans. Hanna Ballin Lewis (Albany: State U of NY Press, 1992) 44. Susanne Zantop includes a quote from Gerstäcker as a means of setting up her reading of Campe. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

¹⁷ Schmitt, "Philanthropismus und Volksaufklärung" 182-4.

nearly 4500.¹⁸ These numbers are truly astonishing for an era with a literacy rate estimated to be somewhere between 25 and 40 percent of the population.¹⁹

Beyond his connection to the Humboldt family and leading pedagogues, Campe was also in contact with two central thinkers of the era: Moses Mendelssohn and Immanuel Kant. Campe exchanged letters with these two monumental figures of 18th-century philosophy, corresponding regularly with Mendelssohn from the late 1770s until the early 1780s and exchanging letters with Kant somewhat more sporadically over the course of two decades. Since Kant never ventured far beyond Königsberg, it was quite common that members of the Enlightenment elite never actually met him in person, their only contact taking place through the concourse of post carriages. This, too, was the case for Campe. Mendelssohn, on the other hand, lived in the social whirlwind of Berlin and frequently had visitors to his home. Campe visited Mendelssohn at his home in March of 1783 and offered a portrayal of him that supported common notions of Jewish alterity, by highlighting Mendelssohn's departure from the parlor at sunset to greet the Sabbath.²⁰

In an early and certainly most pointed moment of contact, Mendelssohn wrote Campe in 1777 about an issue concerning the education of Jews. It had been made widely known, in a sign of openness and tolerance, that the *Philanthropin* would accept Jewish students and instructors. The offer elicited few responses and this created some irritation, particularly with the Fürst of Dessau. In response to this Mendelssohn wrote Campe, who was then head

¹⁸ Schmitt, "Philanthropismus und Volksaufklärung" 184. With subscribers from Aachen to Zwoll in Holland, the entire list of names runs over 37 pages in the first volume of the series. See, Campe, ed., *Allgemeine Revision* 1:LVII-LXXXIV.

¹⁹ James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 82-3.

²⁰ Alexander Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn: A Biographical Study* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973) 591-2.

of the school, that it was rather unremarkable and certainly not a novel policy to admit Jewish students, that there were any number of schools and universities throughout Germany that did the same, and that “selbst in den dunkelsten Zeiten, nicht selten Beschnittene auf den Lehrstühlen der orientalischen Sprachen, der Medicin und der Astronomie gesessen haben.”²¹ Mendelssohn questioned the need for such a declaration by an institute that had already proven itself to be invested in the betterment of mankind, arguing that this policy only brings awareness to differences. In spite of his reservations about this particular decision and the norms it reified, Mendelssohn expressed his support for the overall project of the school and the undeniable need for the type of education it offered.

Kant and Campe’s exchange of letters never came to such a heated moment. Most of their missives covered topics related to the ordinary affairs of publishing and polite society. At Campe’s request, Kant wrote to friends seeking their support for the fledgling *Philanthropin* and collected funds from “Praenumeranten” to the *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen*, Campe and Basedow’s journal on educational topics, from within his circle in Königsberg, reporting in a letter dated August 26, 1777 that he had deposited 80 Prussian *Reichsthaler* with Campe’s agent in Berlin.²² Somewhat less ordinary is a letter from the following spring. Upon hearing that Campe was giving up his position at the *Philanthropin*, Kant wrote to direct Campe’s attention to two openings in Königsberg that would be appropriate for him, going so far as to include the annual salary, living arrangements, and steps he would need to take to secure one or both positions.²³ Campe declined this offer, because, as he stated in his letter from March 13, 1778, by the time

²¹ Moses Mendelssohn, *Moses Mendelssohn's gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1843) 3:420.

²² Immanuel Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1902) 10:201-3, 10:214-6, 10:234-5.

²³ Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften* 10:216-8.

Kant's letter arrived, he had already moved to Hamburg and decided to take a few children "von gleichem Alter u. gleichen Fähigkeiten" under his tutelage "um sie zu unterrichten u. zu erziehen." He continues, humbly suggesting, "nie werde ich aber etwas unternehmen, welches Aufsehen u. Geräusche macht, sondern bloß im Kleinen u. ganz im Stillen so viel Gutes zu wirken suchen, als mir meine Kräfte erlauben werden."²⁴ This humility, it seems, was purely an effort to politely decline Kant's offer, since within the next year, Campe would advertise the publication of *Robinson der Jüngere* in the *Deutsches Museum*, a work that was modeled on Campe's efforts with these same children and which would certainly create the "Aufsehen und Geräusche" Campe claimed to wish to avoid.

Before moving on to a discussion of travel writing in the 18th century, I wish to share one final note from Kant and Campe's correspondence. In 1794, upon hearing a rumor that Kant was being forced out of his professorship, Campe returned Kant's favor of support, when he wrote that, should there indeed be a need, he would gladly welcome the "Lehrer des Menschengeschlechts" into his house and Kant could consider himself "den Besitzer alles dessen an, was ich mein nennen darf."²⁵ This overtly symbolic gesture was declined, but Kant responded by saying that Campe's letter "hat [ihn] in die größte Rührung versetzt, und verdient [s]eine innigste Dankbarkeit."²⁶

²⁴ Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften* 10:226.

²⁵ Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften* 11:512-13.

²⁶ Kant, *Gesammelte Schriften* 11:516.

II

Travel Writing in the 18th Century

Travel and the Quest for Information

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of travel writing in the 18th century. Examples from explorers' accounts appear in all arenas. In a 1777 treatise on coffee, Dohm refers to stories about Tahiti that were transmitted back to Europe in Bougainville's account. Campe utilizes "Bauerknaben" as examples "in Ermangelung eines Wilden" in his article on the dangers and timing of *Ausbildung*.²⁷ Johann Gottfried Herder, Immanuel Kant, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach use representations of primitive cultures in their political, racial, and social theories and histories. Access to information about the world and its people was widely available in the eighteenth century. In the middle of the century, multi-volume collections of travel accounts that sought to include all European voyages began to be published in German. The most ambitious of these was the twenty-one volume *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande, oder Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen, welche bis itzo in verschiedenen Sprachen von allen Völkern herausgegeben worden und einen vollständigen Begriff von der neuern Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte machen* that was published in Leipzig in the years 1747-74. In addition to this the remaining massive undertakings were Albrecht von Haller's *Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*, which was published in Göttingen from the years 1750-64, and the ten-volume *Neue Sammlung von Reisebeschreibungen* released by Christoph Daniel Ebeling in Hamburg from 1780-90. These served as a point of reference

²⁷ Joachim Heinrich Campe, "Ueber die große Schädlichkeit einer allzufrühen Ausbildung der Kinder," *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*, ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe, vol. 5 (Vaduz: Topos, 1979) 21.

for the German reading public's increasing interest in voyages of exploration. Campe explicitly notes his use of these and other collections as some of the many sources he consulted in crafting his version of notable accounts for his own collection of travel narratives.

Germans were rabid readers of travel accounts. By the late eighteenth century, Germans were the leading consumers of travel literature in Europe.²⁸ While book production in Germany doubled during the years 1770 to 1800, the number of travelogues increased five-fold.²⁹ Reader interest was directed not only at reports from distant cultural encounters and newly discovered lands, but also at cities and towns beyond more familiar horizons. Certainly, the latest report from the most recent circumnavigation drew many eyes, but there were also countless spectators curious about events in nearby places, both major and minor. Peppered throughout the pages of the many cultural, literary and statistical journals were reports on all manner of intra-European travels. While this dissertation deals exclusively with extra-European narratives, save for the notable exception of Campe's journeys to Switzerland and Paris, the publishing and reading of travel reports from both the neighboring German-speaking territory and the other side of the world were invested, to greater and lesser extents, in the same project. If, for example, we take August Ludwig Schlözer's *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, Leopold Friedrich Günther von Göcking's *Journal von und für Deutschland*, or Dohm and Boie's *Deutsches Museum*, all of which were engaged, explicitly and implicitly, in the exchange of information about social, political and economic conditions in German-speaking lands, we can begin to see that the

²⁸ William E. Stewart, *Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorie* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1978) 189.

²⁹ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 33.

difference between intra- and extra-European accounts is one of distance not function. While it is impossible to gauge the typical reader's reasons for interest in a report about either the inhabitants of Frankfurt am Main or New Zealand, it is fairly safe to claim that the position that these accounts held on the reader's imagination was markedly different. The former was likely primarily informational, the latter decidedly more fantastic. These lines, though, are not always so clear and become much fuzzier when viewed through the lens that Campe built around his re-casting of overseas voyages. Campe's narratives unsettle this initial perception. In sanitizing reports from Pacific Islands, North and South America, and Africa, Campe brings these distant lands undeniably closer. While it would be foolhardy to claim that there was no difference in the reader's perception of life in Frankfurt am Main versus life in New Zealand, this dissertation will argue that the lessons these examples possess are not as foreign in their effect as might first be imagined.

Considerable scholarly focus was first given to the assertion of European authority over the rest of the world with the publication of Edward Said's landmark study *Orientalism* (1978). His consideration of the Orient and how it was constructed within European literature and thought is one of the founding documents of postcolonial studies. His argument that representations of the Orient were instrumental in defining both the Oriental object and the European subject relied on two methodological techniques: *strategic location* and *strategic formation*. These are equally applicable to my study of Campe. *Strategic location*, Said writes, is the stance that the author assumes as a result of the decisions made in constructing a text. His examples are "the kind of narrative voice [the author] adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text—all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally,

representing it or speaking in its behalf.”³⁰ These decisions in placing himself vis-à-vis the object of the narrative is not done within a vacuum of the single work but within the broader context the era’s discursive moment. *Strategic formation*, which Said calls the ways that a text or author assume “previous knowledge of the Orient,” and the way “each work *affiliates* itself with other works, with audiences, with institutions, with the Orient itself.”³¹ The two strategies are applicable to texts sited outside the Orient and are integral to all texts that set the self in conversation with places and peoples from other geographic, temporal, and cultural moments. As these strategies are integral to the historical context in which Campe worked, it is only natural that they are also integral to Campe’s texts. I examine these strategies as they manifest themselves in Campe’s work, exposing the relationship between Europe and its periphery, but then also moving to explore the function of this relationship within the German colonial imaginary.

Even though Said notes its role in the creation of Orientalist ideologies, the position he ascribes to Germany is limited and derivative. He notes that German Oriental scholarship “refine[d] and elaborate[d] techniques whose application was to texts, myths, ideas, and languages almost literally gathered from the Orient by imperial Britain and France.”³² This is undeniably true, particularly if the scope is expanded to include locations beyond the Orient. Several recent studies on Germany’s role in the colonial realm have picked up this thread. In an article looking at cosmopolitanism in Goethe’s works, John Noyes argues that Said’s claim overlooked the “closeness of colonizing projects to everyday life in Germany”

³⁰ Said, *Orientalism* 20.

³¹ Said, *Orientalism* 20.

³² Said, *Orientalism* 19.

and the investment that German intellectuals and readers had in them.³³ It is absolutely vital to view Germany's interaction with works emanating from or set in the colonial realm within the broader transnational context of Europe. The political lines, and competition, between the imperial powers were clearly defined with respect to control of territory, resources and economic interests, but the narratives of these expeditions resided in a less clearly defined space. Reports of fantastic new discoveries or unsettling events were common currency and quickly became available to readers beyond the confines of the political entity that sponsored the voyage, if there was one, or the language community of the explorer, if there was none. The tangible spoils of expeditions, whether economic—gold, silver, territory, subjugated labor—or scientific—anthropological artifacts, botanical specimens, zoological or cultural curiosities—were reserved, for the most part, exclusively for the sponsoring state or institution. The knowledge gleaned abroad and made available via written reports, however, was accessible throughout Europe. Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro might be able to claim territory for the Spanish crown; James Cook, Francois Le Vaillant, and Jonathan Carver can collect birds, mammals, and ceremonial objects that will enrich the collections of museums, yet their observations of the places and people they to varying degrees invaded, encountered, and subjugated were not as easily partitioned. The textual representations of these events and objects were open to interpretation, comparison and question.

In this sense, German participation in the era of exploration and colonial expansion is not derivative. German intellectuals were engaged, along with *philosophes* across Europe, in making sense of the phenomenal wave of information that came in over the transom.

Scientists of every type, from botanists to zoologists, were classifying and naming the

³³ John K. Noyes, "Goethe on Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism: Bildung and the Dialectic of Critical Mobility," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39.4 (2006): 458, n. 3.

specimens it brought. Geologists and geographers scoured accounts for clues to the earth's history. Philosophers and anthropologists, a new discipline born in the 18th century, compared sketches and descriptions of people encountered abroad for traces of hidden order.³⁴

In contrast to the position I have argued for above, recent scholarship has carved out a unique place for Germany in the exploration and colonization of the world. As German studies made its belated postcolonial turn, which echoes Germany's tardy and truncated experience in empire building after 1871, scholars have examined this experience through the lens of Germany's particular history. There are two works that deserve mention here, Susanne Zantop's *Colonial Fantasies* and Russell Berman's *Enlightenment or Empire*.³⁵ Each of these works proposes, albeit in different terms, a unique role for Germany's writers and readers in the history of European global dominance. Zantop traces the development of a fantasy of colonial activity that imagines the German as a benevolent, humane colonizer. Similarly, Berman describes Germany as a "junior partner" to England and as "always lagging behind and increasingly obsessed with the need to imitate."³⁶ His argument, built around the idea of Germany pursuing a *Sonderweg* toward modernization, reads textual examples teleologically with historical developments across the span of over a century. In my examination of Campe's works, I question the unique position that these scholars create for German texts, writers, and readers. I argue that Campe's works are inextricable from the European context in which they were written. That is, claims that his texts present German

³⁴ Cf. John H. Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

³⁵ Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

³⁶ Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire* 10.

action in the colonial world as somehow different, apart and most importantly superior to other European states are overdetermined. Germans were clearly not primary actors on the colonial stage and the course of history placed it in a secondary, or “junior” role, yet the position Campe’s texts maintained throughout the last decades of the 18th century and into the 19th century was anything but minor. As I have already shown, his work was a success not only in Germany but throughout Europe.

This dissertation undertakes a more nuanced approach to the function of colonial imagery in German letters of the 18th century. Campe’s works deal with the “trauma of expansionism,” as John Noyes has recently formulated, by wedding scenes from the site of exploration and colonial action to the projects of *Bildung* and *Erziehung*.³⁷ Only through the connection of these two strands can the function of the exotic in the German colonial imaginary be fully appreciated. Only in “bringing it back home,” does the terror of colonial violence become truly present.³⁸ As the second chapter of this dissertation will show, this is precisely the move that takes place in Campe’s work.

³⁷ Noyes, “Goethe on Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism” 444.

³⁸ Noyes, “Goethe on Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism” 444.

III

***Bildung* and the Dangers of Social Education**

The Aims of *Bildung*

Over the course of the 18th century, as the social and familial structure changed, so too did the ideas associated with *Bildung*. Early in the century in connection with religious *Hausväterliteratur* it was linked with *Kinderzucht* and *Auferziehung*. With the gradual secularization of society and educational practices, additional terms, such as *Unterricht*, *Lehre*, *Erziehung*, and *Ausbildung*, were added to the conceptual cloud. *Bildung* became more and more removed from the private and tied to the political and public sphere.³⁹ As education came to be understood as a tool for improving the well-being of not only individuals, but society, it was only natural that it came to be viewed as a responsibility of the state. The first effort to theorize and implement an educational plan that integrated social goals was undertaken, beginning in 1770 with the first publication of Basedow's *Elementarwerk*, by the pedagogues of the Philanthropic school. This shortly led to the establishment of the *Philanthropin*, a model school where their theories could be put into practice. As part of his effort to turn his territory into a center of Enlightenment culture, Prince Leopold III Friedrich Franz, the ruler of Anhalt-Dessau, supported enthusiastically, if not financially, the founding of the *Philanthropin* in 1774.

Favoring the societal aims of education, the pedagogues of the Philanthropic school acknowledged that this was a compromise position that, as the title of Campe's article "Ueber die große Schädlichkeit einer allzufrühen Ausbildung" (1786) indicates, came with

³⁹ In spite of its age, for a complete and very useful discussion of the term, see Rudolf Vierhaus, "Bildung," *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, eds. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1972): 508-51.

dangers and distinct limits. They acknowledged that “jeder einzelne Mensch soll in seiner Art und nach seiner Individualität selbst glücklich seyn, und zum Glük und der Vollkommenheit des Ganzen beitragen,” while at the same time noting, “daß nicht jeder Mensch von allen Seiten in allen seinen Anlagen und Kräften gleich sehr vervollkommnet werden kann.”⁴⁰ At some point, the needs of society are superior to the development of the individual. This choice necessitated sacrificing a degree of individual perfection for the perfection of society as a whole. In the August 1777 issue of the *Deutsches Museum*, Dohm, in an argument typical of the time, campaigned for the development of a *Volkslehre* that would provide each of the three standard social classes the era identified with instruction that would allow them to meet the intellectual and social demands of their future trade, occupation, or profession. In delineating the three classes, “1) der Produzierenden . . . , 2) der Besoldeten oder aller, welche die Nasion bedienen, aufklären, bilden, 3) des Adels,” Dohm describes the knowledge that each needs to perform optimally for the economic and political well-being of the state.⁴¹

Following the Philanthropic school, the next significant shift in educational aims was theorized by the Swiss-born educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Pestalozzi sought to integrate the needs of society and the needs of the individual, finding a middle-ground position between the two. He proposed a “means of humanizing industry” that viewed vocational training clearly as part of the development of the complete individual.⁴²

His theory placed considerable emphasis on training children for future occupations, yet he

⁴⁰ Johann Stuve, "Allgemeinste Grundsätze der Erziehung, hergeleitet aus einer richtigen Kenntniß des Menschen in Rücksicht auf seine Bestimmung, seine körperliche und geistige Natur und deren innigste Verbindung, seine Fähigkeit zur Glückseligkeit und seine Bestimmung," *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*, ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe, vol. 1 (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Topos, 1979) 261.

⁴¹ Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, "Ueber die Einrichtung einer Volkslehre," *Deutsches Museum* 2 (1777): 105.

⁴² Kate Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and his Work* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973) 189.

nevertheless maintained that “Berufs- und Standesbildung” should remain secondary to the pursuit of “Menschenbildung.”⁴³

Wilhelm von Humboldt and the neo-humanists at the beginning of the nineteenth century would continue this trend, placing individual perfection as the necessary first step that would lead to social change. In what would become the dominant idea for the liberal tradition of the 19th and most, if not all, of the 20th century, Humboldt conceived of education as a force that was directed “nicht zu äußeren Zwecken,” but sought “Menschen [zu] bilden” and set the “vollkommene Entfaltung individueller Möglichkeiten” as its goal.⁴⁴ In essence, Humboldt envisions the fully-developed individual as capable of the greatest leverage in society. Rather than seeking to strike a balance, rather than seeking to produce individuals for particular roles as the pedagogues of the Philanthropic school had maintained, Humboldt considered the development of the individual as paramount and the best assurance for the progress of society.

While this is not the place to make judgments about the merits of these choices, their efficacy, or standing within the history of educational theory, I would like to briefly offer an observation about the potentially hidden legacy of Philanthropic thought. With Campe’s works retaining their popularity throughout the 19th century, it would seem that key notions of Philanthropic pedagogy were still operative well beyond the 18th century, if not pivotally, at least liminally. Conjecturally, and this is all the further this point need be pursued within the framework of the present project, the Humboldtian and the Philanthropic notions of *Bildung* have obvious class distinctions, a point integral to Campe and his contemporaries educational plans. It seems likely that the Philanthropic mode of thought remained viable,

⁴³ Vierhaus, “Bildung” 520.

⁴⁴ Vierhaus, “Bildung” 520.

many of its elements were without doubt carried on in the work of Pestalozzi, if restricted solely to the working class, while Humboldt's idea became formative for the bourgeois middle class and those who aspired to it. A quick glance at the structure of the German school system and the curriculum of *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* bears out this point.

“Ueber die große Schädlichkeit einer allzufrühen Ausbildung der Kinder”

To illustrate the focus that the Philanthropists placed on education for society and the limits that they were willing to place on the development of the *Mensch*, it will be helpful to look at Campe's essay that dealt with this topic. Not only does this essay provide further insight into the priorities of Enlightenment pedagogy, but it presents Campe's basic understanding of the relationship between civilization and nature, between social order and natural order, and between the demands of bourgeois and natural society. Understanding the way Campe defines these binaries is crucial to my reading of his narratives. He explicitly encourages reflection on and comparison between European society and the societies of the world presented in the works that form the body of this dissertation. Understanding these dichotomies is vital to my reading of his work.

In “Ueber die große Schädlichkeit einer allzufrühen Ausbildung” Campe begins with a series of ten observations that lay out nature as the perfect teacher. These are then followed by ten rules that flow logically from these original observations. After examining and extolling the virtues of nature as the first and best pedagogue, Campe's argument then moves to an explanation of the question that will be the focus of my discussion. This question asks “wie lange dürfen wir bei der Erziehung unserer Kinder der Natur gemäß verfahren?”⁴⁵ In posing this question after the long explanation of nature as ideal teacher, it is obvious what

⁴⁵ “Schädlichkeit” 70.

Campe's answer will be: Nature should be followed as long as possible but only until the time when it becomes necessary to prepare the child for the needs of society. Nature is the ideal teacher for each individual, but it fails to prepare a child for life in civilization. In Campe's own words: "Die Erziehung der Natur . . . zweckt auf die Vervollkommnung und Beglückung des einzelnen Menschen ab, ohne Rücksicht auf diejenigen Lagen und Verhältnisse, worin er künftig, als Mitglied einer bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, kommen wird."⁴⁶ I call your attention to the adjective that modifies *Gesellschaft* in this quote, a word that is crucial in this context. As is to be expected from this quote, Campe's argument continues with a clear delineation of the divergent paths of nature and society. Education must at some point focus more intensely "an seiner künftigen Brauchbarkeit, als an seiner individuellen Vollkommenheit," it must seek more stridently to form "den Bürger und den Gesellschafter als den Menschen in ihm."⁴⁷ This argument underscores the fundamental principle of Enlightenment pedagogy as an education for society, as a pedagogy of utility, not ideals.

The type of society that this education sets as its goal, though, is of central importance to understanding the relationship that Campe envisions between, as he sees it, primitive societies and the civil society of Europe. His notion that nature cannot prepare a child for the "bürgerliche Gesellschaft" exposes his understanding of European society as primarily unnatural. As nature is incapable of preparing a child for the needs of bourgeois society, the pedagogue must permit the child to develop along the course nature ordains as long as possible and only when it is absolutely necessary, intercede for the good of the child and society. The more natural the childhood a person has the better. Bourgeois society and

⁴⁶ "Schädlichkeit" 70.

⁴⁷ "Schädlichkeit" 71.

nature are in tension, but not opposition. Bourgeois society is not inherently impure, but an aberration from nature. As such, it needs to be brought, to the greatest extent possible, back to a more natural composition. This is the truest goal of Campe's pedagogy, what Robinson's experience instructs, what, paradoxically, the conquest of Peru teaches, and what the assembled cultures of the *Sammlung* show is possible.

The perils of an "allzufrühe Ausbildung" are a rehearsal of all of the fears that guided pedagogues in the Enlightenment. There are four areas in which Campe sees dangers of an early departure from nature's plan: the physical development of the child, the instruction in social norms, the instruction in moral principles, and the instruction in reading. The potential hazards that each of these can result in are similar. An early preparation for society, conditions the child to artificial pleasantries. The effort to refine a child's physical behaviors does not allow the body to achieve a proper balance. Moral instruction forced upon a child before he/she is ready for it hinders the construction of an internalized sense of moral propriety. Offering children reading materials before the proper time fires the imagination with images that disrupt the child's ability to perceive the real world. In general terms, the all too early introduction of elements of bourgeois society, blinds the child to the artifice and artificiality of it. This child knowing only the order and rules of society interprets these as natural. The texts that form the body of this dissertation are designed to highlight the true nature of society.

This can be illustrated with a single quote from Campe's article that both demonstrates the impassioned nature of his pedagogy and serves to show the frequency with which he returns to these ideas throughout his writing. Campe writes:

Wie könnte es auch anders seyn, da alles, was das Kind in feinen und üppigen Gesellschaften sieht, hört und genießt, recht eigentlich darauf abzweckt, seine

Nerven reizbar, seine Säfte scharf zu machen, seine Einbildungskraft mit wollüstigen Bildern anzufüllen und sein Herz mit unzüchtigen Begierden zu entflammen? Ich habe von dieser Pest der Menschheit schon an andern Orten dieses Werks geredet, und es wird künftig noch besonders davon geredet werden. Also jetzt genug davon. (111)

Inflamed nerves, fiery juices, an imagination filled with lascivious images, and a heart laden with untamed desires are the result of this misguided social education. Campe's task, certainly not an easy one, is to stem this tide and to accomplish this he turns to a series of texts set in fantastic, exotic settings. The tensions inherent in this project are palpable.

Synopsis

In the second chapter, I discuss Campe's best-seller *Robinson der Jüngere* within its historical context, both pedagogically and socially. His adaptation of the Robinson Crusoe material was an overnight success. The first edition quickly sold out, by 1786 the third "rechtmäßige Ausgabe" was available, and the book would see numerous re-printings and adaptations within Campe's lifetime. My reading connects the text to discourses found in the *Deutsches Museum*. Via a series of articles from this leading Enlightenment journal where Campe announced the publication of his work, I draw attention to the emphasis this discourse places on individual agency and action as the means of improving productivity and economic self-sufficiency. These efforts to improve economic productivity are set within the borders of German-speaking lands. On first glance, this is undeniably contrary to my positioning of Campe's work as participatory in broader European cultural trends; however, as will become clear, the means of achieving this productivity do not invoke any idea of a particular German nationality. In casting individuals as responsible for social change, the texts rely on a vision

of the public sphere that is fundamentally pedagogical. Additionally, this chapter expands and enriches readings of the text within the context of consumer studies.

In the third chapter, I turn to questions of the dialectic formed in the retelling of the conquistador narratives of Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro, which ultimately colonize the text's subjects within the domestic world. Through the delicate interplay of identification with colonizer and colonial subject, the text manipulates the readers' identificatory drive. It restricts through the subtle mechanics of discipline, ultimately threatening, should the pedagogy fail, the conquest's homecoming and the emergence of colonial violence in the domestic world. I employ Foucault's ideas on societal order and power to show the ambivalent relationships fostered in the text between the narrating Father and his listening children and the Old World to the New.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the collection of travel narratives Campe edited for young readers. My reading focuses on the presentation of newly encountered societies in these texts. I explore the way that the familiar is reflected upon through the lens of the exotic and identify the moments when the narratives, through either the voice of the explorer or Campe himself, cast European norms as degenerate. Holding the European as profligate permits the construction of a cosmopolitan set of values that points to the universal. This collection presents foreign cultures and all of their shocking and bizarre customs in a rhetorical move that simultaneously others and recuperates. In the final section of this chapter, I place Campe's employment of travelogues in discussion with the anthropological and philosophical writings of Kant and Herder.

Chapter Two

Pedagogical Fantasies: The Public Sphere and Discourses on National Improvement in *Robinson der Jüngere* and the *Deutsches Museum*

The Dangers of Coffee and Ivory

Near the end of the 24th “Abend” of *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-80), the narrator, figuratively referred to as *Vater* (Father), tells the listening children of a shipwreck near the coast of Robinson’s island. The novel, which would go on to be reprinted and adapted into hundreds of editions, was yet another offshoot of the *Robinsonade*, a family of texts based on Daniel Defoe’s original work from 1719.¹ Following Rousseau’s proposal in *Emile*,² Campe departed radically from Defoe’s epoch-making original, transforming the unfiltered first-person account into a two-hundred-year-old tale, told in thirty installments, each of which is labeled as an “Abend,” by a narrating Father to an assembled group of children. In placing Robinson’s voyage in the late sixteenth century, Campe provides historical distance between the events of the narrative and the Father’s narration. In inserting this two-century buffer, Campe’s version of the Robinson material carefully controls interaction with the narrative. The text’s narrative format guides the reader’s understanding of the text through numerous

¹ Defoe’s text was also adapted for almost any audience, much like the modern collection of inspirational stories *Chicken Soup for the Soul* has been compiled for specific audiences, e.g. nurses, cat and dog lovers, expectant mothers. Prior to Campe’s rewriting there were Jewish, Leipziger and Polish-Prussian adaptations of Defoe’s text. See Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 102-104.

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile: or, On education*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979) 184-185.

explanations, definitions, and discussions that take place between the Father and his audience. In these scenes the Father is used to rein in the tale of adventure, assigning tasks that will help the listening children—and the reader, in turn—put the text’s pedagogical message into practice.

At this crucial point in the text, after legitimating Robinson’s and Freitag’s right to salvage the cargo, the Father details the items that were recovered. Robinson and Freitag rescued “tausend Kleinigkeiten” that would help them improve their life on the island. These tools and materials would supplement those that Robinson had crafted in his years on the island, since in a significant departure from Defoe, Campe initially casts his Robinson upon the shores of the island with nothing more than the shirt on his back. For my reading of the text, what is interesting is not the collection of items Robinson and Freitag chose to take from the ship but those things they left on the vessel to be carried away with the next passing storm:

Ein Theil der Schifsladung bestand aus Elefantenzähnen; diese liessen sie liegen, weil sie keinen Gebrauch davon machen konten. Ein Gleiches thaten sie mit einigen Tonnen vol Kaffeebohnen, welche *Robinson* gleichfals verschmähte, weil er nicht gesonnen war, sich jemahls wieder zu überflüssigen und schädlichen Lekkereien zu verwöhnen.³ (282)

Like the tusks, coffee beans might be of no practical use to the shipwrecked youth, but this is not the reason they are left behind. Robinson in his time on the island, we are told, had disciplined himself and no longer needed, nor was he inclined to allow himself to enjoy, the unnecessary and harmful pleasures that the shipment of coffee beans would provide.

Stranded on a deserted island for over a decade, the first true luxury comes his way and he simply allows it to be washed away by the waves? What principle guides this decision?

³ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*, nach dem Erstdruck (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981). Hereafter abbreviated *RdJ*.

Why is coffee a *schädliche Leckerei*, a dangerous delicacy? How is the simple pleasure of a cup of coffee going to harm the isolated world in which Robinson was living?

To formulate an answer to these questions, it is necessary to understand the context in which Campe rewrote the Robinson narrative. I will argue that Robinson's abstention from the pleasure of coffee and the decorative potential of the elephant tusks has nothing to do with success on a deserted island, but is key, at least as far as Campe and the anti-consumption discourse he engaged are concerned, to the success of German states in the context of late eighteenth-century Europe. This chapter will show how Campe's work participates in a contemporary discourse focused on solutions to the unique array of economic and political problems German-speaking lands faced. However, in seeking to confront these challenges, *Robinson der Jüngere* and the discussion found in contemporary journals did not invoke ideas of German superiority, to the contrary they frequently drew their examples from supposedly "rival" European states. In fact, the format of the *Deutsches Museum* sought to mimic and encourage "public spirit" in the way that similar British publications did.⁴ Thus, the discourse which Campe's work engaged is in a rather limited sense "German," and at the same time an example of European public sphere efforts to mold opinion.

As "eine alle Lebensbereiche umfassende Reformbewegung," the Enlightenment is, as Hans Erich Bödeker and Ulrich Herrmann, at least in part, define it in the introduction to their seminal work, *Aufklärung als Politisierung – Politisierung der Aufklärung*, "kritisches Denken in praktischer Absicht."⁵ In setting *Robinson der Jüngere* in discussion with

⁴ Jonathan M. Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 25.

⁵ Hans Erich Bödeker and Ulrich Herrmann, *Aufklärung als Politisierung - Politisierung der Aufklärung* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1987) 5.

representative articles from a leading contemporary political journal, *Deutsches Museum*, I reconstruct a discourse that affirms precisely this practical strain of Enlightenment thought which envisions the individual, and the example he/she provides, as the agent for change in society. This discourse places its faith in the pedagogical power of the public sphere. Robinson's refusal of coffee beans is symbolic of personal choices that when multiplied by collective action, and echoed repeatedly in print media, will lead to the improvement of society.

To set up this argument, it will first be necessary to establish the context within which *Robinson der Jüngere* was written and the discourses it actively engaged. As a seminal document of 18th-century German letters, Campe's text has much to say about not only the relationship between Europe and the world, but also luxury, consumer goods, and consumption, not to mention the pedagogy of industry, moderation, and filial duty so prominent in the work. Weaving these strands together will be the focus of the introduction. The first section of the chapter will present a close reading of several articles drawn from the *Deutsches Museum*, then in the second section, I will set these against my reading of Campe's text both in its pedagogical goals and more broadly, in its rehearsal of the values found within the pages of the journal.

Coffee beans are a surprising and anachronistic cargo for Robinson to find on a ship sailing the Caribbean at the end of the sixteenth century. Coffee, first introduced to Europe in the mid-seventeenth century, nearly one hundred years after Robinson abstained from the shipment of beans, had by the 1770s become increasingly important, both economically and socially. After its introduction, the beverage had swiftly taken hold as a symbol of "western

urbanity” in the German public consciousness.⁶ Through coffee and the accompanying coffeehouse lifestyle, German lands were able to participate in the pleasures that other, more “sophisticated” European states enjoyed. Social coffee drinking involved a range of items beyond the coffee itself. To serve coffee in style required porcelain coffee cups, engraved silver services, and other fashionable accoutrements. For these pleasures German states sent vast sums of currency into the hands of colonial traders; what the public gained in feelings of social refinement, German lands lost economically. In turn, this negative trade prompted German states to enact laws restricting and taxing the trade in coffee. These laws prompted considerable discussion in Enlightenment journals. Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, writing in the *Deutsches Museum*, invoked the responsibility of individuals and the state in resolving this political, economic, and moral “crisis.” Rather than proposing the establishment of German colonies to produce coffee, Dohm pragmatically suggested the development of a domestically grown replacement for coffee.⁷

Coffee, though, is not the only thing that Robinson leaves on the ship. If we return to the passage quoted above, we see that Robinson also rejected another cargo, “Elefantenzähne.” Ivory is an equally strange cargo to find on 16th-century ship in the Caribbean. While the abstention from coffee is grounded by a litany of motives, the elephant teeth are rejected simply on the basis of utility: “weil sie keinen Gebrauch davon machen konten.” This simple dismissal is surprising, since during his first years on the island, Robinson had used ingenuity to craft all of the materials needed for his well-being. The Father’s narrative describes in great detail the items he crafted: pants, a jacket, a parasol, a

⁶ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants* (New York: Pantheon, 1992) 72.

⁷ For examples of coffee laws and commentary on them in journals, see Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* 25-8.

rope ladder, baskets, pots, snares for hunting, a shelter with stockade and a whole host of simple tools. In light of this ingenuity, it is striking that Robinson and the Father in his narrative would flatly reject a resource with a great number of potential uses. The potential utility of the ivory is outweighed, it seems, by its decorative use. Ivory held a relatively minor position in the array of 18th-century luxury consumer goods. Histories of the rise of consumer culture focus on ornate fabrics, fine china, ceramics, intricate clocks, and coffee/tea services.⁸ Trade in ivory was on the rise, but it would reach its peak with the colonization of West Africa in the 19th century as ivory became the principle material for piano keys and billiard balls.⁹ Even though ivory is not as prominent or widely-available a luxury good for the contemporary reader, the Father's narrative nonetheless casts it aside as a useless material. The passage continues by denigrating the external, social value of luxury items. Robinson and Freitag "suchten . . . so viel Bretter loszubrechen und mitzunehmen als sie nur immer konten, weil ihnen diese einen grössern Nutzen und also auch einen grössern innern Werth zu haben schienen."¹⁰ It seems that ivory, as well as gold and diamonds found on the ship, has no intrinsic worth. Humans and society ascribe value to these items, a point the Father makes in his narrative, but these are merely values of exchange and prestige.¹¹ On the other hand, boards and the metal recovered are inherently valuable, that is, they possess an intrinsic use value.

⁸ Maxine Berg, "New Commodities: Luxuries and their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England," *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, eds. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) 63-76.

⁹ Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2006) 170-2.

¹⁰ *RdJ* 282.

¹¹ *RdJ* 96, 277-8. When Robinson takes the gold and diamonds from the ship, the Father explains in response to a question from one of the children that Robinson took these things in the hope that he might be able to return them to their rightful owner.

Approaching Campe's material from the perspective of consumption studies, Matt Erlin has argued that *Robinson der Jüngere*, through extended explanation of items and their uses, seeks to prevent objects in the narrative from being disembedded from the "concrete, quotidian relationships that characterize their existence in the natural world."¹² Lengthy and frequent explanations in the text contextualize items, "none is allowed to remain opaque or open to interpretation, lest it give rise to a fetishistic relationship."¹³ As examples, he calls to attention the passage that recounts the many hands needed to make a mattress and the bullet-point list of factual information the children provide when the island of Madeira is mentioned. As fetish objects, materials are removed from their means of production and purpose, and imbued with a special meaning that is not connected to a utilitarian purpose. The ivory found on the ship falls into this category. Ivory, the text asserts, has no utilitarian purpose, save for when it is connected to the elephant, and thus is purely decorative in the mind of Robinson. Robinson could easily decorate his *Sommerpalast* with carved ivory without creating dangerous desires within his small island society. Similarly, he could start his day with a cup of coffee and this would have virtually no impact on his secluded world. This is not, however, the reason they are rejected. Robinson rejects these things because they are, as the Father sees it, detrimental to society. Robinson's time on the island is not a dress rehearsal for future colonial activity, but preparation for his return to society. From the first moments on the island, his single focus is to survive so that he can reconcile the errors he

¹² Matt Erlin, "Book Fetish: Joachim Heinrich Campe and the Commodification of Literature," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42.4 (2006): 361.

¹³ Erlin, "Book Fetish," 371.

made in his youth, as he completes each simple tool, he reminds himself, “was bin ich doch in meiner Jugend für ein grosser Nar gewesen.”¹⁴

Susanne Zantop, in her book *Colonial Fantasies*, proposes that texts of the period, such as *Robinson der Jüngere*, compensated for the relative economic backwardness of German lands by recasting the German as the better, more skillful colonizer.¹⁵ While Germany was limited to enjoying products grown in colonial lands, England, Spain and the Dutch had developed mercantilistic systems of commerce that created vast amounts of wealth from trade in these products. Faced against these nascent colonial economic powers, Germany was a “nation” only in the imagination. Broken into hundreds of small and mostly powerless pieces, the German lands were incapable of engaging in large-scale trade or colonial enterprise. Zantop skillfully demonstrates that German texts portrayed the Spanish and English as brutal, vicious, money-hungry colonizers. Germans, she argues, are portrayed as kind, benevolent and paternal; those natives fortunate enough to live in German fictional colonies are enriched and profit from the interaction. Zantop looks at the way in which, through a variety of genres, texts inscribe the German in the “role of conqueror or colonizer.”¹⁶ Through repetition this “fantasy” writes itself into the collective social conscious and/or subconscious. She examines how the translation and reconstruction of texts about colonies or set in the colonial world seek to compensate for the lack of actual colonies. Zantop sees these texts as a “Handlungersatz,” as an “imaginary testing ground for colonial action.”¹⁷

¹⁴ RdJ 71.

¹⁵ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 7.

¹⁶ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 6.

¹⁷ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 6.

Prior to Zantop, the majority of scholarship focused on the pedagogical nature of Campe's text, largely overlooking the colony/colonizer dynamic. While Zantop's analysis of the colonial fantasy in pre-colonial German texts is persuasive, enlightening and indeed path-breaking, with respect to *Robinson der Jüngere*, it fails to fully describe the function of Robinson's time in the colonial realm. In certain respects, Robinson does establish a colony and assert physical, moral, and spiritual authority over his servant and friend Freitag, but in other respects, he is an advocate for filial duty and a life of domestic diligence, completely devoid of any interest in a return to his island or further territorial conquests. The servant-master relationship acted out on the island disappears upon arrival in Europe, where Robinson and Freitag live out their days as partners in a small workshop making tables, not luxury goods.

If Robinson is indeed a colonizer, then he is simply an "accidental colonizer," who upon finding himself stranded on an island is able to claim supremacy solely on the ubiquitous eighteenth-century belief of a general European superiority over native cultures.¹⁸ I wish not to discount this troubling aspect of Campe's text, but Robinson assumes a role with Freitag that is largely thrust upon him and agrees, as the Father notes, "eine Zeitlang den König mit ihm zu spielen."¹⁹ Robinson's island experience is, as Zantop correctly argues, literary participation in the dawning of the era of imperial conquests; however, in distilling the text from its contemporary context she downplays the text's overt pedagogical appeal to its audience. Without accounting for the prominence of Robinson's refusal of the shipment of coffee and ivory in the Father's account, Zantop's argument overlooks the text's vital

¹⁸ See Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 66-80, for a discussion of eighteenth-century racial theories and 108-112 for Zantop's reading of the relationship between Robinson and Freitag.

¹⁹ *RdJ* 206.

connection to an anti-luxury discourse. Campe's text is programmatically aimed at empowering the reading/listening children, seeking to spur them to "Selbstthätigkeit," economic productivity and individual agency with Robinson holding the position of consummate model and chief advocate.²⁰

Zantop argues that Campe's pedagogical project is "metaphorically equated with colonization and colonization with education, the domestication of little savages."²¹ This is unmistakably true. However, Campe's text explicitly emphasizes the importance of the principles and skills Robinson learns on the island for the domestic arena, turning them into a lesson for the listening/reading child. Robinson certainly was a successful colonizer; nevertheless, after returning to Hamburg, each time he recounts his experiences on the island, he promotes a pedagogy of industriousness and filial piety, underscoring the knowledge he gained, and thereby eliminating the need to repeat his folly. He admonishes parents to condition their children "zu einem frommen, mäßigen, und arbeitsamen Leben!" and pleads for children to guard against "Müßiggang, aus welchem nichts, als Böses komt!"²² The story of this Robinson is one of a misguided youth, who — unlike Defoe's Robinson, who profits from his journey — has only been reformed by his time away from Europe. Robinson's adventure is pedagogical; any retelling of his story eliminates the need for children to follow his path. The Father's narrative preserves Robinson's experiences and thoughts, rendering any repeat of Robinson's voyage utterly superfluous, since everything he learned from it is accessible in the Father's account. Thus, the text does not function primarily as an *Ersatz* for colonial activity; rather, it displaces any desire for travel or colonial pursuits with a

²⁰ *RdJ* 7.

²¹ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 105.

²² *RdJ* 346.

pedagogical appeal for domestic productivity. Campe's text does not replace "actual" colonies with Robinson's literary colony. Rather, it eradicates fantasies of colonial adventures, replacing them with practical lessons for German children.

Read in isolation, some of the principles that Robinson praises may indeed support Zantop's argument, but when read in conjunction with contemporary discourses found in the *Deutsches Museum*, the "book that educated whole generations of Germans in colonizing skills" has a decidedly more domestic agenda.²³ When read in the context of this journal, where, significantly, the first installment of the text appeared and where Campe advertised the impending publication of the first volume,²⁴ it becomes apparent that the text is engaging and furthering a dialogue that places domestic productivity and satisfaction from the fruits of labor above any desire, wish or inclination to participate in the race for a colonial empire. In focusing on the colonial, Zantop fails to account for the variety and the complexity of the contemporary political situation in German lands. Her argument posits a belief in a discourse on German national interest and nationalism that asserted German chauvinism and supremacy, which, as will be shown in the discussion of the *Deutsches Museum*, simply did not exist in the dialogue of the 1770s that *Robinson der Jüngere* was participating in. Any discussion of the German nation in the *Deutsches Museum* was tied to attempts to define "German," without making claim to German national hegemony or superiority. In fact, the journal explicitly called upon readers to follow "dem Beyspiel der aufgeklärtesten Nationen Europens" and engage in a dialogue that crafted "German" norms, in the style of these enlightened states, that could be used to further the development of the nation economically,

²³ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 13.

²⁴ See Joachim Heinrich Campe, "Ankündigung eines neuen Lesebuchs für Kinder," *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 1 (1779): 118-23 and Campe, "Anfang des verjüngten Robinsons; zur Probe," *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 1 (1779): 123-132.

politically and socially.²⁵ The *Deutsches Museum* and other Enlightenment-era journals, such as *Der teutsche Merkur*, the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, *Schlözers Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, and *Das Journal von und für Deutschland* to name a few, cast themselves as centers for information exchange that fostered awareness of the manifold efforts taking place in the duchies, principalities, and kingdoms that comprised the German-speaking lands.

In 1776, after success as the editor of the *Encyclopädisches Journal*, Christian Wilhelm von Dohm along with Heinrich Christian Boie founded and edited the *Deutsches Museum*. This journal, which would remain in publication until 1788, had by contemporary standards a high and remarkably steady subscription rate of roughly 1000 per issue.²⁶ For Dohm this journal was an opportunity “sein Publikum nicht nur zu unterhalten [. . .] sondern es vor allem im aufgeklärten Sinne zu erziehen und zu bilden.”²⁷ This formulation echoes the Horatian ideal of *prodesse et delectare*, a notion central to Campe’s drafting of the Robinson material. Each monthly edition of the journal, therefore, included entertaining and enlightening items covering a range of subjects and genres: statistical comparisons, travel diaries, proposals for legislation, commentary on legislation, anecdotes, historical accounts, exchanges of letters, poetry, and fiction. The *Deutsches Museum* had as its goal to be exactly that which the title implied, a place where the reading public could reflect on and examine

²⁵ Heinrich Christian Boie and Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, “Vorerinnerung,” *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 1 (1777): 5.

²⁶ Jürgen Wilke, *Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts (1688-1789)* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978) 125. Using an estimate of 10 readers per issue to account for the prevalence of *Lesegesellschaften*, Wilke extrapolates the readership to approximately ten thousand per issue.

²⁷ Ilseget Dambacher, *Christian Wilhelm von Dohm: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des preußischen aufgeklärten Beamtentums und seiner Reformbestrebungen am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1974) 38.

articles and items in order to make “die Deutschen mit sich selbst bekannter und auf ihre eignen Nationalangelegenheiten aufmerksamer.”²⁸ Casting the journal as a museum invokes and presupposes a pedagogical agenda.

At the end of the 18th century the museum was crystallizing as a public institution. In contrast to the private viewing of collections of curiosities amongst the nobility, a form of social entertainment, the museum was conceived as an element in the modern state that would produce, hand-in-hand with educational reforms, a self-regulating citizenry. Through the organization of displays and by managing interactions with the material, museums create a narrative.²⁹ In this sense, the *Deutsches Museum* did much more than simply make its readers aware of national affairs, it actively defined and produced a vision of Germany. Not only did the journal provide space to “exhibit” German materials, but it structured the pieces to encourage commentary, response and discussion of the submissions, with these exchanges often running over the course of several months. In this way the journal did more than just display “treasures,” it was a lively venue for the discussion of topics that informed and edified the public.

In this sense, the *Deutsches Museum* served precisely the function Benedict Anderson described in his landmark study, *Imagined Communities*. Through rhetorical appeals to the idea of the nation, contributors to the journal seek to create a common identity. This idea of the nation, if we refer to the definition found in Zedler’s *Universal-Lexikon* from 1740, was “a united number of Bürger . . . who share a body of customs, mores and laws.”³⁰ This

²⁸ Boie and Dohm, “Vorerinnerung” 4.

²⁹ For a history of the museum, see the introduction and first chapter in Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995) 1-58.

³⁰ Cited in E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 17.

definition of the nation is what the *Deutsches Museum* and other Enlightenment journals sought to create. The community the *Deutsches Museum* attempted to form is and can only be, in the strictest sense, imagined. This is particularly salient in the case of German-speaking lands, where the reading public was scattered throughout dozens of small territories. The format of these journals beautifully exhibits Anderson's definition of a community as a "deep, horizontal comradeship."³¹ The connection between contributors and ideas, as we will see in the pieces discussed below, was synthetic and dynamic. German Enlightenment journals encouraged every reader to reflect on the contents of each edition and whenever they found it necessary, to write in with a response or revision. In this way the individual readers form bonds of friendship with fellow readers within this textual community throughout German-speaking lands.

The forum of the journal provided space for imagining this community. In this sense, the journal is a doubly imagined community, in the primary sense that Anderson discussed and, secondarily, in that the journal becomes the space where the imagined community of readers *imagines* solutions for the problems facing German lands. These solutions present idealized visions of the nation, in which all members are actively engaged in the improvement of the state. In this way, the forum of the journal mirrors the structure of Campe's narrative. In the text, the narrative family reflects on Robinson's situation in the context of society as a whole. Robinson becomes the model citizen and his behaviors are repeated within the imagined community of the narrative family. Similarly, contributions to the journal discuss issues of the day and propose solutions that prescribed behaviors for the

³¹ Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991) 16.

imagined community of readers. Thematic links between the journal items and Campe's text are underscored and enhanced by this structural mirroring.

The pieces under discussion in this chapter do not differ greatly from the typical contents of the journal. They are at once expositions of problems German lands were encountering, challenges to both the individual reader and the state, and proposals for solutions to problems that rely on actions of the individual. While the problems that each piece seeks to counteract vary, the key to solving the problem identified by each author calls on the individual to recognize that her or his personal sacrifice will have great reward for the future of the state. The humble farmer wins control of his land as a result of decades of daily toil, the productivity of a household is increased through constant attention to tasks, and the negative balance of the coffee trade is ended by weaning the populace off of that foreign brew and turning to native beverages. This appeal to the collective action of individuals exposes the fantasy of the imagined community. These plans envision absolute adherence to the behaviors proposed. In this, these pieces are, just like the Father's narrative clan, themselves fantasies of community. Robinson proves himself a capable agent in the course of the story. He reconstructs the history of civilization, reproducing European society on the island. This shows that the individual is not the object of history, but a self-actualizing subject in it.³² The pieces in the *Deutsches Museum* rely on what would become the Kantian ideal of enlightenment. When the proposed solution to a problem envisions "Erziehung und gute Exempel" or argues for the use of "Kalender und öffentliche Blätter" as its best

³² Alwin Binder and Heinrich Richartz, Nachwort, "Joachim Heinrich Campes *Robinson der Jüngere* als literarische Darstellung von Theorie und Praxis des aufstrebenden Bürgertums," in Joachim Heinrich Campe *Robinson der Jüngere* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981) 390.

methods, it is possible to hear in advance Kant's edict: "Sapere Aude! Habe Muth dich deines eigenen Verstandes zu bedienen!"³³

In their focus on domestic issues these texts demonstrate a pragmatism that is characteristic of Enlightenment print culture. Without any true legislative power, the ideas proposed by journal contributors engaged socio-political problems with not only "Bereitschaft zur Kritik, sondern auch zu gemeinnütziger, staatsbürgerlicher Tätigkeit."³⁴ Whatever form this communal action might ultimately take, at the heart of the idea was a faith in pedagogy, the belief that a well-reasoned argument could bring about social change. This is evidenced in a quote from Basedow, in *Die pädagogischen Unterhandlungen*, a journal Campe and Basedow released together. "[G]esetzgeberische Gewalt," Basedow writes, was seen as "ein Mittel zur 'Menschenbesserung' [...] dieses aber von Bürgern aufgrund ihrer Machtlosigkeit nicht angewendet werden konnte. Deshalb wird politische Wirksamkeit ersetzt durch eine Pädagogische."³⁵ Legislation can bring about improvements in society, however legislative and political activity is severely restricted in the authoritarian state. Therefore, the citizen who wishes to improve society is left with the choice of pedagogy.

Political pragmatism, however, is countered with the idealism of the proposed solutions. The *Aufklärung* was, as Lyotard argued in *The Postmodern Condition*, the first

³³ "Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten," *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 1 (1777): 418. Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, "Ueber die Kaffeegesezgebung," *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 2 (1777): 143. Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (Dec. 1784): 481.

³⁴ Bödeker and Herrmann, *Aufklärung als Politisierung - Politisierung der Aufklärung* 7.

³⁵ Cited in Binder and Richartz, 391.

source of “grand narratives” of advance.³⁶ It was a time rich with big ideas and grand plans. It was an era infected with, as Bödeker and Herrmann note, an “Überzeugung von der Machbarkeit, Veränderbarkeit, Reformierbarkeit der politisch-sozialen Verhältnisse.”³⁷ Each text offers a path of action that calls on individuals to make sacrifices for the good of the collective whole. These sacrifices require the individual to internalize a sense of national unity, while at the same time paying little attention to the actual political splintering in German lands. The ideas submitted are universal; they do not directly address the situation in any specific German land; rather, they provide models and ideals of behavior for the reader to follow and pass on to others without regard to the many boundaries of state affiliation. This supra-regional appeal and the effort to organize and institutionalize ideas is fundamental to Enlightenment print culture.³⁸

An interesting synthesis between pedagogy and productivity is found in Daniel Purdy’s study of consumer fashion, *The Tyranny of Elegance*. Purdy examines Friedrich Bertuch’s effort to develop widespread consumer desire through the vehicle of print. First appearing in 1786 and remaining in publication into the third decade of the next century, the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* was, at least according to Bertuch’s logic, a tool for stimulating local demand. By presenting readers with the latest fashions from Paris and London, demand would be created among the public and this would encourage it to order

³⁶ Jean François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition : A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, *Theory and History of Literature*, vol. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) xxiii-xxv and 27-37.

³⁷ Bödeker and Herrmann, *Aufklärung als Politisierung - Politisierung der Aufklärung* 3.

³⁸ Bödeker and Herrmann, *Aufklärung als Politisierung - Politisierung der Aufklärung* 7.

copies of these fashions from local producers.³⁹ On first glance, this mimicry of French and English fashions runs counter to the reliance on simplicity that we find in the pages of the *Deutsches Museum*, and in a sense it does, but in another, the goal Bertuch set for his journal shares the interest in increasing domestic production so central to the anti-consumption pieces from the *Deutsches Museum*. Purdy notes that “an elaborate and self-critical discourse on consumption” existed in the diverse regions of Germany prior to the launch of the *Mode Journal*,⁴⁰ and the articles from the *Deutsches Museum* provide notable examples of this. The appeal to consumer desire and luxury noted in the journal’s title is, on its face, quite unlike the abstention from luxury modeled in the *Deutsches Museum*. However, the goal of educating consumers through print media is analogous to the pedagogical appeal at the core of the *Deutsches Museum* pieces.

The *Mode Journal*’s promotion of luxury and the curbs on luxury found in the *Deutsches Museum* overlap in discussions of a national uniform. Ideas for a national uniform were first proposed in Germany and other European states well before the 1770s or the launch of Bertuch’s journal, and articles surrounding the topic would continue to appear in print until, at least, the end of the century.⁴¹ Purdy devotes a chapter in his work to the ubiquity of these ideas that begins with a passage from Justus Möser, the provincial chronicler, author of *Patriotische Phantasien* and early proponent of a national uniform. Möser’s argument was founded in the desire that the state impose a code of dress as a cure for luxury, but as the discourse on luxury and dress progressed and evolved, later authors

³⁹ For detailed discussion of the *Mode Journal*, see Daniel L. Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 1-21.

⁴⁰ Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance* 2.

⁴¹ Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance* 180-4.

viewed the matter as one that should be left to the public sphere. The author of “Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten,” was driven to his pen by the writings of Möser. Additionally, H.P. Sturz, author of “Wer ist glücklich?,” wrote a short two-page note entitled, “Ueber die Nationaltracht,” printed in the *Deutsches Museum* in 1778. In Sturz’s article, which picks up on the anti-luxury benefit of a *Nationaltracht*, the beginnings of this shift to a self-regulating public sphere can be seen, when he notes that “Geseze drücken immer,” while rather hesitantly suggesting that the best course of action is to follow the “Beispiel der Fürsten.”⁴² This shift from state mandate to social self-control exemplifies a fundamental change in the function of the public sphere. In later arguments for a national dress code, writers placed faith in the coercive power of society. An article in the *Mode Journal* exhorted that if “a few thousand individuals agreed to wear the uniform, then other classes would follow suit.”⁴³

Reliance on the power of a self-regulating public sphere is at the core of the pieces from the *Deutsches Museum*. This move, which predates the articles in the *Mode Journal*, focuses its attention on spreading the skills or mindset detailed in each article. By praising the inherent worth of work and the satisfaction it brings, this discourse subsumes individual desire for luxury items beneath broader social goals. In taming personal desire and aligning individual actions with the welfare of the community, these texts privilege the development of domestic resources with an immediate and practical purpose, a purpose that confronts economic problems with a pedagogical vision that places its faith in the production of citizens able to face perceived national shortcomings with industriousness and moderation. In this sense, these articles from the *Deutsches Museum* both counter and complement the aims of Bertuch’s *Mode Journal*.

⁴² H.P. Sturz, “Ueber die Nationaltracht,” *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 1 (1778): 99.

⁴³ Purdy, *Tyranny of Elegance* 183.

The idealism of *Robinson der Jüngere* can be partly attributed to genre, but the writing of Dohm and the two unsigned pieces in the *Deutsches Museum* are directed at an elite adult audience and yet, they also have a certain hopefulness and simple determination that cannot be dismissed on generic considerations alone. One expects simplicity in a work aimed at children but what can explain the wishful, perhaps even wistful, nature of the other pieces?

Elke Liebs offers an answer in her book, *Die pädagogische Insel*. She sees the emphasis on the principles of moderation, work, industriousness, thankfulness, and patience as examples of the paradox of Enlightenment pedagogy. She sees these traits as “die Tugenden eines gehorsamen und frommen Untertanen.”⁴⁴ In the process of following an “emanzipatorische Bemühen, einen neuen Menschen zu schaffen,” Enlightenment ideals came up against “resignierte Anpassung” to contemporary political norms.⁴⁵ The texts at issue here call for allegiance to a common behavior, not established by authoritarian rulers, but one that has been formed in the public sphere of the journal and is to be furthered by individuals outside of state control. Similarly, Binder and Richartz recognize the traits “Gottvertrauen, Geduld, Arbeitsamkeit, usw.” as “Tugenden” that make Robinson “nicht nur überlebensfähig, sondern auch gesellschaftsfähig.”⁴⁶ In learning the values of society, Robinson and the audience of children, in turn, are learning to become better citizens. This formulation falls precisely in line with the aims of the Philanthropists, who believed that the

⁴⁴ Elke Liebs, *Die pädagogische Insel: Studien zur Rezeption des “Robinson Crusoe” in deutschen Jugendbearbeitungen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977) 89.

⁴⁵ Liebs 93.

⁴⁶ Binder and Richartz 410.

improvement of society began with the development of better citizens. Rüdiger Steinlein, in his book *Die domestizierte Phantasie*, also sees the form of the Father's dialogue as an effort at socialization of the children.⁴⁷ Jörg Schönert compares Campe's adaptation to the concurrently published Robinsonade by Johann Karl Wezel and seeks to delineate how each author understood and constructed the moral of "Arbeit" in his novel. Schönert argues that "das familiäre Erzählgespräch, das der Autor inszeniert, vermittelt auf 'sanfte Weise' zwischen den Selbstordnungen des Individuum und dem Ordnungsdruck der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse."⁴⁸ The framework that Campe created guides the reader to identify less with Robinson and more with the children in the audience of the Father. The story is not Robinson's, but the story of a family that is listening to a story about Robinson. This serves to reinforce in the minds of the child who reads Campe's book that there is a group of children who have taken Robinson's moral teachings to heart. This fictional audience serves a normative function and ideally causes the reader to adhere to the teachings of the text. The text is not intended for a solitary reader, rather it is a work around which children should gather and collectively participate in its pedagogy. It is an interactive work and asks the audience to react and play along with the fictional child audience. In this way, the text builds its own community and permits the reader to mimic the perfect society Campe has created. The community of ideas, the imaginary nation of thought found in the *Deutsches Museum* likewise has a normative function. The ideas exchanged and shared in the pages of each monthly edition, not to mention the intention of the editors, build a set of

⁴⁷ Rüdiger Steinlein, *Die domestizierte Phantasie: Studien zur Kinderliteratur, Kinderlektüre und Literaturpädagogik des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987) 184.

⁴⁸ Jörg Schönert, "Johann Karl Wezels und Joachim Campes Bearbeitungen des Robinson Krusoe: Zur literarischen Durchsetzung des bürgerlichen Wertkomplexes "Arbeit" in der deutschen Literatur des späten 18. Jahrhunderts," ed. Eda Sagarra, *Deutsche Literatur in sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive: ein Dubliner Symposium* (Dublin: Trinity College, 1989) 19.

principles that rely on developing a sense of common identity and national spirit, irrespective of political boundaries, in the hope that this will lead to economic self-sufficiency.

As we shall see in the first section on the *Deutsches Museum*, the discourse on improving the nation, while not explicitly discussing concepts of German identity, calls on a sense of national character. While asking for subservience to authoritarian rulers, these works are products of the emerging independent public sphere and the readers and contributors to these journals straddled the boundaries of public office and private opinion. From this position, these figures were able to issue challenges to the state, placing responsibility for improvement, at least partially, in the hands of the rulers, whether in the form of a parable about a globe-trotting lord or in an open appeal to government to solve the coffee problem Dohm accuses it of allowing to develop.

I

Imagining a Pedagogical Public Sphere in the *Deutsches Museum*

In the January 1777 edition of the journal, Boie and Dohm published their “Vorerinnerung,” an article which chronicles the joys, headaches and experience they had gained from their first year of work on this project. They lament the “Unvollkommenheit” of their publication and claim that only the “gegebene und wiederholte Wort vieler der vortrefflichsten Köpfe unsres Deutschlands” revives their “Mut” and allows them to promise “eine immer höhere Vollkommenheit.”⁴⁹ With rhetorical vigor, they bemoan that striking a balance between those who desire to be entertained and those who wish to be informed is not as straightforward as first thought. These problems, they explain, are a result of the high goal they have established for themselves. Had they not set the goal for the journal so high, the task “zu gewissen Zeiten eine gewisse Zahl Bogen zu füllen” would be quite easy.⁵⁰ Not burdened by the need to strike a balance between pleasing and informing, I will focus on articles that, in this initial dichotomy, fall on the side of informing the readers of the journal.

The three articles under discussion in this section, “Ueber die Kaffeegesetzgebung,” “Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten” and “Wer ist glücklich?,” did much more than simply inform readers about problems in German lands. They sought to provide indications of the root causes that led to the problems, examining the ways in which the productivity of the nation was harmed, whether by inattentive rulers, wasted time, or coffee consumption. After establishing the reasons for diminished productivity, each piece places the individual at the center of the solution. Model behaviors that will lead the reader to self-improvement are

⁴⁹ Boie and Dohm, “Vorerinnerung” 1.

⁵⁰ Boie and Dohm, “Vorerinnerung” 2.

provided in the form of concrete examples. Actions of individuals, apart from and without reliance on state action, will, the articles reason, begin to slowly counteract the problem. In addition to adhering to the model behaviors, the individual is also charged with relaying these behaviors to others. Organically, these prescribed behaviors will be spread by the teaching and example of individuals. Eventually a critical mass will be reached, whereby the dilemma will be eradicated. The articles ultimately seek to inspire the individual agent with a vision of the power of collective action. The sum of the adherence of individuals to the model behavior will, prosaically, be greater than the total parts.

While certainly not exhaustive, the constellation of texts under discussion here is representative of the discourse on economic productivity found within the *Deutsches Museum* and other contemporary journals. This discourse raised a vision for economic self-sufficiency that privileged domestic behaviors, both in the sense of the intimate sphere of the household and the reliance on domestic substitutes over foreign imports. These articles and Campe's novel conceive of a public sphere with a highly pedagogical function. In this way, they propose an idea of Enlightenment that is realizable through collective action. Through a pedagogical appeal each individual is exhorted to prescribe to a set of behaviors. In their emphasis on adherence to behaviors, these texts seek to align the reason of each individual to the wisdom of the community.

Appeal to Pedagogy

Either in the form of an explicit call for education or in using parable, an overtly pedagogical literary form, each of the texts from the *Deutsches Museum* seeks to inform and advise the reader on proper modes of behavior that will bring about improvement in the state.

Whether presenting ideas on coffee laws, secondary work, or the path to a happy life, the texts model diligent behaviors and reason for actions, which will increase domestic productivity and bring about economic self-sufficiency. An increase in productivity brought on by adherence to the methods prescribed is possible, these articles argue, without any reliance on foreign influences. Unlike the concept of economic improvement the *Mode Journal* suggests, the articles from the *Deutsches Museum* offer solutions that turn to domestic activity without the need for external input or inspiration.

In the parable, “Wer ist glücklich?”, the Lord W., who has traveled the world and owns numerous estates, can find no joy in life. Written by H.P. Sturz, a contributor of thirty-nine pieces to the *Deutsches Museum* that covered a range of topics, including fashion, patriotism, school reform, and the American Revolution, this story depicts the discontent of a worldly lord, who contemplates suicide, since he has been unable to find lasting happiness anywhere in his journeys.⁵¹ After arriving at one of his holdings, he hears of a peasant farmer, known to all around as “der vergnügte Williams.”⁵² Lord W., puzzled by the seeming contradiction of a truly joyful peasant, visits Williams’s farmstead, hoping to discover how someone can be satisfied with such a small plot of land and none of the finer things in life. After a few minutes of conversation, the Lord, duly impressed by Williams’s wisdom, cannot understand how a man with so much “Vernunft” does not grow tired of the “langweiliges, einförmiges Leben” of a farmer. Williams explains that to him “kömmt die

⁵¹ “Ueber den Vaterlandstolz,” “Die Mode,” “Ueber den amerikanischen Krieg,” “Etwas von Regenschirmen,” and “Ueber die Verbesserung der Landschulen” are just a few of his printed submissions. A search under his name at <http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufklaerung/> offers a complete list. Many of his writings are compiled in Helfrich Peter Sturz, *Schriften* (München: W. Fink, 1971). For an analysis of Sturz’s work, see Jaikyung Hahn, *Helfrich Peter Sturz (1736-1779), der Essayist, der Künstler, der Weltmann: Leben und Werke mit einer Edition des vollständigen Briefwechsels* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1976).

⁵² H.P. Sturz, “Wer ist glücklich?” *Deutsches Museum* Bd. 2 (1777): 49.

Welt jeden Tag veränderlich vor.”⁵³ He unravels the mystery of his happiness in recounting the work that has gone into creating his homestead: his memories of trees when they were small; bountiful land that was once merely a heath; fruit trees growing in what was once a swamp. After hearing this, the Lord orders Williams to bring his contract for the leasehold. Thinking that he was going to extend the contract, to the farmer’s terrible surprise the Lord tears the contract to shreds. Fearing that he has somehow upset his master, Williams pleads with the Lord to allow him to correct whatever offense he may have caused. Amused by this misunderstanding, the Lord clears the confusion by proclaiming that Williams is no longer his tenant, granting him full ownership of the land. Shocked at his new wealth, the farmer asks, “wie hab ich das verdient noch so reich zu werden!”⁵⁴ To which the Lord replies, “Du warst es, ehrlicher Williams! und reicher, als ich und alle Fürsten der Erde. Besuch mich oft. Ich will unter euch leben, und von Dir und Deinen Knaben Weisheit lernen.”⁵⁵ Wisdom and wealth duly redefined, the parable ends with a final exposition of its message:

Der Lord ging und rief mit innigster Rührung: Glücklich ist, wer geniest und nicht grübelt, keine Blume auf dem Pfade des Lebens zertritt, alle pflückt, die er abreichen kann! Ich wollte Freude kaufen auf dem Jahrmarkte der Welt, und verschmähte sie aus der Hand Gottes. — Natur, ich kehre zu dir zurück und trenne mich nie wieder von dir! (53)

Joy can be neither found nor purchased at festivals around the world; happiness does not come with lands and possessions. Luxuries and travel are dismissed in favor of the simple pleasures of nature. Happiness in life grows from labor and constant attention to the small joys of each day. The Lord, who has written books, is educated by the illiterate farmer, who is granted wealth greater than he ever thought possible. The final exclamation with its

⁵³ “Glücklich” 52.

⁵⁴ “Glücklich” 53.

⁵⁵ “Glücklich” 53.

Rousseauian return to nature promises not a solitary life of contemplation, but an engagement with the true concerns of society and an affirmation of the wisdom revealed in it.

While “Wer ist glücklich?” utilizes the direct, blatant pedagogical approach of the parable to convey its message, the other two pieces seek to bring particular problems to the reader’s attention. The allegorical power of the parable is traded for rhetorical exhortations. These essays first shed light on the reasons for the situation, placing blame on both state and individual, before issuing a direct appeal to pedagogy. The articles urge readers to take agency and empower them to take the knowledge presented and spread it through their good model and education. The triple pedagogy of print, word, and deed will, in the logic of the argument, rapidly extend the knowledge beyond the confined readership of the journal to the broader public, reducing the negative effects and eventually eliminating the problem altogether.

The anonymous author of “Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten” was inspired to his thoughts by passages from Justus Möser’s *Patriotische Phantasien*.⁵⁶ As the title of his work suggests, Möser (1720-1794) was an early voice in crafting a German national identity and proponent of physiocratic economic policies that, like the pieces discussed here, valorized agricultural labor. In structuring the *Patriotische Phantasien*, a tremendously diverse work that provided a “präzise soziologische Darstellung der Gesellschaft in einer kleinen deutschen Provinz,” Möser imagines an engaged, critical public desirous of information that would make “Fremden . . . und den Einheimischen mit sich selbst bekannter,” a phrase later

⁵⁶ This article like many in contemporary journals appeared unsigned. It has been attributed to Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, a *Bibliothekar* in Kassel. For a short biography of Strieder, see Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875) 36:589.

echoed by the editors of the *Deutsches Museum*.⁵⁷ In the brief passage cited in this piece, Möser observed that productive time was lost “mit Hin- und Hergehen, mit Holen und Bringen” which reminded the author of an unsuccessful call for information from “Beamten” about the occupations of shepherds while in the field, the habits of women, children, maids and knaves after the harvest, and whether knitting projects were taken by women and maids when they visited neighbors.⁵⁸ When the call was first issued, the author wishes it had been reacted to with less “Vorurtheil” and been considered “mit einer schätzenderen Achtsamkeit.”⁵⁹ Had the request been met with this reaction, the author argues, it would have been clear that this was merely an effort to expand the productivity of these people and not an attempt “aus der Industrie eine Sklaverey zu machen.”⁶⁰ The error in the announcement was that it focused on a narrow class of people, when the principle can be applied to everyone. This is the point that the writer illustrates in his article.

Working *nebenverdienstlich* means to take advantage of the small idle moments that occur when engaged in another task or activity. As examples he cites a number of people, beyond the shepherd and peasants of the announcement, who could employ their time more fully. When not active in drills or on guard, soldiers, without influence of their superiors, could read and educate themselves. While visiting a friend, a woman could, without interrupting conversation and seemingly without noticing (“ehe sie es gewahr werden”),

⁵⁷ Renate Stauf, *Justus Möser's Konzept einer deutschen Nationalidentität: Mit einem Ausblick auf Goethe* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991) 217-219.

⁵⁸ “Arbeiten” 511.

⁵⁹ “Arbeiten” 511.

⁶⁰ “Arbeiten” 513.

mend a stocking or sew a cuff.⁶¹ The *Kammerpräsident*, exhausted from desk work, could, while out on a stroll notice the condition of fields, gardens, workers, etc. and upon returning to his desk work out a solution, even though the intention of his walk was recuperation.⁶²

The author does not attempt to imagine all of the possible ways one could work *nebenverdienstlich*, rather he states:

Nun denn! So ohngefähr — ein jeder freylich nach seinem Stande, Kräften, Fähigkeiten, — so ohngefähr, dünkt mich sollte der Hirte, der Schäfer, die Frau, der Knecht, die Magd, das Kind nebenverdienstlich arbeiten und die Zeit veredlen. (516)

After rehearsing several other examples, the author returns to the initial groups noted in the call for information hopefully having disarmed or lessened the view of this idea as a form of elitist classism. Having broadened this idea to encompass all levels of society, the author then proceeds to delineate the method of propagating it.

Spreading the wisdom of this idea, the author suggests, is achievable in only one way: “durch die Erziehung und gute Exempel.”⁶³ Individuals should contemplate the concept of working *nebenverdienstlich*, “Er, der Hausvater, die Hausmutter, und jeder, der Erziehung und Exempel geben muß, überlegen es.”⁶⁴ This principle can only be spread through the example shown by one generation to the next, by one neighbor to the other, and from one city to the next. The role of the state, as will be seen below, is limited to the enforcement of punishments for the indolent and exceptionally lazy. In this argument, state power is reduced to a punitive function.

⁶¹ “Arbeiten” 516.

⁶² “Arbeiten” 515-16.

⁶³ “Arbeiten” 518.

⁶⁴ “Arbeiten” 518.

In “Ueber die Kaffeegesezgebung,” Christian Wilhelm von Dohm argued that the government was responsible for allowing what he called the “politisches Uebel” of coffee to have so firmly gripped the population and therefore has a role in ameliorating it.⁶⁵ He acknowledged: “Allen medizinischen und politischen Beweisen und Deklamationen gegen den Kaffee in Journalen, Wochenschriften u.s.w. allen Verboten, Strafen, Auflagen [. . .] zum Trotz wird noch immer eine erstaunende Menge Kaffee jährlich in Deutschland vertrunken.”⁶⁶ In his essay he sought to evaluate these failed attempts and formulate a policy that relied on many of these same approaches to gain the upper hand on the “braune Zaubertrank.”⁶⁷ Primary among his proposals is the education of the populace about the harmful effects of coffee both economically and physically. In a rhetorical move that reflects the structure of Campe’s narrative, Dohm argues that the state should replace the tone of “des befehlenden Gesezgebers” with that of “des befehlenden Vaters” and educate the public on the “Schädlichkeit des Kaffee.”⁶⁸ Only through education on the economic and social harms of coffee can the problem begin to be solved. Legislation alone, he notes, is insufficient to solve this problem. The state has the responsibility to develop an understanding of the issue in the minds of the people before any legislative changes can be effective or followed. The population needs to be educated since “der größte Theil der Bürger ist nicht fähig die politischen Bewegungsgründe der Gesezgeber einzusehen.”⁶⁹ Lacking political sophistication, Dohm argues, the average citizen will not be able to see past personal interests

⁶⁵ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 124.

⁶⁶ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 124.

⁶⁷ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 124.

⁶⁸ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 142.

⁶⁹ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 125.

and comprehend the broader legislative reasoning. Most lands lack any idea of “Patriotismus” that could be called on to support a change from coffee to domestic beverages, therefore any form of ban on the import of coffee would be political suicide.⁷⁰ Logical, economic arguments for curbing the negative coffee trade needs a sense of national pride among the populace to be successful. The average citizen in the face of such an argument might say, “last doch immer den Holländer und Martiniquer das Geld für meinen Kaffee bekommen, — was kümmert es mich, wenn ich ihn nur trinken kann.”⁷¹ Not only does the citizenry not understand the economic harm of coffee, it also fails to fully understand the negative physiological effects. Dohm’s argument takes a two-fold approach to countering the problem, noting that the trade deficit coffee creates is exacerbated by the harm it causes on productivity:

Daß dieses baare Geld ganz verlohren werde, weil nur eine Waare des augenblicklichsten Genusses dafür eingetauscht wird; daß neben vielen andern politischen und moralischen Gründen auch die immer mehr zunehmende Ueppigkeit und besonders der Gebrauch des Kaffee, unter den Besizern der Güter und in der ‘ganzen produzierenden Klasse den Verfall des Landbaues, die Abnahme der Industrie und aller natürlichen und künstlichen Produktionen veranlasset habe; daß der Kaffee in unserm Klima gewiß keine so vorteilhafte Mischung der Säfte hervorbringe als Wein und Bier, und besonders der arbeitenden Klasse keine Kräfte gebe; daß er diese zur Faulheit, zum sizenden Leben, zur Leckerey und zu einer schädlichen und insipiden Gattung von Geselligkeit gewöhne. (123)

Coffee disrupts the social order and diminishes the morale for physical labor. Rather than devoting time to active, lasting production, the population is enslaved to the static act of enjoyment and the ephemeral pleasure it provides. As we saw in Campe’s text, coffee is branded as a “Leckerey” that leads to dangerous and vacuous sociability. Like the desire for a national uniform as a cure for luxury, the rejection of coffee is couched in terms that speak

⁷⁰ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 125.

⁷¹ “Kaffeegesezgebung” 125.

against what, from our perspective and its prominence in the discourse, would seem to be rampant consumption. As will become clearer with my discussion of Campe's set of goals for *Robinson der Jüngere*, coffee and the lifestyle it facilitates is related to debates on reading, the rise of sentimentality, the commodification of the book, and the fetishization of reading. Coffee, like excessive reading, disrupts the productive flow of society by alienating its participants from reality.

Beyond the exaggerated sociality coffee develops, Dohm invokes contemporary ideas about climate. In Sturz's article on a national uniform, he cites *Klima* as a key factor that needs to be considered in the design of the outfit. In a move that calls to mind Herder's concept of each society's unique center of gravity, Dohm suggests that coffee does not provide the working class with the proper energy for labor in the environment of northern Europe. In a move that has proto-nationalist tones, he questions why beer has been replaced "mit dem levantischen Getränk."⁷² In Dohm's view, coffee is a product of the Orient and therefore only appropriate for the regions where it was cultivated. One widespread belief in Europe, among many competing ideas, was that coffee had a desiccating effect on the body.⁷³ This drying of the bodily fluids produced a lack of energy that resulted in general laziness, and this laziness, in turn, resulted in decreased production. Coffee for Germany is doubly desiccant, drying and depleting bodies and coffers. To correct this lose-lose scenario, Dohm supports the consumption of native beverages, beer and wine, and the domestic production of chicory to be used as an *Ersatzkaffee*. Beer and wine are climatically suitable, and chicory production will provide a new crop, that if consumed as eagerly as coffee will

⁷² "Kaffeegesetzgebung" 126.

⁷³ See Schivelbusch 45-48 for more on the purported physiological effects of coffee.

provide new sources of revenue. An educated citizenry will naturally take up Dohm's suggestions, accept domestic alternatives and be invigorated by them.

Society of Individuals

On one level, Dohm is simply making a suggestion to the ruling parties, but he is also issuing a direct challenge to his readers, likely sitting in a coffeehouse as they read, to consider the wider cost of their coffee consumption. Dohm's challenge, while rhetorically directed at the government, is at the same time, by the very nature of the forum where it appeared, seeking to stir the Enlightenment elite reader to take some amount of personal responsibility for the problem and start to moderate his or her coffee intake.

Inherent in his appeal to the state is an expectation of rational behavior on the part of individual readers that will begin to set the desired change in motion. Dohm's piece, like the other articles from the *Deutsches Museum*, proposes changes to a political hierarchy that had little interest in ideas generated in the public sphere. Recognizing the limits of these arguments politically, these pieces, even as they propose legislation, do not attempt to subvert the existing governmental paradigm. In this sense, Dohm's appeal to the government is simply a rhetorical move that permits the rehearsal of his argument. Each of these pieces recognizes the authority of the state: Williams expresses his satisfaction with the rule of Lord W.; the author of "Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten" acknowledges the final authority of the state; and Dohm praises Prussia and Frederick the Great at the close of his essay.⁷⁴ Even though he lived in Kassel at the time and this essay was published in Leipzig, Dohm, who would later serve as a Prussian envoy in Aachen, praised Prussia as the model

⁷⁴ "Glücklich" 50. "Arbeiten" 518-19. "Kaffeegesetzgebung" 144.

state, even calling it the premier monarchy in the world.⁷⁵ Clearly, this article is rhetorically loaded and motivated to some extent by Dohm's career ambitions.⁷⁶ If Dohm is satisfied with authoritarian Prussia and indeed tries to curry favor with his writing, he certainly would show no interest in overthrowing rulers in this essay. In spite of this political powerlessness, each piece, nevertheless, puts forward a solution that has clear political implications. If the state will not work to solve the problem, then the individual within the forum of the journal must. This is precisely the sort of action that Kant envisioned as the true meaning of enlightenment. These pieces foreshadow Kant's call for humanity to shed its "selbst verschuldeten Unmündigkeit" by modeling the steps to agency each person could take.⁷⁷

"Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten," while initially directing its message at the individual, concludes by urging the state to join the battle against otiosity, suggesting, in a move that resembles Campe's tasking of the Robinson material, that workhouses be established for the "wirkliche Müssiggänger und Zeiträuber," forcing them to work with only bread and water for sustenance until they are rehabilitated and once again "taugliche Mitgleider der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft."⁷⁸ The state, unable to effectively instruct in the principles of *nebenverdienstlich* work, is granted final authority to remove the truly lazy from society. The state's role is limited to the rare exceptional case; actual improvement is the responsibility of the individual.

⁷⁵ Dambacher 13.

⁷⁶ See Hess, *Germans, Jews and the Claims of Modernity* 1-4. Hess offers a brief history of Dohm's career and his race toward prominence after the publication of *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* in 1781. This treatise, which employs logic similar to "Ueber die Kaffeegesetzgebung," proposed physical labor as a key method to recuperate Jews for German society.

⁷⁷ Kant, "Was ist Aufklärung?" 481.

⁷⁸ "Arbeiten" 519.

In being urged to spread the practice to children in his or her care, the individual becomes the agent for change. The example shown and education given by individual mothers and fathers is the only way this principle will be spread, since “Zwang, obrigkeitliche Geseze, so väterlich sie auch gemeynt sind, richten es freylich nicht aus.”⁷⁹ The power to bring greater economic productivity to German lands is not controlled by the state, but rests in the hands of the common man and woman. If everyone simply sets the example, spreads the virtues of *nebenverdienstlich* work and focuses on making all of their time productive the gains for the state could be tremendous.

“Wer ist glücklich?” in exposing the wisdom and knowledge of the overlooked farmer is urging the nobility and the ruling class to take notice of overlooked value in their lands. True happiness is not found externally “auf dem Jahrmarkte der Welt” but internally on the fields of the leasehold farmer.⁸⁰ In a manner similar to the message Robinson shares after his return home, the parable shows how hard work is not left unrewarded but yields both symbolic and actual wealth. While not explicitly placing demands on the state, the author sought to draw attention to the wasteful ways of the nobility and insert the diligence of the peasant farmer as the path to happiness. The wise ruler stays at home and finds more farmers like Williams. The path to happiness and prosperity begins behind the plough in the field.

Collective Power of the Public

Williams, by the very fact that he is the moral beacon of the parable, is an exemplary citizen and does whatever he can to contribute to the well-being of his community. He is

⁷⁹ “Arbeiten” 518.

⁸⁰ “Glücklich” 53.

never delinquent in paying his dues for the priest, nor is he late with his rent. Above this he has “manchen Streit unter Familien geschlichtet, manchen Nachbarn mit Rath und That unterstützt, obgleich seine Stelle nur klein ist.”⁸¹ He aids the nation not only in being diligent and productive, but also in supporting his neighbors. He understands that his success is tied to the success of his community.

Where Williams already displays the traits of a good and obedient citizen, both Dohm’s article and “Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten” explicitly challenge the individual reader to recognize the greater impact of his/her behavior in the hope of bringing about changes that will benefit the nation as a whole. “Ueber nebenverdienstliche Arbeiten” postulates that “in einem Staate, wo z. E. hundertausend Menschen leben, auf einen täglichen Schaden von tausend Thalern (wir wollen auch nur auf die Hälfte, oder auch nur gar ein Drittel uns gedenken) gerechnet werden könne.”⁸² To regain the value lost in regular daily chores, individuals should structure their day to make the most out of every moment and whenever possible work *nebenverdienstlich*. The small increase in production that each individual’s action has will only be recognized once a critical mass has been reached. One, two or even several dozen people working *nebenverdienstlich* will not produce any great change, therefore the additional necessity of teaching the skill to others. Following this logic, the coffeehouse patron who on a daily basis gives up a cup or two of coffee will slowly help bring about the end of the negative trade, even better if this is replaced with a native substitute. *Nebenverdienstlich* work and abstaining from coffee are, by themselves small actions, but if done in great enough numbers will change the economic situation in German lands.

⁸¹ “Glücklich” 49.

⁸² “Arbeiten” 511.

In relying on the development and internalization of a national interest that is superior to individual interest, these pieces required the recognition of the shared destiny of all German lands. They pleaded for and expected the development of a collective interest in national improvement that went beyond political boundaries, an interest that would unite the many and various German lands behind the single purpose of national improvement, an interest that would eliminate economic shortcomings with diligent labor and a moderation of excesses.

II

Robinson der Jüngere: A Pedagogical Adventure

In the February 1779 edition of the *Deutsches Museum* an “Ankündigung eines neuen Lesebuchs für Kinder” appeared. The announcement begins with a page-long run-on sentence that, like any good sales pitch, barks out the benefits of the book and submits to the journal’s readers the grand vision for this text. It proclaims that in recent times the author has observed the “ausgebreiteten moralischen Verwüstungen [. . .] welche das Empfindsamkeitsfieber unserer Zeit unter den natürlichen Kräften des Menschen und der davon abhängenden Glückseligkeit derselben angerichtet hat.”⁸³ This plague of the *Empfindsamkeitsfieber*, an affliction that grew out of the success of Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774), was a complaint common to the era and would continue to play a role in the “reading debates” at the end of the century.⁸⁴ This literary disease had, the announcement continues, disrupted the natural happy state of life and reduced humanity to emotional yearnings and angst-ridden desires. This new work would perform an intervention, since “ebendasselbe süsse Gift” threatened the majority of new children’s books.⁸⁵ The announcement promises a book that will not only be free from the fever of sentimentality, but one that will work as a “Gegengift wider diese Seuche.”⁸⁶ This antidote is a work equally as “anziehend und unterhaltend, als irgend ein anderes” that, unlike other poisoned books, leads not to “stillen Beschauungen” and “müssigen Rührungen,” but

⁸³ Campe, “Ankündigung” 118.

⁸⁴ Martha Woodmansee, “Toward a Genealogy of the Aesthetic: The German Reading Debates of the 1790s,” *Cultural Critique* 11 (1988): 203-21.

⁸⁵ Campe, “Ankündigung” 118.

⁸⁶ Campe, “Ankündigung” 118.

“unmittelbar zur Selbstthätigkeit.”⁸⁷ It promises a book that will awaken, ignite and strengthen every slumbering “physische und moralische Menschenkraft” of its readers.⁸⁸

This book will bring young readers “aus der idealen Welt” into the “wirkliche, wie sie jetzt ist.”⁸⁹ What will this work be? As the reader shortly thereafter discovers, the promised text is not an original work at all, but a new adaptation of Defoe’s world-wide literary phenomenon, *Robinson Crusoe*.

This new Robinsonade, of course, is Campe’s *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*.⁹⁰ In reworking the Robinson material, Campe must thread a narrow channel in which he engages and harnesses the power of identificatory reading. Campe must construct his text in such a way that his audience does not get poisoned with a fever of sentimentality and idle identification, yet retain and utilize those aspects of identification with fictional characters which he believes will further his project. Campe aims to use the “Nachahmungstrieb” of children to his advantage, allowing them to identify with Robinson within certain boundaries.⁹¹ This work is mediated in the truest sense. The story masquerades as the true experience of a Hamburg family to which the Narrator-Father told Robinson’s story and since, as is explained on the initial page, which establishes a frame for the Father’s narration, “man glaubte, daß wohl noch mehr gute Kinder wären, die diese merkwürdige Geschichte zu hören oder zu lesen wünschten: so schrieb sie der Vater auf und

⁸⁷ Campe, “Ankündigung” 118-19.

⁸⁸ Campe, “Ankündigung” 119.

⁸⁹ Campe, “Ankündigung” 119.

⁹⁰ The history of the Robinsonade is a thoroughly plowed field. For recent examples with a focus on Germanic adaptations, see Liebs, *Die Pädagogische Insel* and Fohrmann, *Abenteuer und Bürgertum*. Erhard Reckwitz, *Die Robinsonade: Themen und Formen einer literarischen Gattung* (Amsterdam: Grüner, 1976) and Ian Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism: Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge: University Press, 1996) provide insight into the iconography of the Robinson legend and its importance to Western culture.

⁹¹ Campe, “Ankündigung” 119.

der Buchdrucker mußte zwei tausend Abdrücke davon machen.”⁹² The text that the eighteenth-century child reads poses as one of these two-thousand copies. Campe is working within the traditional eighteenth-century pattern of novels casting themselves as “real histories.” The same strategy employed by epistolary novels like *Werther* or Sophie von La Roche’s *Geschichte des Fräulein von Sternheim* (1771). However, he has framed his story in such a way that it utilizes the *Nachahmungstrieb* of children, who might desire to reproduce Robinson’s adventure, against this very desire. The children’s desire to reproduce Robinson’s voyage at the beginning of the novel has by the end been redirected into the desire to follow Robinson’s teaching. Campe allows the employment of imagination in the assembled group of children, all the while controlling the scope of the fancy. Robinson is a figure with whom the listening, and by extension reading, children are encouraged to identify, precisely because he is inaccessible to them and because he himself preaches the same values that the Father and Campe hold. The children can write letters to Robinson, but they cannot send them because, as the Father reminds them, the story took place two hundred years ago.⁹³ However, it is precisely the fact that the children can see Robinson as a “real, historic” person, who “really” lived the narrative, thus becoming a model to follow, that neutralizes the novel being understood as encouraging “the fantastic wish for an isolated country seat, or even (in young people) the dream of happiness in being able to pass their life on an island unknown to the rest of the world with a small family, which the novelists or

⁹² *RdJ* 19.

⁹³ *RdJ* 77.

poets who write Robinsonades know so well how to exploit,” as Kant would later write in the *Critique of Judgment*.⁹⁴

Campe’s narrative structure allows the children to take a trip to the Caribbean and beyond, while at the same time quelling their need to leave home. The children need not take a journey to a deserted island to gain knowledge of the principles Robinson learned there. Jürgen Fohrmann notes: “Dabei ist die Insel *prinzipiell* aber überflüssig; sie hat eine rein didaktische Funktion.”⁹⁵ According to Fohrmann, the island serves no purpose other than to provide the space for the education of Robinson. Reducing the island to a purely didactic function, though, overlooks the exotic setting of the text. This argument is as unsatisfactory an absolute as those that position Campe’s *Robinson* solely as the proving ground for theories of colonial practice. If Fohrmann were accurate, then Zantop’s suggestion to move Robinson’s experience to the European countryside would be apt.⁹⁶ But the choice of this distant locale is significant, demonstrating both a fascination with the overseas world and an uneasiness with the idea of travel. To answer the question why Robinson has to be stranded in the Caribbean requires negotiating this tension at the heart of Campe’s work.

Campe’s text, to be sure, clearly explicated the requirements and expertise needed to start a colony; however, the reason Robinson ended up on his island is not because he was out to claim lands or even to get rich, rather he was the victim of “unvernünftige Liebe.”⁹⁷ His parents allowed him to be lazy and their failure as parents caused him to seek adventure.

⁹⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Kant’s gesammelte Schriften, herausgegeben von der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1902-) 5:276. Cited in Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 147.

⁹⁵ Fohrmann 114. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁶ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 105.

⁹⁷ *RdJ* 21.

This is a mistake that the Father will not repeat. Robinson spends his entire time on the island pining for a return to society so that he can apologize to his parents and show what he has learned. And, as is made patently clear at the conclusion of the novel, his time on the island yields no reward other than the education he received. Campe's text is constructed in such a way that any child who actually follows in Robinson's wake and takes to the seas would be going against the education they had received, not only from the Father and the fictional children, but also from Robinson himself.

In his *Vorbericht* to the novel, Campe reiterates and expands on the purposes catalogued in the announcement placed in the *Deutsches Museum*. He clarifies the project in enumerating the five intentions he had in reconstructing the material. His goals, in the order he discusses them, were to educate and entertain; to provide "elementarische Kenntnisse"; to show true objects and products of the natural world; to provide the opportunity for "fromme, gottesfürchtige Empfindungen;" and to combat *Empfindsamkeitsfieber*.⁹⁸ He labels his fourth intention the most important and in addition to the exposition of this goal, he provides instructions for the proper use of his book as a teaching tool, demonstrating, as Erlin argues, Campe's fear of the book as commodity. It should not be given to children who are learning to read, for this would undermine the true purpose of his work. Campe's desire is that it be used to teach morals and allow children to discover the values of society through interaction with the text. It should "*erwachsenen Kinderfreunden zum Vorlesen dienen.*"⁹⁹ The dialogue form of the text should function as a model for others. A *Kinderfreund* should assemble an audience and tell the story of young Robinson, just like the Father allowing, as needed, interruptions for explanations of terms and events.

⁹⁸ *RdJ* 5-6.

⁹⁹ *RdJ* 6. Emphasis in original.

Campe takes the Robinson material, following to a great extent Rousseau's suggestion in *Emile*, and eliminates "alles Ueberflüssige und pädagogisch Fehlerhafte in Sachen und Ausdruck" to yield a text that is deemed appropriate for young children.¹⁰⁰ He reduces Defoe's material to focus primarily on Robinson's island experience, shortening the description of the initial voyages and doing away completely with the plantation period and the business dealings related to the plantations at the end of the novel. Zantop asserts that in this departure from Defoe's original the "German inscription into the colonial venture" can be seen.¹⁰¹ In removing all material gain from the narrative, Campe has done away with the key desires of colonial activity, namely raw materials (tobacco, sugar, coffee beans) and wealth (gold, silver, profits from trade). With no tangible profits and apparently no concern for them, Robinson's journey is one of experiential education, a pedagogical adventure.

The remaining Robinson material is divided, as Campe explains in his *Vorbericht*, into three phases of Robinson's existence on the island: stranded and alone, with the help of a companion, and with the help of European tools and necessities. These three phases gradually reform the young Robinson from a "Nar" who spent most of his time "mit Müssiggang" ignoring his parents into a valuable member of society, who upon his return to Hamburg became a productive tradesman and advocate for diligence, moderation and filial duty.¹⁰² The improvement of Robinson's living condition is tied to his success in developing a sense of "Gottvertrauen, Geduld, Arbeitsamkeit" that makes him not only "überlebensfähig" but also "gesellschaftsfähig."¹⁰³ Throughout these three phases, Robinson

¹⁰⁰ Campe, "Ankündigung" 121.

¹⁰¹ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 106.

¹⁰² *RdJ* 71.

¹⁰³ Binder and Richartz 410.

learns principles and discovers skills which help him survive on the island; more significantly, though, they prepare him for his eventual return to European society. Every new skill he learns or accomplishment he has is reflected on in the context of its departure from life in German and European society. The desire to make use of these skills after his return home is a constant presence in the novel.

Power of the Individual

In his first phase on the island, Robinson is stranded without any “europäische Werkzeuge” in order to show “wie hilflos der einsame Mensch sei” and “wie viel Nachdenken und anhaltende Strebsamkeit zur Verbesserung unsers Zustandes auszurichten vermögen.”¹⁰⁴ Robinson, after initially surviving the shipwreck, is reduced to sleeping in a tree and searching the island for fruit or anything edible. Unable to find anything except “indianische Weidenbäume,” “Gras und Sand,” he resigns himself to starvation, when fortuitously he sees a seabird with a fish in its talons, which reminds him of the saying, “Der Gott, der Raben nährt, wird Menschen nicht verstoßen; Wer groß im Kleinen ist, wird größer im Großen.”¹⁰⁵ This inspires him to scramble along the shore searching for any sea creatures that might have washed up in the storm. He finds several oysters, gains an appreciation for *Gottvertrauen* and begins to establish himself on the island. After suffering through eight nights sleeping in a tree, Robinson has fashioned a few rough tools with which to expand a cave and create a sleeping area that he can cushion with grasses dried in the sun, the Father notes:

¹⁰⁴ RdJ 11.

¹⁰⁵ RdJ 53.

Er dankte Gott dafür and dachte bei sich selbst: o wenn doch meine Landsleute in Europa wüsten, wie es thut, wenn man viele Nächte hinter einander auf einem harten Aste sizend zubringen muß: gewiß, sie würden sich glücklich schätzen, daß sie alle Abend sich auf ein weiches und sicheres Lager strecken können, und würden nicht vergessen, auch für diese Wohlthat Gott täglich Dank zu bringen!
(66)

Through the experience of sleeping in a tree he begins to realize the virtues of civilization and admonishes all who enjoy the comforts that civilization affords to give thanks for those pleasures. As Robinson continues to develop more tools and discovers the endless utility of items on the island, he begins to realize the errors of his childhood. After the Father entertains guesses from the children about how Robinson made a parasol, he describes the joy Robinson felt upon successfully completing a new necessity for life on the island:

So oft ihm eine solche neue Arbeit glückte, hatte er eine unaussprechliche Freude darüber; und dan pflegte er zu sich selbst zu sagen: was bin ich doch in meiner Jugend für ein grosser Nar gewesen, daß ich meine meiste Zeit mit Müßiggang zubrachte! O wenn ich jezt in Europa wäre, und alle die vielen Werkzeuge hätte, die man da so leicht haben kan: was wolte ich nicht alles machen! Was solte mir das für Freude sein, die meisten Dinge, die ich nöthig hätte, *selbst* zu verfertigen!
(71)

Even at this early stage of his time on the island he desires to return to Europe and put the knowledge he has gained into use there, creating those things he needs and gaining a level of self-sufficiency. This is perhaps the greatest lesson Robinson learns in his time alone on the island, the knowledge that he could *selbst*, if he had the tools common to Europe, produce most things that are necessary for life. Mirroring the discourse from the *Deutsches Museum*, the path Robinson follows to overcome challenges starts with recognition of the power of the individual. With only himself to rely on, Robinson quickly becomes productive. Spurred by faith in providence, he spends his entire day exploring the island, improving his living quarters and creating utensils. He becomes an agent in creating society, actively working to shape his world.

To expand this idea from Robinson, as an individual, to the society he hopes to rejoin, it becomes apparent that the successful society looks internally to find answers to its problems. The successful nation must realize the potential of each individual citizen to maximize its potential. Similar to the idea for chicory production in Dohm, Campe seeks to instill the knowledge that the power to improve society begins with individuals themselves. The success of the humble farmer should be acknowledged, everyone should work *nebenverdienstlich* to take full advantage of the hours of the day, and the coffee guzzler should take notice of the costs of that pleasure. The narrative framing of Robinson's voyage provided in Campe's texts permits the Father to insert reflections on the society that Robinson had abandoned, which necessarily emphasizes the virtues of European society. These reflections on society, in turn, allow the child reading or listening to the text to internalize this vision of individual agency.

After hearing of the successes Robinson had living alone, the children begin to question the true difficulty of a solitary life. This is a clear acknowledgment of the dangers of print, but the Father quickly counters it by pointing out that everything they enjoy on a daily basis had many hands in the making. The Father directs them in a count of the people involved in making a mattress and all of its component parts.¹⁰⁶ This restricts individual agency within the framework of society and begins the transition to the next phase of Robinson's island life. It should come as little surprise then that, moments later in the Father's narrative, Robinson tearfully wishes for a companion, even to the point of finding solace in the fact that he shared his sleeping area with a spider.¹⁰⁷ The children, impressed by the value of society both through the amazing complexity of industrial production and

¹⁰⁶ *RdJ* 91-93.

¹⁰⁷ *RdJ* 95.

Robinson's deep wish for human contact, are convinced of the necessity of society. In this way, Campe's text produces young citizens educated in skills for improving society and with the understanding of individual responsibility within the context of an engaged public, we saw in the *Deutsches Museum*.

Benefits of Society

In the second phase of his island life, Campe grants Robinson a companion to show “wie sehr schon bloße Geselligkeit den Zustand des Menschen verbessern könne.”¹⁰⁸ Freitag, who will prove to be a willing and able companion, assisting Robinson with starting a fire, a task that had caused him considerable difficulty while he was alone, demonstrates on two occasions, in passages that follow Defoe's text, his subservience to Robinson by laying his head on the ground and placing Robinson's foot on his neck. Yet, in a noteworthy departure from Defoe, Campe's Robinson is uncertain about this relationship, and quickly lifts Freitag from the ground, since, as the text notes, he was more interested in a friend than a slave.¹⁰⁹ When this scene is repeated moments later, Robinson reluctantly agrees “eine Zeitlang den König mit ihm zu spielen.”¹¹⁰ The relationship between European castaway and Caribbean islander is certainly ambiguous in these scenes, which leads the Father to quickly note that Robinson's heart would rather have shown its joy in finding a “Geselschafter und Freund” with “Liebkosungen und zärtliche Umarmungen.”¹¹¹ Robinson reigns as a benevolent monarch over his “einzigem Unterthan und einige Lamas” for several

¹⁰⁸ *RdJ* 11.

¹⁰⁹ *RdJ* 199

¹¹⁰ *RdJ* 206.

¹¹¹ *RdJ* 206.

years, eventually, as their time together grows, Freitag becomes a friend and partner. Without doubt, this relationship has all of the troubling markings of imperial conquest, but as the end of the text attests both Robinson and Freitag become models of the power of pedagogy. Zantop centers her reading around the ambiguities of this relationship and its colonial implications, noting that “the gradual transformation of Freitag from *Unmensch*, nonhuman, to *Untermensch*, subhuman, to Krusoe’s *Untertan*, his subject, and finally Krusoe’s equal is therefore acted out in a complicated set of pedagogical maneuvers.”¹¹² This transformation, she argues, deprives Freitag of cultural agency as he is remade in the image of the European, a point with which I have no disagreement. Freitag’s transformation, however, mirrors Robinson’s change from disobedient child to productive worker, to colonial supervisor, and ultimately to citizen advocate. This process of socialization and civilization is the pedagogical goal of Campe’s text. In linking the recuperation and reeducation of a German child with the rescue and education of a *Wilden*, Campe’s text forms distinct connections between citizen-formation and colonial action, in fact there is little difference between the two. In this sense, Zantop’s reading of *Robinson der Jüngere* is exemplary. As this and the remaining chapters of this dissertation nevertheless demonstrate, the developments that Robinson and Freitag undergo point to a more complex blending of Europe and the exotic than the fantasy of colonial activity Zantop describes. Campe’s works are deeply subversive and ambivalent with regard to the cultures and societies they portray. They exploit the ambiguities of the relationship between Europe and the world to embed Enlightenment pedagogy in all corners of the globe, finding room to praise and chide explorers and natives alike. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

¹¹² Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 110. Zantop refers to the text’s protagonist as Krusoe which is his given name with Robinson being his family name. I, as does the Father in his narrative, refer to him as Robinson.

At this point, the Father is most intent on demonstrating the great benefits an extra set of hands brings. With Freitag's assistance, life on the island for Robinson improves markedly. No longer does Robinson need to search for food, grains are grown in ordered plots, milk, cheese and butter are available from the flock of llamas and he has the pleasure of retiring to his *Sommerpalast* when the weather turns too warm. Life has become quite comfortable for the stranded Robinson, a fact that he appreciates and moves to take action against lest he slip back into the sedentary ways of his youth. Robinson realizes that he could sit back and enjoy the fruits of his solitary labor, allow Freitag to work for him and truly assume the role of ruler of the colony. This thought is short-lived and quickly countered in the Father's narrative. Robinson fears that ending his "*arbeitsame und mäßige Lebensart*" and returning to a life of "Müßiggang und sinliches Wohlleben" would put in danger the "Gesundheit des Leibes und des Geistes" that his years of diligence and moderation had won him.¹¹³ Important here are the loss of both physical *and* spiritual health. Not working, the text attests, is harmful to the spirit as much as it puts physical well-being at risk. Robinson's island education had shown him the value of work and moderation. When given the option to have much of the daily work done for him by Freitag, the newly empowered Robinson remembers the lessons from his solitude on the island. Whether alone on an island, with the beginnings of society or at home after his return, Robinson stresses the importance of the participation of each individual in a successful society. Underscoring his effort to remember this, Robinson resolves to partake of "der neuen götlichen Wohlthaten [. . .] mit der größten Mäßigkeit," to continue his work "eben so unverdrossen und eben so ununterbrochen," to eat only "rohen Speisen" on Sundays and to send Freitag to the *Sommerpalast* at the end of each

¹¹³ RdJ 218. Campe's italics.

month for a day and a night.¹¹⁴ These moves prepare him for the bounty of the shipwreck and its temptations of luxury and pleasure. As a final sign of this, an additional “*sinliches Merkzeichen*” he carves the words “*Arbeitsamkeit und Mäßigkeit*” above the entrance to his cave.¹¹⁵

Return from the Island

When the European ship wrecks near the island, providing a treasure of “*Werkzeugen und den meisten Nothwendigkeiten des Lebens,*” Robinson is prepared to refuse those items that would threaten his resolve.¹¹⁶ As discussed in the opening to this chapter, Robinson recognizes the hidden dangers of the coffee and ivory that ship carried. Conditioned by several years on the island to a life without luxury, he easily rebuffs this temptation. Robinson, it seems, is familiar with the negative physiological effects identified in Dohm’s essay. An industrious person cannot afford to be slowed down, dried up and weakened by “*überflüssige und schädliche Lekkereien.*”¹¹⁷ Ever productive, Robinson scoffs at the ivory, snubs the coffee and quickly assembles the inherently valuable items. The newly provided tools and materials are put to use: they build a house, establish a metal working shop, smith a plough and increase agricultural production to the point of having a surplus that protects against crop failure and drought. Robinson’s menagerie has expanded to include goats and a dog rescued from the ship. The human population of his colony also swells when Robinson and Freitag rescue a couple of Spaniards and, as luck would have it, Freitag’s father from

¹¹⁴ *RdJ* 219.

¹¹⁵ *RdJ* 219-20. Campe’s italics.

¹¹⁶ *RdJ* 11-12.

¹¹⁷ *RdJ* 282.

death in a cannibal sacrifice. The Spaniards and Donnerstag, as Freitag's father is named by Robinson, travel back to the mainland for their shipmates, who after agreeing to provisions set forth by Robinson, will take up residence on the island. In delineating the requirements for "citizenship" on "*Robinsons Insel*," a clear moment of colonial ambition is enacted in the text. This, though, is tempered by an examination of the conditions, which require each person to follow the orders of the ruler, to lead "ein arbeitsames, mäßiges, tugendhaftes Leben," to submit disagreements to judicial review, to work without complaint for the good of the society, to defend the "Herrn der Insel," and to stand against anyone who has the temerity to break these rules.¹¹⁸ The regulations Robinson penned for his society are in agreement with the vision of society, even to the point of supporting monarchic, hereditary rule, imagined in the pages of the *Deutsches Museum*. Even further, Robinson's "einzigsten Herzenswunsch" remains, in spite of these loyal subjects and the many improvements on the island, to return home to his parents.¹¹⁹ This desire is fulfilled when a mutinied ship arrives at the island to dispose of the Captain and his few faithful crewmembers. Only after the Captain promises to take Robinson back to Europe does he agree to assist him in regaining his ship. The Captain is restored and Robinson, along with Freitag, returns to Europe. Before safely arriving in Hamburg, Robinson suffers another shipwreck that takes from him the items with exchange value he had gained during his time away. As the Father makes clear, when he explains to the children:

Er ist nun grade wieder so reich, als er damahls war, da er von *Hamburg* abfuhr. Vielleicht, daß die Vorsehung ihn deswegen alles wieder verlieren ließ, weil der Anblik seines Reichthums einen oder den andern leichtsinnigen jungen Menschen vielleicht hätte bewegen können, seinem Beispiele zu folgen, und auch aufs Gerathewohl in die weite Welt zu gehen, um, so wie er, mit

¹¹⁸ *RdJ* 318-9.

¹¹⁹ *RdJ* 335.

gefundenen Schätzen zurück zu kehren. Er für sein Teil beklagte diesen Verlust am wenigsten. Denn da er sich fest vorgenommen hatte, seine künftigen Tage in eben so ununterbrochener Arbeitsamkeit und Mäßigkeit hinzubringen, als er auf seiner Insel zu leben gewohnt gewesen war: so kont' er des Goldes füglich entbehren. (344)

The loss of material wealth is not troubling to Robinson, since he recognized that his expulsion from society profited him not materially, but spiritually. Robinson's voyage provides him with the physical as well as intangible skills for success upon his return. He returns to Europe with the skill set and the desire to improve society. After a joyful reunion with his father, Robinson relays his island education to all who will listen:

Eltern, wenn ihr eure Kinder liebt, so gewöhnt sie ja frühzeitig zu einem frommen, mäßigen und arbeitsamen Leben! und waren Kinder dabei: so gab er ihnen allemahl die goldne Regel mit: lieben Kinder seid gehorsam euren Eltern und Vorgesetzten; lernt fleißig alles, was ihr zu lernen nur immer Gelegenheit habt; fürchtet Gott, und hütet euch—o hütet euch—vor Müßiggang, aus welchem nichts als Böses komt! (346, emphasis in original)

This is Robinson's ultimate iteration of the moral of his story, the purpose for Campe's work. This message has appeared throughout the text, but is brought into absolute and final clarity in Robinson's concluding pedagogical exclamation. The Father brings his narrative to a close in summarizing Robinson's life after his return. He tells us that Robinson and Freitag took up table making and continued the practices that had become second nature on the island, working industriously every day and once a week imitating, as much as was possible, their way of life on the island. The Father's story ends with these words:

Sie erlebten in Friede, Gesundheit und nützlicher Geschäftigkeit ein hohes Alter, und die späteste Nachkommenschaft wird das Andenken zweier Männer, die ihren Mitmenschen ein Beispiel gaben, wie man es machen müsse um hier zufrieden, und einst ewig glücklich zu werden. (347)

The memory of their example lives on for generations. They serve as models of how to be satisfied and happy in life, not on a distant island, but *hier* in the actual, contemporary,

domestic world. The novel closes with a final framing sentence, in which the children sit quietly for a period “bis endlich bei allen der feurige Gedanke: *so wil ich es auch machen!* zur festen Entschliessung reife.”¹²⁰ The children are determined to behave just like Robinson, both as he had lived on the island *and* after his return to society. Campe’s formulation of the Robinson legend empowers them, making them agents in the success of the nation. Compensation for the perceived lacks of the German nation is found in the education of the next generation in principles and skills that, while having obvious colonial applications, are nevertheless intended for domestic purposes.

By casting the Robinson story two hundred years into the past, Campe creates a fantasy of permanence. The ideas that Robinson represents are etched into the collective memory of German lands, essentially creating cultural knowledge, a shared national mythology that is inscribed with the principles Robinson practiced and preached. Not found in other German *Robinsonaden*, this move into the past does permit the creation of “an imaginary national self” but it is not “freed from history and convention.”¹²¹ The national identity written into Campe’s version of the Robinson legend remains tied to the historical context in which it was written. In leaving the Father’s narrative in the contemporary eighteenth-century context, while pushing Robinson’s adventure into a marked, yet also timeless past, Campe’s text allows the abstention from the luxuries of coffee and ivory to serve as quasi-historical models for the eighteenth-century audience. Coffee and ivory, appearing in the narrative set two centuries in the past, can be dismissed as anachronistic, a continuity error, but writing it off in this manner dismisses the eighteenth-century reality in search of a fantasy. Rooted both thematically and physically by his choice to advertise it in

¹²⁰ *RdJ* 347. Campe’s italics.

¹²¹ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 7.

the *Deutsches Museum*, Campe's text participates in a discourse that offers a fantasy not of colonial activity, but of pedagogical power. Tracing the lines of this fantasy as it is written onto its subjects will be the focus of my presentation of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, the second work in Campe's series of adventure narratives for children. As the next chapter will argue, this fantasy of pedagogical power does propose colonial activity, but one that takes place internally on its subjects through the mechanics of discipline.

Chapter Three

Appropriating the Exotic: Domestic Pedagogy and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*

After a long, treacherous and almost fruitless voyage across the Atlantic, Kolumbus and his men finally sight land. Daylight is fading so Kolumbus gives the order to set anchor and wait for dawn to claim the discovery that he had so long sought. Of course, we now know that he was in a vastly different place than he might have imagined and the discovery that he was to make on that morning in the fall of 1492 was not quite what he had set out to achieve, but nevertheless a long and uncertain journey had been completed and the moment of glory was there to be seized. Day breaks, boats are set in the water and Kolumbus and his men set off “mit fliegenden Fahnen, und unter lautschallender Kriegsmusik, nach der Küste.”¹ This is the triumphant scene that Campe paints in the first volume of *Entdeckung von Amerika* (1781/82) as he retells the voyages of Kolumbus. The scene continues:

Indem sie sich derselben [der Küste] näherten, zeigt sich ihren Augen eine unzählbare Menge der Eingebornen, die über die wunderbare, noch nie gesehene Erscheinung europäischer Schiffe, erstaunt, auf dem Strande zusammenliefen. Jetzt erreichte man die Küste, und Kolumbus, reich gekleidet, und mit dem bloßen Degen in der Hand, war der erste, welcher aus dem Boote sprang, und die von ihm entdeckte neue Welt betrat.

Hans. Himmel! wie ihm dabei zu Muthe sein mußte!

Vater. Erst dann, lieber Hans, wenn du einst auch einmahl etwas großes, das mit Mühe und Gefahren geknüpft war, erdacht, beschlossen und ausgeführt haben wirst; erst dann wird deine Seele die unaussprechliche Empfindung fassen können, von welcher Kolumbens Busen schwoll, da er das Land betrat,

¹ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika: ein Unterhaltungsbuch für Kinder und junge Leute*, Erster Theil (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1806) 88. Hereafter cited as *Kolumbus*.

dessen Entdeckung ihm so viele Sorgen, so viele schlaflose Nächte, und so mancherlei harte Selbstverläugnungen gekostet hatte. (88)

At the culmination of a long journey, Kolumbus and the reader with him set foot in the new world. Joy of joys, this is what makes reading so fun, a tale of adventure, hardship and suffering crowned by a discovery—then the Father stomps on the brakes, pulls over and tells dear, sweet Hans that he can only know what it feels like after he pays the toll in suffering, doubt, and sacrifice. Why is the Father ruining the best moment of the story?

The Father, as we have seen in *Robinson der Jüngere*, charts and channels, corrects and controls the children's relationship with the narrative. In this work, he is retelling the New World conquests of Kolumbus, Kortes and Pizarro. This is the direct continuation of Campe's series of age-appropriate, graduated works for children. In his plan, the *Entdeckung* is the direct continuation of *Robinson*, which was itself the next step after the *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*. Released just one year after the publication of *Robinson*, it would become an international bestseller—albeit not at the level of *Robinson*—eventually, as the whims of the book market would have it, even being translated into Spanish. In spite of its success and enduring popularity throughout the 19th century, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* has not been the subject of concentrated or lengthy analysis. Susanne Zantop devotes a few pages to it. A short article discusses it in the context of Campe's relationship with Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt.² In a study of Philanthropic children's and youth literature, Eva Funke offers a short chapter analyzing the character of the three title figures.³ Gabriele Brune-Heiderich focuses on the second volume in her investigation of ethnographic aspects of Campe's

² Cedric Hentschel, "Campe and the Discovery of America," *German Life and Letters* 26 (1973): 1-13.

³ Eva Funke, *Bücher statt Prügel: zur philanthropistischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1988).

works.⁴ Beyond this, there are scant notes in histories of children's literature and many references to it; however, most of these venture not much further than mentioning the title.⁵

In this chapter, I will seek to examine this work comprehensively. With three separate narratives bound in individual volumes totaling some 900 pages, *Entdeckung* does not easily lend itself to a single overarching interpretation. In fact, the progression of these texts produces seeming inconsistencies. Campe imagined slightly older readers for each volume and tailored the Father's commentary accordingly, thus e.g., the Father condemns and mocks Spanish ceremonies of "claiming" land in the third volume, but a similar scene in the first goes uncommented. Since this text has been only lightly treated, it will be necessary to allot a significant portion of the chapter to presenting important scenes from the narratives. The scenes that will form the bulk of my interpretation will feature the narrative family—the Father, children and infrequently the Mother—discussing and debating the narrated events. Such scenes build the nexus between the world of the narrative and the world of the children. It is in these scenes that the bond between the foreign and the domestic is formed. I will consider the multiple relationships (Child-Explorer, Child-Native, Child-Father) fostered in the text in an effort to unravel the connections they signify and the meanings this has for understandings of the German relationship with the exotic and exploration.

⁴ Gabriele Brune-Heiderich, *Die Begegnung Europas mit der überseeischen Welt: völkerkundliche Aspekte im jugendliterarischen Werk Joachim Heinrich Campes* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989) 98-111.

⁵ Reiner Wild, *Die Vernunft der Väter: zur Psychographie von Bürgerlichkeit und Aufklärung in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987) 218, Reiner Wild, ed., *Geschichte der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002) 80, Ludwig Fertig, *Campes Politische Erziehung. Eine Einführung in die Pädagogik der Aufklärung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) 149-158, Theodor Brüggeman and Hans-Heino Ewers, *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur von 1750 bis 1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1982) 215-6, 1305.

In what remains of the introduction to this chapter, I will first lay out definitions of “enlightenment” operative in the era and the way Campe’s text amends them, then position Campe’s texts within anti-imperialist thought in the 18th century and underscore the power exerted by society as captured in Diderot’s metaphor of the domestic tiger, before returning to the interrupted moment of first contact between the New and Old World cited above. This will then lead to the first section of this chapter which examines the relationship of the children to the narrative “heroes.” How is this managed by the Father and just what are the children supposed to learn from these figures? This is an evolving relationship, and within each volume the children are both sympathetic to and shocked by the behaviors of the protagonist. Following this, the second section will examine the children’s relationship and attitudes toward the *Eingeborene(n)* (Natives).⁶ How does the Father present them to the children? What sort of connection is fostered here? What sort of hierarchy of culture and “civilization” is established? In the final section of the chapter, I will call on the scenes presented in the first two sections in arguing that through the restrictive nature of the text’s pedagogy, ultimately, the Father-child bond, which stands at the center of the work, is both actualized and perverted. What seems to be a perfectly normal parent-child relationship is distorted by guilt and lofty, immeasurable expectations. The Father casts the children as his saviors. Through them and their perfection, he too will be perfected.

By examining the text in this manner, my analysis highlights the connection between Campe’s implied colonial project and his explicit domestic pedagogical project. In building this link, I seek to refine arguments that sweep Campe’s text into fantasies of German colonial activity. This claim is convincing and many contemporary and 19th-century readers

⁶ Native is used in this chapter in its purest sense, the sense that is preserved in the German. Literally, one who is born in a place—in English the use that best reflects this is the expression, “he/she is a native of Washington.” It is not without awareness of other more negative connotations that I use this term.

may have understood the text in this way, however, it neglects the finer lines which link Campe's acceptance of "pedagogical colonialism" with his project of domestic pedagogy.⁷ My argument will highlight the covalent bond between these two projects. In this covalent state, the two worlds, the Caribbean and the German—even European—are tied together, and in this sense, it is no longer accurate to speak of an "us" and a "them." Rather, both are bound necessarily in the same project of education and enlightenment. The "von ihm entdeckte neue Welt" populated by *Eingeborenen*, in the discovery scene above, is linked structurally and metaphorically to the world of the narration.

In one sense, Campe is participating in a vision of exploration as enlightenment. He promotes an argument that legitimizes colonial activity within a "civilizing mission" and his texts may very well participate indirectly in the larger fantasy of colonial activity that Zantop proposes. At the same time, however, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika: ein Unterhaltungsbuch für Kinder und junge Leute* refocuses the colonial-pedagogical impulse and trains it on the children who listen to or read these tales, as is suggested in the conventional subtitle.⁸ This is not to say that all titles should be taken at face value, nor do I intend to read this book by its cover, but already on the title page there is an indication that there is something more to these texts than mere adventurer's tales. Campe's text is somewhere on the continuum between legitimizing colonial oppression and standing against colonialism, somewhere between validating atrocities and apologizing for them. To borrow Sankar Muthu's argument from his study of 18th-century anti-imperialist discourse, *Enlightenment against*

⁷ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 117.

⁸ Titles of 18th-century texts, particularly those of the Philanthropists, were a key element in promoting texts via journals, such as the *Deutsches Museum* or the *Teutscher Merkur*. These announcements, as well as subsequent reviews in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, served as a central means of advertising and sales. Thus, they frequently included a subtitle that explained the aim, use, guiding theory, or intent of a text.

Empire, Campe's position on colonial activity would track well with the position he ascribes to Rousseau, which is an improvement on previous "decultured" descriptions of North American native populations, and yet falls short of the "pluralism" which Diderot argues for in the *Histoire des deux Indes*. I will further discuss Campe's text within the context of Muthu's work below. The children in hearing tales of the conquest of the New World are given a critique of the Spanish conquest, which is in turn a criticism of violent colonialism. Campe's text links education with exploration and exploration with enlightenment. These are linked in series. First you must be educated in the norms of society, only then can exploration be properly done. Proper exploration is at once scientific discovery and the spreading of enlightenment ideals of rationality, scientific order and tolerance.

In order to be a "good" explorer, a person must first have a thorough *Erziehung*, which in Campe's view means knowledge and respect for societal limits, or phrased more negatively, restricting behaviors within the normative. In this negative sense, Campe's text creates a normative space within which the child is given autonomy to employ reason and reach his/her own conclusions. But this autonomy is illusory, since it is all the while encircled by the frame the Father's narrative creates. Within the small circle of the narrative family, within this normative sphere, the exercise of this autonomy is trained and guided. Ultimately, with the conclusion of the narrative and the dissolution of the narrative family, this narrow sphere needs to be expanded. As we will see, this is precisely the move the text makes, when the Father asserts that wherever they go the children will instantly be recognized, watched and measured against the expected standard.

Of the three central figures only one has had such an *Erziehung* and only he is a "good" explorer. This is Kolumbus, a man ahead of his time, a 15th-century enlightener.

Throughout the first volume his intelligence and rationality are praised. He is an enlightened explorer who wants to use his voyages to bring knowledge to the areas explored. Is he perfect? Certainly not, he sought gold and riches in the lands he discovered, but his prime motivating factor, the listening children are told, was to expand the borders of the known world. Kortes and Pizarro, on the other hand, are uneducated, unenlightened, and motivated by superstition and false ideas of European superiority. Kolumbus is out to remove darkness, to discover in a literal sense. The German verb *entdecken*, as well as the English *to discover*, both contain this meaning in a root sense. When read in this sense, *entdecken* is literally to remove the cover, to expose. In this way, exploration, or discovery, is linked to enlightenment in Campe's text and through this link the children and the natives are metaphorically equal. Both can benefit from the lessons of the Father.

To connect this to broader characterizations of *Aufklärung*, it is helpful to look briefly at two dominant, contemporary philosophical examinations of enlightenment. If we turn to the definitions proposed by Kant and Mendelssohn in their responses to the question, "Was ist Aufklärung?" posed in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* in 1783, we are presented with two broadly different conceptualizations of enlightenment. Kant famously focuses on the individual and conceptualizes enlightenment as an emancipation from self-imposed immaturity (*Unmündigkeit*). The individual is the agent of enlightenment. The process is, at least initially, internal and personal and should lead to "Selbstbestimmung durch Selbstdenken."⁹ Conversely, Mendelssohn's essay emphasizes the relationship of enlightenment with society. He argues that the individual needs to be enlightened as a human and as a *Bürger*, the former is universal, the latter dependent on class and profession.

⁹ Werner Schneiders, *Die Wahre Aufklärung: zum Selbstverständnis der deutschen Aufklärung* (Freiburg/München: Karl Alber, 1974) 51. For his full reading of Kant, see 52-62.

This parallels Campe's concept of a natural and a social education. As you will recall from the first chapter, the Philanthropists saw the two as incompatible, competing interests. In his view, enlightenment and culture are the component parts of *Bildung*. Culture is defined in practical terms, as skills and knowledge of social norms (*Geselligkeitssitten*). Enlightenment is defined as theoretical cognitive capacities, the ability to think critically. Where Kant proposes "Selbstdenken," Mendelssohn advocates enlightenment as "Richtigdenken."¹⁰ For Mendelssohn, there is an explicit connection between enlightenment and *Bildung*. Each member of society, based on social position, has individual theoretical and practical needs and in turn requires a different degree of enlightenment. Enlightenment and *Bildung*, themselves transformative elements, are tools in humanity's efforts in the development of social life. They are integral to the evolution of society.

Looking at these two definitions with respect to Campe's work, it quickly becomes clear that Mendelssohn's explanation dovetails with the form of enlightenment that the Father urges throughout Campe's texts. The children are presented with an endless array of examples of the proper use of reason and how to think correctly. Through the Father's pedagogy they learn practical applications of reason and from this they achieve *Bildung*. Enlightenment children's literature documents the standards of the era and records the way social goals should be "in einzelnen Menschen verankert."¹¹ They serve as a model of the everyday use of "aufgeklärter Vernunft" and sought to show children how to "think properly." These texts, as works for children, do not theorize the use of reason, rather they apply it to life and the world. Thus, through the examples provided by the explorers and exploration, the texts show how the explorers used, or more frequently failed to use reason

¹⁰ Schneiders 51. For Schneiders on Mendelssohn, see 43-51.

¹¹ Wild, *Vernunft der Väter* 30.

and succumbed to the power of superstition and false belief. Through the structure of the Father's narrative, the children are invited to test out their own reasoning power on "real world" examples. Thus, the exotic world of the explorers' encounters is a training ground for the use of reason.

Even though these texts do not theorize the use of reason, it is nevertheless possible to read the limits placed on the use of reason to arrive at a sense of the vision of rationality that these texts proposed. The reason that the children are encouraged to practice is given rigid boundaries that are carefully policed by the Father. Supplementary to these restrictions, the Father also calls on a greater authority to support his mission. As we will see, fears of eternal damnation and separation from the family in the hereafter are used to control the children beyond the frame of the narrative. In calling on the eternal and almighty pedagogue, the texts suggest that the human capacity for reason is not only fallible but insufficient to achieve the perpetual control the Father desires. Throughout the course of these three texts the Father will rely on the combination of the shame of failure and fears for the fate of their and his eternal soul. Reason alone is not trusted to guarantee adherence to the pedagogy. In this it becomes clear that the already prescriptive notion of enlightenment that Campe's texts present is circumscribed by Protestant beliefs. Reason functions within the confines of religion and not just any form, but precisely the dogma of Protestantism. As will become more apparent below, the victory of reason over superstition is mirrored in the mastery of Protestant ethics over the violence of the Catholic conquest of the New World.

Campe's pedagogical project needs to be carried out not only in far-flung corners of the world, but also in the Hamburg countryside, not to mention superstitious corners of the Catholic south. These children are the first in line for the benefits of the colonial-

pedagogical impulse. They are to become the first citizens of the German colonial world; it just happens that they are not, at least in terms of skin color, any different than their colonizers. Children are an internal, a domestic colony that must be civilized. In this respect, Campe's stance vis-à-vis colonial activity is consistent—European children need the light of the Enlightenment as much as the inhabitants of the New World. Thus, the Caribbean world is ultimately a cipher for the domestic. And conversely, the world of the narrative family is a cipher for the Caribbean. The two worlds of the text, the foreign and the domestic, are linked dialectically. Combined by and confined within the narrative structure of the text, both take on metaphoric value. Functioning as metaphors they become idealized caricatures of their “real-world” counterparts. The children, based on students from Campe's days as a private tutor, are in the text fantasies of pedagogical perfection, just as the natives from the explorer's tales are mediated representations of New World populations. Linked as they are, it then becomes possible to discuss these two distant worlds in similar terms. The children are the subjects of the Father, as the natives are the subjects of the explorers. Two seemingly different projects, exploration and pedagogy, are in effect the same. The control, manifested as physical power, exercised by the explorers is reflected in the control, manifested as emotional coercion, exercised by the Father. This control manifests itself in different forms—physical vs. emotional—but the goal is the same: the creation of productive citizens. In this sense, colonial control, which is to say domestic pedagogy, is the way to an ordered society. Or, put differently, domestic control, exercised as colonial pedagogy, is the way to an enlightened world.

To better understand the way that power is constructed and mastered in the texts of the *Entdeckung* series and to establish *Erziehung* as one of the key elements of social control, it will be helpful to turn to Sankar Muthu's discussion of seminal anti-imperial thinkers in *Enlightenment against Empire*. In this masterful and thoroughly engaging study, Muthu examines overlooked and later overshadowed Enlightenment anti-imperialist thought. From this "anomalous period" in political thought he highlights the work of Rousseau, Kant, Herder and Diderot, and demonstrates how their works were in dialogue with each other throughout the last decades of the 18th century.¹² Beginning with Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* (1755), Muthu highlights the aspects of his writing that acknowledge the rights of indigenous populations, yet still view them as inherently "natural," which stands in categorical opposition to European peoples as "cultural beings." It is in this difference that Rousseau's seemingly benevolent writings are at their core divisive. Rousseau's writings are set in contrast to Denis Diderot's contributions to the *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*. The *Histoire*, edited by and attributed to the Abbé Thomas Raynal, was the product of several hands and many of its "radical contributions" and "most of the anti-imperialist arguments" were composed by Diderot.¹³ Muthu examines these writings and reveals how Diderot exposed European cruelties practiced in the New World, examined the cost of imperialism on European societies, proposed a framework for justifiable versus unjustifiable colonial activity, and ultimately argues that European society is unsuitable for export.¹⁴ Within the borders of this

¹² Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003) 259.

¹³ Cf. Muthu 72 for a thorough introduction to this text that cites previous and forthcoming scholarship examining the *Histoire*.

¹⁴ The chapter on Diderot and empire presents a stunning array of passages and expertly leads the reader through his corpus in *Historie des deux Indes*. See Muthu, 72-121.

chapter, the most interesting of these aspects is the first. His description of the European explorer and his barbarity in the New World will form a lens through which the activities of the *Entdeckung* protagonists can be viewed and yields, when paired with the Father's emphasis on the importance of a reasoned *Erziehung* in childhood, an interesting perspective on the work under discussion in this chapter. Diderot described the force of society as a "mask" that covered and disguised the raw individual. At home in European society, the explorer behaved within the limits that society dictated, or to invoke Foucault, the productive force of society rules his actions. But as the explorer moves further from his home country "the looser the mask becomes."¹⁵ Upon leaving and moving further away from the home country, the connections to society and its structures fade. Ultimately, Diderot writes, with sufficient time and distance they are lost:

Beyond the Equator a man is neither English, Dutch, French, Spanish, nor Portuguese. He retains only those principles and prejudices of his native country which justify or excuse his conduct. He crawls when he is weak; he is violent when strong; he is in a hurry to enjoy, and capable of every crime which will lead him most quickly to his goals. He is a *domestic tiger* returning to the forest; the thirst of blood takes hold of him once more. This is how all the Europeans, every one of them, indistinctly, have appeared in the countries of the New World. There they have assumed a common frenzy. . . . (IX, 1) (Muthu 74, emphasis added)

Diderot was writing at the end of the 1770s, and it is unclear if Campe had read the *Histoire des deux Indes* when he sat down to compose the *Entdeckung* series.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Diderot's metaphor of the "domestic tiger" coupled with the Father's presentation of the title figures provides an interesting insight into the actions of the three title figures. Diderot's

¹⁵ *Histoire* IX, 1. Cited in Muthu, 74.

¹⁶ A German translation of the *Histoire* was reviewed in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* in 1779. In the introduction to the review, the reviewer notes that he would limit his comments to the language of the translation, since the work was so widely known that it was not necessary to discuss the contents. *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* 39.1 (1779): 277.

claim holds in two of the three cases: Pizarro and Kortes are taken over by the “thirst of blood” and lose whatever semblance of civilization they had; Kolumbus, however, retains his civility and restraint. As will be shown in the first section of this chapter, the difference between these characters is the amount and quality of *Erziehung* they had as children. Apparently, *Erziehung* and its power to mask and control, its power to create citizens, is able to overpower and restrain the beast; *Erziehung* domesticates.

While at times singing from the same sheet as Rousseau and occasionally echoing Diderot, Campe only gestures toward a position in Enlightenment anti-imperialist discourse. Since his principal interest is to highlight and instill in the children values that are important for European society, Campe’s text is at times ambiguous and frequently squishy when it comes down to a clear stance on whether the native populations are primarily “natural” and only secondarily “cultural.” In addition, in tailoring his text for a specific age group, Campe is not consistently critical of the explorer’s activities. Generally, Campe’s presentation of native societies is positive, yet also condescending; they are simple peoples, who have not achieved a level of civilization, save for one critical example, equal to Europe, without ever making it clear if he thinks they could get there on their own. One passage condemns Spanish misdeeds, which reflects Zantop’s reading of the work as a critique of Spanish colonialism, then in another the natives are chastised for abhorrent practices. There are cannibals and human sacrifices among these populations, both of these practices are viewed negatively. However, their religious beliefs, while inferior to Christianity, are also not to be laughed at or mocked. And even though they have “gar keinen Unterricht, gar keine Erziehung” and “nicht einmahl den lieben Gott kennen,” they are frequently superior to the

Spanish in moral and just behaviors.¹⁷ What is interesting in the context of this chapter will be the contours and curves of the Father's presentation of indigenous peoples and the mapping of this onto the listening children. Not only how do the children respond to the natives, but how do they mirror the native? In what sense are the children "natural"? To what extent are they inherently "cultural"? These questions will be taken up in the second section of this chapter, where I will argue that the children and the native populations are figuratively linked, that the children need acculturation, need to be civilized and instructed in the ways of society. And that ultimately, society is the framework that produces and guarantees moral behavior.

This process of socialization is at the heart of Enlightenment pedagogy. As you will recall from the introductory chapter, Philanthropic pedagogy viewed childhood as the period of life within which the child should acquire and assimilate all of the skills that would aid him/her through life. Childhood is less of a period in itself than an anticipation of adulthood. A successful and productive childhood produces a citizen. It focuses less on the child itself, more on the adult it will create. *Erziehung* was seen as the way to improve society "durch die Besserung des einzelnen Menschen."¹⁸ This, of course, implies that the needs of society supersede those of the individual. Much of this development, as I argued in the introductory chapter, was to be left to nature. Nature should be the first teacher, presenting the child with the lessons that it deems appropriate. A natural *Erziehung* is quite simply none at all. Or, more precisely, it is one in which "wenig oder gar nicht gekünstelt ward."¹⁹ Human intervention in the development of a child has potential danger and should be avoided for as

¹⁷ *Kolumbus* 109.

¹⁸ Wild, *Vernunft der Väter* 29.

¹⁹ Campe, "Ueber die große Schädlichkeit" 15.

long as possible. The role of the pedagogue is to allow nature to develop the child's abilities until it becomes necessary to intercede. Nature can only develop a child for the world outside of society. At some point, the pedagogue must take over and begin to concern himself with the child's "künftigen Brauchbarkeit" at the expense of the child's "individuellen Vollkommenheit."²⁰ The demands of society are disconnected from nature. They require a departure from nature's course toward perfection and a turn to the practical expectations of social life. It is in this divergence that the full engagement of the enlightened pedagogue begins. As the embodiment of the perfect pedagogue, the Father serves to illustrate the form this should take. It is with a few observations on his central and constitutive function within the narrative that I wish to conclude the opening to this chapter.

Returning again briefly to Kolumbus's moment of discovery: in this scene dessert, in the form of the founding discovery of the age of exploration, is brought to the table. Little Hans, a bundle of eight-year old energy, jumps up with all the attendant excitement of his age and reaches out for the first piece, but before he even gets his hand to the plate, the Father gently warns that he must first finish the spinach, potatoes, and cabbage on his own. There is still the chance to taste the sweetness of a long-sought goal, but one must first wade through the bitterness of spinach and "Selbstverläugnungen" before the sweetness can truly be tasted. In fact, only through sleepless nights, weeks of trial and difficulty, can an accomplishment take on any significance. Such moments of fulfillment are only possible after the sacrifices of years. It is as if, to return to the dessert metaphor one last time, the bitterness of the spinach, not the sugar, gives the dessert its sweetness. Life is a series of trials and tests that

²⁰ Campe "Ueber die große Schädlichkeit" 71. Here Campe blurs the lines between *Erziehung* and *Ausbildung*.

can only be overcome through determination and perseverance, through goal setting and hard work.

The Father's explanation serves three purposes here and throughout this work: disruption of the narrative flow, delay of the impending action, and denial of the pleasure of identification. The Father maintains control of his narrative through these three methods. When the children are overly excited about the next portion of the tale, he gives them some other task that they need to finish before he will continue. They, in turn, complete the given task as quickly as possible. Or, when he really wishes to develop patience in them, he breaks off the story at the cusp of the climactic moment and makes them wait until the next day, for the weather to change, or until he simply feels ready to continue. He is the gateway to the adventure and they must meet his requirements to hear the next installment. His control is asserted through and yet balanced by their desire to hear the continuation of the story.

The previous paragraph gives the impression that the Father has unquestioned authority over the children. There is, however, an element of give and take in their relationship: the Father's control is restricted by his desire to maintain their interest and he can only draw out his story as long as he has it. And while the story never gets away from him, he notes at times that he is compelled by the voice of justice and those murdered at the hands of the conquistadors to share parts of the history he would otherwise gladly ignore. Since he is working from historical events, there is a need at times to defer to them. There is a tension between the appearance of historical accuracy (Campe, I believe, would argue that he has faithfully rendered the history) and the desire to spin a captivating yarn. Ultimately, though, he is a storyteller and this is a story.

Taking a moment to contemplate the relationship of reader to text, it is obvious that all of the Father's authority exists solely within the text. The child reader who is given Campe's text might read slowly, progressing day by day with the pace of the Father's telling, reflect upon and mimic the interludes. Or, he/she might devour the text in a binge of reading and skip completely the explanatory interludes that "get in the way" of the "real" story. The same applies to the adult reader and/or *Vorleser*, he (and here I can only imagine a male voice) could follow the author's instructions and the Father's model. The polar opposite is possible and even likely.²¹ The overwhelming popularity of this and the other works in this series make countless readings possible. The narrator-listener relationship that is modeled and the narrator's conduct with the narrative material is idealized. Even though it is a reflection of Campe's own experience as private tutor, a fact that the connected, in-the-know pedagogue would be aware of, the text is nonetheless an idealized (distorted, even) representation of the father-child relationship. Only in limited respects is it an accurate presentation of childhood or children in the 18th century. Yet, in presenting an ideal and indeed because of its popularity, this text does speak to the aspirations and dreams of Enlightenment pedagogy and even of the Enlightenment itself. Campe's Father is the literary personification of society. His world is society in idealized miniature. With this in mind, it is possible to read the *Entdeckung* series as the desires of society writ small.

In tracing the power dynamics embedded within the text's structure, this chapter exposes complexities and tensions in the relationship between Father and child that are reflected in that of the explorer and the explored. It locates this dynamic both within debates

²¹ In reviews of the *Entdeckung* series in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, reviewers encouraged Campe to make the works more reference friendly, more like a "Geschichtsbuch" by noting clearly, or even organizing the text around, each of Kolumbus's four voyages. This seems to have been taken partially to heart in the *Sammlung*, where each section of a narrative is given a multi-line heading that encapsulates the content of the section. *ADB* 49.2 (1782): 542.

about Enlightenment pedagogy and discourses on exploration. Moving beyond sweeping statements about this text's position in notions of imagined German colonial power, it places the text within arguments about the form and mode of exploration and colonization, while maintaining, as the structure of the text requires, an interest in the domestic world. In evaluating this work, I use childhood, pedagogy and the mobilization of the exotic in it as pathways to achieve a new critical perspective on the Enlightenment. Through the invocation of Foucault's notions of "discipline" and "punishment," my analysis will ground the text's pedagogy in broader concepts of identity production in the 18th century. Ultimately, in a reevaluation of Foucault's ideas of the Panopticon as the central mechanism in the formation of the individual, this chapter will insert the disciplinary dynamic formed in Campe's text as an alternative to it. In maintaining a dual focus, this chapter contributes to our understanding about both pedagogy in the Enlightenment and Enlightenment notions of discovery and exploration. As the final section of this chapter pointedly argues, the two are, in fact, inextricably linked; pedagogical colonialism and domestic pedagogy are two sides of the same coin. They are dialectically opposed: the colony comes home and the domestic is exported. In this dialectic, both become the other, or there is something of both in each: the ideal child is the native; the ideal native is the child. To arrive at this conclusion, though, first requires an examination of the bond forged between child and explorer, a consideration of the connection between education and exploration.

I

The Hero and the Child

According to Campe's introduction to the *Entdeckung von Amerika* series, each of the explorers featured in these volumes is presented as accurately as possible based on a study of the information available to him. Campe admits to unfortunately never having had reason to put himself "in den Besitz der Spanischen Sprache" and therefore he has done his best in cobbling together stories of these men from a variety of "reliable" sources.²² This, however, has not held him back from correcting what he saw as a few errors in his sources.²³ While this lack might detract from the historical accuracy of these narrative figures, for my purposes it is of minimal significance. On the one hand, it might prove interesting to review his accounts alongside those of historians to see how far Campe has gone in creating characters cloaked in historical armor; on the other, Campe's fidgeting with the histories of these men is precisely what is not at issue in this chapter. In an effort to preserve and acknowledge this disinterest in historical accuracy, I will maintain the German spelling of Kolumbus and Kortes—this not being an issue in regard to Pizarro. While this orthographical nod is certainly cumbersome, I deem it necessary to minimize confusion concerning the life of the historical figures—Christopher Columbus, Hernando Cortez and Francisco Pizarro²⁴—and the characters that are created and molded to the purposes of the author. While they all may bear striking resemblance to their historical counterparts, the

²² *Kolumbus* vii-viii.

²³ *Kolumbus* vii. Campe cites *Die allgemeine Historie aller Reisen* and Robertson's *Geschichte von Amerika* as his most reliable sources.

²⁴ Every language and every spelling of these names carries with it a host of meanings and myths. Kolumbus, Columbus, or Colombo all refer to the same person, yet each signifies a different, only partially overlapping, set of ideas.

three narrative heroes of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* are stand-ins, who are cast in the light that the narrating Father wishes to shine on them. In fact, throughout the narration the Father repeatedly calls attention to the stage work that must be done before he can lift the curtain (*Vorhang*) on that evening's events.²⁵ These stories are dramas unfolding night by night, a serial in the storytelling tradition. The three stars are dramatic heroes in the truest sense, each with his own unique flaw: Kolumbus is an enlightener before the Enlightenment, who cannot get others to also see the light; Kortes is strong in body and will, but he consistently fails to act humanely; and pitiful Pizarro in spite of his determination and cunning is never able to overcome his untended youth.

While they are heroes in a dramatic sense, they are not unassailable standards whose actions are beyond question. Each of these explorers is presented with his own history and motivations. As the title of each volume indicates, these are stories about the men, more than about their discoveries.²⁶ They are not cookie-cutter adventurers, who are stamped out and inserted in the title role. In presenting their individual histories an emphasis is placed on the role that education played in their childhood. In effect the three tales are an extended commentary on the virtue and value of a thorough education in childhood. The actions and events of the narrative serve as a framework on which the Father can hang his ideas and values. Of the three, it is clear that the most sympathetic of the figures, Kolumbus, was also the best educated, whereas Pizarro was a wild, willful brute unrestrained by societal norms. From the Father's initial presentation of these figures it is apparent that their actions will

²⁵ *Kolumbus* 167. Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika: ein Unterhaltungsbuch für Kinder und junge Leute, Zweiter Theil* (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1806) 22, 218, 290. Hereafter cited as *Kortes*.

²⁶ The title of each volume follows a traditional muster. They are: *Kolumbus, oder die Entdeckung von Westindien*; *Kortes, oder die Eroberung von Mexiko*; *Pizarro, oder die Eroberung von Peru*. The second half of the title after the *oder* gives away the events and marks the different missions of the men. Kolumbus was discovering. Kortes and Pizarro were conquering.

mirror their upbringing. Through the Father's discussion of these characters it is clear that they are examples of good and bad *Erziehung*. The children are presented with a palette of characters, which as the age and the presumed reasoning power of the children progresses, increases in complexity. The broad generalizations that are so prominent in *Robinson der Jüngere* fade into a pastiche of qualified analyses. Lessons that could be applied generally in *Robinson* or *Kolumbus* are conditional in *Kortes* and *Pizarro*. This is not surprising, and is noted here only to recall that these works fit within a larger project which arcs from *Robinson der Jüngere* through the *Entdeckung* series to the *Sammlung interessanter Reisebeschreibungen*. These three works all fall within the larger project of Campe's oeuvre for children. As an ordered and orderly pedagogue, Campe imagined that others who generally shared his views would utilize his works in the prescribed manner. These works, as Campe made clear throughout all of his many introductions, *Vorreden* and comments, were to be given to children, or read to children only when they had reached the appropriate age. Whether any of his suggestions were followed is a different question entirely.

In the introduction to *Entdeckung von Amerika*, Campe discusses his fear that presenting such questionable characters might do more harm than good. He justifies going against his long-standing recommendation that children be protected from “die fehlerhaften Seiten der Menschheit,” by presenting his work as an examination of these errors.²⁷ The conquistador's “errors”—to put the conquest of the New World in an overly generous light—become points of commentary for the Father and points of discussion for the children. The title figure is not always right and his actions are not always justified. He is not the unquestioned star of an adventurer's tale. His actions are taken out of the realm of the exotic and become the subject of criticism and comment within the narrative family. Campe's text

²⁷ *Kolumbus* viii.

echoes the historical development of the eighteenth-century *Abenteuerroman*, in that it suppresses—without totaling eliminating—the attraction of the exotic, while at the same time subsuming it to the discipline of rationality.²⁸ By encapsulating these stories of conquest within the frame of the Father’s narrative, the desire to carry out similar adventures is tempered. Moreover, the children learn, or it is intended that they learn to analyze travel descriptions and thereby establish a critical stance vis-à-vis exploration.

Of course, the Father’s perfect control exists only within the bindings of the text. The listening children inside the narrative remain constantly under his control. They are eager to meet his demands and take a certain pleasure in submitting to his control. This pleasure is the projected fantasy of the pedagogue, who in constructing the “perfect” text for his audience, imagines for himself the “perfect” audience. The children’s pleasure in submission is nothing more than the reflection of the pedagogue’s desire for control. As for the reading child, Campe wishes that he/she would see the listening child as a model, and it is likely that many readers sought to imitate the listening children. The Father-child relationship, since it is idealized, is in many respects appealing; yet, as an ideal, it leads to a perversion of this very relationship. In the Father’s push for the perfection of his children, he inverts the relationship and seeks perfection through them. As the children become “ideal” citizens, the Father envisions that his shortcomings are absolved. The children’s perfection brings about the perfection of the Father.

Campe adopted travel narratives as his primary form of literary production, as we have seen in the introduction to *Robinson der Jüngere*, in an effort to combat the wave of supposedly poisonous texts that were accused of doing little more than firing the imagination

²⁸ See Rolf Grimminger, “Roman,” *Deutsche Aufklärung bis zur französischen Revolution: 1680-1789*, Ed. Rolf Grimminger, Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur, vol. 3 (München: Hanser, 1980): 665-672.

of the reader. I suppose it is somewhat counter-intuitive that Campe would rely on travel narratives as his antidote to these poisons, since travel reports (*Reiseberichte*) were long believed to be encumbered with half truths, misrepresentations and outright lies.²⁹ To counter this, Campe and the philanthropists were central in the development of a new genre of travel writing: the *Reisebeschreibung*.³⁰ Campe and his fellow pedagogues utilize travel narratives as a weapon in the campaign against *Lesewut*, the insatiable desire to read. Improper reading materials (those that lead to *Lesewut*) allow the imagination, which was seen as the wellspring of numerous ills, free reign. To combat this, Campe frames his travel narratives as neither imaginary nor fictional creations. He has taken travel reports and histories, and edited them for his intended audience. By retelling narratives that feature “real” places, he seeks to curb the use of the imagination. Rather than transporting the reader/listener to an imaginary world, Campe provides specific, if not entirely genuine, geographies and binds maps into the volumes of the *Entdeckung* series. These maps are often “exact” reproductions of maps that the Father uses in the narrative, which serve to draw the reading child into the circle of the listening children, or permit a storyteller to more effectively *play* the role of the Father.³¹ The Father, Campe would assert, is not telling a fable; no, he is reciting historical events. The narrative is passed on as authentic, Robinson (clearly a fictional character) is set beside the historical, if not historically accurate, figures of Kolumbus, Kortes and Pizarro. Fiction, reframed by Campe and passed on by the Father, is accepted by the children as fact. While never fully acknowledging that this work is fiction

²⁹ Peter J. Brenner, ed., *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989) 14.

³⁰ Bärbel Panzer, *Die Reisebeschreibung als Gattung der philanthropischen Jugendliteratur in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1983) 70.

³¹ *Kortes* 10.

built around historical facts, the Father's references to the stage work of his presentation and the drama of his unfolding story points to the artificiality of this text. The division of the stories into a series of discrete *Erzählungen* marks the work with an authorial hand. The historical events are chopped into digestible chunks, each with its own didactic message and purpose. In essence these stories are secular myths for the 18th century, which like myths contain at their center kernels of natural wisdom and an explanation of fundamental truths. Campe's myths are ostensibly purged of the fantastic and in its place insert the rational voice of the enlightened age. He creates a new constellation of figures, both affirmative and cautionary, and proffers his youthful consumers prolix bromides, which supplant the pantheon of the ancients with a new crew of explorers and voyagers.

Kolumbus

Kolumbus is the model that the children should strive to equal. He was a man ahead of his time, an enlightened explorer in an age of superstition and fear, who even in his earliest years made it obvious that he was going to be a great man. He is described as "beherzt" and "munter," and opposed to "träge Ruhe" and "weibische Gemächlichkeit."³² He refused sweets from an early age and in every activity sought to learn things that would make him useful to his fellow man. If something was suggested as valuable for his education, he eagerly took to it. Latin, Greek, Calculus, you name it, these would all be no problem for him. Kolumbus is an eager student and the children should also seize the educational opportunities presented them, for as quickly becomes obvious, certain values can only be learned in childhood. This is the Father's constant hobby horse throughout these works.

³² *Kolumbus* 20.

Time and time again, the Father reiterates that there is precious little time, there are precious few years in which the child can assimilate values that will serve a lifetime. There is but one chance and one time to prepare for greatness, and dire results will follow if it is not seized. Failure to take advantage of it, the Father warns, will end in a purposeless existence:

Freuet euch also, wenn ihr euch bewußt seid, daß auch ihr euch jetzt eben so eifrig, wie einst der junge Kolumbus, zu einer ehrenvollen Laufbahn vorbereitet; denn in diesem Falle werdet auch ihr einst, mit Gottes Hülfe, gewiß zu einem herrlichen Ziele gelangen. Könnt ihr euch aber dieses Zeugnis noch nicht mit voller Zuversicht geben: o so eilt doch ja, so sehr es euch nur immer möglich ist, es bald dahin zu bringen! Denn noch etwas weiter hin, möchte die beste Zeit dazu vielleicht für immer verflogen sein – denket, Kinder für immer! Welcher Verlust! (21-22)

This double intonation of “für immer” has a certain sinister note to it. It springs from the Father’s earnestness as pedagogue and his fear that his charges will miss what he sees as the single and sole opportunity for absorbing and integrating an ethical skill set. This sinister note is characteristic of Enlightenment, particularly Philanthropic pedagogy. It reflects the prevailing notion that pedagogy is less constructive than preventative. The pedagogue’s duty is to impose order onto the child and define civil and civic behavior.³³ The Father emphasizes, both in the telling of the stories of these explorers and in his explanations of them, the perils of disobedience. This echoes Foucault’s account of the shift of punishment from an act of physical vengeance by the king against a subject to the creation of a link between a crime and its correspondent punishment in the mind of the subject/citizen. The Father vividly portrays the price of disobedience and hopes to make it unappealing enough to ensure compliance. His discipline functions on a public, civic level and on a private,

³³ Cf. introduction to Katharina Rutschky, *Schwarze Pädagogik: Quellen zur Naturgeschichte der bürgerlichen Erziehung* (Frankfurt: Ullstein, 1977) XVII-LXV. This volume excerpts instances of the dark side of eighteenth-century pedagogy found in a variety of texts and genres. Campe’s Father leans this direction, but since this is a literary not a theoretical work, it tends to stay on the brighter side and only implicitly belies the pedagogue’s fears.

emotional level, citing both the outward shame and the inward guilt under which the wayward child would suffer. While the Father never exactly delineates his pedagogical aims in *Entdeckung*, certainly not as clearly as in *Robinson*, nevertheless through his presentation of the title figures he builds a constellation of attributes that are positively and negatively marked. Central to the positive constellation is a sense of *carpe diem*. There is but one chance to (con)form to society's needs and desires; if it is missed, the child may very well end up like Pizarro, a strong but directionless figure.

Kolumbus was thoughtful and thorough, but once he had determined the proper course of action he refused to allow denials and obstacles to hold him back from his goal. He was a rational, yet also determined person. After reviewing all of the evidence that proved to him that it must be possible to sail west to India,³⁴ the Father describes how Kolumbus fought to have the kings and queens of Europe also see the truth displayed in this collection of items. After he had consulted with a friend and both were fully convinced by the evidence, Kolumbus traveled to Genoa, Madrid, Lisbon and even considered appealing in London for support of his plan. Everywhere he turns he is confronted with “Unverstand,” “Kaltsinn,” and “Undank,” but Kolumbus is endowed with a stronger sense of purpose and does not allow these denials to make him “muthlos” or “unthätig.”³⁵ He is deemed a “lustiger Planmacher” in Genoa.³⁶ The Portuguese listen carefully and see the value in his plan, but deny him and try to organize their own expedition. It fails. The Spanish crown

³⁴ The Father lists the unexplained items that have washed up on the Atlantic shore: carved wood, unknown types of trees and plants, bodies of a “ganz besondere Bildung” which were similar to “weder den Europäern, noch den Leuten aus Asien oder Afrika.” It is these peculiar items that Kolumbus wants to explain. He reads them both as signs of a route to the west and as mysteries that need answers. *Kolumbus* 32.

³⁵ *Kolumbus* 38-39.

³⁶ *Kolumbus* 34.

tells him that he will have to wait until the war with the Moors has concluded. Before he leaves for London, he stops at a cloister to visit his son. At the cloister he shares his plan with the head monk, who immediately sees the value of it. In this way, the Father underscores Kolumbus's mission: the worldly and the powerful might not understand, but the religious and the learned do. This grants divine approval to Kolumbus and his plan.

The Father's narration of this entire process comprises one evening's worth of storytelling and ends with the less than suspenseful question whether Kolumbus will get to carry out his plan. Throughout the Father's presentation of this entire process, it is clear that this Kolumbus is no brazen explorer, nor is he an accidental adventurer. His mission is both commercial—a westward passage to India might be quicker than current trade routes—and scientific—his voyage would also shed light on the unexplained items that formed the evidence for a westward route. In this construction the Father links Kolumbus's voyage with the Enlightenment. Kolumbus does not set out to conquer and oppress; his goal is to expand knowledge of the world, both geographically and biologically. His project will close gaps on maps, literally bring unknown places to light. His discoveries, according to the Father, led to “viele Kenntnisse” and “Bequemlichkeiten des Lebens.”³⁷ When Kolumbus returns from his first voyage, the Father describes the procession as it entered the city: there was gold, but also “einige Eingebornen von jeder besuchten Insel, nebst verschiedene unbekanntes Vögeln, und andern theils natürlichen, theils durch Kunst gefertigten Merkwürdigkeiten. . . .”³⁸ The Mother proudly announces that the family will have a dinner using only ingredients that Kolumbus found and brought back from the New World. The rather meager menu included

³⁷ *Kolumbus* 18.

³⁸ *Kolumbus* 116.

chocolate soup and potatoes, which were the “Leibgericht” of all Europeans.³⁹ The Spanish may have been celebrating gold and riches, may have been marveling at the foreign bodies, but the narrative family honored the humble potato. As humble as it may be, the potato truly was the most tangible and ultimately most valuable product for the narrative family. In this way, Kolumbus’s discoveries were made real and practical for the children. Discovery is not only about finding new places and peoples, but also about enhancing the lives of those left in the home country.

The most important lesson that Kolumbus should teach the children is how to make decisions. His example should show them how to analyze a situation, not based on personal gain, but from the perspective of society. Kolumbus modeled self-denial in pursuit of the greater good. While exploring along the coast of Central America, Kolumbus and his crew received many reports about the riches of Mexico, but Kolumbus ignores these and “das Murren seiner Gefährten” and continues looking for a passage through to the west.⁴⁰ As this work is not, at least from the perspective of the Father, primarily about gold and riches or even about the discovery of a passage west, this tale is interrupted and the evening’s narration ends with a moment of parental interpretation. The Mother breaks in to add her own, rare commentary, which is then superseded by the patriarch. She points out Kolumbus’s moral behavior in this tale and makes an appeal to the children to equal it:

Die Gelegenheit, sich zu bereichern, so nahe zu haben, und doch auf dem Wege des Berufs zu bleiben, der davon abführt; lieber der Welt, als sich selbst nützen zu wollen; und den Unwillen anderer zu ertragen, um seiner Pflicht getreu zu bleiben: -- o Kinder! möchtet ihr doch alle bei jeder ähnlichen Gelegenheit einst eben so große Beweise einer uneigennütigen Tugend und einer edlen Selbstverläugnung geben! (241-2)

³⁹ *Kolumbus* 117-118.

⁴⁰ *Kolumbus* 240.

The Mother focuses here on the positive aspects of Kolumbus's behavior. She prompts them to follow his noble model. Her wish relies on the children recognizing the correctness of this choice, not on fears of what might occur should they not follow it. This encouragement is apparently insufficient, since the Father finds it necessary to add his own extreme admonition. The Father, who is, or sees himself as, the responsible pedagogue, promises to make it his duty to see that they all follow his advice, when he adds:

Dürfte ich mir das nicht von ihnen versprechen: *o so wollte ich Gott bitten, daß er unsere Augen eher sich auf immer möchte schließen lassen*, als daß wir Zeugen von dem ersten unedlen Betragen würden, welches der eine oder der andere von ihnen sich erlaubte! Aber, nicht wahr, Kinder! ein solches Betragen werdet ihr euch nie, nie erlauben? Werdet lieber lebenslang arm und verachtet, als einen Augenblick euren Pflichten untreu sein wollen? Werdet, so oft ihr euch zu einer niedrigen Handlung durch Eigennutz gereizt fühlt, immer bedenken: unser Vater hat uns davor gewarnt; der wußte, was dem Menschen gut ist, hier und in der Ewigkeit, und der meinte es doch gewiß gut und treu mit uns. Nicht wahr, Kinder das wollt ihr immer bedenken, und überall in eurem ganzen Leben recht und edel handeln? (242, emphasis added)

The children respond to his last rhetorical flourish by silently mobbing him with hugs. The children willingly rush to him, voicelessly, passively accepting the strange desire he just expressed. It is as if in this hug they are acknowledging their love for the Father and their own fear that they might fail him, that they are acknowledging the bond between them and the tension that this bond generates. But the children do not question this desire or tension, sealing this pact with their embrace. In this moment there is no chance of failure. Rather than resoundingly voicing their agreement, as is typical in such scenes, they silently seize him; silenced by the fear that they should bring about his demise. By restricting their voices, the chance that they would at this critical moment utter an inappropriate thought is eliminated. The children are vessels which accept the burden given them. Their agency is limited by the fear this construct engenders. To rebel here would be to wish death upon the

Father. Rebellion would do greater harm to the Father than to the children. They might be condemned to live a miserable life, but he would literally rather die than witness it. His fate lies in their hands. Through this story, through his pedagogy they become permanently marked as his students, his Platonic/pedagogic children. They are his legacy and if they fail to meet his standard, he would rather break the Father-child bond forged through pedagogy and slip off to death.

For the Father this is a very high stakes venture. As the personification of society, he is competing for the success of it. Failure equals the failure of enlightenment ideals, a reversion to the abhorrent behaviors he chronicles in this series of works. In this instance, it is not strictly a matter of discipline. The pedagogue utilizes the fear of his death and by extension the demise of enlightened thought to discipline the children's actions. He is not seeking to discipline in a purely Foucauldian sense. Fear of failing him is the initial motivator, but then he hangs eternal punishment in the background. In invoking the eternal, the Father's work moves beyond the social dynamic that Foucault chronicles and into the realm of religion. Contradicting the Father's guidance, who knows what is good for them both "hier und in der Ewigkeit," will lead not only to his death, but to their damnation. In a very broad sense this is Foucauldian discipline (and here Foucault and religious dogma coincide), since this punishment engages the "abstract consciousness." This eternal judgment, like terrestrial punishment, is "inevitable" and "unavoidable."⁴¹ Here, the Father combines earthly shame with eternal damnation, this is a combination he will employ throughout these narratives. Christianity and the dogma of Enlightenment thought are employed in molding citizens.

⁴¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 9.

By incorporating the use of reason within a framework of religious teaching, these texts place limits on reason itself. Reason can lead a person to the proper decision, but only religion it seems can ensure that the choice will be adhered to and followed. This does not eliminate the use of reason, nor does it constitute the loss of free will, but it most certainly signals a departure from the idea of “Selbstbestimmung durch Selbstdenken” and the freedom from self-imposed immaturity of Kantian enlightenment. It is also a move away from Mendelssohn’s definition of enlightenment as the ability to think critically and toward an idea of enlightenment as an element of rational religion. Reason cannot exist without religious doctrine, which proposes a twist on the connection of violence and religious intolerance so prominent in the Father’s narration. In retelling the tales of the conquistadors, the Father places the Protestant frame of his narrative world around the Spanish brutality of the conquest. By framing the violence of the New World in the beliefs of Enlightenment Europe, the texts place reason around the collection of superstitions that, as we will shortly see, fuels the horrors of empire. Superstition is, at least from the perspective of the Father’s account, the sole purview of the Catholic church.

Kortes

In the opening passage of the second volume, the Father warns the children that his protagonist lived in a time in “welchen die Menschen so ausgeartet und verwildert waren, daß man Mühe hat, sie von Wölfen, Tigern und andern reißenden Thieren zu unterscheiden.”⁴² The delight the tales of Kolumbus had brought will frequently be replaced with “Mißvergnügen und Traurigkeit.”⁴³ This is a tale of descent and depravity. In spite of several noble traits, Kortes should serve as a negative example, as “einem immerwährenden

⁴² *Kortes* 8.

⁴³ *Kortes* 8.

abschreckenden Beispiele.”⁴⁴ His behavior will require the listening children to differentiate the good from the bad. This story will require them to analyze Kortes’s actions and determine if he acted reasonably. Ultimately, near the end of the volume the Father wishes to end this story of Kortes, but he, functioning as a medium for “die Stimme der von ihm [Kortes] gemißhandelten Menschheit,” is compelled to continue.⁴⁵

In spite of its darkness this story needs to be told. Why? What led to this state of depravity? It should come as little surprise, and I suspect my readers easily guess: Kortes and his men lacked education! Their era was ruled by “der abscheuliche Aberglaube,” which led them to believe that the “heathens” of the New World were “keine rechte Menschen, sondern hassenswürdige, von Gott selbst verworfene, und zu ewigen Qualen bestimmte Geschöpfe,” who could be beaten, enslaved and forcefully converted to Christianity.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Father proclaims that in current times humanity has thankfully become “wieder menschlicher . . . weil jetzt in den meisten Ländern eine sorgfältigere Erziehung und ein besserer Unterricht statt finden,” which makes it much easier, “aufgeklärt und gut, fromm und menschlich zu werden!”⁴⁷ What is interesting here is not the emphasis on education—Campe is a pedagogue, after all—but the intonation of “wieder.” In this he proposes a history of humanity that does not assert a sense of evolutionary development, or progressive change from generation to generation, era to era; rather, he inserts *Erziehung* and *Unterricht* as twin satellites that continuously control the ebb and flow of society. Since the Father sees the tide on the rise, he wants to make certain that the children are aware that this is not

⁴⁴ Kortes 287.

⁴⁵ Kortes 293.

⁴⁶ Kortes 35.

⁴⁷ Kortes 8.

steady, not naturally telos driven. He notes that they should be happy that they live in a time when these values are held in such high esteem and from time to time he urges them, “traget doch ja das Eurige mit dazu bei, solche duldsame und menschenfreundliche Gesinnungen immer mehr und mehr verbreiten zu helfen!”⁴⁸ Where Kortes and his era of explorers saw it as their mission to spread Christianity, this band of backyard voyagers has the duty to spread the abstracted notions of tolerance and *Menschenliebe*. Their agency is limited to this task, they are little explorers whose mission is to spread the teaching of the Enlightenment.

Certainly, this mission is closely related to and inflected with Christian principles. On this note, the text underscores a difference between the brutality of the Spanish Catholic conquest of the New World and the Protestant pedagogy on display in these texts. It is important to note, however, that the ideals that the children are tasked with spreading are not in any way uniquely German, rather they exist as central elements of Enlightenment ideology. As broad principles common to European thought, they provide further evidence to counter Susanne Zantop’s claim of a German inscription into and imagined mastery over the narratives of empire. The mastery these narratives undeniably assert, though, is the triumph of reason over superstition, the triumph of Protestant beliefs over Catholic fallacies.

This triumph is not absolute, nor does it persist unchallenged. Superstition and false belief are constant dangers that lurk and threaten to reappear. The action of the children is necessary to prevent relapse. The work of the pedagogue is essential to this cause. Decay, degeneration, violence and disorder, held at bay by *Erziehung, Unterricht* – and in the future by a new band of young enlighteners – loom both historically and potentially over the horizon. As in the silent embrace scene in *Kolumbus*, fear motivates the behaviors. Again, we see the pedagogue mobilizes fear in the service of his pedagogy.

⁴⁸ Kortes 136.

Since this work will serve to highlight in negative the goodness of the current era, it naturally follows that Kortes is a figure who, although he is strong, brave and steadfast, ultimately slips from moment of humanity to inhumanity. As he set sail for the New World, Kortes was described in primarily physical terms: “Es häuften sich Gefahren auf Gefahren, und Beschwerlichkeiten auf Beschwerlichkeiten,” his body has not been weakened by “Trägheit, Weichlichkeit und schändliche Ausschweifungen . . . Zu arbeiten, war ihm Lust; zu wachen, zu hungern und zu dursten, eine Kleinigkeit; zu sterben, wenn es sein müßte, eine gleichgültige Sache.”⁴⁹ As events in the story prove, these traits are insufficient. Physical, even mental, toughness fails to compensate for a lack of humanity and reason. What remains for the children is to differentiate between good and evil.

The task for the children is to decide when his actions are just and when they fail to meet the standard of the enlightened age. Throughout the volume they are given the opportunity to voice their opinions on the events. After retelling the first battle that Kortes waged in the New World, the Father asks the children which side they wanted to prevail. Several voice support for Kortes, others for the natives. Those who support Kortes praise his bravery and his desire for peace.⁵⁰ They also side with him since, he, as a European, is their “Landsmann.” Kristel, who has recently joined the group, pragmatically points out that the story would end if Kortes were defeated or killed. Conversely, those who support the “Amerikaner” also praise their bravery and note their right of self-defense. They are also claimed by the children as their “Landsleute” and Kristel’s argument is dismissed as

⁴⁹ *Kortes 25.* *Weichlichkeit* and *schändliche Ausschweifungen* were both terms loaded with connections to arguments against *Onanie* and *Selbstbefleckung*. *Trägheit* is one of the principles that played a prominent role in *Robinson der Jüngere*.

⁵⁰ *Kortes 48.* Kortes is praised as “brav,” which, as cited in *Grimms Wörterbuch*, was associated with *tapfer* or the Latin words “*egregius, probus, strenuus.*” Cf. *Grimms Wörterbuch*.

“possierlich.”⁵¹ After listening to the various arguments, the Father proclaims the latter superior, but then quickly moves to explain that the error of those in Kortes’s camp was entirely natural and justifiable. He explains that it is understandable that they would support Kortes since “in der Hitze [der] Bewunderung” they lose sight of his misdeeds behind the strength of his action. “Es liegt in der Natur unserer Seele, daß wir denjenigen wohlwollen, bei welchen wir außerordentlichen Muth und ungewöhnliche Anstrengung wahrnehmen.” The deciding factor is in the end not simply strength of action, but “worauf die Anstrengung denn wol abzwecke.” After the heat of the moment passes and the reader returns “zu kaltem Blute und zu vernünftiger Ueberlassung” it becomes obvious which was the correct side to support.⁵² This refines the Father’s argument and places the actions within a framework of purpose. Here, unlike in his stories about Kolumbus, the additional nuance is added that the means and the end must both be justifiable. Resolve without right is unjustifiable. In *Kolumbus*, the Father speaking to a slightly younger audience, hesitates to note this difference.

Pizarro

With respect to his final narrative figure the Father rarely holds back. From the first mention of his name to the last page of the book he is the subject of criticism and critique. This is likely the case since Pizarro embodies everything that the Father wishes to eliminate

⁵¹ *Kortes* 48.

⁵² *Kortes* 49-50. Here the quote in its entirety: “Laßt euch das nur nicht befremden, Kinder! Der Grund, woher das kommt, ist gerade nicht böse. Es liegt in der Natur unserer Seele, daß wir denjenigen wohlwollen, bei welchen wir außerordentlichen Muth und ungewöhnliche Anstrengung wahrnehmen. Dabei sollten wir nun freilich nicht vergessen, jedesmahl in Erwägung zu ziehen, wozu denn dieser Muth nun wol angewandt werde, und worauf die Anstrengung denn wol abzwecke? Aber in der Hitze unserer Bewunderung pflegen wir das nicht selten aus der Acht zu lassen, und daher kommt es denn, daß wir zuweilen eine Partei ergreifen, die wir, sobald wir erst zu kaltem Blute und zu vernünftiger Ueberlassung kommen, mit Abscheu wieder zu verlassen, uns genöthiget sehen.”

through his pedagogy. If Kortes was a negative example, a conflicted figure, then Pizarro is the absolute mirror image of a “gemeinnütziger Mensch.” As we will see in the next section of this chapter, the Father’s story, in a decidedly subversive move, inserts the Inca as the model of exemplary values. The identificatory shift from explorer to native is completed in telling the story of Pizarro, who in turn becomes the emblem of European descent from enlightened principles. Kolumbus, a man ahead of his time, is replaced by Pizarro, Diderot’s domestic tiger personified. On the surface, the reason for telling this story is to provide the children with a second example of the weakness of an uneducated person. However, as we will see, this tale provides the children with a New World model to emulate.

When the Father first introduces Pizarro to the children, he underscores his disdain for both him and this story. He warns the children that “mein Held ist dismahl kein Mann, den ihr werdet lieb gewinnen können.”⁵³ Pizarro will serve as an example of physical strength in an unjust application. They might be astounded at his “unerhörte Standhaftigkeit,” his “unermüdbare Geduld im Leiden“ and his “Löwenmuth, den nichts erschüttern konnte,”⁵⁴ but this should not mislead them to think that he is worthy of praise. These are all noble traits, in the previous volumes Kolumbus and Kortes were praised for many of the same values—Kolumbus is brave and steadfast to no end, Kortes is up to any physical challenge—but unaccompanied by “Rechtschaffenheit” and “Güte des Herzens” they are worthless. They become “ein Messer in der Hand eines Rasenden.”⁵⁵ Indeed,

⁵³ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika: ein Unterhaltungsbuch für Kinder und junge Leute*, Dritter Theil (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1806) 47. Hereafter cited as *Pizarro*.

⁵⁴ *Pizarro* 47.

⁵⁵ *Pizarro* 47.

Pizarro is a wild man and this story should serve to underscore in the minds of the children the perils of power without control. To reinforce this they are, in essence, forced to hear it:

[D]amit ihr von dieser Wahrheit auf das innigste überzeugt werden, und aus eurer eignen Empfindung beim Anhören dieser schrecklichen Geschichte auf immer lernen möget: das ohne Rechtschaffenheit und Güte des Herzens keine, auch noch so glänzende Eigenschaft, uns in den Augen unserer Nebenmenschen liebenswürdig machen kann, stelle ich euch eins der gräulichsten Gemählde dar, welche die Geschichte aufzuweisen hat, und welches fast durchaus mit Blut und Thränen gemahlt ist. (*Pizarro* 47, emphasis in original)

This is no cozy bedtime story. In telling it the Father hopes that this moral will be seared by the heat of disgust into the minds of his listeners. Through the telling of this story, the horrors of Pizarro's actions should chase any sympathy for him from their minds. In this passage, the Father further refines his constellation of values. He establishes a hierarchy, in which two categories of values exist: the essential and the contingent. *Rechtschaffenheit* and *Güte des Herzens* belong to the class of essential values. *Mut, Standhaftigkeit, Tapferkeit, Fähigkeiten des Leibes, etc.* are contingent on these two primary traits. The former define a noble individual, the latter permit this individual to have an influence on society. Pizarro overcompensates for his lack of the essential values by developing astonishing abilities in the others. The story of Pizarro is thus a tale of the hazards and danger that disordered values can cause.

In many ways, Pizarro is a pitiable character. Poor Pizarro was “der uneheliche Sohn eines Spanischen Edelmannes, und einer schlechten Weibsperson.”⁵⁶ No one looked after the education of this boy. His mother had no education and was therefore incapable of giving him any. His “unedler Vater” couldn't be bothered to worry about his education—a fairly blatant jab at nobility who cavalierly cavort with their servants without regard for the

⁵⁶ *Pizarro* 48.

children produced.⁵⁷ Since Pizarro had no education his behavior should come as no surprise to the children. Having now been steeped in three tales of the importance of education, they should well know what is coming. It should be no surprise to them that he “wuchs also auf, wie ein wildes Gesträuch, welche von niemand gewartet und gezogen wird.”⁵⁸ Without guidance the young boy grew into a man that was useless to the world. He was a wild weed, which could not be eradicated. Weeds, in spite of their ability to survive, remain worthless in the eyes of the gardener. If the weed/child, however, is tended by the gardener/pedagogue, it undergoes, as the Father contends, a fundamental change. No longer is it unwanted and wild, but tamed and prized: trained by the gardener/pedagogue, freed of its thorns and displayed for the enjoyment of others. It is a “wildes Gesträuch” transformed into a prized specimen through *Erziehung*. In spite of his unimaginable feats, Pizarro is and can never become anything more than directionless, fickle, and compulsive. In the Father’s understanding of human nature there is no innate or internal drive toward goodness. Pizarro, without any expectations placed on him, could not develop any sense of “Mitleid” or “Menschenliebe.” These are only developed through “eine sorgfältige Ausbildung in der Jugend.”⁵⁹ This formulation makes apologies for Pizarro and he is virtually reduced to passive victimhood. Within the construct of the text, Pizarro’s actions are the natural outcome of his childhood. Those who were not privileged to have had an education, like the cannibals *Robinson der Jüngere*, are seemingly excused for not knowing any better. Pizarro’s error is in going too far with his limited education. His courage and endurance—physical and mental attributes—

⁵⁷ Pizarro 48. Campe also brings up the willful ingratitude of royalty regarding the men that are out in the field in their service. Also in this volume the Incas are held up as a model for their rituals/tests that, unlike hereditary rule, produce worthy leaders. This passage will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

⁵⁸ *Pizarro* 48.

⁵⁹ *Pizarro* 49.

cannot replace the social attributes that are only able to be learned through *Erziehung*. The children, however, having been privileged with a thorough upbringing, are held to a different standard. They are eternally marked by the Father's education, whereas Pizarro is marked by his lack of one. Their actions, the Father threatens, will be judged by the standard they should know to be right. They can never be like Pizarro because they have exceeded his level of education. While his actions are explained, even sanctioned, by the poverty of his childhood, those of the children are burdened by the wealth of theirs. In the future they, as will be discussed in greater detail in the final section of this chapter, are subject to observation "auf allen Straßen"⁶⁰ and their every move becomes an expression of the Father's pedagogy. Should one of them fail to meet the standard "[a]lle Menschen werden mit Fingern auf ihn weisen;"⁶¹ child, as well as Father, stained with failure.

⁶⁰ *Pizarro* 268.

⁶¹ *Pizarro* 269.

II

Native and the Child

Beyond managing the children's relationship with the protagonists, the Father also carefully presents the indigenous populations of the New World. Again, there is a progression in his presentation. In *Kolumbus* there are brief passages that broadly discuss the customs, beliefs and living conditions of the natives, whereas in *Pizarro* a significant portion of the storytelling is devoted to detailed presentation of the Inca, which is then followed by family discussions. As with the presentation of the three narrative heroes, the presentation of the encountered other (both the actively encountering Europeans and the passively encountered New World populations) is tailored to suit the needs of the pedagogy.

The Father narrating from the European perspective betrays the power dynamic that existed (the European looking down and the non-European looking up) and the historical course that would carry forth. Since his story is not an initial report of these encounters, he has the benefit of the historical narrative to reflect on and guide his re-narration. This, however, causes him neither to hide the genocide that the discovery of the New World was, nor to absolutely condemn exploration. In this sense, he proposes a new form of exploration, which could be described as "paternal colonialism," as Susanne Zantop notes. But this new form of exploration, and here I take issue with Zantop's larger claim, is not exclusively "German" and reflects, as we saw in the discussion of Diderot above, broader contemporary discourses on exploration and imperialism. Campe's work echoes this ongoing debate and in its own right proposes in *Kolumbus* a model for good exploration and in *Kortes* and *Pizarro*

bad examples.⁶² Since Kolumbus, nominally a Spanish explorer, is a star of enlightenment rational thought, any argument that proposes a dichotomy that Germans are, or will be, good explorers and all others, particularly the Spanish, are bad is too broad and fails to take the specific textual nuances into account. The Father's narrative is simplified, but not simplistic. Thus, we see in the first volume of the *Entdeckung* series Fritz being applauded for taking the first steps in "becoming a Kolumbus" and in the third being asked if he wants to submit himself to the tests that will make him an Inca.⁶³ Each of these books was written with a particular message directed at the assumed appropriate reader. It is not my intention to claim that these books were read only within the narrow framework that Campe prescribed. Nevertheless, neither of these situations suggests that Fritz will someday take to the seas like Kolumbus, then travel to Peru to undergo the trials of the Inca. Both of these show once again the Father's exploitation of the children's identificatory drive in the service of his pedagogy. Fritz can just as easily see Kolumbus as an example as he could become an Inca, or as he could travel to Robinson's island. None of these is possible, and precisely because of this impossibility the Father uses them. If the reading child wishes to "become a Kolumbus" or to "become an Inca," he/she is certainly welcome, since both of these paths ultimately lead to the creation of a citizen who is guided by reason and has been proven to be a worthy leader of society. Within Campe's textual world all examples are judged through the lens of the familiar which is clouded by the normative, prescriptive vision of enlightened reason that pervades these texts. In this sense, the texts are more a reflection of the domestic world in which they were written than a presentation of new and exotic peoples. In holding

⁶² In fact Pizarro and Kortes are not explorers but conquerors as the subtitles to the second and third volume indicate. They are *Kortes, oder die Eroberung von Mexico* and *Pizarro, oder die Eroberung von Peru*. The first volume is titled, *Kolumbus, oder die Entdeckung von West Indien*.

⁶³ *Kolumbus* 126. *Pizarro* 119-20.

the contemporary domestic world in constant view, the texts reduce the foreign and distant to symbolic value. Each example is, in Campe's words, "nützlich" and "recht eigentlich dazu geschickt" for the development of "Welt- und Menschenkenntniß," which is in turn all part of Campe's move in his battle against the "romanhaften Träumereien" that "Modebücher" created in young readers.⁶⁴ By calling on the world in a campaign against "dangerous" European literary norms, it becomes clear that these examples, whether it be a Spanish explorer or New World civilization, are chosen less for their particular, specific value than for their particular function in Campe's project. As we will see, Campe's presentation of his chosen examples utilizes and affirms their particularities, only when these observe the enlightened standard. In limiting affirmation to the elements that conform to Enlightenment notions of what is proper and good, the texts produce a worldview that is limiting and normalizing. Ultimately, the other becomes a pawn in the Father's pedagogy.

In the section that follows three passages will be examined: the first encounter between the New and the Old World, Kolumbus's first report to the Spanish crown, and the Father's plea for humanity. From the initial description it will be obvious that the native is seen by both the Father and the explorers, as not fully equal, but not categorically different. There are obvious physical and mental disparities, yet the native is not fundamentally inferior or degenerate. As we know from above, the Spanish, save for Kolumbus, will often be less human and humane, which prompts the Father to make his plea for Kortes and all explorers to see the human in the other. The native might be childlike, feminine, and weak versus the paternal, masculine strength of the explorer, but this disparity should, if the Father's appeal is heeded, guide the explorer to a kinder, gentler mode of exploration; philanthropic pedagogy should become philanthropic exploration. Education and exploration are bound together: the

⁶⁴ *Kolumbus* vi.

world of the narrative (the Caribbean and Central and South America) is reflected within the sphere of the narrative family, the sphere of the narrative family is a model for the world.

This is brought full circle when the Father asks the children if they want to yield to the tests of the Inca. The native becomes the standard by which the children should measure themselves. In a passage introducing Inca society, the Father casts it in terms that are strikingly similar to his vision of enlightened European society. It is presented as just and equitable; as a society which privileged deeds over birth. Only those who have shown their nobility (*edel*) through physical and mental tests can lead. Not so subtly, the Old World system of rule by birth is usurped by the New. Apparently, even for all its enlightened rationality Europe has something it could learn from the Americas. Following this, the Father provides a detailed description of the rites of passage which separate the average Peruvian from the ruling Inca. It is at this point that the children are asked if they are interested in also undergoing these tests. These two pivotal passages will form the basis of the last half of this section.

New World Children

In a passage which describes Kolumbus's first encounter with the people of the Caribbean many of the tropes of the Noble Savage are trotted out: the natives are peaceful, live in harmony with nature, and are fascinated by trinkets (*Spielereien*); they are smaller, their skin darker, their hair black, their chins and face beardless; their "Gesichtszüge waren fremd und sonderbar, ihre Mienen sanft und schüchtern."⁶⁵ The Indians were amazed at the Europeans who appeared before them and "[j]e länger die erstaunten Indier da standen und gafften, desto unbegreiflicher war ihnen alles, was sie sahen und was sie hörten. Die weiße

⁶⁵ *Kolumbus* 91.

Farbe der Europäer, ihr bärtiges Gesicht, ihre Kleidung, ihre Waffen, ihr Betragen – alles war ihnen neu und wunderbar.”⁶⁶ Eventually, they begin to believe that the Spaniards are “übermenschliche Wesen” even, “Kinder ihrer Gottheit.”⁶⁷ It takes little imagination to see that the native is primitive, passive, even effeminate. The image given here fits with widespread, contemporary images of inhabitants of the New World. The most widely read—and contested—of these accounts was de Pauw’s *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l’Histoire de l’Espèce humaine* (1768). His argument, which would become a point of reference for virtually every writer and philosopher that followed, emphasized bearded vs. beardless as the physical expression of natural European superiority.⁶⁸ This marker also makes its way into Campe’s catalog of visible difference; yet, what is interesting in Campe’s account is the description of the Spanish. The Spaniards were also amazed by what they had “discovered.” The Father tells us that, the Spanish “waren über die neuen und wunderbaren Gegenstände, die sie jetzt vor Augen hatten, beinahe eben so erstaunt, als die Indier über sie.”⁶⁹ The silent amazement of the native is mirrored by the explorers. In this first contact, there is a moment of mutual astonishment. The plants, trees, foliage and animals were “von ganz andern Arten” and the people, “die ihrer körperlichen Gestalt und ihren Sitten nach, Wesen aus einer ganz andern Klasse, als wir, zu sein schienen.”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *Kolumbus* 90.

⁶⁷ *Kolumbus* 90.

⁶⁸ Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 49-53.

⁶⁹ *Kolumbus* 91.

⁷⁰ *Kolumbus* 91.

Overlooking for a moment the obvious tensions in this scene, this description notes a moment of potential equanimity. There is in this encounter, at least on one level, a delicate balance. The gaze of the explorer is reflected by the Indian. The beardless, darker-skinned Indian is fascinated by the bearded, white European; just as the clothed, armored explorer is fascinated by the nearly naked, tattooed native. After a few moments of observation the natives classify their other as gods, or demi-gods, and the explorers view their other as coming from a different class of human. This first moment in which the Old World and the New World come face to face speaks of a different relationship and a potentially different history between the two. In this moment a pedagogical utopia is envisioned: the European has starry-eyed New World pupils, who see in the explorers the embodiment of a higher power. For an instant the idealized dynamic of the narrative family (benevolent patriarch guiding model students) is reflected in the Father's narrative. After being placated with "allerlei Kleinigkeiten" the natives develop trust and an certain inclination to their "himmlischen Gästen."⁷¹ As is obvious in the tension in the Father's description of this first encounter, this moment of perfect teachability will be abused and corrupted. This corrupted relationship is, as we will see, mirrored in the narrative family, when the Father distorts the teacher-student bond. The relationship between New and Old, just like that of teacher-student, is and never would be an equal partnership, but for an instant this passage proposes an opportunity for the European to behave differently, to live up to the assumption of the New World population and look after and care for them as a supernatural being, as a "god" would. Of course, this New World pedagogical utopia expires.

After the initial discovery scene and the first encounter, Kolumbus sets off to explore more of the Caribbean basin and hunt for gold. He needs gold to cover the costs of his

⁷¹ *Kolumbus* 91.

voyage, we are told. Unlike Pizarro and Kortes, who had to satisfy their “Golddurst,” Kolumbus is motivated by finances and royal patronage. He visits several islands and they as well as the inhabitants are reported about in brief sketches. The islands themselves are fruitful and well cultivated; the people are exactly the same in both customs and form (*Gestalt*) as on the first island. Shortly after visiting Haiti, Kolumbus’s ship runs aground. Never fear, not the fault of the faultless Kolumbus, but the result of a crewmember’s disobedience. Kolumbus had left him in charge, but he neglected his duty and passed his watch on to an uneducated shipmate. Kolumbus wakes up just in time to see his ship crash into the rocks. They are stranded and word is sent to the local ruler, who sends hundreds of canoes to help offload the essential supplies. After his rescue, Kolumbus writes a report back to the king and queen of Spain in which he lauds the “liebenswertig[e] Gemüthsart dieser sanften Wilden.”⁷² They are:

so liebeich, so leutselig und so friedsam, daß ich Eure Hoheiten versichere, es könne in der ganzen Welt keine bessere Menschen geben. Sie lieben ihren Nächsten, wie sich selbst; ihr Umgang ist der leutseligste und angenehmste von der Welt, immer heiter, munter und mit einem sanften Lächeln begleitet. Und ob es gleich wahr ist, daß sie nackt gehen, so können Ew. Hoheiten doch überzeugt sein, daß sie viele sehr löbliche Gebräuche haben. Der König wird mit großem Gepränge bedient, und sein Betragen ist so anständig, daß man ihm mit Vergnügen zusieht, so wie man auch das bewundernswürdige Gedächtniß, das diese Leute haben, und ihre Begierde, jedes Ding kennen zu lernen, um die Ursachen und Wirkungen davon zu erforschen, mit Vergnügen bemerkt.(108-9)

This passage is obviously slanted by Kolumbus to give a positive image of his project and the financial prospects of his discovery. However, beyond simply delivering a glowing image of the islanders to his patrons, it foregrounds for the intended royal audience the commensurability of the New and the Old World. In presenting these islanders engaged in social acts, implicit in the respect that they show for their king, a comparison between the

⁷² Kolumbus 108.

New and the Old World is established. This depiction narrows the distance between the European and the Caribbean. Additionally, these natives are inherently, naturally Christian. There are physical and, as the end of the passage makes clear, mental differences between the two peoples. However, ultimately they are people and a society with whom Europe can both literally and figuratively do business.

While the natives have no knowledge of Christianity, they nevertheless follow the Golden Rule. In loving their neighbors as they love themselves, they meet a basic threshold of humanity. These people might wear little or no clothing, they might have behaviors and norms that are not equal to European standards. However, noting this acknowledges that this is a society with its own cultural constructs, however foreign and strange they may be. While this society might be a long way from “civilized,” it is nevertheless a society. This posits an understanding of the world, divided not between “cultural” and “natural,” the dichotomy that guides much of Rousseau’s work, but rather on a continuum between “civilized” and “wild.”⁷³ In replacing the former with the latter, the task shifts to evaluating and comparing these cultural norms. Campe’s text, here in line with Diderot, Herder and other anti-imperialist political theorists, supports the idea that all humans inherently have “cultural agency,” that is, they actively create the world they inhabit.⁷⁴ Key here is that Campe sees the explorer’s project, and the pedagogue’s as well, as one of civilization, not acculturation.

⁷³ In this sense, “wild” could be replaced with “less civilized,” but I have chosen the former as it reflects Campe’s usage. In using the term “wild,” I am consciously avoiding the term “barbaric” that John Gray and others use, and the negative connotations that it has. As is clear from Campe’s body of work, there is a broad range of possibilities and these are less opposed categories than they are ends of a scale. Very broadly understood, Europeans are “civilized” and all others are “wild.” Yet, if the focus is brought onto Europe alone, there are also differences within the continent. Mendelssohn also noted that within Europe varying degrees of culture and *Aufklärung* can be found. Also interesting in this light are Campe’s own travel writings on Germany and Switzerland. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷⁴ See Muthu 7-8 and 69-70. Since Campe presents foreign people and spends little time theorizing about them, it is not entirely clear that this is always the case. These moments of ambiguity are a product of the nature of these texts.

All humans, even if they are raised by nature (here, I refer to Campe's treatment of *Natur* as the first, best and most able educator for everyone⁷⁵) have a fundamental need for society. In proposing this Campe asserts that all humans are by their very nature cultural. There is no such thing as a "natural" being; humans because they are endowed by nature with a drive for society are necessarily and unavoidably cultural. This point is only underscored by Campe's shift toward labeling people within the civilized-wild schemata. The *Wilde* of the New World are wild, not because they are categorically different from people in the Old, rather they simply lack knowledge of the standards of the "modern." Educating them in the "modern" is no different than replacing one set of cultural constructs with another. Here, the needs (from the pedagogue's perspective) of the native and the Child are no different, both must be re-formed (and reformed) by the standards of the age. Civilization, as it is defined in Campe's text, is simply an education in the norms of Enlightenment Europe.

To further emphasize this and underscore this passage, Campe has the Mother ask the children, "wie gefallen euch diese Wilden?" To which they all respond in unison: "O sehr! – Die guten Menschen!"⁷⁶ To clarify the meaning of Kolumbus's description, the Mother remarks further: "Und das sind Wilde; Leute, die gar keinen Unterricht, gar keine Erziehung gehabt haben, die nicht einmahl den lieben Gott kennen!"⁷⁷ Her description betrays the colonizer's fantasy of *tabula rasa*. Here she defines what separates the "wild" from the "civil" and in what should come as no great surprise the primary difference is found in *Unterricht* and *Erziehung* (the third aspect, religion will be discussed shortly). By this definition anyone without an education is a *Wilde(r)*, the only path to civilization is through

⁷⁵ Cf. discussion of Campe's pedagogical theory and the role of nature in first chapter of this dissertation.

⁷⁶ *Kolumbus* 109.

⁷⁷ *Kolumbus* 109.

education. Within the constraints of the Mother's definition a "Wilde" is simply a person who has not been raised/educated in the ways of society. Thus, in *Pizarro* when the Father questions, "wer war hier der Wilde? Der unbekleidete Indianer, . . . oder die Spanier. . . ." ⁷⁸ He knows that "die Antwort ergibt sich ja von Selbst," ⁷⁹ because the uncivilized, wild animals in his story will be Pizarro and the Spanish. They are the ones who will act inhumanely and without restraint. Pizarro, uneducated and at a remove from society, is Diderot's unleashed tiger that slakes its thirst in blood.

The Father, never the one to allow the Mother the last word, further elucidates the Mother's definition by emphasizing the advantages and responsibilities of being born in a "modern," Christian society. He imposes the additional burden on the privileged youth in his circle that failure to utilize the advantage of their birth brings about eternal disgrace. The Father warns:

Schande, ewige Schande für uns, wenn wir an Güte des Herzens und an thätiger Menschenliebe von ihnen [den Indianern] übertroffen werden sollten! Wie viel mehr Bewegungsgründe zum Guten, wie viel mehr Hülfsmittel zur Rechtschaffenheit hat uns die göttliche Vorsehung verliehen, als diese armen ununterwiesenen Indier hatten! O Kinder! laßt uns ja aus allen Kräften uns bestreben, uns unserer großen Vorzüge werth zu machen! Wie würden wir die Schande ertragen, wenn wir einst, mit einem dieser gutherzigen Wilden zusammengestellt, an Edelmuth und Rechtschaffenheit uns von ihm sollten übertroffen sehen? (*Kolumbus* 109-10)

Even though the Indians were naturally/natively guided by the Golden Rule, the children and anyone who has had the fortune of being given the guidance of Christianity should surpass the natural goodness of humanity. Christianity, as defined in this quote, is an extension of innate human kindness. It should encourage the believer to acts of *Menschenliebe* beyond those that humanity itself demands. The influence of religion, specifically Protestant

⁷⁸ *Pizarro* 12.

⁷⁹ *Pizarro* 13.

Christianity, not (Spanish) Catholicism, plays a major role in all of Campe's works. In this passage Christianity is proffered as an initial impetus toward goodness. Thus, the European by virtue of Christianity is a priori superior to the New World population. This provides the Father a further point with which to criticize Kortes, Pizarro and many of Kolumbus's men. For the Father, the enlightened Christian act is to treat the native with human decency. In the second volume, Kortes and his men are criticized for decimating the natives simply since they were not Christian. The Father explains that Kortes was guided by the "abscheuliche Aberglaube" that held that "alle diejenigen, welche sich nicht zu kristlichen Glauben bekenneten" were "keine rechte Menschen."⁸⁰ The Father speaks directly to Kortes in an unusually impassioned two-page long passage. He begins:

Was machst du, Unglücklicher? Was thaten dir die Unschuldigen, in deren Blute du jetzt deine Hände waschen willst? Was thaten sie deinem Könige oder deinen Landsleuten? Ist es ein Verbrechen, nicht zu glauben, was die Leute in Europa glauben, wenn man niemahls gehört hat, daß ein Europa in der Welt sei? Oder sind diese Unschuldigen etwa um deswillen keine Menschen, weil sie keine Kristen sind? Barbar, öffne deine Augen! Schau an ihre Gestalt; ist sie nicht die menschliche? (36-7)

The emotion of the Father's plea only underscores his belief in the value, if not absolute equality, of all human life. He wants Kortes to recognize that the people of the New World are not animals or sub-human, but rather simply *unschuldig*. They are not responsible for their ignorance of Christianity, have committed no crime, and deserve at a minimum the respect common humanity guarantees.

When the Father's position in this passage is juxtaposed with the description in Kolumbus's report to the crown and the first encounter scene, it completes an image of the native as a child-like human, who should not be faulted for his shortcomings (most of the description, like most of Campe's work, is focused on and privileges the male). Rather, he

⁸⁰ Kortes 35.

should be nurtured and lifted up, so that he may someday approach equal status.⁸¹ The Father/pedagogue imagines that pedagogy will level the differences, but he sees this plan in strictly European terms. His method is directed at European children, yet the “children” of the New World could also benefit from it. In this sense, the Father ignores cultural specificity, and in this the distance between the European and the New World “child” has already narrowed. What remains is the reversal, the mapping of New onto Old to complete the metaphorical shift.

Old World Inca

As a product of the graduation of these works, *Pizarro*, the third volume in this series, is the most complex. The Father sets the highest standard of moral behavior, one which Pizarro never meets and the Inca frequently fail to match. While there are many lessons to be learned from the actions of both sides, neither wins his perpetual favor. The Peruvians consistently outmatch Pizarro in just acts, however their society does not always meet the Father’s norm. Again, this work betrays its fundamental enlightenment Eurocentrism. In spite of this the Inca are held up in a central passage as the standard against which the children should measure themselves.

Before describing the trials that a young Peruvian must withstand in order to become an Inca, the Father provides several background notes about the society. The first law of the

⁸¹ Cf. *Pizarro* 146-7. This passage was mentioned above in the section on Diderot and anti-imperial thought in *Entdeckung*. The Father tells the children: “Wer weiß, was Amerika noch alles werden kann, werden wird, wenn es das Joch seiner Europäischen Tirannen einmahl ganz wird abgeschüttelt haben, und was es nie geworden wäre, wenn es dieses Joch nicht erst eine Zeitlang getragen hätte? Mir wenigstens wird es von Tage zu Tage wahrscheinlicher, daß dieser unterdrückte Welttheil über kurz oder lang der Sitz der Freiheit, der allgemeinen Duldung, der Wissenschaften und der Glückseligkeit werden wird.” Here, in a clear reference to the American Revolution, Imperial rule is a restriction on freedom that must be cast off before the New World can blossom. This also implicitly criticizes royalty and rule as birthright. The New World, ostensibly free from royalty, will produce “weise Verfassungen, blühende Staaten, und glückliche Menschen.”

Peruvians is again a variation on the Golden Rule: “Liebet euch unter einander, als Brüder!”⁸² If anyone should break this or any other law, he comes forward, confesses it and asks for punishment. The norms of society have been fully internalized, which thereby eliminates the need for external pedagogy. The needs of society and the needs of the individual exist in perfect harmony. There is an organic connection between the individual and society, which needs no explicit articulation. And to complete the triple play of Campe’s favorites, the Father notes that the ultimate and most shameful crime is “Müssiggang,” which is the “Quelle aller Laster” and is a sin against “die ganze menschliche Gesellschaft.”⁸³ From this depiction the Peruvians are not that different from the ideal that the Father sets for the children. This description blurs the line between the narrative present and the narrated past, the domestic and the exotic converge, and, from the sounds of it, Inca society was not drastically different than the enlightened society the Father hoped to create through his pedagogy. To accentuate this conflation of narrative time and geographic distance, the Father notes that his description of the Inca tests is the opportunity for the children to take stock of themselves:

Denn ihr könnt mit den jungen Inka’s euch im Gedanken zusammenstellen, um zu erfahren, ob ihr an Geduld in Ertragung körperlicher Schmerzen, an männlicher Standhaftigkeit, an Stärke, Behendigkeit [sic] und Geschicklichkeit des Körpers und an unerschrockener Herzhaftigkeit euch mit ihnen wol schon messen dürfet? (111)

As he describes the rites that an Inca must pass through in order to become a leader, to be given the honor of being called a child of the sun, the children should use this as an opportunity to evaluate themselves: am I strong enough, do I have the physical skills, can I keep my way, am I steadfast? The standard has shifted over the course of the three volumes.

⁸² *Pizarro* 107.

⁸³ *Pizarro* 110-11.

Kolumbus was the measure of greatness in the first, now in the third the Inca is inserted in this role. Young Fritz, who forswears assistance tying his shoes in the hopes of one day “becoming a Kolumbus,”⁸⁴ is asked in the passage that follows the description of the Inca trials if he would also be willing to undergo these same tests. Here it seems that who the model is, remains less important than what he stands for. However, it is unsatisfactory to simply claim that Campe has hollowed out these figures and filled them with his own material. The delicate interplay between historical fact and Fatherly fiction is in large part what gives these narratives their power. The historical existence of the Inca combined with the Father’s intonation and accentuation of social values that mirror his values, whether these are factual or not, strengthens his message. Because the Inca existed and privileged the “same” values that the Father did, the reader is given the impression that these are fundamental truths. In this way the tests of the Inca and the pedagogy of the Father are equated.

Measuring themselves against the Inca is valuable for the children since it will tell them if they are ready to be leaders, not of the Inca, but in European society. The children are, in this sense, Old World Inca. If they can pass the tests of the Inca then they are also ready to be leaders in Europe. When the moment comes and the Father asks if he is ready to submit to the tests of the Inca, Fritz pauses, then says sure, but when I am sixteen. This pleases the Father, who then reiterates his belief in the perfectibility of the individual.

Nun so wollen wir noch acht Jahre warten, und dann sehen! – Ich freue mich indeß, Kinder, daß ich euch abermahls habe zeigen können, was der Mensch alles aus sich machen kann, sobald er nur den ernstlichen Willen sich zu vervollkommen hat. Da ist keine einzige unter den unzählbaren Kräften und Fähigkeiten seines Leibes und seiner Seele, die er nicht bis zum Bewundernswürdigen ausbilden und stärken könnte. (*Pizarro* 120)

⁸⁴ *Kolumbus* 126.

Fritz has eight years in which to prepare himself for these tests. We never get to see these tests carried out and it is doubtful that they would be, but the point here is that the Inca are the example by which the Father has once again shown humanity's potential. This example, even though it utilizes the Inca, is no different than the example that Kolumbus gives. What is important is that the children are convinced that they have limited time in which to improve themselves. In this way, the Father is ultimately only exploiting the draw of the foreign to further his goals. His two best examples, Kolumbus and the Inca, are thus reduced to mere symbols. The Father's interest in Kolumbus, the Inca or any of the aspects of the Caribbean is purely pedagogical. Through the allure of adventure and the image of the New World, the Father draws in and captures his audience, but ultimately what he delivers are stories that invoke cultural difference to show that everyone is the same. Within the context of the discourse on imperialism, Campe's message is positive and affirms a belief in the goodness of humanity, but when viewed from the perspective of his pedagogy, cultural difference is nothing more than a canard, a shiny lure that offers a look into a foreign world only to switch it for the domestic world. The Father continues and laments his own imperfection. It might be "traurig," that he did not make use of each "Anweisung zu [s]einer Vervollkommnung," but he finds consolation in that in the children he has the opportunity to correct this. The Father preaches:

[I]n euch, meine Kinder, wieder aufzuleben; euch, in welchem ich jetzt einzig lebe und webe, gesund und stark an Leib und Seele, und mit tausend nützlichen Kenntnissen und Fertigkeiten aufwachsen und zu braven gemeinnützigen Männern reifen zu sehen – dieser Gedanke tröstet mich, wegen des Mangels einer verständigen Anweisung in meiner eigenen Jugend. . . . O Gott, laß doch diese Hoffnung – das süßeste Labsal meines Herzens unter den schweren Vatersorgen, die du mir aufgelegt hat – o laß sie mich nicht täuschen! (120-1)

The children become his hope not only for the future, but for himself. His fears and heavy, fatherly worries – a burden from God – are made lighter in that he has placed all of his hope in these children. It is in this passage, in the shift from the Inca tests to the Father’s worries that the text’s pedagogy finds its most sinister note. The Father places his burden on the children; if they fail, he fails. His every hope and every failure is bound with them. He lives on through them and they should overcome his shortcomings. Through them the Father will be perfected; in them he will find his own perfection. This perversion of the parent-child, teacher-pupil relationship is the culmination of the Father’s pedagogy. He seeks through them his own salvation; it is, as if, through them the Father will find glory. This doubles the burden on the children. If they fall short on the path to becoming “gemeinnützig,” they bring shame to themselves and their teacher/Father. In the invocation of God, the Father extends this bond beyond the Hamburg countryside and into eternity.

III

Child : Native :: Father : Explorer

This final section will focus on the relationships that this text invokes in order to propagate its pedagogy. As the title of this section suggests, this will be done through an examination of the base analogy: the Child is to the Father as the Native is to the Explorer. This is only an implied relationship and is never made explicit in the text. The children and the natives have nothing more than an notional relationship, just as the Father and the explorers are not literally engaged in the same colonial project. Nevertheless, this analogous relationship is central to Campe's pedagogy and forms the key element that underlies the interplay between domestic and foreign, New World and Old World. The implied relationship between the children and the native is reflected in the implied relationship between the Father and the explorer. Analogy by its very nature is an analytical, mental comparison, which suggests relationships between objects. However, as this section will show, it is a productive and powerful tool in giving form to the intricacies and interplay of the various relationships within the Father's narrative and the text as a whole.

Beyond the base structure, Child : Native :: Father : Explorer, the formula can be manipulated to yield a variety of additional formulations. If the middle elements (Father and Native) are inverted the analogy then reads, Child : Father :: Native : Explorer, labeled *A* in the chart below. This structure recalls the proximity of the narrative and fronts the natural relationship of the four components. It is also possible to invert the second element in each half of the analogy, which produces the structure, Child : Explorer :: Father : Native, labeled *B* in the chart below. This form highlights the text's exploitation of the excitement of exploration in the service of its pedagogy. These manipulations do not exhaust the

possibilities, yet, as the focus of my reading is on the child and the way his/her relationship to the other three is managed, it is prudent to leave “Child” as the initial element. The three forms that are under discussion can be summarized as follows:

base) Child : Native :: Father : Explorer

A) Child : Father :: Native : Explorer

B) Child : Explorer :: Father : Native

Before moving on to a longer examination of the base structure, I will first note some of the interesting connections that *A* and *B* call forth. In *A*, the natural pairs Child-Father and Native-Explorer are found. The relationship between these pairs is grounded in the narrative structure: the Father is telling the children stories about explorers and natives. The action of the Father’s narrative is a retelling of the explorer’s journey. In his narration he engages the children, whereas in their voyages the explorers engage the natives. The encounter between Father and child is reflected in the encounter between explorer and native. Put differently, the encounter of the Old World with the New World is analogous to the Father’s engagement with the children. His pedagogy of civilization is reflected in *Kolumbus* and reinforced, through criticism of Pizarro and Kortes, in the second and third volumes. In a critique of violent imperialism, the Father inserts education as a model for “conquering” the world, that, as examined above, delineates “wild” and “civil” not in terms of social practice or custom, but along lines of education and upbringing. In the third volume, the Inca has become the civilized norm, which underscores the universality of education, while at the same time eliminating cultural difference. In this collision of educational and cultural sameness, the relationships detailed in *A* (Child : Father :: Native : Explorer) collapse.

In *B*, the least natural pairs, that is the relationship between Child and Explorer and that of the Father to the Native are formed. It is in this construct that the text is at its most subversive. In listening to the story of these explorers, the children are implicitly connected to them. It is through this connection that the children's identificatory drive is exploited. On this level, the children's anticipation and excitement for the next story, which is detailed in the beginning of each volume, is the bait that draws them in.⁸⁵ As we have just seen, the Father then pulls the switch and leaves only his pedagogy to satisfy this interest. The impression is given that these are stories about these explorers, which on one level they are, but on another they (the stories and the explorers) are merely foils for the Father's lessons. In a similar fashion, the Father becomes the voice of the natives, while at the same time stripping particularity and substituting pedagogy. Campe, through the voice of the Father, admirably advocates recognizing the equal humanity of the people of the New World, but in making his case he exalts traits that match his vision of European society. Ultimately, this respects them only in so far as they are New World Europeans, to turn the previous Old World Inca on its head.

Turning to the base form, the elements on the left half are the subjects of the encounter(s). Since the previous section was devoted to the relationship of the child and the native, I will continue at this point with a discussion of the relationship between the Father and the explorers. The children are the subject of the Father's interest and attention. The natives are the subjects of the explorer's action. They are, or in the case of Kolumbus, become the object of the mission. The Father and the explorers, the elements of the right

⁸⁵ At the beginning of *Kolumbus* all want to hear "another story just like Robinson." In *Kortes*, the children are made to wait several weeks—partly to delay the gratification and partly to control the desire for a story (*Lesewut*)—before the Father begins. Of course, their excitement is tempered when the Father notes that the story will not always be enjoyable. In *Pizarro*, most of the preliminary details are swept aside, when it is noted that the same cheering and jubilation took place as in the previous tales.

half, dictate and control the fate of the elements of the left half. While the Father and the explorers both develop and maintain control over their subjects, the mode of this control is tellingly different. The explorers employ violence and physical power to bring the people of the New World under the control of the imperialist economic system. The explorers enact their dominance in corporeal terms; they attack, capture and enslave the native population. The mode of dominance is physical, generated from a sense of Christian moral superiority. Non-physical power, for example, efforts to convert the natives to Christianity, when unsuccessful are ultimately followed by the application of physical means. Failure on the part of the natives to submit to non-physical power, leads to the initiation of the physical. Dominance is visible and seen. Conversely, the Father's control is carried out exclusively in non-physical terms. His weapons are not physical, but emotional. The Father molds the children into citizens through coercion and guilt. If they fail to submit to his control, they are not threatened with physical punishment: they need fear no paddle, switch, or dunce's chair, the Father's control works in subtler and more insidious ways. Failure to submit to the Father's pedagogy risks the destruction of the "familial" bond.

Since the Father is the storyteller, it follows that he also controls the explorer. In several instances it is made explicit that the Father has editorial control over his stories. In fact, the appeals of the children prompt the Father to "see what he can do" about the violence of his story.⁸⁶ However, beyond the Father's power over the narrative, there are other ways in which the Father and the explorers share ties. Within the inherent power structure of the relationships, the Father and the explorers dictate the course of the events. The physical force and violence that is exerted within the Father's narrative is mirrored in the coercion and emotional force of the frame. Within the Father's account, the explorers are responsible for

⁸⁶ *Kortes* 252.

and responsible to the less developed people of the New World. These responsibilities are neglected and ultimately this is the failure of the imperialist project. The Father, likewise responsible for his children, is burdened by fears that he will fail in his project. His failure would jeopardize the domestic pedagogical project, which in turn would shatter the dream of a new enlightened mode of exploration, since it would lead down the same path that the narrative heroes traveled; that is savagery and brutality could re-emerge from behind the mask of society. The violence of the Spanish conquests, now held in check by education, continues to loom as a threat. Campe's text condemns the violent nature of imperial action, but does not condemn imperialism wholesale. In not absolutely rejecting imperialism (as the anti-imperialist writers Muthu discusses in *Enlightenment against Empire*), there remains the potential for the resurgence of violence. The text proposes, as Susanne Zantop effectively argued, a new form of colonial activity, a form of colonial activity that is motivated by a pedagogical interest in the other. This interest, though, is inextricably linked to the domestic pedagogical project. The violence of the schoolmaster and the explorer are replaced with the gentler modes of discipline that Philanthropic pedagogy proposed. And yet, the violence of the conquest lingers as a warning, repressed but not eliminated by *Unterricht* and *Erziehung*.

To prevent this return to violence, the Father attempts through the structure of the narrative frame to internalize the norms he and, by extension, society privileges. Through the coercion of the family setting, the Father begins to build the restrictive framework of his pedagogy, but the control easily exerted within the boundaries of the narrative family must be, at least from the perspective of the Father, guaranteed outside of this realm. To reach this aim, the Father invokes two modes of control: the first is the invocation of the fear of failing the Father; the second is the specter of perpetual observation. The second is tied in to the

first, in that through perpetual observation the possibility of failure is ever-present. In the first, the children are warned of the consequences that failure will bring. The children are told that they are the only hope for the Father, that in them he has the chance to re-live his life and in their lives they should compensate for his shortcomings. If they fail to fulfill his hopes, as we saw above in the discussion of the figure of Kolumbus, the Father would rather die than be forced to witness this. Obviously, this is a powerful notion, which as we will see shortly is invoked again at the conclusion of this work when the notion of the narrative family being reconstituted in heaven forms the Father's final prayer.

The threat of perpetual observation, which is implicit throughout, is made explicit in the final scene of *Pizarro*. After concluding his final words about Pizarro, the Father takes a moment to allow the children to reflect on the story. This moment lingers and then “nach einer kleinen Weile” one of the children asks if this story will also be printed.⁸⁷ The answer, obvious to the reader, is followed by the question whether the children will be noted by name in this work as they had been in *Robinson*, *Kolumbus*, and *Kortes*. Again, yes, but here the child wants to know, “warum thut Vater das?”⁸⁸ The short answer would be, “ich [lasse] eure Namen drucken, damit künftig alle Menschen eure Aufseher sein.” This however comes only after the Father runs through this entire situation in vivid detail. The long answer is that once the book is published several thousand will read it and then everyone, everywhere will know,

nicht bloß hier in Hamburg, sondern auch in Altona, in Wandsbeck, in Haarburg, in Stade und in Ritzebüttel, ja wol gar in Bremen, Hannover, Braunschweig und Hildesheim, was wir hier im Hause alles mit euch

⁸⁷ *Pizarro* 266.

⁸⁸ *Pizarro* 266.

vornehmen, um gute, geschickte und glückliche Menschen aus euch zu machen.⁸⁹ (*Pizarro* 267)

The children will become models for others everywhere the story is read. Not only that, but should the children ever travel to one of these places, then “gleich wird man sich auf allen Straßen, wo ihr euch nur blicken laßt, in’s Ohr zischeln: seht, seht, das ist einer von Campe’s Pflegesöhnen!”⁹⁰ As the children are only mentioned by name, it is unclear exactly how the people everywhere would be able to recognize them, but also because of this every child (or more precisely, boy) could be assumed to be one of Campe’s pupils. In this respect the notion of perpetual observation is extended beyond the narrative family. These observers in every street will be curious to see what has become of these privileged few who have been given such a thorough *Erziehung*. They will direct their full attention to watching, “aller Augen” will be focused on these children. The Father warns, “[m]an wird jeden eurer Schritte und Tritte beobachten, wird auf alles aufmerksam sein, was ihr redet und thut.”⁹¹ He continues briefly noting that if they live up to the expectations, then they could expect to be treated like “einen ehemahligen Schulfreund,” but if they fall short of these expectations, “o dann wehe ihm! Wehe seinem guten Namen und seiner ganzen irdischen Glückseligkeit!”⁹² Everywhere he goes he will be cursed throughout his entire life:

Alle Menschen werden mit Fingern auf ihn weisen, werden mit Unwillen und Verachtung zu einander sagen: ist das der – (indem sie seinen Namen nennen), den wir aus dem Robinson und aus der Entdeckung von Amerika kennen? Das einer von jenen glücklichen Kindern, welche Gott dazu bestimmt zu haben schien, so ganz vorzüglich treffliche und brave Männer zu werden? Und kann nun weiter nichts, als das? Und hat noch weiter nichts

⁸⁹ Campe can list all of these cities with confidence since he offered this work on a subscription basis and knew the cities where his book was being sent, see *Deutsches Museum*, 2. Bd. (1780): 565-6.

⁹⁰ *Pizarro* 268.

⁹¹ *Pizarro* 268.

⁹² *Pizarro* 268.

gethan, als was jeder gewöhnliche Mensch auch thut? Pfui über die stumpfe Seele! Das muß ja wol ein recht erbärmlicher Klos von Menschen sein, daß bei so vieler Mühe, die man sich um ihn gegeben hat, nur das aus ihm geworden ist! (*Pizarro* 269)

As if this were an insufficient warning, the Father continues by turning back to the damage it would do to him. He threatens, “O ich kann mir nicht einmahl die bloße Möglichkeit davon denken, ohne daß mir das Herz vor Bangigkeit zerspringen will!”⁹³ The mere chance that this could happen will cause his heart to break—this is the eternal guilt that a parent hangs over a child. The Father is worried not only about them in this life, but also in the Hereafter and warns that the family will, if they do not all live up to his expectations, be unable to spend eternity together. Even after they have been sent their many ways in life, the Father intones that they should remember that all of their good deeds are necessary so that one day they can be brought back together again as the perfect family in heaven:

Einst aber, wenn jeder von uns seinen Lauf vollendet, und die Pfade, auf welchen Gott ihn führte, mit einer ununterbrochenen Kette guter Handlungen bezeichnet haben wird, werden wir alle – o freuet euch mit mir! – bei einem und ebendemselben herrlichen Ziele wieder zusammentreffen, und, noch inniger verbunden, die ganze lange Ewigkeit hindurch in ungestörter Liebe in ununterbrochener Freude durchleben. Amen! (*Pizarro* 270-71)

The Father’s dream of reconstituting the family in eternity brings the work to a close and with it completes the loop of the text’s restriction. In reconstituting the family for eternity, the children remain the eternal subject of the Father, much in the same way that the people of the New World remain, in the final analysis, subject to the power of the explorer. They are eternally marked and will remain eternally his children, much in the same way that the people of the New World were, in spite of the Father’s hopes, never able to overcome the mark of the explorer. In seeking to produce citizens who were all guided by the same moral compass and in conflating the differences of the New and the Old World, this text seeks to

⁹³ *Pizarro* 269.

produce and privileges a sameness that is based on a singular set of values. These values are grounded in principles of enlightenment pedagogy, which under the pretenses of escapism and entertainment, are utilized to define and discipline the use of reason. In proposing a universal set of human values, the text ultimately only affirms its own Eurocentrism.

Foucault and the Panopticon

Campe's perfect citizen formed through pedagogy is unthinkable without the dynamics of power and discipline that Foucault traces in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault introduces the idea that power is the creative force in society, that it creates individuals, subjects, citizens through a "specific technology" called discipline.⁹⁴ This power produces the individual and makes it possible to understand and investigate him/her. This, he argues, is the result of changes in the nature of punishment from the middle ages through the 18th century. Medieval punishment was a public spectacle that attacked the physical body of the criminal, enacting in pain the vengeance of the sovereign. This evolves, as does the sovereign-subject relationship, until in the 18th century punishment became an infringement on the rights of the criminal. Rather than producing a visual display of the state's power over the body of the subject, punishment in the 18th century sought to recover the subject for the state. The goal of punishment was to restore the obedient subject and in order to achieve this a system of "habits, rules, orders" that establishes an authority which "function[s] automatically in him" needed to be created.⁹⁵ It is in the creation of this social order that the individual is also produced. Foucault proposes (and here I have no disagreement with him) that the "beautiful totality" of the individual is not "amputated, repressed, altered by [this]

⁹⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 194.

⁹⁵ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 128-9.

social order,” rather it is “fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies.”⁹⁶ He continues, “[w]e are much less Greeks than we believe. We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism.”⁹⁷ The Panopticon is at the center of society’s system of production and control.

Foucault describes it as a “machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen.”⁹⁸ His discussion of it focuses on its use in the penitentiary system and the creation of physical systems that provide the opportunity for perpetual observation while preventing the observer from being seen. Within this system the prisoner is unable to know if observation is taking place and thus is forced to assume that everything at all times is being watched. It economizes and minimizes the need for discipline, since the panoptic structure itself performs the observation. Additionally, it is a system that decentralizes power. Any individual can assume the role of overseer, since the physical structure of the Panopticon carries out the task of observation on its own. As can be seen in the quote at the end of the previous paragraph, he envisions it not only as a tool in the control of prisoners, but also as a constitutive element of modern society. It is fully unsurprising that elements of the panoptic prison are carried over into the school, factory and hospital. Foucault’s discussion of the panoptic device is rooted in physical systems of control: cells, wards, grids, desks. Yet, he also argues that it is “not to be understood as a

⁹⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 217.

⁹⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 217.

⁹⁸ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 202.

dream building,” but as a “figure of political technology.”⁹⁹ I wish to understand it in this more abstracted, notional sense. In my application of it to Campe’s text, the Panopticon is not a system of physical structures, but a system of control fostered through the relationship of the Father to the child. In developing this control, the Father mobilizes the tension between unattainable perfection (totally rational, communal thought and action) and an immeasurable goal (the reconstitution of the family in heaven) to instill his pedagogy in the children.

The Father’s Panopticon

Campe’s Father, through his interruption and explanation of the narrative, creates an internalized awareness of authority in the children. His aim is to inculcate them with an “internal Father,” who will continue to discipline their decision making outside the sphere of the narrative family. His pedagogy impresses on the individual knowledge of this system of order. Indeed it seeks to create the “obedient subject” who is contained within a “schemata of constraint” and subject to “forms of coercion” that ideally function automatically in him. As we have seen, this obedient subject is not the “selbstdenkende” individual of Kant, but a person who thinks and acts properly within the restrictions of society’s dictates. Campe envisions a society of surveillance that keeps an eye on the child even when he/she is no longer a child. The child remains a perpetual outsider under perpetual observation. Childhood, constructed as the time to conform to society’s needs, is extended and as a result the child is always seeking to become a member of society. The period of adjustment and conformity is extended infinitely.

⁹⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 205.

In seeming opposition to Foucault's Panopticon, power is centralized in the figure of the Father. However, he is himself an idealized representation of society, of the ideal pedagogue. He is the head of an idealized miniature society and is, in this sense, also an image of society's order and control. The narrative Father even notes in the final scene that the children wherever they go will "nie an einem Vater . . . fehlen."¹⁰⁰ Beyond these other fathers, the text very pointedly invokes the "himmlischer Vater," who also will help lead and guide them to the right path. This is not decentralized power in a purely Foucauldian sense, yet the relationship produced in the text is multipliable, scalable, a "generalizable model of functioning."¹⁰¹ The pedagogy proposed is homogeneous and universal (insofar as the Enlightenment is universal). As a symbolic figure, the Father becomes the decentralized authority of the Panopticon. He is a stand-in for society, his position of control is assumable and transferable. The structure of the texts themselves create the order. The Father merely brings it to life. In Campe's introduction to *Robinson*, you will recall, the appeal is made for others to take on the role of Father, for others to use the text as a guide. The text and its structure is the Panopticon. The Father merely sets this machine into motion. This, of course, raises the question: can the text function on its own? Does the reading child also submit and conform to the text's pedagogy without a physical representation of the Father? Is the authority of the textual Father absolute? The popularity of the texts would seem to indicate otherwise. It is hard to imagine that the narrative model was followed wholesale and wholeheartedly. Older readers might have found the naiveté of the Father's audience charming, but were not likely persuaded to similar obedience. Between the popularity and

¹⁰⁰ Pizarro 270.

¹⁰¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 205.

the pedagogy of the text spans an obvious tension. Campe's work touched a nerve with the public, whether it was precisely the one he had hoped to trigger is another question.

In an extension of Foucault's panoptic system of control, Campe's text performs the role of the penitentiary. However, in a divergence from Foucault, the Father augments the invisible control of the Panopticon and serves as a visible and perpetual guarantor of control. Within the text, the listening children are subjected to and incorporated into the order of society through the emotional connection they develop with the Father. Through the Father's entreaties, it is impressed upon them that they must fully internalize the principles of enlightened society. The power that the Father holds over the children is activated not through physical systems of order that permit knowledge of the individual, but through the individual connection that he fosters between himself and the children. Within the Father's narrative and in the frame around it, though, this power is realized in opposing forms. This becomes the final and most subversive move of the dialectic between the two worlds of the text.

In the historic narratives this power is carried out wholesale on the physical bodies of the New World, within the frame of the narrative it is then conducted on the individual through the finer machinery of "discipline." Within this text, the historical refinement of "power," as described by Foucault, is seen. Following from Foucault, the historical violence of the conquest is on display for the children to witness. The physical tragedies of the conquest are, through the frame of narrative family, refined into "discipline." The physical horrors of the New World become emotional horrors in the Old.

Within the Father's narrative the children witness (or, are subjected to) the physical atrocities of the conquest. This enactment on the bodies of the New World is on display for

the children to analyze. Rejecting this form of conquest, the text inserts pedagogical colonialism; the New World other should be instructed in the ways of “civilization,” and the superiority of Enlightenment norms impressed upon them, even if it is not clear how this should be done, since the familial model of the text is seemingly inadequate.

The children in the narrative family themselves are acted on emotionally. The Father’s entreaties grow in vigor throughout the work, until ultimately the specter of eternal damnation is suggested in the work’s closing scene. The Father’s death wish from the first volume has mutated into permanent separation in the afterlife. Discipline extends into the eternal, achieving its ultimate triumph over reason. Campe’s text combines the visual “spectacle” of violence in the New World with a panoptic system of observation in the Old. Beyond the critique of Spanish colonialism Zantop finds in this work lies the text’s intertwining of the two worlds. Through the structure of this narrative much more than a “colonialist mentality” comes “home to roost.”¹⁰² The text’s twisted relationships suggest that the violence of the New World is possible in the Old. Opposing forms of discipline, physical and societal, are juxtaposed and as a result of the identificatory shifting the work engages in, the violence of the conquest is subtextually present in the Father’s relationship with the children. In this, the multiple worlds—New and Old, Narrative and Familial—converge. The distance, both temporal and physical, between the children and their narrative other disintegrates. The emotional horrors of the Old World, the text implies, could degenerate into the physical horrors of eternal damnation. The narrative family, not reconstituted in heaven, is then condemned to suffer the torments of hell. This vision, too dark for the Father, is never explicit, but the threat of the conquest coming home lurks below the surface. Difference minimized and negated in pursuit of the universal generates overlaps,

¹⁰² Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies* 14.

which blend the two worlds. Violence, sublimated in the Father's narrative, hangs mistily around the final scene. Pedagogy, in the form of societal discipline, substituted for the violence of the conquest, obscures and restrains its reappearance; the shiny hope of eternal togetherness masks the alternate vision of eternity.

Chapter Four

Reading the World: Travel Narratives and Cosmopolitan Education

With developments in seafaring technology, most notably the sextant which permitted increasingly accurate measurements of longitude, the last decades of the 18th century witnessed an explosion in voyages across the seas.¹ These voyages set European values in contact with a broad new range of cultures. Only a minute fraction of Europe's population went on these expeditions, but the broader public participated in these journeys via the reports they generated.² The places and peoples visited were recorded during the expedition, then compiled, edited and printed for dissemination to a public eager to read about the latest find. Some voyages generated multiple reports: an official account prepared by the sponsoring agency and the personal account of a traveler, e.g. Cook's authorized version of his second voyage and the more popular report penned by Georg Forster. Recent scholarship has underscored the importance of the traveler as cosmopolitan intermediary between home and the overseas world, focusing on the world as experienced by them. As Harry Liebersohn notes in *The Travelers' World*, these travelers were part of a "peculiarly structured network of communications" made up of patrons, informants, ship's captains, and scientific

¹ For a history of these technologies, see Charles H. Cotter, *A History of the Navigator's Sextant* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1983).

² Obviously there were frequent and regular travelers across the Atlantic basin, to the ports of trade, and to the outposts of colonial power throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, but this sort of travel differed greatly from that captured in the popular written narratives.

academies that supported, influenced, challenged, and changed the final report of their experiences.³

By reading and comparing travel accounts, botanists tested the Linnaean system, scientists compared geologic formations, and philosophers formulated grand theories that identified the causes of human diversity and modeled the trajectory of human history.

Germany's most notable philosopher-reader, Immanuel Kant, took information garnered from travel accounts to develop both a theory of race and a theory of cosmopolitan law.⁴

Travel accounts were vital, powerful tools used for the formation of knowledge. This chapter investigates one such use of travel accounts, highlighting their use in the creation of a universal pedagogy produced through cosmopolitan exchange and developed from reflection on the familiar through the lens of the exotic.

Cosmopolitanism, it has been recently suggested, "privileges the encounter with different cultures, the integration of their insights, and – above all – the willingness to construct something new."⁵ Ulrich Beck asserts, similarly, that a "mélange principle" is fundamental to approaching divergent cultures, noting that "cosmopolitanism without provincialism is empty, provincialism without cosmopolitanism is blind."⁶ Ulf Hannerz

³ Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006) 8. See also Hans Erich Bödeker, "'Sehen, hören, sammeln, schreiben.' Gelehrte Reisen im Kommunikationssystem der Gelehrtenrepublik," *Paedagogica Historica* 38.2-3 (2002): 505-32.

⁴ Hans Erich Bödeker, "Reisen: Bedeutung und Funktion für die deutsche Aufklärungsgesellschaft," *Reisen im 18. Jahrhundert: Neue Untersuchungen*, eds. Wolfgang Griep and Hans-Wolf Jäger (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986) 95-7.

⁵ Stephen Eric Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁶ Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006) 7.

describes it as a “perspective, a state of mind” and “a mode of managing meaning.”⁷

Anthony Appiah views cosmopolitanism as the conflict between “two strands that intertwine” when cultures come into contact.⁸ These strands, the universal and the particular, form the basis for exchange and negotiation. Provincial, parochial values, these scholars tell us, need not be abandoned in toto at the altar of cosmopolitanism. Local values, be they Native American, Tahitian, English, or even German, must not be cast off in blind union to the universal. Cosmopolitanism is inherent to all interactions between societies, even those with exceedingly unbalanced power dynamics. At its ideal, it is in an affirmative mindset that seeks out and is at home in the plural. It is an expression of the desire to discuss, to compare, and to interrogate one’s own views, finding the points where one’s particular views converge or diverge from those of others. The cosmopolitan is the moment of communication and conversation between cultures placed into contact with one another.

Having demonstrated in the previous chapter the intricate dialectic which binds the New and Old World in a common pedagogy, this being a further development of the island in *Robinson der Jüngere* as the site for social rehabilitation, the present chapter discusses the *Sammlung interessanter und zweckmäßig abgefasster Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend* (1785-93), detailing how Campe’s pedagogy is extended to incorporate the entire human family.⁹ My discussion of this monumental twelve-volume work examines the cosmopolitanism created in the *Sammlung* that, through its presentation of and engagement

⁷ Ulf Hannerz, “Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture,” *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity. A Theory, Culture & Society Special Issue*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications, 1990) 238.

⁸ Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).

⁹ In this chapter all citations of this work are from, Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Sammlung interessanter und zweckmäßig abgefasster Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend*, 4. Gesamtausgabe der letzten Hand, 12 Bde. (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1843). Citations will be indicated simply by volume and page number.

with the exotic world, “discovers” a set of fundamental human values. This pedagogy features values strikingly similar to those valorized in *Robinson* and the *Entdeckung* series, i.e., moderation, thrift, simplicity, industriousness, etc. Here, however, it is employed to form a critique of society, both in Europe and abroad. The collection engages in a conversation that questions European social norms, mining travel narratives for models that showcase the ideals of the perfected society it imagines.

Any discussion of this work necessitates coming to terms with the very structure of the texts it comprises. This will be the central aspect of this introduction. The original sources have, in virtually all cases, been subjected to considerable revision. By manner of introduction, my discussion of Campe’s authorship frames and elucidates the very construction of the cosmopolitan within the collection as a whole. The cosmopolitanism Campe’s collection seek to create requires a form of travel writing and a manner of reading that, as we will shortly see, is built upon the foundation of the structures of control built into the narratives themselves. The collection itself aims to educate readers in the act of reading travelogues. It seeks to instruct the reader so that he/she may later apply the techniques found within the texts of the *Sammlung* on other works. This places the reader in a relationship to text that is predicated on the book as commodity. Before this, though let us begin by turning to the concept of human nature as it is manifest in Campe’s *Sammlung*.

The universalizing pedagogy promoted in this work is the product of a belief in the fundamentally universal nature of humanity. As a globe-spanning family linked by a single common ancestry (as opposed to the contrary position of polygenesis), humanity in all of the varied cultural guises found in the pages of the *Sammlung* becomes the subject of the text’s pedagogy. Through extended examination of a range of societies, imagined as organic,

natural peoples resident in all corners of the globe, the collection uncovers and elaborates a set of principles that it deems fundamental to humanity. The very diversity of the peoples featured in the collection provides access to and proof of these principles. The juxtaposition of ethnographic descriptions that mark the encountered culture as other and passages that encourage respect for these cultures creates a productive tension in which the text's pedagogy is lodged. The *Sammlung* holds the presented societies at arm's length while also reaching out to include them, in effect, simultaneously othering and recuperating foreign cultures. This dynamic provides the sufficient rhetorical distance within which a critique of European society is positioned. The *Sammlung* as a whole and Campe in his travel narratives portrays Europe as increasingly artificial, unnatural, and decadent. This form of cross-cultural criticism that uses the construct of the noble savage is common in the 18th century, think of the work of Rousseau, Diderot, and Montesquieu, for example. In casting the presented societies as both alien and familiar, the collection closes geographic, cultural, and temporal divides with a thinly cosmopolitan bridge, urging the reader to look beyond the particular customs, which are assumed to be shocking and foreign, to see the universally valid concepts.

On a broad level, the cosmopolitanism of Campe's collection is admirable. It provides insight into the many, varied cultures of the globe. It counsels respect for their customs, reverence for their beliefs, and admiration of their hardships, while also never failing to question irrational and superstitious beliefs. Yet, on a more refined level, this cosmopolitan bridge collapses in on itself. By discovering the principles, common to all works in this series of travel-adventure texts, in a variety of cultures around the globe, Campe moves to certify them as universal. As we saw in the previous chapter, this leaves the

foreign world as a shell within which Campe can place his set of beliefs. By framing his core values in cosmopolitan terms, Campe again looks to profit from the allure of the exotic. This time the veneer of cultural plurality becomes the veil behind which the pedagogy hides.

The *mélange* of cultures, the blending of ideas, the “willingness to construct something new” of the cosmopolitan ideal is and must always be tempered by the local. The global and the local are codependent. Campe’s collection underscores this, and in this the limits of the collection’s pedagogy are found. The collection’s pedagogy is dependent upon the tension generated in the narratives between the exotic and the familiar, the particular and the universal. Were the diversity of cultures found in the *Sammlung* to be eliminated, then the universal principles scooped from the sea of particulars would no longer be accessible; the pedagogy produced through engagement with the world’s cultures would be lost. The *Sammlung*’s pedagogy is, in this respect, self-limiting. Caught in this loop, the cosmopolitanism of the collection is exposed as a lure set out to capture readers.

This final work in Campe’s series of travel-adventure texts has, at least on first blush, a vastly different structure. Released into society at the end of the *Entdeckung von Amerika* trilogy prepared to demonstrate their allegiance to the Father’s pedagogy and fearful of his eternal damnation should they fail, the children do not make an appearance here. The fictionalized narrative family is dissolved. In its place the narrator of each work creates an imagined community of readers that are the frequent object of address. In this sense, the fictionalized narrative family is replaced by an imaginary cohort of young readers. As the title states, the *Sammlung* features collected accounts of world exploration. The collection develops a world that, similar to the contrast between Pizarro and Kolumbus, is not

uniformly light and dark. Enlightenment's rays of reason extend beyond Europe's shores, bathing the globe in a rich and textured topography. This beacon of hope, which most certainly has its home in northern Europe, nonetheless illuminates, as we will see, even its own backyard unevenly.

The collection recreates the 18th-century world of exploration, presenting the reader with abridged versions of the most notable and sensational voyages. The collection takes the reader around the world literally four times with Captains Wallis, Byron, Carteret, and Cook. We accompany Vasco de Gama on the first voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to India and later join Le Vaillant as he ventures from the Cape into the interior of southern Africa. We hear about the shipwreck of Captain Wilson and the *Antelope* on Peliliu in the Pacific. We can read the captivating letter that details Madame Godin de Odonais's trials in the Amazon Basin. Not all of the journeys found in the collection are as well remembered today. There are voyages of discovery by Jakob Heemskerck and Willem Barents into the frozen north; the survival tale of four Russian sailors forced to overwinter on an island in the Arctic Ocean; an overland journey from the Kamchatka peninsula across Siberia to Europe by Lessep, who became the sole survivor of a lost expedition; Jonathan Carver's travels among Native Americans along the northern Mississippi and Great Lakes; and the tale of Willem Bontekoe's difficult voyage to the East Indies. Even more pedestrian, perhaps, are the travels of Patrick Brydone to Sicily and Malta, and the journeys of the compiler and editor himself from Braunschweig to the Rhine Falls in Switzerland and later to Paris.

The world found within the twelve volumes of the *Sammlung* has been extensively retouched. Beyond the certain exaggerations, inaccuracies, embellishments, and

misunderstandings of the original,¹⁰ Campe freely exercised his own judgment in tailoring these texts for his audience. Campe collected and culled the material for these volumes from a wide range of sources, editing, abridging and ultimately expunging them to fit his notions. In trimming away the extraneous—vast portions of the sea voyage, weather observations, sailing terminology—Campe renders the exploration of the world as a series of encounters with foreign societies. These accounts, when reduced to focus largely on scenes in what Mary Louise Pratt has called the “contact zone,” then become opportunities to highlight the diversity and similarity of humankind.

Pratt’s work sought to understand how the subjects of the narrative are “constituted in and by their relations to each other” and described the omniscient, powerful, possessing gaze of the explorer in the foreign world.¹¹ On the contrary, I am interested in the way that these scenes are mediated for and presented to those in the European home. The contact zone for Pratt is the place where assumptions about superiority, carried across the oceans from Europe, are verified in the initial moments of contact, preserved in the textual account, and substantiated through extended interactions and, most importantly, through repeated contact which would then be captured in a new travel report. My reading of Campe’s collection does not overlook the European bias of these texts (it is impossible to ignore), but I focus on the way the experiences in the contact zone are modified for consumption by the intended reader. The particulars of the contact itself are not at issue here. This chapter is less an examination of the interaction of two cultures in the contact zone, than a study of the distance and reflection written into scenes from it. Gaps in the contact zone, we will see, are filled with

¹⁰ For an account of the role of believability and accuracy in literary travel narratives, see Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962). See also Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992) 86-90.

¹¹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 7.

commentary that disrupts the interactions between explorer and explored, blurring this binary, questioning the familiar, and affirming the exotic.

In selecting the individual narratives in the collection, Campe provided the reader with his retelling of voyages that were common cultural currency of the day. In this way the collection performs an intervention in the networks of knowledge about the explored world. These works are clearly products of the network of communication spelled out by Liebersohn, Campe even documents at length the multiple reports he consulted in drafting his versions (which itself carries additional implications), and the collection as a whole forms a node on a network that links travel narratives and pedagogy.¹² Travelers provide the window to the world and an effective hook to the reader, but the text provided to the reader, by virtue of Campe's editorial work, is so removed from the world of the traveler and contact that it is impossible to claim these texts as observations of the explorer.¹³ Even further, extra-narrative commentary planted throughout the accounts, disrupts the voice of the explorer. Direct addresses to the reader replace the exhortations of the Father seen in the previous two chapters, but the underlying strategy is the same. The mediated nature of these narratives is, yet again, evidence of Campe's strategy of narrative control.

¹² Bärbel Panzer, *Die Reisebeschreibung als Gattung der philanthropischen Jugendliteratur in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1983). Her work provides an historical survey of intra-European travel narratives, including Campe's voyage to Switzerland, but none of the other narratives in the *Sammlung*.

¹³ Gabriele Brune-Heiderich, *Die Begegnung Europas mit der überseeischen Welt: Völkerkundliche Aspekte im jugendliterarischen Werk Joachim Heinrich Campes*, Europäische Hochschulschriften (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1989). In one of the few works that examines works in the *Sammlung*, she maintains that "[f]iktionale Elemente sind in Campes Reisebeschreibungen jedoch nicht anzutreffen" (114). There is ample evidence, most of it documented in Campe's introductions to the volumes, that these narratives contain elements that are epistemologically questionable, if not outright fiction. The second section of the chapter will present these passages.

Campe's efforts to control the narrative in *Robinson der Jüngere* has recently been examined by Matt Erlin. His article explicates the role of Campe's work in debates about reading and its multitude of perceived dangers. Citing the surprising paucity of studies on "one of the period's most important consumer goods – the book," he notes, giving credit to Daniel Purdy, that German participation in an emerging consumer culture was "virtual," that it took place principally via the "consumption of textual representations."¹⁴ This argument, akin to Susanne Zantop's use of "armchair conquistadors," resembles my framing of Campe's *Sammlung*. Through mediated representations, the German public was able to experience the latest fashions from Paris or London and consider (often critically) the colonial world. The *Sammlung* is certainly a mediated view of the world intended for consumption by a public eager for information about the expanding world, but it is mediated in a further sense as well. In this second mediation, the reader is instructed in the reading of travel narratives, effectively teaching a form of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism."¹⁵ The collection models and performs this, in essence teaching the reader how to engage with and consume travel narratives.

Approaching the subject from the field of sociology, John Urry describes the interactions tourists have with places they visit. While he considers this a primarily contemporary phenomenon, he does note that a similar manner of interacting with the world developed amongst the late 18th-century British upper class. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism is characterized by "patterns of real and simulated mobility," and enhanced by "a curiosity

¹⁴ Matt Erlin, "Book Fetish: Joachim Heinrich Campe and the Commodification of Literature," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 42.4 (2006): 355. See also Daniel L. Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). This line of investigation is continued in Karin A. Wurst, *Fabricating Pleasure: Fashion, Entertainment, and Cultural Consumption in Germany, 1780-1830* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005).

¹⁵ John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 163-70.

about all places, peoples and cultures and at least a rudimentary ability to map such places and cultures historically, geographically and anthropologically.” It requires the visitor be open to the culture encountered and willing to appreciate some elements of it. Beyond this openness, the visitor must be able to “locate one’s own society and its culture in terms of wide-ranging historical and geographical knowledge” and to have “the ability to reflect upon and judge aesthetically between different natures, places and societies.”¹⁶ As this chapter will demonstrate, the particular construction of these travel narratives guides the reader to develop precisely this set of skills. This form of travel is first modeled (and restricted) for the reader in the *Reise des Herausgebers von Hamburg bis in die Schweiz*. The remainder of the collection performs these tasks for the reader, continually encouraging openness toward the cultures presented, while simultaneously charting the relationships between the examined society, others societies in the collection, and the European home. The European child aided by travel simulated through the text’s of the collection, reads the world and becomes, in this very limited, doubly mediated sense, cosmopolitan.

Beginning with Campe’s account of his journey to Switzerland, the first section of this chapter exposes the rigidly utilitarian framework imposed on travel. This mode of travel is reflected in a description that eschews the descriptive, questions the limits of language, and hews to the practical to the verge of farce in an account of the Rhine Falls. The second section undertakes an analysis of the editorial control exerted over the narratives, through which the carefully mediated engagement with the exotic is constructed, before turning to self-reflective moments in the narratives that invert the hierarchy of exploration and establish a pedagogy that flows from the periphery to the European center. Finally, in the third

¹⁶ Urry, *Consuming Places* 167.

section, I set the vision of humanity, the relationship of Europe and the world, and the anti-imperialist sentiment formed in the collection in the context of the views of two of Campe's contemporaries, Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottfried Herder, adding Campe's work to an expanding line of research that questions monolithic, totalizing narratives of the Enlightenment.

I

The Art of Travel, the Art of Travel Writing

What should a traveler write? Or, more importantly, why should a traveler write? What should a traveler focus on while underway? What does a travel description describe? What good is a travel narrative? These questions can best and most easily be answered by looking at the travel reports that Campe personally wrote and included in the *Sammlung*. There is a certain amount of hubris and vanity involved here. In spite of frequent claims to the contrary, Campe was obviously pleased by the notoriety his literary work had generated. This should come as little surprise, for Campe had indeed fictionalized himself as Father to a nation of young readers, and as he will most humbly report on his way to Switzerland, this literary fatherhood becomes reality when a small mob of children flocks to him and follows him to the edge of town as if he were “der berühmte Rattenfänger zu Hameln” or “Cäsar, wenn er auf seinem Triumphwagen durch die Straßen von Rom zu Kapitole fuhr.”¹⁷

In the *Reise des Herausgebers von Hamburg bis in die Schweiz* (1786), Campe hops in a carriage and ventures from Hamburg all the way to Schaffhausen, just a one or two-day journey across the border in Switzerland. Not exactly a tale of exploration, he traces one of the 18th century’s well-worn paths. For his second trip in the collection, he sets off for Paris in the summer of 1789 to witness the course of the revolution. His reports of these travels are then placed amongst the greatest voyages of the age of exploration. This juxtaposition could be read plainly as the completion of a map of the world, as Campe himself claims in introducing an account of his travels to England and France in the *Neue Sammlung*

¹⁷ *Sammlung* 2:144.

merkwürdiger Reisebeschreibungen (1801-1806).¹⁸ Campe could have chosen examples from the great number of contemporary travel reports, but the inclusion of his accounts unmasks, beyond the purely vain, two key agendas.¹⁹ First, in presenting the customs of the inhabitants along his path, Campe provides his readers with a model for the examination of other cultures. The presentation of neighbors who appear quite foreign prepares the reader for the decidedly foreign cultures in the remainder of the collection. Second, mixed in with his comments on the cities and people are meditations on the nature of travel and travel writing. These passages serve to inform the reader of the purposes of travel and travel writing, underscoring for the reader the function of travel as primarily informative. My analysis of these two agendas forms the critical constellation which will guide my investigation of the remaining narratives in the next section of this chapter.

In describing the towns and villages along his path, he constructs an ethnography marked by the distinct differences between the inhabitants of the many small states, duchies, and principalities through which he travels. His travel description marvels at the foreignness of these places. It is precisely these descriptions of his exotic German neighbors which will form the first half of this section. As will be seen below in my discussion of overseas travel accounts in the *Sammlung*, these descriptions mirror in content and form those of more distant societies.

Tucked in with this ethnographic content are any number of remarks on the material and subjects best suited for a travel account. He ruminates on the art of travel writing and the

¹⁸ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Neue Sammlung merkwürdiger Reisebeschreibungen*, vol. 4 (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1830) VI.

¹⁹ E.g. Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreiben einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, 1783-96; Johann August Ephraim Goeze, *Eine kleine Reisebeschreibung zum Vergnügen der Jugend*, 1784; Anonymous (Johann Kaspar Riesbeck), *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland an seinen Bruder zu Paris*, 1783. Another reason he chose to print his own travel narrative was to prevent being labeled a *Nachdrucker*, a charge he launched at others in his prefaces.

choices that authors make in retelling their journey, constructing a rigidly utilitarian vision of travel that eliminates descriptions of landscapes and museum collections in favor of numerical data and industrial production. Campe's particular vision of travel and travel writing will be presented in the final half of this section.

Foreign Neighbors and Noble Souls

Campe's route takes him first to Braunschweig, on a slight detour to visit his mother, then through Kassel, Marburg, Frankfurt am Main, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Strasbourg and finally through Basel to Schaffhausen. From this itinerary, it is apparent that this journey will not take this "explorer" to any unknown, not to mention exotic, locales. The excursion to visit his mother and childhood home is quite the opposite: a voyage into the known, a return to the familiar.²⁰ Yet, his depiction finds the inhabitants and their customs decidedly exotic. Distant cultures, it seems, are not the only subject in need of criticism.

As he moves across the countryside, he describes the quality of fields, suitability of the land for agriculture, the economic wisdom of choosing one crop over another. He describes the layout of towns and the natural features beneficial to industry surrounding it. He makes sweeping assertions about the health and well-being of an area's population, the causes that led to this condition, and prescriptions for their improvement. He criticizes the decisions of local princes and rulers when he finds them insufficient for the good of the people and praises them when he finds them rational.

From the first scenes of his journey, Campe is critical of his fellow travelers. There are itinerant performers who board the ship with him in Hamburg and provide cheap, tawdry

²⁰ Campe does not describe the visit itself, noting that "dergleichen Auftritte sich nicht beschreiben lassen. Also kein Wort davon" (2:44). His abnegation here provides further evidence of his attitude toward the inability of the written word to capture emotional or moving scenes.

entertainment for the masses. There are swarms of businessmen concerned only with their trade, local hucksters profiting off the naïve. Beyond these examples of indecent and improper behavior, Campe makes a more studied, nuanced critique of the people and populations encountered. I am not referring here to broad comparisons between the north and the south, between Protestant and Catholic beliefs, for there is no shortage of observations in this vein. As was the custom in Enlightenment journals and writing – we are discussing an avowed Protestant and Aufklärer, after all – Campe frequently notes customs and practices that differ from his frame of reference and starting point in the Protestant north to the point of alienating readers from other areas.²¹ When he portrays every resident of Kassel as a “French-aping dandy,” derides every student in Marburg based on a single exchange, and calls all of the women in Hessen ugly, he is far from reserved in his judgments.²² However, his reviewer in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* praises “[d]ie freymuthigen Urtheile, die der Verf. hie und da in seine Beschreibung einwebt, gereichen seiner Rechtschaffenheit sehr zur Ehre.”²³ Obviously, educated men can see things differently.

Beyond simply making sweeping judgments, Campe engages in closer description of the inhabitants of the regions. He finds the women in the countryside around Kassel to be “schwarzbraun und gelb,” they all seem to be in mourning and this, he suspects, is either because they have all lost sons and husbands in America, or they have chosen black to match

²¹ In a commentary on Campe’s text that appeared in the *Deutsches Museum* in 1787, some of his pronouncements are countered and questioned by a reader. “Einige Anmerkungen über Herrn R. Campe’s Reisebeschreibung durch Deutschland,” *Deutsches Museum*, Bd. 2 (1787): 167-171.

²² Cf. *Sammlung* 2:84; 2:111; 2:77.

²³ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, Bd. 2 (1788): 532.

“mit der Farbe ihrer Haut und ihres Haares.”²⁴ Their physical condition is “verunedelt und verhäßlichet.”²⁵ He places the reason for their condition in the fact that “[d]ie Hessen sind seit vielen Jahren ein sehr kriegerisches Volk gewesen.”²⁶ His argument continues following physiognomic principles: “der Leib richtet ordentlicher Weise sich nach und nach der Seele, die ihn belebt.” If this soul is “ausgebildet” and “erheitert” then the body will naturally be beautiful, but if it sinks “zu einem kümmerlichen und thierischen Leben hinab, wobei keine Uebung ihrer edleren Kräfte . . . stattfindet, so drückt sich das Grobe, Unausgebildete und Thierische des verwahrlosten Geistes sich zuverlässig in allen Zügen und in dem Bau des ganzen Körpers aus.”²⁷ A violent and martial society slowly turns physically unattractive.

With his choice of descriptors, Campe conveys the image of a population that is decidedly foreign. Beyond simply being foreign, the pejorative nature of his comments suggests a distance between this population and his assumed reader. Educated and peaceful readers of his works have collected knowledge of the correct path in life. The distance between peoples, between cultures can be bridged (and perhaps even, must be bridged) by education. As we will see in the discussion of overseas cultures, the bridge of education is not built exclusively from European stones.

His depiction of the ugly women of Hessen, he cautions, does not condemn them. Physical appearance is only the low form of beauty. There is “eine Art von Schönheit, und zwar die reizendste unter allen,” which is attainable by all.²⁸ This form of beauty has

²⁴ *Sammlung* 2:76.

²⁵ *Sammlung* 2:76.

²⁶ *Sammlung* 2:77.

²⁷ *Sammlung* 2:78.

²⁸ *Sammlung* 2:78.

nothing to do with appearance, it is not the beauty of “einer glatten Haut von Milch- und Rosen-Farbe” or that found “in einem vorzüglich schönen Wuchse.”²⁹ It can even be found “bei einem Gesicht voller Pockengruben, auf einer gelben Haut, ja sogar bei einem ganz verwachsenen Körper.”³⁰ Thus he redeems the women described in the previous pages. This beauty is the “Ausdruck eines wohlgebildeten Verstandes und eines edlen, wohlwollenden Herzens.”³¹ Not surprisingly, education and *Erziehung* have a role in this. He continues: “Für diese höhere Schönheit haben alle gute Menschen Sinn: alle gute Menschen besitzen sie selbst und lieben zugleich Alle, an welchen sie dieselbe wahrnehmen.”³² Suddenly, physical appearance, while it might be the expression of the soul, is not as important as this “höhere Schönheit.” Beauty is not merely a product of skin color, but an expression of *Verstand*. This higher beauty, something for which all people have *Sinn*, is not the property of thinkers, nor is it limited to Europe. Intellect and reason are accessible to all people, everywhere. Everyone, whether she is a Hessian woman behind the plough or Native American nomad following buffalo herds, recognizes this beauty. This universal characteristic of humanity will become throughout the remainder of the *Sammlung* the object Campe seeks to find and raise to the attention of his readers. This is a universal natural law that can be applied equally well in Frankfurt and Tahiti.

By initially othering and then recuperating the women of the Hessian countryside, Campe has signaled his readers to look beyond the merely physical, to ignore differences in skin color, hair, and body, and to focus on identifying the traits that point to a developed

²⁹ *Sammlung* 2:79.

³⁰ *Sammlung* 2:79.

³¹ *Sammlung* 2:79.

³² *Sammlung* 2:79.

Verstand. He has instructed them to look for this in the “Blicken, Mienen, Stellung, Stimmen und Geberden” of people.³³ This is a task practiced throughout the remainder of *Reise des Herausgebers* and the collection.

Beyond discounting the widely-held belief that only those fair in skin and blue in eye are capable of rationality, Campe also disputes the ubiquitous 18th-century notion that climate has given the northern European any advantage. Differences in climate, it was argued, were to account for the differing traits and mores found around the world. Climate-based theories conceived of humanity as fundamentally universal, that is all humans were from the same origin – a point with which Campe’s work concurs – but attempted to explain physical variations, such as stature and skin color, as products of the natural environment. Buffon’s *Natural History*, Diderot’s view of Tahiti, as well as Kant’s early writings found, at least partially, climatic reasons for human diversity.³⁴ Campe diverges from this belief. Building from ideas he found in *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen über Deutschland* and from “treffende Beispiele aus der ältern und neuern Völkerkunde,” Campe argues that it is an “irriges Vorurtheil . . . nach welchem wir nördlichen Europäer uns selbst zu schmeicheln pflegen” to believe “daß die Natur Gesundheit, Kraft und Stärke des Leibes und der Seele den Bewohnern des kalten und rauhen Nordens in einem reichern Maße ausgespendet habe, als denen, welche unter einem mildern und wärmern Himmelstriche leben.”³⁵ Nature has not dealt the inhabitant of the north any sort of innate advantage. Living in the north has given them no physical or psychic benefit. Campe even argues that under similar conditions, “bei

³³ *Sammlung* 2:79.

³⁴ For the role of climate in Diderot’s and Kant’s thinking, see Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* 54-5 and 182-3. For Buffon’s position, see Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2005) 27-8.

³⁵ *Sammlung* 2:132.

gleicher Erziehung, gleicher Lebensart, gleicher Gesetzgebung und Regierungsform,” that the inhabitant of the south is “an Leibes- und Seelen-Stärke in der Regel überlegen.”³⁶ This is to counter the idea that warmer weather leads to sloth. The suggestion to the contrary here is that all societies have equal opportunity at achievement. This does not excuse the Southern African for his shortcomings, nor does it grant the Northern European a head start. This is significant in the context of the collection, since it challenges the notion that warmth of climate and strength of intellect exist in inverse proportion. Rational, useful ideas can be found throughout the globe. They are not at home in the snowy north and foreign to the warm sands of the Pacific. The reader will discover, both through reading the remainder of this account and the rest of the collection, that the many German lands and the idyllic Tahitian paradise are both in need of improvement.

The Traveler’s Prerogative

In focusing on this feature of Campe’s own travel writing, I hope to draw my reader’s attention to two important features in his account. First, the duty of the traveler is to note and report on matters of utilitarian significance. Non-essential details and aesthetic appreciations should be excluded. Into this category, Campe sweeps landscape descriptions, commentary on museum collections and *Schatzkammern*, and reports of meetings with notable thinkers. Second, his triple role as traveler, author and editor brings to the fore Campe’s thoughts on travel, travel writing and the purpose of both. In many respects, his travel report is a meditation on travel writing, both negative and positive. Campe’s portrayal of his trip illustrates the pedagogical function of travel writing and models it for his reader. Its position, the sole account in the second volume, in the collection supports this aim and it makes clear

³⁶ *Sammlung* 2:132.

his opinions on “good” travel writing. Through the lens of Campe’s writing, the sweep of his editorial hand on the following volumes of the collection is illuminated. Through his meditations on what should be visited and how to describe it, it becomes clear that travel for him is a utilitarian, educative pursuit. One does not go to distant places, be they in the neighboring duchy or around the Cape of Good Hope, to be transported, to be swept away, or even transformed by them. As we have seen from the tales of Robinson and Pizarro – two voyagers who went to sea without proper moral grounding – this leads to disasters of varying degrees: Robinson is shipwrecked; Pizarro completes the destruction of an ancient civilization. To legitimate his journey, Campe frames it as a medical necessity.

He opens the narrative with a detailed and writerly recounting of his health. Our good man Campe was terribly ill. He had gone against the dictates of nature, which, according to him, demand that physical and mental work be undertaken in equal proportion. By virtue of the demands placed on a successful author, he has spent too much time at the writing desk and too little in the garden and field. After seeking the help of numerous physicians, sipping all manner of healing potions, and drinking heartily from mineral springs, he proposes, as a last resort, a journey with the *Postkutsche*, a means of travel that would “am geschwindesten zeigen,” whether his condition could be improved.³⁷ He sets off from Hamburg with the idea that upon arrival in Braunschweig he would know whether the bumping and bouncing had achieved this goal. If an improvement were noticed there, he would continue this course of treatment all the way to Switzerland; if not, he had only one option: “[ich] werde fein hurtig wieder umkehren, mein Haus bestellen, und mich fertig

³⁷ *Sammlung* 2:6.

machen, die letzte große Reise aus diesem Leben in ein anderes anzutreten.”³⁸ Obviously, the reader is well aware, the descriptive title of the account notwithstanding, that Campe does not turn back and prepare for his death. Framing the narrative thusly positions this journey in the same realm as the framing of *Robinson der Jüngere* and *Entdeckung von Amerika*. In casting this as a life or death undertaking, he sets the threshold for travel extremely high. Again, the reader need not summon the *Postkutsche* for himself; the text provides yet again an antidote.

Leaping ahead to the end station of his journey, Campe offers his reading of the Rhine Falls. The falls were, and still are, I suppose, “eines der berühmtesten, merkwürdigsten Naturschauspiele” in Europe and as such became a canonical destination for the eighteenth-century traveler.³⁹ That Campe’s description of his voyage should end there is unremarkable and in no way pioneering. He was not the first to visit them, nor was he the first to describe them, a fact made obvious via oblique references in his account to the sentimental reaction that was standard in other travelers’ reports. As Campe tells it, the falls brought others to tears, sent their hearts racing, caused them to lose control of their senses, and to faint in rapture.⁴⁰ This sort of reaction is foreign to our traveler. For certain, he was in wonder at the power of the falls. “Herrlich” falls from his mouth and he springs from the carriage to take in the “Naturgemähld, welches wirklich über die Maßen groß und schön ist.”⁴¹ Ever the pedagogue, though, he pauses before offering his reasoned reaction to the

³⁸ *Sammlung* 2:6-7.

³⁹ Uwe Hentschel, *Studien zur Reiseliteratur am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts: Autoren-Formen-Ziele*, Studien zur Reiseliteratur- und Imagologieforschung, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1999) 203. Hentschel devotes an entire chapter of his study to reports on the *Rheinfälle*.

⁴⁰ *Sammlung* 2:250.

⁴¹ *Sammlung* 2:250.

falls, branding it a “Feuerkopf,” a “Genie.”⁴² In explaining his invocation of “Genie,” Campe notes that he is using the term and the connotations formed around it in the previous decade. Tracing back ten years from the year of his journey (1785) places the advent of these connotations directly in the wake of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. As you will recall from the *Robinson* chapter, Goethe’s novel was a critical impetus in guiding Campe’s formulation of that story. A further half-decade away from its publication, Goethe’s work and its aftereffects continued to maintain a prominent position in his mind. He explains the term by couching his understanding of it as society’s:

Der Rhein kam mir nämlich hier gerade wie ein jungen Feuerkopf, Genie genannt, in derjenigen Bedeutung vor, worin man dieses Wort seit ungefähr zehn Jahren in Deutschland zu nehmen gewohnt ist, und nach welcher es einen zwar kraftvollen, aber aufbrausenden jungen Geist bedeutet, der etwas Ungewöhnliches, Seltsames und Auffallendes darbietet, sich über Sitten, Gebräuche und Wohlständigkeit hinwegsetzt, nicht anders als aus innerem Drange und im Sturme handeln zu können wähnt, und daher zu keinem einzigen, nach Zeit und Ort bestimmten regelmäßigen Geschäfte des bürgerlichen Lebens tauglich ist. (2:252-3)

Campe’s difficulty with the falls and with genius is that they are governed not by the regular occupations of society but by their own internal forces. Campe reverses the traditional order of *Sturm und Drang*, yet clearly, he has the twin stars of German literature in mind. Genius offers something extraordinary and rare, but this is temporary, unfulfilling, and ultimately destroys the commonweal. Genius, like the “Luftsprünge” of the water, is unproductive. It is “etwas ganz Unterhaltendes” and “schauderhaft schön,” but engaging beauty is not Campe’s chief measure. Entertaining as they may be these falls do not contribute to the good of society. It is precisely the fiery genius of the falls that prevents them from serving the greater good, a point Campe would be pained to miss:

Wird irgend etwas zum Besten der menschlichen Gesellschaft dadurch bewirkt? – Ganz und gar nicht; sind vielmehr gerade Das, was den Strom in dieser Gegend

⁴² *Sammlung* 2:252.

hindert, den Menschen nützlich zu werden. Wäre der Rhein hier minder Genie, ginge sein Strom in dieser Gegend, wie andere ehrliche Flüsse, fein gemäßigt und regelmäßig einher, so könnte er Handlung und Gewerbe befördern, so könnten die Erzeugnisse beider Indien, zum Vergnügen und Nutzen der Bewohner dieser Gegend, auf seinem Gewässer bis nach Schaffhausen und Konstanz schwimmen. (2:253)

Clearly, Campe has no sense that the falls had and would continue to bring travelers to the area. He is blind to the economic benefit he and others called by the crashing water brought to the area.⁴³ He has no visionary sense of a tourist economy. Wealth, well-being and prosperity are the product of work and industry; they are not won from the hand of romantics seeking communion with forces beyond the human realm. The tumult of water and rock is a frivolous show that interrupts the delivery of goods. Goods, as blithely noted, that could travel, uninterrupted, by water from both sides of the globe. The natural world is to be sculpted and formed for the use of man. In Campe's proto-industrial worldview, the raw wildness of nature is the enemy of the good. As far as Campe is concerned, all that this display of nature can do is amuse "das Auge des Müßigen," render "Stoff zu dichterischen Gemälden" and support "eine mahlerische Reisebeschreibung."⁴⁴ None of these is the purpose of this author.

Considering for a moment the image of nature constructed in the travel descriptions of Campe's pupil, Alexander von Humboldt, we find an active, dynamic nature that overwhelms "human knowledge and understanding."⁴⁵ Humboldt's accounts capture the sweep and power of nature, without relying on the emotional response of the traveler to convey its grandness. Campe's account, also squelches the emotional, but for him nature is to

⁴³ In a review of this account, after questioning Campe's anti-sentimental reaction to the falls, the reviewer takes care to note that the falls had turned Schaffhausen into a "Stapelstadt," where all of the goods being moved upriver had to be unloaded and transferred (539). The citizens of the city for this reason, he notes, find the falls most useful. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, Bd. 78 (1788): 532-539.

⁴⁴ *Sammlung* 2:253.

⁴⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 120.

be tamed, restricted for the benefit of society. The wide, flat plain between Heidelberg and Mannheim is not a space for winds to gather moisture, carrying it up the slopes and depositing it in the verdant expanses of the Odenwald, à la Humboldt, but a fertile gift of providence that provides grain for man and his animals. In Campe's iteration, the natural world provides, as we see in *Robinson* and the early narratives in the *Sammlung*, a proving ground for human ingenuity and will, and again in Campe's own travel report, a storehouse of energy that, once tamed by human labor, can be used for the improvement of society.

Throughout his account, Campe stays alert for slippage toward the painterly and the poetic. In his view, a good, informative travel report should avoid extensive portrayals of treasures, lengthy descriptions of buildings, and flowery depictions of the countryside. The last is partially motivated from an acceptance of the limits of the verbal. Finding it impossible to capture the richness of landscapes in written form, Campe seeks to avoid, not always successfully, grandiose panoramas and cleave to descriptions of the practical and useful. Since the beauty of a landscape cannot be fully captured in a written description, the travel writer should resist any attempt. In making this argument, Campe echoes Lessing's argument in the Laocoön essay. The poetic, or in this case the descriptive, can by the nature of the medium only arrange ideas in succession, whereas the viewer has the ability, ostensibly unbroken and unitary, to comprehend the scene as a whole. He writes,

Nachdem ich den Gipfel . . . erreicht hatte, genoß ich einer Aussicht, die ich meinen jungen Lesern mahlen möchte, wenn ich nicht bemerkt hätte, daß alle wörtliche Mahlereien dieser Art ihren Zweck verfehlen, weil man die einzelnen Bilder, aus welchen eine solche Schilderung bestehen muß, nicht neben einander stellen kann, sondern auf einander folgen lassen muß, wobei die Einbildungskraft ermüdet, und es nicht leicht möglich findet, sie alle zu einem vollständigen Ganzen zu ordnen. (2:37)

Unable to organize completely the serial images of the description, the imagination of the reader tires. Campe is not suggesting that climbing a mountain peak, visiting a waterfall, or

museum are unworthy destinations, only that these are not fit for a “gemeinnützige Reisebeschreibung.” The reader receives no benefit. Nature and the natural world are to be beheld, but they should not be depicted in the written form.

Language, unable to render the landscape, should be reserved for descriptions of culture and industry. Campe places the limits of the linguistic at the painterly, never acknowledging that similar limits apply to cross-cultural comparisons. He never acknowledges that ethnographic writing was subject to similar restrictions, that the accounts he modified were themselves subject to the borders of the linguistic. Constructing a complete image of the scene tires the imagination, which fails to complete the image as it exists in reality. As we will see shortly, this also applies to cosmopolitan anti-imperialism itself.

II

The Other Abroad

Traveling Frontmen, or Putting Words in Their Mouths

When sitting down to read a travel narrative in the collection, the reader is advised to keep at hand a map of the places described. In two of the volumes, a map was bound into the back. By referencing these or other maps, the reader can begin to locate the islands, rivers and countries in his or her mind, developing a mental map of the world as the collection slowly makes its way to each corner of the globe. In this way, Campe envisions these works fulfilling a geographic purpose. Unlike the *Vorbericht* to the entire collection discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the *Einleitung* for the first account is addressed to his intended audience of youthful readers. Campe directs, even though he believes his readers already have a sense of the location of *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*, “sie noch einmahl auf der Karte nachzusuchen, damit euch die Lage derselben während meiner ganzen Erzählung, unverrückt vor Augen schwebe.”⁴⁶ The text is made complete by reference to a map, the prescriptive engagement with the text so central to the first two works in the series is continued here. A further example appears in the account of Commodore Byron’s voyage around the globe. The ship’s crew, needing fresh stores of food and water, seeks to land on an island and is turned away with threats of violence from the inhabitants. In response to this passage, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section in the context of Kant’s idea of hospitality presented in his essay “Zum ewigen Frieden” (1795), the reader is instructed to take “fünf Minuten Bedenkzeit”⁴⁷ to develop an argument as to whether Byron

⁴⁶ *Sammlung* 1:3.

⁴⁷ *Sammlung* 1:57.

and his men would be justified in using force to overpower the inhabitants and provision their vessel. This directed pause in the reading, which we have seen modeled by the listening children and the narrating Father earlier in the series, is echoed here. The works of the collection are not rendered for voyages of the imagination, for fantastic engagement with the exotic. To the contrary, they are tools presented as accurate and reliable for the development of knowledge about the world both physically and culturally.

In this section, I will examine Campe's authorial work in detail, illuminating first his construction of the texts, then proceed to illustrate the way the other is presented, ultimately highlighting passages in the accounts which draw comparisons between Campe's portrayal of Europe and the constructed others. In linking these, the *Sammlung* forges the universal space of the cosmopolitan. This space, occupied by the notions and concepts central to his pedagogy, is superior to the particulars of each society. Robinson's deserted island, itself an amalgam of New World settings where the individual could be perfected, is supplanted by the many cultures of the world. The target to be perfected here is humanity both in Europe and the periphery. In this respect, Campe's collection is emblematic of the Enlightenment's own teleologic view of world history. Working from an understanding of humanity as monogenetic – an idea not universally accepted at the time, but foundational in the thinking of Herder and Kant; Georg Forster is the most notable proponent of polygenesis⁴⁸ – Campe's collection simultaneously engages in "othering and brothering" the societies it presents.⁴⁹

To secure the confidence of his readers in the accuracy of the reports in his volumes, Campe details the multiple accounts consulted in crafting the version printed in his

⁴⁸ See Susan Meld Shell, *The Embodiment of Reason: Kant on Spirit, Generation, and Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 191-201. Cited in Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* 126.

⁴⁹ Samson, *Race and Empire* 27.

collection. He read multiple sources looking for the most interesting account and used it as the foundation for his retelling. This foundational report was then crosschecked with other accounts about the same region. This led to the occasional insertion of a passage from one of the consulted works when he felt it provided a more accurate or detailed description. In the account of his journey through Germany to Switzerland, Campe inserted a fourteen-page section from the *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen* (1783) about Mainz to his work.⁵⁰ Or, when the title explorer's account was not always to be trusted, Campe made certain to note this. In introducing *Le Vaillant's Reise in das Innere von Afrika* (1790 in French, 1792 in *Sammlung*), Campe noted, that “[d]ie unterhaltenden Abenteuer dieses Reisenden, an deren Bewährung uns im Grunde wenig liegt, mußte [er] natürlicher Weise auf der eigenen Glaubwürdigkeit des Mannes beruhen lassen.”⁵¹ However, Le Vaillant's reports “über das Land, über die Erzeugnisse desselben in den drei Naturreichen, und besonders über die Bewohner derselben, verglich [er] sorgfältig mit den Aussagen der Glaubwürdigsten unter denen, die, wie er, das Vorgebirge und die angrenzenden Länder bereiset und beschrieben haben.”⁵² Campe, hinting that Le Vaillant is perhaps not the most faithful reporter, noted that he amended Le Vaillant's report with the work of three others. Similarly, *Brydone's Reise durch Sicilien und Malta* (1773 first edition in English, 1789 in *Sammlung*) was compared to three other accounts. Campe, in describing his process of working out the disagreements between his four sources, noted that when two sources conflicted and he could find no clear reason to believe one over the other and the remaining two provided no assistance in settling the conflict, that he would include “die Aussage Beider . . . die eine im

⁵⁰ *Sammlung* 2:155-69.

⁵¹ *Sammlung* 10:iv.

⁵² *Sammlung* 10:iv.

Text, die andere in einer Anmerkung.”⁵³ This inability to find or reconstruct an empirical account permits Campe room for his own hypotheses.

Citing the works consulted appeased the contemporary audience’s desire for truthful, accurate reports. In the same way that the inclusion of and reference to maps created a veil of precision, the conscientious recounting of editorial decisions grants Campe sovereignty over the final product. While the title of an individual work names the traveler himself, the introductions Campe offered obscure this authorship. These three elements – the recommendation of maps, the mention of works consulted, and the explanation of editorial choices – promote a strategy which asserts these books as his own. He fixes the narratives getting the sources to say what he has deemed appropriate, nudging the scale in favor of his interpretation and program.

In the final paragraph of his preface to Brydone’s narrative, Campe proclaims himself “mehr den Abkürzer als den Geschichtsschreiber,” assuring us that “[s]eine jungen Leser würden unstreitig zu viel verloren haben, wenn [er] Das, was [er] ihnen mit Herrn Brydone’s Worten geben konnte, in eine andere Form für sie hätte umgießen wollen.” This, though, is immediately contradicted by the following admission: “Doch ist dies überall geschehen, wo ich es für nöthig hielt.”⁵⁴ He claims to have only written the narrative when necessary; otherwise he was a faithful reporter. This is a claim taken with extreme skepticism, as his hand and voice are found throughout these narratives. In his recasting of *Kapitän Wilson’s Schiffbruch bei den Pelju-Inseln* (1788 English original, 1791 in *Sammlung*), he had “die

⁵³ *Sammlung* 10:iv. The quote in full reads: “widersprachen Zwei oder Drei von ihnen einstimmig dem Vierten, so wurde die Aussage des Letzten verworfen, und die der Ersten an ihre Stelle gesetzt. Widersprachen sich hingegen nur Zwei unter ihnen, und fand ich bei den Uebrigen nichts, was der Bemerkung des Einen vor der des Andern einen höhern Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit geben konnte, so hielt ich mich nicht für berechtigt, zwischen ihnen zu entscheiden, sondern führte in diesem Fall die Aussage Beider an, die eine im Text die andere in einer Anmerkung.”

⁵⁴ *Sammlung* 7:vi.

englische Urschrift des Herrn Keates” in front of him and translated several passages of it, yet it served primarily “als Geschichtsquelle” so that he could freely align “die Stellung und die Einkleidung der Begebenheiten, so wie die eingestreuten Betrachtungen” with the aims of his collection.⁵⁵

The previous quotes are taken from prefaces to the individual works. In addition to these he also introduced each account more directly. He begins his retelling of Captain Cook’s first circumnavigation by providing background information on Cook’s career, the naturalists Banks and Solander, who accompanied Cook, the initial departure from England, and the first brief onshore visits to Madeira and Brazil. As this introduction concludes and the voyage moves toward Tahiti, Campe steps aside to allow Cook’s voice to continue the narrative, reserving for himself the right “von Zeit zu Zeit nur da in die Rede [zu] fallen, wo [er] für [s]eine jungen Leser ein Wort hinzufügen haben werde.”⁵⁶ In ceding the narrative voice to Cook at this point, Campe has already established his control over the text. Cook becomes a frontman who gives voice to Campe’s ideas. This channeling of Campe through the voice of the explorer is made explicit in the opening to *J. Carvers Reisen durch das Innere von Nordamerika* (1778, English original; 1788 in *Sammlung*): “Statt einiger abergläubischen Aeüßerungen, welche dem guten Herrn Carver entwischt waren, habe ich kein Bedenken getragen, ihm gerade das Gegentheil in den Mund zu legen.”⁵⁷ In this case, the insertion of Campe’s program into the work is complete. Statements that disagreed with his message are simply eliminated. In doing so, all effort to portray the collection as a faithful reproduction of the original works is undermined and becomes little more than a

⁵⁵ *Sammlung* 9:iv.

⁵⁶ *Sammlung* 5:50.

⁵⁷ *Sammlung* 4:iii.

sales pitch. This collection, worthy of extended attention not by virtue of its accurate depictions, but, quite the contrary, by virtue of its manipulation of the source material, captures German sentiments about the exotic world and establishes a relationship between Europe and the rest of the globe that demonstrates control, in a literary sense, over the textual spaces of the accounts and through this control constructs an image of the world that serves the purposes of Campe's pedagogy. The contact zone, transformed through textual manipulations, becomes the site at which this pedagogy takes place. Rather than being the place of "interlocking understandings and practices," it serves to show Europe's deviations.⁵⁸ Within the construct of Campe's narratives the explorer and the explored interact, but these interactions are distilled so as to emphasize the contrasts between the two worlds thrown into contact.

Guided Reflections

The stated purpose of Campe's collection is the improvement of his readers' *Welt- und Menschenkenntniss*.⁵⁹ Easily overlooked in this formulation is that this aim applied equally well to European societies. Beyond simply knowing where Lake Superior or Tahiti are on a map and gaining an appreciation of Native American or Tahitian culture, considerable commentary in the collection is devoted to relating, comparing and contrasting these distant and in many ways primitive cultures with Europe. That Campe used foreign cultures to critique Europe is by no means an innovation. One need think no further than Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), Lahontan's dialogue with a Huron, or the works of Diderot and Rousseau to realize this. Examining European practices through foreign cultures

⁵⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 7.

⁵⁹ *Sammlung* 1:iv-v.

is inherent to the travel genre, even when it only enters the text subliminally. Explorers' views of foreign cultures, restricted by their own experiences, can be made solely via comparison, whether explicit or implicit. Campe calls attention to these comparisons, directing his readers to consider points of convergence or divergence.

Frequently this takes the form of a general pronouncement introduced by "meine jungen Leser." The collective address serves to create an imagined community of readers in the sense that Benedict Anderson described, extending the narrative community featured in *Robinson der Jüngere* and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. It establishes a communal sense, focuses the reader's attention, and is then followed by a statement which affirms this community. A passage noting the prevalence of superstitions among Native Americans ends with just such a moment:

Meine jungen Leser werden immer mehr und mehr die Bemerkung gegründet finden, daß die Menschen in eben dem Grade geneigt zu allerlei Arten von Aberglauben und Alfanzereien sind, in welchem ihr Verstand noch kindisch, ungebildet und ununterrichtet ist; und sie werden es daher mit Recht für eine Art von Beschimpfung halten, wenn ein Betrüger oder ein Betrogener ihnen dergleichen Fratzen als wahr und glaubwürdig aufdringen sollte. (4:56)

The communal address supports the reader in following her/his own sense in coming to the belief. This is affirmed by "mit Recht . . . halten" in the middle of the passage. The reader's initial, solitary insight, led by the text to imagine others coming to the same conclusion, is strengthened. Ultimately, this formulation brings every reader to the same conclusion. The text, its source already tamed by the author's hand, completes a fantasy of complete control over the reader. Even passages that appear to cede autonomy to the reader are complicit in this fantasy.

As Captain Wilson and his crew finish preparations for their departure, the Peluans show the English a stand of coconut palms planted in their honor. The section concludes,

“[i]ch überlasse es hier meinen Lesern, das Feine und Edle in den Empfindungen, welche diese gutmüthigen Leute hier abermahls an den Tag legten, selbst zu würdigen.”⁶⁰ Rather than delivering the praise himself, the narrator seems to leave it to the reader. This, though, is merely a rhetorical ploy. What begins with an opening for reader analysis, closes with a prescription detailing precisely what is to be showered with effusive remarks. The reader’s attention is directed to the nobility of the Peliuans already in the opening of the narrative, when it is noted that a group of Peliuans, hoping to prevent any unfortunate conflicts with other islanders, volunteered to accompany the English as they salvaged items from the shipwreck. To this scene the narrator provides the following commentary: “Ich bitte meine jungen Leser, diese erste Aeüßerung einer wohlwollenden und menschenfreundlichen Denkart, welche sich in der Folge noch deutlicher entwickeln wird, nicht aus der Acht zu lassen.”⁶¹ This tasks the reader with a distinct purpose in examining this account. It focuses the presentation; these are not works that lead the reader to their own discoveries about humankind and its variety. There are, certainly, pages and pages of fascinating facts and section after section of details about diet, religion, rituals, etc. but the central tenet of greatest import about each society is declared by the narrator time and again. Yes, the reader can improve her/his knowledge of the world and its people, but this knowledge comes pre-packaged.

⁶⁰ *Sammlung* 9:134.

⁶¹ *Sammlung* 9:23.

Constructing the Other

This fantasy of authorial control, though, is less striking than the paragraph that immediately follows the previous quote. Directly after telling the readers not to let these first signs of charity and kindness fade from their minds, the next sentence begins: “Die Farbe dieser Leute war kupferbraun. Sie gingen durchaus nackt, ohne irgend eine Art von Bedeckung.”⁶² The passage continues describing their hair, height and build, and details their practice of spreading coconut oil on the skin, ending with teeth blackened from chewing betel leaves. The reader is, in unbroken succession, directed to notice the charity of the Peliuans and presented a series of signs of exoticness. This jarring juxtaposition is what makes the collection compelling for an investigation of the relationship between the particulars of a population cited in the text and the universal laws of humankind that these traits demonstrate.

Setting these directly next to each other – physical markers of difference and expressions of fundamental humanity – demands the reader’s attention, commanding to look beyond the external markers of otherness – which are made strikingly visible in these accounts – and to concentrate on actions that demonstrate common humanity. This intention is made explicit in a description of Hottentot hygiene. Before detailing the materials used in cleaning themselves, the narrator notes that all people, even “den allerrohesten und armseligsten,” have the desire “sich durch Putz zu verschönern.”⁶³ This is a universal trait, but the particular expression of this desire can take many forms, as the narrator explains: “Jedes Volk aber hat hierin seinen eigenen Geschmack, den andere Völker gemeiniglich

⁶² *Sammlung* 9:23. Campe’s version follows Keate’s original in this section, except significantly the original has no commentary on the events.

⁶³ *Sammlung* 10:101.

entweder lächerlich, oder gar abscheulich finden. Der der Hottentotten ist in unsern Augen dies im höchsten Grade; in den ihrigen ist es der unsrige vermuthlich nicht weniger.”⁶⁴ This prepares the reader to accept Hottentot use of cow dung and fat in bathing as particular iterations, even if we (the European narrator and reader) might find it disgusting or revolting, of a universal human need.

As the previous examples have demonstrated, moments of inclusion and exclusion appear in quick succession in these texts. This echoes the presentation of Hessian women discussed earlier. As with the description of the women, the Peluans and Hottentots are at once othered and recuperated. Their exoticness is presented and undermined, or conversely, undermined and then presented. The order of this presentation – first othered and then recuperated for the Hessian women; recuperated and then othered in the present cases – is telling for the fact that it unsettles the perception of the familiar, casting Germans as ugly and strange, before redemption is found in a definition of beauty based on *Verstand*, whereas with indigenous cultures an inclusive statement typically precedes the rehearsal of exotic tropes. What, though, are we to make of these signs of otherness? What function do they serve in these accounts?

These signs of otherness seek to establish these societies as perfect foils for European society. Maintaining the otherness of these people, portraying them as drastically different, provides the space within which to form a critique of Europe. The presentation of strange, odd, and from the text’s perspective, downright abhorrent customs preserves the cultural and temporal distance between the European center and the periphery, while at the same time the reasoned explanation of these unsettling customs bridges this divide. Customs are depicted as shocking, yet inherently human. Europe may have moved on from the basic state of

⁶⁴ *Sammlung* 10:101.

humanity found in these texts, but this is not seen unequivocally as progress. Clearly, the hierarchy of civilization established in the *Sammlung* places Europe on its own superior level, however the collection does not consider this position unassailable. In this respect, Campe's collection reflects ideas advanced by Herder in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-91). Herder's approach to world history conveys a similar critique of Europe and European colonial activity. Where Herder proposed a tentative history of humanity, seeking to detect the "general laws that indicate the workings of a benevolent divine spirit," Campe cited specific examples to support the core ideas of his pedagogy;⁶⁵ both, though, seek to identify traits that will demonstrate the potential for the *Vervollkommnung* of humanity. Herder's theory and Campe's collection are but two elements in the broader anti-imperialist discourse in German and European letters.⁶⁶

Colonial expansion, the beginning of the modern industrial age, and the enhanced wealth brought by these historical developments increased the opportunity for middle-class leisure, but this itself spawned, at least from Campe's perspective, a move away from the ethics of work, frugality and moderation. The presentation of the world's cultures in the texts of the *Sammlung* offers a counterbalance to this. It shows that happiness, satisfaction and even improved health can be found through the simplest of things. Europe, through the examination of humanity's past captured in these travel accounts, can find its way back to the path that nature and providence ordain. Europe can see the elements that will lead to true enlightenment and the fulfillment of humanity's potential.

⁶⁵ Wulf Koepke, *Johann Gottfried Herder* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987) 71.

⁶⁶ Several examples are provided in John K. Noyes, "Goethe on Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism: Bildung and the Dialectic of Critical Mobility," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39.4 (2006): 442-43. For a reading of Diderot's anti-imperialist stance, see Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* 72-121.

In situating these cultures as humble children of nature, it becomes possible to laud their simplicity and to commend their actions as true and just. These cultures, the texts assert, are products of nature's dictates and live in accord with the economy and thrift it demands. Europe, on the other hand, has moved away from the guiding spirit of nature and become the site of luxury, the home of intemperate consumption and misplaced priorities. The *Sammlung* highlights this contrast both directly and indirectly: directly, in that there are numerous passages, which will be discussed momentarily, explicitly comparing native and European practices; and indirectly, as we have just seen by undermining signs of otherness and extolling the encountered populations plain, untainted purity. Campe's collection supports and furthers the myth of the noble savage in this way, spreading the notion that human perfection is produced (or can be achieved) through intimate contact with the natural world.

The myth of the noble savage attributed in the 18th century to Rousseau – if not created by him⁶⁷ – doubtless played a prominent role in Campe's thought. Whatever the source of the myth or its connection to Rousseau, it is clearly operative in Campe's opening to Wilson's tale. The exotic subjects of this narrative are introduced as sterling examples of natural perfection. After the first reports of Tahiti had made their way back to Europe, many believed that the natural paradise populated by islanders perfected by nature and untainted by outside influences had been found. This belief, although originally supported by reports of Tahitian sexual liberty, faded as further explorers reported their interactions with the population. In fact, any mention of Tahitian sexual freedom, or of any sort of sexual

⁶⁷ The falsehood of this attribution is detailed in Terry Jay Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 1-8. Ellingson notes that the connection to Rousseau has been questioned in the literature for over seven decades, yet the linkage to him persists even though it has been shown that his writings do not demonstrate a particularly novel sentimentalization of the native.

relations, has been fully expunged from Campe's version of Cook's voyage. In the first account of the Peliuans, some two decades after the first European landing on Tahiti, Campe believes he has again found nature perfected in human form. The account begins:

Nachstehende Reisegeschichte gehört zu den anziehendsten und lehrreichsten, die ich kenne. Sie macht uns mit einem Volke bekannt, dessen Gesinnung, Sitten und Betragen unsere höchsten Begriffe von der ursprünglichen Güte der menschlichen Natur vollkommen zu rechtfertigen scheinen, indem sie uns das rührende Gemälde der unverderbten, aus ihrem eigenen Stoffe ganz natürlich entwickelten Menschheit darstellen, ohne alle künstliche Verfeinerung auf der einen, und ohne rohe Wildheit und Dummheit auf der andern Seite. Wir lernen also hier, wofern wir es noch nicht wußten, daß man recht sehr verständig, gesittet, menschlich gut und glücklich sein könne, ohne verfeinert, verzärtelt und üppig zu sein; und daß also Einfachheit und Natürlichkeit in Lebensart und Sitten, mit einer wohlangebauten Vernunft mit einem hohen Grade sittlicher Ausbildung recht sehr gut bestehen können. (9:3)

The Peliuans show, the text argues, natural development from within. This development grows from the root of innate human goodness and has taken place without ornament, luxury, or sophistication. Simplicity, reason and civilized manners, beyond being simply compatible, belong together. These are not only noble traits, but fundamental truths about human nature. This text affirms, by virtue of a perfect tautology, Campe's beliefs about humanity. As such, it and the Peliuans come to serve as exhibits in a European dispute. The fundamental truths about human nature revealed in this text issue a challenge to Europe. The Peliuan example should serve as "eine heilsame Lehre" for those who believe that it is impossible to educate the lowest classes of society without simultaneously making them incapable of work.⁶⁸ In this move, Campe reveals what is truly "lehrreich" about this account. The recounting of Wilson's shipwreck and the charity of the Peliuans becomes an extended opportunity to question European society.

⁶⁸ *Sammlung* 9:3.

This is demonstrated in the first moments of contact between the English and the Peliuans. As Wilson and his men show the Peliuans around their rudimentary encampment, it is apparent that these natives are in many ways exceptional. They possess the ability to understand and make sense of everything they are shown. Unlike other native populations which could muster only “ein vorübergehendes Staunen” when confronted with European materials, the Peliuans showed “einen Grad von Neugier, von Fähigkeit, etwas zu begreifen, und von Beurtheilungskraft, den man, so viel ich weiß, an Leuten ihrer Art noch niemahls wahrgenommen hat.”⁶⁹ They are driven “bei jeder neuen Sache, die sie erblickten, sich in eine genaue Untersuchung ein, und hörten nicht eher auf, zu forschen, bis man sie über die eigentliche Beschaffenheit und den Gebrauch der Dinge ordentlich belehrt hatte.”⁷⁰ The language of science (“Untersuchung,” “forschen”) employed here moves beyond initial curiosity (“Neugier”). This destabilizes the observer-observed relationship. The putative subjects of the narrative are themselves capable of analysis. These are not the usual subjects of exploration, who dumbly look on with no sign of understanding, but are shown to be active participants in the moment of discovery, concerned with knowing their counterparts. The English, shipwrecked and in need of assistance, are thrust into the position of subject. The Peliuans, after being described (othered) in Wilson’s account, turn the gaze onto the English, and attempt to determine if the whiteness of the English sailors’ hands is natural or a form of decoration.⁷¹ First, they examine their hands, then ask that the English push their sleeves back to reveal the skin underneath, and to finally complete their investigation, they request that some of the sailors expose their chests. This extended effort to establish that the

⁶⁹ *Sammlung* 9:25.

⁷⁰ *Sammlung* 9:25-6.

⁷¹ *Sammlung* 9:26

English were indeed as pale in color as their hands and faces showed, places the very sign that 18th-century racial theories forwarded as indicative of European superiority into question.

If we look briefly at a sketch of Kant's racial theory, we see a system that attributes variety and difference between peoples to the unique combination of four types descended from an original "stem genus."⁷² With no evidence to support his claim, Kant supposes that the "stem genus" was made up of white brunettes.⁷³ In proposing that white skin is the pure original and copper-red, black, and olive-yellow skin are derivative, it becomes clear that people with darker skin are more removed from the primary, stem category. Skin tone is also to an extent a function of climate. These in combination fuel the understanding of social groups, or the "observed" traits lead to the creation of these theories. The theorist and the explorer, like the theory and the observation are inextricably linked. With regard to Kant, though, Mark Larrimore notes, "while Kant's anthropology appears to disqualify non-whites from the work of civilization, Kant's ethics never thematizes the racial oppression other European thinkers harnessed to this ideal."⁷⁴ From this he concludes that Kant's thought displays a "fundamental quietism" toward the history of the human species.⁷⁵ Even if this is the case, it is nevertheless apparent that Kant's thinking supports the central precept of European superiority prevalent in the 18th century.

Campe's collection, decidedly less passive on the question of the historical development of the human species, prominently notes the skin color of encountered

⁷² For an analysis of Kant's racial theories and their inconsistencies, see Mark Larrimore, "Sublime Waste: Kant on the Destiny of the 'Races' " *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 25 (1999): 99-125.

⁷³ Larrimore quotes Kant, "We can't hope to find the original human form completely unchanged."

⁷⁴ Larrimore, "Sublime Waste" 100-1.

⁷⁵ Larrimore, "Sublime Waste" 125.

populations. We have seen it described in Hessian women and Pacific islanders, and it also appears, though not included in my discussion of these works, as Native Americans are first identified by skin color in Carver's report, New Zealanders likewise in Cook's, as well as the Hottentots by Le Vaillant (even though, he states that it is difficult to know exactly what it is on account of the fat and cow dung!).⁷⁶ Noting the skin color of a group invokes the conceptual hierarchies Kant constructed. Yet, at the same time the text injects a defense or an explanation for it. This is further enhanced by the scene in which the Peliuans inquire about English skin color.

This moment reverses the one-way street of observation; the contact zone, at least for this one moment, becomes a place of mutual investigation. Even if this destabilization is only slight and does little to challenge theories of racial classification, it nonetheless places European hegemony into question. This echoes Lahontan's use of Amerindians as the mouthpiece for criticism, Diderot's anti-imperialism discussed in the previous chapter, the stance of outsider assumed by Montesquieu in *Persian Letters*, and the critique of Europe in Herder's *Ideen*. In this shift, Campe positions the exotic world not as proving ground for European power, but as the site of European critique. In putting the whiteness of European skin to the test, all European systems of power are metaphorically probed. The visible, outward sign upon which theories of superiority are based, is questioned. In questioning this single fundamental sign, the text legitimates all avenues of inquiry it has pursued.

Reflecting on Europe

In the section that follows, I will present the moments when Campe's collection directly sets European practices in explicit comparison with its others: when Europe is

⁷⁶ See *Sammlung* 4:73, 6:56, 10:101.

questioned, when the reader is asked to think about what was just presented, and when the narrator urges his readers to model their behavior after the exotic example. The collection is absolutely replete with such moments, but it will only be necessary to present a small portion here to satisfyingly illustrate my argument.

The first such moment I wish to discuss occurs in the opening of Wilson's narrative. After providing the reader with the broad introduction to the Peliuans quoted above, the text moves to an assault on the degenerate state of Europe. It lambastes those who claim to know human nature only on the basis of the "Künste, Wissenschaften und gesellschaftliche Einrichtungen halb gebildeten, halb verbildeten und der Natur entrückten Europäer."⁷⁷ Clearly, the Enlightenment has not achieved or is not achieving what Campe desires. The European does not sit in a position of privilege, in fact the "Bücher, Akademien, gelehrte Zeitungen, Opern und Musenalmanache" do not absolutely and of themselves accomplish or demonstrate superiority. To the contrary, it is possible, the passage continues, that

wenn wir der reinen Bemerkungen unbefangener Beobachter über die sogenannten wilden Völkerschaften erst noch mehr gesammelt haben werden, wir am Ende uns zu dem bescheidenern Geständnisse genöthiget sehen, daß es der Mittel zur Entwicklung und Vervollkommnung der menschlichen Natur mehr gebe, als wir dachten, und daß diejenige Ausbildung, die wir selbst uns zu verschaffen gewußt haben, doch wol noch nicht das unübertreffbare Musterbild (Ideal) der Vollkommenheit für die menschliche Natur überhaupt genannt zu werden verdiene. (9:5)

It goes without saying that Campe is not truly interested in the "reine Bemerkungen" of impartial observers, but those that can be tilted to suit his purpose. Nevertheless, if we read this passage uncritically, it clearly presents the possibility that European dominance is not the unquestioned norm, that the present course Europe has set for itself is not unworthy of correction. "Ausbildung" in Europe, with this he indicts the misguided priorities of the entire

⁷⁷ *Sammlung* 9:4-5.

educational system, and the “Musterbild” are not in harmony. Europe has lost touch with the true dictates of nature and only through accounts of “wilde Völkerschaften” can this imbalance be shown and corrected. Without the careful study of these ethnographic depictions, Europe could easily continue down its current errant path. The collected accounts of the *Sammlung* are mustered to demonstrate this concretely and repeatedly, since as this passage contends, and the overwhelming popularity of ethnographies confirms, these accounts are vital to understanding humanity’s past and future. Campe’s service is to make them available and accessible to young and, as the introduction to Cook’s circumnavigation notes, old readers.

The collection proposes a different relationship between Europe and the colonial world, but even further it challenges colonial activity itself. The collection questions on multiple occasions the right of the “Herren Länderentdecker und Weltumsegler” to lay claim to lands that already have not only inhabitants but “eine Art von bürgerlicher Verfassung.”⁷⁸ Beyond simply questioning this practice, it is branded as an “allgewaltige Mode” that drives Europeans to change “Recht in Unrecht, und Unrecht in Recht” with nary a second thought.⁷⁹ Imperial expansion is self-legitimizing and insatiable. In identifying this as a *Mode*, Campe invokes a term that we first encountered in *Robinson der Jüngere*. In that case, he was constructing his text as an antidote to “Modebücher” that left the reader unnourished and lost in fantasy. I recall this here simply to note that while Campe’s texts were astoundingly popular, he envisioned himself fighting against the headwinds of popular culture.

⁷⁸ *Sammlung* 3:42. The quotes here are taken from *Birons Reise um die Erdkugel*, but similar can be found in *Vasko de Gama’s Reise nach Ostindien* (1:128-9). Looking back to *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, the Father comments on Balboa’s claiming of the Pacific Ocean for Spain (*Pizarro* 22-3).

⁷⁹ *Sammlung* 3:42.

Central to this battle are the concepts of simplicity and necessity, examples of which are, as expected, found in the collection. As Captain Cook made his way to the Pacific, he and his crew landed in Tierra del Fuego, and while the inhabitants might be among the most savage and live, in comparison with other indigenous groups, in a very raw state of subsistence, they are nevertheless comfortable and satisfied. The same cannot be said of Europeans:

Man muß freilich gestehen, daß das nicht viel ist; aber da die Besitzer desselben, als nur dieses, nöthig haben, um ihre Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen und vergnügt zu sein, so darf man wol behaupten, daß sie reicher als unsere reichsten Wollüstlinge sind, welche bei allen ihren Schätzen und Kostbarkeiten doch immer mehr Wünsche und Begierden haben, als sie damit zu stillen vermögen.
(5:38)

The desire for luxurious possessions, like the drive for colonies, is gluttonous and impossible to sate. If Campe had drafted a slogan it might have read: The more you acquire, the more you desire. This applies to treasures both decorative and geographic. Matt Erlin, developing ideas about fashion, print media and consumerism Dan Purdy raised in *The Tyranny of Elegance*, examines the position of the book in 18th-century consumer culture, noting that Campe argued against the “fetishization” of objects, since this dissolves them of their real world context and imbues them with an emotional, sentimental value that supersedes their practical, use value.⁸⁰ In portraying luxury goods and colonies as fetish objects, Campe’s collection forges a clear link between anti-imperialism and the ills of consumer culture decried here.

This preference for deeds over artifice, already demonstrated by Campe’s abstention from descriptions of curiosities in artistic collections and in his utilitarian perspective on the

⁸⁰ Erlin, “Book Fetish” 359. See also, Wurst, *Fabricating Pleasure*.

Rhine falls, is reinforced in the account of Carver's travels.⁸¹ The idea of money is completely foreign to the Indians Carver encounters and they are unable to comprehend, let alone accept, the injustices and hardships it engenders. When told that people in Europe lose their freedom due to debts and poverty, they express unfettered amazement and label those responsible for this "mit dem Namen von Wilden und Ungeheuern."⁸² They are unimpressed by the "Erzeugnisse der Kunst" and have no interest in either their construction or purpose, but when someone tells stories about a person, who can run very fast, who can draw a heavy bow with ease, who knows the way through deep and untracked woods, or who can travel great distances with absolutely no food and little water, then the Native Americans are "ganz Ohr, und sie bezeigen dem Gegenstande davon so viel Ehrerbietung, als wir Europäer Demjenigen, von welchem wir etwa hören, daß er aus einem alten Geschlechte entsprungen sei, und prächtige Häuser, Hausgeräthe, Gärten und sehr viel unnützes Gold und Silber habe."⁸³ The contrast is clear. Europe is fascinated with things, objects, and junk (an anachronistic, yet apt term); the native is enthralled by skills, deeds, and achievements. The text, as I expect my reader anticipates, explicates this difference, asking:

Wer ist hier der Vernünftigere, und wer der Barbar? Der Indier, der nur auf persönliches Verdienst und nützliche Fertigkeiten, oder der Europäer, der mehr auf eingebillete Vorzüge des Zufalls und auf verdienstlose und überflüssige Besitzungen sieht? Der Verstand des jungen Lesers mag sich diese Frage selbst beantworten. (4:91-2)

The reader is unavoidably led to the conclusion that the European is the savage. Unlike scenes discussed in the previous chapter from the *Entdeckung von Amerika* series where

⁸¹ Campe sees no point in detailing "die vielen künstlichen Uhren, goldenen und silbernen Gefäße und Werkzeuge und die vielen andern unnützen Kostbarkeiten, welche die Kunstkammer des Museums enthält" (2:89).

⁸² *Sammlung* 4:91.

⁸³ *Sammlung* 4:91.

Spanish violence led the Father to call the explorers barbarians and savages, this passage places *Vernunft* and barbarism in contrast. The text does not ask the reader to view European actions in the colonial world as inhuman, but compares native and European customs, finding reason and rationality at home in the foreign. This inversion destroys not only the idea that knowledge flows exclusively from Europe to the colony, disabling a narrative central to Enlightenment-era expansionism, furthermore it establishes a reversed pedagogy. It becomes, in this particular moment, impossible to speak of these texts supporting the fantasy of pedagogical colonialism Susanne Zantop identified. Beyond the chance that Europe is degenerate, seen in the opening to Wilson's narrative, the text argues here that this is unmistakably the case. Europe is inferior to the native. Recuperation is possible, but this requires Europe to learn from the foreign example and to begin training in physical skills and sense awareness so that it might be able to match the achievements of the native.

In *Pizarro*, when the Father asks the listening children to consider submitting themselves to the tests of the Inca, he directs them to form these comparisons in their minds.⁸⁴ The Inca serve as a hypothetical point of evaluation. In the *Sammlung*, however, the native example is a concrete model from which the reader can learn how significantly Europeans fall short of the natural ideal:

Auch in diesem Betracht ist es sehr lehrreich, Beobachtungen über sie [die Indier] anzustellen; weil wir daraus lernen können, bis zu welchem Grade der Vollkommenheit unsere sinnlichen Werkzeuge sich verbessern lassen, wenn wir in der Kindheit sie nur gehörig zu üben suchen. Unsere feinen und gesitteten Landsleute in den höhern Ständen, besonders in großen Städten, wo man, der eingeschränkten und unnatürlichen Lebensart wegen, die man da führt, fast durchgängig kurzsichtig, und strumpf an den meisten Sinnen ist, würden, mit diesen weitsehenden, scharfriechenden und feinhörenden Wilden zusammengehalten, einen beschämenden Abstich machen. (4:86)

⁸⁴ The children are instructed "euch im Gedanken zusammenstellen" (*Pizarro* 111).

The use of “Wilde” at the end of this passage serves to underscore Europe’s deficit, pointing up their achievements as a way of criticizing the hyper-cultured, who have removed themselves from nature. On the following page, the text provides a detailed guide to training the five senses, directing readers to exercise their eyes in open areas, to train their hearing by listening and identifying whispers, etc. Cook’s narrative provides a similar admonition, noting “wie weit man es durch Lust und Anstrengung in jeder Art von Fertigkeit bringen könne, wenn man sich einmahl festen Sinnes vorgenommen hat, in Dem, was man treibt, nicht mittelmäßig bleiben zu wollen.”⁸⁵ A strikingly similar passage is found in the report of Le Vaillant’s voyage, in which the narrator (ostensibly Le Vaillant) explains how he had learned to sharpen his senses from watching the Hottentots. If someone wishes “wahre Vervollkommnung” and to work toward “einem recht brauchbaren und glücklichen Leben,” she or he need only follow his instruction and train “durch jede Art von zweckmäßiger Uebung.”⁸⁶ This will cultivate an ability to deal with all situations and to help those “von stumpfern Sinnen und von schlafferem Beobachtungsgeiste.”⁸⁷ Developing these abilities is good for the individual and the society. It reconnects the denatured European to their environment, making them more aware and attuned to the knowledge it contains.

The collection does not in any way advocate an unqualified return to nature. The reverse pedagogy is not absolute and there are ways in which Europe and the exotic should and must diverge. The European can turn to the native for inspiration in training the body and the senses, but in other matters the native helps illustrate universal principles that need to be adjusted for the European context. In these cases, particular elements from the native

⁸⁵ *Sammlung* 5:102.

⁸⁶ *Sammlung* 10:146.

⁸⁷ *Sammlung* 10:146.

world either cannot or should not be replicated. In these instances, the collection urges the creation in Europe of a system that conforms to the spirit of the universal, yet remains appropriate for the actual conditions.

In presenting Native American governmental structure, the account discusses the many benefits of “die schöne und milde Regierungsform der Indier” and explains in depth the reasons it suits their situation.⁸⁸ This provides an opportunity for the reader to consider whether this would work in Europe. The answer clearly is no, but in giving this answer the text explains why “eine befehlende Macht” is necessary and why “hier muß nothwendig gehorcht werden.”⁸⁹ In doing so it points to the universal principle that should guide any form of government. Indians have a greater sense of “Gemeingeist” and “Vaterlandsliebe” because of their limited needs and possessions. Europeans, on the other hand, because of insatiable desires and their attachment to objects, are more likely to express “Eigennutz” and are, therefore, less likely and less willing to work toward “das gemeine Beste.”⁹⁰ Even further, the size and complexity of European states creates innumerable constituencies that look to protect their interests, honor, or comfort.⁹¹ Without directly stating it, the text advances the idea that a good citizenry is in tune with the needs of the state and subjugates its

⁸⁸ *Sammlung* 4:102.

⁸⁹ *Sammlung* 4:102.

⁹⁰ *Sammlung* 4:101.

⁹¹ *Sammlung* 4:102. The passage in full reads: “Dort können tausend Dinge angeordnet werden und geschehen, ohne daß ein Einziger dadurch beeinträchtigt wird; bei uns hingegen kann nicht die kleinste Sache vorgenommen und ausgeführt werden, ohne daß bald hier, bald dort Einer, bald an seinen Vermögen, bald an seiner Ehre, bald an seiner Bequemlichkeit dadurch gefährdet wird.”

wishes to the commonweal. Europe, as yet failing this – the pedagogy of this text notwithstanding, must necessarily be led by a “gesetzgebende Gewalt.”⁹²

This same ethos pervades native child-rearing practices. As soon as a child is able to move about on its own, the mother permits it to wander freely. For this reason, Carver’s account notes it is common to see children “völlig nackt ins Holz, ins Wasser, in den Koth und in den Schnee laufen, ohne das jemand darum bekümmert.”⁹³ No restrictions are placed on their movement and on account of this they develop great strength and the ability to withstand extremes of temperature. Le Vaillant’s travel description documents a similar practice in Southern Africa, whereby the child placed “vor der Hütte auf die Erde neider, wo es dann nach Gefallen umherkriecht und seine Glieder gebrauchen lernt.”⁹⁴ Europeans, though are not as fortunate. In all of his travels, Le Vaillant never found “einen Hinkenden oder Buckligen” in Africa, noting rather, “[u]m diese zu sehen, muß man nach Europa reisen.”⁹⁵ This is attributed to the “schädlichen Gängelbändern und Laufwagen” that artificially seek to help children develop motor skills. The texts do not advocate duplicating this devil-may-care style, since European society demands a more rigid hand, which is explicated in a passage concerning discipline. Native Americans, it seems, need only “Bitten und Ermahnungen, um sie von ihren Fehlern zu bessern, niemahls aber Drohungen und Züchtigungen, weil man den Grundsatz hegt, daß kein Mensch das Recht habe, einen andern zu zwingen.”⁹⁶ As we have just seen in the discussion of governance, this is in accord with

⁹² *Sammlung* 4:102.

⁹³ *Sammlung* 4:93.

⁹⁴ *Sammlung* 10:107.

⁹⁵ *Sammlung* 10:107.

⁹⁶ *Sammlung* 4:94.

the general order of Native American society. The passage continues, noting that this would not work in Europe:

Meine jungen Leser begreifen von selbst, daß dieser Grundsatz nur unter freien Wilden, nicht aber in ordentlich eingerichteten Staaten, richtig sei, und sie werden es daher nicht sonderbar finden, daß sie selbst nach andern Grundsätzen erzogen werden. (4:94)

It almost goes without saying, the quote seems to begin. Nevertheless, the opportunity is taken to underscore the fundamental difference between the natural society of the exotic and ordered European society. There is a brief moment in this quote, when the text starts to apologize for its authoritarian pedagogy, but backs away, justifying its rigidity. Were Europe to recover some of its distance from nature, then a gentler, natural pedagogy would be appropriate. This though is not the case; the very pedagogy of Campe's texts negates this.

The self-negating loop of the text's pedagogy can also be seen in a presentation of the diets of New Zealanders and Native Americans. In the case of the latter, their diet is very plain without any use of salt or spices. This is seen as a strength, since the lack of these or other items that Europeans hold to be necessary for life, the examples here are telling, such as "Thee, Kaffee, Wein, Bier, Gewürze und hundert andere Leckereien" are not missed and do nothing to harm their health.⁹⁷ Similarly, New Zealanders do not suffer from a lack of dietary variety. They have, it seems, no beverage other than water: "Ein Mittel, sich zu berauschen, scheinen sie gar nicht zu haben, und in diesem Punkte sind sie glücklicher, als irgend eins von allen mir bekannten Völkern."⁹⁸ Like Native Americans, the lack of any drink other than water in its purest form is to their benefit. They are free from the polluting influence of alcohol and debilitating drinks like coffee and tea. They remain even in old age

⁹⁷ *Sammlung* 4:105-6.

⁹⁸ *Sammlung* 6:64-5.

(determined by the lack of teeth and hair) strong, unlike “wie bei uns die Alten sind.”⁹⁹ This is followed by an address to the young reader:

Junger Leser! Scheint Gesundheit, scheinen langes Leben, Befreiung von körperlichen Schmerzen, Heiterkeit und Fröhlichkeit dir wünschenswürdige Güter zu sein, so lerne hier abermahls, wie du dich derselben bemächtigen kannst. Lebe – nicht gerade wie ein roher Neuseeländer – aber doch, so weit es einem gesitteten Menschen in angebauten Ländern möglich ist, der Natur gemäß, einfach mäßig, arbeitsam! Dies ist das untrügliche Mittel dazu. Verschmähe also alle erkünstelte Genüsse; schränke dich auf das Nothwendige, Einfache und Natürliche ein; fliehe die üppigen Vergnügungen, und gewöhne dich zu einer rastlosen körperlichen und geistigen Thätigkeit. Die Geschichte aller Zeiten und aller Völker lehrt, daß dieses Mittel, zur Beförderung der Gesundheit an Leib und Seele, ganz untrüglich sei. – (6:65-6)

With this the pedagogical loop of the collection and the entire three-work series is closed.

The lessons of *Robinson* reaffirmed, the admonition concludes by limiting the function of all histories and cultural comparison. Restricted within the pedagogical, the collected societies of the travel narratives become little more than emblems for reflection. Or does this oversimplify this relationship? Is there something greater to be learned from the *Sammlung*? Does it aspire to a notion of the cosmopolitan? This will be the focus of the next section of this chapter.

Before moving on, let us briefly reconsider the rigidly utilitarian function of travel conveyed in Campe’s account of his voyage to Switzerland and set this against the presentation of exotic societies in the remainder of the *Sammlung*. In doing this we can better understand the relationship of the text’s authoritarian pedagogy and the expansiveness of the collection. How do we reconcile these? Campe’s voyage, couched as a medical necessity, restricts the focus of the traveler to the practical, eliminating reports on landscapes and aesthetic monuments. The purpose of travel, and by extension travel writing, is not to transcend the local and be transported to new worlds, but to examine the places visited

⁹⁹ *Sammlung* 6:65.

looking for traits that will lead, through comparison, to the discovery of universal principles. More broadly, Campe's collection functions as an extended tutorial in this method of investigation. The tight grip exerted on the reader's understanding of key moments in the accounts serves to highlight these discoveries of the universal in the particular. The multitude of locations and the globe-spanning reach of the collected works provides a literal world of possibilities for unlocking the universal secrets of humanity that are at home in people with brown, black, copper, or oil-smearred skin.

III

Cosmopolitan Anti-Imperialism

In his recent monograph *Enlightenment against Empire*, Sankar Muthu traces anti-imperialist strains in late 18th-century thought. His reading of the work of Diderot and Rousseau informed my discussion of Campe's *Entdeckung* series in the preceding chapter. I turn to him again here, engaging his presentation of Kant's and Herder's views on imperialism as a means of contextualizing the *Sammlung*'s ambivalent stance toward colonial expansion. Campe's collection, by virtue of the cross-cultural comparison written into the narratives, mimics these philosophers' use of travel narratives. Kant and Herder read the bounty of travelogues searching the narratives for keys to understanding humanity. Where Campe constructs these accounts to guide reflections on Europe and society, Kant and Herder drew on travel narratives, distilling from them theories that offered their views on humankind. These twin purposes underscore the centrality of travel to the 18th century with Campe's collection providing a guided introduction to foreign societies that would also be discussed or were being discussed in philosophical and anthropological treatises. Cultural literacy, these texts assert, expected fluency in the shorthand of ethnographic description, the ability to place Hottentots, Tahitians, New Zealanders, and Tierra del Fuegians both in the world and in the semiotics of cultural difference.

Released semi-annually in tune with the major book fairs, Campe's collection (1785-93) was published in the same timeframe that Kant and Herder were most pointedly engaged in deciphering connections between the world's societies. Kant's "Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht" (1784), *Zum ewigen Frieden* (1795) and *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (1797) bookend the release of the collection, while Herder's *Ideen zur*

Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (1784, 1785, 1787, and 1791) appeared congruently with the *Sammlung*. Coincidence of publication is itself not in any way absolutely probative or dispositive, but it forms at least on a temporal basis a connection between these works. What the remainder of this section will demonstrate, if only in very broad strokes, are the intellectual links between Campe and these two luminaries.

Travel narratives are inherently biased. Interactions with the foreign world and the description of these interactions are limited by the knowledge of the travelers that produce them. Travelers and the accounts they produce are inextricably linked to networks of knowledge from the home country. Readers of travel narratives are linked into this network, their ideas feed back into the world of the explorer, altering the perception of the traveler, which then shifts the presentation in the narrative, this loop continuing on ad infinitum. Kant, Herder and Campe are all participants in this circuit.

Kant has long been considered the key figure in transforming cosmopolitanism from the idealized concept inherited from antiquity into a formal moral right.¹⁰⁰ Muthu identifies the foundation of Kant's cosmopolitanism as a belief in the fundamental cultural agency of all societies. As cultural agents each group makes choices about the structure and form of their society. This position disarms classic noble savagery ideology, which deprives cultures of agency by framing them as inherently natural. Campe's collection, as I have noted, makes use of the tension developed between noble savagery and cultural agency. As equal agents on the world stage, from a moral perspective the question of assumed superiority is no longer operative. Kant's contradictory position on race notwithstanding, the assertion of equal cultural agency undercuts one of the primary rationales for imperialism: the notion that

¹⁰⁰ Anthony Pagden, "Stoicism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Legacy of European Imperialism," *Constellations* 7.1 (2000): 15.

Europeans were the sole actors of civilization, while the rest of humanity merely existed according to natural laws. The tension maintained in Campe's travel narratives between the portrayed societies as cultural actors and their closeness to nature, echoes the tension inherent to Kant's anthropological writings on race and his philosophical positions on cultural agency.

Herder has traditionally been viewed as an early nationalist, as a thinker who emphasized the contrasts between societies, and a proponent of pluralism. Muthu, however, argues that Herder's doctrine of incommensurability, the idea that each society has its own unique center of happiness, is an expression of his deep respect for the "diverse flourishing of human reason and freedom from individual to individual and from people to people."¹⁰¹ In this respect, Herder does not counsel the privileging of universal traits over the particular, but views them as closely enmeshed. This coincides beautifully with Appiah's definition of cosmopolitanism "as two strands that intertwine." Herder's idea of incommensurability leads to an acknowledgment of the impossibility of impartial judgment. The narrow window of a particular system of values does not open wide enough to see the reasons of the other. Our own cultural frame imposes an epistemological haze which is translucent, yet ultimately ineradicable. This is the trap by which Campe's collection is ensnared. When looking at the other, all that we ultimately see is ourselves.

Returning to a scene from Commodore Byron's circumnavigation mentioned in passing earlier will help illustrate the connection between cultural agency, anti-imperialism, and the limits of the cosmopolitan. Commodore Byron and his men are faced with a vexing decision—the question is also posed to the reader—about the use of force in acquiring sorely needed supplies. Every attempt the sailors made to land on the island was met with fierce protestations from the inhabitants. The account describes several efforts to convince the

¹⁰¹ Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* 212.

islanders of the crew's peaceful intentions, but these are all to no avail. The situation, seemingly on the path to conflict, leads to the following commentary:

Man fühlte sich zwar geneigt, dieses ungestfreundliche Verfahren zu mißbilligen; aber wenn man weiß, wie die gesitteten Europäer sich bisher gegen diejenigen Wilden, deren Land sie eigenmächtiger Weise in Besitz nahmen, zu verfahren pflegten, so kann man es diesen Leuten doch nicht übel nehmen, daß sie solche gefährliche Gäste von sich abzuhalten suchten, und ein menschenfreundliches Herz kann nicht umhin, ihnen Glück zu wünschen, daß die Natur selbst ihr kleines Eiland für jeden ungerechten Eroberer unzugänglich machte. (3:56)

The lens through which each side in this interaction views the situation is colored by their experiences. On its face this passage appears unmistakably anti-imperialist. European violence and claims made on the land are viewed negatively, the history of European action in the world is summarized in brief. This, however, is not what sets this passage apart from similar commentary on European behavior in the colonial world. This openly anti-imperialist stance masks a tacit permissiveness imbedded in the choice of "ungerecht" to describe "Eroberer." The narrator wishes that the island stay closed to unjust conquerors, but this does not exclude the possibility of others who might at some future point be justified in taking the land for whatever unspecified reasons. This, of course, leaves the door open for the "pedagogical colonialism" Zantop described. The conflict portended in this scene is averted, as the ship, unable to find any anchorage that would allow the provisioning to be carried out, sails onward.

Lingering by this scene for a few moments longer, pausing to consider the implicit connection between it and the right to hospitality sketched by Kant in *Zum ewigen Frieden*, leads to the idea that moments of contest and conversation, even if it takes place via animated gestures, are inevitable. Working from the perspective that contact with other cultures is unavoidable and that possession of any portion of the

globe was initially arbitrary, Kant sees no defensible right to summarily deny anyone access to a piece of land.¹⁰² The fundamental right to *Gastfreundschaft* provides a framework for negotiating and settling conflicts similar to the one narrowly avoided in the previous scene. This right is not absolute; it comes with defined restrictions: the visitor can enter a territory only as far as is needed to satisfy needs while also not impinging on the needs of the inhabitant. Conversely, the inhabitant can only close territory to a visitor if doing so does not harm the traveler. In the scene from Byron's voyage around the world, we know (from our privileged position as readers) that the refusal by the islanders did no harm. This determination is significantly more difficult from the perspective of the islander, than it is from the sailor's vantage point. In this respect, Kant's idea, though philosophically valuable, for it recognizes the agency of all parties, is of limited value in actual practice. The limit here is similar to the limit of the cosmopolitan conversation. Each member of a society has to find his/her own level of comfort when balancing the competing interests of the particular and the universal. How does this balancing act find equilibrium? Can a compromise between the two ever be struck?

The ideas that Herder and Kant outline, in conjunction with this passage from Campe's collection, provide a resounding no. The best that a cosmopolitan education can hope to achieve is knowledge and awareness of the limits of a particular worldview. Campe's collection engages in this project by tasking travel writing as an exclusively pedagogical media. Taking to the road allows the traveler to potentially encounter the boundaries of his/her own frame of reference, but this is also

¹⁰² The spherical shape of the earth places limits on our ability to move away from each other, since inevitably all migrations away must at some point lead back to the starting point. See Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* 192-3.

unnecessary. An awareness of these limits can be better achieved, Campe's texts propose, through the reading of travel accounts crafted with this aim in mind. As I argued in the first section of this chapter, the limits that Campe places on descriptive language, the inability to fully capture a landscape in textual form, points, however, to the limit of the text's control over its readers. Invoking the impossibility of capturing a landscape in written form, invariably brings an image of this indescribable scene to the reader's mind. This image, once lodged in the imagination, begins to chip away at the structures of control built into the text.

Once the erosion of these structures begins, their complete destruction is inevitable. In a fundamental way, this is the inescapable problem, the irresolvable tension of the *Sammlung* and the two works in the series that preceded it. As text these works are caught within the indeterminate web of language. The printed word aims at a target, but the nature of language and the arbitrariness of the relationship between signifier and signified, as we know from Saussure, resists absolute determination. This is a problem as intractable as the conflict between two sets of particular values and needs thrown into contact on a tiny speck of land somewhere in the Pacific. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I turn to the even thornier problem of the introduction of illustrations to Campe's texts.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: Unruly Images, or What about the Nineteenth Century?

Books have long histories; this bit of conventional wisdom is certainly appropriate for a discussion of Campe's work. Throughout this dissertation, I have examined these texts within their immediate context and within the maelstrom of discourses prevalent in the eighteenth century. By necessity, this ignores their long publication history into the nineteenth century and in the case of *Robinson der Jüngere*, the twentieth century. A few brief reflections on this will be the subject of the following pages.

In his short essay on the "alte vergessene Kinderbücher" in Karl Hobrecker's collection, Walter Benjamin lauds the collector for recognizing the cultural value in literature for young readers. What had been viewed as a source for bindings and backing was rescued and by the act of collecting given a new context and history. Benjamin reads this collection in his essay, probing it for information about the interaction between book and reader. There is only a single work of Campe's in the collection, *Robinson der Jüngere*, naturally. Not a rare first edition of the text from 1779—there are very few works in Hobrecker's collection from the 18th century—but a copy of the 40th edition of the text from the house of Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn, the firm headed by Campe's son-in-law. Released in 1848, this edition was not a simple reprinting but a new, fully illustrated version of Campe's venerable text. There were editions, beginning in the first decades of the 19th century, that had a number of images

but this version of the book, a radical new departure, featured over fifty full-page illustrations of the story. This edition would remain the standard version of the text throughout the 19th century.¹

In a move typical of his style, Benjamin initially commits the earliest German children's books to the dustbin of history, noting that "ihre Trockenheit, selbst Bedeutungslosigkeit für das Kind" makes them unworthy of consideration. After noting the even greater faults of contemporary children's literature and its "trostlose verzerrte Lustigkeit," he provides his view of what children crave in a text. Children desire "deutliche und verständliche, doch nicht kindliche" books, they certainly do not want what adults themselves believe is childlike.² What redeems the early work of German children's literature, here Benjamin specifically mentions Basedow's *Elementarwerk*, is the earnestness of their undertaking. Children, he notes are able to appreciate serious subjects, even when these may seem remote and heavy, "wenn er nur aufrichtig und unreflektiert von Herzen kommt."³ Campe's work is, in this respect, exemplary. The material that he handled was not separate and apart from the most popular reading material of the era. Campe's chosen material—the Robinson legend, Spanish conquistador tales from the New World, and the truly *aktuell* reports of all sorts of voyages at sea and on land—was not any different than what might have been found on the desk of Forster, Kant, or Herder. Sure, the iteration of the material was, more or less, particular to Campe's intended audience, a matter which

¹ The *Verlagskatalog* of Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn lists the 118th edition from 1896 as an "illustrierte Jubiläums-Prachtausgabe. Mit einem Bildnis des Verfassers und zahlreichen Abbildungen nach Zeichnungen von Ludwig Richter und Johs. Gehrts." The 119th edition from 1897 is a "kleine illustrierte Ausgabe. Mit 37 Illustrationen in Holzstich nach Zeichnungen von Ludwig Richter." Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn, *Verlagskatalog von Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn in Braunschweig, 1786-1911* (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg & Sohn, 1911) 61.

² Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972) 15.

³ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:15.

attracts Benjamin's derision. The long-winded emphasis on "den 'Nutzen' aller Dinge" and the encyclopedic spirit that inhabits these works is bothersome and tedious to him.⁴ Without doubt this observation applies to Campe's writing and its incessant need to anchor items and information in a specific context. What Benjamin finds most redemptive of Basedow's and later all children's work are their illustrations. It is at this point that Campe's texts in their original printings and the edition found in Hobrecker's collection have their greatest divergence.

Campe's work was from the start not devoid of images. *Robinson der Jüngere* was first printed with a pair of engravings. The first shows the narrative family, complete with knitting and baskets at hand, assembled around the Father leaning against a tree, onto which a map of the Caribbean is affixed. The second is the iconic image of Robinson fully outfitted with his hatchet and spear, leggings, jacket, hat, and parasol accompanied by a llama with fully-laden packbaskets. The remaining two works under discussion in this dissertation contained *Titelkupfer*, maps, and only *one* image in their earliest printings. Each work in the *Entdeckung von Amerika* series had a map appended to the text and there were maps with the course of the voyages marked on them in the several volumes of the *Sammlung*. The lone engraving found in this text is a portrait of a New Zealander found in the report of Cook's circumnavigation. Save for this and the single engraving of Robinson in his llama suit, the only visual representation of the overseas world is restricted to the rational lines of the cartographer, which attach names to outlines on a map. Of the thousands of pages in these works, there are only three engravings! Why?

⁴ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:16.

To answer this, I return to Benjamin's observations. He writes, the illustration "entzog sich der Kontrolle der philanthropischen Theorien, und schnell haben über die Köpfe der Pädagogen hinweg Künstler und Kinder sich verständigt."⁵ Images resist the control of the text and the pedagogue who created it, they form a space free and open into which the imagination can wander. Colored lithographs inspire a passive dreamlike "kindliche Phantasie."⁶ Black and white illustrations, unlike their "farbige" counterparts, bring the child to action. The colorless, empty space of the image ignites language, "das Kind dichtet in sie hinein."⁷ The child scribbles on it, literally filling it in and develops its own "hieroglyphic" script. Benjamin notes, "keine anderen Bilder führen wie diese das Kind in Sprache und Schrift ein."⁸ Herein lies the danger and one that Campe seems to have recognized. As this dissertation has argued, control of the material and the child's understanding of it is central to Campe's project. The allure of the exotic is harnessed and tamed within its structure. An abundance of images would erode the power of the text. If children were to imagine their way into the story, it should be through the first image that appeared in *Robinson*, the Father and his children gathered for a story. The title page of the 1848 edition is set on the page in an ornately primitive frame and shows Robinson and Freitag lounging in a lush, paradisaal setting complete with resting llamas and a small stream coursing over a rock into a calm pool. This image, a product of the illustrator's imagination, undercuts the distance and anti-sentimentality written into Campe's text.

⁵ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:17.

⁶ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:20.

⁷ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:20.

⁸ Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften* 3:21. Benjamin refers to the script of the child as "Hieroglyphik."

The creation of such an image, though, is both beyond the bounds of the texts' pedagogy and beyond the reach of the pedagogue's control. As this dissertation has demonstrated, Campe's work sought to control the interaction with the "heroic" explorer, the world of exploration, and more generally with the book itself as a commodity. Campe's texts are laden with layers of narrative devices that seek to contain and tame the material, to prevent the child from becoming lost in the adventure and flights of imagination. These devices, I have argued, draw the domestic and the foreign into a dialectic relationship that is, and by the very nature of the tensions inherent in the encounter, must be obscured by the familiar. From this perspective, Campe's texts brilliantly reflect the impossibility of escaping this trap. Enlightenment norms reappear in every corner of the world, because this is the lens through which they are seen. What can be escaped, perhaps, even what must be escaped are the strictures built into Campe's work.

Failure is ultimately the destiny of all regimes of control. The long life of Campe's work could not escape this fact. In the end, the fears of the Enlightenment pedagogue are well founded. The attempt to expunge sentimental fantasies of identification through "true" tales of human achievement is broken like so many ships that set off from Europe in search of distant shores.

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