



Western Washington University
Western CEDAR

Western Libraries Faculty and Staff Publications

Western Libraries and the Learning Commons


2003

Goethe as a Catalyst for Germanistik at Harvard, 1825-1945

Michael P. Olson

Western Washington University, mike.olson@wwu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://cedar.wwu.edu/library_facpubs

 Part of the [Cultural History Commons](#), and the [Library and Information Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Olson, Michael P., "Goethe as a Catalyst for Germanistik at Harvard, 1825-1945" (2003). *Western Libraries Faculty and Staff Publications*. 35.

https://cedar.wwu.edu/library_facpubs/35

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Western Libraries and the Learning Commons at Western CEDAR. It has been accepted for inclusion in Western Libraries Faculty and Staff Publications by an authorized administrator of Western CEDAR. For more information, please contact westerncedar@wwu.edu.

Goethe as a Catalyst for *Germanistik* at Harvard, 1825-1945

Michael P. Olson, *Harvard University*

Harvard, as much as any other American university, was the starting point for *Germanistik*. This was not predetermined, however. In fact, early on, *Germanistik* at Harvard resembled the meals served to the College's students. If we look at the situation at Harvard approximately 250 years ago, *Germanistik* in New England, like the phrase *student food*, was rather a contradiction in terms. Students could neither study German systematically 250 years ago, nor could they enjoy what was meant to be food. As one unfortunate student said:

The Provisions were badly cooked .. the Soups were dreadful we frequently had Puddings made of flower and Water and boiled them so hard as not to be eatable we frequently threw them out and kicked them about.
(Morison, *Three Centuries* 117)

Some forty years later, in 1788, further displeasure was reported at the breakfast hall: "Bisket, tea cups, saucers, and a KNIFE thrown at the tutors" (175).

Who knows today whether bad meals drove the Harvard students to such mischief or, on the other hand, the relative lack of *Lernfreiheit*? Whatever the reason, by the middle of the 19th century dining at Harvard had obviously improved the students' spirits. For example, the annual supper for the class of 1860 featured Bremen goose and Bremen ducks (Morison, *Three Centuries* 318). Was it just a coincidence that *Germanistik* at Harvard gained in prominence during the same period?

Goethe's interest in Harvard launched the discipline of *Germanistik* in North America. Conditions 200 years ago were right for the transfer of German models and influences to American education. John Quincy Adams was not only a Harvard alumnus and the sixth American president, but America's first ambassador to Prussia (Harding). From 1806 to 1813 the Continental Blockade made it difficult for books and letters from England to reach Germany. The defeat of Napoleon and the lifting of the Continental

Blockade coincided with Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* published in 1813. Overseas traveling became safe and was prized by a number of American students.

Before the Göttingen Seven—the seven professors who, in 1837, were dismissed from the University of Göttingen for protesting the abrogation of the constitution of Hannover—Harvard had its own, Göttingen Four: Edward Everett (class of 1811), George Ticknor, Joseph G. Cogswell (class of 1806) and George Bancroft (class of 1817). These men went abroad to study at Göttingen, then the site of one of Europe's finest universities. Their travels precipitated a gift to Harvard that, more than any other, jump-started the study of German in New England.

The Harvard-Goethe connection began when Goethe's friend George Sartorius introduced in a letter "a couple of North Americans, Mr. Ticknor and Professor Everett." The two Harvard men spoke "passable German" and knew Goethe's writings "better than many Germans" (Mackall 4). Goethe had had only one caller from America before, Aaron Burr, in 1810. The novelty of visiting North Americans was evidently apparent to Ticknor and Everett during their meeting with Goethe on October 25, 1816: "We were taken in as a kind of raree-show, I suppose, and we are considered ... with much the same curiosity that a tame monkey or a dancing bear would be. We come from such an immense distance that it is supposed we can hardly be civilized" (Long, *Literary Pioneers* 11). Everett was the newly appointed professor of Greek at Harvard. His impressions of Goethe were hardly charitable: "[Goethe was] very stiff and cold, not to say gauche and awkward. His head was grey, some of his front teeth gone, and his eyes watery with age." Goethe also "talked low and anxiously" and "with no interest, on anything" (Long, *Literary Pioneers* 69). Ticknor, soon to be appointed Harvard's first professor of French and Spanish, too was disappointed, seeing little "of the lover of Margaret and Charlotte, and still less of the author of *Tasso*, *Werther*, and *Faust*" (Long, *Literary Pioneers* 28). While still in Göttingen, Everett—who would later become president of Harvard College—published a long review of Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. The review was the first significant contribution to Goethe scholarship in an American journal (NAR 11 217-62). The same journal later featured Bancroft's review of the Colta edition (NAR 20303-25).

Everett introduced to Goethe Joseph Cogswell, who met Goethe on March 27, 1817. If Goethe was a catalyst for Harvard, Cogswell was a catalyst for Goethe to think about Harvard. Cogswell saw in Goethe "a grand and graceful form, worthy of a knight of the days of chivalry ... a real gentlemen ... in every respect agreeable and polite" (Long, *Literary Pioneers* 80-81). Cogswell and Goethe met not in Weimar but in Jena at

the Mineralogical Society, of which Goethe was president. They hit it off immediately. In the spring of 1819, Cogswell spent an evening with Goethe in Weimar. Goethe was "in fine spirits and as familiar and playful with me, as if I had been the friend of his youth" (Long, *Literary Pioneers* 88). In July 1818, surely knowing of Everett's earlier attempt to acquire books from Goethe for the Harvard library, Cogswell wrote to Goethe, repeating the request for books. Goethe donated 39 of his own works, including the 20-volume Cotta edition of 1815-19 to the Harvard library. His accompanying letter, likely translated by Cogswell, states: "The above poetical & scientific works are presented to the library of the University of Cambridge in N. England, as a mark of deep Interest in its high literary Character, & in the successful Zeal it has displayed thro' so long a Course of Years for the promotion of solid & elegant education. With the high regards of the Author, J.W.v.Goethe. Weimar Aug. 11. 1819" (Mackall 17). In return, Harvard's president wrote a formal letter of thanks to the "celebrated writer," who possessed "so elevated a rank among the men of genius & literature in Europe" (Walsh 52). The bookplate reads: "The Gift of the Author, John W. von Goethe, of Germany, Dec. 8, 1819," while the Library catalog of 1830 lists the books as the gift of "the celebrated Goethe of Germany." Goethe's books circulated. George Bancroft, who had also made the pilgrimage to Weimar and studied at Göttingen, must have used the Cotta edition while an instructor at Harvard in 1822-23. Other borrowers included Charles (Karl) Follen and Frederic Hedge (A.B. 1825, graduate of Harvard Divinity School 1828).

German was not taught formally in New England until 1825, when Harvard appointed Follen instructor of German. One student described Follen's first class at Harvard: "There were no German books in the bookstore...*The German Reader for Beginners*, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type in easy reach. There could not have been a happier introduction to German literature..." (Hansen 38). By 1828, Follen had 28 students in German. His handouts promoted his favorite authors, who he felt were appropriate for American students interested in political and social reform. His selections changed the taste of many New Englanders interested in German writers. Follen favored Schiller's political engagement as superior to Goethe's philosophical abstraction. Still, Follen included Goethe in his lectures and readings. Follen's legacies remain the first German reader and the first German grammar published in the United States.²

The first Goethe course given at Harvard was a series of lectures on Part I of *Faust*, delivered in 1837 by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Longfellow noted in his journal dated June 3, 1835, just prior to teaching

at Harvard, his question to Carlyle's wife in London: "I asked [Carlyle's] wife if he considered Göthe the greatest man that ever lived. 'Oh yes, I believe he does indeed. He thinks him the greatest man that ever lived, excepting Jesus Christ,'" (Long, *Goethe and Longfellow* 149). A student³ commented on Longfellow's first *Faust* lecture, which included a long introduction, "very flowery and bombastical indeed," but the "regular translation and explanation part of the lecture was very good" (Long, *Goethe and Longfellow* 158). *Faust*, Part 1, according to Longfellow, was not written for "weak and sickly minds, but for healthy, manly, and strong minds." This quote is especially interesting for its ideation of manliness, which would become a controversial issue at Harvard in the first years of the 20th century (more below). Longfellow considered Part 2 of *Faust* "every way inferior to the first. Notwithstanding the author's own opinions, you see the wrinkled hand of age upon it. The continuous power and glowing imagination of early manhood are no longer there" (Long, *Goethe and Longfellow* 165). Longfellow's *Faust* courses were popular, as reflected in the Harvard president's letter to Longfellow of March 1, 1844: "Many, if not all [of the juniors] wish to attend your lectures on Faust" (Walsh 53).

With the influence of Carlyle's essays and the work of Longfellow and others, especially the contributors to the New England periodical *Dial* in the early 1840s, Goethe became the central figure in German letters among informed New Englanders. German culture was featured prominently in the leading cultural journal of New England, the *Boston Transcript*, from 1830 to 1880 (von Klenze 1-25). In 1838, Harvard's own Emerson joked that "it produced some confusion when Leibnitz, Spinoza, Kant, Goethe, Herder, Schleiermacher and Jean Paul came sailing all at once into Boston harbor and discharged their freight" (Walsh, *German Influence* 59).⁴ One of Goethe's enthusiastic admirers was Frederick Henry Hedge, about whom more below. Margaret Fuller was an unofficial member of the class of 1829. She knew Hedge as a student, as well as her mentors Everett, Ticknor, Follen and the German instructor Beck. Fuller's 41-page essay on Goethe in *Dial* (1841) used Goethe's female characters to shed light on the role of women in society. Fuller then followed many of these thoughts, especially that of Goethe's *das ewig Weibliche*, in her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1844) (Slochower 130-44; Schultz 169-82).

Goethe had truly served as a catalyst for a formal German studies program at Harvard. In an address in 1831 Follen had noted: "There are German books and teachers in every place of importance in this country. In Boston, particularly, where, I am assured, about fifty years ago, not a German grammar or dictionary was to be found, there are now a number of persons who speak, and a large number who read, and enter into the sense of the German spirit. Many German authors have already found a place in private

libraries" (Follen 146). By 1850 several professors taught German at Harvard, (although none full-time), and by the 1860s the study of German was mandatory for all sophomores. Frederic Hedge spoke at Harvard's Commencement in 1866, calling on the graduates to use their new power to make Harvard first "among the universities, properly so called, of modern times" (Morison, *Three Centuries* 309). Hedge was speaking about the founding of graduate schools. Adopting the German-style seminar format of Johns Hopkins University, Harvard's Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures established its own graduate program in the 1870s, and in 1880 the first Ph.D. in German was conferred.

By 1900, Harvard had developed from a college into a university. Its social elite became a cognitive elite, which fostered an intellectual meritocracy. Harvard was not only increasingly the locus of *Germanistik*; it was drawing students and faculty whom Harvard alumnus David Halberstam would later call, in another context, the best and the brightest. The number of German courses had increased to 30 by 1895, with a combined enrollment of 750 (Goldman 2). The increased interest in German studies at Harvard was in keeping with the general growth of the discipline in the U.S. in the first quarter of the 20th century. During this time *Germanistik* was, as Henry Schmidt carefully noted, "an apparently healthy, self-confident profession" (204)—the operative word being, *apparently*. Nearly one quarter (24 percent) of high school students took German in 1915, as opposed to nine percent who learned French and two percent Spanish (Schmidt 204). So in the usual manner of quantifying growth in numbers and assessing quality of education, Harvard's Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures was unquestionably flourishing. The Department was bolstered by several factors: its personnel, innovative pedagogical models, and resources such as the Germanic Museum and the Harvard Library's growing Germanic collections.⁵

All seemed well for German studies at Harvard. Harvard's professors influenced American *Germanistik* in the first half of 20th century like no others.⁶ An obituary in the *Germanic Review* maintained that Hans-Carl Günther von Jagemann, president of MLA in 1899 and a noted German professor at Harvard, trained "hundreds of men now holding academic positions all over the country" (Howard 279; Roedder 6-8) while Kuno Francke's career "was, in many respects, unparalleled in the history of our profession" (Burkhard 157; Fife 107-08). However, issues involving Germany at Harvard had already undergone some ambivalence in the years leading up to 1914. In retrospect, it is not surprising that several issues exploded into controversy in Harvard Yard when the U.S. entered into the two world wars.

Harvard's professors and administrators did not have it easy when the United States engaged Germany in two world wars. Harvard's professors and students in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, like others at Harvard concerned with Germany, uneasily walked at least four tightropes: first, external and transnational (Germany "vs." the U.S.); second, internal and campus-wide (how to be a "man" at Harvard); third, practical (how to Americanize, in a period requiring great delicacy, the study of an intrinsically non-American culture); and fourth, professional—that is, how the Department led American *Germanistik* by providing scholarship and innovative pedagogical models. Each is worthy of discussion below, not least because each traces back to Goethe.

In the quarter-century prior to 1914, the study of literature at Harvard, though beginning to flourish, had to withstand certain tests of what could only be termed "Harvard manhood." Proponents of this concept included Theodore Roosevelt, 26th president of the U.S. and class of 1880, who said of Henry James:

Thus it is for the undersized man of letters, who flees his country because he, with his delicate, effeminate sensitiveness, finds the conditions of life on this side of the water crude and raw; in other words, because he cannot play a man's part among men, and so goes where he will be sheltered from the winds that harden stouter souls. (Rosenbaum 49)

The Governor of Massachusetts, Curtis Guild, class of 1881, stated at Harvard's commencement in 1908:

Whatever patriotism of American manhood comes to the fore, Harvard memory, Harvard ideals, instinctively rise, because Harvard is not merely Massachusetts, Harvard is not merely New England, Harvard is the ideal of America. (Townsend 9,16)⁷

Each Harvard professor—at that time there were no female professors—faced the pressure of measuring up to Harvard "manhood," which was so important at Harvard at that time.

Students, too, felt the pressure to fit into the mold of "Harvard men," who were more than likely to be relatively wealthy and to have a name that one would not think of as "foreign." The study of foreign cultures and civilizations was all well and good, yet the discipline of literature, and hence *Germanistik*, underwent special scrutiny. One French professor at

Harvard, Irving Babbitt, class of 1889, opposed the elective system because students, while choosing to take classes leading to lucrative careers after graduation, were being encouraged to get on with the business of living and earning too quickly. Babbitt also pointed to a dichotomization of courses based on the stereotypes of men. In an age that honored the athlete on the field and the specialist (not the general humanist) in the classroom, Babbitt feared that young men would favor courses in the hard sciences and be ashamed to take literature seriously: The literature courses, indeed, are known in some of these institutions as "sissy" courses. The man who took literature too seriously would be suspected of effeminacy. The really virile thing is to be an electrical engineer. Babbitt could already envisage "the time when the typical teacher of literature will be some young dilettante who will interpret Keats and Shelley to a class of girls" (Townsend 24).

Another Harvard professor, Hugo Münsterberg, contrasted masculine, productive scholars with their more passive, or feminine, colleagues who merely "distributed the findings of others" (Townsend 127-29). Münsterberg's descriptions of his future Harvard colleague George Santayana—"a strong and healthy man" and "a good, gay, fresh companion" (Townsend 146)—were mutually consistent then, however rich the ironies may be today (Münsterberg neither knew that "gay" would later mean "homosexual" nor knew that Santayana was homosexual).

Amid these sentiments Harvard's Germanists already had two strikes against them: they propagated a field of study which was said to be effeminate (not manly) and foreign (not American). They faced not only an internal resistance to the study of German literature, in addition, important administrators at Harvard questioned and undervalued the research and methodologies implemented at German universities, no matter what the discipline. Few administrators were closer to Harvard during this time than LeBaron Briggs, class of 1875. Briggs taught English at Harvard for several decades, and was dean of the College from 1891 to 1902 and president of Radcliffe College. Briggs had gone to Germany upon graduation from Harvard more because that was the thing to do than from any desire to study there. Returning to Harvard, Briggs said of the Germans: "Of all scholarship theirs is the easiest to attain." According to Briggs, the teacher's first business was to teach—writing was a secondary affair (Townsend 136). Contemporary Harvard, it was implied—the Harvard of 1910—was a university which would look less frequently to Europe for models; its own elite would provide them.

This, then, was the general situation of the Harvard community at the outbreak of World War I—individual and collective ambiguity, confusion, and conflict on one hand, a sense of endless possibility and

inevitable success on the other. The rhetoric of "the Harvard man" resurged between 1914 and 1918. Harvard's Germanists received many mixed signals. What were they to think during the First World War (and indeed until 1945)? The Harvard administration betrayed double standards and inconsistencies, notably in its official and unofficial stance toward academic freedom and anti-Semitism. The "wait and weigh" Harvard, as it was known, was a University that quite consciously chose not to take an official position on potentially divisive issues, or chose to be slower than its peers to do so. In the initial stages of World War I, Harvard's willingness to continue to embrace the classical works of German literature, coupled with its initial unwillingness to voice a standpoint relating to the First World War, was condemned on campus as pro-German.

Serving as a litmus test for the University was Kuno Francke, who came to Harvard in 1884 as an instructor of German and later became Professor of the History of German Culture and Curator of the Germanic Museum. Francke's resume had been impeccable prior to the outbreak of the First World War: he contributed to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (beginning in 1882); became an American citizen in 1891; authored *Social Forces in German Literature*, later retitled *A History of German Literature as Determined by Social Forces* (1896), which enjoyed 12 printings; was editor-in-chief of *German Classics of the XIX. and XX. Centuries* (1912 ff.); and, something which is never frowned upon at Harvard, he was an accomplished fund-raiser. The St. Louis brewer Adolphus Busch introduced Francke to his friends thusly: "Here is the professor. Every time he comes to see me, he wants a hundred thousand dollars. But I like him all the same" (Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit* 55).

The Germanic Museum, founded in 1903 and to which Busch donated generously, is Francke's lasting monument. By 1897, Francke had persuaded his departmental colleagues to support the idea of a Germanic Museum. At that time, as Francke later wrote in his autobiography, New Englanders did not recognize even the most major works of German literature, let alone German art. And German politics was more or less suspicious (Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit* 41).⁸ Francke would appear to be disingenuous here, a common feature among people reaching to justify their requests by claiming a legitimate need (in Francke's case, locating major donors for the would-be Museum). In fact, as we have seen, German culture had not been unknown in New England. To his credit, however, Francke made his remark not in 1897 but in 1930, when his career was almost over and he had no reason to state anything other than what he saw as the real state of affairs. And he correctly differentiated the general public's relative ignorance of German culture with a few intellectuals' deep knowledge thereof. Whether the public's

ignorance was the fault of the academy or the public was not clear; but in a case of déjà vu, Henry Hatfield, who succeeded Francke as a professor of German at Harvard, wrote in 1948 that Germanists in the U.S. had "failed, broadly speaking, to establish contact with the cultivated public" (392).

Francke's professional and personal mission was to bring German culture to Harvard students and Americans. His letter to the *New York Times* dated February 3, 1915 today reads like a manifesto:

We have every opportunity in this country to make felt what is best in German character and life: Let us continue to do so; let us continue to have a prominent part in all endeavors for political, civic and industrial progress; let us stand for the German ideals of honesty, loyalty, truthfulness, devotion to work; let us cultivate our language, our literature, and our art; let us fearlessly defend the cause of our mother country against prejudices and aspersions.

Francke's desires, when the U.S. was not at war or in potential conflict with Germany, were agreeable to the Harvard community and many Americans. But Francke was criticized when he appeared to waffle in his support for the American cause. Germans living in America who encouraged each other to "defend the cause of our mother country," as Francke did in this letter to the *New York Times*, did not receive unequivocal sympathy during wartime. Moreover, Francke published pro-German inspirational poetry in trade journals such as *Monatshefte*, and leading general newspapers.⁹ Such poetry was disruptive, isolating Francke from longtime friends and neighbors (Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit* 67).

Francke embraced the American educational system and Harvard's academic freedom. He disagreed with an article in the *Vossische Zeitung* which criticized Harvard's treatment of Germans (Meyer). Francke countered by saying that his achievements at Harvard had been fully supported by the administration, as had those of other Harvard professors with ties to Germany. Harvard, according to Francke, did not lead the way in promoting anti-German sentiment—quite the contrary. In fact, Germans at Harvard were made to feel as welcome as those of other nationalities (Francke, *Deutschamerikaner*).

Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell felt that it was more important to retain the principle of academic freedom than to dismiss controversial professors or accept their resignations. In a famous speech

on academic freedom, Lowell said:

If a university or college censors what its professors may say, if it restrains them from uttering something that it does not approve, it thereby assumes responsibility for that which it permits them to say. This is logical and inevitable, but it is a responsibility which an institution would be very unwise in assuming. (271)

At around the same time, on February 13, Lowell wrote to Francke: "I am glad to hear that your arm is better, but I cannot conceive why you should have any thought of resigning. I hope it is not because you think war with Germany would make any difference in your position here, or in the respect and affection of your friends" (*Papers of Kuno Francke*).¹⁰

Like Francke, his friend (and Harvard psychologist) Hugo Münsterberg viewed himself as a relayer of German ideals to America (42-43). They became embittered by hostile reactions to their standpoints. Münsterberg, born and trained in Germany, "was confessed by all to be one of the most brilliant Harvard professors of his time" (Morison, *Development of Harvard* 17). He enjoyed close ties to the German-American community but did not become an American citizen. As a German citizen Münsterberg undertook (completely within his rights in a then-supposedly neutral country) to present the German case to Harvard and the American public. Rumors had it that he was in the German Secret Service, and owned carrier pigeons which took messages to other spies; these were nonsense. Certain students, colleagues, alumni and former friends demanded that Münsterberg be dismissed, as they considered him to be a German propagandist, if not a spy; he was, they thought, a poisonous pro-German influence on the students. The Corporation, Harvard's governing body, steadfastly declined to do so. In London, Clarence Wiener '00 had allegedly threatened to withdraw a bequest to Harvard of \$10 million unless Harvard dismissed Münsterberg; his threat was ignored (Morison, *Three Centuries* 451-53).

Münsterberg differentiated the neutral stance of "official" Harvard (Lowell's Harvard) and the "unofficial" Harvard, which was pro-Allies and anti-German. He noted in the *London Times* dated April 8, 1915 a two-column letter from Boston on the situation at Harvard. The piece jubilantly reported that a census of Harvard would reveal anti-German sentiment totaling 99 percent. Münsterberg wrote:

I personally have worked incessantly for a quarter of a century to make America well understood in Europe and have spent all my energy to create European sympathy and respect for American universities and in particular for Harvard.... And yet in the passion of the day I have been treated by the unofficial Harvard and the upper layer of Boston Society as if I had been my life long an abuser of America and an enemy of Harvard.

By April of 1917, when the U.S. entered World War I, the two most (in)famous German professors at Harvard were no longer active: Francke stopped teaching at Harvard in 1916 and Münsterberg died in the same year.¹¹

By the 1920s the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures had distinguished itself pedagogically in five ways. First, it emphasized things Germanic, not only German. Harvard students had the choice of enrolling in basic language courses, as well as in two advanced undergraduate courses, thirteen half-courses, one full graduate course, ten half-courses, and interdisciplinary breadth courses. The teaching was specialized: in academic year 1928-29, for example, professors offered courses on Schiller, German literature in translation, Gothic, Old High German, Middle High German, Dutch, Old Norse, modern Scandinavian languages, Old Saxon and Old Frisian. And the professors were extremely versatile: Kunō Francke could speak about Flemish painting of the 15th century as well as about many other topics of Germanic culture.

Second, *Germanistik* at Harvard was viewed as an organism, as if the German national development was a concept in which each course offered by the Department was one element interlocking with other courses. Only after amassing a number of courses—"Die deutsche kirchliche Skulptur des Mittelalters," "Deutsche Mystik und Malerei des 15. Jahrhunderts," "Deutsche Kulturgeschichte von Luther bis zu Friedrich dem Großen," "Deutsche Kulturgeschichte von der französischen Revolution bis zum Ende der Freiheitskriege" (courses all taught by Francke)—and putting in the due rigor could the student expect to attain comprehensive knowledge of the organism known as Germanic culture (Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit* 22).

Third, the Department sought to offer to its students modern, socially relevant topics. The goal was not to de-Germanize the content being learned, but to bring to young Americans experiences with which they could empathize. Arthur Burkhard, a German professor who wrote at

some length about the Department in 1929-30,¹² found that "a student would continue reading German for himself... if I selected works for him to read that presented characters and problems with which he was able to identify himself, in which he could see his own life in part portrayed, in part revealed." Such works were "found most commonly among the writings of modern and contemporary authors" (Burkhard, *Course* 118). One of Burkhard's courses, "German Literature since 1900," featured Dehmel, George, Hauptmann, Hofmannsthal, Thomas Mann, Rilke, Wedekind, Werfel, and expressionist dramatists—although the writings of the expressionists were "practically incomprehensible to American undergraduates" (*Course* 133).

Fourth, the elective course system at Harvard was such that students had a certain freedom in selecting their courses, while they always had an end goal in mind: passing a general written exam lasting seven hours. The exam, administered by the College, was a requirement for graduation. By the 1920s both the curriculum and the expectations of the students were demanding indeed. The general written exam included the following: discussing, for 90 minutes, ten books of the Bible; for another 90 minutes, twelve plays of Shakespeare; for 60 minutes, the works of two of the following: Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Horace, Virgil; and for three hours, a special field of knowledge such as German literature. Rather than merely take courses indiscriminately, Harvard students now studied subjects systematically and rigorously. The Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures administered the comprehensive exam covering German literature, which still approximates today the comprehensive written M.A. exam at many German departments in the U.S.

Also in the 1920s Harvard introduced the tutorial system which resembled the one in place at Oxford and Cambridge rather than at German universities.¹³ Individual conferences between students and tutors (usually professors or full-time instructors) were held weekly, for 30 to 60 minutes. According to Burkhard, the ideal tutor did not supply information, but told the student where to find it; he did not put ideas in the student's head but encouraged the student to develop ideas of his own (her own, if the student was from nearby Radcliffe College); he planted ambition where it did not exist and cultivated it where it did. The results of the tutorial system demonstrated that Harvard students knew their subjects appreciably better than before the system was implemented. According to Burkhard, the level of knowledge among Harvard's German concentrators (or majors) exceeded even that of Ph.D.s in German from other American universities. Similarly, the Harvard undergraduate theses on German literature were reckoned to be superior to many non-Harvard

Ph.D. dissertations. Harvard had effectively raised the bar on itself: the requirements for the M.A. were increased because of the tremendous success of the tutorial system and the general written exams for undergraduates.

Finally, Goethe tied everything neatly together at Harvard—beginning, as already noted, with the Harvard students who visited Goethe in the 1810s and '20s, and continuing with the transcendentalists' interest in Goethe in the mid-19th century. From 1914 to 1945, as well, Goethe was the focus of Harvard's Germanists. A course first offered by Burkhard in the late 1920s surveyed German civilization from the *Hildebrandslied* to the present day. This was a core class and well attended. According to Burkhard, the history of German culture was replete with contrasts and contradictions. The representative German was geographically northern, historically modern, and temperamentally individualistic. The German was torn between retaining these traits or becoming southern, ancient, and social. The real masters among the Germans, Burkhard maintained, achieved a compromise in these struggles. The "German" Goethe of *Götz*, *Werther*, and *Urfaust* was an emotional, romantic artist. Later, the "Greek" Goethe returned from Italy and tried to become formal and classic. Such a synthesis was exemplary; Dürer and Beethoven had also attained variant forms. "Less sturdy" artists, in Burkhard's words, included Hölderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, and Wagner. Grillparzer, Meyer, and Thomas Mann stood somewhere in between.¹⁴

The Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures did not exist in a vacuum; all the while it needed to respond to events on campus and in the world. To Harvard's critics, the University continued its pro-German stance (sympathy to the Nazis) and anti-Semitism (enrollment quotas).¹⁵ Of course one could hardly predict in the 1920s and early '30s what would happen in the late '30s and '40s. Certainly no one would have known that Harvard's president James B. Conant, beginning his tenure in 1933, would chip away at residual anti-Jewish practices at Harvard, to the extent that, as one biographer has noted, they had largely collapsed by the time Conant left Harvard in 1953 (Hershberg 81).

Certain German issues from 1933 to 1936 placed Conant and Harvard directly in the spotlight (Tuttle 49-70). When an alumnus offered in 1934 to endow a fellowship limited to Kentuckians "preferably of predominantly white colonial descent, and necessarily of white northwestern European descent," Conant insisted that any Harvard fellowship must be awarded to "the most promising boys" regardless of other considerations—a stance contrasting with Yale's acceptance in 1936 of funds for a scholarship memorializing "the Anglo-Saxon race to which the United States owes its culture" and restricted to "sons of white

Christian parents of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, or Teutonic descent, both of whom were citizens of the United States and born in America" (Hershberg 81).

At the time, two questions in particular tested Conant: (1) how strongly would Harvard oppose the Nazi persecution of universities in Germany, and (2) how fiercely would Harvard fight for its academic freedom? Conant generally favored freedom of speech and the right to widest differences of opinion, though this principle, when applied practically, brought controversy once again to Harvard. The Harvard Corporation did not have the University join the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, a coalition publicly backed by the presidents of Cornell, Princeton, Stanford, and other universities—viewed by critics as an ostrich-like non-gesture (Hershberg 84).

Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein received honorary degrees in 1935. A year later, during Harvard's 300th anniversary, Harvard sent a representative to Heidelberg University's 550th anniversary, which to Harvard's embarrassment was yet another Nazi spectacle. At Harvard's Tercentenary, Conant conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Science upon Carl Jung, who, critics maintained, had condoned Nazi doctrines of "Aryan" superiority in the Hitler purges. The citation read "a mental physician whose wisdom and understanding have brought relief to many in distress." Einstein declined his invitation to attend. As he said in 1949:

The reason for me not to participate in the Harvard Tercentenary celebration was not so much the presence of Dr. Jung but the fact that representatives of German universities had been invited, although it was generally known that they were in full cooperation with Hitler's acts of persecution against Jews and liberals, and against cultural freedom in general. (Wagner 227-29)

Perhaps the most notorious incident of those years was the return to Harvard of Hitler's press chief Ernst Hanfstaengl '09 for his 25th class day reunion. Hanfstaengl had earlier animated Hitler by composing a march derived from a Harvard football cheer. "That is what we need for the movement, marvelous," Hitler said. As the story goes, "Fight, Fight, Fight!" was converted into "Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil." Hitler had also hid from the police in Hanfstaengl's house after the botched 1923 Munich Beer Hall Putsch.

Hanfstaengl's trip to Harvard in 1934 was a Nazi-glorifying publicity gambit. His visit divided Harvard. A right-wing faction of students and the conservative student newspaper urged the

administration to confer an honorary degree on Hanfstaengl in view of his high government post. When Hanfstaengl attended the 1934 Harvard Commencement, police protected him. Protesters had placed anti-Hitler stickers on the buildings in Harvard Yard. His hat was stolen and readdressed to him "Care of Adolf Hitler, Berlin." On its crown, in Hebrew letters, were inscribed the words "Thou shalt not kill." Two girls chained themselves to a platform and, before they could be released, condemned Hitler, Hanfstaengl, and the Nazis to the multitude assembled in Harvard Yard. Conant was criticized for allowing a man both mesmerized by Hitler and engaging in the most venomous anti-Semitism in the pages of *Collier's* to use Harvard for his purposes (Hanfstaengl, *My Leader* 7-9).¹⁶

This article would be remiss in not mentioning yet another explanation of the meaning and origin of the Third Reich, this time Hanfstaengl's inimitable definition as explained in 1934 to former Harvard president Lowell:

You must realize how it started. We lost a war, had the Communists in control of the streets and had to try and build things up again. In the end the republic had thirty-two parties, all of them too weak to do anything of consequence and finally it was necessary to roll them up into a State party, and that was Hitler. If a car gets stuck in the mud and begins to sink deeper and deeper and the engine stops, and then a man comes along and pours something into the works which starts it up again, you don't ask what it was he put in. You set to and get the damned thing out. It may only have been *Begeistungsschnapps*, a kind of psychological schnapps, but it is enough for the time being.

To which Lowell is said to have replied: "This whatever-you-called-it may be all right to start with, but what happens when the driver gets drunk on it?" (Hanfstaengl, *Unheard Witness* 258). If nothing else, Hanfstaengl was a genius at dropping names, revising history, and being self-serving—all the more reason for the reader to question the veracity of this anecdote.

Amid all this Goethe served as balm and corrective. As a *New York Times* editorial asked on April 11, 1938, one month after the annexation of Austria and seven months before *Kristallnacht*: "What better challenge to Hitlerism can there be than to get to know Lessing, Schiller and Goethe?" Harvard's German professors disseminated their message on Goethe both internally, to their students, and externally, to their peers.

Karl Viëtor wrote two monographs, *Der junge Goethe* (1930) and *Goethe: Dichtung, Wissenschaft, Weltbild* (1949); Henry Hatfield wrote *Goethe: A Critical Introduction* (1963). John Walz, president of the Modern Language Association in 1941, admitted the Germanist's difficulty in working in America "while a large part of the world, including our own Government, is demanding the destruction of [the German] government and the curbing of [the German] people." Yet Walz delivered his presidential address on what he called a suitable subject: the exemplary Goethe, to whom the Association could turn for "guidance and comfort" and "a guide to the future" (Walz, *Guide* 1324). His 11-page essay ends: "I am firmly convinced that at least some of Goethe's ideas must be applied in practice if the world is ever to attain a just balance."

The many complicated German issues at Harvard from 1914 to 1945 indicate just how certain themes from that time and place remain *aktuell*, in altered form, in the U.S. today. Harvard did not have its first major student protests in the 1960s (Roseblatt); Germany at war had prompted vehement and sustained protests on campus decades earlier. Harvard's study of the German national culture, founded at the Germanic Museum, continues today in Harvard's Program for the Study of Germany and Europe at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. Several similar programs and centers flourish today at other American universities. In conclusion, many of Harvard's concerns in the first half of this century—faculty to student ratio, patriotism, teaching vs. publishing, the canon, academic freedom, political correctness, and sexuality—remain very much a part of our national discourse.

Endnotes

¹ The student was Andrew Peabody, A.B. 1826.

² *Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger* (Cambridge: Universitäts Druckerei, 1826) and *A Practical Reader Grammar of the German Language* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828). If that wasn't enough, Follen was said to have been the first to bring the decorated Christmas tree to New England (see Ken Gewertz, "Professor Brought Christmas Tree to New England," *Harvard University Gazette* (Dec. 12, 1996) 24).

³ The comment is Edward Everett Hale's.

⁴ Emerson, in an address delivered before the Senior Class in Divinity at Harvard on July 15, 1838, mocked slightly the authors J.W. Alexander and Albert B. Dod, whose 1839 article in the *Princeton Review*, "Concerning the Transcendental Philosophy of the Germans and of Cousin and Its Influence on Opinion in This Country," discussed the "alarming symptom" and influence of German philosophy on the American transcendentalists. See also Fred B. Wahr, "Emerson and the Germans," *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht* 33.2 (1941) 49-63.

⁵ For a discussion of the Germanic Museum, see Goldman; Kuno Francke, *Handbook of the Germanic Museum*, 7th ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929); Franziska von Ungern-Sternberg, *Kulturpolitik zwischen den Kontinenten: Deutschland und Amerika: Das Germanische Museum in Cambridge/Mass.*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kulturpolitik, Vol. 4 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994). For a discussion of Harvard's Germanic library collections, see Michael P. Olson, "Harvard's Germanic Collections: Their History, Their Future," *Harvard Library Bulletin* new series 5.3 (1994) 11-19.

⁶ For a discussion of the professors, see Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., "From German to Germanic," *The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930) 81-85.

⁷ See also Douglass Schand-Tucci, *The Crimson Letter: Harvard, Homosexuality, and the Shaping of American Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003); and Dinitia Smith, "American Culture's Debt to Gay Sons of Harvard," *New York Times* (May 29, 2003).

⁸ "Die deutsche Literatur selbst in ihren größten Vertretern blieb dem durchschnittlichen Neuengländer schließlich doch etwas innerlich Fernes; von deutscher Kunst wußte er überhaupt nichts; und deutsche Politik erschien ihm mehr oder weniger verdächtig."

⁹ Selected poems are in Francke; see also Schmidt 212.

¹⁰ On July 14, 1915, the President of the U.S., Woodrow Wilson, had also sent thanks and support to Francke via a typed letter and handwritten signature (*Papers of Kuno Francke*, Harvard University Archives, HUG 1404.5, 1915-1917, folder T-Z).

¹¹ One postscript regarding Harvard's involvement in World War I: more

than 11,000 then-current and former Harvard men had enlisted in the war. The walls of Memorial Chapel still list the names of some 375 casualties in service of the Allied Forces, along with three (it is sometimes said four) Harvard men who died in the German cause. This again created protest: Germans were honored in World War I, while a Civil War memorial commemorated only Harvard's unionists, not its confederates (Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* 460).

¹² See Arthur Burkhard, "A Course in Contemporary German Literature," *German Quarterly* 3.4 (1930), p. 117-38; "An Introductory Course in the History of German Civilization," *German Quarterly* 2.4 (1929) 122-36; and "The Harvard Tutorial System in German," *Modern Language Journal* 14.4 (1930) 269-84.

In today's colloquial terms, Burkhard was a culture vulture par excellence. He was thought to have set a record by attending 42 consecutive nights of theater in Munich and Salzburg. Burkhard recuperated in Paris by going to the theater only 3-4 nights per week. (See "Harvard Professor Sets Record—Sees 42 Plays Straight in Germany," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 14, 1936.)

A sports fan as well, Burkhard attended the Winter Olympic Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and the Summer Olympics in Berlin (both in 1936). The *New York World-Telegram* related the following front press headquarters in Garmisch-Partenkirchen:

Dr. Arthur Burkhard, an American who is a professor at Harvard teaching German culture to the young, dropped into the room to compose a few deep thoughts for the *Christian Science Monitor* and was denounced by a yellow-haired youth as an enemy of Germany. The young man told the Countess [von Bernstorff, who organized the press headquarters] that on Thursday night at the hockey match, which Canada won from Germany, the professor had spoken of the German crowd as a mob. He seemed to think the professor was a German, and a disloyal one at that, and more or less put it up to the Countess to do something about it, although he didn't say what.

The professor got sore and told the young man he would either have to prove his charge or defend himself in a suit for damages, and the squealer then began to hedge, saying he hadn't heard the professor's remark himself but that his girl friend had.

"Well, then, bring her in," the professor said.

The young man dragged in a not very toothsome wench in a somewhat flea-bitten leopard skin coat, who said she had not only heard this good Herr Doktor Professor call the crowd a mob but refer to the people as lowbrows and roughnecks as well.

The Countess was disposed to laugh it off as a matter of no importance, but the professor seemed to think if he didn't clear it up at once it might get worse later on. The man and the woman eased out of the door to the crowd on the sidewalk, but the professor chased after them and renewed the fuss in public.

It then developed that both squealers were German outlanders living in Czechošlovakia, who merely wanted to receive credit for turning in a traitor. That's all there was to it, and the Harvard professor came through the incident all right, but it was an interesting demonstration of the squeal, which seems to make life interesting in a country where a casual remark may assume the most solemn importance. (Pegler, Westbrook. "Fair Enough," *New York World-Telegram*, 18 Feb. 1936.)

¹³ On the exams and the tutorial system, see "The Harvard Tutorial System in German."

¹⁴ See "An Introductory Course in the History of German Civilization."

¹⁵ On the Jewish experience at Harvard in the early 20th century, see Leo W. Schwarz, *Wolfson of Harvard: Portrait of a Scholar* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1978), especially 23-40; Morton Rosenstock, "Are There Too Many Jews at Harvard?" *Antisemitism in the United States*, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) 102-08; and Nitzza Rosovsky, *The Jewish Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe* (Cambridge: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1986).

¹⁶ On Hanfstaengl at Harvard in 1934, see Wagner, p. 227-29; and Hershberg 85-88.

Works Cited

- Burkhard, Arthur. "A Course in Contemporary German Literature." *German Quarterly* 3.4 (1930): 117-38.
- . "The Harvard Tutorial System in German." *Modern Language Journal* 14.4 (1930): 269-84.
- . "An Introductory Course in the History of German Civilization!" *German Quarterly* 2.4 (1929): 122-36.
- . "In Memoriam. Kuno Francke." *German Quarterly* 3.4 (1930).
- Fife, Robert Herndon. "In Memoriam: Kuno Francke." *Germanic Review* 6.1 (1931).
- Follen, Charles. "Inaugural Discourse Delivered before the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 3, 1831." *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America 1796-1840*. By Edmund Spevack. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1997.
- Francke, Kuno. *Deutsche Arbeit in Amerika: Erinnerungen*. Leipzig: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1930.
- . "Die Deutschamerikaner, die Harvard Universität und der Krieg." 4 Apr. 1915. 4 unnumbered pages. *Papers of Karl Viëtor*, Harvard University Archives, HUG 1404.
- . *Handbook of the Germanic Museum*. 7th Ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1929.
- . Letter. *New York Times*. 3 Feb. 1915: 10.
- Gewertz, Ken. "Professor Brought Christmas Tree to New England." *Harvard University Gazette*. 12 Dec. 1996: 24.
- Goldman, Guido. *A History of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University*. Cambridge, MA: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1989.

- Hanfstaengl, Ernst F.S. "My Leader." *Collier's*. 4 Aug. 1934. 7-9.
- . *Unheard Witness*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1957.
- Hansen, Thomas S. "Charles Follen." *Harvard Magazine*. Sept.-Oct. 2002: 38.
- Harding, Anneliese. *John Quincy Adams: German-American Literary Studies*. Boston: Boston Public Library, 1979.
- Hatfield, Henry C. and Joan Merrick. "Studies of German Literature in the United States 1939-1946." *Modern Language Review* 43:3 (1948):
- Hershberg, James G. *James B. Conant: Harvard to Hiroshima and the Making of the Nuclear Age*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.
- Howard, William Guild. "In Memoriam: Hans Carl Günther von Jagemann, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Harvard University." *Germanic Review* 1.3. (1926): 279.
- von Klünze, Camillo. "German Literature in the *Boston Transcript*." *Philological Quarterly* 11.1 (1932).
- Long, O.W. "Goethe and Longfellow." *Germanic Review* 7.2 (1932).
- . *Literary Pioneers: Early American Explorers of European Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1935.
- . "Goethe and Longfellow." *Germanic Review* 7.2 (1932): 149.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence. *At War with Academic Traditions in America*. Cambridge: Harvard, 1934.
- Mackall, Leonard L. "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Amerikanern: Goethes Geschenk an die Harvard University." *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 25, 1904.
- Meyer, Eduard. "Der Geist von Harvard." *Vossische Zeitung*. 7 Mar. 1915.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot. Ed. "From German to Germanic." *The Development*

- of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1930.
- , *Three Centuries of Harvard: 1636-1936.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1936.
- Münsterberg, Hugo. "To John Temple L. Jeffries," 1 May 1915, *Papers of Hugo Münsterberg*, Harvard University Archives, HUG 1583.
- , "Twenty-Five Years in America: The First Chapter of an Unfinished Autobiography." *Century* 94.1 (1917): 42-43.
- Olson, Michael P. "Harvard's Germanic Collections: Their History, Their Future." *Harvard Library Bulletin* New Series 5.3 (1994): 11-19.
- The North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal* 11. (1817): 217-62.
- The North American Review* 20. (1824): 303-25.
- Papers of Kuno Francke*, Harvard University Archives. HUG 1404.5, 1915-1917, folder G-L.
- A Practical Reader Grammar of the German Language.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1828.
- Røedder, Edwin C. "Hans Carl Günther von Jagemann: Ein Gedenkblatt." *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik* (1925).
- Rosenbaum, David. "How Harvard Went Butch." *Boston Magazine*. Dec. 1996.
- Rosenblatt, Roger. *Coming Apart: A Memoir of the Harvard Wars of 1969.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1997.
- Rosenstock, Morton. "Are There Too Many Jews at Harvard?" *Antisemitism in the United States.* Ed. Leonard Dinnerstein. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Rosovsky, Nitzka. *The Jewish Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1986.

Schand-Tucci, Douglass. *The Crimson Letter: Harvard, Homosexuality, and the Shaping of American Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003.

Schmidt, Henry J. "The Rhetoric of Survival: The Germanist in America from 1900 to 1925." *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*. Vol. 2. Ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1985.

Schultz, Arthur R. "Margaret Fuller—Transcendentalist Interpreter of German Literature." *Monatshefte* 34.4 (1942): 169-82.

Schwarz, Leo W. *Wolfson of Harvard: Portrait of a Scholar*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1978.

Slochower, Harry. "Margaret Fuller and Goethe." *Germanic Review* 7.2 (1932).

Smith, Dinitia. "American Culture's Debt to Gay Sons of Harvard." *New York Times*. 29 May 2003.

Townsend, Kim. *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1996.

Tuttle, William M. "American Higher Education and the Nazis: The Case of James B. Conant and Harvard University's 'Diplomatic Relations' with Germany." *American Studies* 20.1 (1979): 49-70.

Ungern-Sternberg, Franziska von. *Kulturpolitik zwischen den Kontinenten: Deutschland und Amerika: Das Germanische Museum in Cambridge/Mass.* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kulturpolitik. Vol. 4. Cologne: Böhlau, 1994.

Wagner, Charles Abraham. *Harvard: Four Centuries and Freedoms*. New York: Dutton, 1950.

Wahr, Fred B. "Emerson and the Germans." *Monatshefte für Deutschen Unterricht* 33.2 (1941): 49-63.

Walsh, James E. and Eugene M. Weber. *Goethe: An Exhibition at the Houghton Library*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library and Goethe Institute of Boston, 1982.

Walz, John A. *German Influence in American Education and Culture*. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1936.

—. "A Guide to the Future." *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 56 Supplement (1941): 1324.

Permit me a personal note about Ehrhard Bahr. As a graduate student in UCLA's Department of Germanic Languages in the 1980s, I took several courses on Goethe with Ted. His courses were uniformly brilliant and constituted my very best experiences as a student. Ted was (and remains) an excellent teacher: at all times fair, direct, organized, interactive, and informed.

Ted was an outstanding mentor in three other ways. First, he monitored my own teaching performance in German classes at UCLA, and offered welcome advice and suggestions for improvement. Second, I assisted Ted in his course on 20th-century German culture and civilization. His preparation and commitment were wonderful models. Third, Ted supervised the writing of my Ph.D. dissertation on Heinrich Böll. Ted was always accurate in telling me when certain passages of the dissertation were good and others—many others—needed improvement.

As an editor of this journal in 1987, I had the happy occasion to interview Martjn Walser, who incidentally knows Goethe's works quite well. Walser said to me that the American campus is the most privileged terrain ever organized by humans (*der amerikanische Campus ist das privilegierteste Gelände, das je von Menschen organisiert wurde*). Walser had studied at Harvard in the 1950s, at Henry Kissinger's International Seminar, where he attended lectures by Eleanor Roosevelt, Thornton Wilder, and David Riesman. Such an experience, it seems to me, represents the best of the American university: the university as *the* locus of ideas. Viewed in this light, being associated with Ted continues to be my great privilege. My proudest professional moment was when "Professor Bahr" and "Mr. Olson" became "Ted" and "Mike." I am greatly indebted to Ted, who is without question the single most important person in my career in Germanic studies. Ted's professionalism and his very humane qualities continue to be my models.

Ted, as always, all best wishes and congratulations on your magnificent career.