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MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED, encounters "Landsleute" in the New World

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Zusammenfassung

Bei seinen Reisen verdankte MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED Anregungen und unmittelbare Unterstützung einer Reihe von "Landsleuten", von BLUMENBACH und A. V. HUMBOLDT angefangen bis zu weniger bekannten Persönlichkeiten, die in beiden Amerikas vorübergehend oder dauernd Aufenthalt genommen hatten und ihm dort hilfreich beistanden. Neben den großen Stationen und Begegnungen WIEDS als Reisendem werden bisher wenig beachtete Beziehungen beleuchtet, die sich vor allem aus dem Studium der zur Veröffentlichung anstehenden nordamerikanischen Reisetagebücher ergeben haben.

It is not surprising that MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED-NEUWIED, should regard his somewhat older "Landsmann", ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, as his model, friend, and mentor. Both explorers had studied at Göttingen during its first *Blütezeit*, when it excelled in the sciences as well as in the humanities. Founded in 1734 by GEORG AUGUST II, elector of Hanover and King of England, the *Georgia Augusta* not only boasted the first modern university library; it was also "the first academic center of geography in Germany ... and the first academic center of anthropology in history."[1] At Göttingen the two explorers came under the influence of JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH, who taught there from 1775 until 1840. BLUMENBACH is often referred to as the father of physical anthropology, but this accolade more properly befits his teacher, CHRISTIAN WILHELM BÜTTNER. BÜTTNER, a temperamental polyhistor, developed a course in which *man (der Mensch)* was depicted in all his complex, multifarious interrelations with his environment. It was under the guidance of BÜTTNER that BLUMENBACH wrote his famous thesis on the topic *De generis humani varietate nativa* (On the Natural Variety of Humankind).[2]

In addition to teaching and writing - BLUMENBACH's widely used handbooks on comparative anatomy and medicine were repeatedly issued in revised editions - he helped create an unexcelled ethnographic collection at Göttingen including 82 human skulls, which he called his "Golgotha" and to which his students, including MAXIMILIAN, contributed from various parts of the globe.[3] His collection of anthropologia was facilitated by his active membership in the (London) Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, which was directed by SIR JOSEPH BANKS. Whether BLUMENBACH actually taught a course in the "art of

traveling" - such a course was then offered at the "bulwark of the enlightenment" - he succeeded in inspiring several students to undertake scientific expeditions to distant, unexplored regions. Four dangerous undertakings of this kind ended in disaster: two of his students were murdered in Africa, and two died there of tropical diseases.[4] Among the more fruitful expeditions were those of VON HUMBOLDT and of PRINCE MAXIMILIAN to the Americas.

When these men first met in Berlin in 1804, the exuberant, wealthy Prussian baron had just returned from his famous five-year exploration of large parts of Latin America, with a brief stop in Washington to advise THOMAS JEFFERSON on vexing problems of foreign affairs.[5] By contrast, the somewhat younger, more sedate Rhenish prince of modest means was just completing his first four years of military service. According to family tradition this meeting was of decisive importance to the young prince:

The most important event of that time was his first meeting with ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT ... This acquaintanceship exerted the strongest effect upon MAXIMILIAN, and there can be no doubt that his predominant interest in the American continent derived from the influence of the older and famous scholar, who henceforth was to remain his model, friend, and mentor. From this time on the prince's most ardent desire and firmest purpose was an overseas expedition.[6]

It is believed that VON HUMBOLDT encouraged MAXIMILIAN to explore Brazil, which he himself had not been permitted to enter. Thus the prince's observations would supplement his own Latin-American findings.[7] It is also possible that VON HUMBOLDT merely helped focus and fortify plans that MAXIMILIAN was already entertaining. The second possibility seems all the more likely when we review the prince's childhood, lengthy military career, and general education, which together seem to comprise not only an almost ideal preparation but also irresistible motivation for his two voyages to the New World. After the initial meeting of the naturalists they did not see each other again until 1814.

Despite the prince's admiration for VON HUMBOLDT's scientific achievements, the major goals of the two explorers differed quite as radically as did their personalities. "Absurd as it sounds, (VON HUMBOLDT's) great synthetic picture of the world, which contains everything from stars and atoms to animals, omits nothing but one single item: man. This is no accident. Already in the (stated) goals of his American trip, man is absent."[8] There is general agreement, on the other hand, that MAXIMILIAN's most important contributions to human knowledge are his accounts of Indians, especially his pioneering, comprehensive treatises on the Botocudos of Brazil and the Mandans of North Dakota. Scarcely less significant although this fact is generally overlooked - are his keen observations on Europeans in both North and South America.[9]

ALEXANDER PHILIPP MAXIMILIAN was born on 23 September 1782 in the castle of Neuwied in the Rhenish countship of Wied about 10 miles north of Coblenz. His father was COUNT FRIEDRICH KARL, whose ancestors in the male line can be traced in the Rhineland for almost 800 years. His mother was MARIA LUISE WILHELMINE, Countess of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, a woman of superior intelligence and education. Although the house of Wied had long

been protestant, the child's parents chose MAXIMILIAN FRANZ, coadjutor of Cologne and Münster, as his godfather. The youngest son of Empress MARIA THERESIA of Austria, MAXIMILIAN FRANZ became archbishop and elector (*Kurfürst*) of Cologne in 1784, the year in which the house of WIED was elevated from a countship to a principality.

Since the small sovereignty of WIED had long been a place of refuge for victims of political and religious persecution, the young prince had the opportunity of growing up among people of diverse languages and religious beliefs. Most important of these groups for MAXIMILIAN were probably the Moravians, of whom there were two contingents: Frenchspeaking Moravians from Switzerland and German Moravians who had come to Wied by way of Count NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF's estate Herrnhut in Saxony. This group, often called Herrnhuter Brethren, maintained close ties with their coreligionists in Pennsylvania, where they had established a substantial settlement as well as several missions among Indians. During the perilous years of conflict among French, British, Americans, and Indians, COUNT VON ZINZENDORF paid a visit to Moravian settlements and missions in Pennsylvania (1741-43).[10] No doubt PRINCE MAXIMILIAN in his youth heard (and also read) many exciting stories about peaceful and not-so-peaceful encounters between Germans and Indians in "Penn's Woods."

PRINCESS LUISE WILHELMINE seems to have exerted a decisive influence on the upbringing and early education of her children, at least several of whom shared her appreciation of the fine arts. Her daughter LUISE and her son KARL both studied at the Academy of Art in Dresden. She also nurtured MAXIMILIAN's interest in natural science as well as his love of the beauties of nature. His journals and letters contain a profusion of descriptions of rivers, lakes, forests, sunsets, storms at sea, etc., as well as sketches of all kinds. Whereas VON HUMBOLDT's published works are a combination of narrative and scientific description, MAXIMILIAN's diaries and letters are often a medley of precise scientific classification and poetic effusion.

MAXIMILIAN spent much time in the Wied hunting preserves in and near the Westerwald with his tutor, Lieutenant HOFFMANN.[11] Here he not only began a collection of flora and fauna, he also became an avid hunter while still quite young. At the age of six he shot a wild duck, which was mounted and added to his growing collection. His ingrained sense of history - his paternal ancestors were prominent in administrative affairs in Cologne in the thirteenth century - was sharpened through his observation of the excavation of Roman ruins in Heddesdorf and Niederbieber directed by his tutor at the behest of PRINCESS LUISE WILHELMINE. It is not unlikely that he was persuaded by his tutor to study at Göttingen, where Lieutenant HOFFMANN frequently consulted the renowned antiquarian, Professor HEYNE, about problems connected with these excavations.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars took their toll on the house of Wied. At the outbreak of the revolution, MAXIMILIAN's father generously offered asylum to refugees from the French court, as a result of which the small sovereignty was brought to the brink of financial ruin. Four times during 1796 and 1797 Neuwied was a battleground, so that PRINCESS LUISE had to flee with the younger children to Meiningen in Saxony, where they remained for several years. MAXIMILIAN's eldest brother, PRINCE CHRISTIAN, was killed in

Bavaria in 1800 while fighting as a captain in the Austrian army. A younger brother, PRINCE VIKTOR, likewise a captain, was killed in 1812 while fighting against NAPOLEON with the DUKE OF WELLINGTON during the peninsular campaign. MAXIMILIAN reports:

> After it had been decided that I should serve with the Hessians, I received a commission as lieutenant in the Regiment Erbach in the imperial Austrian armed forces. Because of my stronger inclination toward Prussia and the personal promise of a commission by the king, I set out in 1800 for Potsdam, where I arrived at the time of the great autumn maneuvers. The king temporarily assigned me to the second battalion of the guard as a first lieutenant until I became familiar with military procedures.[12]

In 1802 MAXIMILIAN was called to the regiment of the king at the rank of captain. On 28 October 1806, MAXIMILIAN was captured by the French at Prenzlau. Upon his release in an exchange of prisoners, he returned to Wied to apply himself to his studies. During his "militärische Dienstzeit" he devoted his free time to sketching and painting Prussian officers in their colorful uniforms and Swabian peasants in their characteristic garb.

Concerning MAXIMILIAN's student years at Göttingen there has been some misunderstanding. KARL VIKTOR (op. cit., p. 16) states that the prince studied natural sciences in the Georgia Augusta "um 1800 und 1812." Some sources suggest that he studied there for four years.[13] Actually he seems to have been a registered student for only one semester. On 16 April 1811 he entered his name in the matriculation register for members of the nobility: *Max. Princeps de Wied-Neuwied*. About ten days later he also enrolled in "die schönen Künste" (belles lettres).[14] At this time Göttingen attracted many American students, including HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW and WILLIAM BACKHOUSE ASTOR, second eldest son and heir of JOHN JACOB ASTOR.[15]

Born in Walldorf near Heidelberg, JOHN JACOB ASTOR made himself one of the richest men in the United States, partly through clever real estate speculation in Manhattan and partly through his monopoly of the lucrative fur trade in the American West and with China. About WILLIAM BACKHOUSE ASTOR, MAXIMILIAN tells us little. In his American *Tagebuch* (vol. 1, p. 35) he states merely that both of them had studied at Göttingen in 1811-12. This is all the more surprising since JOHN JACOB ASTOR owned the American Fur Company, which made it possible for the prince to study the cultures of the Mandan and several other Indian nations by providing transportation and living quarters. Although MAXIMILIAN majored in the natural sciences while at Göttingen, he especially concentrated on BLUMENBACH's lectures and seminars. Like BÜTTNER, BLUMENBACH illustrated and enlivened his presentations with numerous documented travel accounts. Among them were illustrated notes about Indians made by a German named CASPAR SCHMALKALDEN, who had traveled in Brazil in 1642.[16]

With the outbreak of the Wars of Liberation in 1813, MAXIMILIAN returned to active military service as a major in the Prussian cavalry. During this stint he engaged in twelve battles. For distinction in the battles of La Chaussee and Chateau Thierry the prince was awarded the Order of the Iron Cross second class. On 31 March 1814, the day after his last battle, MAXIMILIAN entered Paris with the victorious allies. It was on this occasion that he and ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT met for the second time. In 1815 the king placed him on reserve

status for the length of his expedition to Brazil; upon his return to Germany, he was granted an honorable discharge with the privilege of continuing to wear the Prussian uniform.

In 1807 the royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil before the advancing armies of NAPOLEON. Although Brazil had long been a major source of wealth for Portugal, this enormous colony was still largely unexplored. In order to remedy this awkward situation, the Portuguese government subsidized scientists, many of them Germans, to explore, describe, and map this vast region. Upon the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1815) MAXIMILIAN quickly completed his preparations, during the course of which he was in constant correspondence with BLUMENBACH. With two servants, his brother's huntsman and the family gardener - both of them on loan from the house of Wied - he sailed via London to Rio de Janeiro in 72 days. The explorers arrived in the beautiful harbor of Rio de Janeiro, admiringly described by the prince in great detail, on 16 July 1815.

Here they were welcomed by the Russian consul, GEORG HEINRICH VON LANGSDORFF, who had taken his degree in medicine in 1797 with BLUMENBACH at Göttingen.[18] Like many of BLUMENBACH's students, VON LANGSDORFF also became a traveling naturalist. He took part in VON KRUSENSTERN's voyage around the world (1803-1807) for the Russian government, explored the Aleutians, traveled from there along the coast to San Francisco, crossed Siberia on his return to Europe, and accompanied the German painter, JOHANN MORITZ RUGENDAS, to the tropical interior of Brazil. Without the advice of this well-informed, experienced "Landsmann" - MAXIMILIAN was fond of the word and frequently found occasion to use it - the prince would scarcely have been able to plan in detail, much less to execute his extensive explorations. VON LANGSDORFF remained at his Russian diplomatic post in Buenos Aires until 1829, when malaria forced him to return home to Germany.

Two other German scientists who were of almost inestimable help to MAXIMILIAN also joined him here. They were the ornithologist GEORG WILHELM FREYREISS and the botanist FRIEDRICH SELLOW. In the introduction to his *Reise nach Brasilien*, the prince expresses his appreciation for the ornithologist's assistance and the hope that they might continue their scientific cooperation through correspondence. SELLOW not only helped MAXIMILIAN identify numerous tropical plants, but he also made documentary sketches as illustrations for the prince's account of his expedition. With the two German scientists, his two assistants from WIED, ten native beaters and bearers, and twenty mules, PRINCE MAX plunged into the primeval forest. The mules were laden with chests and crates of provisions. When empty, these were packed with collected natural science objects and transported to the coast for shipment to WIED. SELLOW and FREYREISS remained in Brazil. SELLOW's career as a botanist came to a tragic, untimely end when he drowned in the Rio Doçe in 1831. FREYREISS joined a large group of German immigrants and helped them establish the colony Leopoldina on the Rio Peruípe.

There are conflicting opinions regarding the major purpose of MAXIMILIAN's expedition to Brazil. It is true that his collection and description of zoological specimens are still very highly regarded. On the other hand, his treatise on the Botocudo Indians is, as already mentioned, a truly pioneering ethnographic work. It is not insignificant that he chose to work

in the dense jungles along the eastern coast of Brazil between the 23rd and the 13th degrees of southern latitude, where the Indians had not yet been "assailed" by European culture.

Upon returning to Europe, MAXIMILIAN was asked to publish a preliminary report on his exploration in the journal *Isis*. The editor of that journal, LORENZ OKEN, was so overwhelmed by the prince's accomplishments that he could not refrain from affixing a brief addendum to the report:

> We feel obligated to add what his highness, PRINCE MAX, did not wish to impart here: - Without ceasing, ten persons collected plants and insects, shot birds, mammals, and amphibians. Some were dried, pinned up, or pickled; others were skinned, stuffed, mounted, or preserved in alcohol. As a result the prince, who had to supervise everything, make all decisions, and record the habitat, manner of life, and sounds of the animals, determine their natural color, sex, and scientific classifications, etc., scarcely had time to catch his breath. When one considers that it rains almost constantly in Brazil, and that one therefore, before retiring for the night, must build a shelter and dry one's belongings by a fire, then one simply cannot comprehend how all these many objects and activities could be compressed into a period of two years. Furthermore, no one escaped illness. For months they were hampered by fevers, but nevertheless had to work as hard as possible. All this could be accomplished only through the firm will of the prince, through his insight into the value of natural history, and through the great sacrifice from which he consequently did not shrink.[19]

Far from being an exaggeration, this paean to MAXIMILIAN's perseverance and assiduity is an understatement. It tells us little about his truly phenomenal achievements. A well-balanced, critical evaluation of the prince's accomplishments is found in a paper presented in Copenhagen in 1956 by Professor BALDUS of the University of São Paulo. In a partial summary he states:

> MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED, is the first scientist to write a monograph about a Brazilian (Indian) tribe. This fact, above all, accounts for his fame in the history of the ethnology of this country. The treatise comprises the first chapter of the second volume of his travel account and bears the modest title "Einige Worte über die Botocuden" (A Few Words about the Botocudos). Almost a century ago EHRENREICH called it "the classical presentation." Despite the voluminous literature on these Indians published since then, it has remained of fundamental significance.[20]

Throughout his detailed analysis of MAXIMILIAN's study, BALDUS constantly reinforces his own opinions with reference to the views of this eminent ethnologist and Americanist. Especially important are MAXIMILIAN's precise recordings of Botocudo words and phrases. The prince had planned to write a grammar of this language and for this purpose had a young Botocudo named QUACK follow him to Wied. Unfortunately, however, QUACK succumbed to the lure of European beverages of a potency not known to his people in Brazil. The Botocudo grammar remained unfinished.

MAXIMILIAN's account of his South American expedition, *Die Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817*, was published in two volumes with an atlas of illustrations and maps in 1820-21. Since his sister LUISE and his brother KARL did not approve of his sketches and paintings, he permitted them (and others) to contemporize them. The relative value of the prince's originals and their aesthetic improvements *as documentary art* has been thoroughly discussed.[21]

Even while toiling in the steaming jungles of Brazil, PRINCE MAX was already considering the feasibility of extending his ethnological endeavors northward, as we can see from this brief note discovered among his papers by JOSEPHINE HUPPERTZ: "It would be very interesting for me to see the North American Indian tribes for the purpose of comparing them with those of Brazil, and I intend therefore perhaps some day to undertake a journey there."[22] And that, as we know, is what MAXIMILIAN did as soon as he had published his voluminous Brazilian studies.[23] On the advice of his relatives and ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, MAXIMILIAN took the young Swiss artist, JOHANN KARL BODMER, with him to America as his illustrator.

With KARL BODMER and DAVID DREIDOPPEL, who had served as his hunter-taxidermist in Brazil, PRINCE MAX embarked for Boston on 17 May 1832 on a tiny American brig. After being alternately becalmed or buffeted by storms for seven weeks, they reached their destination in time to witness the celebration of Independence Day there. Although MAXIMILIAN described this ocean voyage in great detail in his *Tagebuch* (500,000 words), he omitted it in his published work (300,000 words) because crossings of the Atlantic had become so commonplace. Perhaps it would not be amiss to quote one brief passage that reveals both his vivid style and his love of nature even in her less lovely moods. After five days of violent storms, MAXIMILIAN writes under the date of 1 June:

> Toward evening violent rain and storm again. The sea rolling toward us like high mountains, we plunge from crest to trough. With only the two small storm sails the ship groans and labors mightily. We seem to be sailing in a deep valley and cannot see as far as eighty paces. The waves break violently against the ship ... The entire surface of the frightfully seething ocean was lashed and torn into foam and spray. The sight is dreadful but terribly beautiful! I had never seen anything like this; not even on the entire Brazilian voyage did we have a taste of this ... We do not lie in bed; for several nights have not slept; cannot stand on our feet in the foul-smelling, crowded cabin. Five persons are housed here. We feel miserable and sick in this dismal captivity. (Vol. 1, p. 7)

After brief visits to New York and Philadelphia, MAXIMILIAN and his colleagues began a slow journey westward - slow because their baggage, including the prince's books and instruments, had not arrived.

The prince's inconvenience was a double blessing for his audience. As he slowly moved westward, he recorded with pen and ink the near pristine beauty of mountains and streams, dotted only occasionally with small farms and hamlets, while BODMER captured with pencil and watercolor this portion of the New World "before the newness was gone."[24] And from the east coast as far as Pittsburgh MAXIMILIAN encountered "Landsleute" of all walks of life.

Upon his arrival in New York, the prince met several of his countrymen who helped make his brief stay there pleasant and meaningful. The Prussian consul, Mr. SCHMIDT, for example, entertained him at his country home at Bloomingdale.

In Philadelphia the prince found that in sections of the city German was spoken almost exclusively. Here, too, he was well received by eminent fellow countrymen. Mr. KRUMBHAAR, for example, a German to whom he had letters of introduction, received him with much kindness and introduced him to many agreeable acquaintances. How many such letters

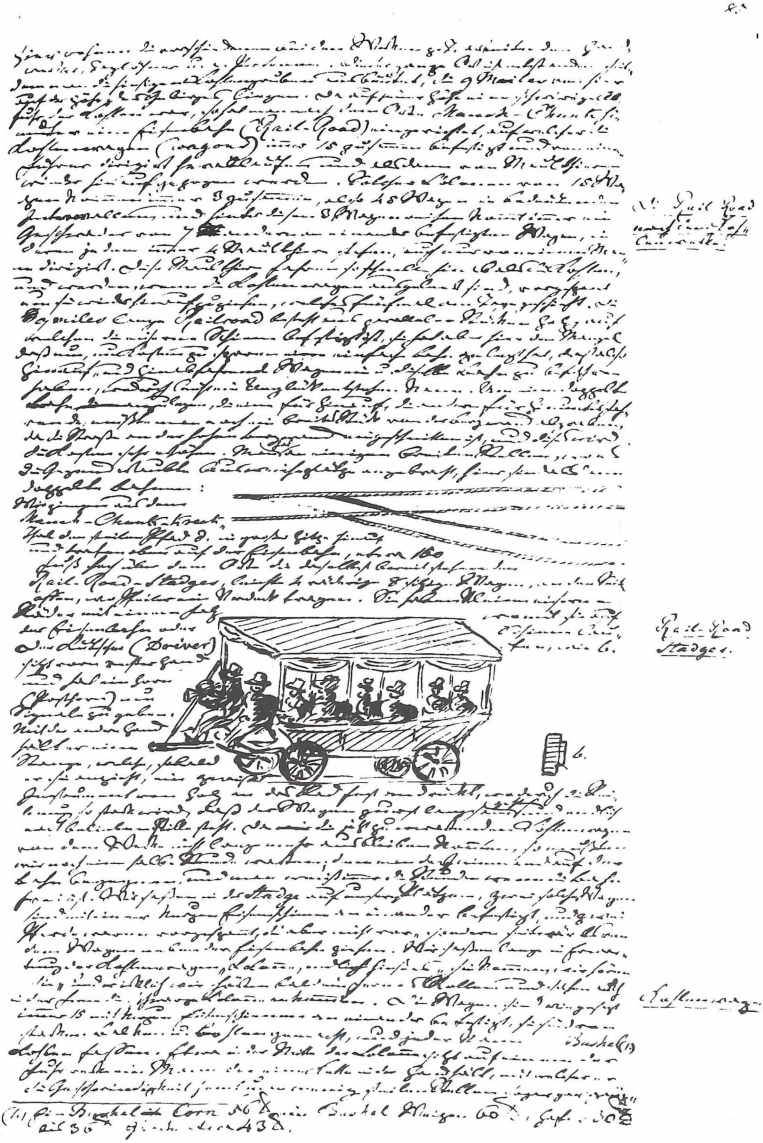

Abb. 1: Seite 85 des unveröffentlichten Nordamerikanischen Tagebuches von PRINZ MAXIMILIAN, aufbewahrt im Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha. Repro: H. J. ROTH

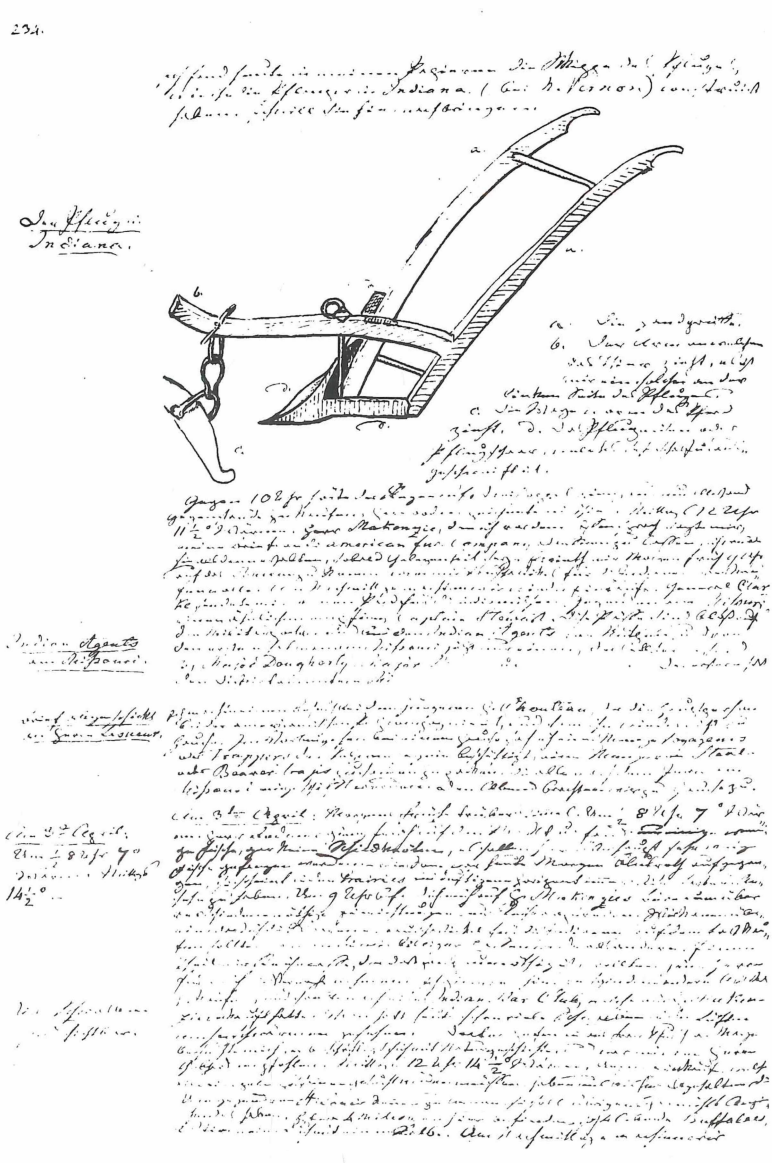

Abb. 2: Seite 234 des unveröffentlichten Nordamerikanischen Tagebuches von PRINZ MAXIMILIAN, aufbewahrt im Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha. Repro: H. J. ROTH

MAXIMILIAN had to prominent Germans in Brazil and North America is not known, but he mentions them quite often in his travel accounts.

Further evidence of the thoroughness with which MAXIMILIAN had planned his North American expedition is his reference to a tragic event connected with the missionary work of the Moravians around the middle of the eighteenth century. During his stay in Bethlehem (which was named by COUNT VON ZINZENDORF) he visited the site of a small settlement called Gnadenhütten that had been built by Moravian missionaries in 1746.

> The Indians later attacked this town, burned down the houses, and murdered ten to twelve of the Brethren. In his history of Indian missions (pp. 415 and 416) LOSKIEL provides the following information about this occurrence.[25] "On November 1755 in the evening hostile Indians attacked and burned the communal or pilgrimhouse of the Indian missionaries in Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning. Eleven persons lost their lives, nine of them in the flames. One of the Brethren was shot, another one cruelly slaughtered and then scalped. Three Brethren and a Sister (the wife of one of them), and a boy escaped, and, indeed, the woman and the boy by a lucky leap from the burning roof. One of those who escaped, the missionary SENSEMANN, who had gone out through the back door right at the onset of the attack to find out why the dogs were barking so loudly, and then found the way back to the others had been cut off, experienced the agony of seeing his wife perish in the flames."
>
> Even now one can see underneath bushes the gravestone that bears their names. The congregation at Gnadenhütten was not re-established, but there are still individual farmers now living on the land that belongs to the Brethren. A strange person, apparently of a higher class and very well educated, lives here now. She came from Germany and, people say, from the Lippe region. Now she devotes herself fully to agriculture, does all the manual labor herself, milks the cows, etc., and has given names to all her domestic animals and tamed them. She has rented some land from the Brethren, and Mr. VON SCHWEINITZ, as head of the church council, is the principal director. (Vol. 1, pp. 89-90)

BODMER, who arrived several days later, cleared off the tombstone that covers the remains of the victims and copied it. The following is the inscription:

> To the Memory of
> Gottlieb & Christina Anders;
> with their child Johanna;
> Martin & Susanna Nitschmann;
> Ann Catharina Sensemann;
> Leonhard Gattermeyer;
> Christian Fabricius, Clerk.
> George Schweigert;
> John Fredrik Lesly; and
> Martin Presser;
> Who lived here at Gnadenhütten
> unto the Lord!
> and lost their lives in a surprize,
> from Indian Warriors
> November the 24th
> 1755
> Precious in the sight of the Lord
> is the death of his Saints.
> Psalm 116, verse 15
> 1788. And[rew] Bover:
> Philadelphia (Vol. 1, p. 93)

In Bethlehem PRINCE MAX by chance met a German physician named SAYNISCH, who was the son of an apothecary in Dierdorf near Neuwied. Dr. SAYNISCH was pleased to learn the prince's true name. (As he had done in Brazil, MAXIMILIAN traveled in North America under the pseudonym BARON VON BRAUNSBERG, derived from the name of an ancestral castle.) Dr. SAYNISCH, in turn, introduced the prince to the local minister, Mr. SEIDEL, who showed MAXIMILIAN the church and the Moravian school for girls. It is interesting to note here the gradual introduction of English into a German community. Although German was heard almost exclusively in the town, divine services were conducted alternately in German and English, and instruction in the school for girls was given entirely in English.

Even in Pittsburgh MAXIMILIAN found helpful fellow countrymen because of his letters of recommendation. One of them, Mr. VON BONHORST, had been an officer in the BLÜCHER hussar regiment. DUKE BERNHARD OF WEIMAR had recommended the prince to him. Another one had the kindness to accompany the prince to Economy, a remarkable colony on the Ohio founded by Swabian Harmonists in 1825 under the leadership of Mr. RAPP.[26] Here people still dressed in the manner of the country people of Württemberg, and members of the RAPP family declared that they would never give up their native speech and old German customs.

On Sunday morning PRINCE MAX attended church services. The men sat to the right of the preacher, the women to the left, the old people in front, the younger people more to the rear. Mr. RAPP's family sat in the front.

> When we were all seated - the church has neither organ nor pulpit - the elder RAPP entered with firm stride. He wore a completely dark blue suit, a robe, a pointed blue cloth cap on his head, and a hat over that. With a Bible under his arm, he strode firmly down the aisle, greeted us, and sat down at his table, which is on an elevated platform. He put on his glasses, announced a hymn, and the singing began at a rather rapid tempo without organ accompaniment. After five or six verses had been sung, the congregation stood for prayer; and then Mr. RAPP preached a sermon on a passage from the Bible, which he delivered ... in a manner suitable for rural people, with dramatic images and expressions and accompanied by powerful, fiery gesticulations. When he had concluded, the congregation again sang several verses and then repeated a prayer that RAPP recited, whereby they remained seated, each one, however, with his body bowed forward and his head supported on folded hands. The word "Amen" was repeated by the congregation each time it was pronounced by the pastor. Then the women filed out first, the men remained seated until the last woman had left; then it was our turn. (Vol. 1, p. 107)

From time to time MAXIMILIAN encountered Germans whom ... he usually did not refer to as "Landsleute." At Kingston, near New Brunswick, a group of peasants were welcomed by German-Americans. As the prince stated, they filled several stagecoaches and were quite boisterous and loud in their "low" German dialects, at which Americans laughed heartily. The region around Bethlehem was chiefly inhabited by descendants of German immigrants, who all preferred to speak German. During his stay at Bethlehem he frequently saw groups of German peasants arrive, most of whom came from Baden, Württemberg, or the Rhenish Palatinate. Most of them spoke only their local dialects, were without money, and had no relatives who could help them. Usually they were refused admittance at American inns. In such cases a Westphalian acquaintance of PRINCE MAX, Mr. WÖHLER, took it upon himself to help them on their way. For the most part the prince had sympathy with such immigrants, for he too had been ridiculed for speaking English with a foreign accent. Sometimes he was an-

noyed and possibly embarrassed by what he considered their obnoxious behavior and crude dialects. Obviously he did not embrace GOETHE's dictum: "Im Dialekt lebt die Seele der Sprache!" (In the dialect lives the soul of the language.) In general MAXIMILIAN gained a favorable impression of his fellow countrymen and their descendants in North America. He praised their well-cultivated farms and was pleased to learn that their fellow Americans spoke well of them.

Abb. 3: Dr. P. SCHACH und D. HUNT vom Joslyn Art Museum vor dem Wied-Gedenkstein in Omaha, Nebraska. Foto: H. J. ROTH

The most important source of help and information to PRINCE MAXIMILIAN in his study of Indian cultures in North America was the German Canadian JAMES KIPP (1788-1880). As an experienced hunter and trapper, he joined the Columbia Fur Company, which was later

merged with JOHN JACOB ASTOR's American Fur Company, in 1827. A man of intelligence and some education, he held positions of authority and responsibility within the company. His wife was the daughter of a prominent Mandan, and a good friend of his was MATÓ-TÓPE, the second highest chieftain of the Mandan nation. Despite his rather small size, MATÓ-TÓPE was a feared and famous warrior, as can be seen from BODMER's realistic, documentary portraits of him.[27] He was also regarded as an authority on the history and customs of his people. Thus KIPP was in a unique position to be of help to MAXIMILIAN, especially since he is said to have been one of the first Caucasians to master the Mandan language.

MAXIMILIAN frequently praised KIPP for his untiring patience in helping him establish a valuable word list of the language of the Mandans or, as they called themselves, the *Numangkake* (people, human beings). KIPP also interpreted for hours as MATÓ-TÓPE and other Mandan informants, including KIPP's own father-in-law, related tales or explained tribal customs.

MAXIMILIAN's treatise on the Mandan is by all odds the most reliable and comprehensive ethnological study of an Indian tribe to be written in the early nineteenth century. He presents a detailed description of the daily life of the people including such basic activities as hunting and farming, family and social life (including the complex division of men and women into bands or unions), and religious and superstitious beliefs and practices. By far the most remarkable of their various medicine festivals is the *Okipa* (or *Okippe*) penitential ceremony of the ark. The prince expresses regrets that he cannot describe this medicine festival as an eyewitness. In reality, however, no eyewitness would be able to understand what he saw without prior knowledge of the meaning of the ceremony and without knowing the language of the actors of this penitential drama that lasts for four days. Furthermore, much of the significant action takes place within several lodges behind the scene, so to speak. As an eyewitness CATLIN described what he saw (but scarcely understood). With the skillful and patient help of MAXIMILIAN's interpreter, the prince spent many days recording and editing the narratives and expositions of old men who had personally experienced the torture to which the young penitents had to subject themselves.

Following his five-month sojourn among the Mandan PRINCE MAXIMILIAN began his journey to the east coast and eventually to his study in Neuwied, where he edited his field journals and notebooks into a narrative in the form of a diary. This *Tagebuch* in turn was the basic source for his two-volume *Reise in das innere Nordamerika*. Three years after MAXIMILIAN had returned to Europe, the Mandan nation was destroyed by smallpox. Their memory has been preserved through the cooperation of a German prince, his Swiss illustrator KARL BODMER, and his "Landsmann" JAMES KIPP.[28]

Unlike his model, friend, and mentor, PRINCE MAXIMILIAN never became a popular figure. His 30 scientific papers were not designed for the general reader. Even his two exemplary travel accounts, which fairly bristle with Latin binomials, require at least a basic knowledge of botany and zoology to be fully appreciated. MAXIMILIAN's fellow scientists, however, were not slow to recognize the significance of the specimens he brought from North and South America. His many visitors at Neuwied included the French ornithologist CHARLES LUCIEN

BONAPARTE and COENRAD HEINRICH TEMMINCK, director of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. In return for a copy of the American *Reise,* VON HUMBOLDT presented MAXIMILIAN with an autographed portrait of himself; and in recognition of his scientific achievements the prince was awarded the title of major general in the Prussian army in 1840 and an honorary doctoral degree by the University of Jena in 1858. After the death of PRINCE MAXIMILIAN in 1867 the zoological collection that he had begun as a child on his hunting trips in the Westerwald was purchased by the American Museum of Natural History. This collection included "about 600 mounted mammals, 4000 mounted birds, and 2000 fishes and reptiles."[29] MAXIMILIAN's Tagebuch and BODMER's unexcelled documentary portraits and landscapes, a gift of the Enron Art Foundation, are housed in the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska.

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[1] E. H. ACKERKNECHT (1955): GEORGE FOSTER, ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, and Ethnology. - *Isis* 46: 46.

[2] P. SCHACH (1994): MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED (1782-1867) Reconsidered, *Great Plains Quarterly* 14: 5-20. See also K. F. H. MARX (1840): *Zum Andenken an JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH*: 5-6; Göttingen.

[3] H. PLISCHKE (1931): *Die ethnographische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen*; Göttingen. P. SCHACH, *op. cit.*: 10.

[4] H. PLISCHKE (1936): *JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACHS Einfluß auf die Entdeckungsreisen seiner Zeit*: 15-47; Göttingen.

[5] A. E. ZUCKER (1953): *Amerika und Deutschland. Parallel Lives of Great Americans and Germans*: 50; New York.

[6] KARL VIKTOR PRINZ ZU WIED: MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED. Sein Leben und seine Reisen. In: *MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED. Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, hg. von J. RÖDER und H. TRIMBORN (1954): 17; Bonn, Hannover, Stuttgart.

[7] B. GONDORF (1993): Die Expedition von MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED und KARL BODMER in das innere Nordamerika. - In: Prärie- und *Plainsindianer. Die Reise in das innere North-America von MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED und KARL BODMER*, hg. von U. LÖBER und A. MORK: 40; Mainz.

[8] ACKERKNECHT, *op. cit.*: 94. See also L. MCINTYRE: HUMBOLDT's Way. Pioneer of Modern Geography. - *National Geographic* 176 (1985): 318-50, and especially C. L. NOLLENDORFFS: ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT Centennial Celebrations in the United States: Controversies Concerning His Work. - *Monatshefte* 80 (1988): 59-69.

[9] See the casual comments by PLISCHKE, *JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH*: 116.

[10] J. T. HAMILTON and K. H. HAMILTON (1963): *History of the Moravian Church. The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957*: 88-93; Bethlehem and passim. For vivid eyewitness accounts of confrontations between the autocratic *Reichsgraf* and various Indian groups see P. A. W. WALLACE (1945): *CONRAD WEISER (1696-1760). Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*: 116-24 and passim; Philadelphia.

[11] On the Westerwald, to which the prince repeatedly refers, see H. J. ROTH (1984): *Die Westerwälder Seenplatte*. Rheinische Landschaften, Heft 2; Neuss.

[12] Quoted by GONDORF (*op. cit.* 39) from MAXIMILIAN's yet unpublished manuscript "Meine militärische Dienstzeit von 1800-1808".

[13] GONDORF, *op. cit.*: 50.

[14] GONDORF, *op. cit.*: 40 and especially n. 10.

[15] On the influx of American students at German universities, primarily Göttingen and Heidelberg, see A. HARDING (1979): *JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: Pioneer of German-American Literary Studies*: 52-62 and passim; Boston. On JOHN JACOB ASTOR see JAMES P. RONDA (1990): *Astoria and Empire*; Lincoln.

[16] PLISCHKE, *JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH*: 6.

[17] GONDORF, *op. cit.*: 39.

[18] PLISCHKE, *op. cit.*: 60-64.

[19] Quoted from WIRTGEN, *op. cit.*: 5. A slightly different version of this frequently quoted passage is found in GONDORF, *op. cit.*: 41. See also notes 16 and 17.

[20] HERBERT BALDUS (1958): MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED in seiner Bedeutung für die Indianerforschung in Brasilien. - *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists 1956*: 97-104; Copenhagen. See also P. EHRENREICH: Über die Botocudos der brasilianischen Provinzen Espiritu Santo und Minas Geraes. - *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): 37 and passim.

[21] J. RÖDER: Der wissenschaftliche Nachlaß von MAXIMILIAN, PRINZ ZU WIED. - *Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists held at Cambridge 1952*: 187-92; London.

[22] J. HUPPERTZ: Textkritische Analyse und Vergleich zwischen schriftlichem Nachlaß und Reisewerk. - In: *MAXIMILIAN PRINZ ZU WIED*: 75.

[23] V. BAILEY (1923): MAXIMILIAN's Travels in the Interior of North America. - *Natural History* 23: 337-38. - For a condensed, instructive survey see H. H. ROTH (1992): PRINZ MAXIMILIAN ZU WIED (1782-1867): Ein rheinischer Naturforscher und Amerikareisender des 19. Jahrhunderts. - *Rheinische Heimatpflege* 29: 181-86.

[24] BAILEY, *op. cit.*:343.

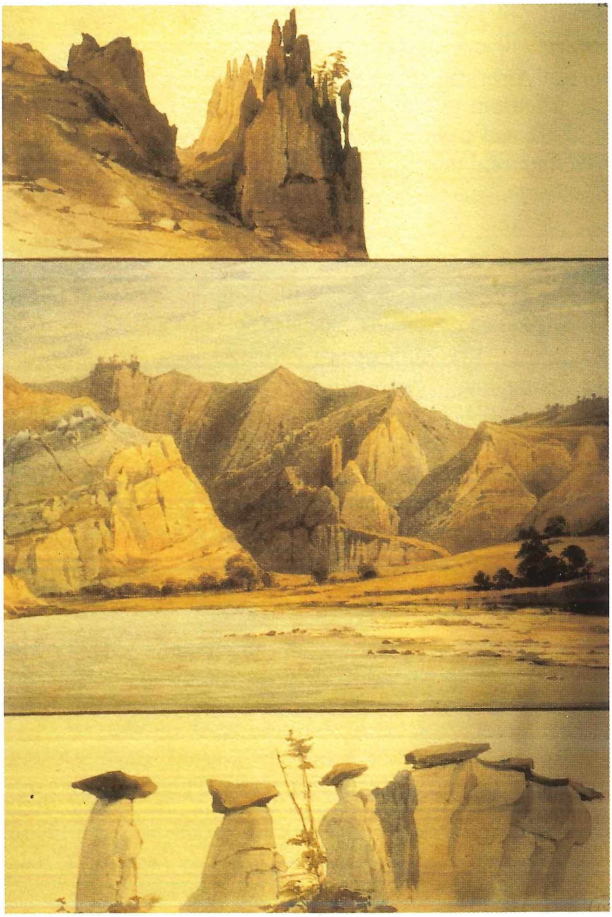
[25] G. H. LOSKIEL (1794): *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, tr. CHRISTIAN IGNATIUS LA TROBE, pt. 2, ch. 12, 166-67; London.

[26] For a recent study of RAPP see *Economy on the Ohio 1826-1834*, compiled and edited by KARL. J. R. ARNDT (1984); Worcester: Harmony Society Press.

[27] *KARL BODMER's America*, ed. DAVID C. HUNT and MARSHA V. GALLAGHER (Omaha and Lincoln, 1984): 308-309. See also SCHACH, *op. cit.*: 15-17.

[28] On J. KIPP see H. M. CHITTENDEN, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, California: Academic Reprints, 1934) 324: 333-349; and *Early Fur Trade of the Northern Plains*, edited by W. R. WOOD and T. D. THIESSEN (1985): 40; Norman.

[29] BAILEY, *op. cit.*: 339. This paper is the second in a series of studies stemming from my work with PRINCE MAXIMILIAN's *Tagebuch einer Reise nach dem nördlichen America in den Jahren 1832, 1833 und 1834* (Diary of a Journey to Northern America). The first article, "MAXIMILIAN, PRINCE OF WIED (1782-1867), Reconsidered", appeared in the *Great Plains Quarterly* 14 (1994), 5-20. In order to make each article an independent unit and to keep cross-reference to a minimum, I found it feasible to duplicate several short passages.



Felsformationen am Missouri, gemalt von KARL BODMER im Jahr 1832. Repro: H. J. ROTH

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